

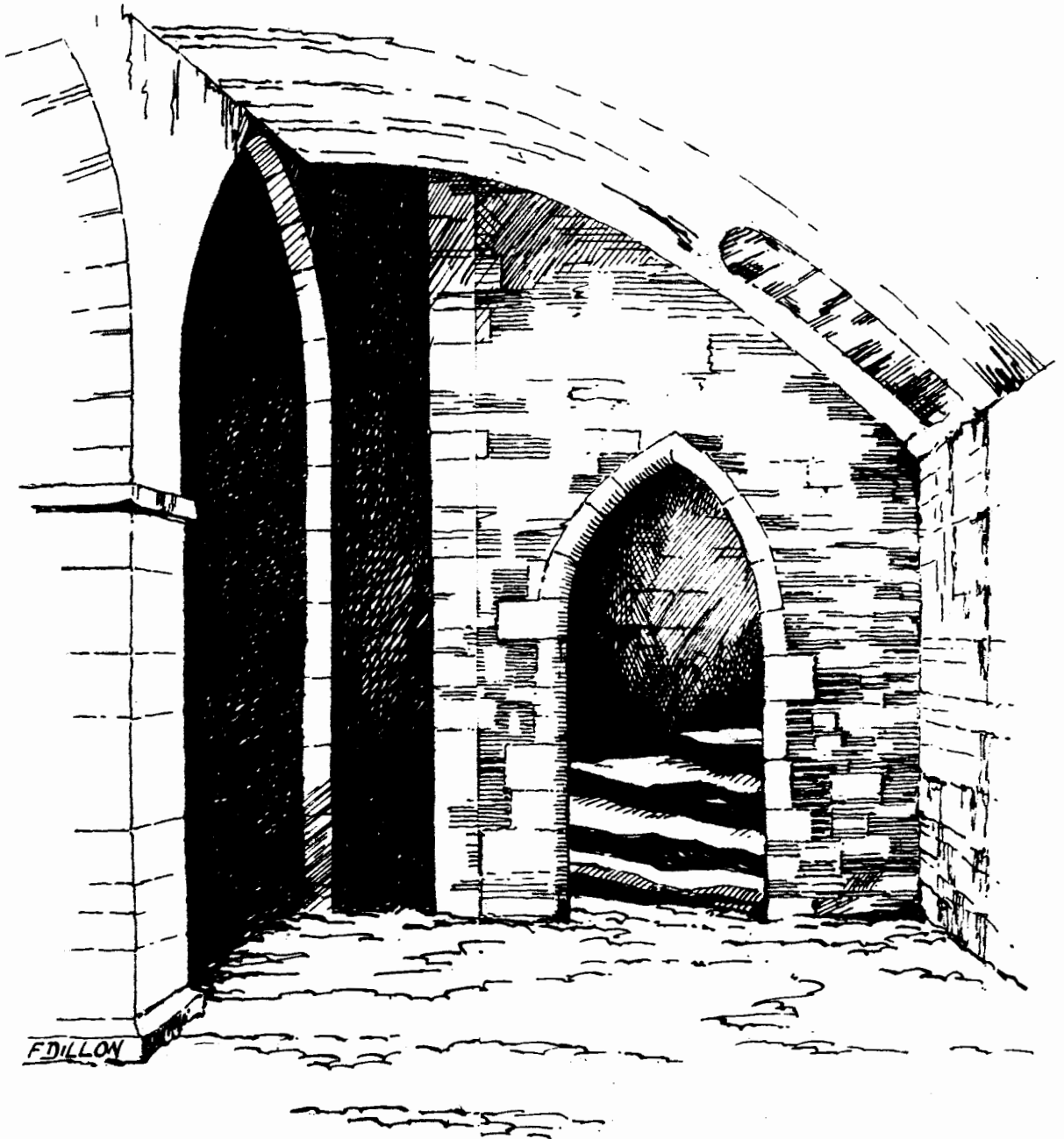


Old Waterford Society

DECIES

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FRONT COVER.

Our cover illustration shows part of the 13th century undercroft at the rear of Waterford's City Hall. Popularly known as the "Crypt" from its proximity to Christ Church Cathedral, it was probably the store or warehouse of a mediaeval merchant. It was the subject of an article in DECIES some years ago and was visited by Society member earlier this year.

Once more we wish to express our thanks to Waterford Corporation and to Waterford Regional Technical College for their assistance in the production of this issue. Our thanks also to Mr. Julian Walton and the National Library for assistance with illustrations and maps.

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E D I T O R I A L

Plans recently revealed for the development of the Railway Square area will by now have been examined with satisfaction by all who have deplored the state into which the square was allowed to fall, since the demise of the Waterford/Tramore railway link and the demolition of the buildings along its Manor Street perimeter.

The plans include the removal of a number of unsightly sheds from the vicinity of the Watch Tower, so that the venerable building will now stand revealed to the public view from all sides. The restoration of the tower, as outlined, will make of it an attractive feature when seen from the south-western approach to the city, and will continue the line of the city wall across the road from Castle Street at that point.

One of the oldest inhabited parts of the city is Cathedral Square and one cannot help thinking how nice it would be to see this area similarly conserved and its not inconsiderable charm enhanced. It is rather sad to see one of the oldest buildings in the square, the house of John Roberts, the master builder, being allowed to fall into a state of virtual ruin. It is perhaps too late now to rectify the matter, so we can only regret the passing of another little bit of Waterford's history.

THE
SHAMEFVLL
ENDE,
Of

Bishop
Atherton,

and his

Proctor
John Childe



An illustration from *The Life and Death of John Atherton*, published shortly after Bishop Atherton's execution for buggery in 1640. The figure on the right is John Childe, who was supposed to have been his lover, and who was also executed shortly afterwards.

The Strange Case Of

Bishop John Atherton.

Canon Robert Winnett.

A number of bishops in the course of the Church's history have suffered death, some as martyrs for the Faith and others as heretics, but the case of John Atherton must surely be unique in that he was executed for the alleged commission of an unnatural offence. Atherton was born in Bawdrip in Somerset in 1598, the son of Prebendary John Atherton, the rector of the parish. At the age of sixteen the younger John entered Gloucester Hall in Oxford, transferring later to Lincoln College and becoming Master of Arts in 1619.¹ In 1622 he became rector of Huish Champflower on the edge of Exmoor and about this time married Joanne, daughter of Mrs. Susannah Leakey, a woman who although a regular worshipper in church and popular with her neighbours, was credited with psychic powers and was said to have threatened to return a ghost after her death, when her presence might be less welcome. Atherton, having attracted the notice of Wentworth, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, received a series of preferments in Ireland, the prebend of St. John's, Dublin, the chancellorship of Killaloe, the chancellorship of Christ Church, Dublin, and the rectories of Killaban and Ballintubride. In 1635 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Trinity College, Dublin. The crowning point of his career was his appointment to the bishopric of Waterford and Lismore in 1636. As bishop he was said to have "behaved himself for some time with great prudence, though forward enough, if not too much, against the Roman Catholics."³

The recovery of the Church of Ireland's patrimony from usurping lay hands was a major concern of Wentworth,⁴ and Atherton was among the most energetic of his agents. From the time of his arrival in Ireland he showed himself active in regaining for the Church revenues which had been appropriated by lay landlords, thereby earning the approbation of Wentworth, who approached Archbishop Laud with a view to securing a dispensation enabling Atherton to hold his English living together with his preferments in Ireland, as otherwise "he would gain little of the exchange and account himself ill rewarded for his pains."⁵ The king, however, had declared himself opposed to bishops commendams, and Laud also judged it to be of "evil and scandalous example to hold different preferments, especial such as are with cure in diverse kingdoms."⁶ Atherton, having further "secured two good rectories from the patron who secundum usum Sarum had made them lay-free these forty years",⁷ was willing to resign his English preferment, but before his resignation became effective a new turn in events took place.

The Strange Case of Bishop John Atherton.

At the end of 1635 the bishopric of Waterford and Lismore fell vacant by the death of Michael Boyle, and Atherton's name came up for consideration. The bishopric was a poor one and required an incumbent who would restore its rights and revenues. For the "soliciting part and recovering the rights of the bishopric" Wentworth regarded Atherton as well qualified, though less fit for the duties of a bishop.⁸ Laud, who when Bishop of Bath and Wells would have known Atherton, likewise felt misgivings about his suitability for episcopal office, for he wrote, "Better Dr. Atherton than a worse, though for my part I like nothing at all in him but the soliciting part."⁹ This and Wentworth's subsequent statement, "There is exception against the man, I confess",¹⁰ point to some defect in Atherton's personal character, a defect which manifested itself in sexual irregularity. In 1623 Atherton's wife's elder sister, Susan, had produced an illegitimate baby of which Atherton was believed by some of his parishioners to be the father, but no charge was brought against him, presumably for lack of evidence.¹¹ Later Atherton was reputed to have begotten an infant by a niece of his wife living in Barnstaple: of the alleged fate of this infant an account will be given later. In spite of his misgivings Wentworth continued to urge Atherton's appointment on the ground that the deplorable state of the bishopric required "one well versed in the part of a solicitor." If Atherton were appointed "Cork would think the Devil is let loose upon him forth off his chain..I will undertake that there is no such terrier in all England for the unkenning of an old fox."¹² In the end Laud laid Atherton's name before the king, though not without frankly disclosing his hesitations to Wentworth: "I confess clearly to you, since I had speech with him (Atherton) in England, I have no opinion either of his worth or honesty. I pray God I may be deceived."¹³ On his appointment as bishop Atherton was allowed to hold in commendam the chancellorship of Christ Church until the revenues of the bishopric were recovered, but was required to resign his living in Somerset.

In view of the doubts which Wentworth felt concerning Atherton's fitness for the office of a bishop, doubts which he allowed to be overruled by mundane considerations there is something disingenuous in Wentworth's answer to Pym at his trial that he was ignorant of anything to Atherton's discredit: "I thought the bishop a person fit for that charge, but suppose he had a secret fault of his own (God knows it was unknown to me), may not a man be deceived in his judgement of a man but this shall be turned against him?"¹⁴

Atherton had no sooner become bishop than he set about to recover the episcopal revenues, his activities being mainly directed against Richard Boyle, the Earl of Cork. By February, 1637 he had recovered the site of the bishop's palace and £40 a year rent for land in Waterford,¹⁵ and in the same year he commenced suits against Cork for lands at Kilbree and New Affane, Bewley and Kilmolash, and Ardmore and Lismore, basing his case on Sir George Radcliffe's opinion that the leases were invalid unless ratified by the deans and chapters of the two cathedrals of Waterford and Lismore. Wentworth, doubtful whether Radcliffe's view could be upheld, urged a compromise, and Bramhall, bishop of Derry, and Sir William Parsons were appointed as arbitrators. Their award proved highly profitable to Atherton,¹⁶ who received Ardmore, Kilbree and New Affane, thereby adding over £500 to the income of the see, and was granted £500 for the building of an episcopal house. Cork was allowed to retain the castle and manor of Lismore and the towns and lands of Bewley and Kilmolash.¹⁷ The arrangement was to be ratified by a special Act of the English Parliament. Cork was secure in his possession of the capitular lands of Lismore so long as his cousin Naylor an opponent of Atherton, was dean, but Atherton prevailed on Bramhall to secure Naylor's removal to Limerick so that his successor in the deanery could commence a suit for the lands. To secure patronage for himself it was Atherton's practice to persuade clergymen nominated by private patron not to apply for institution so that the right of presentations reverted to the bishop by lapse.¹⁸

Within a few months of his becoming bishop Atherton's name was linked with certain strange happenings in his native Somerset. Susannah Leakey died at Minehead in November 1634, and before long there were reports that, as she had threatened, she had returned to haunt the town, and even to use her witch's powers to sink the ships of her shipowner son Alexander as they entered Minehead harbour.¹⁹ Soon a strange story was being put about by her daughter-in-law, Elizabeth, Alexander's wife, to the effect that her mother-in-law had appeared and spoken to her, with a message that she was to go to Ireland and inform the bishop of Waterford that if he did not repent of a certain sin he would be hanged. She made the journey to Waterford - her husband did a regular trade with Waterford - and briefly saw the bishop, who received her coldly and responded to her message only by saying that if he were to hang, he would assuredly not be drowned. Returning to Minehead she was questioned by the local magistrates, who did not know what to make of her story but forwarded a report to the Privy Council. No account exists of the contents of the report, but as there was no corroboration of Elizabeth Leakey's story the matter was allowed to drop.²⁰ However rumours persisted, and the bishop of Bath and Wells, William Piers, appointed a commission, consisting of himself, Sir Robert Montacute and a local magistrate named Godwin to investigate the affair. Several witnesses were examined, including Elizabeth Leakey, but their testimonies were confused and contradictory, and were regarded by the commission as the product of superstition, feeble-mindedness and idle gossip. As to the message she was to deliver to the bishop Elizabeth said she would explain its purport only to the king himself. The commission described her as "an understanding woman but bold and subtle enough", and so little credence did they attach to her story that they reached the conclusion " that there never was any such apparition but that it is an imposture devised and framed for some particular ends, but what they are we know not."²¹

Laud was aware of the sinister rumours concerning Atherton and was perplexed by them. Writing to Wentworth he observed, "You may believe what you list of this, but some people of very good quality do affirm this, and a good deal more. But what will appear truth in the end God knows." Later he wrote that in his opinion young Mrs. Leakey was " a cunning young woman" whose object was money - in a word, a blackmailer.²³ Wentworth was disposed to treat the matter lightly, even light-heartedly. "I will enquire after Mrs. Leakey and her errand", he wrote to Laud, "and will learn what the Devil hath to say to the bishop of Waterford. Sure I am the Earl of Cork wisheth them together already"²⁴, and later he wrote, "I hear nothing more of Mrs. Leakey or her familiar, but if money be that they aim at, it must be a strong and crafty devil that gets anything out of the bishop's purse."²⁵

Whatever rumours were in circulation about Atherton they did not prevent Wentworth from considering him for another bishopric, as "one well versed in the part of a solicitor." Early in 1638, when Richard Boyle was about to be translated from Cork to Tuam, Wentworth recommended Atherton for the impending vacancy as "a marvellous instrument to settle the bishopric of Cork, Cloyne and Ross by recovering at least £800 a year to those churches, which cannot be begun by this bishop that hath already closed his hands so as for this time he cannot stir."²⁶ Wentworth's recommendation, although embodied in a King's letter, was not acted upon, and not Atherton but Chappell, the provost of Trinity, was appointed to Cork.²⁷ Atherton remained at Waterford, but the end of his career was soon to come.

In 1640 a charge of serious immorality was brought against Atherton, namely, of sodomy with his steward John Child. The accusation was made in a petition to the Irish House of Commons, which on 17th June appointed certain of its members to lay the petition before the lord deputy, now Lord Wandesford.²⁸ According to a contemporary letter the bishop repudiated the charge in question, but did not deny the commission of certain acts of adultery and fornication.

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Being placed on bail he attended with the other lords spiritual on the lord deputy in Christ Church, Dublin, but the lord deputy dismissed him and later had him arrested and committed to Dublin Castle.²⁹ Unfortunately no record is extant of Atherton's trial, which ended in his being convicted and sentenced to death. On 5th December he was hanged, not having claimed his right as a lord spiritual to suffer death by beheading. He was not formally degraded from episcopal orders due to the sudden death of the lord deputy on the eve of the execution, so he died a bishop, but on the morning of his execution he was deprived by Trinity College of his D.D. Degree. Atherton by his own wish was buried in the churchyard of St. John's, Dublin, in an obscure corner used for the deposit of rubbish.³¹

Doubt has always surrounded the question of Atherton's guilt on the charge for which he was condemned, and the debate continued into the following century. By many the unfortunate bishop has been regarded as the victim of a conspiracy on the part of those whose financial interests he threatened. Atherton's accuser, Child, was himself to suffer on a capital charge.

After his condemnation Atherton was visited in prison by Nicholas Bernard, dean of Ardagh and at one time chaplain to archbishop Ussher. In his The Penitent Death of a Woefull Sinner, which ran into several editions, Bernard left a detailed account of Atherton's last days and his execution. His attitude during his trial, Bernard says, was "by all condemned", but in prison it changed to one of humble penitence. Bernard proffered himself as a spiritual adviser to Atherton and attended him daily to prepare him for death. By "representing unto him the most compassionate merciful nature of God, willing yet to be friends with him, so apt to forgive and forget all injuries", Bernard brought the prisoner to an assurance of pardon and peace of mind.³³ Atherton acknowledged the justice of God in bringing about his condemnation. He confessed his "reading of naughty books, viewing of immodest pictures, frequenting of plays and drunkenness."³³ He confessed also his "too much zeal and forwardness both in introducing and pressing some church innovations and in dividing himself from the House of Convocation anno 1634, in opposition to the Articles of Ireland then voted to be received, of purpose to please some men's persons."³⁴ He said that the one who had corrupted him in his youth had recently unexpectedly visited him, and the sight of him was as though a ghost had come to warn him of a "present vengeance drawing nigh him."³⁵ Bernard cites as evidence of Atherton's repentance "his giving satisfaction to any that he had wronged even in small matters; his sending for some that were mean persons and asking their forgiveness; those whom he had prosecuted too bitterly in the High Commission Court, endeavouring to the uttermost to take off their fines; his care for satisfying his smallest debts."³⁶

In his last speech at the gallows, according to Bernard, Atherton acknowledged the moral, though not the legal, justice of his condemnation. He believed that the jury were honest gentlemen and gave their verdict conscientiously, and of the judges he said that "though some of them were hot against him, he imputed it only to their zeal against vice." He confessed "his neglect of public preaching and catechising in the church and private prayers in his family, for which sins of omission he was given over to sins of commission, for the neglect of the commandments of the first table let fall into breach of the second." Nevertheless, declared Bernard, Atherton continued to deny "the main thing in the indictment which the law laid hold of, and which hath been since confirmed by his chief accuser at his execution also."³⁷ For Bernard, then, Atherton was the victim of a miscarriage of justice. He might accept his fate as merited by his general sinfulness, but of the particular charge on which he was condemned he maintained, and Bernard believed, his innocence. Bernard referred to the subsequent execution of Atherton's chief accuser, but did not say on what charge he was executed, whether sodomy or (as was later alleged) perjury.

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In the circumstances of the time, a criminal case involving a bishop was certain to be exploited by those who wished to discredit episcopacy. Within a few months of Atherton's execution, and shortly before the publication of Bernard's Penitent Death, there had appeared what Bernard called a "scandalous rhyming pamphlet,"³⁸ in the form of a poem printed in London and entitled The Life and Death of John Atherton, Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lysmore within the Kingdom of Ireland, borne neare Bridgwater in Somersetshire, who for Incest, Buggery and many other Enormous Crimes, after having lived a Vicious Life died a Shameful Death. This crude poem, the work of a fanatic, is a sustained attack on Atherton's moral character. Even when he was a young man

"So far baseness did in him prevaile
The unto lust he set himself to saile,
Deflowered virgins, marriage-beds defilde
With many other vitious crimes too vilde
To be conceived
Lastly through pride, high fare and lustfull life
Incest committed with the sister of his wife
For which he sued his pardon and then fled
To Ireland where a worsor life he led."

The bishop, so the poem relates, was wont to take aphrodisiacs to provoke his desire, and no woman was safe from his advances. Finally there took place the offence which was the immediate cause of his downfall, an act of sodomy with his proctor,³⁹ John Child:

"Suppose a Devill from th'infernal pit,
More monster-like than ere was Devill yet,
Contrary to course, taking a male fiend
To sodomize with him; such was the mind
Of this Lord Bishop; he did take a childe
By name, not years, acting a sinne so vilde
As is forenam'd; this Childe a Proctor too."

On the title-page of the poem Child is stated to have been executed in March, 1641, "at Bandon Bridges, condemned thereto at the Assizes holden at Corke."⁴⁰ The story of the apparition to young Mrs. Leakey and her message of warning to Atherton in Ireland figures in the poem.

Interest in the case of Atherton continued, as shown by the appearance of several editions of Bernard's Penitent Death during the seventy years following his execution. Among those who believed him to have been the victim of a miscarriage of justice was Dr. John King, Rector of Chelsea, the author (though his name does not appear) of The Case of John Atherton, Fairly Represented against a late Partial Edition of Dr. Bernard's Relation. This pamphlet, which appeared in 1710, was a reply to an edition of the Penitent Death in which the editor had inserted on the title-page a statement that Atherton "was convicted of the sin of uncleanness with a cow and other creatures."⁴¹ King believed that Atherton's execution had been brought about by certain of those whose resentment he had incurred by his efforts to recover properties belonging to the bishopric. The see of Waterford being a poor one, the need for a competent livelihood had compelled him to seek their recovery, but King had to admit that Atherton was not always wise in the manner in which he prosecuted his claims. He was of a "proud, passionate and litigious temper", and on his own confession, as recorded by Bernard, he gave to his lawsuits time and attention which had better been devoted to the spiritual duties of his office, and was at times

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guilty of "taking advantages and overreaching men", for which he sought to make satisfaction before his death.⁴² That Atherton should in these circumstances have become the victim of injustice was not surprising, for as King observed, "when a man falls under the general hatred, prejudice and obloquy of men, it is no difficult matter upon slender proofs to induce them to believe him guilty and convict him of any crimes objected against him."⁴³ But of Atherton's innocence in respect of the offence with which he was charged King had no doubt, for the chief witness against him confessed to having given false testimony, and it was incredible that a man long married and "of his years, education and function should be guilty of so unnatural and brutal a piece of lust as that he was charged with."⁴⁴ The fact that Atherton made a full confession of his past sins and gave evidence of his genuine repentance, and yet to the end denied the particular offence alleged against him, clearly pointed to his innocence.

In an appendix King quoted two letters in support of Atherton's innocence. Neither the writers' nor the recipients' names are given, but it happens that the originals of the letters are inserted in a copy of the 1641 edition of the Penitent Death in the British Library.

The first letter, dated 20th March, 1709/10, was written by Thomas Mills, who was bishop of Waterford 1708-1740. In reply to King's request for information concerning Atherton, Mills wrote to say that he had found "all the creditable, sensible people of the city and diocese of Waterford possessed with an opinion of his innocence as to the crime for which he came to so ignominious an end", and that it was commonly believed that "he was brought to his death by the contrivance and conspiracy of a certain number of men who were set on work to prevent further trouble from the said bishop about lands in dispute between them, and therefore they resolved to have him out of the way."⁴⁵

The second letter, dated 27th March, 1710, and bearing the signature, A. Alcock, was addressed to Bishop Mills, who forwarded it to King.⁴⁶ According to the writer all the papers relating to Atherton's trial had been destroyed, "there having been a general sweep made of almost all records whatsoever in the war that immediately succeeded the bishop's execution." Among the people of Waterford, both Roman Catholics and Protestants, it was, said the writer, widely believed that he was innocent of the offence charged against him and the victim of resentment due to his efforts to recover the lands of his see. The story of bestiality with a cow was "most notoriously false", as the offence charged against him was that of "too much freedom with his own steward, one Child by name."⁴⁷ The chief witness against Atherton, who later before his own execution confessed to perjury, was a menial servant of the bishop, "a most profligate wicked fellow", who fled to England with a purse of money believed to be the reward for his perjury. (The "chief witness" here appears to be distinguished from Child, and a steward could hardly be reckoned a "menial servant." There may be some confusion on the part of the writer). Another who gave testimony against Atherton, according to Alcock, was Howell Powell, "upon whom the bishop had formerly been somewhat severe in his court." Powell was a man of some substance, but after the bishop's death nothing prospered with him, and his wife attributed their misfortunes to God's judgement on her husband for the false testimony which he had given against the bishop. Similar misfortunes, the letter continues, befell others concerned in the bishop's prosecution. White, the Roman Catholic sheriff responsible for the bishop's arrest, fell from opulence into poverty and was compelled to live on charity. Atherton's chief prosecutor, the city recorder, Pierce Butler, was one of those from whom the bishop had recovered lands. He was believed to have suborned the bishop's servant - evidently the "profligate wicked fellow" mentioned above - to give evidence against him. Once more an element of the psychic enters into the narrative, for Alcock tells how Butler was reported to

have gone mad after the bishop's execution and to have seen the bishop's ghost before him. Various calamities overtook the members of Butler's family, and the house which he had occupied remained for long untenanted owing to the presence of the ghost, a story for whose truth Alcock does not vouch but cites as evidence of popular belief in Atherton's innocence.⁴⁸

A reply to King appeared in the following year, 1711, in the shape of a pamphlet, Bishop Atherton's Case discussed in a Letter to the Author of a late pamphlet entitled, The Case of John Atherton, Bishop of Waterford in Ireland, fairly represented,⁴⁹ the editor of which disavowed any intention of aspersing "the sacred order of episcopacy, for which I have the highest veneration" and declared his purpose to be that of exposing "the hideous sin of unnatural lewdness."⁵⁰ The interest of the pamphlet lies in two narratives which it contains, one by a certain John Price, who claimed to have been present at Atherton's execution, and the other by John Quick, described as a "Minister of the Gospel". The latter purported to give "a true and amazing relation of the notorious uncleanness, incest, sodomy and murder committed by Dr. John Atherton, Lord Bishop of Waterford in the Kingdom of Ireland apparent, undoubted and prodigious apparition that was ever heard of, enough to convince the greatest atheist."⁵¹

According to Price, Atherton was charged by his own servant with sodomy and by a woman with rape, and before his execution confessed his guilt. Price gives the following version of Atherton's last words at the gallows: "I am come to pay my last debt here, the first of my coat that I know in this kind. I pray God I may be the last. I believe it is known to you all what is laid to my charge, and for which I received sentence of death. I do here before the Lord, his holy angels and you all, own the sentence against me to be just, and that I was guilty of the charge brought against me."⁵² This, for what it is worth, represents a direct contradiction of Bernard's assertion that Atherton to the last denied that he was guilty of the particular offence of which he was convicted.

John Quick's narrative is stated to have been printed from an account in his own handwriting and signed by him in 1690. This John Quick, the date of whose death is given as 1706, is to be identified with John Quick, of Exeter College, Oxford, successively incumbent of Kingsbridge and Brixton Devon, minister of the English congregation at Middleburg in Holland, and pastor of a nonconformist congregation in Smithfield, London. In 1663 he was sentenced to a term of imprisonment for continuing to officiate after refusal to conform.⁵³

Quick tells the story of Susannah Leakey's appearance in ghostly form to her daughter-in-law, Elizabeth and of her charge to the latter to warn her uncle that unless he repented of a certain sin, he would be hanged. The sin in question was the murder of the infant which Atherton had begotten by his wife's niece in Barnstaple. Atherton, according to the ghostly Mrs. Leakey, "got my brother's daughter with child, and I delivered her of a girl, which as soon as he had baptised I pinched the throat of it and strangled it, and he smoked it over a pan of charcoal that it might not stink, and buried it in a chamber of the house." The curt response of the bishop has already been mentioned, as also the rejection of young Mrs. Leakey's story both by the Privy Council and by the commission set up by the bishop of Bath and Wells.

Quick's narrative now becomes still more remarkable, and again a psychic element enters in. In 1639 a young apprentice in Barnstaple named Chamberlain claimed, according to Quick, to have seen on several occasions the apparitions of a young woman carrying a new-born child, and of an old man sitting on his bed. One night he was told by the latter to go to a certain room in the house where he would find two silver pots under the floor-boards.

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One pot was full of gold and this he was to keep. The other pot he was on no account to open but was to take it intact to his master's daughter in Wales, a Mrs. Betty, niece to Bishop Atherton. (The name Betty raises a question. This Mrs. Betty could be, as Theo Brown hints, the remarried widow of William Leakey, Alexander's brother, but Betty is also a short form of Elizabeth. If there is confusion it is typical of the stories surrounding Atherton). The young man duly took the silver pot to Mrs. Betty, who a year later fell ill and died, leaving all her property to her maid on condition that she took the silver pot to the bishop of Waterford, with the message that "if he did not repent of the sin he knew himself to be guilty of he would be hanged." When news of this bequest, and the condition attached to it, became known, the silver pot was impounded by the magistrate, and on being opened it was found to contain the skeleton of an infant. A report was sent to the Privy Council, which despatched an order to Dublin for the arrest of the bishop.⁵⁴ No record of this, however, is to be found in the Acts of the Privy Council. Quick's narrative bears all the marks of improbability, credulity, and anti-episcopal prejudice.

Other evidence may be cited of the division of opinion concerning Atherton's guilt. Among those who believed him to be guilty was Alexander Clogie, son-in-law and chaplain to bishop William Bedell of Kilmore, and in this he may have been influenced by the fact that Atherton had been a member of the court which convicted Archibald Adair, bishop of Killala, of sedition and was "fiercest against him". Adair and Clogie were fellow Scots, and Bedell had striven to prevent Adair's deprivation. Clogie wrote of Atherton in his MS *Life of Bedell* (1675), "This prelate was by just judgement of God accused, arraigned and condemned for iniquities far above all that is left on record concerning Sodom."⁵⁵ It was Adair who succeeded Atherton in the bishopric of Waterford.

Walter Harris in his edition of Sir James Ware's *Whole Works* (1764) accepted the fact of Atherton's guilt, maintaining that the language of Atherton's confession could be construed only as referring to a specific crime and not simply to the "commission of common frailties." Harris further observed that "Sir James Ware at the time of Bishop Atherton's execution was a member of the Privy Council and had opportunities enough of knowing the truth and zeal enough to declare it, if there had been room to have acquitted him."⁵⁶

A champion of Atherton's innocence was Thomas Carte in his *Life of Ormonde* (1736). Here Atherton's downfall is outrightly attributed to the Earl of Cork. The Earl, reputed the richest man in Ireland, had, according to Carte, "gotten into his hand too much of the patrimony of the Church, which in those times lay exposed a common and easy prey to the deprivations of great men." Having recovered for the bishopric the manor of Ardmore, Atherton continued to sue for the remainder of the lands, and "being well qualified by his talents and spirit to go through with the suit, fell (as there is too much reason to think) a sacrifice to that litigation rather than to justice, when he suffered for a pretended crime of a secret nature." This miscarriage of justice, in Carte's view was facilitated by the policy of the times, by which "everything was encouraged that would throw a scandal on that order of men and render episcopacy odious."⁵⁷

Mystery surrounds the question of the justice of Atherton's conviction, and there is no record of the trial extant to help us in elucidating it: nevertheless an attempt will be made to reach an opinion on such evidence as is available.

The element of the ghostly or psychic figures prominent in the Atherton story, but it would be out of place here to discuss the question of the

objectivity or authenticity of such phenomena as apparitions. In this case a sceptical approach would appear to be justified, and Theo Brown says of the Leakey family, the ghostly Mrs. Leakey and the alleged happenings in Minehead and Barnstaple, "the documentary evidence is both scattered and scanty, though there is an abundance of rumour and gossip which seems only to increase the difficulty of arriving at a coherent narrative." Her conclusion is that there was no ghost of the old Mrs. Leakey at all, and that it was a story concocted by her daughter-in-law for the purpose of blackmailing the bishop, which in fact was what Laud suspected when the story first reached him. Credulity, love of the sensational, and anti-episcopal prejudice elaborated the story until it attained its full development in the narrative of John Quick.

It is hardly credible that Atherton was quite such an unashamed sexual profligate as he was represented to be by the author of The Life and Death of John Atherton, but on his own admission he was a man of loose sexual morals, and may well have committed adultery with his sister-in-law and with other women. Laud and Wentworth, as we have seen, had reservations about Atherton's fitness to be a bishop, though for Wentworth this doubt was overridden by Atherton's ability for the "soliciting part." On the question of Atherton's guilt of the particular offence of which he was convicted we have to decide whether or not to accept Bernard's word that to the end he denied "the main thing in the indictment which the law laid hold of" and the veracity of Atherton in making that denial. His frank confession of his past sinful life and his manifest penitence argue in favour of accepting Atherton's word on this point. Moreover Bernard tells us that at his trial Atherton was so confident that his innocence would be established that he did not challenge the foreman of the jury, whom he knew to be outlawed.⁵⁸ Against Bernard's testimony must be set that of Price to the effect that before his execution Atherton did confess his guilt of the charge, but it is difficult to know what value to attach to this, and a general confession might have been construed as a specific confession of guilt. The statement of Bernard and others that Atherton's chief accuser was himself the subject of a capital charge and before his execution confessed to having given false evidence against the bishop, does not appear to have been denied or even questioned. Granting Atherton's innocence of the specific charge on which he was convicted, it could be argued that he must have been known to have engaged in homosexual as well as heterosexual practices for the accusation to have been colourably brought against him, and this finds some support in Atherton's own reference to the "corrupter of his youth". His confession of "reading naughty books" and "viewing immodest pictures" shows him to have courted sexual temptations, leading him to the commission of immoral acts, perhaps of more than one kind. Acknowledging that his vices were the cause of his downfall Atherton seems at the end to have regarded his impending execution as the fulfillment of a death-wish and as a way of making expiation for a life which he could only look back upon with shame.⁵⁹

Roman Catholic-Protestant animosities do not seem to have played any significant part in the Atherton affair, and Atherton testified that "none of the Romish Church, though differing from me in points of religion, had a hand in this complaint against me."⁶⁰ and according to Alcock there were Roman Catholics among those most convinced of Atherton's innocence.

The efforts of the bishops to recover church lands, in which they had the strong support of Wentworth and Laud, unquestionably led to resentment on the part of lay landowners. One of the charges brought against Wentworth at his trial was his treatment of the earl of Cork over a suit for the return of certain lands from which he had been evicted by Wentworth's orders.⁶¹ Others besides Cork were involved in disputes with Atherton over lands, among them, as mentioned in Alcock's letter, Pierce Butler, recorder of Cork. Two orders of the Irish Parliament, dated 7th August 1641, copies of which are preserved among the MSS in Marsh's Library, Dublin,⁶² reversed a decree of the Chancery

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Court granting Atherton possession of the townlands of Donnaghmore in County Tipperary against Butler, and authorised Butler to recover the rates on these lands from Atherton's widow.

The Earl of Cork, Richard Boyle, was the one most affected by the activity of Atherton, and Carte named him explicitly as the author of Atherton's downfall, but certain questions need to be answered. Cork may have been avaricious and unscrupulous, but would his lack of scruple have led him to the length of virtual murder? Does Cork's absence in England at the time proceedings were commenced against Atherton constitute a sufficient alibi?⁶³ Could a hand have been taken in the affair by Walley, Cork's agent, who had no love for Atherton and called him "that most proud and insulting bishop"?⁶⁴ Walley clearly regarded Atherton as the main opponent of his master's interests and rejoiced at his downfall.⁶⁵ "The Almighty casts down the proud and lofty from their seats", he wrote to his master, citing as examples Wentworth, Wandesford and "the bishop of Waterford who ended his life with a halter."⁶⁶ Cork's character was a complex one and by no means wholly admirable, but Nicholas Canny in his recent work, The Upstart Earl, has shown that the commonly held judgement of him owes too much to what was said of him by his opponents, and among them Wentworth, to be entirely just.⁶⁷ Although he makes reference to the case of Atherton, Canny does not connect his downfall to any machination on the part of Cork. Professor G.V. Jourdan spread the responsibility more widely when he represented the Atherton affair as "a concocted business on the part of church-land-grabbers, Protestant and Romanist", giving the impression that more were involved in the affair than perhaps actually were.⁶⁸

That a concocted charge against Atherton was not beyond the bounds of possibility is shown by the conspiracy of which Archbishop Sandys of York was the victim in 1582. Sir Robert Stapleton bribed an innkeeper in Doncaster to introduce a woman into the archbishop's bedchamber while he was staying there on a visitation, so that Stapleton could blackmail the archbishop into granting him a favourable lease of certain archiepiscopal manors.⁶⁹ If Atherton was the victim of what nowadays would be called a "frame up" on the part of those whose interests he had threatened in his efforts to recover the Church's patrimony, it was because there were factors in his character and mode of life which rendered him thus vulnerable. This is the most probable explanation of his fate, though it does not entirely dispel the element of mystery which surrounds the strange case of Bishop John Atherton.

N O T E S

1. Dictionary of National Biography, "Atherton, John".
2. Theo Brown, "The Ghost of Old Mrs. Leakey" in H.R. Ellis Davidson and W.M.S. Russell (edd.) The Folk Lore of Ghosts (Folk Lore Society 1981). Miss Brown sets the Atherton story, in which a psychic element largely figures, in the context of West Country folk-lore and superstition.
3. Anthony Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, II, p.891.
4. The fullest account of this aspect of Wentworth's career will be found in H.F. Kearney, Strafford in Ireland (1959). See also Aidan Clarke, "The Government of Wentworth 1632-'40" in 'A New History of Ireland' (ed. Moody, Martin and Byrne) III, pp.258-9.
5. Wentworth to Laud, 13th April, 1635 (Letter Book 6, Strafford MSS in Sheffield City Library). Grateful acknowledgement is made to Earl Fitzwilliam, the Wentworth Estates Company, and the Sheffield City Librarian for permission to consult and quote from these MSS.
6. Laud to Wentworth, 12th May, 1635. A similar request had been made earlier, as appears from the following correspondence: Bramhall to Laud, 21st August, 1634, "The Lord Chancellor has written to you on behalf of his

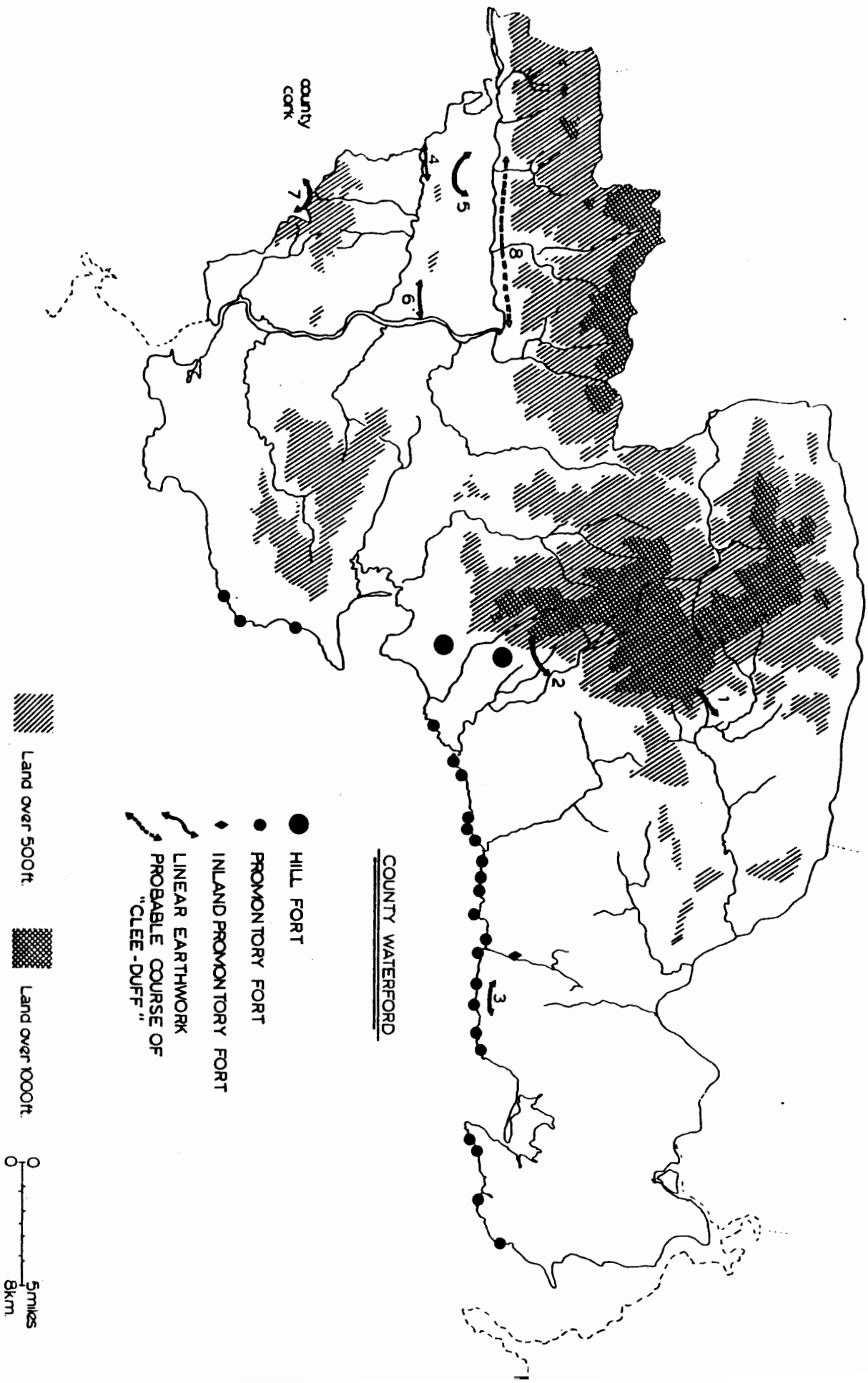
The Strange Case of Bishop John Atherton.(NOTES) contd.

6. chaplain for a dispensation. He deserves well of the Church, and particularly in this Convocation has behaved with much judgement and moderation." Laud to Bramhall, 1st October, 1634, "I am glad the Lord Chancellor of Ireland is so good a friend to the Church, but for his chaplain, Mr. Atherton, there can be no good done in the way which is desired." Hastings MSS, IV. 60 (Historical MSS Commission 78, Vol.IV, pp. 60 & 62.)
7. Wentworth to Laud, 14th July, 1635.
8. Wentworth to Laud, 3rd January, 1635/6.
9. Laud to Wentworth, 23rd January, 1635/6.
10. Wentworth to Laud, 9th March, 1635/6.
11. Theo Brown, op.cit., p.146.
12. Wentworth to Laud, 9th March, 1635/6.
13. Laud to Wentworth, 8th April, 1636.
14. J. Rushworth, The Tryal of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, p.128. Wentworth went on to say of Atherton: "I thought him not a vicious man, he proved so and he had his merit, he suffered for it. And unless I had the inspection of Almighty God, I suppose this cannot be laid to my charge."
15. Wentworth to Laud, 28th February, 1636/7 (Letter Book 7).
16. Wentworth to Laud, 18th October, 1637. "The agreement made betwixt the Eárl of Cork and Bishop of Waterford is indeed to my judgement a very good one. And now I take it much the better that it is pleasing to your Grace also".
17. Calendar of State Papers (Ireland), 1633-1647, p.167. "An Act concerning Richard, Earl of Cork, Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, and John, Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore" was passed in October, 1640, by the Irish House of Commons. (Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland, 21st and 22nd October 1640).
18. The unpublished Oxford D. Phil. Thesis by T.O. Ranger, "The Career of Richard Boyle, First Earl of Cork, 1588-1643", contains a full account of Atherton's assertion of episcopal rights and recovery of episcopal lands.
19. Theo Brown, op.cit., p.142. Miss Brown points out that there are other stories of witches luring ships to destruction in West Country folk-lore, and she also mentions that Sir Walter Scott in his Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft refers to the Leakey story as still current in his day among the mariners of Minehead.
20. Theo Brown, Op.cit., p.143.
21. State Papers in Public Record Office, 161/383, Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) 1637/8, Rolls Series, CCCLXXXIII, p.276.
22. Laud to Wentworth, 5th December, 1636.
23. Laud to Wentworth, 5th April 1637.
24. Wentworth to Laud, 31st December, 1636.
25. Wentworth to Laud, 10th July, 1637.
26. Wentworth to Laud, 7th March, 1637/8. Richard Boyle the bishop was cousin to the Earl of Cork, but had incurred his displeasure for the part he took in the Youghal College affair. The earl referred to him as "the perfidious Lord Bishop of Cork, my faithless and unthankful kinsman, whom I have raised from being a poor schoolmaster at Barnet when he had but a stipend of twenty pounds." Lismore Papers, ed.A.B.Grosart, V., p.72 .
27. C. A. Webster, The Diocese of Cork, p.239 .
28. Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland, 17th June 1640. A letter of Walley, Cork's agent to Cork, "21st July, 1640, gives the charge as "sodomy with two youths who waited upon him " and mentions "adulterous attempts", six or seven quires of paper being required to detail all Atherton's immoralities. (Lismore Castle Papers in National Library of Ireland, quoted in N. Canny, The Upstart Earl, p.164).

(NOTES) Contd.

29. Edward Rossington to Edward Viscount Conway, 27th July 1640, in Calendar of State Papers (Domestic), Charles I, 1640, pp.520-1. The writer refers to Atherton's severity in the High Commission Court against sexual offences, and mentions a case in which a defendant sentenced by Atherton declared in court that the Bishop was guilty of a like transgression. "This man was afterwards punished in the Star Chamber in Ireland for scandalising a judge in a court of justice, which he ought not to have done although what he said had been true, but he ought to have taken legal proceedings against him."
30. John Price in Bishop Atherton's Case discussed, p.14.
31. St. John's Church stood in Fishamble Street close to Christ Church. Founded originally in the 12th century the church was three times rebuilt. The last building, dating from 1769, was demolished in 1884 following the union of the parish with that of St. Werburgh's in 1877. The churchyard is now in the care of the Dublin Corporation. Atherton's signature may be seen in the vestry-books of St. John's, now preserved in St. Werburgh's. There was evidently a large crowd at Atherton's funeral for a vestry-book of St. John's contains the entry, "Mending pews at my Lord of Waterford's burial, 8 shillings." (For this information the author is indebted to the late Canon G.S.McPhail, rector of St. Werburgh's).
32. Bernard, Penitent Death (Society of Stationers, Dublin, 1641), p.6.
33. ibid. p.14.
34. The Convocation of 1634 under pressure from Wentworth voted for the adoption of the English Thirty-Nine Articles in place of the Irish Articles of 1615. In the Lower House there was strong support for the retention of the Irish articles, but Atherton, who owed his advancement to Wentworth would understandably have been unwilling to oppose him.
35. Penitent Death, p.15
36. ibid. p.16.
37. ibid. p.26.
38. ibid. "Preface to the Reader."
39. "Proctor" meaning the steward or manager of the bishop's household or estate.
40. The text of the poem locates Child's execution at London Bridge, clearly a printer's error.
41. King, The Case of John Atherton Fairly Represented (Luke Stokoe, London 1710) p.9.
42. ibid. pp.14-16; cf. Bernard Penitent Death pp.11 and 20.
43. ibid. p.16.
44. ibid. p.17.
45. ibid. p.38.
46. The "anonymous MS" attached to p.539 of Vol. I of Harris's edition of The Whole Works of Sir James Ware in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, referred to by Professor G.V. Jourdan in A History of the Church of Ireland, ed. W. Alison Phillips, Vol.III, p.27, is a copy of part of Alcock's Letter. The writer is there said to be "a clergyman promoted by Bishop Foy." Nathaniel Foy was bishop of Waterford 1691-1708. The Rev. Alexander Alcock was precentor of Lismore 1692-1740, Chancellor of Waterford 1699-1740 and Dean of Lismore 1725-47.
47. King, The Case of John Atherton Fairly Represented, p.39.
48. ibid. pp.40-41.
49. This pamphlet, published by E. Curll, London, was bound with an edition of Bernard's Penitent Death, and the whole entitled Some Memorials of the Life and Penitent Death of Dr. John Atherton, Bishop of Waterford in Ireland.
50. Bishop Atherton's Case Discussed, p.3 .
51. ibid. p.4.
52. ibid. p.15.
53. D.N.B. "Quick, John." The date of death, 1706, helps to establish the identification.

54. Bishop Atherton's Case Discussed, pp.10-13.
55. Two Biographies of William Bedell, ed. E.S. Shuckburgh, pp.149-150. Cf. R. Mant, History of the Church of Ireland, I., p.542.
56. Ware-Harris, I., p.457.
57. Carte, Life of Ormonde, pp.67-68.
58. Penitent Death, p.19
59. "That he should be so infatuated in a business that so nearly concerned him he took to be God's hand evidently: which he not only patiently yielded to but embraced with thankfulness." Penitent Death,p.19.
60. Penitent Death, p.29.
61. Rushworth, Trial of Strafford, p.63.
62. Marsh's Library, MSS Z 3.2.5. Nos. 36 and 72.
63. On the life of the first Earl of Cork see D. Townshend, The Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork (1904). A more recent study is N. Canny, The Upstart Earl (1982). His character is briefly described by C.V. Wedgwood, Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of Strafford, p.132.
64. Letter of Walley to Cork, 20th June, 1639 (MS Calendar of Lismore Papers at Chatsworth, in National Library of Ireland, p.525).
65. The following references in the Walley-Cork correspondence illustrate this:
7th August,1639, regarding the appointment of Parry, the Lord Deputy's chaplain to the deanery of Lismore, "The main mover of it is the bishop of this see, his aim being to bring back the lands of Ballydigganough into the new dean's possession, and to get the two Ballysaggards back to the vicars-choral. Like hungry wolves the churchmen now look and come round about where to catch and snatch their "prey". ibid. p.533.
2nd February,1640. "I could not get a copy of the bishop's sequestration of the rents of Kilbeg, Kilbroga and Knockbroga, but it is to be heard at the Council Office in Dublin." ibid. p.543.
When Atherton instituted an enquiry into leper-houses Walley reported to Cork, "If I can hear of a leper in all these parts I will put him into one of the two houses that are now void, that the commissioners when they come may find a leper therein, and the place being so employed I do think it may work some change in their proceedings." (Letter of Walley to Cork, 4th September, 1639) (Lismore Papers, Chatsworth, quoted in N. Canny, The Upstart Earl, p.164).
66. Letter, 12th December, 1640. ibid. p.569.
67. N. Canny, The Upstart Earl, ch.2.
68. History of the Church of Ireland (ed. W. Alison Phillip III. p.28n.)
69. Strype, Annals, III. pt. I (Oxford edn. 1824) pp.142-158. Stapleton was brought to trial, fined and committed to the Tower.



Linear Earthworks In

County Waterford.

Thomas Condit and Michael Gibbons.

In recent years there has been renewed interest in linear earthworks (sometimes referred to as travelling earthworks) in Ireland. Publications by Lynn (1981) and Walsh (1987) along with Emania, the journal of the Navan Research Group, have contributed a great deal to the promotion of a new phase of research into these impressive sites. The aim of this article is to draw attention to a number of definite and probable linear earthworks which came to light in the compilation of the Sites and Monuments Record for County Waterford (Gibbons et al. forthcoming).

Linear earthworks, serving as boundaries or frontier fortifications, can be distinguished from normal field boundaries by their extended course, the large size of bank and ditch or by the multiplication of lines of bank and ditch. The existence of some linear earthworks can be detected from folklore and placename evidence. Others may be indicated on old estate maps or are given brief reference in antiquarian literature. Air photography can also help to locate linear earthworks, especially when they occur as cropmarks. Many linear earthworks throughout the country have escaped the notice of archaeologists because only fragments survive and even these may look no more impressive than normal field boundaries.

The following is an inventory of sites in County Waterford which we consider likely to fall into the category of linear earthworks. It is based upon detailed analysis of literature concerning antiquities in County Waterford and in particular the estate maps drawn by Bernard Scale (National Library of Ireland MSS 7216, 7218) and Josias Bateman (N.L.I. MSS 6148-9). O'Flanagan (1981) stresses the importance of these maps for early settlement studies and in passing draws attention to Scale's depiction of "Ancient Fortifications" at Lisfinny and Garrybrittas.

FIG.1 Map showing location of linear earthworks and other sites thought to be Later Prehistoric in date.

I N V E N T O R Y

The heading for each entry contains the principal townlands where a linear earthwork occurs. This is followed by its Sites and Monuments Record number. The inventory number refers to numbers on the map (Fig. 1).

1. COOLNALINGADY 7:68

Canon Power (1952, 406-7) notes two remarkable and nearly parallel trenches which run up the steep mountainside. He states that from a distance they have the appearance of boundary fences, one considerably longer than the other. They are named as "Claidhe na bfiann" and "Soc agus Coltair", "Earthen fence of the Fianns" and "Sock and its colter." Although the exact location of this site has not yet been identified, it would appear that Power has identified some form of linear earthwork.

2. BALLINTLEA/BARNAKILE 23:37.

In an anonymous article (J.R.S.A.I., 1906, 73-4) titled "Battle of the Comeragh Mountain 1643", based on an earlier newspaper account taken from a 17th century pamphlet, reference is made to three discontinuous linear earthworks or trenches which were said to have been used by the Irish in the battle. The trenches are said to have been partly natural, utilizing existing watercourses, and were used in places as a roadway. They are described as running from Barnakile Castle in a westerly direction across a natural gap, Beara Mhama, and up on to the hillside of Curraun Mountain. The description suggests that the earthworks were part of a defensive line that stretches from the hillside across the pass.

3. ISLANDIKANE SOUTH 26:63

Westropp (1914-16, 222) mentions what is probably a linear earthwork near the coast in the vicinity of the well-known promontory fort at Islandikane South and East: "A great ditch running north and south 16 feet 8 inches wide and 4 feet to 5 feet deep with a fence 11 feet high and nearly 10 feet thick" He states that as it is far larger than the other field fences and as it is not on the present bounds of the townland it may be "an ancient mearing". Unfortunately he does not tell us how long it is.

4. LISFINNY, SION 28:12 (Plate 1)

This site is depicted on Scale's map as a linear earthwork marked "Ancient Fortification," running on an E. - W. axis for a distance of 1.1km. For the first 500m it is shown as a double rampart with intervening ditch. It then continues as a single rampart terminating in a short return. It is located on level ground on the northern side of the narrow flood plain of the River Bride. It is overlooked by higher ground on the northern side. The Fermoy-Mallow road has obliterated all diagnostic features of this once impressive earthwork.

The function of this monument is unclear. Its location would suggest that it formed part of a larger complex of linear earthworks in the area. It could have served as part of a defensive line at the base of a ridge overlooking the River Bride. Alternatively it could have been part of a fortified communication link.

5. GARRYBRITTAS 28:8 (Plate 2)

This linear earthwork is also shown in the townlands of Ahaunboy North, Ahaunboy South, Aglish, Knocknamuc North and Ballymartin North. The site is depicted on Scale's map as an extensive double banked earthwork with intervening ditch, marked "Antient Fortification", running for approx. 2.25km across relatively level terrain between 160 and 200 feet above sea level. It forms a townland boundary except for a short section in the west. It emerges from a circular, bivallate ditched enclosure (20m in diameter, marked as a "Danish Fort") in the north and runs south for some 300 metres before abruptly turning in an E.S.E. direction for a distance of 1.2km. It changes direction again and continues in a gentle sweep for approx. 850m before ending abruptly.

About halfway along the ESE. line of the earthwork Scale depicts a double-banked rectangular enclosure (approx. 30m x 25m) which seems to straddle the earthwork. A stream is shown on the 6" O.S. map close to this enclosure and it may have fed water into the enclosure ditch. This suggests that the rectangular enclosure may have been a moated site. The presence of two enclosures along the line of earthwork at first sight, strongly hints at its use as part of Early Christian and medieval defences. Both enclosures have been levelled in recent years. The present townland boundaries and field boundaries along its line are indistinguishable from any other boundaries. From the cartographic evidence it is impossible to say whether the enclosures are contemporary with the construction of the linear earthwork.

6. KILLAHALY EAST/CURRAGRAIG 29:71

In the townlands of Killahaly East and Curragraig, overlooking the west side of the Blackwater, Gabriel Redmond (1885-6, 399-400) says "In the middle of the old wood, and near the hill (Camphire Hill), I discovered a large double trench running at each side of an ancient highway, - at least so it appeared to me". He was able to follow it for half a mile. Along part of its line he encountered numerous heaps of blackened stones which he took to be "Fullocht Fionna". The nature of this site is unclear but he does seem to be describing a substantial linear earthwork.

7. GLENNAGLOGH 33:11

A section of the Cork/Waterford border forming the townland boundary between Glennaglogh and Breda, Co. Cork is marked on Bateman's map as "an ould Ditch". This section is approx. 1km long. Perhaps its appearance or some local tradition current at the time suggested or demonstrated its antiquity.

8. "CLEE-DUFF"

Smith (1746, 375) having described the "Rian Bo Phadraig" goes on to identify a linear earthwork:



Colony
of the
Worm



500m.

The other piece of antiquity, which still remains in this barony, is somewhat of the nature of the former, and is a remarkable ditch which runs westerly from Cappoquin, into the county of Cork, how far is uncertain. This the Irish call Clee-Duff, and give several uncertain and improbable reasons for this work. As it extends through the plain along the sides of the mountains, it is conjectured that this was no other than a fence of boundary made to preserve their cattle against Wolves, which coming down from the mountains made frequent havock among them; and this seems the most probable cause why this intrenchment was cast up.

It would appear that Smith has noted the existence of a linear earthwork which, if his information is correct, is approx. 10 miles in length. Power (1932, 9-12) plotted the approximate course of a linear earthwork in east Cork also called "An Cliadhe Dubh". At present it is not clear if the Waterford "Clee-Duff" is part of the same system. Power also makes reference to an "earthen fence" running at right angles to an ancient road near the Cork/Waterford border in the Lisfinny-Tallow area (1932,71). It is possible that this earthen fence is the one depicted by Scale at Garrybrittas (No.5).

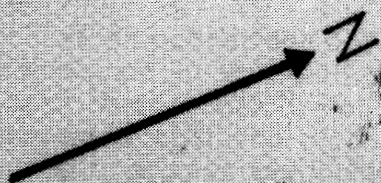
Discussion :

On the present evidence it is not possible to ascertain the exact nature, function or date of the County Waterford linear earthworks. Study of linear earthworks in Ireland has been focussed for the most part on the series in the northern part of the country collectively known as the Black Pig's Dyke, Kane (1909) saw the Black Pig's Dyke as the "ancient boundary fortification of Ulster". While there may be an essence of truth in Kane's interpretation, Davies (1955) and Lynn (1981) both stress the need for caution in envisaging a single frontier or series of frontiers for the ancient kingdom of Ulster without further archaeological research into individual sections of the Black Pig's Dyke. Apart from, perhaps, the "Clee-duff" (No.8), which appears to cover at least 10 miles, the County Waterford series of linear earthworks do not offer the same temptation to reconstruct assumed protohistoric frontiers on the same scale as the Black Pig's Dyke. However, some of them may have had a similar function as frontier defences between smaller tribal territories. The assumption of tribal frontiers or subdivisions of territories based on early Irish literary sources may never be proven, especially when one considers that these petty kingdoms may have been constantly growing or contracting depending on the state of political allegiances at the time.

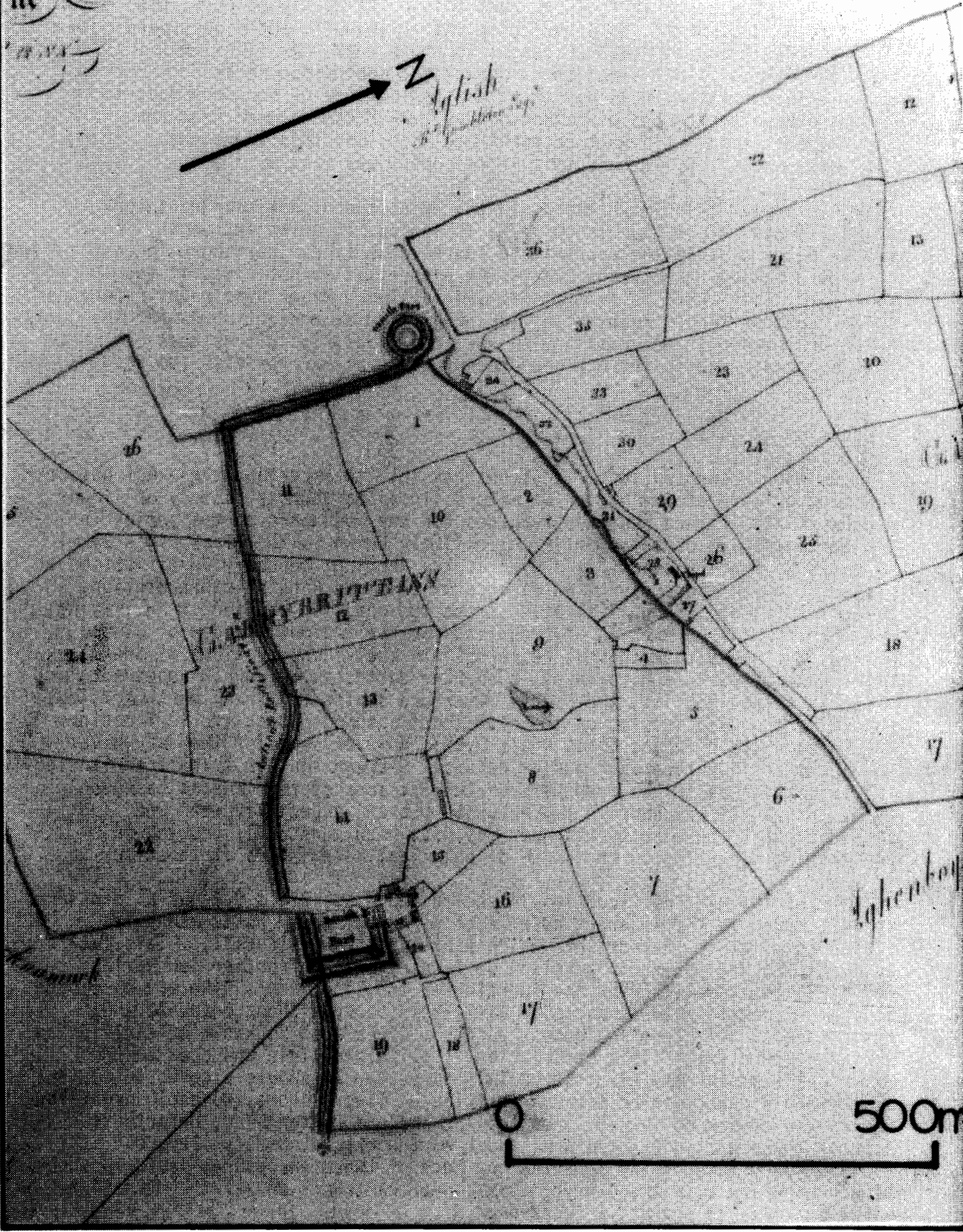
One of the main difficulties in seeing the Black Pig's Dyke as a frontier fortification is the apparent absence of forts or sentry posts along its length (similar to the fortlets which protected Hadrian's Wall). This lack of evidence for any permanent garrison or manning of the frontier led Davies (1950,29) to speculate that one function of the Black Pig's Dyke may have been to prevent cattle raiders escaping with their booty without encountering resistance at predetermined access points. Given what is known of early Irish warfares and disputes this speculation is quite plausible and some of the Waterford examples may have served this purpose. It should also be noted that Scale in his depiction of the Garrybrittas earthwork shows two enclosures along the course of the earthwork, one circular and one rectangular. Unfortunately, both of these enclosures and the linear earthwork are now levelled, but it would be very interesting if either or both of these enclosures could be shown to be contemporary with the Garrybrittas linear earthwork and if they functioned as garrison forts to protect a frontier.

PLATE 1: (Opposite) Linear earthwork at Lisfinny (No.4).
(Reproduced courtesy of the Trustees of the
National Library of Ireland).

ite



lyfiah
St. Michael's



LAKE CHRISTIAN

St. Michael's

500m

Another function of linear earthworks is the protection or garrisoning of routeways or strategic passes. The Dorsey enclosure, Co. Armagh (Lynn 1981), is likely to have fulfilled this role. Perhaps the earthwork at Barnakile (No.2) may have served this purpose.

It is also possible that some linear earthworks may have had no defensive function at all. The degraded surface remains of linear earthworks which today may suggest a non-defensive function may be the only visible remains of a more complicated line of defence. Excavation would be necessary to assess the exact function of any linear earthwork; for example Walsh (1987) in his excavation of a section of the Black Pig's Dyke showed that a line of double bank and ditch was accompanied by a roughly parallel wooden palisade. This triple line of defence would have provided a formidable fortification.

Linear earthworks may also form part of an agricultural landscape serving as major land division boundaries possibly defining ownership or agricultural use. It is also interesting to note that O'Riordain (1950, 270-1) in his excavation report on some earthworks on the Curragh, Co. Kildare, brings to our attention two extensive linear earthworks, the 'Race of the Black Pig' and the 'Black Ditch'. He excavated a section of the 'Race of the Black Pig' and on the basis of his results, which show that the 'Race' consists of a double bank with intervening ditch, he dismissed O'Donovan's interpretation that it was a roadway. He tentatively favours the theory that it could be some sort of cattle droveway. Since there is no evidence of tillage ever having been carried out on the Curragh, it would seem unlikely that there should be any need to 'channel' cattle across the Curragh from one pasture to another. While livestock separation or property demarcation is more likely, a defensive function cannot be ruled out.

Dating :

Before excavations at the Dorsey, Co. Armagh (Lynn, 1981), and a section of the Black Pig's Dyke at Aghareagh West, Co. Monaghan (Walsh 1987), most speculation on the origin of linear earthworks centred on the theory that they may have been modelled to some extent on Roman 'limes' (Davies 1955, 29; Herity and Eogan 1977). Evidence from the Dorsey and the Black Pig's Dyke date both structures to the latter half of the 1st millennium B.C., however. These results seem to vindicate the views of those who see linear earthworks as forming part of the Later Prehistoric material assemblage. Although the Irish linear earthworks may have served a similar purpose to Roman walls, i.e. frontier fortification, it is now unlikely in view of the dating evidence from the Dorsey and the Black Pig's Dyke that they were inspired in any way by Roman frontier defences. Condit and Gibbons (1988, 52) noted that the Rathduff trench (depicted on Lythe's map of Idrone) seems to have formed the ancient boundary between Ossory and Idrone. Recent excavations at Shankill, Co. Kilkenny on the supposed course of the Rathduff trench (O'Flaherty 1987) failed to show conclusively that the excavated site was part of the Rathduff trench and insufficient charcoal meant that radio-carbon dating could not be carried out. In Britain linear earthworks are thought to have been in use from Bronze Age times to the medieval period. Cunliffe (1974, 83-4) sees linear earthworks as 'a new concept in defensive architecture arising late in the British Iron Age'.

PLATE 2: (Opposite).

Portion of Garrybrittas linear earthwork (No.5).
(Reproduced courtesy of the Trustees of the National Library of Ireland).

Linear Earthworks in County Waterford.

It can be assumed that the Irish examples could have functioned over a similar period of time. It should also be noted that there is a possibility that linear earthworks were re-used in medieval times as defences (Davies 1955, 29-30). The presence of what appears to be a ringfort and a moated site at Barrybrittas (No.5) emphasises the multiperiod use of linear earthworks. Re-use of linear earthworks continues even into relatively modern times as at Glennaglogh (No.7) where part of the Cork/Waterford county boundary appears to re-use part of a pre-existing linear earthwork.

The size and extended courses of linear earthworks would certainly have required a considerable output of resources and manpower for their construction. This in turn implied that there must have been some central authority or 'organization unit' with the powers to call upon a community or communities to supply the necessary manpower. This willingness to protect large tracts of land indicates that land was at a premium and that grazing stock, especially cattle, was highly valued.

Conclusion:

While it is difficult to provide a definite cultural context for linear earthworks in County Waterford, other sites considered to be of Later Prehistoric date, namely hillforts and promontory forts, have been located in the county (Westropp 1906; 1914-16, Jackson 1988, Condit and Gibbons 1987). The overall picture (Fig.1) points to a widespread Later Prehistoric activity in County Waterford. The identification of an important group of linear earthworks adds a significant new dimension to the archaeology of the county. The problem of dating, which obviously requires further investigation, again focusses attention on the Later Prehistoric period, a period which at the moment is somewhat nebulous but nevertheless intriguing. The questions which arise are manifold. Further research and excavation will certainly help to refine our appreciation of this spectacular monument type.

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Sea Life Of

Walter J. Farrell.

Born 16th July, 1862, at 10, Sion Row, later number 11. Commenced schooling at Christian Brothers, Mount Sion, later Father Joe Phelan's School, Stephen Street, Waterford. I regret to say discipline in the latter school was rather lax. My old chum Dick Dillon and myself spent many days learning to smoke a pipe in Millwards field.

About 1877, the family moved to 57, High Street, where my father set my mother up in the provision business, but it did not succeed. I commenced life behind the counter, escaping school.

1878, Captain P. Nowlan offered me a berth as boy in his barque "Queen of the North" of London, G. Lidgett, owner.

FIRST VOYAGE

I joined the "Queen of the North" in London and sailed for Madras, May 1878, where we arrived in due course and anchored about 2 miles off the shore, it being an open roadstead. Discharged the cargo into surf boats and loaded red wood, hides &c., for London, where we arrived May 1879, after pumping the old ship from London to Madras and back to London. She was a good old sea boat, but getting rather soft. I made the 12 months voyage without ever touching dry land. The old packet when discharged was sold to Norwegians.

SECOND VOYAGE

I joined the barque Lorraine as an O.S. and sailed for Mauritius and Rangoon from London, October 1879. We had a Mr. Andeson, his wife and three children passengers, Mr. Andeson was a Wesleyan clergyman, very far gone, I should think, in consumption - a nice gentleman, he died about the Equator four weeks after leaving London. We arrived in due course at Mauritius, discharged our cargo for that port and sailed for Rangoon. Loaded rice in Rangoon and sailed for Callao, Peru. Arrived off Callao about April 1880, and were informed by a Chilian Naval vessel that that port was blockaded, that

Chile was at war with Peru. We went South and put into Pisco an open roadstead where it took us some three months to discharge our cargo of rice and take in ballast.

It was a very good climate, sunshine all day and cool at night. Us boys had the job to bring off casks of water when not working cargo. We brought our two large water casks ashore to the town water tap, but had to allow the natives get their supply. After filling we had to roll the cask nearly two miles which was rather hard work, the mole or wharf was nearly a mile long, with cranes on the end. At the end of three months we sailed for Talcahuano, Conception Bay, where we loaded wheat for Falmouth for orders. Arriving there 3½ months later and got orders for Fleetwood, a voyage of 19 months ended on 9th May, 1881.

3rd VOYAGE

On 20th June, 1881 I sailed from Cardiff as A.B. in the same barque Lorraine, Captain Nolan, for Imbatuba, Brazil, where we arrived in good time with a cargo of rails and a 20 ton barge on deck. This bay was somewhat better than Tramore Bay, the rolling and pitching during gales was very bad, however, we rigged gear and put our barge in the water one fine day, this craft and a couple of other small barges was the only means of discharge, during our stay a couple of vessels arrived making the discharge rather slow, as they had to get a share of the barges, I often saw the rail bar being hoisted and take charge with the rolling of the ship and water washing around the deck. After a bad night we would have a look around at daylight to see if any of the vessels blew ashore, which they did eventually. In the forecabin we kept our belongings packed in our bags, ready for a jump should we go ashore, loss of life never entered our minds. After about two months discharging part of our cargo in this ungodly bay, we sailed for the land locked harbour Santa Catherine. Before passing from Imbatuba this bay was a handy position to land our cargo of rail material, for a new rail line under construction. There was not a house to be seen, one should walk a couple of miles inland before we got to a farmer's house, which we did on Sundays and returned with a fair share of oranges and bananas, which the good people gave us free. It was a great treat to be anchored in the calm harbour of Santa Catherina, where we finished the discharge of the cargo, took in ballast and sailed for Valparaiso for orders. After the usual dressing off Cape Horn, we arrived and got orders to proceed to San Francisco, had fine weather right up to this port where we arrived in the early part of 1882. San Francisco is a very fine bay, and was infested by sailors Boarding house Crimps, dressed in the very best heavy gold watch chains and rings to match and usual bottle of firewater etc. As soon as the sails were fast and decks cleared those gentlemen took charge of the forecabin. We had a rather steady crew of British and they would not take any drink or leave the ship. We lay in the bay for about a week awaiting cargo, and were visited by one of the Crimps each evening, as we did not drink, he brought aboard a fair supply of good fruit, which I need not say, we enjoyed without any ill effects. After a week in the bay the Lorraine was placed alongside the wharf. On a Saturday night two of the hands were bluffed into leaving the vessel, but saw their mistake in time and got back to the ship same night minus their bag of sea clothes. On the Sunday morning the 1st Mate and I made our way to the boarding house, while the Mate was talking to the boss of the house, I got my eyes on the sailors bag and walked off with it on my back, the Mate saw me walking away and kept talking to the Boarding Master a couple of minutes, and walked after me overtaking me as I was going aboard puffed out with excitement and the weight of the bag. We did not have much trouble in getting the other fellow's bag as he fell alongside the ship and got injured, the other Boarding Master gave his bag to three of us that went up and told him a lot of lies.

When ballast was discharged and stiffening taken aboard, the ship was towed to Port Costa, Sacramento River, and loaded with wheat for U.K. for orders. Towed out of San Francisco one fine morning, had fairly good passage around the Horn, arrived at Falmouth latter part of September. Got orders for Fleetwood, where we arrived, and paid off 9th August, 1882, after 13½ months voyage.

4th VOYAGE, 1882.

1882, Oct. 20th.

I again joined the Lorraine, Captain Nolan, at Workington and sailed 20th October, 1882, for Bombay as A.B. where we arrived the end of January, 1882, discharged cargo and loaded linseed for Amsterdam Sept. 26th 1883, after eleven months voyage. I left the Lorraine, went to London to study at Captain Maxwells Potters Academy, Tower Hill, where there was a wild lot of young sea-men. I spent a fair share of my money on amusement, Music halls, Theatres &c., and not enough time on study, failed in exam. and came home. I had a fancy to do a little coasting.

5th VOYAGE.

1884, 23rd Jany.

I joined the brig Ospray at Waterford, as AB, Pat Mahon, Master, Matthew Farrell & Son, Owners and left the brig at Cardiff, 28th May, 1884 after a pleasant 3 months on good food and light work.

6th VOYAGE.

6th June, 1884.

I joined the SS Centurion of London at Cardiff, Captain Mitchel, and left her 18th Oct. 1884. I did not care for the work on this vessel, at times it was very dirty, and bad living quarters. The Captain's wife and a couple of children were aboard, his young daughter was always with me when painting winches, as I used black paint, the little girl would be in a terrible mess, I did a lot of sail repairs which was the only pleasant time I had, with the little girl chatting away asking me all about my previous life, they were the pleasant hours in steam before the mast, listening to this innocent little child prattling away during working hours. I left the S/S Centurion at Granton, Oct. 1884, to join Captain Nolan's Waterford. Got orders for Hull to which port we were towed, arriving there 10th July, 1887, after a voyage of 17 months.

9th VOYAGE.

1887 - August 5th.

Joined Lodestar as 2nd Mate, Captain Nolan in charge and sailed for Bombay, discharged the cargo, loaded part cargo of salt for Calcutta, after discharging the salt, loaded cargo wheat &c., for London, arriving there 3rd Oct. 1888, after a 14th months voyage, Captain went home to Waterford leaving me by the ship.

10th VOYAGE.

1888 - Nov. 17th.

Sailed for San Francisco again in Lodestar, Captain Nolan. I got no time to study for 1st Mate's Certificate. We arrived without mishap rounding the Horn, had a good time at San Francisco after working hours, being well known among Waterford people and their descendants, especially the Butler family where I was always welcome, but all those pleasures must give way to duty on the Ship. Loaded grain U.K. for orders as usual, called at Queenstown Nov. 1889, got orders for Plymouth where we arrived and paid off 2nd November, 1889.

Attended Merryfields Navigation School and passed for 1st Mate, and joined my friend through life viz: - Captain P. Nowlan of Lodestar, in time to tow to Newport where we arrived Xmas Eve 1889, to load railway material for River Plate.

11th Voyage.

1890 - Feby. 5th.

Sailed for Buenos Aires, River Plate, as 1st Mate of Lodestar, Captain Nolan in charge, arriving middle of April 1890. Discharged cargo into barges. The ship was anchored some three miles off the land, therefore, only the Captain visited the shore when the launch came for him. When a certain amount of cargo was discharged the ballast was taken aboard, we were to proceed to Iquique to load nitrate for Hamburg. Left the Plate end of May. Had the usual strong westerly winds carrying away the truss of our lower topsail Yard, fortunately one end held aloft by topsail sheet, the deck end was lashed at once. The tub of the upper topsail yard was broken, the yard was hanging in the lifts as the Ship was rolling heavy, the Yard used to bang against the topmast and was in danger of carrying away that mast, I had to go aloft with a rope to secure the yard, which I found a very hard job, we had mostly foreigners in the crew, I could not get an offer from any of the men to light up the rope and give me some help. The Steward, a Londoner, and an old ship-mate, said wherever you go, I go, even if we go together. We found it very hard to hang on when the yard would strike the mast, however, we secured the yard, came down on deck and gave the crew a bit of our minds. We reached Iquique in good time and got all our damage repaired, whilst discharging the ballast and taking stiffening aboard, when this was done we moored in the tiers with all the ships loading which were very numerous in those sailing ship days. It was very pleasant in the evening after work, to hear some ship ring her bell and sing some song with a good chorus, when the song was finished they again rang the bell and hailed some ship, calling out her name, the vessel called, rang her bell and gave a song. We had a couple of hours of this every night, I am not certain about Sunday. We did not lay far from the shore, but sailors were only allowed one day ashore in six months, so they had to make their own amusement. They, the crew, had their day in this port where there was very little to be seen, but some got top heavy with liquor. I did not go ashore as I would not have a companion, the 2nd Mate, Mr. Doubleday, a very nice young fellow, would have to remain on board.

Left Iquique early in September and arrived in Hamburg latter part of January, 1891, where all hands were paid off. I informed my good friend Captain Nolan, I intended to go into steam, as I had my time in for Master's Certificate. On arriving back as passenger to England, I sailed to Plymouth and commenced to study for Master's exam. at Merryfields Navigation School.

Sea Life of Walter J. Farrell.

I was there only a couple of weeks when news reached me that the SS "Roxborough Castle" was sunk in a collision in the North Sea, my brother John whom was 1st Mate was lost with that ship. This upset me a bit, so I packed up and came home for a few weeks. Funds getting low, I took a berth as 2nd Mate of the SS "Racilia" of Newcastle-on-Tyne, I remained in this ship seven months, came home and buried my father 8th Dec. 1891, the following January I returned to Plymouth, completed my studies and passed for Master.

February, 1892 -

I joined the Waterford Steamship Co., 2nd Mate of "Comeragh" also Lara and Menapia 2nd Mate of the last mentioned ship was a rather hard job, up at night working cargo at Tenby and Pembroke, our trade was Bristol and Wexford, calling at the other ports on the passage to Wexford. For this work the sailors were paid 2/- extra per week and the 2nd Mate 1/6 just fancy, however, I knew it would not last too long. After some six months, I was sent to Liverpool, Mate of the S/S "Creaden" trading Liverpool, Fenit, Galway. This was a real Gentleman's job, 8 hours in Fenit and on to Galway, where we had two to three days, and on to Liverpool, generally arrived Sunday night and sailed the following Friday, no cargo to work only look after the little vessel. Liverpool was rather expensive owing to Music Hall and Theatres, as I did not know any friends there. Nine months of this and I was placed temporarily in charge of Lara S/S and other vessels of the fleet.

4th October, 1895 -

I was placed in charge of the SS "Creaden" and sent up to Hamburg to open the Continental Trade for the Limerick Steam Ship Co. Ltd., and had the honour of bringing the first cargo of Continental sugar to Fenit and Limerick, as the trade improved this vessel of 500 tons capacity became too small.

7th May, 1896 -

I was placed in charge of the SS "Ardnamult" a ship capable of 1,300 tons, and continued in this vessel until May, 1903, a space of seven years, with the exception of a few months bringing out the SS "Sinainn".

In those years the Hamburg trade was very good, full cargoes every trip during nine months of the year and an odd vessel chartered to keep up the trade.

In May 1903, I came to Waterford and took charge of SS Comeragh on the Liverpool trade.

I took up the position of Harbour Master, Oct. 1903, and bid farewell to sea life.

W. J. FARRELL.

1935.

Coin Find At Killea.

Will Forbes.

Late last year, Mr. Nicholas Walsh of Dunmore East asked if I could identify a coin for him. At the time, a film was being shot in Dunmore, one scene of which was located in the graveyard outside the Catholic church. I understand the coin to have been found while digging within the graveyard in connection with the film, in proximity to a headstone bearing the date 1728 (?)¹

The present church stands on the site of the medieval parish church of Killea (Killethe, Cill Aedha), in the medieval period dedicated to the Holy Cross. Its nomenclature indicates there was a pre-Norman church on the site. It was valued at the fairly substantial sum of 12 marks in the ecclesiastical taxation of 1302-1306. The remains were dated in the last century to the 14th/15th century. Fifty years ago, "little beyond a square tower survives the lower courses buried in the accumulated loam of a crowded graveyard".²

The silver coin is recently (presumably at the time of its finding) broken in two, and is fairly worn. A small triangular-shaped piece is missing; this is an ancient break.³

Reference to Brookes' "English Coins", allows the coin to be identified as an English Groat of the 4th series of Edward III's coinage, minted in London between 1351-1361, as in Brooke, Plate XXX, 1.

What is actually legible on the Killea coin is :

OBVERSE "EDWA ... - FRANC.D.HYB"

REVERSE "CIVI/TAS/-UII/DOII POSVI

This may be restored as "EDWA(RD DEI GRA REX ANGL Z) FRANC.D. HYB", i.e. "Edward by the grace of God King of England and France, Lord of Ireland", and "CIVITAS LONDON". The style of lettering used precludes the coin from being attributed to Edward I or IV; groats were not minted by Edward II.

The titles used by Edward III on his coinage were determined by the ups and downs of the Hundred Years' War with France. After the peace of Bretigny (1360), Edward dropped the title of King of France, and his second series of groats (1369-1377) reflected on varying obverse legends, the renewed claim to France. The style of ampersand used (Z, not F) precludes the Killea coin from belonging to Edward's final series.⁴

The amount of wear on the coin suggests to the inexpert eye a loss sometime in the last quarter of the 14th century. The old break on the coin indicates it has been dug up in the course of burial at least once previous to its recently coming to light.

N O T E S

1. I'd like to thank Mr. Walsh for bringing the coin to my attention, and for information on the circumstances of the find. The coin was not found by Mr. Walsh, and remains in private possession. I have not examined the site myself.
2. O'Donovan, pp.8-9
C.D.I., p.303.
Power, p.198
The site is located on Waterford 6" sheet ++27, 24cm. from the top, and c37.5cm. from the right, and lies in a detached portion of the townland of Commons.
3. No metrical data were taken.
4. The above paragraphs are entirely dependent on Brooke.

R E F E R E N C E S

- George C. Brooke, "English Coins", London, 1932.
- C.D.I. "Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland 1302-1307", ed. H.S. Sweetman, London, 1886.
- John O'Donovan, "Ordnance Survey Letters for the County of Waterford", 1841, (typescript in Waterford Room).
- (Rev.) P. Power, "The Diocese of Waterford and Lismore", 1937.

Parnell and the Leadership of Nationalist Ireland.

Dr. Martin Mansergh.

The next few years were spent mainly consolidating the strength of the party, in order to bring maximum pressure on the British parties to grant Home Rule. In the process, Parnell created a party discipline hitherto unknown in these islands. Apart from developing a machine, with the help of the local clergy, that pushed the right candidates through conventions, the centre piece was the party pledge, which read as follows: 'I pledge myself that in the event of my election to parliament, I will sit, act and vote with the Irish Parliamentary Party, and if at a meeting of the party convened upon due notice specially to consider the question, it be decided by a resolution supported by a majority of the entire parliamentary party that I have not fulfilled the above pledge, I hereby undertake forthwith to resign my seat'. It is many people's belief to this day that elected representatives should be able to act according to their own lights, and that party should be at best a loose federation. The ineffectiveness of that system can be seen by looking at Butt's party. The best justification for such discipline is once again provided by Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien who wrote: 'A united party was essential if anything practical was to be achieved, and a united party was necessarily a disciplined one and therefore machine-controlled. The sacrifices involved - including often the rejection of individuals of high integrity and ability in favour of pliant henchmen had to be accepted if political effectiveness was to be secured'. The tight party discipline of the Parnellite

party, including the pledge, is a tradition that has been handed on to the political parties of independent Ireland. There was of course a price to be paid for the tight discipline of the Parnellite Party. The split when it came in 1890-91 was exceptionally damaging.

Like any effective leader before and after him with a disciplined organization, Parnell was constantly accused of dictatorship, and of not sufficiently consulting his colleagues. There is of course not the slightest evidence that he ever toyed with the idea of any Government other than representative democracy. He occasionally pandered to this image of himself, when tongue in cheek he gave names to his racehorses and hunters such as 'Dictator', 'President', and 'Tory'. He cultivated an aloofness and an air of mystery about him which few other leaders could afford to do. 'Never explain, never apologise', was one of his mottoes. His prestige as a leader derived, according to the testimony of his colleagues above all from his ability to know what to do in a crisis. Indeed one could argue that constitutes the very essence of political leadership. He of course took advice. He told John Dillon: 'Get the advice of everybody whose advice is worth having - they are very few - and then do what you think best yourself'. The rest, I'm afraid, he regarded as troops in the lobby. He once said: 'In politics, as in war, there are no men only weapons'. The trouble was that in the crisis of 1890-91, the rank and file suddenly took on a life of their own. Outside of parliament his colleagues, some of whom were very gifted, were allowed to take part in campaigns, the Plan of Campaign being the obvious example, of which Parnell did not really approve. Davitt was given his head to promote his ideas on land nationalization. On candidates, Parnell did not have strong views of his own, and took the advice of people like Tim Healy and Tim Harrington. He presided over an enormous democratization of the party, the landowners with their lack of amenability to party discipline being replaced by the sort of representation that would be much more recognizable today. He was careful to do nothing up upset the widest possible extension of the franchise to Ireland, leaving Chamberlain and others under the impression that the artisans and farm labourers would support the propertied interest. Gladstone considered him the most remarkable political figure he had ever met. Parnell, although proud, but modest too, said of Gladstone: 'He knows more moves on the board than I do'.

He travelled round Ireland by hired train, to save time, with a compartment to himself, with different colleagues being summoned to consultations by a secretary. He made a lot of speeches at railway stations. He had a refreshing attitude to the mountains of correspondence which every political leader receives. Katherine O'Shea recalled his advice: 'If you get tired with them, leave them and they'll answer themselves'. As became clear in the divorce crisis, he saw himself not merely as a party leader, but as the leader of a national movement, and he appealed to the country over the head of the party, when it sought to reverse their unanimous vote of confidence in him. Like most politicians, he had not much time to read. Nevertheless his speeches contained quotations from experts of the day. His favourite book was that manual of dialectical debate 'Alice in Wonderland'. Certainly it is hard to think of a better book for teaching one to choose one's words carefully. He wrote many of his own speeches in the library of the House of Commons, usually in a last minute rush, and was apt to lose half of them

between the library and the House. But draft speeches and interviews were also prepared for him by a number of different people, Fanny Parnell, Tim Healy, T.P.O'Connor, Katherine O'Shea and no doubt many others. He had a directness of speech and a gift for the memorable phrase. As T.P.O'Connor recalled, 'he had the instinct of genius for the kind of thing that would appeal to his people. He was not overly concerned with consistency, and was quite happy with the notion that judgements be revised in the light of circumstances and experience. If Professor Lyons' major biography is to be faulted, it is that he seeks and expects too much consistency, and therefore has to explain away statements not consistent with the moderate constitutional nationalist phase of the late 1880's.

The achievement with which Parnell is most associated was by ruthless opportunistic tactics, persuading one of the great British parties to bring in a Home Rule Bill. He rejected a compromise offered by Chamberlain of greater powers for local government. The fruit of party discipline was gathered when holding the exact balance of power with 86 seats he put first the Liberals and then the Tories out of power. That required a lot of self-confidence to do. The first Home Rule Bill, partly modelled on the British North America Act of 1867, would have set up a Government responsible to Parliament in Dublin with responsibility for domestic affairs, including the police and judiciary, but reserving defence, foreign policy and importantly the regulation of foreign trade, customs and excise to the British Parliament. Parnell had publicly stated his interest in using tariff barriers to create Irish domestic industry, rather in the manner of Bismarckian Germany, and this could have been a significant factor in Chamberlain's opposition to Home Rule. There was to be no Irish representation at Westminster. Subsequently, even in the late 1880's there was much backtracking, with Gladstone wanting to reserve control over the police and the judiciary for an interim period, and hedging over a final solution of the land problem by large scale land purchase. Reduced Irish representation at Westminster was to be reinstated to preserve the link, but the question was naturally whether this would be sufficient leverage to hold the British to their promise of transferring some of the reserved powers.

Assessment of the achievement, by which I mean the recognition of the principle of Home Rule by a British Government, depends on the extent, to which it could be considered as a final solution. The whole Unionist case against the Home Rule Bill was of course that it was not final, that it paved the way for complete separation. Parnell's assurances that it was final are not to be taken at face value, and they were only personal assurances. He had after all been prepared to call the land settlement of 1882 final at the time. In many speeches and interviews in 1885 he made very clear in advance what he thought of the term final. 'No man has the right to fix the boundary to the march of a nation. No man has a right to say to his country, 'Thus far shalt thou go and no further', and we have never attempted to fix the ne plus ultra to the progress of Ireland's nationhood, and we hever shall'. In a newspaper interview in October 1885, he was asked, why he would not give guarantees that legislative independence would not lead to separation. He replied: 'I refuse to give guarantees because I have none of any value to give I have no mandate from the Irish people to dictate a course of

action to those who may succeed us'. What he aimed at was self government such as was enjoyed by Canada and the larger colonies, and he also referred to Hungary as a model, and he clearly saw that it would evolve. His private reaction to the first Home Rule Bill as recorded by Katherine O'Shea was: 'This Bill will do as a beginning; they shall have more presently'. In an interview with Gladstone in opposition in the late 1880's, Gladstone recorded of his meeting with Parnell:

He thought the turning-point lay in a Dublin Parliament. He did not see what would be given short of this that could be worth taking: whereas if this could be had, even with insufficient powers, it might be accepted. I understood him to mean might be accepted as a beginning.

While Cecil Rhodes tried to interest him in ideas of imperial federation, Parnell remained non-committal. Whether he could ever have become a tame dominion style prime minister is a moot point.

It is consistently held against Parnell nowadays that like most other Nationalist leaders he did not understand Protestant Ulster, which is a short hand for saying he did not accept in full the validity of the Unionist case. Conor Cruise O'Brien, on whose study of Parnell I rely once again, was of the opinion that Parnell alone could have brought in Home Rule for the whole of Ireland. After all in 1885 he did win a slender majority of the Ulster seats, and he made the most of that argument.

It never occurred to him that counties which did not ever have a Protestant majority could be handed over to a separate parliament for the North-East corner, and that meant of course most Protestants would be left outside its jurisdiction and thus relatively worse off. He did not sympathise with the Orangemen, an attitude for which it is hard to blame him. In one speech he stated :

This battle is being waged against Ireland by a class of landlords. This loyalty that they boast is loyalty to their own pockets.

but then went on somewhat rashly to predict :

All I can say is that 1000 men of the Royal Irish Constabulary will be amply sufficient to cope with all the rowdies that the Orangemen of the North of Ireland can produce.

His basic approach was summed up in the famous sentence : 'We cannot afford to give up a single Irishman'. Unfortunately, today, in many quarters the opposite seems to be the motto - 'We cannot afford not to give up a million and a half Irishmen and women'. Certainly in 1891 in a tour through the North, he recorded his admiration of the North's industrial prowess, and stressed the importance of conciliating religious fears. Then as now, Northern Unionist opinion was not interested in having fears

conciliated, they only wanted them confirmed, and the divorce case provided useful propaganda material.

Parnell does not appear to have been a particularly religious man. When asked about his religion, he described himself as 'a synodsmen of the disestablished church'. His nationalist political attitudes, his uninhibited part in the assault on landlordism meant of course that politically he did not represent Protestant opinion. Indeed, many of his fellow landlords detested him and regarded him as a traitor to his class. But he sought to serve the nation not his class or his co-religionists, though conscious of their sensitivities. He recognized, as Wolfe Tone recognised a century before him, without sentimentality, that national progress could only be made with the majority of the people. But for all that he led an overwhelmingly Catholic following, he was not and here I must differ sharply from Dr. O'Brien in States of Ireland - an honorary Catholic in his politics and still less of course in his private life. He did believe in an Ireland in which Protestants had a future, as the most significant minority in the country. Going to the opposite extreme, Paul Bew in his brief Gill's life, while performing a useful service by highlighting Parnell's perspective as a Southern Anglo-Irish Protestant landlord, overstates the point and to my mind greatly exaggerates Parnell's conservative streak and his regard for his own class interest as the key to understanding him. It is true the type of land settlement he envisaged did not involve wholesale expropriation and expulsion of his own class. On the contrary, it facilitated their survival but it completely undermined their existing position. Certainly by 1890 he had attracted quite a few Protestants including from the North to join the parliamentary ranks. Many of them did not support him during the split.

The relationship between Parnell and the Catholic Church is a fascinating subject, well documented by Emmet Larkin. Parnell went into politics armed with a letter of recommendation from the parish priest of Rathdrum, and included the demand for denominational education in his personal manifesto. As political agitator and leader he encountered a good deal of clerical opposition at least into the mid-1880's. But equally parish priests, bishops and even archbishops were among his warmest admirers. The clergy were involved with his full approval in the organisation of the party and in particular the selection of candidates at convention. The parish priest of Clonoulty in Tipperary enthused: 'As Caesar said of old, Parnell might say, "I came, I saw, I conquered", 'Without attempting to play the Dictator, as he never does, his words were law to the convention'. Archbishop Croke crowed to the Vatican: 'It now comes to pass that the man who was so bitterly assailed by the famous Roman circular is now the recognised leader of the Irish bishops, priests and people.

Some historians reckon that Parnell's leadership with its political successes raised the self-esteem of the priests as an educated class. Indeed, of course, he raised the whole morale of the Irish nation at home and abroad. Throughout the 1880's Parnell enjoyed the support of a marvellous and forthright churchman, Archbishop Croke, who defended him against charges of Communism levelled by some of his episcopal colleagues, who defended the Ladies Land League against the charge of immodesty and impropriety,