DECIES.

No. XX   May 1982.

Contents.

Cover: Old Holy Ghost Hospital, Greyfriars, with Medieval Friary at rear
(from a photograph c. 1895, Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin). This was
the last example of the "Dutch Billy" gable in Waterford.   Drawn by
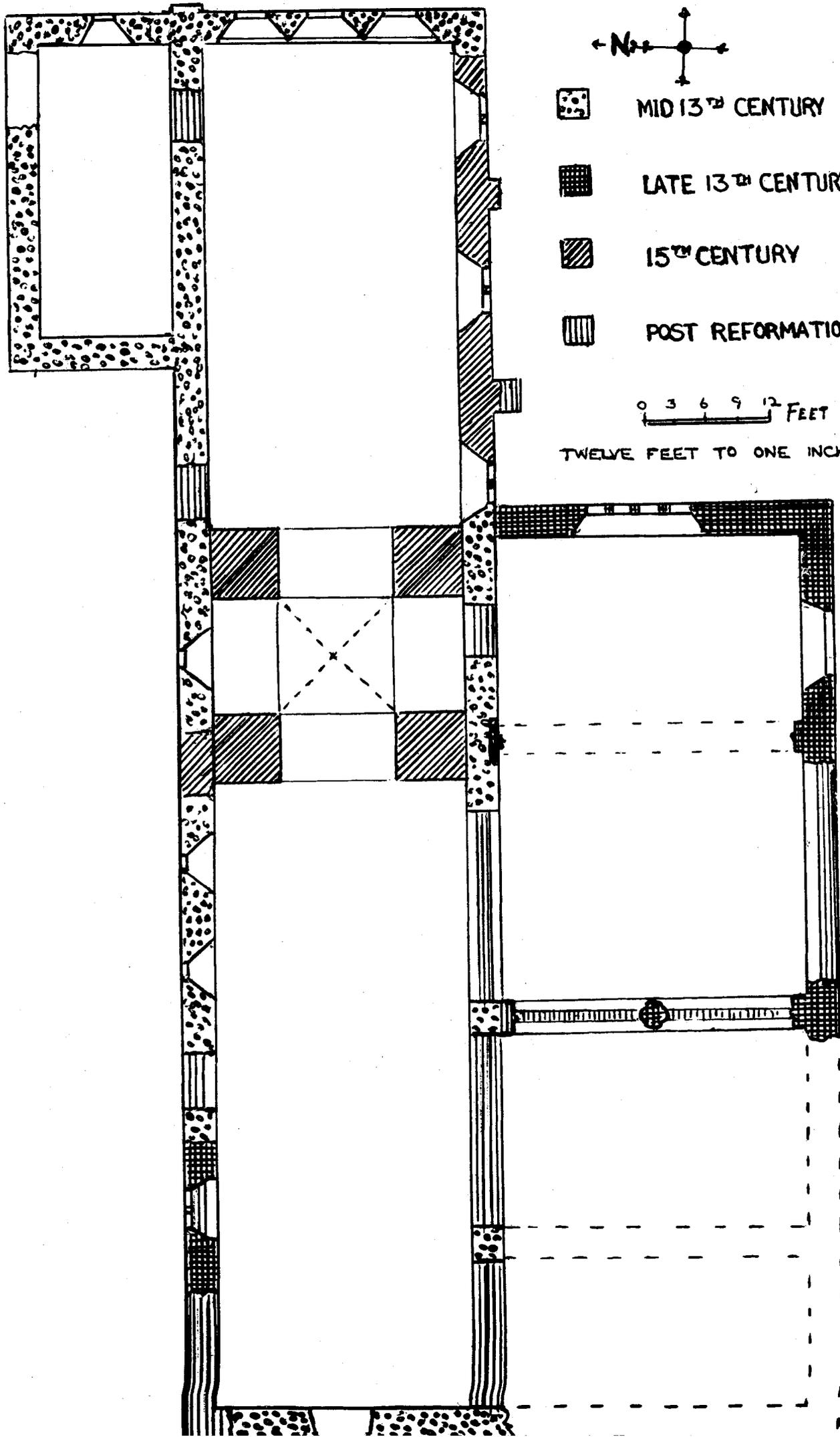Ian W. J. Lumley (see pages 4 - 21).

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

EDITORIAL

In this 20th number of "Decies" we maintain the principle of
combining the contributions of our own members with those of
professional historians.   In fact, it will be found that in
this particular issue the greater contribution is by our own
members.

While this is only as it should be, it is a healthy sign and
one that justifies our claim to be the recognised medium
through which is kept alive the story of Waterford's past.
That our efforts - or, dare we say, our modest achievements -
have been appreciated is gratifyingly indicated by the recent
sponsorship of the journal by Waterford Trustee Savings Bank.
We acknowledge their generosity and are greatly heartened
that an institution of such standing should consider us worthy
of active support.

We are happy to see the Municipal Library back in its old home
at Lady Lane after the completion of a splendid job of restora-
tion.   The "Waterford Room" archive collection will be housed
there and, with more space now available, an appeal is again
made for the gift of personal or business records of archival
value.   It is particularly sad that business records going
back for a century or more should be thrown out at a time of
transfer or reorganisation of premises.   It is feared that too
many such records have already gone beyond recall.

                                        J. S. Carroll.

4

MID 13ᵗʰ CENTURY

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TWELVE FEET TO ONE INCH

THE   HOLY   GHOST   FRIARY,   WATERFORD

AN   ARCHITECTURAL   ACCOUNT

by Ian W. J. Lumley.

Since the loss of old Holy Trinity Cathedral in 1773 the
Holy Ghost Friary remains the most important mediaeval
monument in Waterford City.   Its complex history has been
explored in many sources[1] along with specific aspects like
the remarkable collection of pre-reformation statues now in
case of the Holy Ghost Hospital[2], and the group of 16th and
17th century monuments lined round the church[3].

Very little attention has been paid to the Friary's fine
architectural features which have been given a new prominence
by the Corporation's removal of an unstable late Georgian
house in Bailey's New Street.   This has exposed the east
end of the church and Lady Chapel to full view for the first
time in centuries (Fig.2).   The Office of Public Works have
completed the improvement by reopening the long blocked up
windows in the south chancel wall, and carried out general
conservation work throughout the building.   This has resulted
in some interesting discoveries which will be described in
due course.   After so many years of neglect the ruins are
now properly maintained and the key made conveniently available
from a caretaker opposite the entrance in Greyfriars.

THE SITE

The Mediaeval site, within the original Viking city, was a
very confined one, closely met by the outbuildings of the
old Cathedral.   Reginald's Tower forms the head of a sharp
apex from which the city walls run back at a 60° angle some
distance behind the present frontage of the Quay and Mall.
Substantial portions survive, incorporated in the back wall
of the City Hall and in the Reginald Bar.

The remains consist of the chancel, nave, Lady Chapel and
tower of the Friary church along with another building abut-
ting the north chancel wall.   Total measurement of chancel
and nave is 130 feet, standard for an Irish town friary. The
extent and position of the mediaeval domestic buildings is
unknown, but with the site so cramped they must have been
wedged tightly round the church.   The earliest map to show
the site in reasonable detail is the splendid Scale and
Richard work of 1764[4].   It sheds no additional information
on the form of the buildings but is interesting in showing
the Friary surrounded by three street names that have dis-
appeared from use: Factory Lane for Bailey's New Street,
Holy Ghost Lane for Greyfriars and Brick Lane on the site of
the former Methodist Church (Fig.I) .

It has been suggested that the undercroft and remarkable twin
aisled hall of the adjacent old Deanery belonged to the friary,
but this is quite unlikely.   The twin aisled hall,which so

few have had the opportunity to see in recent times, is a
13th century work which originally had windows and rose
above ground level.   The covering vault is a much later
addition so that to call the work a 'crypt' as it usually
has been is quite incorrect.   Its original use must remain
conjectural but it was probably a refectory or Vicars Hall
belonging to the old Cathedral and not to the Friary.

Early engravings of the Holy Ghost Friary give little ad-
ditional light on its former appearance.   In George Cheveney'
splendid city panorama published in Smith's Waterford
(1746),5 nave and chancel are shown roofed and the tower
capped by a pyramided top along with the tower of the adjacent
old Cathedral.   These are similar to the roof restored in the
19th century on the tower of Christ Church Dublin.   The
picture in the appendix of Gimlett's History of the Huguenot
settlement (1858)6 included because of the Friary's brief role
as "The French Church" is positively misleading since it fails
to show what is an undoubtedly original wing to the north of
the chancel.

Early photographs are more helpful.   In Egan's "Waterford Guide
(1895) the two surviving internal arches of the Lady Chapel
are shown before they were blocked up7.   Egan also reveals
that the Western portion of the Lady Chapel was demolished
only in the mid 1890s. in order to build the row of houses
at the corner of Greyfriars (Holy Ghost Lane) and Bailey's
New Street.   This is shown by a remarkable photograph in the
files of the Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin (front cover)
It may be dated to the early 1890's and shows nave and Lady
Chapel still roofed, the latter still untouched by demolitions
The tower also appears with its cap intact but the most intere
ing part is the abandoned 18th century triple gabled Holy Ghos
Hospital building on what is now Greyfriars, the last recorded
example of the 'Dutch' gable in Waterford which will be
described in due course.

THE PRE-REFORMATION BURIAL INVENTORY

Before describing the remains, mention should be made of an
important 16th or 17th century document published in 1973.9
It is a transcription of a pre-reformation burial register
of the Holy Ghost Friary discovered among the papers of the
Bonaparte-Wyse Family of Villeneuve-les-Avignon, France.
It has already been discussed in Decies V, in Julian C. Walton
excellent analysis of the Friary's burial history10, but is
worth recounting as it reveals important information on the
appearance of the church on the eve of the Reformation.

The document, in Latin, gives a precise reference for all of
the burials in the church, describes some of the tombs and
sets down their location in relation to other landmarks of
the interior.   Of all of the monuments it describes not a
single indentifiable one survives above ground, but the
position of many could still be quite accurately determined
so good is the quality of the description.
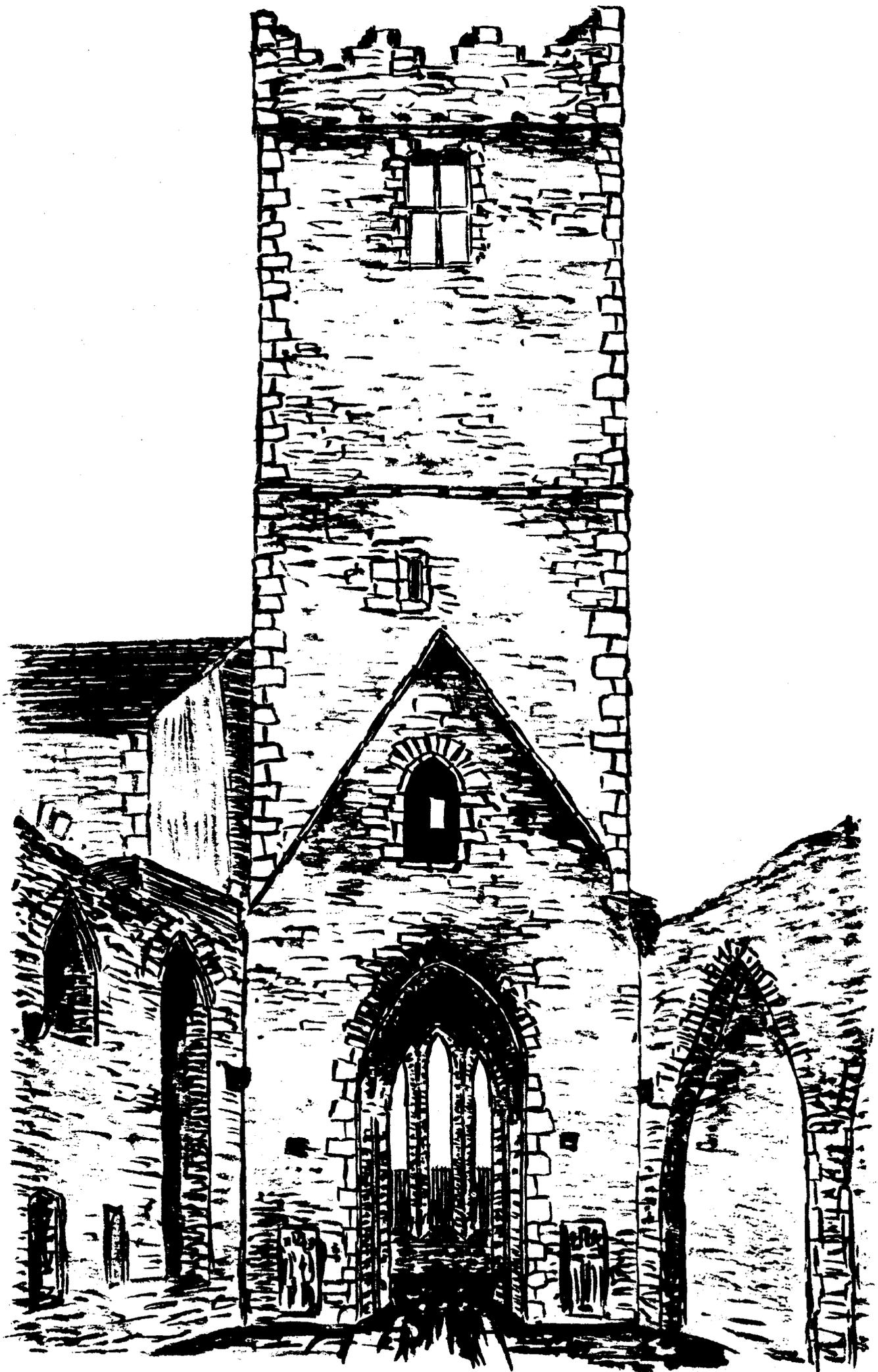
INTERIOR FROM WEST DOORWAY

In order of mention the features listed are : High Altar,
Vestibule, Chair, Choir, tower, Chapel of St.Francis, Chapel
of the Le Poers, altar of same, alter of the Three Kings,
altar in the Chapel of the Blessed Mary, south window,
pulpit, Altar of Saint Clare, southern round column. Altar of
Saint Apollmaris, south wall, noth wall, statue of Saint
Christopher, square column in the west, west door.

An example of the inventory's remarkable detail may be seen
by the following:-

    "Matthew McTaig lies midway between the statue of Saint
Christopher and the Altar of Saint Clare eleven feet from
the north wall beneath a marble stone".[11]

A very surprising detail is given on one of the le Poer tombs:
    "John (Son of) Wm Poer is buried with his family in the left
hand part of the choir beneath a white marble stone. He died
1483.[12]   The use of white marble on an Irish 15th century
tomb is most unusual since the earliest surviving examples of
the use of this material are 17th century.

The description moves from east to west and shows how complex
the Lady Chapel wing must have been since neither the site of
the altar of the Blessed Mary nor that of any of the other
side altars and statues can now be determined.   Some of the
mediaeval statues in the new Holy Ghost Hospital have been in-
conclusively identified so that it would be an interesting
exercise to relate than to those described in the inventory.


THE FIRST CHURCH 1240 - 1300

The plan and architectural evolution of the Holy Ghost Friary
causes no difficulty of interpretation.   Most of the Irish
Norman town Friaries follow the same pattern: 13th century
chancel and nave, with aisle or Lady Chapel on the south side,
usually added at a later date.   The austere Franciscan rules
prohibited the building of towers in the early period but this
was relaxed by the 15th century when the Waterford tower along
with most of those of the other Irish Friaries were built.

The chancel is the earliest portions dating from shortly after
the Foundation by Sir Hugh Purcell in 1240.   The eastern
section contained the sanctuary with the high altar and
celebrant's chair mentioned in the burial inventory as well
as the piscina for keeping and cleaning the sacred vessels.
Here also were some of the most important burials, the founder
to the left hand side of the high altar while in another
position
    "Richard Butler, son of the Earl of Ormond, and his mother
and sister are buried in a high tomb facing the high altar"[13].
This altar was raised above the rest of the church as is shown
by the next entry:

Ring
Tower

Lane

FRENCH

Factory

CHURCH

Ghoft
Hofpital

Brick
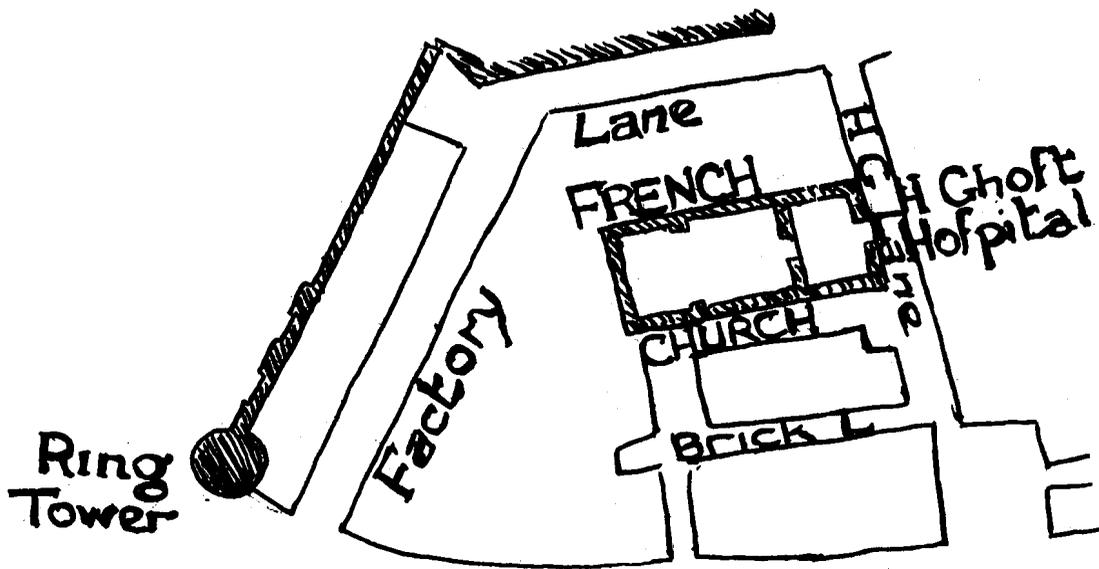
1. SECTION FROM RICHARD & SCALÉ MAP (1764)
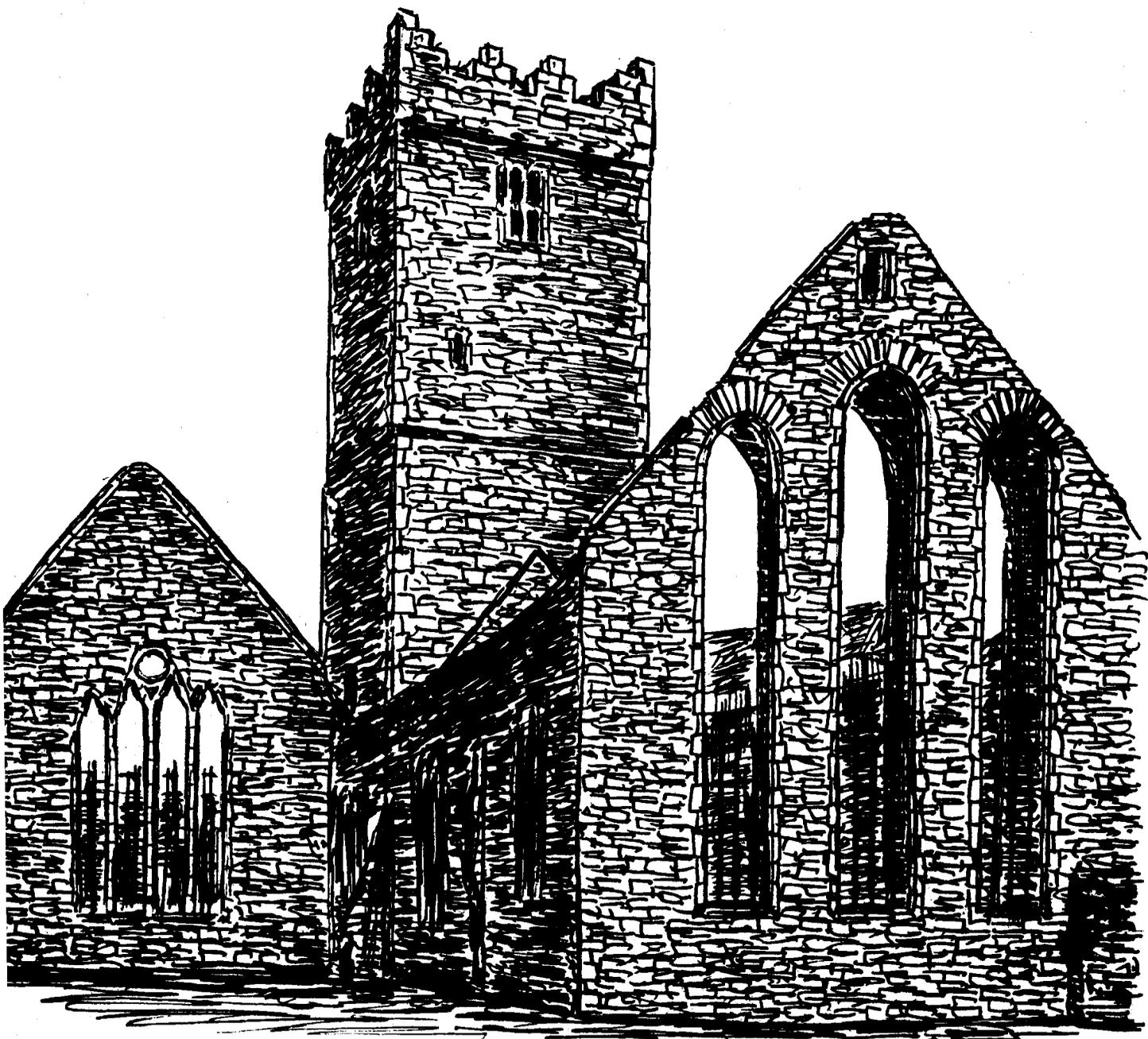

2. EXTERIOR FROM SOUTH EAST

"Thomas Henebre is buried with his family on the third step
from the altar, on the right hand side."[14]
The remainder of the chancel was the choir which would have
contained the Friars' stalls ranged against the north and
south walls.

The splendid triple light cast window is the only 13th
century feature of the chancel to survive intact.   It closely
recalls the east window of St. Mary's church New Ross which
is of slightly earlier date.   The three narrow lancets
simply framed on the outside (Fig.2), splay widely inwards
to a complex series of mouldings which originally carried
fully rounded shafts (fig.3).   The mouldings, which have
weathered very badly, are of fine imported sandstone. The
lost shafts were probably of harder polished limestone, like
those which survive intact on the east window of St. Canice's
Cathedral, Kilkenny.

The south wall of the chancel originally would have contained
a line of simple lancet windows of which only a portion of
the westernmost one survives.   The remainder of the wall was
totally reconstructed in the 15th century and will be described
in due course.   During the recent conservation work the long
blocked up piscina was uncovered.   It is a twin arched work
which would once have had a central shaft but, unfortunately,
as all of its outer dressings have vanished, it is impossible
to date.

The only features of the heavily rebuilt north wall are the
outer relieving arches of three doorways of uncertain date and
long blocked up.   This wall is heavily encroached upon and
in the early 19th century, two windows were driven through it
to light one of the buildings.

Building of the nave would have followed closely on the chancel.
Before the 15th century addition of the tower, they would have
been divided by an arched rood screen on which was placed the
"Imagine crucifix " - the image of the crucifix mentioned in
the burial inventory.[15]   This was a feature common to all
mediaeval churches of importance, but the only Irish screens
to survive are the unusual group of stone ones in Connacht
along with the well known example in the Cathedral of
Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly.   The Waterford screen, in common in those of
most of the rest of the country, would have been wooden.   One of the
finest Victorian reconstructions of a mediaeval rood screen is in the
splendid chapel of the Presentation Convent, Waterford.   It is little
known that this is one of the most unaltered works of A. W. N. Pugin, the
mediaevel master of the 19th century and decorator of the Houses of
Parliament.   The convent chapel, which deserves to be protected and
cherished as much as the Holy Ghost Friary, is closer in mediaeval
atmosphere to any of the unfortunate restorations done to Irish churches in
the 19th and 20th centuries.   The large crucifix flanked by the Blessed
Mary and St. John dominates this outstanding creation, with its screens,
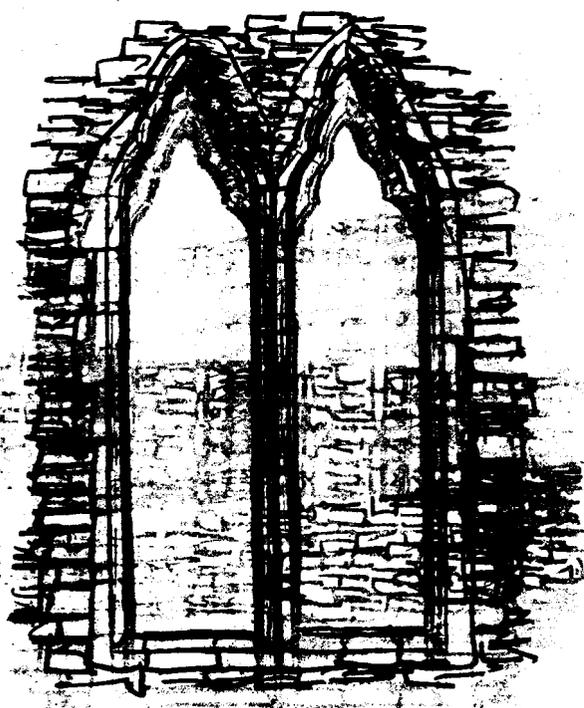stalls and ceramic filing all of the best mediaeval inspiration.
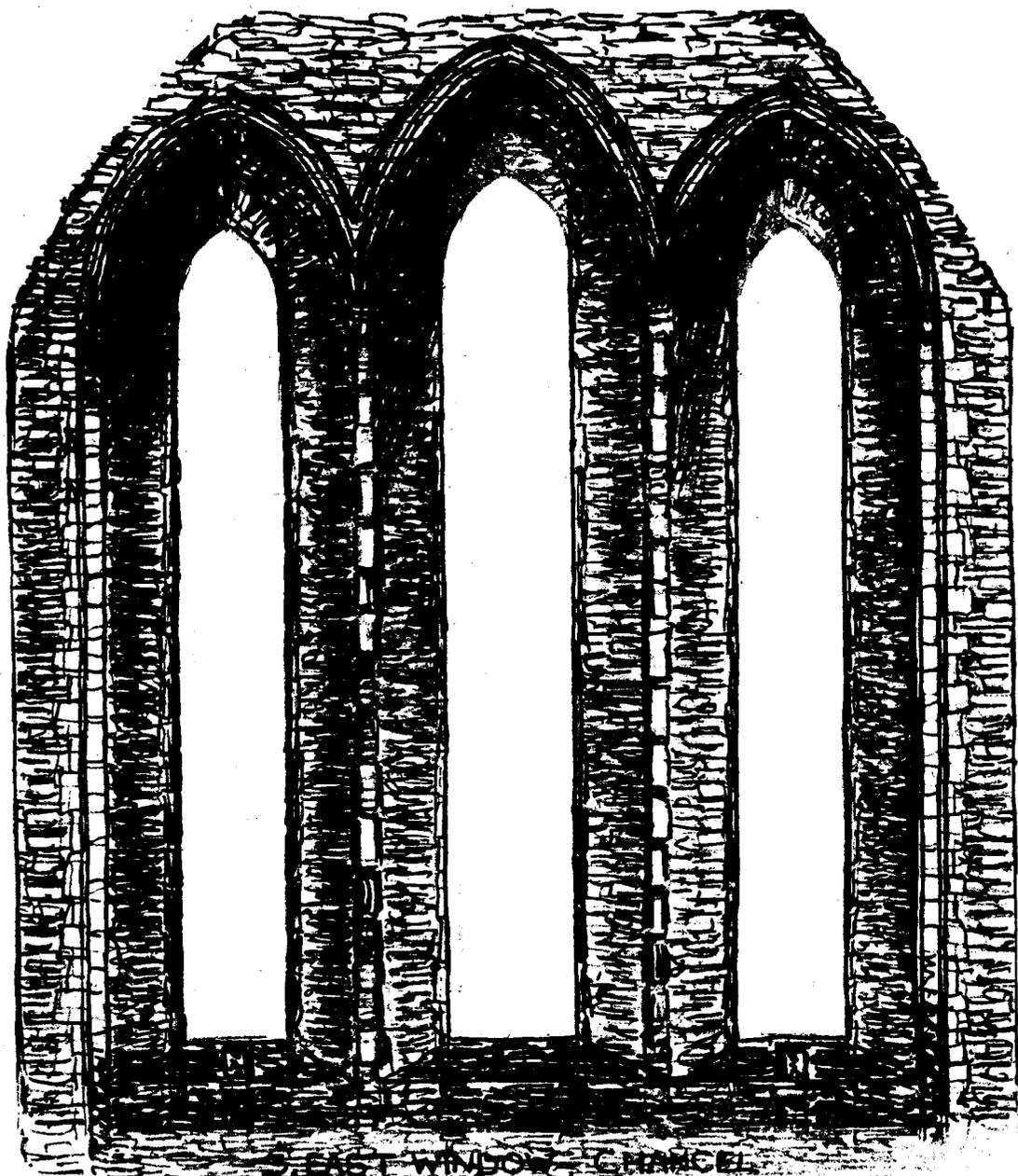
3. EAST WINDOW CHANCEL
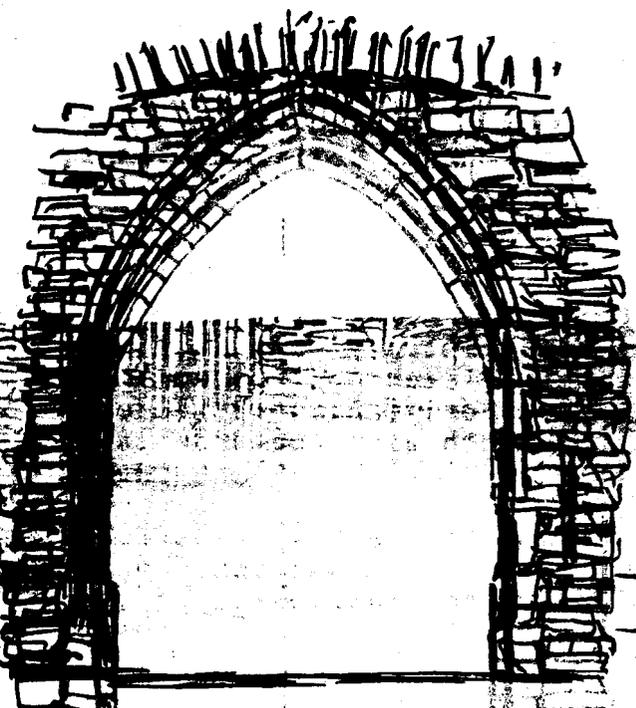
4. WEST DOORWAY

5. WINDOW. NORTH NAVE WALL

The only thing to mar the effect is the horrid modern strip-lighting suspended from the elaborate wooden roof. A more sensitive means of illuminating what is one of Waterford's principal architectural treasurers ought to be found.

The mid 13th century features of the Friary nave are austere compared to the great eleaboration of the east window, and present a wealth of puzzles. The west doorway is of a singly heavy moulding in sandstone and bluntly pointed (Fig.4). The window above confusingly splays outwards rather than inwards and has what appears to be a mid 13th century arch with a similar mould-ing to the west door on the inside and not on the outside. The most likely explanation of this puzzle, is that the internal arch is, in fact, a doorway taken from another undetermined point of the church in post-reformation times and that the entire upper sections of the wall, whose gable is missing, is a relatively modern construction blackened like the rest of the church by the soot of a century's ruin. Originally, there was probably a group of lancet windows in this wall, but with the conversion of the friary into the Holy Ghost Hospital, an upper doorway was required instead.

The north nave wall originally contained around eight narrow lancet windows. Three survive in the various states of block-ing, while a fourth one intact is positioned directly under the later tower. This wall bulges noticably outwards due to a weakness in foundation and was heavily reconstructed on at least two occasions. The first must have been within a few decades of construction, for in the process some of the mid-13th century lancets were replaced by lower two light cinguefoil windows of later type, an unfortunate alteration, since it spoiled the harmony of the nave. Only one of these later windows survives intact. One was obscured by the building of the tower while another vanished in a later collapse or subsidence of the western end of the wall. The surviving window may be seen only by torchlight in the narrow passage between the nave wall and the modern Methodist Church and is illustrated here for the first time (Fig.5). It is a handsome work of good quality sandstone but must have been upsettingly lower than the other windows in the church which were of a harmonious scale.

The south nave wall is a three bay arcade as is that of the Waterford Dominican Priory. The Friary work is however quite inferior to the splendid Dominican one. The westernmost arch is markedly narrower than the two other ones - 13th feet in comparison to 19th feet, the result of clumsy planning. The smaller arch is the only one to have a proper chamfored dressing. The square pier between the other two arches is properly dressed but the unweildly arches themselves never appear to have been faced. Because of its lack of sculptural detail, it is impossible to determine whether this arcade is contemporary with the building of the rest of the nave or was a later alteration to accommodate the Lady Chapel extension. If it is an original work there should be the foundations of a narrow south aisle outside it which could be determined by excavation.

The nave also contains a Fragment of a 13th century tomb niche; a weathered capital with the shaft below in the middle of the north wall. In the same area is a curious triangular headed recess

of chamfered sandstone blocks which seems to be of early date,
though it is awkwardly close to one of the window arches.   It
has the appearance of being a backing for a statue.

The final surviving work of the early period is a wing measur-
ing 27 feet by 12½ feet at the north east corner of the chancel.
Its position would suggest it to be the sacristy.   Surprisingly
all previous writers on the Friary have ignored it while in the
mid 19th century picture in Gimlette's account of the Friary's
Huguenot period, it is shown as a grassy space! [16]   Its walls
are of the same thickness as the rest of the church while at
the east end is half the outer frame of a narrow window in
sandstone giving it a clear 13th century date.   It is the
only part of the Friary to remain roofed and is used as a glass
store.

THE   LADY   CHAPEL   C.1300

The so-called Lady Chapel is really a composition of several,
one of which contained the altar of the Blessed Mary.   The
chapels are an addition of c.1300 and were endowed by the power-
ful Le Poer family who used one of them as their burial place.
The pre-reformation register states:

>   "Robert le Grand Poer, Knight, is buried in a tomb
>   in the left hand part of the Chapel of the Le Poers.[17]

The chapel wing ran from the westernmost window of the chancel
to the west gable of the nave.   It was divided into four
sections by three twin-arched arcades of which the central one
survives intact.   Traces of the eastern arcade may still be
seen, while the western one has disappeared altogether, along
with the west gable and most of the south wall of the wing.

The east window is an important landmark in Irish architectural
history (Fig.6).   Towards the end of the 13th century the piers
between lancet windows were getting narrower until they turned
into single stone mullions, enabling bolder and brighter composi-
tions to be created.   The chancel east windows of the Waterford
and Kilkenny friaries present an excellent illustration.   A
space of only fifty years separates the dramatic seven light
work added to the earlier Kilkenny friary from the Waterford
windows of c.1240 already described (Fig.3).   The Waterford
Lady Chapel goes one step beyond Kilkenny in incorporating a
central circular ope above the two middle heads of the four
light composition.   Much of it is a concrete reconstruction
but which seems to follow the original lines.   The window could
hardly be described as elegent.   A three or five light grouping
would have been much more pleasing than the actual four.   The
importance of the window is in its place in the transition from
the lancet of the 13th century to the elaborate traceried
windows of the 14th and 15th centuries, like the well known ones
at Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary.   The one remaining south
window almost entirely reconstructed in concrete is a three
light design of typical late 13th century type.

The surviving central arcade is a fine work vastly superior to
the clumsy nave one.   It is supported on a quatrafoil pillar
capped by a heavy soffit moulding (Fig.7).   The two elegant
arches have sharply chamfered edges and a similarly chamfered
inner rib of high quality sandstone which has worn very well.

One of the springing points of the eastern pair of arches also survives adhering to the nave wall. Instead of the continuous moulding of the other soffit it has a chunky tapering capital to support the chamfered inner rib and a rounded engaged shaft running down the wall (Fig.7).

LATE MEDIAEVAL ADDITIONS

The 14th century, that relatively inactive period in the Irish architecture, saw no additions to the Friary, but with the century after it came the impressive central tower (Fig.3). It is built of rubble stone with limestone dressings, distinctly different from the sandstone which was the favoured 13th century material for dressing.

Before the building of the tower chancel and nave were divided only by a crucifix screen as already described. The support of the tower required four massive piers to be built within the church walls, which had the effect of splitting the main body of the church in two. The width of the tall narrow arches between the piers is just over ten feet compared with an average width of twenty three feet for chancel and nave. To overcome the problem the builders of the earlier tower of the Kilkenny friary, (a rare example of 14th century architecture) supported their tower on much wider and more impressive arches, but the Waterford builders, perhaps mindful of the foundation slipping that had already affected part of the nave and part of the chancel as well, aimed for a more solid structure instead. The nearby Dominican priory tower was built on similarly massive supports and apart from the greater elaboration of its belfry windows is very close to the friary one.

The central space under the tower is crowned by a groin vault with a rosette in the centre. The crucifix would have been repositioned under the eastern arch and to judge by an entry in the burial register the central floor area was called the "porticus" or porch:

"Edmund Clere is buried in the middle of the porch opposite the Image of the Crucifix".[18]
Indications of cobels suggest that there may have been a rood gallery under the tower as well, from which access would have run to the upper quarters. From the room over the vault a stair runs diagonally in the thickness of the walls to the belfry chamber. Beneath this chamber is the Friary dove cote in the same position as the one in the tower of Dunbrody Abbey, Co. Wexford. The only aperture of the windowless chamber is a small square opening in the south wall, surrounded by a conspicuous external frame through which the birds would have flown in and out. The inside is lined with dozens of square recesses in which the birds would have nested comfortably in the dark. Some observers disturbed by the idea of putting birds and bells within a few feet distance have suggested that the chambers at Dunbrody and Waterford were really for keeping documents but the absence of windows and the close resemblance of the internal recesses to those of the well known dove cote at Kilcooly Abbey, Co. Tipperary makes the dove theory more acceptable.
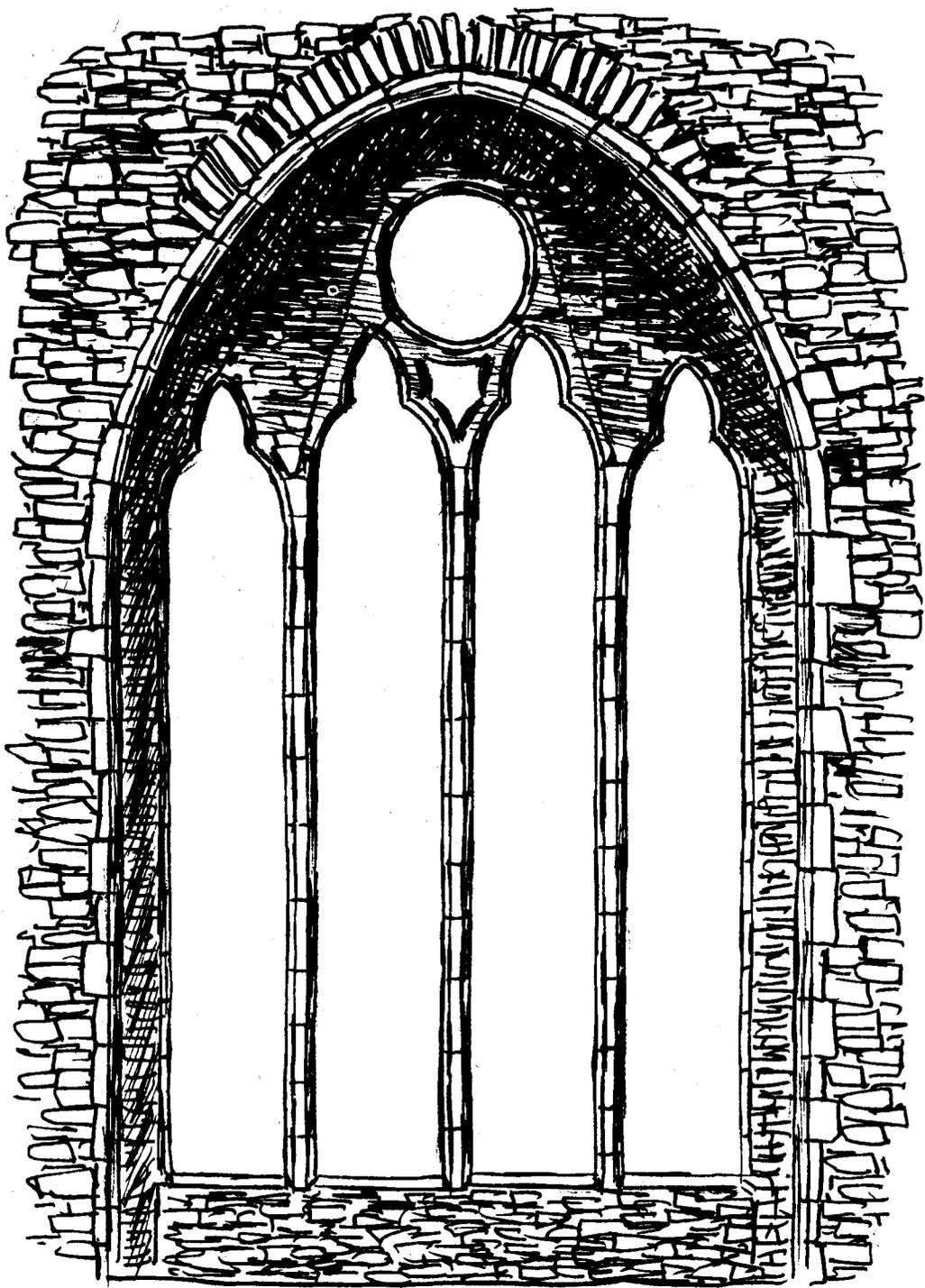
G. EAST WINDOW, LADY CHAPEL.
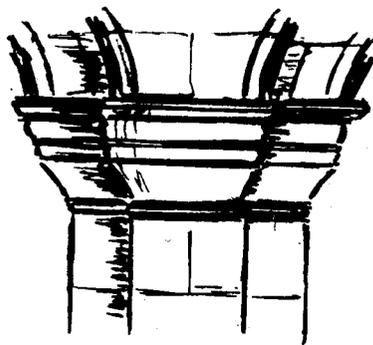
7 SOFFIT MOULDINGS, LADY CHAPEL.

The belfry chamber has plain ogee headed mullion and transom
windows to the four sides (Fig.10). How many or how large
the bells were, there is no means of knowing. The tower is
handsomely capped by a continuous stepped parapet which makes
it so attractive a feature when seen over the rooftops from a
distance.

The other major 15th century work was the rebuilding of the
chancel wall. A dramatic bulge at the western and against the
gable at the Lady Chapel shows that there must have been a
serious foundation slip. The rebuilt wall contains three twin
light windows of mainly limestone dressing. The eastern one,
lighting the sanctuary is more elaborate than the others with
an external square hood moulding (Fig.8). This window has a
higher sill level than the others because of the piscina in
the inside wall. The middle window is plain and of standard
type (Fig. 9). The western one surprisingly incorporates one
side of one of the 13th century lancets in soft sandstone frames
which ran along the wall before its rebuilding. The manner
in which this surviving 13th century fragment bulges against
the Lady Chapel gable suggests that the subsidence may have
begun at a very early date.

A last fanciful touch is provided by the three decorated corbels
which may have belonged to the rood gallery. The are carved
in crisp limestone with skill and humour and represent a duck,
a foliage bearing rabbit wearing little pointed shoes and under
the tower a smiling owl (Fig.11).

In the late mediaeval period also at least part of the church
was lavishly retiled. Fragments of these discovered during
the recent conservation work have been reset under the tower.
Some retain a shiny glaze in green or yellow as bright as the
splendid tiles which Pugin designed for the Presentation Convent
Chapel. There are seven pieces in all. Three of them are of
the same type and from them the design may be reasonably re-
constructed (Fig.12). It has a Maltese Cross centre and arcs
and scroll designs filling in the corners. Used in continuous
rows as a border or alternatively in square groupings between
other designs the pattern is a very pleasing one. There are
not enough of the remaining four fragments to reconstruct any
other designs. Canon Power records finding two "cloister tiles"
in 1895,19 probably meaning floortiles, but unfortunately their
whereabouts is unknown.

The Friary fragments are of the same type as those on display
in the vestibule of the new Christ Church which came from the
old Cathedral. Tiles of similar type were discovered at Kells
Priory, Co. Kilkenny, in large quantities over the 1970's.
The method of creating the pattern by incising a thin line in
the tile before baking is common to all of them and is of late
mediaeval date.

HOLY GHOST HOSPITAL 1545 - 1886

The Friary's fate at the Reformation, which saw it transformed
into the Holy Ghost Hospital, is well known. It remains merely
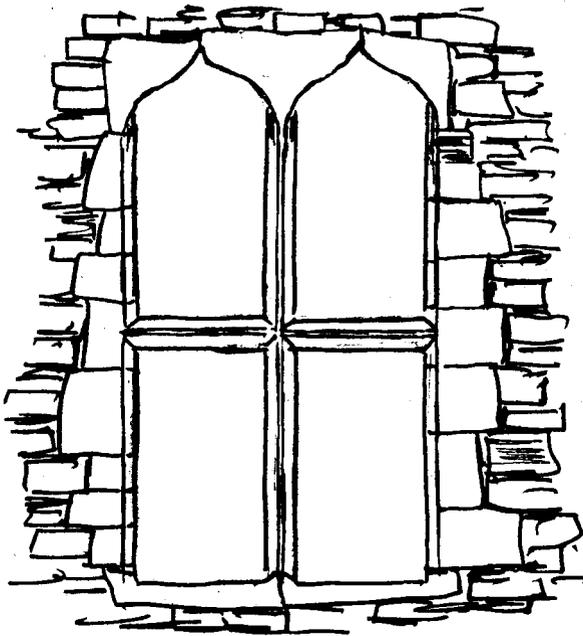to comment as what the architectural effect was.

A floor supported on heavy wooden beams was thrown at a height
of 15 feet across nave and Lady Chapel wing. Some of the
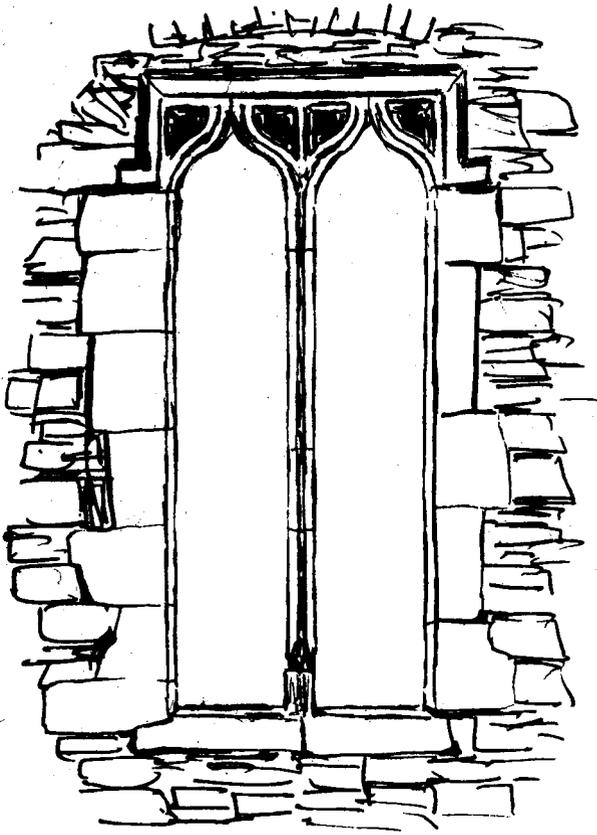
**8. EASTERN WINDOW,
SOUTH CHANCEL WALL**
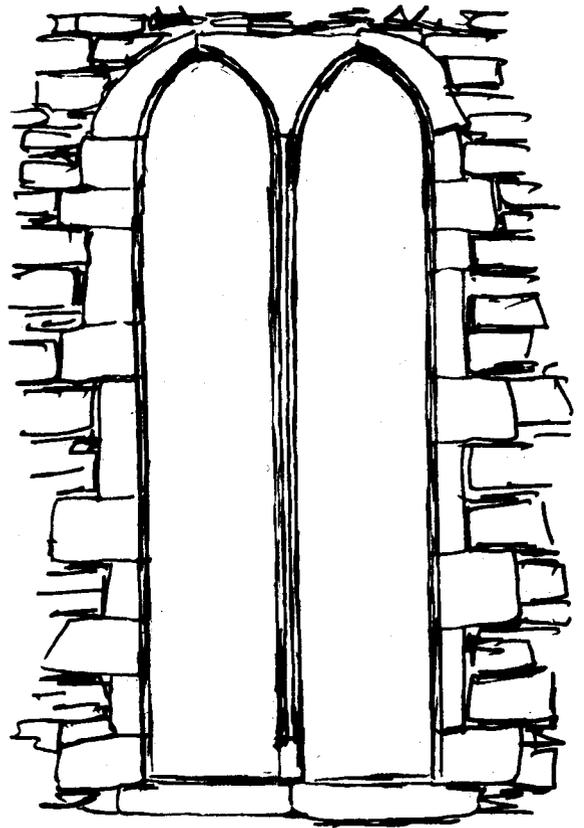
**9. MIDDLE WINDOW,
SOUTH CHANCEL WALL**

10. EAST WINDOW, BELFRY CHAMBER

11. DECORATED CORBELS, CHANCEL

massive corbels for this survive in the nave.   The upper
section only was used by the poor brethern while the gloomy
understory became a burial place for the patrons of the charity,
many of whose monuments of the 16th and 17th centuries remain.

The only noteworthy embellishment to the building to survive
from these troubled centuries is the Grant monument of c.1630,
in the nave.   Its principal importance is that it is the only
surviving example of 17th century sculpture to remain in
Waterford City.   It is of clumsy architectural design with two
crude scrolls supporting the battered Grant arms and a pair of
obelisks, flanking a sunburst motif, awkwardly sitting on top
(Fig.13).   Monuments of similar type may be seen in the
cathedrals of Kilkenny and Cashel.

In the early 18th century the hospital was extended beyond the
west wall.   The exact date of this work is a matter of confusion
Smith (1746) states:

> "This House was rebuilt in the year 1718 as appears
> from this Inscription.
> THOMAS SMITH ALD.MASTER OF THE HOLY GHOST HOSPITAL 1718"[20]

Egan (1895) acknowledges the Smith tablet but then goes on to
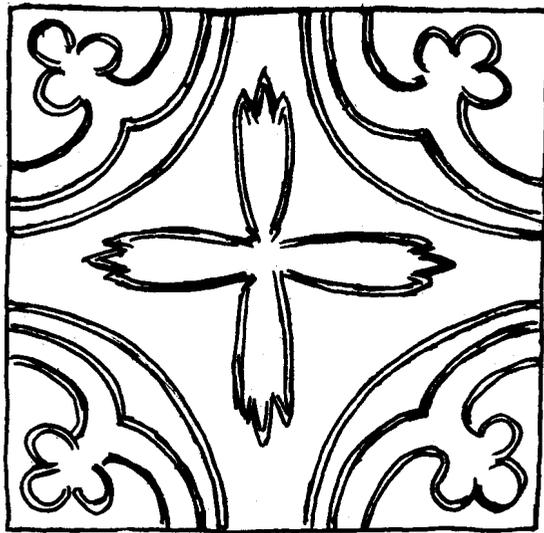quote another tablet which says that the hospital was:

> "......repaired and enlarged in 1741 and 1743 by
> William Paul and Simon Newport Esqrs., Mayors, Simon
> Newport Master."[21]

Whatever its date, the new building was a triple gabled one
which ran in front of the mediaeval west wall.   The only known
picture of it is a remarkable photograph in the files of the
Irish Architectural Archive taken in the mid 1890's just before
its demolition.   By that date it was heavily altered and decay-
ing rapidly but it is possible to make out the clear outline
of a curved 'Dutch Billy' gable in the centre.   In Van der
Hagen's splendid city panorama of 1736 in the City Hall,dozens
of these gables are shown, yet not a single one is recorded
into the present century.   In Dublin only one example - on the
controversial Gallagher site in Leeson St. - has survived into
the 1980's, but this, unbelievably, is about to be demolished!

The Holy Ghost building in its original form must have been a
regular elevation with three matching gables and a symmetrical
disposition of windows. By the time the photograph was taken the
two outer gables had been rebuilt and many of the windows altered
or blocked up.   Wooden props hold up the facade and the hoard-
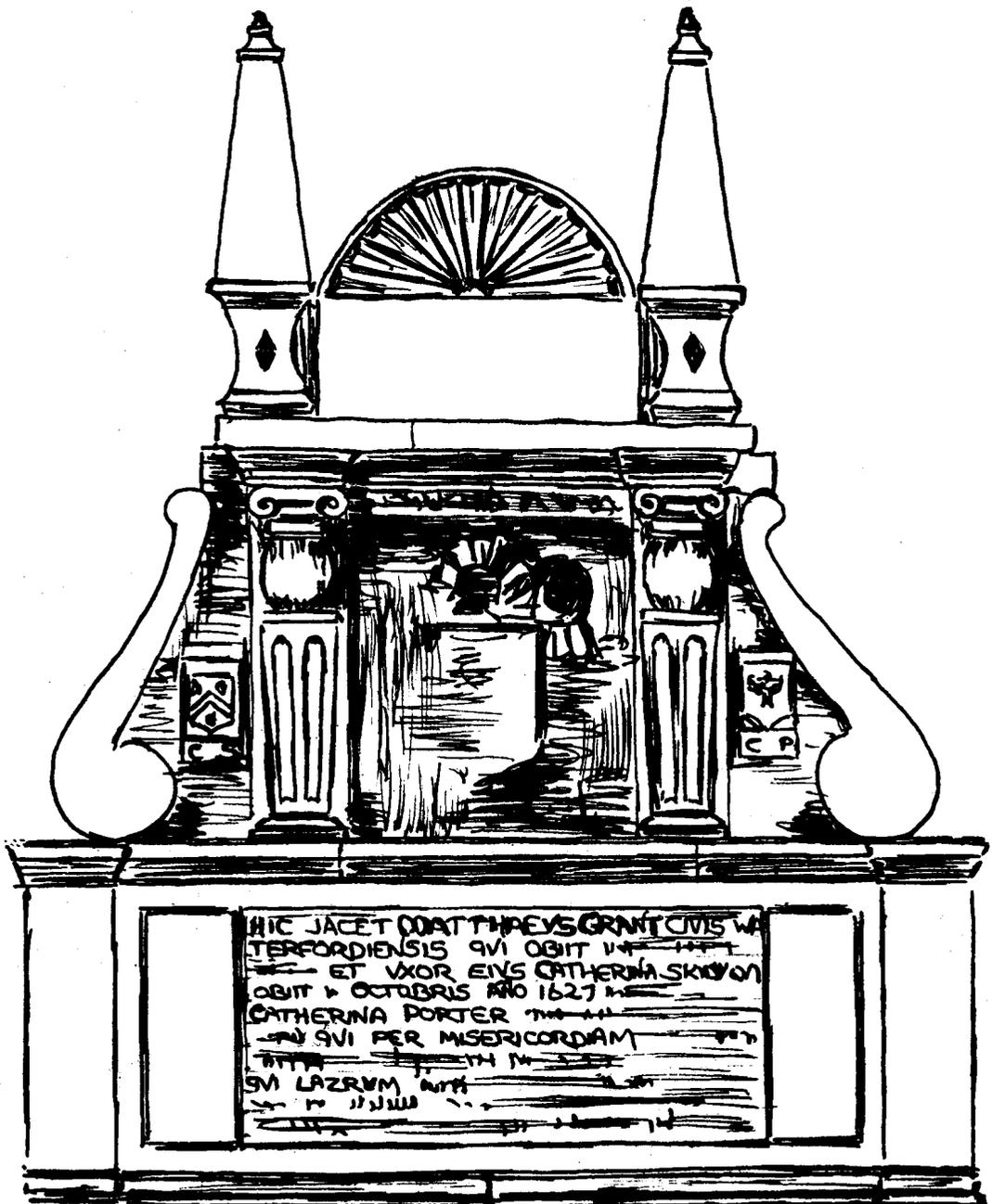ing in front amusingly advertises local fashion warehouses (front
cover).

The best published description of the hospital is given by the
Rev. R. H. Ryland in 1824.   He shows it as hardly changed over
three centuries.   First he describes the upper part of the Lady
Chapel:

> "... a long narrow room lighted from above having
> beds partitioned off the sides throughout its whole
> extent..."[22]

12. SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION OF MEDIAEVAL FLOOR TILE
BASED ON FRAGMENTS RESET UNDER TOWER

HIC JACET MATTHAEVS GRANT CIVIS WA
TERFORDIENSIS QVI OBIT
ET VXOR EIVS CATHERINA SKIDDN
OBIT OCTOBRIS AÑO 1627
CATHERINA PORTER
QVI PER MISERICORDIAM

QVI LAZRVM

13 GRANT MONUMENT NAVE c 1630

He then moves into the similarly dismal appartment over the nave where:

"... at the extreme end is an altar decorated with some curious ancient images .... on a small table in the same room are representations of the decapitated head of John the Baptist and some grotesque ancient figures..."[23]

By 1878 it was understandably agreed to abandon the old hospital and J. J. O'Callaghan's magnificent new building on the Cork Road was commenced, the front elevation of which is a work of national importance. The last inmates had moved out by 1886, so that the Friary has served longer as a hospital than for its original purpose.

THE FRENCH CHURCH 1693 - 1815

The Friary derives its popular name from the brief Huguenot occupation of the chancel. The exact use of the chancel after the Reformation is not known but in 1673 the Corporation were able to grant it to the fleeing French Portestants who had arrived in response to King William's Act of Encouragement of 1692. They probably went no further than repairing the roof and whitewashing the interior walls. As the congregation merged in with that of the established church the building was allowed to decay and the roof fell in 1815. The only surviving remains of the French presence are two tombs in the nave.

The use of the name 'French Church' to describe the Holy Ghost Friary remains, should be discontinued. The name was only correctly applied to the chancel and for little more than a century in the Friary's six and a half century history. The Huguenots have made an important contribution to the development if Waterford's industry but it is the mediaeval friars whom we ought to remember when referring to its principal monument.

PRESENT STATE

In the closing years of the last century the Friary presented a dramatic spectacle of decay with the collapsing roof and floors of the old Holy Ghost Hospital. The pleasantly fronted Methodist Church was built to the north, though it unfortunately intruded on the nave wall. The south side was more unlucky as a building speculator obtained the lease of the Lady Chapel wing. The western section was swept away and the surviving central arcade would have suffered the same fate had not the local historian, Canon Power, put some pressure on the builder.

Only in recent years have the ruins received the care which they deserve. As a long term object the excavation of all accessible portions of the site would be desirable. This would restore the church to its original floor level, uncover more floortiling and possibly discover some of the lost pre-Reformation tombs, but for the immediate future any archaeological work done in Waterford should concentrate on areas like Bishops Palace site, High Street and Kayser St., which might be subject to new building pressures.

THE FATE OF THE MEDIAEVAL WOODEN SCULPTURES

The unfortunate abandonment of the Victorian Holy Ghost
Hospital on the Cork Road has put the safety of these most
important mediaeval sculptures in question.   They were happily
lodged in the Board Room for almost a century but in 1981 were
found to have been removed to a warehouse in the city centre,
and their present condition remains unknown.

Wooden sculpture of such an age becomes dry and brittle and
requires the most sensitive care.   If a suitable location
could be found, the statues could become one of the focal points
of a Waterford Civic Museum, along with other treasures like
the set of 16th century vestments from the old Cathedral on
loan to the National Museum.   Unfortunately, the Bishop's
Palace seems destined to remain a municipal office for many
years to come, but there are other possibilities like the
shortly to be vacated Municipal Library in O'Connell Street,
or part of the Old Friends Meeting House which is due to become
an Arts Centre.

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     in Ireland. Statues in the Holy Ghost Hospital, Waterford,
     in J.R.S.A.I., 1946, pp89-100.
3.   WALTON, JULIAN C.;   See 1, and Notes on Burials in the
     French Church in Decies IV pp 19-22 and V pp. 22-25.
4.   Richards, W. & Scale,B.;   A plan of the City and Suburbs
     of Waterford (1764).
5.   Smith, Charles.;   The Ancient and Present State of the
     County and City of Waterford (1746) Frontispiece
6.   Gimlett Rev. Thomas: History of the Huguenot Settlers in
     Ireland (1888) Appendix: The Settlement in Waterford.
     Frontispiece.
7.   Egan P.M. Waterford History Guide and Directory (1895) p.454.
8.   Courtesy of Irish Architectural Archive,63 Merrion Sq.,Dublin.
9.   Walton Julian C.;   See I
10. Walton Julian C.;   See 3
11. Walton Julian C.;   See 1. p.74
12. Ibid. p. 73
13. Ibid. p. 73
14. Ibid. p. 73
15. Ibid. p. 71
16. Gimlett Rev. Thomas: See 6
17. Walton Julian C.;   See 1. p. 73.
18. Ibid. p.73
19. Power Rev. P.;   The Holy Ghost Friary commonly called the
     'French Church' of Waterford in J.W.S.E.I.A.S.,1895,p.214.
20. Smith, Charles; See 5, p.183
21. Egan P.M.; See 7. p. 399.
22. Ryland, Ray R.H. History,Topography and Antiquities
     of Waterford (1824), p.191.
23. Ibid. p. 192.

PORTION OF COUNTY WATERFORD COASTLINE
TO SHOW LOCATION OF DANES' ISLAND

SCALE: 1" TO 1 MILE

STRADBALLY

R. TAY

To DUNGARVAN

BALLYDWAN BAY

R. MAHON

BONMAHON

To Ta...
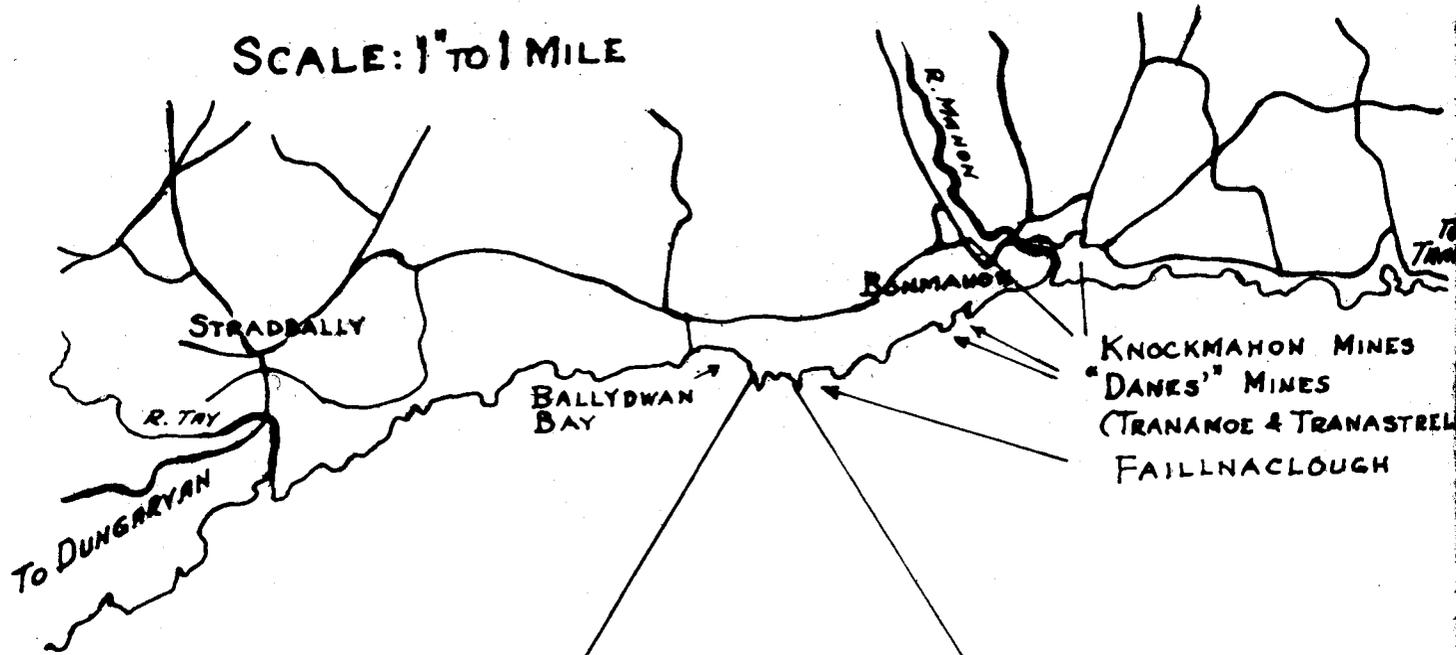
KNOCKMAHON MINES
"DANES" MINES
(TRANAMOE & TRANASTREL
FAILLNACLOUGH

TEMPLEYVRICK

TOWNLAND

B.5,6 & B.7 conjoined

B.12

B.13

B.8,9

A. 1,2,3,4.
(T.Wyse's
working in
18th century?

DANES
Island

B 10 & 11
(buried by
rockfall c.1973?)

Cove

(B 12 & 13 not shown by Jackson)

B 5-13: Trials by Mining Co. of Ireland c. 1825-45?

C: Rockfall and copper showing.

ADITS IN CLIFFS AT DANES' ISLAND
(AFTER JACKSON, 1971 & 1978 - SEE NOTE 3)

BRONZE-AGE COPPER-MINES AT DANES' ISLAND.

by Des Cowman.

It is the purpose of this article to contend that not a word in the title is true.   Primarily I will look at the evidence for bronze age working to suggest that such cannot be proved and will postulate much later alternatives.   Secondly, I will show that such mining as is known to have taken place here was for silver and lead - not copper. I will also contend that this "island" had nothing to do with the Danes. Finally, of course, it is not an island at all.

"Danes Island" is in fact a promontory of headland in the townland of Templeyvrick the two being joined by a narrow neck eroded so as to form a sharp linking ridge now impassible.   However, the work "island" is used locally to mean any promontory and its attached mainland which useage is enshrined in local placenames (e.g. Island Hubbock, Islandkane, etc.).   The medieval history of Danes Island (I will call it such) has already been recorded in Decies by Mr. Mulholland, two points from which are relevant here: this has been a place of fortified settlement since the early middle ages and there has probably been substantial coastal erosion since then.[1]

Bronze Age Mines ?

It is a matter of local belief that Danes Island was in fact mined in the bronze age.   While it is not relevant here to enquire into the origins of this belief, it has been given authoritative substance in recent years by an eminent geologist, Dr. John S. Jackson.   On the basis of his investigations into ancient copper mines in West Cork and Kerry[2] he has inferred that the mine openings visible in and about Danes Island are also bronze age.   He has meticulously mapped the eleven openings he saw, made a detailed plan and section of one (B7 on map), measured them all and calculated that together they yielded bronze-age man 110 tonnes (approx.) of finished copper.[3]   While it was not the purpose of his published articles to justify these precedures, he was I believe wrong to employ them here for two reasons.

(i) An account of Danes Island c. 1840 describes it as "perforated like a rabbit burrow" by mine openings.[4]   When visited by Dr. Jackson c. 1970 only five were visible on the insular part and two of these have since disappeared.[5]   All around is clear evidence of massive erosion: a comparison of the 6 inch O.S. maps of 1839 and 1905 gives some idea of its scale[6].   That the openings now accessible correspond with workings of 3,000 years or so ago is patently improbable.

(ii) Furthermore, an inspection of one of the adits (horizontal tunnel-like openings) reveals a neat fresh drillhole in the end wall (19th century?). If one adit was enlarged, or possibly made,in more recent times surely it is possible that much of what Dr. Jackson mapped and measured was also comparatively modern

Whence, therefore, the belief that the mines at Danes Island had any antiquity ?   The earliest suggestion and only substantiation comes from the respected personage of Sir Robert Kane who writes of Danes Island, "In the abandoned workings antique tools have been found, stone hammers and chisels and wooden shovels".[7]   While he does not interpret this as evidence of pre-iron age working, the possibility must be examined.   Unfortunately, none of the "stone hammers" seems to have been preserved[8]

but the bottom of the cliff here is littered with rounded sea-stones
which might easily be interpreted as resembling hammers and indeed could
possibly have been used as such as late as the 18th century when mining
here was described as "conducted on the rude principles adopted by our
forefathers".[9]

The stone chisels pose something of a problem, however, as it is
difficult to see what they could have been used for.   Before the
introduction of gunpowder the normal way of breaking the rock was fire-
setting - splintering the ore-face with fire and cold water.   This may
well have produced long splinters of rock which could have been interpreted
as being chisels.   As this technique was in common use in the 18th century,
it need not presuppose an earlier date.[10]   Similarly, wooden shovels
continued to be used right into the 19th century and the finding of such
intact in the damp mine atmosphere must surely suggest that they were far
more recent than bronze-age.   No other finds or signs of antiquity are
reported.

The "DANES"

Having thus rejected by default the assumption of these being of
bronze age date, is it possible that there were Celtic or even medieval
workings here?   One tenuous piece of information suggests a Celtic mine.
Professor John MacNeill interprets a reference in the old genealogies [12]
thus: "The Semonriige, Tuath Semon, or Semmuine, i.e. people of the
rivets, belonging to the coppermining district of the Desi---".[13]   However,
since the translation "Rivets" may have many metaphorical interpretations,
it is by no means certain that the word implies that these people were
miners or that their copper mines were necessarily on the townland of
Templeyvrick.

That mines here were worked by the Danes may be speedily dismissed.
It was a convention of the early 19th century to attribute to the Danes
all structures from dolmens to round towers, whose provenance was unknown.
The appellation "Danes", therefore, merely leaves the question of origin
open so that these could be forgotten medieval mines.   However, it is most
unlikely that copper was worked at all in Ireland to about 1700 as for
most of the medieval and early modern period Britain depended on copper
imported from Germany or Scandanavia.[14]   Lead, however, was worked and
this, as we shall see, was in fact the main mineral present at Danes Island.
A list of toll charges on commodities entering Waterford in 1291 mentions
a penny charge on "each weight of one cartlead"(sic), after a list of tolls
on iron.[15]   Even if this refers to lead ore it could have come from either
of two other lead veins nearer the city.[16]   That Danes Island was worked
in Elizabethan times is supposed by a mine employee of the 1850s but as he
provides no evidence and also assumes a Danish origin, this may be dis-
counted.[17]   Certainly no mention of such workings appears in the Calendars
of State Papers[18] or of Ormond Deeds[19] for the Tudor period.   Likewise,
they do not feature in any of the documentation concerned with the
Cromwellian period.

Why, therefore the appellation "Danes"?   There can be little doubt, I
think, that it applies to "the foundations of an ancient building
indistinctly visible" (i.e. about 1840) on the summit of the semi-insular
rock[20] and had nothing to do with mining.   Certainly a mine surveyor of
1824, dismissed any mineralogical association with the "Danes" when he
commented on this as being a "promontory, improperly called Danes Island"
as distinct from the three "Danes mines" he identified at Tranamoe
and Tranastrella.[21]

For lack of evidence to the contrary, therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that no mining took place at or near Danes Island before 1700.

The Lead-Silver Mine of Thomas Wyse:

It would appear that there was a possible awareness of the mineral potential of the coast-line west of Bunmahon about 1700 because when Lord Ormond sold his land here to Sir Patrick Dunne (the founder of the Dublin hospital) in 1702 he reserved to himself the mineral rights[22]. Not until 1730 is there any evidence of an active interest being taken in them when one of the initiators of a new mining concern in Avoca, a William Hume, apparently investigated mining possibilities around Bunmahon.[23] No more emerges about this but it is likely that Hume would have directed his attention to the more accessible ore-bodies than those at Danes Island.

About 1748 a Waterford businessman of much energy and initiative, Thomas Wyse, secured a lease of the mining rights from Lord Ormond.[24] This account will concern itself only with his workings at Danes Island for which there is ample evidence collected by two well-placed individuals.[25] Both concur on there having been only one working here prior to 1824 - that by Wyse on a lead-silver vein with accompanying "strings". One describes these as "the richest veins I have heard of in Ireland" and the other states that "a vast deal of lead and silver" was extracted by Wyse over a forty year period. Actual production figures are not given, but some idea of the scale may be deducted from the fact that each ton of lead yielded 60 ozs. of silver and that the total production of silver from Danes Island and a smaller mine at Faillnaclogh nearby reportedly amounted to 17 tons 15 cwt. of pure silver. When inspected in 1824 the workings at Danes Island were found to run inland and out under the sea for a distance of 40 yards.[26]

How do these workings relate to Dr. Jackson's eleven "bronze age" openings? The visual evidence would suggest that conjoined openings, a 1 and 2 (map, p. 22), are in fact a continuation of conjoined openings, a 3 and 4, and that the intervening mined area has been eorded away. Traces of lead ore are discernible in the loose rock in this eroded area. And if further proof were needed that these were Wyse's workings, there was reportedly a "not very rich" copper vein about 15 yards to the east.[27] A rockfall in the winter of 1980-'81 has revealed the presence of such a copper vein immediately on the east side of the ridge which separates Danes Island from the mainland and not much more than 15 yards from openings 3 and 4.

What of the other seven adits? They are not mentioned as existing in 1824. Between 1829 and '45 however, the Mining Company of Ireland carried out extensive trials along the coast here as well as inland.[28] They presumably knew of the rich lead silver here which had simply been abandoned after the death of Wyse (about 1790) "in consequence of law-suits and negligence in his successors"[29] and would themselves have been negligent had they not attempted to renew it. They were also encouraged to make trials here by Lord Ormond so that by 1845 they could report about Templeyvrick area, "the searches have been continued without intermission and small bunches of ore are occasionally found". As this ore was deemed not worth exploiting they abandoned the area, leaving behind them a "warren" of trial adits.[31] Rockfalls and erosion have stripped most of them away and it is probably the last remnants of these that were so carefully measured by Dr. Jackson and adjudged

to be bronze-age.

NOTES:

1. Mulholland, J., "The Vanished Medieval Settlements of Templybrick",
    Decies II, May 1976, p. 5-8.
2. Jackson, John S., "Bronze age Copper mining in Counties Cork and
    Kerry" in Scientific Studies in Early Mining and Metallurgy, ed.
    by P. Craddock, B.M. occasional papers, no. 20, 1980,p.9-29.
3. Jackson, John S., "Metallic ores in Irish Prehistory: Copper
    and Tin" in The Origins of Metallurgy in Atlantic Europe, ed.
    by M. Ryan, 1978, p. 113-117.   See also his article "Mining in
    Ireland: Some Guidelines from the Past" in Technology Ireland
    Oct. '71, p. 1-4.   He does qualify the bronze age supposition by
    thewords "possibly" and "probably" but his inference is that some,
    at least, of the adits are bronze age.
4. Kane, Robert, Industrial Resources of Ireland, Dublin 1845, p. 189.
5. Jackson, 1971 and 1978, loc. cit..
6. Sheets 24 and 32, Waterford. Unfortunately coastal changes cannot
    be accurately quantified due to different cartographical techniques
    being used to depict the cliffs.
7. Kane, op. cit., p. 189
8. They do not feature in Wilde, W.R., A Descriptive Catalogue of
    the Antiquities --- in the Museum of the R.I.A., Dublin 1857.
9. This comment is contained in a report from a mining consultant,
    Henry H. Price to the directors of the Hibernian Mining Company
    who were considering leasing this area.   It is dated Oct.6th 1824 in
    a bound volume of reports, letters, etc., Ms. 657 NLI.
10. See Collins. A. L., "Firesetting: the Art of Mining by Fire" in
    Journal of the Federated Institute of Mining Engineers, V (no date),
    p. 82-92. also Ure, Andrew, A Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures
    and Mines --,1860 "Mines" , p. 155-157.
11. Mentioned by Wilde, op. cit., p. 205-207.
12. Sources given by Pender, S. Dessi Genealogies, IMC 1937 p. 165, &
    O'Brien M.A. (ed) Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae, Dublin 1952
    p. 137-157.
13. MacNeill J., "Early Irish Population Groups: Their Nomenclature,
    Classification and Chronology," in Proceedings of the RIA, 1911, p.81.
14. See Hamilton, Henry, The English Copper and Brass Works to 1800,
    London 1967 (2nd edition) and Memoirs of the Geological Survey of
    G.B.---, HMSO 1846,vol.I, p. 510 - 511.
15. Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland, 1285-'92, No. 2133.
16. These are Faithlegg and Cruach (near Dunhill) but lead was later
    raised at Annestown also.
17. Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Ireland, Vol. VI. Co. Waterford
    1865, p. 81.   Statement made by mine cashier James Hore.
18. Theoretically all minerals belonged to the monarch and this was
    particularly important for silver mines.   See my article "The
    Royal Silver Mines of Bannow" in Decies IX, Sept. 1978,p.19-25.
19. Ormond received these lands on the suppression of the monastery
    of Mothel. See Mulholland,loc.cit..

20. O'Donovan, John,Letters---of the Ordnance Survey in 1841 (Co.Waterford),
    unprovenanced typescript.   See also Westropp, "Fortfified Headlands
    and Castles" Proceedings of R.I.A., vol. XXXII, p.215-217.
21. Price, loc. cit.
22. This is stated by Lord Ormond's agent John Barwis in a report dated
    12th Aug. 1824 submitted at his employer's behest to the Hibernian
    Mining Company - Ms. 657 NLI. He says the lands then passed to
    Sir Patrick Dunne's hospital which presumably explains why they were
    in the hands of the College of Surgeons at the time of Griffith's
    Valuation.
23 Hume's involvement with Avoca is recorded in a lease dated 1732 -
    Deed 7994 (H) PROI.   I presume him to be the same man as mentioned
    by Hore (loc.cit.) as working "profitably" around 1730.
24. Barwis, (loc.cit.) says that Wyse got a 31 year lease from Lord Ormond in
    1748 but he may not have begun mining until later as Pococke (Tour in
    Ireland in 1752, ed. by G. T. Stokes, Dublin & London 1891,p.136-142)
    makes no mention of Wyse's mining activities although he does mention
    "the mills he has built for rowling copper, smiteing iron and several
    other works" at Kilmeaden. Wyse also successfully carried out the
    complex process of smelting his own copper, as reported by Price
    (loc. cit.) and attested by the making of a snuff-box from this copper,
    reported in WSEIASJ, Vol. XVI, p. 147. Though a Catholic operating
    under the Penal Laws he managed to be one of Ireland's first
    industrialists. He deserves wider notice.
25 Barwis and Price, loc. cit.. Barwis not only had information about
    the Ormond estate, but he visited Bunmahon where his principal source
    of information was an old miner named Samuel Judd. Price spent about
    ten days in the area independently and his principal source was a
    miner called William Cooper whose uncle, William Kelly, had worked
    for Wyse.
26. ibid.   They broadly agree on most issues. The figure of $17\frac{3}{4}$ tons
    of solid silver seems exaggerated, but Price quotes Lord Ormond's
    father-in-law, Mr. Clarke, as source. Barwis says that the undersea
    working was 30 yards long but Price gives 40 yards, having "seen the
    extreme ends of most of the accessible levels." I would have been
    inclined to dismiss these undersea workings, particularly one described
    by Price at Ballydwan which was, he says, ventilated by a vertical
    shaft through an island in Ballydwan Bay.   However, I have found this
    shaft which seems to vindicate the account, although how such workings
    were unwatered without without elaborate pumping equipment ("not even
    a horse-whim" according to Price) I don't understand.
27. Price, Loc.cit..
28. Mining Company of Ireland, Half yearly reports to shareholders, Dec.1st
    1829.   They had "several corps of miners" carrying out trials having
    leased Ormond's mineral rights.   The Duke himself had tried to find
    the inland extensions of these veins in 1809-'11 but was unsuccessful -
    Price, loc.cit..
29. Price, loc. cit..   30. Mining Company of Ireland reports, 30th
    Nov. 1845.   This Company was highly successful in their well organised
    operations at Knockmahon and Tankardstown, two to three miles east of
    Danes Island (see my article, "Life and Work in an Irish Mining Camp
    c. 1840: Knockmahon Copper Mines in County Waterford" in Decies XIV,
    May 1980, p. 28-42) and presumably were equally thorough at Templeyvrick.
31. It is possible that the Hibernian Mining Company may have carried
    out some trials themselves before going bankrupt.   Price strongly
    recommended that they do so and suggested how they could go about it.
    It is difficult now to make any geological or historical sense of the
    remaining adits.
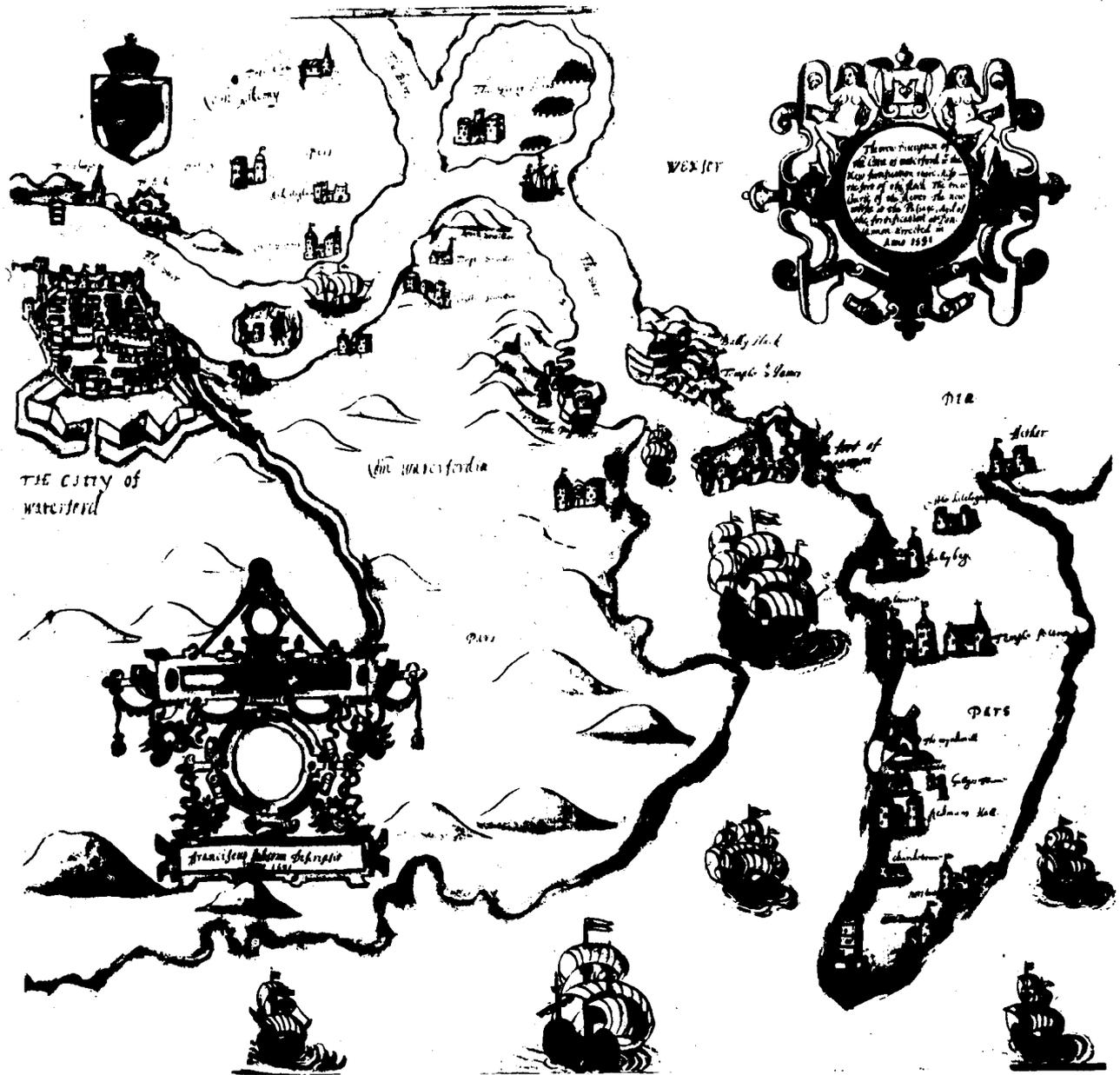
Francis Jobson's Map 1591

SOME NOTES ON WATERFORD MAPS AND PLANS.

by J. S. Carroll.

The oldest map of Waterford in the National Library collection is one drawn by Francis Jobson in 1591. It is entitled "The true description of the City of Waterford and the new fortification there, also the fort of the rock, the true course of the river, the new works at the Passage and the fortification at Duncannon erected in anno 1591."

As was common practice in his day, Jobson tried to indicate the third dimension with the planar view, resulting sometimes in distortion so great as to be almost grotesque. His map covers the whole of Waterford Harbour but undue prominence is given to works of defence. The "fort of the rock" would have been the battery on Cromwell's Rock, "the new works at the Passage" would have been the blockhouse that had recently been completed there by the citizens of Waterford. The "new fortification" at Waterford could only refer to the very extensive defensive works shown as extending southward from the city wall and as being within a curtain wall formed with five salients. This curtain wall would have encompassed 4 towers on the intercepted length of the city wall as well as the Close Gate which formed the exit to what is now Manor St. Either this "new fortification" was never built or, if built, was dismantled and possibly used to provide stone for the citadel that was built early in the succeeding century. At any rate, it does not appear on any later map.

A work of defence about which we can be quite certain, however, was St. Patrick's Fort, commonly called the Citadel, which projected westward from the wall between St.Patrick's Gate and a tower that stood on a site at the rear of the former No. 3 King's Terrace. This work was planned by Sir Josias Bodley who, in 1613, had been created inspector general and overseer of the fortifications and buildings in Ireland. His plan, fortunately, has survived. It would appear that he began and carried forward the work at Waterford but it was unfinished when he died in 1617. On the site, when he began, was an earlier unfinished fort begun in 1590 by Capt. Edmund Yorke.

His successor as director general was Capt. Nicholas Pynnar and it is to him we owe the completion of the fort. His plan, too, has survived and it is accompanied by descriptive matter showing it to be "The Report of Captain Nicholas Pynnar, how far forth he hath proceeded towards the finishing of the Fort at Waterford as appeareth by his letter to the Council of War dated the 26th of December, 1626". He goes on to state that it is finished of good stone and lime up to the parapet and is founded on a slaty rock, that the walls are 6 feet thick, that behind them there is a rampart 25 feet wide and "nobly worked" with three projecting bulwarks. Within the area so enclosed there is a stone-built house 100 feet long and 28 feet wide to lodge 120 men.

Bodley had shown a moat and drawbridge but Pynnar omitted this feature.

Next we come to the Down Survey of 1654-56. This was
a Baronial survey of the whole of Ireland with the exception
of three western counties. It was carried out under the
direction of Sir William Petty and was intended primarily
to facilitate the distribution of forfeited lands among the
adventurers, i.e., those English speculators who had advanced
money to raise an army and fit out a navy for the re-conquest
of Ireland following the Confederate war and among soldiers
of the Model Army in lieu of arrears of pay. It was a
monumental work the like of which had never before been attempted
and, taken in conjunction with the non-mapped Civil Survey
which preceded it by a year or so, its importance for the
genealogist can hardly be overstated. As Canon Power said in
1907, the legal title to half the land of Ireland depended on
these surveys. The maps of the Down Survey were drawn to the
scale of 80 perches to an inch, equivalent to 4 inches to a
mile. This would have been an Irish mile based on the Irish
perch of 21 feet as against the English perch of 16½ feet.
The surveyor for Co. Waterford, working under Petty, was a man
named Francis Cooper and his name appears on the map of the
Liberties of Waterford.

The Civil Survey describes as "places of eminency" within
the Liberties the Abbey of St. Katherine, even then in ruins;
the castle and house of Kilbarry; the castle, garden and orchard
of Gracedieu; and the slated house and garden at Kingsmeadow.
It makes reference to the hamlet of Newtown or Lombardstown
and also to those of Ballytruckle and Grange. There are several
references to Watkyn's Mill or the Bog Mill at Kilbarry and to
another mill at Ballyhoo.

The corresponding map shows 64 place names a great many of
which are identifiable as those of present day townlands. The
latter name does not appear to have been in use in Petty's day.
The Liberties extended soutward to Ballinamona and on the north
side they took in the townlands of Newrath, Robertstown,
Kilculliheen and Rathculliheen. There were highways leading
to the Ferry (opposite Grannagh), to Threemilebridge (Killotteran)
to Butlerstown, to Kill St. Lawrence, to Ballygunner, and to
Passage.

Ballybricken is called the Great Green and there was the
Common Green more or less on the site of Barrack St. From the
eastern side of the city wall to John's Pill was the land of
St. Katherine's Abbey, and the Waterpark area was Lombard's
Meadow. From the present Newtown Hill and St. Andrew's Tce.
was Wise's Newtown, while the de la Salle College area was
Gough's Newtown. Mason's Meadow was in Manor St. area and
adjoining Prior's Knock was Prior's Close - a name that deserved
to be perpetuated in some later development.

In his history of Waterford published in 1824 by the firm
of John Murray, London, the Rev. Ryland reproduced a semi-
pictorial or third dimension map of the city described as
"Waterford as it was in 1673". The reproduction carries key
letters and numbers referring to a list of buildings etc.

WATERFORD CITY 1673

A. Christ Church	I. St. Stephen's Church	R. St. Patrick's Gate	1. The Cross	9. St. Patrick's Street	17. St. John's Mill and Bridge
B. Trinity Church	K. St. Michael's Church	S. St. Patrick's Fort	2. Lady's Gate	10. Little Patrick's Street	18. St. Catherine's Abbey
C. St. Frances's Abbey	L. St. Patrick's Church	T. Barry's Strand Mill	3. The Green Tower	11. St. Stephen's Street	19. The Butt Works
D. St. Olave's Church	M. The Ring Tower Fort	V. Barry's Strand Gate	4. Colbeck's Gate	12. King's Street	20. The Quay.
E. Lady's Church	N. St . John's Fort and Bridge	W. The Great Quay	5. St. John's Street	13. High Street	
F. St. Peter's Church	O. St. John's Gate	X. Arrundell's Castle	6. St. Michael's Street	14. St. Peter's Street	
G. St. Dominick's Abbey	P. Close Gate	Y. Arrundell's Gate	7. Broad Street	15. St. Olave's Street	
H. St. John's Church	Q. The French Tower	Z. The Guild Hall	8. Barry's Strand Street	16. Cole Pit Mill	

"Waterford as it was in 1673"
From Rylands "History of Waterford" (1824).

The origin of this map is obscure. It is either a clever stylised reconstruction or a copy of a real map of 1673 that has since been lost. The exactness of the date suggests the latter. Whatever its origin, this map has many points of interest. For the first time there is seen the battery that stood out into the river from Reginald's Tower. The city wall along the Quay is still intact and there is a watch tower on it opposite Goose Gate Lane (Henrietta St.). There are four water gates - one opposite Bailey's New St. and three between the Shambles (Exchange St.) and Conduit Lane where the shipping was concentrated. There are a few houses built up against the inner face of the wall but otherwise the houses face the river and look rather imposing, most of them being 3-storey buildings. Six moles project out into the river.

At the turn in Mendicity Lane is shown "St. John's Fort" - a circular battery fully outside the wall and evidently intended to repel would-be invaders making their way up John's Pill. From John's Bridge (the only one over the Pill) a causeway runs across the marsh to the high ground where the Infirmary now stands. St. Martin's Castle is shown as the Green Tower - a large and lofty construction.

Churches are numerous. Apart from old Christ Church, with Trinity Chapel built on to it, there are St. Patrick's and St. Olaf's on their present-day sites, the Franciscans at Greyfriars, the Dominicans at Blackfriars, St. Michael's, St. Peter's, and our Lady's (site of Luke Wadding Hall). St. Thomas's at the top of Thomas's Hill is not shown. It may well have been ruinous by 1673 but it is strange that St.John's is shown as fully roofed when it is remembered that it had been disused for at least 20 years at that date. St.Katherine's, which was even older than St. John's, is also shown as being still complete.

The Market Cross seems to have been a very nice feature, consisting of a stepped pedestal on which stood the cross under a dome supported by four columns.

The map shows a pill or tidal inlet running up the site of the Mall as far as Colbeck St. with a tide mill at its mouth known as the Cole Pit Mill. Another is shown at the west side of Barronstrand St. and is called Barry's Strand Mill. St. John's Mills and millrace are shown exactly as they were up to about 30 years ago.

Whatever mystery may attach to the map of 1673 there can be no doubt about the origin of a map of 1685 drawn up with considerable accuracy by Sir Thomas Phillips, a military engineer commissioned by Charles II to make surveys and estimates for repairs of the fortifications and storehouses at various places, including Waterford. Being made for military purposes, it gives little detail of the interior but the exact lines of the walls and of all gates and towers on them are shown very clearly. There are 25 towers in all. Reginald's Tower is simply described as "Storehouse". The battery outside it marked "Blockhouse" is shown as being oval, not circular as on the 1673 map. There are five moles projecting into the river, not six as on the 1673 map. Barry's Strand Mill has disappeared but we see for the first time the extent of the mill pond in

The Key
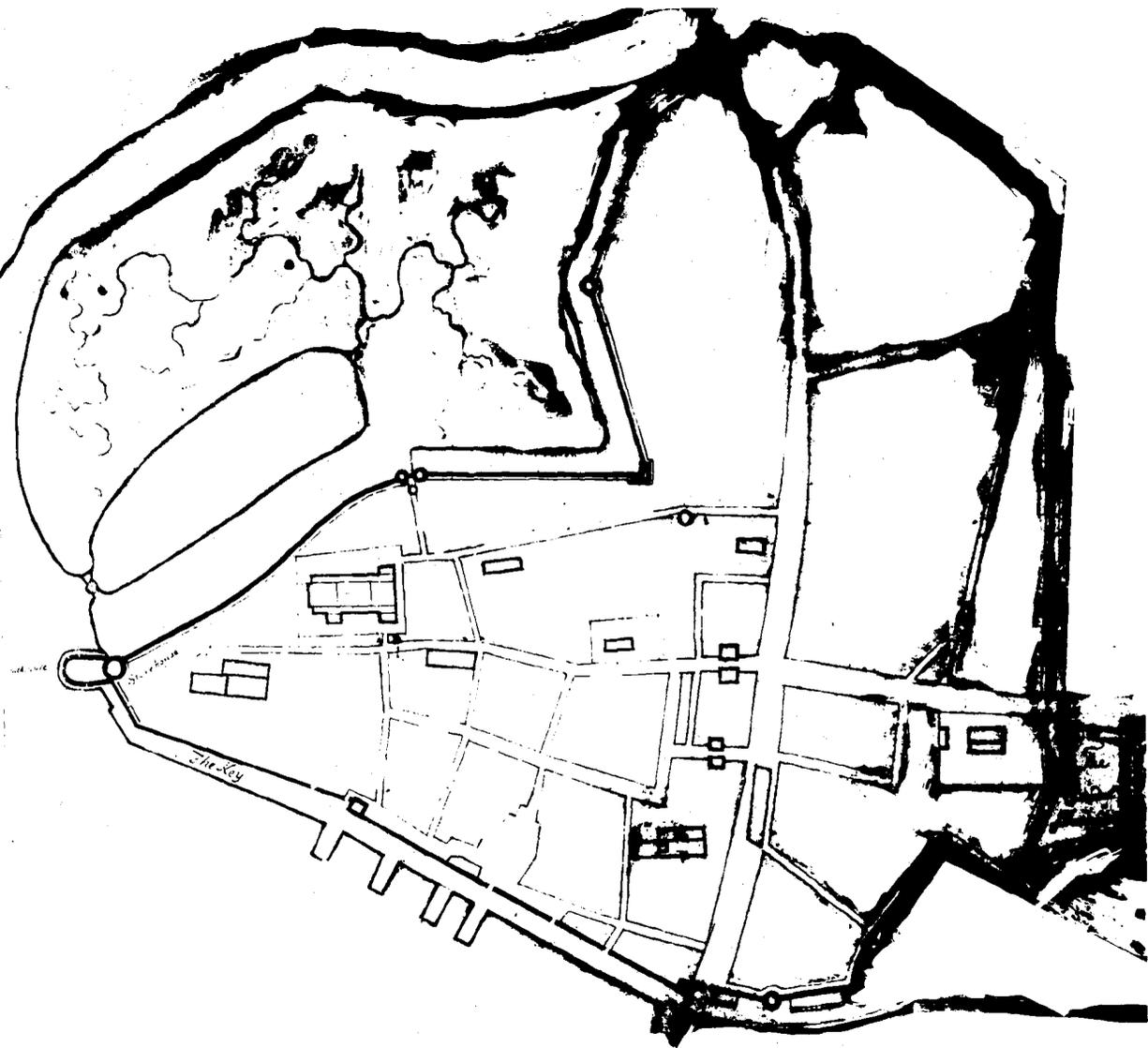
Sir Thomas Phillips Map 1685

Lombard's Marsh that operated a mill adjacent to the river.

The Blackfriars link between Broad St. and High St. did not exist. Exchange St. opened into an open space (the Shambles) as it approached the Quay. Otherwise, the street plan was much the same as it still is within the line of the walls.

Phillips' map is drawn to a scale of 150 ft. to one inch. John's Bridge is shown with what appears to be a drawbridge section. Below it John's Pill scales 120 feet wide. It is now restricted by walls to a width of about 40 feet.

Another military engineer mapped Waterford in or about 1691. His name was Jean Goubet and he served in the Williamite army. Like Phillips, who served the Stuarts in a similar capacity, he was employed to survey all existing Irish fortifications and to make recommendations for their improvement. His Waterford maps include one of the harbour area and one of the city. Being a Hugenot, he inscribed his city map as "Plan de la Ville et Citadelle de Waterford". The dedication of this map may be seen in the National Library. It reads "Presentez a son Altesse Ferdinand Guillaume Duc de Wittemberg par son trés homble et trés respecteuse petiteur, Goubet." The Duke of Wurthemburg (or Wittenberg) commanded a section of the Williamite army. His guards were quartered in Waterford.

Both of Goubet's maps show competence.

Two more maps appeared some time around 1700 both very similar to Phillips' and almost certainly copied from it.
In 1705 there appeared a map of Ireland drawn by Henry Pratt. Around the edges he showed small scale plans of various towns, including one of Waterford. It is neat and accurate but does not show anything worthy of particular note.

A rather similar map appeared in 1714, this time by Herman Moll who describes himself as a geographer and dedicates the map to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

Practically the same plan appears in 1744 as an illustration in Tindal's "Plans of the principal Towns, Forts and Harbours of Ireland". However, the following year Dr.Charles Smith produced a splendid map to illustrate his history. He does not record the name of the person who drew up the map. Possibly it was William Doyle who had done an excellent chart of the river estuary a few years before this.

Smith's map differs materially from any of those previously described. It impresses one as being the product of painstaking effort and as being completely trustworthy. We notice at once that the wall along the Quay and between the Quay and the Citadel are gone. The Citadel itself has become a barracks. It had been dismantled in 1711 and the guns transferred to Duncannon. The Mall has been laid out and planted. There is a bowling green on the Adelphi car park site. David Baly's New Street has appeared and between it and Greyfriars, behind the houses on the Quay, is Brick Lane. Greyfriars is St. Francis's Lane and Keyser St.is

Kempson's Lane.   The old Shambles, later to become the Corn
Market, is now occupied by the Exchange and the Custom House
standing adjacent to each other.   Both of these were fine
buildings.   The Exchange, with its collonade and octagonal
cupola, stands out clearly in the Vander Hagen painting of
1736.   The Custom House was of brick faced with cut stone.

Jenkyn's Lane is Norrington's Lane.   The lower part
of Manor St. is Bowling Green Lane, taking its name from a
second bowling green on the site of Morris's timber yard.
Ballybricken Green is the Fair Place and Thomas St. is the
New Road.   Bridge St. is a narrow alley called Love Lane.
Catherine St. is also narrow and extends only as far as
the ruins of St. Katherine's Abbey.   It is called Cole Peck
Lane.   The Abbey ruins are at the south-west side of the
present Courthouse.

John's Pill is shown in its true course for the first
time.   It is now spanned by a second bridge at Lombard St.
This had been built in 1728 by Alderman Congreve at his own
expense.   It had a drawbridge section 22' wide. The loop
of the Pill which now separates the Park from the Courthouse
is shown as running much farther eastward beyond the bandstand.
It was diverted to its present course in 1855.

Smith shows a fair amount of development beyond the new
bridge, including the present William St. as far as the bend
at Graves.   George's Quay is seen as running parallel to
William St. for its whole length whereas now it swings out
to the extent of about 250 feet as it approaches Canada St.
This is a measure of the extent to which land was later re-
claimed from the river between the mouth of the Pill and the
present Waterpark College.

The present William St. was part of Lombard St.   On the
south side is shown the Sugar House - a building about 150'
square - established in 1737 as a refinery.   The road to
Newtown then ran between the river and the Sugar House.   At a
later date it was diverted to the other side of the refinery
which occupied part of what is now Graves & Co.'s premises.

Below the Sugar House is a dry dock built also by the
progressive Alderman Congreve.   It scales 180' X 80'and would
appear to have been near the Waterpark pumping station.

On the Quay, occupying the site of the present Clock
Tower, is the Fish House.   Opposite Thomas St. is a peculiar
projection into the river much bigger than any of the moles
or pierheads already referred to.   It does not appear on
earlier or later maps.

Of the city gates there were two, still flanked by towers,
namely St. John's gate and St. Peter's gate.   Johnstown is no
longer a causeway but is built up on both sides as far as John's
Hill.   The Quay has been extended to Thomas St. and there are
buildings as far as Bridge St.   There are buildings too, on

the north and south sides of Ballybricken Green. Mayor's
Walk has been laid out and named to commemorate Simon Newport
the Mayor who was responsible for it. The Guild Hall is to
be seen at the corner of Broad St. and Peter St. The Leper
Hospital is still in Stephen St. The Blue Boys School is
further down Broad St. near the corner of Arundel Lane and
the corresponding Girls' School (Mrs. Mason's) is in Lady Lane.

Nineteen years after Smith, i.e. in 1764, another
splendid map of Waterford appeared, this time from the hands
of William Richards and Benjamin Scale. The Corporation
apparently commissioned the map since it is dedicated to them.
It exceeded Smith in detail and was drawn to a larger scale.
The latter works out at 1/2500 or 208 feet to 1 inch, a scale
later adopted by the Ordnance Survey. Smith's scale was 16
inches to a mile. If an Irish mile, this would be 410 feet
to 1 inch but if a Statute mile it would be only 330.

Richards and Scale's map is probably the best link we
have with the 18th century because everything on it is so
easily recognisable. It does not, however, cover any greater
area than Smith's and it does not present very much in the
way of new features. There are a few new street names.
William St., which had been Lombard St. on Smith's map is now
Scots Marsh. Rose Lane and Beau Walk have made their
appearance. A horse mill occupies the site of the presbytery
in Convent Hill. Castle St. is the Ramparts and Parliament
St. is Vulcan St. because of the proximity of an iron foundry.
Bailey's New St. is now Factory Lane and Greyfriars is Holy
Ghost Lane.

The Widows' Apartments are shown and the street between
them and the present Friary is called Apartments Lane.

Two Catholic churches are shown, namely, the Great Chapel
and the New Chapel. The Great Chapel was, of course, the old
one that had its axis at right angles to the present cathedral.
The New Chapel was St. Patrick's founded about the same time
as the adjoining Langton-Carew Almshouse, through which the
church was entered. The Quaker Meeting House is shown as
having been on the site of the Christian Brothers School,
Manor St. A Baptist Meeting House stood on the site of the
forecourt of the de la Salle School, Stephen Street. Not far
away was the Sailors' Poor House, still standing but unused.

The City Basins at Stephen St. and Thomas's Hill are
clearly shown as also are public conduits at the Fish House,
at Arundel Square and at Michael St. opposite Alexander Lane.
The site of the present Thomas's Hill, Francis St.,Wellington
St.,Jail St., Barker St., and Meeting House Lane was taken up
by a deer park and ornamental gardens belonging to Alderman
Dr. Francis Barker who lived where the Library was housed.

The Dominican property at Blackfriars is seen to have
been appropriated for public use, one building being the County
Court House and another a Play House.

Richards and Scalé also made a map of the neighbourhood of Waterford. It is a big map, measuring 3' 6" X 2' 6" and is drawn to a scale of 5 inches to a mile. It covers Co. Waterford as far as Passage and takes in some of South Kilkenny. A few interesting features on it are:-

The dye house that gave its name to Dyehouse Lane and which stood on the site of the former Waterford Sack and Bag Co.'s premises; the wind-driven corn mill that stood at the left hand entrance to Tramore Road, the stump of which existed up to about 20 years ago; the large water-driven paper mill at Glasshouse: the city gallows at the summit of Gracedieu Road and its counterpart, the county gallows, on the south side of Dunmore Road just beyond the entrance to Ardkeen Hospital.

From 1764 we have to skip forward to 1834 when Mr. P. Leahy of Clonmel produced a splendid map of Waterford. Leahy was a Civil Engineer who did a lot of work for various railway companies. His map is drawn to a scale of 4 chains (264 ft.) to one inch. On it we see the river bridged for the first time, Lemuel Cox's masterpiece being then 40 years old. Amongst new buildings we see the Town Hall, the City and County Goals and Gandon's Courthouse at Ballybricken that had an undeservedly short life, the Infantry Barracks, the Artillery Barracks (now occupied by St. Carthage's Avenue) old St.John's College at College St., the Gas Works, the Fever Hospital, the Work House (later the Fanning Institution) the Penitentiary at Hennessy's Road (demolished about 30 years ago) and the Market House which had replaced the Fish House.

John's Pill is crossed by four bridges as at present. Hardy's Road is laid out but Catherine St. is still Lower Colbeck St. Beresford (Parnell) St. is in being, as also are Manor St. and Cork Road, but not Tramore Road.

The present Morrison's Road is called Artillery Street, Upper Yellow Road is Military Road and Ozanam St. is **Fairy** Lane. Gracedieu Road is grimly described as Gallows Road. Richardson has already laid out his Folly and on the site of St. John's College is Kingville, the residence of Capt.English. Newtown Park is occupied by Capt. Knight, R.N. On the Ferrybank side Abbey House, now Abbey View, is occupied by Major John Snow while a Capt. Snow lived nearby at Rocklands.

A few years later - in 1839 to be exact - the Royal Engineers, under the direction of Lieut T. A. Larcom, prepared maps of various Irish cities and towns to illustrate the report of the Boundary Commission, which resulted the following year in the Municipal Corporations Act. Under this statute the ancient boundary of Waterford that took in the Liberties, was severely pruned. The new boundary ran along Military Road and Morrison's Road, Manor Hill, College St., Bath St., Poleberry and Passage Road. On the north side the boundary ran from the Catholic Church to "Mr. Charles Gatson's cottage at Mount Misery". This house became known as "Mount Misery Lodge" but has now disappeared.

Larcom's map was drawn to a scale of only four inches to a mile but contemporaneously with it appeared (from 1829 onward) the first of the Ordnance Survey 6" maps. The survey and the publication of the corresponding maps progressed steadily, working from north to south. The Co. Waterford maps appeared in 1840-41, the survey having been under the direction of the same Larcom, now a Captain, later to reach the rank of Colonel and be Duputy Chairman of the Board of Works.

A statute of 1854 - the Towns Improvements Clauses Act - empowered municipal authorities to provide themselves with large scale maps. Rising to the occasion, the Ordnance Survey proceeded to produce town maps (or plans, to be more accurate) at the unprecedented scale of 5 feet to a mile or 10 times the scale of the 6" maps. The 5 ft. maps of Waterford appeared in 1871. These maps were the acme of perfection, the like of which will never be seen again. A revised edition appeared in 1908 but compared unfavourably with the original.

From 1864 onward the whole country was surveyed and mapped at an intermediate scale being 1 in 2500 or 25.344 inches to a mile. These are commonly called the 25 inch maps. They proved themselves to be infinitely useful for a variety of reasons, not least of these being the fact that they show the acreage, to three places of decimals, of every parcel of land, however small. The Co. Waterford 25" maps appeared in 1903-5 with a revision in 1922-23.

After the last war, when revision was about to be resumed, it was decided to scrap the 5 ft. (or 1 in 1056) scale and to replace it by a scale of 1 in 1250, twice that of the 25" maps. Again, the whole of the 26 counties was surveyed and mapped at this scale. The maps did great credit to those who produced them. More recently even these have been replaced by maps drawn to an entirely metric scale - 1 in 1000.

All the maps referred to in the above, up to and including the Boundary Commission map of 1839, are in the Waterford Municipal Library in the form of photostat copies.

Note:

Since writing this article, the author has learnt from Paul Kerrigan's contribution to the "Irish Sword" No.55 that the outworks shown on Jobson's map of 1591 consisted of earthworks and timber. This would account for their non-appearance on maps after 1600. It could also account for the fact that the old name for Castle Street was Rampart Lane or The Ramparts.

ELECTORAL POLITICS IN WATERFORD IN THE EARLY

19th CENTURY.

Donal McCartney.

In the eighteenth century, Co. Waterford with ten seats out
of a total of three hundred in the Irish House of Commons,
had an average number of constituencies for an Irish county.
Two MPs sat for the county and two for each boro of Waterford
City, Dungarvan, Lismore and Tallaght (Tallow). This representa-
tion was considerably smaller than that of Cork, which had
the highest number of MPs (twenty six). While Waterford had
less constituencies than its neighbour, Wexford (which had
eighteen seats), its representation was exactly equal to that
of Dublin, and it was higher than that of Tipperary (which
had eight MPs), and a great deal higher than Mayo, Sligo,
Monaghan and Fermanagh, each of which had only four MPs.

The Act of Union of 1800 reduced the number of Irish MPs from
three hundred to one hundred. Waterford's representation
dropped to four MPs - two for the county, one for the city
and one for Dungarvan. Lismore and Tallaght were abolished.
(A second seat was added to the city in the reform of 1832.)

'Representation' should not be understood in the modern
democratic sense of that word, for the creation of constit-
uencies during the seventeenth century had been quite hap-
hazard. The number or size of constituencies bore no relation-
ship whatsoever to population figures, but were merely intended
to give the crown or the administration a majority in Parliament
or to bestow a reward or favour on friends and supporters.
Constituencies in the eighteenth century were in the control of
the great landed interests and boro mongers. For example, the
two County Waterford seats were virtually the private property
of the Duke of Devonshire and the Beresfords, the patrons having
a seat each. Tallaght and Lismore were in the giving of
Devonshire, Dungarvan was also controlled by Devonshire but the
Beresfords sometimes tried to assert an influence there.
Waterford city came to be divided between two of its most power-
ful families, the Alcocks and the Newports.

Primacy in one's own county depended upon winning the representa-
tion in Parliament. The interest of the M.P's tended to be
social rather than sociological. The man who represented his
county in Parliament had many opportunities of advancing himself
and his family. The Lord Lieutenant, Buckinghamshire, in the
eighteenth century said that 'most Irish gentlemen enter my
closet with a P in their mouths - Place, Pension, Peerage or
Privy Council'.

The M.P. was in a position not only to obtain patronage for
himself and his friends but he was also expected to dispense
patronage in his county. Legislation for the good of the
people was not then the priority in Parliament which it after-

wards became.

Because seats tended to be owned in this way, they remained
the property of individual patrons, and were bought and sold
and inherited like any other property.

The Beresfords who already held one seat in Coleraine, bought
the second seat in the boro for seven thousand pounds in 1792.
Contested elections, therefore, were relatively rare and only
took place when one landed interest challenged another's
hegemony.   Contests based on different attitudes to controver-
sial issues were not usual.

The influence of the great landlord over the electorate was
the result of a number of factors.   Since there were no issues
to interest the electorate there was much apathy, and the
electorate might as well fall in with the wishes of the land-
lord and vote as required.   There is also evidence of some
loyalty to the local landlord. Open voting which lasted down
to 1872 tended to keep voters on the side of men who controlled
their livelihood.   There is not much evidence of eviction for
going against the wishes of the landlord.   But the custom of
the 'hanging gale' which allowed a tenant to be in arrears with
his rent also allowed the landlord to impound cattle and other
goods if not paid on demand.   The fear of this kind of economic
and social squeeze kept tenants in line with landlords' wishes.
The returning officers at elections in the counties were the
Sheriffs, whose appointment in the first instance, was due to
the influence of the local landlord. The power of the Sheriff
at election time was considerable because he could accept or
reject voters, or prolong or close the poll.   In the general
election of 1831 it was alleged that the Sheriff in Co.Waterford,
'a terrible Tory', was fitting out the gaol to house or coop
the Beresford voters and was intending to break a passage between
the gaol and an adjoining store to facilitate them.

In the boros of Lismore, Tallaght and Dungarvan the returning
officer was the seneschal (or steward) of the local manor which
was the property of the Duke of Devonshire. Apart from the
control which landlords held over freeholders it was also
possible for them to create fictitious freeholds, thus giving
the vote to   people who would be constrained to vote as
directed by the landlord.   Bribery and patronage were essential
elements in the electoral system that survived well into the
nineteenth century.

The political system which was so controlled ensured a certain
stability in the constituencies up to the Waterford election of
1826.   Waterford city in the period between the Union and 1831
had only two contests in nine general elections. For the
Dungarvan seat there was one contest only (1807), in the eight
elections between the Union and 1826.   Before 1826 only one
contest in eight general elections had taken place for the two
County Waterford seats and that was in 1806 after the death
of the Right Honourable John Beresford who had held the seat
for forty-five years.   He was so powerful that he was described

by the Lord Lieutenant, Fitzwilliam, in 1795 as 'virtually
king of Ireland'.   Local magnates saw the possibility of grabbing
something for themselves in the scramble for power.   The
Beresfords, however, retained the seat without too much
difficulty.   Their influence in the county and elsewhere was
based upon the ownership of extensive property.   In the late
19th century the Beresfords still owned some 40,000 acres in
Waterford alone.   Wakefield claimed in 1812 that 'one quarter
of all the places in the Kingdom are filled with their
dependants or connections.'   To challenge their political
supremacy in Waterford was a task of herculean proportions,
and had radical and revolutionary implications for the eighteenth
century constitution.

1826 ELECTION   IN COUNTY   WATERFORD.

The 1826 election contest in Waterford between Bersford and the
Catholic Emancipation candidates changed the electoral stabil-
ity that had existed down to that date.   Election contests,
or threatened contests, now became the norm during the second
quarter of the nineteenth century in Waterford city and even
in Dungarvan.   Waterford city had seven elections between 1832
and 1848 inclusive.   All but one, a by-election were fiercely
contested.

Dungarvan between 1832 and 1851 inclusive had eleven elections,
eight of which were contested.   So the most important effect
of the famous 1826 election in Waterford was the arousing of
political excitement and awareness among the citizens.

Although the national emancipation issue, was significant for
the 1826 election, it was not the sole cause of all the excite-
ment in Waterford.   Local politics played and continued to play
a major role.   The so-called Waterford revolt of the Catholic
freeholders on Beresford's estate, began in fact with an upper
middle class demonstration of loyalty to the crown.   It was not
in its origin a democratic protest at all nor was it specifically
a Catholic protest.   In 1822 when Wellesley, the Viceroy, was
assaulted in a Dublin theatre by a member of the Orange faction,
a group of Waterford gentlemen requested a county meeting to
protest at this public insult to the Viceroy.   The Sheriff
of the county, directed by Beresford, refused to requisition
the meeting.   'Twelve honest magistrates' were then found to
requisition a meeting at which Beresford was roundly denounced,
and it was agreed to examine the best method to ensure a more
popular representation of Waterford in Parliament in the future.

Local sectarian questions ensured that the Waterford branch
of the Catholic Association would play a committed role in the
assault on the Beresford political ascendancy.   From the start
of the Catholic Association in 1823 Waterford had been prominent.
Within three days of the establishment of the penny a month
Catholic rent, eighty Waterford tradesmen had formed a committee
to manage local finances.   O'Connell visited Waterford in August
1824 when he was engaged as counsel in the Osborne versus
O'Shee case concerning the validity of a lease of 1702 held by
Richard Power O'Shee, a Catholic, from the Protestant Osborne
family.   O'Connell was incensed that not a single Catholic

was left on the jury and claimed that Orange feeling had
prevented a Catholic from getting justice. 'I never was more
disgusted by the vileness of the bigotry which crushes the
Catholics in every step' - he wrote to his wife.   His
reception by the Catholic people of Waterford helped to
compensate for the bigotry, and his coach was dragged by the
people a half-mile to his lodgings along, as he said, 'the
finest quay imaginable'.   And on the following night he was
given a public dinner in his honour in the Town Hall at which
two leading emancipationists, the Waterford men Richard Lalor
Sheil and Father John Sheehan, were among the speakers.

The question of challenging Beresford's supremacy brought
together liberal Protestant and Catholic gentry.   As early
as August 1824, (the very month that O'Connell was in Waterford
for the Osborne-O'Shee case) the possibility of Villiers-
Stuart standing as a liberal candidate against Beresford was
already being canvassed.   Villiers-Stuart (1803-74) was then
just twenty one years old.   His family owned seven thousand
acres in Waterford, and he was politically well connected in
England.   He threw himself into the political game in Waterford
by the creation and registering of the forty shilling freeholders
on his estate.   One hundred and fifty such leases had been
created by the end of September 1825 by supporters of Stuart.

Stuart's attorney informed reluctant tenants that unless they
signed the leases before a certain date, proceedings would be
taken for the recovery of the possession of the land they held.
The stamp duty and expenses of filing the leases cost Stuart
money, but he felt that he was thereby creating for himself
votes in the county.   Thomas Wyse, who had only arrived back
in Ireland in August 1825, had already by October written to
O'Connell asking him to register his freehold in Waterford.

In the summer of 1825 a Stuart election committee was formed
with Thomas Wyse as Chairman, John M. Galwey as Treasurer,
Francis Wyse as Secretary and Sir Richard Musgrave and Henry
Winston Barron. also on the committee (Musgrave was a liberal
Protestant, the others were Catholics).   The opposition to
Beresford therefore, was composed initially of Protestant
liberals and well-to-do Catholic gentry, business and profes-
sional men. For organisation the committee was very fortunate
to be able to use O'Connell's Catholic Association, as well as
the clergy and the mass of the people that were gathering into
O'Connell's agitation.   The election committee employed exist-
ing structures which had been set up for the purpose of collect-
ing the Catholic rent.   Parish committees controlled by the
priests were established.   Each local committee kept a register
of electors and recorded disposition particulars against the
name of each person.   The Catholic Bishop, Patrick Kelly,
gave his full support. So did Father John Sheehan, later
parish priest in Waterford.   He became one of the strongest
activists in the area and was perhaps Daniel O'Connell's most
faithful link with Waterford over the next quarter of a century.

The election committee's headquarters was established in
Shanahan's Commercial Hotel in the Mall in January 1826. The
entire hotel was rented for two hundred pounds for the dura-
tion of the election.   A fancy dress ball, at which Letitia
BonaparteWyse was the star, and other entertainments kept
enthusiasm alive.   The committee members and local parish
priests addressed each parish in rotation on Sundays. As
Wyse said "Shame and emulation' were used as stimulants in
the campaign.   Appeals were made to women to pressurise their
menfolk into doing the right thing. Speeches during the
campaign stressed that the issue was one of conscience against
landlord/tenant loyalties; the wrongs of the Beresfords on
Catholics; the electoral power of the forty shilling freeholders
and loyalty to one's country and religion.   Chapels were used through-
out the county as meeting houses. When the Chapel at Portlaw,
near the Curraghmore estate of the Beresfords, was refused by
the parish priest, Bishop Kelly ordered it to be opened.
A formal alliance was made between the two emancipation
candidates, Stuart and Power, committing them to share costs
and votes.   The Duke of Devonshire tried to stay neutral,then
directed that plumpers be given by his tenants to Power, But,
as O'Connell reported, 'I have helped to put an end to the
absurd notion of neutrality'.   A steamship, known locally as
the 'teakettle' was sent from Waterford to Lismore to carry
Devonshire's tenants to the polling station in Waterford.
O'Connell's descriptions of the horrors and dangers of voyag-
ing by steamship prevented the forty shilling freeholders from
embarking, and the ship returned to Waterford without the votes
which Beresford was expecting.   Stuart's address to the
electors was approved by the new Catholic Association in Dublin.
The issue was declared to be between 'Stuart, Freedom and
Catholic Emancipation' and 'Beresford, Slavery and Ireland's
continued degradation.'   O'Connell charged a fee of six hundred
pounds for acting as Stuart's counsel. And the Ballybricken
butchers acted as a civic guard to keep the peace during the
election campaign.   Peace was demanded by O'Connell because
he feared that when the military and the police were introduced
they would only act as another intimidating influence on the
side of the ascendancy.

The Beresfords in their election address to the electors
complained of 'A few ininerant orators from a scarcely legal
organisation' who were claiming the right to impose a representa-
tive on the legitimate electors of the county.

The address also deplored the fact that the outside agitators
were aided by a portion of the Roman Catholic clergy which was
subservient to the views of the Association in Dublin.

The role of the clergy was admitted by both sides. Freemans
Journal (26 June 1826) claimed 'almost everything is owing to
the Catholic clergy'.   The Dublin Evening Mail (26 June 1826)
complained that 'The tenants of his (Beresford) friends, with
tears in their eyes, confess their absolute dread of eternal
damnation if they vote against their clergy...the priests are
in every booth taking down the names of tenants who vote with
their landlords against Stuart'.   At the end of the election
when Beresford realised that he had been overwhelmed he lodged

a formal protest claiming that freedom of election had been
violated 'by intimidation and threats of evil censures and
excommunication used by the Catholic clergy' (<u>Dublin Evening</u>
<u>Mail</u>, 28th June 1826).   Beresford, in a vain attempt to gain
a majority, had reduced rents and remitted arrears.

Aftermath of the Election

What had happened in Waterford as a result of the 1826
election was the disruption and the dislocation of political
power.   Although the Beresfords had been decidedly beaten,
they were not, as is sometimes assumed, destroyed, for in the
by-election of March 1830 Lord George Beresford defeated the
Catholic and liberal candidate, John Barron.   In the general
election of August of that year Lord George Beresford and
Daniel O'Connell were returned unopposed as the two members
of parliament.   This re-emergence of the Beresfords in 1830
requires some explanation.   The national front of Protestant
and Catholic ·liberals and of the Catholic priests and their
flocks did not long survive victory over the common enemy.
Money problems created divisions in the alliance, for money
was needed to assist those forty shilling freeholders penal-
ised by the Beresfords.   The local Waterford Protection
Committee could not see why it had to send the money for
Waterford relief to the central committee in Dublin.   The
Dublin committee, although it was prepared, in the end, to
donate about half of the five thousand pounds collected for
relief to Waterford also had claims on its purse from Louth,
Meath, Monaghan and elsewhere.   Those taking sides made
charges and countercharges.   It was said that O'Connell had
not even bothered to register his vote in Waterford, and he
was described as a 'disinterested patriot' at a fee of six
hundred pounds.   On the other side, it was claimed that Thomas
Wyse, although looking for money for Waterford, had not him-
self contributed to the relief fund.   Nearly three years
after the election campaign, as late as January 1829, Stuart's
election committee was still in debt to the tune of eight
thousand pounds.   Adding to these financial controversies
were personality problems and clashes between the former allies.
Petty jealousies, distrust and conflicting ambitions came to
the surface, all of which can be seen in the contemporary news-
papers and in O'Connell's correspondence for that period.
Fitzpatrick reported to O'Connell that 'family feuds and
election animosities are deplorably rife in Wateroford'.
Beresford made the most of these problems and attempted to re-
gain his position in Waterford in the middle of all' of these
divisions.   In June 1829 Stuart's resignation as a member for
Waterford (possibly because of financial difficulties) provided
the occasion for a great deal of political trafficking.   The
law agents of the Beresfords approached O'Connell and Sheil
and requested them to act professionally for Lord George
Beresford at the forthcoming election.   The retainer was likely
to be more than O'Connell had received for acting for Stuart.
The law agents claimed that Beresford wished to bury past
political differences, restore friendly feeling among the parties
and become the representative of the county and not of any
particular party within it.

Sheil accepted this offer.   O'Connell too, was clearly
delighted by the approach, although he later declined
graciously to act, giving what was perhaps a rather lame
excuse.   The excuse O'Connell gave was that as he was likely
to be returned to Parliament for Clare he was liable to be
called upon to act as a judge in the event of any disputed
return for Waterford, so he could not act as judge and counsel
in the same case.   His friend and biographer, Fagan, says
that O'Connell refused after consultation with his Dublin
friends.   What is certain is that his Waterford allies, led
by Father Sheehan, were totally opposed to any compromise
with the Beresfords and left nobody in any doubt about their
attitude.   Yet, because he had entertained the offer O'Connell
assured Beresford's agent: 'I do not consider myself any
longer at liberty to be professionally engaged against the
interest of Lord Waterford'.

By December, however, O'Connell was proposing another can-
didate to Waterford, Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, if one had
not already been selected locally.   He was also offering
financial assistance of a fifty pound contribution to any
candidate selected to oppose Beresford, and one hundred pounds
if it were his friend, O'Gorman.   He was also prepared to
canvass for him and purchase a twenty pound rent-charge 'so
as to qualify myself to speak as a freeholder and to vote here-
after'.   The greatest blow the aristocracy ever got, the
greatest triumph the Association ever attained, said O'Connell,
would be the beating of the Beresfords with the worthy
secretary of the Catholic Association (O'Gorman).   When John
Barron was selected locally, O'Connell did, in fact, canvass
for him.   The episode of the proposed deal between O'Connell
and Beresford led to a public controversy in which the London
Times accused O'Connell of duplicity, and O'Connell replied
by denouncing the Times as 'the venal lady of the Strand',
and describing Lord George Beresford as 'a man who could not
speak ten sentences of grammatical English.'

Young John Barron had the support of O'Connell's friend and
local informant, Father John Sheehan, because he was, in
Sheehan's words, 'vehement in his condemnation of the proposed
union with the Beresfords.'   On the other hand, two other
members of the Barron family were denounced by Father Sheehan -
Henry Winston Barron, older brother of John, who would appear
to have accepted the invitation to stand and then withdrew,
and Pierce G. Barron who had 'bolted out of the election course'
because of the influence of his 'Biblical wife' (a daughter of
Cornelius Bolton) and the 'Biblical party'.   'Hag-ridden as
he is' wrote Father Sheehan, in his straight-forward way, the
popular party was better off without him.   Father Sheehan
continuously warned O'Connell against these 'miserable wretches'
who fawned upon him in public but who were privately trying
to stab him.   He included in this group three of the most
active members of Stuart's election committee of 1826 - Richard
Lalor Sheil, Thomas Wyse and H. W. Barron.

The fact that Sheil and Wyse had been educated together at Stoneyhurst in England and then in Trinity College, Dublin, did nothing to encourage any confidence in them on the part of this Waterford priest. 'What is Sheil about?, he asked when he suspected that Sheil through his new alliance with the Beresfords was getting jobs for his friends. And he threatened if Sheil campaigned for Beresford to get up an address from the priests of Louth (where Sheil's election depended on the support of the priests) advising the rejection of a man who had roused the forty shilling freeholders against the landlords and who was now once emancipation was won, an ally of those same Beresfords. 'I warrant you', Father Sheehan wrote menacingly, 'I have something in store for Master Richard".

Father Sheehan was worried at the threat to re-establish the Ascendancy of the old aristocratic families. The Beresfords, he reported, were scattering money as never before in election-eering. The Provincial Bank in Waterford was their treasury. The Beresfords realised, said Father Sheehan that the by-election of 1830 was a now-or-never situation, that if they succeeded no opposition would ever again be offered to them, but if the people were victorious a second time the Beresfords would be paralysed for ever.

The priest was worried that 'some quandam brawling patriots' had touched the cash, and although they did not openly dare to avow themselves supporters of the Beresfords, they were privately doing their business and throwing cold water on the efforts of the anti-Beresford camp. Subtle pressure was put on O'Connell to come to canvass for Barron on the grounds that his presence would confound those who were saying that if O'Connell were interested in the return of Barron he would come to his assistance. Father Sheehan was satisfied that the Beresfords had not relaxed in their hatred to the people. And he claimed to be in possession of information which when broad-cast by O'Connell would make the stones mutiny against the Beresfords.

Richard Lalor Sheil, on the other hand, wrote to the press defending his own conduct in accepting a retainer from the Beresfords to act as their agent in the by-election. As he saw it he was helping thereby to bury sectarian animosities rendered anachronistic as a result of emancipation. And he added: 'I shall not be deterred by the fear of popular censure from the performance of what I believe to be my duty.' Fr. Sheehan continued to believe that Sheil had not been true to the people.

To strengthen the resolve of the popular and clerically led party in Waterford and to compensate for what was regarded as the desertion of Sheil and the weakness of Winston Barron, Wyse and others, Fr. Sheehan busied himself arranging for O'Connell to revisit Waterford. He advised where O'Connell should stay, whom he should meet and what he should say about the misery of the country and the necessity of destroying the

influence of those families who were blamed for its present condition and who, it was claimed, would sacrifice it completely if they were not destroyed once and for all. Sheehan was critical too of those newspapers like the Dublin Weekly Register, the Morning Register and even the Dublin Evening Post for not supporting more strongly the people. The Pilot he said was becoming the universal favourite with the 'democratic portion of the community'. A division along class lines in what can be roughly called the liberal-patriotic front became evident in Waterford during the by-election of March 1830. Given this split Beresford beat John Barron and so regained the seat. Fr. Sheehan, leading the popular wing, had the support of men like Dominick Ronayne and Roger Hayes. Ronayne was a wealthy Catholic merchant with businesses in Youghal and Dungarvan, a distant cousin and friend of O'Connell and MP for Clonmel 1832-6. He and his friends wanted O'Connell as candidate for Waterford county in the general election of August 1830 to reverse the loss suffered by the popular party in the by-election.

With Power and Beresford as the representatives once again it was thought that nobody less than O'Connell himself could repeat the victory of 1826. Ronayne informed O'Connell that he could count upon 'the honest and consistent Musgraves' for their support. It was calculated that O'Connell would get the number twos of both the Beresford and Power supporters, and these added to his own plumpers would give him a decided majority. O'Connell was advised by Ronayne that if he came forward boldly and without delay there would be no contest because Power was not prepared for a fight and would give in without a struggle.

O'Connell took the advice and proceeded to Waterford to begin his campaign. His host in Dungarvan was John Matthew Galwey. He was delighted to find that he could count upon the second votes of both the Duke of Devonshire's tenants and Beresford's. Around Tramore and Dungarvan influential local supporters included Duckett, Manners, Ronayne, Carbery and Nicholas Mahon Power. In Waterford city he was invited to stay in Fr.Sheehan's parochial house. But in issuing the invitation Patrick Sheehan, a medical doctor and brother of the parish priest, warned O'Connell against 'some of the persons by whom you are at present surrounded." They wished to keep on good terms with the Beresfords while at the same time making peace with the people. And one of them, who was unnamed, but who,according to Dr. Sheehan, commanded O'Connell's ear 'almost exclusively' had said that he would not wish for a thousand pounds that O'Connell should come to Waterford.

Not only was the national front of 1826 disrupted but the divisions were to be found even in the ranks of the Catholic clergy. Dr. Patrick Kelly, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore (1822-29) and formerly Bishop of Richmond,Virginia,U.S.A., had directed Fr. Sheehan in 1826 to convene a meeting of the diocesan clergy for the purpose of petitioning parliament in favour of emancipation. And Dr. Kelly had played his own part in the defeat of Beresford.

When Bishop Kelly died, Dr. Nicholas Foran (P.P. of Lismore 1824-1829, of Dungarvan 1829-1838, and bishop of Waterford 1837-1855) was the candidate preferred by the popular party to succeed him.   Fr. Sheehan assured O'Connell (13 Jan.1830) that if Dr. Foran had received canonical institution he would have followed the Clare example and organised all of the clergy behind O'Connell .   And Ronayne, prematurely describing Foran as 'our Bishop-Elect', reported Foran as saying that the priests were quite hostile to the Beresfords.   But it was Dr.William Abraham who was consecrated bishop (31 March 1830) and he was not much to the liking of the popular party of Fr.Sheehan and Dominick Ronayne and Roger Hayes.

The new bishop was less than acceptable for a number of reasons. In the first place he took the line of other moderates that now that emancipation had been conceded priests should be seen to play less of a role in politics,and that chapels should no longer be used for political meetings.   Two curates who attended a public dinner to O'Connell in Waterford in July 1830 were suspended by Bishop Abraham.   'This silly bishop', wrote Dr. Sheehan to O'Connell, 'would wish to put down public opinion and show it from the most unquestionable authority that in his heart he wishes you far from the County Waterford and that he would show it openly but for that which keeps all men in check - the public voice.'   P. V. Fitzpatrick, O'Connell's political and financial agent, described Abraham as a person whose enthusiasm in any public matter would be perilous to count on. An Ronayne said he was 'but a miserable substitute for poor (Bishop) Kelly'.   Bishop Abraham was in fact the friend and confidant of Thomas Wyse and saw political issues more from Wyse's point of view than from O'Connell's.

Thomas Wyse partly because of his own book on the history of the Catholic Association has got much of the credit for organising the 1826 campaign against the Beresfords.   But he resented the fact that in the general election of August 1830 he had to resign from the contest because O'Connell, the other Catholic candidate, claimed that only one popular condidate could secure election against Beresford, and it would be better not to risk 'the union of several who ought to be friends'.   Immediately after O'Connell's return for Waterford, however, his was one of the voices that persuaded Wyse to seek election elsewhere. One week later Wyse was elected for Tipperary.   He then wrote to his brother: 'I can now afford to be utterly indifferent to the ignorance and malignity of the coteries of Waterford.' This desirable state did not last for long.   He stood for Waterford city in 1832 when for the first time in a general election Repeal of the Union had become an issue. His friend, R. L. Sheil, nominally at least a Repealer, sat for Tipperary from 1832 to 1841, all the time advancing his career until he ended up as Minister at the Court of Tuscany.   Wyse, however, never pretended to be a Repealer, and ended up as Ambassador to Greece.   He refused to take the Repeal pledge,so that O'Connell backed the Repeal candidates Barron and Hayes instead in the Waterford city election of 1832, which Wyse subsequently lost.   In the by-election for Dungarvan in 1834, Fr. Sheehan and 'the honest Repealers' urged O'Connell to put forward his

own candidate lest Wyse should be successful. And there
was the warning, that if Wyse ever got back into parliament
O'Connell would have a 'Luttrell' that is a traitor, in his
camp.

By the time of the general election of 1835 O'Connell was
pushing an Anti-Tory Association and was concerned to form
an anti-Tory electoral alliance between his own Repealers and
Irish Whigs and liberals. He even persuaded Father Sheehan
to support H. Winston Barron and Thomas Wyse for Waterford
city. 'In doing so'. replied the loyal Sheehan, 'I make
a very great sacrifice of feeling'. The priest still had the
poorest possible opinion of Wyse's sense and of his contempt
for the people. And he had never acquired any confidence in
Barron's political honesty. No way, protested Sheehan, would
he lend his support to Wyse should Wyse try 'to trample on
the majesty of the people'by expecting them to apologise for
their behaviour in rejecting his candidature in the past.
Father Sheehan wrote: 'I have pledged myself to wield the
democracy in his favour provided he only address the constituency
as an anti-Tory'. Sheehan also advised O'Connell that it
would be no harm to get rid of his 'fat friend', Galwey, who
was being proposed as candidate for the county. 'If needs
must we shall take him', said the priest. But he was relieved
when Richard Musgrave and Patrick Power were returned unopposed
after Galway had retired from the contest. (Galwey had been
Repeal MP for the county 1832-5; he fell out with O'Connell
when O'Connell had opposed Galwey's friends in Co. Tipperary
(1830) and Dungarvan (1834): peeved, he unsuccessfully contested
Dungarvan twice in 1835 and twice again in 1837 against candidates
that had O'Connell's support; and he publicly attacked the
priests of Waterford in 1835 for interfering in politics.)

O'Connell's alliance with the Whigs in 1835 brought together
again as in 1826 the various political factions on the anti-
Tory, anti-Ascendancy side in Waterford (with the exception of
J. M. Galwey). Father Sheehan was able to announce triumphantly,
and with a certain note of finality: 'The county, you may rest
assured, is safe from the bondage of a Beresford. I think I
may also assure you that the city is equally safe'. And for
the first time in five years in his references to Bishop Abraham,
Father Sheehan had something good to say about him. 'The
Bishop',he wrote, 'is most heartily with us. He has written
circulars to all the parish priests to do their duty against
the Beresfords'. In these new circumstances, both Barron and
Wyse were elected in the contest for the city of Waterford.
Sheehan's friend and ally, Dominick Ronayne, won Clonmel.
'Huzza for old Ireland', exclaimed Sheehan. The threat of a
return to power of the Tories and the reinstatement of Tory
Ascendancy in Ireland had brought together again the coalition
of national and liberal interests in closed ranks. In 1826
O'Connell and his Waterford friends like Fr. Sheehan had been
elated at winning a single seat from the Beresfords. By 1835
all five seats in Waterford (two in the county, two in the city
and one in Dungarvan) were won by anti-Tories, most of whom
were even Catholic. The great strides taken towards reform
and democratic representation were nowhere in Ireland highlighted
so clearly as they were in the politics of Waterford. No

Beresford was ever again returned for Waterford except for a
brief interlude 1874-1880.

Behind all of the petty squabbles, the venality and corruption
of local electoral politics, great issues were at stake and
great forces of conservatism and change in Irish society were
contending with each other for supremacy - even though the
participants in the local skirmishes were generally unaware
of all that was involved.

Two opposing concepts of politics were at loggerheads with
each other. There was the older view represented by the
Beresfords that parliamentary seats were the private property
of the local aristocratic families. And this view was opposed
by the more novel, reforming and radical notions which insisted
that representation should be based upon population figures,
and civil rights, and upon French revolutionary ideas of Liberty
and Equality. The local aristocracy defending the status quo
found itself challenged by extraneous ideas and outside agitators
aided by the local Catholic clergy organising those who felt
themselves oppressed. It was this confused and far from
clearly defined conflict of ideas about private property and
representative government that influenced local electoral
politics in the early 19th century.
Opposition to what the Beresfords stood for found expression
in the public letters issued by O'Connell in December 1829
and January 1830. In these he called upon the country 'to
diminish irresponsible power...to establish popular rights, to
crush aristocratic monopoly'...and to build up a system 'which
shall secure for every man his right to select his representative,
and to protect him by the secrecy of a ballot in the exercise
of that selection'. He urged on the people to create a new
party. 'Everything and everybody', he said, 'has a party,
save only the people. I go to Parliament to form the party
of the people. My motto is, and shall be, "For God and the
people".

The onslaught on Waterford between 1826 and 1835 was not just
an attack on the private property of the Beresfords in the form
of their hereditary seat in the county. The victory was seen
as no less than the first significant capture of a citadel of
the old political order. It was the defeat of entrenched
aristocracy by the new democracy. The country had experienced,
through these Waterford elections, the first landslip in the
move from aristocratic government to democratic representation.
In all this fever of electioneering in Waterford can be seen
the emergence of the habit of democratic politics, and the
gradual, uneven and complex transformation of peasants into
citizens and Irishmen.

WILLS RELATING TO WATERFORD.

by Julian C. Walton.

IV. UNPUBLISHED JENNINGS ABSTRACTS: THE "WATERFORD WILLS" SERIES.

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TOTAL: 947 abstracts (654 wills and 293 admons)

A - K: Addenda et Corrigenda

p. 39   Contents of Vol. 1: "1582-1675" read "1582-1680".
p. 41   Bridgin, Humphrey: add to page nos. "437".
p. 43   Carter, Margery: for "1639" read "1638".
p. 44   Cooke, Robert: add to page nos. "616".
p. 44   Coughlan, Thomas... 1804: add to page nos. "476".
p. 44   After Daniel, William, add "(Daniel: see Tuam, Archbishop of)"
p. 45   Dobbyn, David: for "(apothecary)" read "(admon)".
p. 46   After Everard, Nicholas, add "(Eylars: see Yeares)".
p. 49   Hearn, Walter: add to page nos. "163".
p. 50   Horsham, James: add to page nos. "222".

"QUERY: Dr. Anthony Malcolmson of the Public Record Office of
Northern Ireland is collecting biographical material on members of the Irish
House of Commons in the eighteenth century.   In a number of cases, basic
details such as dates of birth, marriage, death etc. are proving hard to
come by.   I should be grateful for any such information on certain
"problem MPs" for Waterford.   These are:
        Charles Bourchier (Dungarvan 1692-1715)
        James Barry (Dungarvan and Rathcormack 1713-1743)
        William Bristow (Lismore 1745-1758)
        William Buckner (Dungarvan 1692-1703)
        Hugh Cane (Tallow 1768-1790)
                                            J. C. Walton"

A 19th CENTURY FRENCH TRAVELLER'S VISIT TO WATERFORD.

(Part II).

by Eileen Holt.

DUNGARVAN.

As we have seen[1], Amédée Pichot, the French traveller who was making his first
visit to Ireland in the summer of 1844, had during his short stay in the City
of Waterford, and on the first stage of his journey by coach from Waterford to
Lismore, been surprised to find fewer beggars than he had expected, and further-
more that the few he had encountered were no more troublesome or ragged than
those of any other country, because he had been led to expect that in Ireland
he would find a whole host of hideous beggars awaiting the arrival of travellers.
With the arrival of the coach at Dungarvan however, his worst fears were
realised, and his experience there left a very marked impression upon him after-
wards.

The coach stopped in the Square where the coach-office was situated, and it
was there that the vehicle was surrounded by about thirty of what he describes
as 'real Irish beggars'. He reflects that he could well have imagined there
to be a hundred rather than thirty if he were to rely on his own impressions
rather than on the number that was actually counted at the time by his travell-
ing companion, 'the Honourable Mr. G...ths'[2]. So vivid was the impression
left upon him that, as he was writing the account of this arrival in Dungarvan,
he tells us that he had before his eyes once again the horrible spectacle,
heard again the pitiful cries, and smelt the dreadful stench which had assailed
his nostrils. So much did the beggars crowd in upon the coach, that they
became a nightmare sea of faces and waving arms. In spite of the calculation
of Mr. G...ths, he concludes that there must have been more than thirty, and
he particularly recalls a legless cripple crawling beneath the legs of the
other beggars, a cripple who alone remained on the spot when a handful of coins
was flung into the centre of the Square, causing the others 'a crowd of deformed
harpies' as he calls them, to swarm after the money. He himself threw a shill-
ing and six pennies to the crowd, shouting to them to share the money, but he
only drew the reproaches of these wretched people upon his own head, as they
swore one after the other that they had not received any share of his alms.
He confesses that he had given the money more from disgust than from charity,
because the physical revulsion he felt had overcome the pity in his heart.
The disgust grew as the beggars, who had sensed his feelings, and had anyway
exhausted the vocabulary and tones of lamentation, tried another tactic, and now
sought to entertain him by acts of buffoonery, and defiant, provocative, yet
jovial remarks. This false gaiety was even worse, he felt, than false sadness
upon such faces, and he found no cause for laughter, although alongside him
Mr. G...ths claimed that 'the clownish beggars of Dungarvan were really in good
form.'

At this point an employee from the coach-office arrived to tell the passengers
that as there were now only four of them, a jaunting car with four places was
to replace the one with eight places in which they had travelled from Waterford.
Pichot was now forced to descend from what he felt was a relatively safe place
aloft, into the midst of the hands outstretched towards him, hands which he
likens to those of the witches, those sinister figures, who dance around the
cauldron in the scene from Macbeth. Fortunately for him the coachman had left

his whip upon the seat, and the Frenchman seized it, then flourished it about his head to make a passage through the crowd. No sooner had the passengers taken their places in the smaller vehicle, than they were again surrounded by the beggars, and while the horses were being harnessed, the travellers were again subjected to the sight of the same tragi-comedy being played out, and to the sound of laughter mingled with that of lamentation, and of pious blessings being uttered alongside ironic farewells.

Of the town of Dungarvan itself, Pichot has little to say other than that it belonged almost entirely to the Duke of Devonshire, who had, he was told, spent considerable sums on public works and improvements of all kinds, but who had not been able to eradicate begging. At Dungarvan, as elsewhere in Ireland, he concludes, no steady work was felt to be the equivalent, as a source of income for a family, to the happy accident of an infirmity or deformity which could be turned to profitable use in the act of begging. As the jaunting car left the town, Pichot already began to feel his spirits rise and the countryside seemed to take on a pleasanter aspect. Soon the church tower of Cappoquin was visible on the horizon.

CAPPOQUIN.

At first Pichot had thought to stay the night at Cappoquin, but as the jaunting car was going on to Lismore, he decided to continue his journey without a break in order to put more distance between himself and the beggars of Dungarvan who had had such a disturbing effect upon him. There was not a single beggar to be seen at Cappoquin, which he describes as 'a pretty village'. Indeed he found the place oddly deserted, and the reason for this was revealed as they were passing the last house on the road out towards Lismore. The horse drawing the vehicle pricked up its ears at the noise made by an excited and jovial crowd of people who could be seen filling the road ahead, a crowd which had the appearance of just having left some entertainment or fête. First came an advance party of cheering urchins, then a denser crowd of people who raised the dust upon the road as they advanced. Suddenly, the horse, which had not slowed down at all, and whose pace had even been quickened by the distant beating of a drum, shied in an extraordinary manner, and Pichot was flung some fifteen feet from the coach. What, the traveller asked himself, could have caused this sudden terror in an animal which because of its bold and bellicose air could be compared to the horse of Job?[3] Bianconi, he assures us, chose his horses too well, and paid too much money for them, for the animals not to be outstandingly swift and intrepid, but to be fair to Bianconi, remarks the Frenchman drily, he could hardly have been expected to know, when training his horses to draw coaches along the roads of Ireland, that they would be exposed to an encounter on one of those roads with an ELEPHANT, because it was indeed an elephant which had suddenly appeared on the road before them, an animal which the population of Cappoquin was conducting in triumph to its stable, after having applauded the creature's strength and prowess in a circus performance. The elephant belonged to a Mr. Harris, the director of a London circus, who since the beginning of the month had been travelling through Ireland with a troupe of equestrians and performing animals. We can well imagine that the visit of this London based circus would have been an occasion of great excitement in the small country town of Cappoquin in the year 1844. There is evidence of menageries going from London to Ireland before this, but such visits must still have been rare as the hazards of the journey were considerable. In the mid 1830's for example, a whole menagerie and the ship transporting it were lost while crossing the Irish Channel on the way to Ireland.[4]

Pichot, in spite of the force with which he had been ejected from the vehicle, was not injured, and the journey was then resumed.   After the encounter with the rat in Swansea[5], then with the pig in Waterford[6], he began to feel fated to have such encounters, each time with a larger quadruped, but at the same time he felt lucky that he had escaped un-scathed in each case, especially in this last incident with so large an animal involved.   As to the horse, seemingly ashamed of its momentary panic, it now redoubled its pace, and proceeded at all speed to Lismore.

LISMORE.

Dusk was falling as the jaunting-car entered the town and then stopped at the inn displaying the coat of arms of the Duke of Devonshire. Here Pichot said farewell to his travelling companion, the Irish Member of Parliament, who wished to reach his own home that evening.   The Frenchman was received at the inn, and having been allocated a room there, he came down into the coffee room where he found the manservant who had received him on his arrival, waiting for him.   He asked the man to order his supper, then he settled down to write a letter.   However the servant reappeared with an air which seemed to convey to the traveller that if were bored, alone as he was, the servant was there to talk to him.   This air, remarks Pichot, would have been judged to be impertinent by the Irish travelling companion from whom he had just parted, and perhaps would have been so judged by any other British traveller, but French travellers, he tells us, were less apt to stand on their dignity, above all those from the South of France (Pichot himself, it will be remembered, was from the Provençal town of Arles) whose acquaintance with the bold ways of those employed in the hostelries of the Languedoc and of Provence would have prepared them for the familiarity of the servants in Irish inns, a familiarity which was nevertheless not with-out respect.

Pichot's smile encouraged the man's questions, questions which the Frenchman felt were asked less out of idle curiosity than for the purpose of being helpful, and he gives an account of the opening conversation which took place on the following lines:

"Your Honour has come for the salmon fishing?"
"What makes you think that ?"
"Firstly because it is for that that people come to Lismore. Where would you find more plentiful or better salmon that in the Blackwater ? Six hundred were caught the other day with a single cast of the net !"
"But you have not seen anything in my baggage which indicates that I am interested in fishing ?"
"That's just it, as a true sportsman Your Honour must know very well that all the fishing rights are let by the Duke to Mr. Foley, and if Your Honour were not to obtain permission for a fishing trip, it would be better to appear as though he had not come precisely for that purpose, so that he could in fact do some fishing on the quiet."
"Fish without a line, bait, nets ?"
"Your Honour is joking. Your Honour knows very well that all those things of the best quality are provided here by Mr. Hallahan who deals with the best supplier in Limerick ?"
"Who is this Mr. Hallahan ?"
"An excellent guide whose address I will give Your Honour, or who will come himself if Your Honour wants me to let him know that he is here."

"No thank you, his address will be enough, for I have not come here for the fishing."

At this point in the conversation, records Pichot, the fellow smiled a knowing smile which expressed his admiration for what he considered to be the visitor's caution. However, it was agreed that on the morrow Pichot would not be embarking on a fishing trip, but on a visit to the Trappist Monks at Mount Melleray and the jaunting car was ordered for seven o'clock the next morning to convey him there.

The subject of conversation then became that of Pichot's supper for which he had ordered salmon. There was, it appeared, even in Lismore where 600 salmon were netted at one cast of the net, no salmon available for supper! All the fish had been reserved for the Duke of Devonshire and his guests, for the English Peer was entertaining a large party at the Castle. That evening there was no meat or chicken either,because everything had been bought up that morning for comsumption at the Castle, but Pichot was not to worry, the next day the marketing for the inn would be done early, he was assured, and ample provisions would be obtained. Meanwhile, he had that evening to be satisfied with slices of toast and three cups of tea. However, when he returned from his visit to Mount Melleray the next morning,[7] he did find at the inn a lunch copious enough to prove to him that the Duke of Devonshire did not always deprive his beloved Lismore of food, and the Frenchman enjoyed his salmon.

After lunch Pichot set off to visit the Castle where the Duke and his party had arrived two days earlier. He points out that the Duke was in residence there but rarely, and his presence caused almost as much excite - ment as would have that of the Queen and her Court, for all the population were dependent upon him, either directly for their livelihood or indirectly for his charity. As a tourist, Pichot's first impression of the Castle and its grounds was a favourable one. He was surprised that he was allowed to enter the grounds on foot as though into a public park, that there were no gates, only turnstiles, and that all the paths were open to him. From a vantage point above the river he watched the fish leaping over the salmon weir. The fishing rights, he tells us, were rented out at £700 a year, although in his Irish Sketch Book of 1842 Thackeray says that these fishing rights were rented 'for a thousand a year'[8]. As to the Castle itself, the Frenchman felt that seen from various parts of the town it was impressive, its towering battlements contrasting as they did with the elegant slender spire of the Cathedral, but seen close at hand it was of a gloomy and disappointing appearance. Pichot gives a short history of the Castle and the Family of the Duke, and he mentions people likely to be of special interest to his French readers. He speaks for instance of Robert Boyle (1627-91) who was born at Lismore Castle, and whom he says English biographers called 'the most illustrious philosopher of modern times'. Pichot himself, as a good Frenchman from the land of Descartes, would not concede this title to Boyle, especially as Boyle had so distrusted the system of Cartesian philosophy that he was reluctant to read a single work of the French philosopher. Pichot also mentions the famous Georgiana,wife of the 5th Duke of Devonshire, and mother of the 6th Duke, who was then the incumbent. Georgiana had written poetry, and one of her poems describing a journey over the Saint Gothard Pass had been sent by her to the French poet Jacques Delille (1738-1813). Delille had translated this poem into French, and this translation together with a poem of his own dedicated to the Duchess, appear in his volume entitled

Poésies fugitives.   In his poem Delille addresses the Duchess as 'Belle
Georgiana', and she was of course a renowned beauty.   Pichot relates
how one of her tenant farmers lamented that he were not almighty God,
for then she would be Queen of Heaven, and this remark the Frenchman
felt, must have been made by one of her Irish farmers, as an English
one would never have had such a fertile imagination!   As to the 6th
Duke, Pichot points out that he had spent considerable sums of money on
Lismore, even though the expenditure involved was a mere bagatelle compared
with that of Chatsworth.   Nevertheless, he was astonished that such a sum
should have been spent in view of the fact that the Duke was without a
direct heir.

Our traveller was very impressed with the gardens at Lismore, and comments
particularly on the espaliers, the fruit trees trained to grow upon lattice
work and walls.   He felt that they had been arranged by the hand of an
artist, and as the fruit was already beginning to ripen in the July sun,
the effect upon him was as though he were seeing a series of great fans
opening up before him, displaying rich colours in tones of red, purple and
gold.   The gardener who showed him round boasted of being a pupil of the
Superintendent of Gardens at Chatsworth, to whom Pichot refers as
'Mr. Packington', but who must in fact have been the famous Joseph Paxton.
Paxton was employed by the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, and under his
supervision great improvements had been made to the estate, and the gigantic
conservatory had been erected there which was to serve to some extent as a model
for the Great Exhibition Building of 1851.   Paxton had accompanied the
Duke on his present visit to Ireland, and the Irish gardener offered to
introduce the Frenchman to him.   Pichot however refused the offer, feeling
himself unable to keep up a conversation on horticulture with such an
expert.   Instead, after admiring the sleek cows in the pastures and the
well fed pigs in their large sties, he preferred to spend an additional
half hour beneath the avenue of yew trees, where he dreamed of his 'own
little Chatsworth', the estate of Bellevue near Paris, which he had just
purchased, and where he had left his wife and two young children.

After the visit to the Castle and its grounds, there remained the Cathedral
to visit.   He found it tucked away in a somewhat isolated part of the
town, and thought it appeared to be sulking behind big trees which concealed
part of its door.   The impression the building had upon him was one of
gloom, and when the sacristan let him in he reminded him of a jailor open-
ing up a prison.   We can contrast this impression with the one made upon
Thackeray when he visited the Cathedral at Lismore which he describes as
'one of the neatest-kept and prettiest edifices I have seen in Ireland'[9].
The only things which interested the Frenchman were what he describes as
'an ancient tomb', presumably the MacGrath tomb, and 'some architectural
details which must date from the tenth century' and which were, we assume,
the slabs inscribed in Gaelic.   He left the Cathedral and went to the
Catholic church on the other side of the town.   This building, he found,
was a humble one, but there God was not kept under lock and key, as in a
prison.   From time to time a poor woman would enter to light a candle and
pray.   The Catholic church was less clean than the Cathedral, its ornaments
in poor taste, yet the crucifix which he saw there with its effigy of the
suffering Christ moved him, for he felt it to be at one with the poor of
Ireland who went there to weep before it.

The visit to the church over, Pichot returned to the inn, and prepared for
his departure from Lismore.

Conclusion

Pichot took the coach from Lismore to the port of Youghal and so he entered County Cork. He did however return to County Waterford that evening for a brief visit to Ardmore, and there he found the Round Tower and the ruins to be of great interest. This was his final excursion in the County, and after returning to Youghal he went on to the City of Cork. His first days in Ireland, spent as they were in the City and County of Waterford had left a great impression upon him, and his account of his visit is a vivid and often entertaining one.

Notes:

1. See 'A 19th Century French Traveller's Visit to Waterford' (Part One) in Decies, No. XVIII, September 1981, p.11-16. The source of this article is Pichot's L'Irlande et le Pays de Galles; esquisses de voyages, d'économie politique etc. see note 4 to Part One.

2. See Part One of this article, (footnote on page 16) regarding the identity of Mr. G....ths.

3. Job, Chapter 39, v. 24/25

4. Bostock E.H., Menageries, Circuses and Theatres, London, Chapman & Hall Ltd., 1927, p.9.

5. See Part One, Note 7.

6. See Part One, p. 14

7. See Part One, p. 15

8. Thackeray W.M., The Irish Sketch Book of 1842, in The Works of William Makepeace Thackeray, Vol. XVIII, London, Smith, Elder, Co., 1888, p. 52.

9. ibid, p. 54.

GENEALOGICAL ENQUIRIES.

It is felt that "Decies" could serve a useful purpose by publishing particulars of appeals which are made from time to time for information concerning ancestors, other relatives, or subjects of research, their place or date of birth, marriage or burial, etc.   Any information known to readers should, of course, be sent direct to the enquirer. The following have reached us:-

O'Reilly or Reilly

Information wanted on John Reilly who died in his home at Ballykeohan, Kilmacow in 1862 aged 103 years.   Where exactly was his home?

                Reply to Paul Kavanagh,
                        2, North Circular Road,
                        Phoenix Park,
                        Dublin 7.

Purcell

Are there any Purcell tombstones in the cemetery at Mothel Abbey?   If a searcher should find any he should send a copy of the inscription to Capt. Brien P. Hogan,
                                Guttenbrunnestrasse 9,
                                6103 Griesheim,
                                West Germany.

Boutcher

Where is the burial place of this Hugenot family?   Is there a register of Hugenot families anywhere and, if so, where ?

                Reply to Mrs. June Moran,
                        9, Eglington Road,
                        Donnybrook,
                        Dublin

Christmas

Information wanted on three brothers - John, Thomas and Richard Christmas.

                Replies to Irish Genealogy Association,
                        165A, Kingsway,
                        Dunmurray,
                        Belfast.

Cuff

Mr. Cuff seeks information about his great grandfather William Cuff, born in Waterford in 1830, died in San Antonio, Texas.   Also William's brother, Thomas, born 1834 or 1835.

                Replies to Mr. James W. Cuff,
                        4921, Kenneth Avenue,
                        Carmichael,
                        California,96608, U.S.A.

ITEMS OF LOCAL HISTORICAL INTEREST.

Exhibition: The Life and Times of Thomas Francis Meagher; in Reginald's Tower from May 1982.

This is a most happy collation of artifact, illustration and information, chronologically presented and rich in historical detail.   It begins with Thomas Francis' grandfather showing the importance of the Newfoundland trade in the family fortunes and proceeds through the next generation before giving a history of T. F.'s birthplace (including original deed), the present Granville Hotel.   Details of his education (Clongowes and Stoneyhurst) and of his political evolution are displayed. The bulk of the material, not unexpectedly, is connected with his Young Ireland days, his trial and deportation plus a surprisingly vivid selection concerning his life in Tasmania (this includes a sketch of his house by John Mitchel and the flute he used to play there).

Apparently, little was available about his nine years in the U. S. A. up to the outbreak of the Civil War there. Contemporary comments do indicate that Meagher and his "Irish Brigade" acquited themselves with little regard for personal safety and a photograph showing the aftermath of one of these battles serves as a firm indicator of what war involved.   There is no glorification either of his appointment to the post of Acting Governor of Montana, a place "almost unexplored --- politically --- unsettled---threatened by red Indians and lacking any military establishment to support Meagher's authority".   Comtemporary opinions about his mysterious death are given, but no judgement is made.   Other writings by and about him are displayed but the entire exhibition is laudably objective and allows the visitor to form his own opinions from a comprehensive range of primary sources attractively displayed.   It deserves to be visited - many times.

Congratulations to the staff of Waterford Corporation who were responsible for the concept, assembly and display of this exhibition.   The fact that so much of this has come from their own muniments whets the appetite for further such exhibitions.

FIFTY YEARS OF ABBEYSIDE SCOUTING: Edited by Phil Duggan, published by 4th Waterford Unit, C. B. S., 1980, £5.00.

While this is not primarily a book of local historical importance what does emerge from the minutes of scouting is a rich selection from the life of the tightly knit and self-contained community of "the village", as Abbeyside is insistently and fondly called here.   It is a substantial, well-produced compilation (260 glossy pages) containing a judicious mixture of oral history and documentary sources (i.e. log books) interspersed with good contemporary photographs.

While many of the articles are anecdotal, they do capture much
of the spirit of the troop and community which produced them
through the depressed days of the thirites and forties although
no economic constraints appear to have inhibited the activities
of the Abbeyside scouts.   When an all-Ireland scouting competition
was initiated in the early 1950s, the Fourth Waterford Troop
captured the trophy four times between 1953 and '55, and this is
seen very much as an expression of "the spirit of adventure and
comradeship" which has characterised Abbeyside since its sea-faring
days.

This book avoids the nostalgic and hagliographical pitfalls which
seem normally to beset such publications. All concerned are to
be congratulated on their initiative and presentation.

                                        Des Cowman.

FEDERATION OF LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETIES.
Congratulations to the Federation on two recent publications - a
Directory giving essential information in relation to 26 affiliated
Societies and a Newsletter.   The latter contains a review of the
Federation's activities, as well as those of its constituent
Societies, and a very useful diary giving the dates of forth-
coming lectures, outings and other fixtures covering the period
March-July, inclusive.

There is a full coverage of the Kilkenny Seminar which took place
last November and which was enjoyed by several of our members.
The publication date precluded the inclusion of an account of the
Roscrea Seminar, the organisation of which reflected so much
credit on the Federation and on the Roscrea Heritage Society.

It is noted that the Federation Committee has been active in
following up a suggestion made at the Kilkenny Seminar that sought
to ensure that the State would provide the services of a suitably
qualified person who would be available to all local museums to
give advice and assistance in matters of identification, cataloguing
and conservation.   We wish success to their efforts.

Reading through "Reports from Societies" one is struck by the
variety and novel forms of activity in which many Societies
have engaged.   These range from reporting on an early Christian
settlement to the erection of a memorial plaque, the purchase
of a painting, the preservation of a medieval bridge, the
publication of grave inscriptions, the restoration of a heritage
house and the sponsoring of a schools debate.

It is satisfactory to note that our own Society figures well
in the frequency of its lectures and outings.

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

PROGRAMME FROM JUNE TO OCTOBER, 1982.

JUNE 13th: Coach Trip to Lough Gur.
(Separate notice sent to members)

JUNE 27th: Outing to Portlaw and Kilbunny.
Conducted by Mr. Chas. Jacob and Mr. Frank Heylin.

Departure from City Hall 2.30 p.m. - to assemble at
Kilbunny at 3.00 p.m..

JULY 11th: Outing to Faithlegge House.
Conducted by Col. Hubert Gallowey.

Departure from City Hall 2.30 p.m.-to assemble at
Faithlegge Gates at 3.00 p.m.

JULY 25th: Outing to Folksrath and Jenkinstown.

Guide: V. Rev. John Brennan, P.P.
Leaving City Hall at 2.30 p.m.

AUG.22nd: Outing to Old Ross, Co. Wexford

Conducted by Mr. Bernard Brown.

Departure from City Hall 2.30 p.m. - to assemble
at Old Ross at 3.15 p.m.

SEPT.9th: Evening visit to Chamber of Commerce.

Conducted by Mr. J. C. Heylin.

Assemble at Chamber of Commerce Building 7.30 p.m.

SEPT.   DECIES XXI will be distributed to members.

OCT.1st: Lecture:
"Women in History in 19th Century". By Mrs. Mary Cullen

OCT.29th: Lecture: "Irish Catholic Community from Union to the Famine".
Rev. Dr. P. J. Corish. Prof. Mod. History Maynooth.

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

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

Correspondence re DECIES should be sent to:

Mr. Noel Cassidy,"Lisacul",Marian Park, Waterford.
Telephone No. 051/73130