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agus Staire Phort Láirge

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Twenty-five years of Decies – pictured at the launch of Decies 57 by the Mayor of Waterford Cllr. Hilary Quinlan were (left to right) Ben Murtagh (Vice-Chairman), Pat Grogan (P.R.O.), the Mayor Cllr. Hilary Quinlan, Fergus Dillon (Chairman) and John M. Hearne (Hon. Editor Decies).

EDITORIAL

Decies 58 reflects, to a large degree, the directional changes I outlined for the journal to the membership almost three years ago. In this my third journal as editor the aspirations propounded at that time have, I believe, been achieved. More modern (twentieth century) material has been acquired for publication; there is now a consistent Irish language presence in *Decies* and the attempt to expand the appeal of the journal by including occasional articles pertaining to national and international issues of historical and archaeological importance is also evident in *Decies* 58. Indeed, in pursuing these policies, *Decies* has managed to attract new and younger contributors that I am sure will appeal to the current membership and at the same time fulfil the primary aim of broadening the journal's appeal. This has in no way undermined the unique local aspect of the journal but has, I believe, enhanced it.

Education is the clear thematic mien of the current journal; and in Edmund Rice and Thomas Wyse Waterford proudly boasts the two progenitors of the modern Irish education system. Perhaps the most eloquent tribute to that system and to Rice in particular was issued by another Waterford man, Thomas Francis Meagher, when he stated that

A great man has risen up amongst us with a genius and heroism to save, to restore, to regenerate. I look to the people of whom that man is the preceptor, the patriarch, and the prophet. I find that people, brave, honest, temperate and intelligent, and I have been taught by the history of revolutions what such a people will have the courage to attempt, the ability to achieve. I find education in advance among that people, and I recognise in the educated mind a wise innovator, a bold reformer. Over the progress of that education a venerable brotherhood, the gift of this great man to the Irish race, resides - a brotherhood whose system of education has achieved the sanction of pontiff, prelate and prince.

2002 being the bicentenary of the initial phase of constructing Mount Sion school and also witnessing the opening of a permanent Wyse exhibition at Waterford Granary Museum, *Decies* is proud to celebrate the contribution of these two great men to the Irish education system.

In September of this year Waterford City Council granted the developer of the Grady's Yard site planning permission for a four-storey office and entertainment complex, subject to strict preservation and conservation conditions (at the insistence of *Duchas*) pertaining to the adjacent City Wall and the Watergate. It is quite clear from information obtained by Waterford Archaeological & Historical Society under the Freedom of Information Act, that such restrictions would not have been forthcoming but for the intervention of this Society at a very early stage. However, prior to publication of *Decies* 58, the Society was informed that a formal objection had been lodged against this proposed development. As such, I believe that further comment on this matter would be imprudent until this objection has been processed.

The Society has recently launched an essay competition aimed at second and third level students. This is an attempt to encourage these institutions to become more involved in local history and the winning entries will be published in *Decies* 59 and will also receive a monetary reward along with one year's free membership of WA&HS.

The sudden death of our former Secretary Nellie Croke last November (2001) came as a shock to all in the Society. A fitting appreciation by Fergus Dillon is included in this edition. On behalf of the committee and membership I would like to extend our hearth-felt sympathy to her son, David, and to her extended family.

It just remains for me to thank all those who voluntarily give of their time and expertise to ensure publication of *Decies*. Such individuals take on an immense burden of responsibility in ensuring that knowledge of Waterford's long and proud history and archaeological heritage is preserved for future generations. I would like to take this opportunity to personally thank Eddie Synnott for his expert typesetting of the original material; to Dr. Pat McCarthy, Newtown School, and particularly Joan and Roger Johnson, Dr. Eamonn de Valera the Irish Press plc and National Library of Ireland for allowing valuable prints and photographs, previously unseen by the general public, to be published in *Decies* 58.

Decies is a voluntary, non-profit making organisation. All material published in *Decies* is done in good faith. If errors occur or offence is deemed to have been caused, an unreserved apology will be always be offered and published.

List of Contributors

Emma Cunningham is a native of Youghal, Co. Cork. She holds a PhD in History from NUI, Cork (2001). She is currently living and working in Dublin. This is her first contribution to *Decies*.

Bill Irish is a lecturer at Waterford Institute of Technology and is an expert on Waterford's maritime heritage. He holds an MA in Modern History from NUI, Cork (2000) and has recently published *Shipbuilding in Waterford 1820-1882; A historical, technical and pictorial study* (2001), to widespread national and international acclaim.

Joan Johnston was born in Dublin and is a qualified physiotherapist by profession. She is a member of the Friends' Historical Committee and is Honorary Archivist at Newtown School and Waterford Quaker Meeting. She has been published widely and was responsible for the re-publication of *Transactions of the Society of Friends During the Famine in Ireland* (1996). In 2000, she published *James & Mary Ellis: Background and Quaker Relief in Letterfrack*.

Frank Keane is a Christian Brother and has been associated with Mount Sion for many years. He currently holds the position of Curator of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel and the Brother Edmund Rice Centre where he welcomes visitors from all over the world. He is a graduate of the Marino Institute of Education and of University College, Dublin. Brother Keane has had many articles published on Edmund Rice and on the history of Mount Sion.

Anthony McCan was born in Adamstown, Co. Wexford, but now resides in Cork. He has previously had articles published in the *Tipperary Historical Journal*, the *Old Kilkenny Review* and in *Decies*.

Pat McCarthy was born in Waterford city and educated at Mount Sion CBS. He holds a PhD in Chemistry and an MBA from NUI, Dublin, where he currently lives. He is employed in the pharmaceutical industry and is Correspondence Secretary of the Military History Society and a frequent contributor to *Decies*.

John B. O'Brien was born in Nenagh, Co. Tipperary. His career began as Senior Research Officer at the Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics and he subsequently held lecturing posts at the University of Adelaide and La Trobe University, Melbourne. He was appointed Statutory Lecturer in History at NUI, Cork in the mid-1960s; a position he held until his untimely death in 1999. An expert on Australian-Commonwealth History, he was published in most journals of national and international repute.

Tania O'Shea is a native of Waterford city. She was educated at Our Lady of Mercy schools and at NUI, Cork where she graduated with a degree in English and History. Having worked as a teacher within Adult Education for two years, she now teaches at Our Lady of Mercy secondary school in the city. This is Tania's first contribution to *Decies*.

David Smith is a retired Electricity Supply Board official. A native of Waterford city he was educated at Mount Sion schools where he developed a love for the Irish language, English literature and Hurling. He is an avid Hurling and Athletics follower and has had several articles published on these subjects. This is his second contribution to *Decies*.

Gillian Smith is a native of Waterford city where she was educated at the Presentation primary and secondary schools. Having spent one year at the University of Massachusetts, USA, in 1997 she graduated from NUI Cork with a BA in Modern History. She was awarded a Ph.D in Modern History from NUI Cork in 2002 and is widely published. This is her first contribution to *Decies*.

Martin Verling a native of Portlaw, Co. Waterford, is a teacher in De La Salle College, Waterford. He has an MA in Folklore from NUI, Cork, and is the author of two books on the Beara Peninsula, Co. Cork: *Gort Broc-Scealta agus Seannchas o Bhearra and Berrach Mna ag Caint*

APOLOGY

The editor and editorial committee of *Decies* acknowledge that the article which appeared in *Decies 57* (2001) entitled *Waterford's Iron Exports and the Thirty Years War* (pp 1-2), was not written by Thomas P. Power. Rather, the text of this article first appeared in *Decies 5* (May, 1977) as part of an omnibus of shorter contributions headed *Miscellanea* assembled by 'Decie' the pseudo-name for the then editor of *Decies*, Mr Des Cowman.

Acting at all times in good faith, the editor and editorial committee nonetheless regret this wrongful attribution of authorship and apologise to Dr. Power for the error.

Waterford Quakers – A Brief History

1655 - 1800

by Joan Johnson

Introduction

This study aims to give a brief history of Waterford Quakers, from their first settlement in the mid-seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century in Waterford city. The following research endeavours to show their origins and the religious background that first drove them to move from England and settle in Waterford. It also reveals that during subsequent years, while this self-contained Christian group increased its membership, they struggled to maintain their religious identity while they lived out their strongly held beliefs. These beliefs were soon to be formalised through the establishment of the Religious Society of Friends, more commonly known as Quakers. From local Quaker records, and other sources, their early life in Waterford city emerges. Their first endeavours met with opposition from the city authorities as they put their religion into practice. However the effect was to deepen their convictions, especially regarding their testimonies relating to oaths, tithes and peace. Also as a consequence of putting their beliefs into practice, the research shows that they set up support for those of their poor who suffered hardship, property loss, fines and imprisonment during those early years in Waterford.

During the eighteenth century they developed and consolidated their small community, establishing their own Meeting Houses and burial grounds. Released from religious intolerance in the following years, and with the development of their trade and industry, they were able to focus their energies, their questioning minds and often inventive activities into involvement with the Waterford community in the following ways: – pursuing relief work with their Poor Relief funds and later with property in Barronstrand Street; education at Newtown School; their involvement in business, industry and city affairs.

Quaker background and origins

During the civil and religious turmoil of seventeenth century England, Quakerism began when George Fox (1624-1691) founded a small Christian group, which became known as the Religious Society of Friends, commonly known as Quakers. They were disillusioned with the Established Church at the time, searching for a simple more meaningful and practical religious experience. Important practices evolved from their strongly held Christian principles. These characteristics can be described thus: -

No clergy nor liturgy, so no tithes; religious and civil liberty and equality for all men and women alike, so no titles or marks of servility or superiority; no taking up of weapons even on behalf of lawful authority; honesty in business, no oaths and a simplicity in lifestyle.¹

1 M. J. Wigham (1992) *The Irish Quakers* (Dublin: Historical Committee of the Society of Friends in Ireland) p. 15.

A
COLLECTION
OF THE
SUFFERINGS
Of the PEOPLE called
QUAKERS,
FOR THE
Testimony of a Good Conscience,

FROM

The TIME of their being first distinguished by that NAME in the Year 1650, to the TIME of the *Act*, commonly called the *Act of Toleration*, granted to *Protestant* Dissenters in the first Year of the Reign of King WILLIAM the Third and Queen MARY, in the Year 1689.

Taken from ORIGINAL RECORDS and other AUTHENTICK ACCOUNTS,
By JOSEPH BESSE.

VOLUME II.

JOHN xv. 20. *The Servant is not greater than the LORD: If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you.*

PSAL. xxxiv. 19. *Many are the Afflictions of the Righteous, but the LORD delivereth him out of them all.*

PSAL. xii. 5. *For the Oppression of the Poor, for the Sighing of the Needy, now will I arise, saith the LORD: I will set him in Safety from him that puffeth at him.*

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by LUKE HINDE, at the BIBLE in *George-Yard*,
Lombard-Street, M,DCC,LIII.

Fig. 1 Title page of Besse's book recording Quaker sufferings

These early Friends were unpopular with both civic and church authorities. Religious persecution followed and many early Quakers experienced suffering and distress, often resulting in imprisonment, and loss of property and possessions.

Waterford Quakers 1655-1800

In the early 1650s the first small groups of followers of George Fox began to arrive in the ports of Munster. Some early Quakers settled in Waterford, near the parish of St. John's, in or about 1655.² Others were with Cromwell and came into contact with early followers of George Fox either in England or in Ireland. An early record of one such man was: -

William Blanch, who was the son of Henry and Elizabeth B. of Westerly Parish in the county of Gloucester, came into Ireland with the English army as a soldier in the year 1649. In the year 1650 he married Margaret the daughter of John and Judith Davis of Waterford on the eighth day of the 7th month 1650 and settled in Waterford.³

Early activities in Waterford

As stated before, they become unpopular with civic and church authorities in those early years. They spoke at public places and markets, in and around the churches, often interrupting church services, expressing their radical and strongly held views and gathering support from like-minded seekers. They were seen by the Established Church and civic authorities to be provocative, undermining, threatening and sometimes subversive.

An early Quaker visitor to Waterford was Edward Burrough. He stated: -

I had great opposition in this city, five times opposed by the rulers who were Baptists, and once was I tried for a vagabond and once examined by them as a Jesuit, but to this day out of snares and plots am I preserved and walk as a bird among fowlers' snares —.⁴

Sufferings

There followed a period, throughout England and Ireland, of continued religious persecution. The chief distress came from the Church. Imprisonment for attending Quaker Meeting, and distraintment of goods for tithes, were evident until the mid-nineteenth century. However evidence from Waterford shows that religious persecution stopped earlier here regarding imprisonment.⁵

Between 1650 and 1750 there were nearly 1,000 imprisonments of Quakers in Ireland.⁶

2 J. Ritty (1751) *A History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland, from the year 1653-1700* (Dublin: Jackson) p. 348.

3 Waterford Monthly Meeting Records (1859) henceforth W.M.M. Register of Deaths.

4 I. Grubb (1927) *Quakers in Ireland* (London: Swarthmore Press) p. 22.

5 J. Besse (1753) *A Collection of Sufferings of the people called Quakers* Vol. I., (London: Luke Hinde) p. 473. See Fig. 1.

6 Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, p. 31.

*A Letter of
R. Waller,
a Prisoner,
to the Judge.*

“ Friends !
“ **H**O W long will ye reject the Counsel of the Lord ; how long will ye
“ harden your Hearts against him ? How long will ye make merry over
“ the righteous Seed, that lies in Captivity in you ? How long will ye resist
“ the Holy Ghost, as your Fathers did ? How long will ye persecute the
“ Servants of the Most High God, whom the Lord hath called and chosen from
“ amongst many in this the Day of his Power, in this the Day of his Love, in
“ this the Day of his gathering together. Verily, Friends, of a Truth the
“ Lord is risen among us in his mighty Power, and hath made us willing in
“ the Day of his Power, to leave Father and Mother, Wife and Children,
“ House and Lands, and our own Countries, contrary to the Will of Man, to
“ follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. Yea, verily the Lord is chusing
“ the Weak to confound the Strong, and the Foolish to confound the Wise,
“ that no Flesh may glory : Yea, the Lord is sending forth his Messengers to
“ declare against Deceit and Deceivers, and to cry against such as those, and to
“ the Fat, and clothe with the Wool, and teach for Hire, and divine for
“ Money, and against such as speak a Divination of their own Brain. Yea,
“ verily, we find that the Heads of this Nation judge for Reward, and the
“ Priests thereof do teach for Hire, and the Prophets divine for Money, and
“ yet lean upon the Lord, and say, *Is not the Lord among us ?* And now is
“ the Lord sending out his Servants to declare against such as those, and to
“ gather in those that have been scattered upon the barren Mountains, in the
“ cloudy and dark Day, and to proclaim the acceptable Year of the Lord,
“ and the Day of the Vengeance of our God. And now ye resist the Holy
“ Ghost, as your Fathers did, and you persecute and cast into Prison the
“ Servants of the living God, who are sent amongst you, as the *Scribes* and
“ *Pharisees* and *Rulers* did. Nay, verily, ye outstrip them all in Persecution.
“ Read the Scriptures throughout, and see if you can find one Example, that
“ ever any one was cast into Prison for going into a publick Assembly, and
“ waiting silently upon the Lord, and coming forth peaceably, and not speak-
“ ing a Word, as I did ; and yet some of you laid violent Hands upon me,
“ and cast me into Prison, and would have had me give ten Shillings for a
“ Reward to the Judge, and put in Security for my good Behaviour, and yet
“ you know no bad Behaviour by me, not so much as in a Word. O horrible
“ Hypocrites, shall not the righteous Lord find you out, and reward you ac-
“ cording to your Works. But some of you say, *You are Servants, and you*
“ *must do as you are commanded.* Friends, consider whose Servants you are, you
“ are either Servants of God, or Servants of the Devil ; search the Scriptures,
“ which you call your Rule, and see whose Servants you are. For the Scripture
“ saith,

“ saith, *His Servants you are to whom ye obey,* and surely the Servants of the
“ Lord were never commanded to do such Things as these. Therefore repent
“ and turn to the Lord, and do the Thing that he commands you, lest sudden
“ Destruction come upon you : And this is that the Lord requires of you, *to*
“ *judge righteous Judgment, to loose the Bands of Wickedness, to undo the heavy*
“ *Burdens, and to let the Oppressed go free.* This laid upon me to write forth
“ unto you, the 20th Day of the Fifth Month, and whether you will hear or
“ forbear, I am clear of your Blood at present, and when my Testimony is
“ finished, I know you cannot keep me one Day longer, but your Wills shall
“ be made subject by a Power which you know not, and your Shame will be
“ laid open, for verily it lays upon me to make your unjust Dealings with me
“ known to these three Nations, *England, Scotland, and Ireland.* So Friends,
“ come down to the Measure of that of God in you, and see if you do as you
“ would be done by ; for to that of God in all your Consciences you must all
“ be turned, and if you love that (the Light) it will lead you out of Persecu-
“ tion, and out of all Sin, and if you hate it (the Light) it will be your
“ Condemnation.

IRELAND.
1657.

“ *From him who is a Sufferer for the Testimony of Jesus, in*
“ *outward Bonds, in the City Goal in Waterford.*

This is a true Copy of a Letter which
was sent to Judge Boys, and the
Sheriff, and the Goaler, at *Water-*
ford.

“ RICHARD WALLER.”

Fig. 2 Richard Waller's letter to the Sheriff, the Gaoler and Judge
Boys in Waterford

The first record of Quakers in Waterford is shown through an order: -

... that the Governor, Colonel Leigh, and the Justices of the Peace, do apprehend forthwith all persons who resort there, under the name of quakers; that they be shipped away from Waterford or Passage to Bristol, ...⁷

Many were deported, others were imprisoned, including Richard Roper, Eleanor Tallock, and Margaret Black who in 1660 preached at a funeral and along with her husband was excommunicated by Bishop Gore. William Blanch, William Wright and Sam. Mason, along with eight others, were imprisoned for meeting together and also fined £580 by Judge Alexander at the Assizes in 1661. William Wright was again put in prison for opening his shop on a so-called holiday, and another, Jeremy Hankies, died in prison for the same offence.⁸

At Waterford, William Wright, for opening his Shop on an Holiday, so called, was excommunicated, committed to Prison, and kept there for a long Time.

We shall here subjoin the Cafe of Jeremy Hanks, who though in other Points he did not profess himself a Quaker, yet being conscientiously concerned to bear a Testimony against the superstitious Observance of Holidays, so called, was, for opening his Shop on one of those Days, prosecuted by Bishop Gore, excommunicated, and committed to Goal, where he was kept close Prisoner a long Time, and at length fell sick, when the Bishop was intreated to grant him Leave to go Home, in order to the Recovery of his Health, but the inexorable Prelate would not consent, and so the honest Man died in Goal, leaving a Wife and Children unprovided for, he being but a poor Man, by Trade a Shoemaker. Thus this upright-hearted Man, for his Faithfulness in this one Branch of Truth's Testimony, whereof he stood convinced, was enabled to sacrifice both his Liberty and Life to the Fury and Ignorance of the Bishop's Superstition.⁹

Richard Waller was imprisoned in Waterford in 1656. Protesting innocence, he wrote a letter that was sent to the Sheriff, the Gaoler and Judge Boys in Waterford. (See Fig. 2)

Another record describes the fate of two Quaker women in 1660 as follows: -

At Waterford, Eleanor Tatlock for testifying against Will-Worship in the Place of publick Worship there, was committed to Bridewell: And some Days after, both her Husband and she were turned out of the City from their Children and Family. Also Margaret Blanch, for exhorting People to the Fear of the Lord, at the Burial of one of her

7 E. M. Bennis (1976) 'The History of Quakers in Waterford 1650-1800'. Lecture to Old Waterford Society, copy at Friends Meeting House, Waterford.

8 Besse, *Sufferings of Quakers*, p. 473.

9 Besse, *Sufferings of Quakers*, p. 473.

relations, was imprisoned six Months, and during her Confinement was excommunicated by Bishop Gore, of Waterford; who also excommunicated her Husband, and procured his Imprisonment in Tipperary, twenty Miles distant from his Wife, where he lay confined above a Year.¹⁰

Many appeals to the Government were sent on behalf of Quakers against their widespread imprisonments. One reply, from Maur. Eustace, Chancellor, Orrery Montrath, refers particularly to the imprisonments in Waterford. It states:-

The Chancellor's Order, mentioned in the Beginning of the said Letter, was as follows, viz.

After our hearty Commendations &c. Whereas several Persons in the Kingdom, commonly called Quakers, preferred a former Petition unto us, setting forth, that many of them for a long Time had endured Imprisonment, and were then in Prison in diverse Places in this Nation, and only for Conscience-sake, as was alledged, and that thereupon they received our Order for releasing the said Quakers, provided they were in for no other Cause than aforesaid; several of whom were released accordingly. And forasmuch as farther Application hath been made unto us by several of the said Quakers, farther complaining, that notwithstanding our former Order in their Behalf, several of them are still in Custody, and endure hard Imprisonment in several Prisons in this Kingdom, for no other Cause than aforesaid, and more particularly in the County of Waterford. Upon Consideration had all of which, we have thought fit, and do hereby require you, the High-Sheriff and Justices of the Peace in this County, that if any such Persons called Quakers, be still in any of the said Prisons, and that the same be for no other Cause but for Quakerism, you do forthwith set them at Liberty, and discharge them of the said Imprisonment, according to the Tenour of our former Directions given on that Behalf: Whereof the respective Goalers, and all others whom it may concern, are to take Notice, and give Obedience hereunto accordingly, as they will answer the Contrary at their Peril; and for so doing this shall be a sufficient Warrant. Given at Dublin the 17th of August 1661.

Maur. Eustace, Chancellor,
Orrery Montrath¹¹

10 Besse, *Sufferings of Quakers*, p. 467.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 469-70.

Late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth century development

Despite their early difficulties this small Quaker community established their roots in Waterford, working at first in small trades and milling. Having been meeting for worship in private houses, in 1694 they procured a Meeting House off Bowling Green Lane (on the site of the former Christian Brothers' School in Manor Street). (See photograph p. 9). They then built a new Meeting House in 1703, in Bowling Green Alley, before moving to King Street, now O'Connell Street, in 1791.¹²

Organisation

When George Fox visited Ireland in 1669, he encouraged each Quaker locality to organise their communities into Meetings; they were to meet each month to consider their business affairs. These meetings became an important element of Quaker organisation throughout the country. The Monthly Meeting appointed a clerk; decisions were taken without voting; these were then recorded. Monthly Meetings combined to form Provincial (later known as Quarterly) Meetings, in Munster, Leinster and Ulster. In 1669 their first National Meeting was held in Dublin.¹³ In 1794 Monthly Meetings within the Province of Munster included Youghal, Cork, Tipperary, Limerick and Waterford.¹⁴

Bowling Green Lane Meeting Houses 1694 -1791

By 1694 they had procured their own Meeting House off Bowling Green Lane¹⁵ (See Fig. 3). Then, in 1701, Quakers in Waterford and Tipperary were encouraged to collect subscriptions towards the building of a new and larger Meeting House. In December 1703 a lease was drawn up. O'Brick writes: -

John Dennis of the City of Cork, "Joyner," and Rebekah Dennis of the City of Waterford, widow, leased to Samuel Cooke of Clonmel, merchant, Stephen Collet of Clonmel, "skiner," and David Hutchinson of the City of Waterford, "Joyner," a parcel of ground with an entrance to the same from Bowling-green Lane, and which parcel of ground was stated to be bounded "on the North with the Widow Boulton's garden, on the South and East with a waste piece of ground of which the premises are parte, and on the West with said bowling green Lane being parte and parsel of som houldings [sic] & Land purchased by John Dennis aforesd. as Trustee for sd. Rebokah Dennis widdow & Samuel Dennis her son from William Causabon.¹⁵

The object of the Lease to Messrs. Cooke, Collet and Huchinson was, it was subsequently declared by the two latter, as trustees "for the rest of their friends the Society of the People called Quakers of the City and County of Waterford or elsewhere soe often when and housever

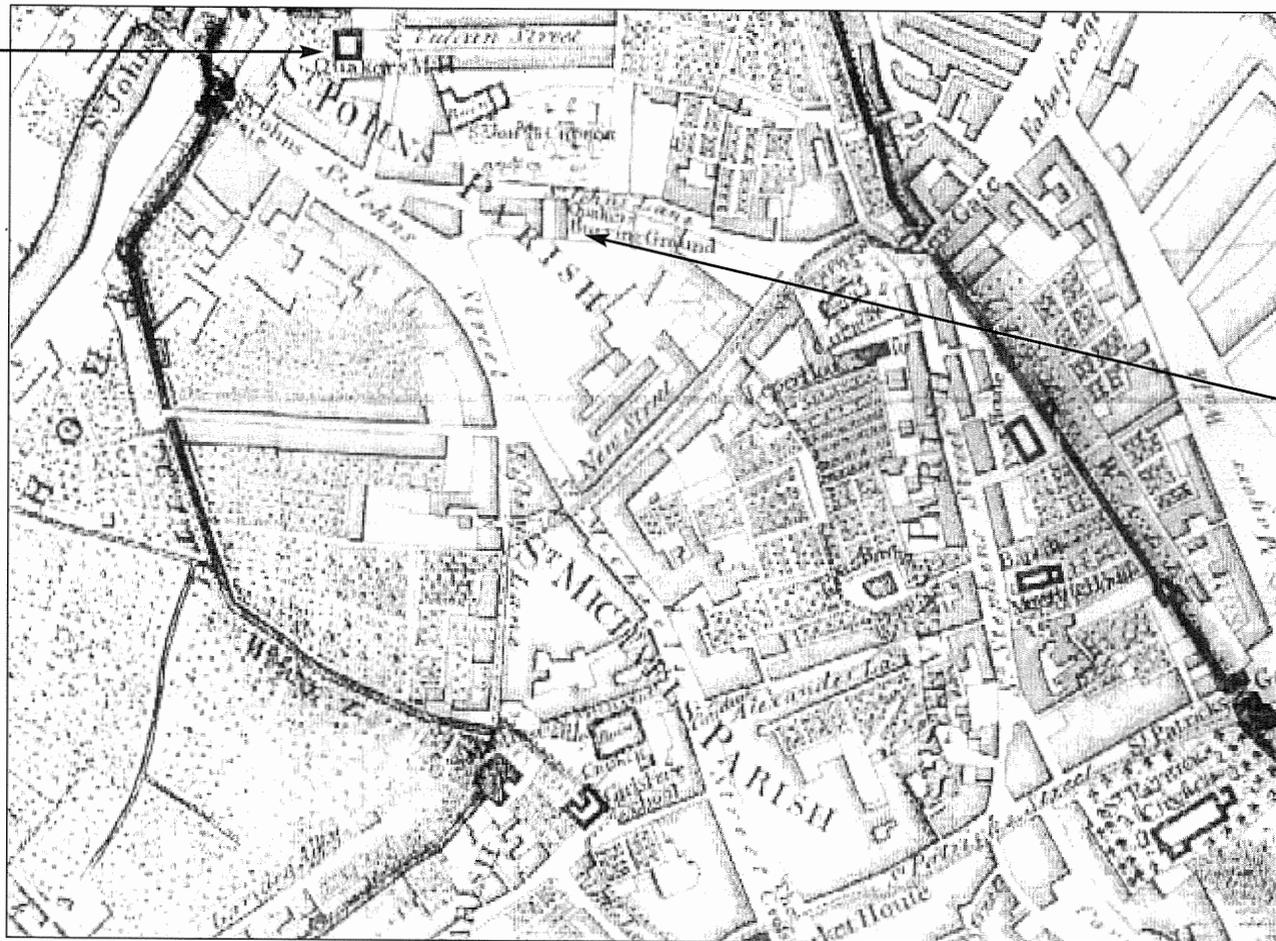
12 Bennis, *History of Quakers*, p. 3.

13 Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, p. 34.

14 W.M.M., (1794) Map of Monthly meetings in Ireland.

15 Bennis, *History of Quakers*, p. 3.

Quaker Meeting House



St. John's Lane
Quaker
Burial Ground

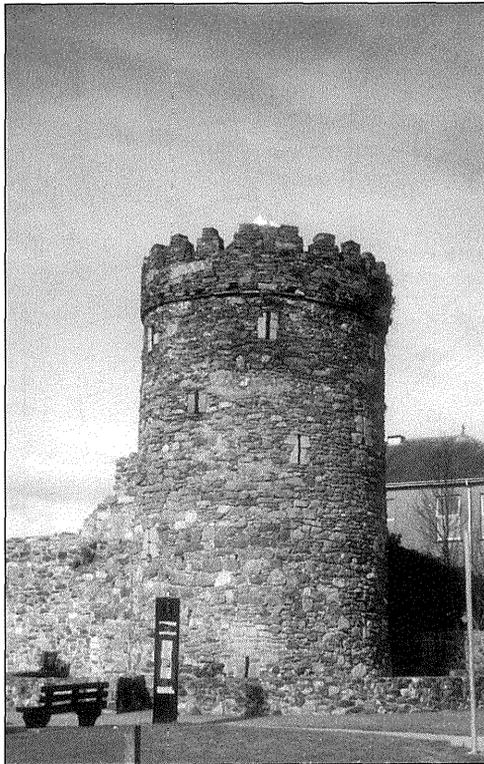
Fig. 3 Waterford Map (Scale and Richards, 1764)

they or any of them, fewer or many, shall have occasion to make use of the said Land or parsell of ground with the house since built there one (a) & appurtenances thereunto belonging either upon a Religious account for meetting and assembling them selves together or otherwise as with the joynt consent of ye major Parte of the said People, aforesd. of that County, &c., shall be thought fitt.” This declaration was made “unto Josshuah ffennell of Caher and Charles Howill of Clonmell for the use of them selves and the Rest of theyr friends.”¹⁶

The need for enlarging the Meeting House resulted in further expansion, showing the growth of membership from the early years.

Another plot of land was leased, on 25th March 1709, from Rebekah and John Dennis to William Penrose, Francis Annesly, merchants and Robert Wickam malster, all of Waterford city. This lease was for: -

a plot of ground lying approximately between the Rampier and City Wall on the South “& the way leading to the Quakers meeting House” on the North; and on the 20th Augt. following Wm. Penrose, Francis Annesley & Robert Wickam declared in writing that they held the premises in that Lease, also for “the sole & only use, benefitt and behoofe of the Brethern and Society of People called Quakers in and about the City of Waterford.”¹⁷

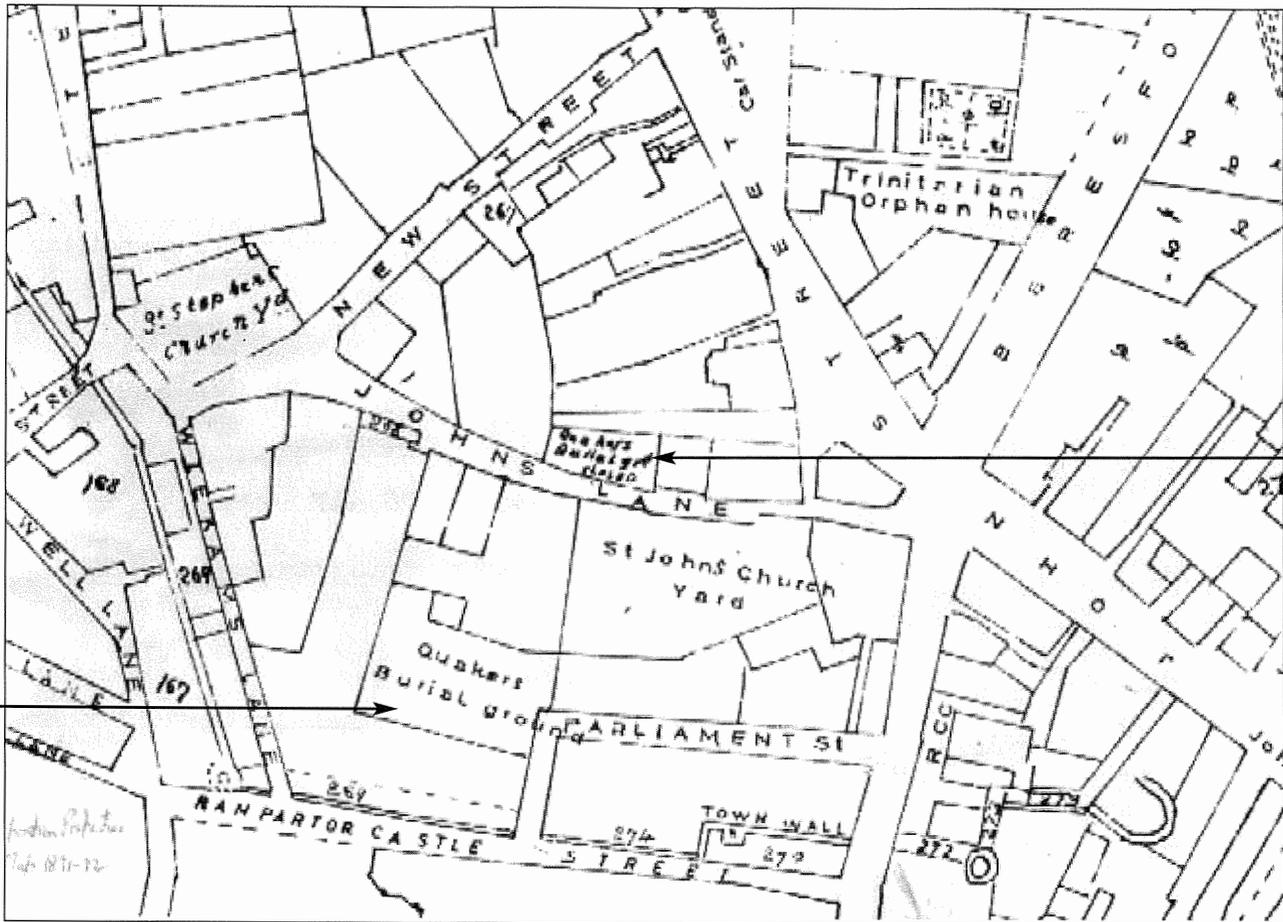


Manor Street Primary School

16 O'Brick (1911) *Two Historic Waterford Houses* (Waterford), p. 1.

17 O'Brick, *Two Historic Waterford Houses*, p. 2.

Quaker burial ground, Parliament Street



Quaker burial ground, St. John's Lane

Fig. 4 Map of Waterford (Waterford Corporation Properties, 1831-1832)

For nearly 60 years Waterford Quakers worshipped at Bowling Green Alley Meeting House. However, in 1761 the fabric of the building had deteriorated so badly that a minute read:-

Our Meeting House being in bad order and judged not worthy of repairing, the following Friends — are appointed to apply immediately to Friends for subscriptions for re-building the same next summer and likewise are desired to assist Benjamin Moore in making an estimate of the cost attending.

It seems that a new Meeting House was built and used there for another 30 years until 1791 when another new Meeting House was built – this time at King Street, now O’Connell Street.¹⁸

The Meeting House was sold to Dr. Keating, the Parish Priest of Dungarvan, in 1793. Later, through the efforts of Edmund Ignatius Rice, the premises went to his newly-founded Christian Brothers’ Order, where they established their Manor Street Primary School.

Early Quaker Burial Grounds 1689-1826

The requirement for their own burial ground led them to establish their first one in 1689 at nearby St. John’s Lane, before opening their second one on the opposite side of the Lane, in adjacent Parliament Street in 1764.¹⁹

John’s Lane Burial Ground

This first burial ground was situated near to the Meeting House, in the parish of St. John, within the city walls, at the westerly side of a triangle formed by John’s Lane, John’s Street (leading to St. John’s Gate) and New Street. The site of the burial ground was a small garden plot near St. John’s Church. (see Fig 4)

For 70 years Waterford Quakers used this burial ground. An estimated 250 people were buried there between 1689 and 1764.²⁰ According to Quaker practice, the layout of their burial grounds was simple; they used plain gravestones, preserving a uniformity in respect of material, size, form and wording on the stones, guarding against any distinction being made between any of the gravestones.

Parliament Street Burial Ground, 1764-1826

The land for this Quaker Burial Ground was acquired in 1764. It was situated within one-hundred yards of the John’s Lane site, to the south of it. It was bounded within an area by St. John’s Lane on the north, Wickham’s Lane (now Brown’s Lane) on the west, Rampart Street (now Castle Street) on the south and Vulcan Street (now Parliament Street) on the east.

18 Bennis, *History of Quakers*, p. 21.

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

20 Friends Historical Library (1649/1862) Register of Burials. Waterford XI.



Manor Street School, site of former Quaker Meeting House in background.

The first burial, from the original burial plan, was in 1765. There are an estimated four hundred and fifty graves, of which eighty are those of children. There is also a section marked as a strangers' lot. The majority of the later interments are recorded during the late 1830s. However the last burial record appears to be dated 1869.

Seventeenth Century Quaker Families; List of Members

From the Meeting House and Burial Ground records is shown the growth and activities between 1656 and 1791, as Waterford Quakers endeavoured to organise their affairs in the city. Contained in an early Waterford Quaker list of members are the following surnames: -

Abell - Anderton - Annesley - Badcock - Baker - Balfore - Barcroft - Barnes - Barton - Bentham - Binns - Blanch - Boardman - Cantrell - Carlton - Carter - Chandler - Chapman - Cherry - Constant - Courtenay - Daniel - Davis - Dennis - Dickinson - Doyle - Ellis - Eustace - Fawcett - Fayle - Fendall - Fenell - Firth - Gatchell - Godwin - Goff - Gooch - Grier - Grubb - Harris - Harvey - Hatton - Hawton - Hill - Holmes - Howis - Hoyland - Hudson - Hutchinson - Jackson - Jacob - Keys - Leaths - Lilly - Malcomson - Martin - Mason - Midelton - Molone - Moore - Morris - Monitt - Nevins - Newsom - Owen - Palmer - Peet - Penrose - Phillips - Poole - Pope - Proctor - Randall - Redin - Ricky - Ridgway - Roberts - Rorke - Rubie - Sealey - Shannon - Shelly - Sikes - Snellgrove - Spoten - Strangman - Trapnell - Usher - Walpole - Walsh - Waring - Watson - Webb - White - Wickham - Wiley - Willey - Williams - Wilson - Window - Wood - Woodcock - Wright.²¹

Testimonies

During the eighteenth century they settled into a routine pattern. Their Meeting House and Burial Grounds were established and a sense of order was in place. However they continued to stand over their strongly held views which they described as Testimonies. Their particular testimonies against the swearing of Oaths and paying Tithes, and their refusal to take up arms had substantial effects on the Quakers as they lived out their strongly held views at that time.

Tithes

The then current requirement to pay tithes was constantly resisted: -

The testimony against tithes was not merely a political gesture against paying for other people's religion. It was more fundamental; they considered the ministry of the Gospel was free and it was wrong to accept money for it.²²

21 Friends Historical Library, Family Book 1649-1862, List of Names from MM XIM; (Swanbrook House, Dublin).

22 Wigham, *Irish Quakers*, p. 38.

Their refusal to pay tithes meant that property or goods to the value of the taxes due were taken: – for Priests’ maintenance, church rates (so called) and foundling money.²³

Some examples from Waterford Quaker records are as follows: -

In 1791 goods were taken from Richard Isaac and Thomas Jacob – 8 1/2 cwt. of hay, 113 sheaves of barley, valued at £1; Jonathan Gatchel – a quarter of barley, valued at £1; John Courtenay – bacon, ham and 4 mahogany chairs, valued at £5-6-0 and Archibald Balfour – 23 knives and 23 forks.²⁴

In 1792 goods were taken from George and William Penrose – foundling money – £1 and butter valued £3-3-0; Thomas Jacob – 1 copper tea kettle and a pair of brass candlesticks valued at £0-5-5; Sam Wilson – 1 pair of shoes valued at £0-4-10; Mary Moore – 5 handkerchiefs and 2 pairs of garters. The total value of taxes paid from 4 April 1791 to 4 April 1792 was £25-19-3 for 28 entries.

These meticulous Quaker records were sent to the Yearly Meeting in Dublin. Details of all goods, house furniture, crops or property were recorded throughout Ireland; nearly £100,000 was taken for distraint of tithes between 1650 and 1750.²⁵

Relief to their poor members

As a response to the hardship and distress which Waterford Quakers experienced through endeavouring to live by their strongly held views, which included their tithes testimony, efforts were made by the Waterford Monthly Meeting to grant financial aid to their poor members. Records show that the following Trust Fund was established under the care of their Meeting for this purpose. One such Trust is described as follows: -

Barronstrand Street Trust Fund

This Trust was created by a Deed of Assignment made by Felix Eliot to Isaac Jacob, Samuel Weldon and James Keys on 3 February 1749. The Deed stated; -

Upon the Trusts and for the several uses and purposes hereafter mentioned concerning the same that is to say UPON TRUST that they the said Isaac Jacob, Samuel Weldon and James Keyes — account with the members of the monthly meeting of the people called Quakers belonging to Waterford aforesaid for all the clear and net yearly rents income and profits of all and singular the said premises— and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the members of the said Monthly Meeting all such sums and sums of money as upon auditing such

23 W.M.M. Tithes Record.

24 *Ibid.*

25 Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland*, p. 31.

accounts shall appear from time to time——TO AND FOR the use and benefit of the poor of the said people called Quakers belonging to the said monthly meeting to be paid and distributed amongst them in such shares and proportions as the members of the said monthly meeting shall in their discretion judge most meet and convenient——

This Deed also included the transfer of ground in Barronstrand Street, (where there were some old houses), to Isaac Jacob, Samuel Weldon, and James Keyes.²⁶

A schedule of accounts dated from 7th month 1758 to 6th month 1759 reveals some interesting grants. For example rent, coal, horses, an anvil and a vice were distributed to 20 poor Quakers in the city to the value of £88-10-9, while the income from the Trust came from 14 people for 1/2 yearly rents from the property at Barronstrand St.

In addition to rent payments for 1786 and 1787, financial help was given for a coffin costing £1-11-6 for Deborah Carter and funeral expenses for Mary Howell at £6-14-4. Joseph White received £1-2-9 for a 1/2 year's schooling.²⁷

Eighteenth century development and change

During this time Waterford Quakers had settled into trades and small businesses, some becoming successful as merchants in the city. Membership was consolidated and gradually increased. There was an inter-linking of Quaker families through marriage, often resulting in large families.

For example amongst the Jacob family in Waterford, Joseph (1734-1781) married Hannah Strangman (1737-1787). They had 15 children. Thomas Strangman Jacob, their son, married Hannah Fennell in 1787. They had 13 children.²⁸

By the mid-eighteenth century Waterford Quakers, along with their contemporaries throughout England and Ireland, entered another phase of their religious struggle. It was a time when the early enthusiasm from previous generations was ebbing. They turned inwards to find strength from their members to maintain their strict Quaker practices which were being challenged by a new generation. They became preoccupied with membership, numerous meetings, decision-making, and the conduct of their members. Strict Quaker principles were expected to be obeyed, their Christian practices were to be taken very seriously.

Membership

Application for membership was made in writing to the Monthly Meeting, who were advised thus; 'to inquire into the sincerity of their conviction of our religious principles, and let the Monthly Meeting be satisfied of this, previously to their admission.' (London Yearly Meeting, 1764)

26 W.M.M., 1750.

27 W.M.M., 1759, 1786 and 1787.

28 Friends' Historical Library, Jacob Pedigree (Dublin: Swanbrook House).

Discipline and Disownment

The strict practice of good conduct and honesty in all affairs was expected. Regular attendance at Meeting for Worship was also expected. Certain disciplinary actions resulted in the harsh and bitter period of disownments and resignations from Waterford Monthly Meeting. However endeavours were made to visit those who had erred before disownment decisions were taken. Thomas Gough and John Fuller were repeatedly absent from Meeting for Worship and were guilty of going to the theatre. A report on this serious misbehaviour is as follows: -

Mens meeting held in Waterford 23rd of 11th Mo. 1787

Copys of Minutes

"This Meeting being acquainted by some of the Overseers that Thomas Gough & John Fuller being in the practice of absenting themselves from Meetings for Worship except at times on first day Mornings have been repeatedly treated with thereon, as yet without the desired Effect. And a Friend having been informed that they both have been of late at the exhibition of a stage play, they have been treated with thereon likewise, and do not deny it. But Thomas Gough avows having made the attendance of such places a frequent practice in other parts where he has been, nor do either of them seem willing to give friends the satisfaction of expressing an intention to decline the attendance of such places in future. This meeting being desirous if possible to bring said young men to a sight & sense of their errors in those respects appoint Benjamin Moore, Joseph Harris, William Denise and James & John Courtenay to join the overseers in further dealing with them & make report to next meeting."

An example of disownment (expulsion) is shown when Dorothea Penrose was deemed by Waterford Monthly Meeting to have:-

gone into the Fashion of the World and hath been in the practice of attending Public Places of diversion and amusement, such as Assemblies, Balls and Card Parties — —.

Whereas Dorothea Penrose who was Educated in Profession with us the People called Quakers, hath contrary to the Self denying Principle of Truth, gone much into the Fashions of the World and hath been in the Practice of attending Publick Places of diversion and amusements, such as Assemblies, Balls and Card Parties for which she has been frequently laboured with by appointments from our Monthly Meeting in order to dissuade her therefrom without effect, and having latterly said she would receive no further visits respecting the same.

We feel it incumbent on us to testify against all such Conduct, as being altogether inconsistent with the Profession we hold forth to the

world against such liberties, and do disown the said Dorothea Penrose to be a Member of our Society, nor can we have religious fellowship with her, untill she comes to experience a Sincere sorrow for these her out goings, and Manifest the same by a circumspect Conduct, which that she may be favoured to do, is our desire.

Given forth at an adjournment of our Monthly meeting held in Waterford the 16th of the 5th Month 1797

Signed by order & on behalf thereof by

Thomas Jacob Clerk

An example of disownment (expulsion) of Thomas Barnes Gough hereunder states:

Whereas Thomas Barnes Gough who had his Education amongst us the People called Quakers, not taking heed to the Principle of Truth in his own mind, which would have preserved him in consistency of conduct therewith hath so far deviated as frequently to neglect the attendance of our Religious Meetings and by associating with unprofitable company, hath been drawn into the practice of Gaming & attending Public places of Amusement, Particularly Card Parties and a Masquerade Ball, & also united himself to the Society of Free Masons, which being contrary to our Known Rules, & to the Advice of his Friends repeatedly offer'd to him. We therefore for the clearing of our Religious Profession Testify That We disown said Thomas Barnes Gough to be a Member of our Society untill he experience true repentance for his outgoings, which We sincerely desire he may be favoured with

Given forth at our Monthly Meeting held in Waterford 2nd of the 7th month 1793, and Signed in and on behalf thereof by Joseph Strangman, Clerk.

Education

In the 1650s Quakers worked as small farmers, craftsmen and shopkeepers. Their children were educated at home. Some schools were started in the local meeting and education was regarded as equally important for both girls and boys. A scheme of apprenticeships for their young men and the placing of their young women in family homes (*in service*) was formed through the Monthly Meetings.

Rural education was difficult. To serve that need a number of boarding schools were established, including Ballytore in 1726 and Mountmellick in 1786. Sarah Grubb, at Suir Island, Clonmel, set up a school for girls in 1787.²⁹

²⁹ M. J. Wigham (1998) *Newtown School, Waterford; A History 1798-1998* (Waterford: Newtown School) p. 67.



Newtown School in 1849

From a Pencil Drawing by M. R. Heylan

Newtown School

A minute from the Quarterly Meeting held in Clonmel on the 19th of the 4th month 1796 states: -

On considering the matter referred to us, we are of the Judgement, that there is an open [sic] and also an occasion for the establishment [in] this Province a school, wherein the children, not only those of indigent but those in more easy circumstances, may have the advantage of a religious education and be in some degree, preserved from the consequences of being brought up in a less guarded manner. in order that it may be established without delay, we propose, that the different monthly Meetings be directed to set up on foot subscriptions, which we wish may be as liberal in preparation to the importance of the object in view.

Newtown School Purchase – 1797

By 1790 Munster Quakers were considering the establishment of a school for their own children within the Province. They first considered Clonmel as a suitable location. However in October 1797 the property of the Wyse family at Newtown, Waterford came on the market. Munster Quarterly Meeting was being held in Waterford at the time and part of a minute reads as follows: -

— a house and some acres of land contiguous to the city, called Newtown which it is apprehended may be suitable for the Institution and which is intended to be sold this day. The following Friends or a sufficient number of them are appointed to attend said auction and if they deem it eligible, to purchase said place on behalf of the Province. Jas. Abell, Thos. Strangman, Joseph Strangman, Joseph Hoyland, Jno. Grubb, William Harvey, Isaac Jacob, Mary Dudley, Rebecca Strangman, and this committee adjourns till 5 o'clock this afternoon to receive their report.³⁰

The property was purchased for £1,530, subject to a rent of £200 per annum. It included a house and land of 18 acres.³¹

Sir Thomas Wyse

Newtown School was the former residence of the Wyse family, the house was built around 1786, the Architect being John Roberts);³² He also designed the two cathedrals in Waterford, along with some other fine buildings.

Sir Thomas Wyse was born at Newtown in 1791. He was sent to the Jesuit College at Stonyhurst in Yorkshire. He returned to Dublin to complete his education at Trinity College and in 1821 he married Laetitia Bonaparte, niece of the Emperor Napoleon. He later became a Member of Parliament for Waterford with a

30 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.

32 The Newtown Journal, 1863/1864.



Sir Thomas Wyse 1791-1862 after the portrait by John Partridge in the National Gallery of Ireland.

special interest in Irish education. He was instrumental in bringing forward the important bill on National Education in Ireland in 1830.³³

Newtown School foundation

In 1798 Munster Quarterly Meeting became sole owners of the school and set up a local committee to make arrangements for its opening.

Fees for pupils were to be paid by the Monthly Meetings and arrangements were made for subscriptions from Munster Quakers to fund the setting up of the school.

Renovations to the house were substantial. In line with Quaker ideas of simplicity and plain living at that time, all forms of ornamentation and signs of extravagance were removed. This included the stucco work, mirrors and the white marble fire places.

An interesting detail of the pupils' dietary provision is as follows: -

In Summer: Bread and milk for breakfast, for supper bread and milk and potatoes and milk alternately. For dinner five days a week animal food with pudding, one day in the week potatoes and butter.

In Winter: the same agreed to except on three days stirabout and milk or milk-porridge for breakfast.

Drink: Table Beer³⁴

33 J. J. Auchmuty (1937) *Irish Education* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis) pp. 70, 72, 79.

34 Wigham, Newtown School, p. 12.

Newtown School opened on 1 August 1798, with thirty-one boys and seven girls, all boarding pupils.³⁵ It served to educate young Quaker children, not only in Munster, but also throughout Ireland. In 1998 the celebration of the school's Bicentenary took place.

Conclusion

This brief history of Waterford Quakers over one hundred and fifty years reveals certain developments and activities as they settled into the city. Seeking others to follow their strongly held beliefs and despite strong opposition at first they established themselves and became part of the wider community.

Subsequent years showed their own affairs consolidate both locally and nationally. They took care of the welfare of their members, especially the poorer ones. Hard work saw their business and trade expand, as they became trusted for their honesty and integrity in the commercial life of the city.

Waterford Quaker family businesses emerged in the late eighteenth century. They would have substantial influences during the next century. Amongst them were the following names:- Strangman - established a brewery in 1772; Jacob - it was through Joseph (father of 15 children) whose direct descendants were to establish firms in engineering, shipbuilding, and biscuit making in Waterford; Penrose - George and William founded their Waterford glass works in 1783; Others included Walpole, Davis, White and Malcomson.

Munster Quakers established Newtown School in 1798. As it was situated in Waterford, many of the Waterford Quakers worked to support this institution. Their collective experience in working together over many generations, combined with their organisational and business skills, would provide a solid framework for the successful management of the school. This solid foundation, combined with adaptability to changing circumstances in Ireland, would ensure the educational development of the school, which has continued for over two centuries since its foundation.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 17.



Commemorative Stamp produced by An Post, for the Bicentenary Year of Newtown School.

Thomas Wyse (1791 - 1862) and the origins of an Irish system of national education

by Gillian Smith

THOMAS Wyse, M.P. for Waterford, addressed a meeting in his native city in January 1835 on the topic of education, the subject for which he was best known. The meeting was organised by the Waterford Mechanics Society to discuss how to secure government funding for an institute, a museum and a gallery for the city. To the group assembled in the Large Room of the Town Hall, Wyse described his ideas about the importance of universal education in producing and sustaining a peaceful and prosperous society, ideas that are widespread today but which then were radical and controversial. He praised the Mechanics Societies, voluntary organisations that were established to provide cheap, practical training and a basic education for working adults by means of evening courses and lectures. He argued, however, that a comprehensive and permanent system of education was the only sure way by which 'a nation can be regenerated and the true welfare of society be promoted'.¹ This idea underlined Wyse's philosophy about education and motivated all his efforts to reform the existing educational institutions and establish a truly national and equitable system of education in Ireland.

The Wyse Family

The Wyse family of the Manor of St John was one of the great families of Waterford, influential in the civic life of the city for hundreds of years. The family connection with Waterford is reputed to have begun when Sir Andrew Wyse landed with Strongbow in 1171. Members of the Wyse family have been mayors of the city on no less than fifteen occasions. The future Sir Thomas was educated, initially, by a hedge schoolmaster named Michael Quinn. In 1800, aged nine, he was sent, as befitted a boy of his class and money, to Stonyhurst, a great Catholic English Public School. Teachers and pupils were there imbued with a sense of pride in English nationality which remained with Wyse for the rest of his life. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, at age seventeen where he was one of a very small group of Catholics. This experience influenced profoundly his ideas about education and convinced him that mixed education had the potential to end the bitter divisions in Ireland between Catholics and Protestants. At Trinity, Wyse won gold

1. T. Wyse (1835), *Report of the address delivered by Thomas Wyse, Esq., M.P., in the assembly rooms, Town Hall, Waterford, at a public meeting, convened for the purpose of calling the attention of the legislature to the importance of affording aid towards erecting a building suitable for the ordinary objects of an institute, a museum, and a gallery of design* (Waterford) 4 [hereafter cited as *Address in Waterford*].

medals for oratory, history and composition (in English, Latin and Greek). He took his degree in 1812 and was admitted as a student of law in Lincoln's Inn, London one year later, aged twenty-one. During his college days and after, Wyse visited the continent frequently and spent much time examining how other European states provided for the education of its citizens. His courtship and consequent marriage to Letitia Bonaparte, niece of Napoleon Bonaparte, provided him with additional incentive and opportunity to live abroad. His correspondence at this time illustrates Wyse's great interest in education, and his later writings demonstrate how he benefited from visits to educational institutions and meetings with teachers and reformers.²

The state of education in Ireland³

The state of education in Ireland at Wyse's birth was poor, especially for Catholics. Education for Catholics was prohibited under the eighteenth century penal laws enacted by the Anglo-Irish Parliament in Dublin, and sanctioned by London. The children of wealthy Catholics were often sent, illegally and surreptitiously, to schools on the continent. The children of poor Catholics were commonly educated in 'hedge schools', to which the authorities turned a blind eye. These were small, fee-paying, schools run by scholars in barns, houses or fields, hence the name. These laws were repealed in the 1790s and various Catholic religious orders opened schools in towns and cities. None of these schools, however, received any state funding. The government gave grants to some schools but only those run by private Protestant Societies that aimed to convert the masses to Protestantism. These societies met general hostility, attracted few pupils, and failed completely in their proselytising objectives.

When Wyse returned to Ireland in 1825, after a decade of travelling, there was little improvement in the educational opportunities for the majority of the population. Fledgling Catholic orders such as the Christian Brothers and the Presentation Sisters had established schools in some of the major cities, including Waterford, where the first Christian Brother's School was founded at Mount Sion, but most of these schools were small and were restricted by limited means. In a predominantly rural country, the majority of children continued to be educated in 'hedge schools' that were even more disadvantaged by lack of funds.

2. Biographical information: J. Auchmuty (1939), *Sir Thomas Wyse 1791-1862. The life and career of an educator and diplomat* (London) [hereafter cited as *Thomas Wyse*]. For a concise and useful biography on the internet see website <http://members.tripod.com/waterfordhistory/>
3. J. Coolahan (1992), 'Primary education as a political issue in O'Connell's time', M. O'Connell (ed), *O'Connell: education, church and state* (Dublin); A. Hyland & K. Milne, (ed.) (1987), *Irish educational documents: a selection of extracts from documents relating to the history of Irish education from the earliest times to 1922* (3 vols, Dublin) i; D. Akenson (1970), *The Irish education experiment: the national system of education in the nineteenth century* (London & Toronto); N. Atkinson (1969), *Irish education: a history of educational institutions* (Dublin).

Ireland was not unique in these respects. Few states had systems of national or universal education. Few statesmen or legislators believed that the state had an absolute duty to provide an education for all its population and few citizens believed they had an inalienable right to receive one. Education was, effectively, the preserve of social and political elites. Most European governments that supported education did so on a denominational basis, that is, for those only who conformed to the Established Church. This custom was not wholly restrictive in continental countries because, in most cases, the majority of the people practised the state religion. In Ireland, however, the Established Church was that of an autocratic minority, and this meant that the majority of the people were excluded from the system.

Wyse, in common with a small but increasing number of enlightened liberals, believed that education should not be restricted to the privileged classes, that every person had a right to an education, irrespective of religion or class, and that the state had a responsibility to provide this education. In his speech in Waterford, Wyse expressed his hope that museums, galleries and libraries would be established throughout Ireland. These, he believed, would give 'not merely to the man of letters and science, but to the humblest artizan in the country' an equal opportunity of 'bettering his being, and augmenting with his stores of knowledge, also his faculties and happiness'.⁴ Wyse described how institutions such as these thrived in many European countries and he contrasted them with Ireland's proliferation of jails, workhouses and asylums, productive only of an 'intellectual desert'.⁵ Although there were not as many public institutions in Ireland as in England or Scotland, Wyse argued that Irish people were as eager for education as their counterparts in Britain, 'if equal opportunities were offered'.⁶ He denied that Irish people lacked initiative or intelligence and instead blamed the Government for failing them. He implored the government to remedy this deficiency, and insisted that the extension of educational opportunities, for the poor in particular, would form the basis of future social and moral improvement.

We cannot speak of Ireland as an educated country, and in a fit state to take advantage of all the benefits of civilisation, till by permanent institutions, not only her present necessities are supplied, but provision is made for the improvement and prosperity of the future. When this has been fully attended to in all its latitude – in elementary, academical, collegiate, and university education, we may say that the country is in truth ready to take her part in the onward march of human civilisation.⁷

4. *Address in Waterford*, p. 6.

5. *Address in Waterford*, p. 7.

6. *Address in Waterford*, p. 4.

7. *Address in Waterford*, p. 5.

Wyse's political and parliamentary activities

Wyse, whose grandfather was one of the founders of the Catholic Association in 1759, was one of the leaders in the campaign for Catholic Emancipation in the 1820s. After the granting of Emancipation in 1829, Wyse was to the fore in lobbying for reforms for Ireland, especially for education. Wyse believed that devolution of limited powers would end agitation, and that education would sustain stability. He worked out a comprehensive plan for a national system of education which involved universal elementary schools for all classes, secondary schools for the middle class, universities for the upper class, and supplemental education for adults to provide basic or ongoing instruction.

The first objective Wyse addressed was elementary education. In November 1830, he proposed a motion in parliament that the government should discuss the question of a system of national education for Ireland:

That this House fully recognising the salutary effect of a good system of National Education in improving the moral habits, encouraging and directing the industry, and securing the prosperity and tranquillity of a Country, will take into its early and serious consideration the propriety of establishing such a system in Ireland, founded on a permanent and uniform basis, and guided by principles satisfactory to all classes, and religious denominations, of her population.⁸

The motion was postponed. Wyse then submitted a concise document to the government on 9 December 1830 entitled *'Heads of a plan for a system of national education in Ireland'*.⁹ In it, Wyse set out his ideas for a comprehensive system of education to provide for all classes in Irish society, from infancy to maturity, without discrimination against any religious or political group. While the government considered the proposal, Wyse lobbied politicians and influential Catholic, Protestant and Presbyterian prelates for support, and received for the most part, very positive replies.¹⁰ Wyse, satisfied that there was significant demand for a system of education along these lines, planned to introduce an education bill. His plans were put on hold temporarily, however, because of the dissolution of parliament early in 1831. In the meantime, Wyse had lengthy discussions with Lord Stanley, Chief Secretary for Ireland, who, although unconvinced initially, was soon converted to Wyse's thinking. Assured of the support of the Irish administration, Wyse announced his intention to introduce a bill for National Education when par-

8. T. Wyse (1830), 'Resolution pledging to the consideration of a national system of education for Ireland: proposed to be moved by Mr Wyse, in the House of Commons, Nov. 1830', cited in T. Wyse (1835) *Education (Ireland): speech of Thomas Wyse, Esq., M.P. in the House of Commons on Tuesday, May 19, 1835* (Dublin) 58 [hereafter cited as *Education (Ireland)*].
9. T. Wyse (1830), 'Heads of a plan for national education in Ireland, submitted to the Government – Dec. 9, 1830': cited in *Education (Ireland)*, pp. 55-8.
10. T. Wyse (1831), 'Queries', 19 Manchester Buildings (London?), 26 February 1831: cited in *Education (Ireland)*, pp. 58-9.

liament reopened in the summer of 1831.¹¹ In a speech to the House of Commons on 25 July, Wyse reiterated his conviction that educational reform was essential because of the limited availability and exclusive and sectarian composition of existing institutions. This, he argued, was a duty for a government to provide, one that would have invaluable and improving effects in Ireland, and one that would reflect honour on the state:

Education, which in other countries is a blessing, in Ireland—passing through the discolouring and tainting medium of selfish purposes, and old abuses, and strongly-excited passions – has become a positive curse. ... Education in Ireland, up to this hour – and we may begin from the Reformation if we think proper – has all along been a mere matter of religious and political partisanship. ... I am, then, for a National system of education in Ireland, in this large and noble sense; and did the House allow me, I should be prepared to show, that such a system is the only one which can tend to quench our dissensions, excite a true passion in our people for intellectual and moral improvement, and lead to those happy results, which it ought to be the glory, as it is the duty of every enlightened Government, and indeed of every citizen to encourage, a real knowledge of the interests of every class and persuasion, and an industry and wisdom absolutely essential to their faithful and uniform promotion.¹²

With government consent, Wyse introduced his bill on 29 September 1831 but it was not passed before the end of the parliamentary session.¹³ Nevertheless, persuaded of the necessity and urgency of reform, Lord Stanley implemented Wyse's ideas a month later in a letter to the Duke of Leinster, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In that letter, Stanley set out 'Instructions' for the establishment of a Board of Irish Education and a system of national elementary education.¹⁴ Although Stanley was credited (or condemned) by some contemporaries and historians with the foundation of the national school system, it was Wyse who was the architect. Stanley's 'Instructions' reproduced, almost to the letter, Wyse's bill and his earlier 'Heads of a plan for national education'. These documents then, Wyse's 'plan', and

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11. T. Wyse (1845), *Speech of Thomas Wyse, Esq., M.P., on the extension and improvement of academical, collegiate, and university education in Ireland; at the meeting held for that purpose, at Cork, November 13, 1844* (London) p. 63.
 12. T. Wyse (1831), 'Speech, on withdrawing the first Resolution, and giving notice of a Motion for leave to bring in "A Bill for National Education"', *Mirror of Parliament* (25 July 1831).
 13. W. Wyse (ed), (1901), *Notes on education reform in Ireland during the first half of the 19th century: compiled from speeches, letters, &c., contained in the unpublished memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Wyse, K.C.B.* (Waterford) 28 [hereafter cited as *Notes on education reform*].
 14. For comparisons between the 'Instructions' and the Bill, which show how the former almost exactly mirrored the latter, see extracts from a letter from Wyse to Lord Stanley, *Dublin Evening Post* (9 December 1831): cited in *Education (Ireland)* pp.61-64.

the bill, merit careful attention because their provisions, although controversial, effectively constituted the system of education put in place at that time.

In his introduction to the bill, Wyse explained that the majority of the country's Catholic population shunned the schools that received state sponsorship because they were associated with proselytism. He emphasised the importance of education for the poorer classes in society and urged that elementary schools be established in every parish in Ireland. These schools, he suggested, should be built primarily by the state, with local contributions towards maintenance and with local involvement in management. Wyse argued strongly for mixed secular education with separate religious instruction. This was intended to teach children to honour their own religion and to respect that of others, thereby preparing the way for Catholics and Protestants to live in future harmony. In his bill, Wyse described in four steps how this could be effected:

1. Let Catholics and Protestants be educated, wherever possible, in the same school. ... Its object is to prepare future Citizens for a common country.
2. Let Religious instruction be given regularly to the pupils of each persuasion; but by the persons most competent to give, and most interested in giving, such instruction as it ought to be given, that is, by their respective Pastors.
3. In order to remove all causes of Religious discord, let Religious instruction be given on a day, and in a place most appropriate to such duty. A separate room in the school, the church or the chapel, might be applied to that purpose (if Sunday be insufficient) every Saturday.
4. Let the Schoolmaster (who, to educate with effect, ought to have the confidence of the pupils and their parents, i.e., the Parishioners), be chosen by the Parishioners; but in order to guarantee that the choice be good, and not liable to the chances of ignorance or passion, let the selection be made from a Teachers' School, under the superintendence of a proper body.¹⁵

To supervise this teacher-training school and to oversee the whole system, Wyse recommended the establishment of a Board of National Education comprised of Catholics and Protestants, clergy and laity, in equal proportions. These provisions concerning elementary education, adopted wholesale by Lord Stanley, constituted two thirds of Wyse's original bill. The remaining third consisted of his plans for post-primary education (intermediate, tertiary and supplemental), which will be discussed later.

15. T. Wyse (1830), 'Heads of a plan for national education in Ireland, submitted to the Government – Dec. 9, 1830': cited in *Education (Ireland)*, 55-8; *Notes on education reform*, pp. 21-5.

Plan for educational reform

Wyse stood as an independent candidate for Waterford city in the General Election in 1832 but failed to win a seat because he refused to take a 'Repeal Pledge' demanded by O'Connell.¹⁶ In temporary retirement from political life, Wyse spent the next few years writing a major work entitled *Education Reform* (1835). This work illustrated clearly, and in great detail, his plans for reform and set the agenda for the rest of the century. In this work, Wyse discussed why, and how, the state should educate people, the virtues of education, the place of religious instruction in national schools, and the importance of specialised institutions in accordance with the needs and wants of different social classes.

In *Education Reform*, and in all his works, Wyse emphasised continuously the importance of a universal, permanent and state-supported national system of education. By 'national', Wyse did not mean nationalistic. 'Nation', for Wyse, meant the Union of Ireland and Great Britain. While Wyse's local allegiance was to Ireland, his ultimate loyalty was to England and he hoped that his education system would promote civic values and obedience to the state. He was, after all, a convinced Unionist, committed to the Union and proud of the Empire. In the *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association* (1829), his first major work, Wyse emphasised the importance of education in providing 'good members for society, free citizens for our constitution, and steady and enlightened supporters of those several institutions, in which mainly consist the glory and power of every civilised community'.¹⁷

As with his attitude to 'national' education, Wyse's conception of 'universal' education was also limited by his political beliefs. He believed that all children were entitled to a basic education but that some children were entitled to a better one, that the children of middle and upper class families needed more extensive education to equip them for the important positions they would have, later, in society. Wyse was greatly influenced by the theories of Phillip De Fellenberg, a Swiss founder of agricultural schools who was renowned throughout Europe as an educator. De Fellenberg believed that education should prepare students for their station in life, that it should teach labourers to be good labourers, farmers to be good farmers, and landlords to be good landlords. Wyse, a landlord, was no revolutionary. He wanted education reform to inculcate in children loyalty to their 'superiors' in order to preserve the *status quo*.

Wyse's attitude to the sexes was also deeply conservative. He did not intend 'universal' education to apply in the same way to boys and girls or, indeed, that girls should have the same privileges and opportunities as boys, especially after elementary education. In *Education Reform*, he wrote that extensive education of girls would threaten that 'jealous reserve and sensitive purity which is pre-eminently the virtue and grace of female education'.¹⁸ In this respect, Wyse shared the prejudices of his class, typical amongst even the most enlightened of reformers.

16. Daniel O'Connell supported only those candidates who agreed to vote en bloc in parliament for Repeal.

17. T. Wyse (1829), *Historical sketch of the Catholic Association of Ireland* (2 vols, London) ii, pp. 104-5.

18. Auchmuty, *Thomas Wyse*, p. 161.

Wyse's educational philosophy

When re-elected to parliament in 1835, Wyse resumed his agitation for education reform. On 19 May 1835, he introduced an education bill to give legislative and permanent status to the Board of Education (which did not exist in the statute books), and to extend the system of education in Ireland.¹⁹ This was, in effect, an extended version of his 'Heads of a plan for a system of national education', submitted to the government in December 1830, and a synthesis of his monumental *Education Reform*, published the same year. Introducing the bill, Wyse made a lengthy speech, in which he set out his philosophy and objectives concerning education in Ireland. It was published a few months later as a pamphlet and went through three editions in one year. Part practical, part ideological, this speech was a blueprint for a comprehensive system of national education, which gives us yet another insight into Wyse's great zeal for reform and the reasons for such a plan.

Referring to the great desire for education in the countryside, Wyse advised the government to ensure that this education was a good one, that is, one that fostered harmony between people of different religion and politics in Ireland, and one that taught loyalty to the state:

The more I have thought and think on it, the more deeply am I penetrated with the importance of this all-embracing question. Every day adds to the conviction that we have fully reached the point when a thorough and extensive Education Reform can no longer be deferred. ... Education Reform will come and conquer like every other. What is the folly of today will be the wisdom of tomorrow. ... In any case, I am resolved to do my duty: I have a strong faith in a righteous and great cause, and I cannot believe that what ought to succeed will be long unsuccessful. In one word, it comes to this—men will be educated, whether you like it or not. The only point is how, or for what. That you can determine, but that only; and the sooner and the more thoroughly you can determine it – I say it not in menace, I say it not in dread, but with that awful conviction of responsibility which every man must feel, who looks with attention to the present, and still more to the future aspects of society – the sooner and more thoroughly you determine it, the better for every man, from the highest to the lowest in the land.²⁰

As well as the need to prevent against a 'bad' education, and the wisdom of providing a 'good' one, Wyse argued that modernisation made universal education a social, political and moral imperative. He described how society had been transformed by the industrial revolution, by scientific and technological advances, and by improvements in transport and communications, and he advised the government to educate its citizens to enable them to cope with these changes:

19. T. Wyse (1835), *Education (Ireland): speech of Thomas Wyse, Esq., M.P. in the House of Commons on Tuesday, May 19, 1835* (Dublin).

20. *Education (Ireland)*, pp. 26-7.

Steam has produced a great, and is likely to produce a still greater change, in the combination and action of society, – space seems annihilated, – towns have melted into each other, – we live almost like one great family, in the presence of each other, – facility of communication renders us more sensible to every impulse, – public opinion has acquired more activity, extension, and energy, – combination, for any given cause, is infinitely more easy. Add to these the wholesale changes in the power of production; the new markets created; the old they have displaced; the innumerable vicissitudes which all these give rise to, not only in individual families, but in very large masses of the communities; and you will form some estimate of the mighty, and in some degree perilous power, of this moral as well as mechanical agent upon society. Much patience and much wisdom are requisite to enable us to use its gifts, so that they may not be turned into curses. ... Forethought, and moderation, and activity, and intelligence, – habits which education only can produce – are confessedly indispensable.²¹

Furthermore, referring to one of the indirect consequences of modernisation, the emergence of a new middle class, Wyse argued that the government, because it had extended the franchise, was obliged to educate its citizens. The concept of democracy was an extremely divisive one, unlike in Ireland today. Many landed gentry, the only people entitled to vote until the Great Reform Act of 1832, were vehemently opposed to the limited reforms that had enfranchised the newly-prosperous middle class (males only, of course). They feared that the recent act was only the first step in a process of democratisation that would mean their eventual demise as the ruling class. Ignoring the question of the merits or dangers of democracy, Wyse urged the government to treat it as a *fait accompli* and to educate people sufficiently to prepare them to use their vote responsibly. If not, he argued, then it must face the consequences, implying that the fears of those opposed to electoral reform who believed it would empower a vicious mob – would be realised.

The very day you passed the Reform Bill, you bound yourself by a solemn moral compact to provide for its proper working: otherwise you conferred upon the country, not a blessing but a curse. And how is it possible it should work well, with such instruments to work it with as an ignorant population? ... Parliamentary reform, I boldly assert, had rendered Education Reform indispensable.²²

Wyse defends Irish zeal for education

Wyse stated that the government, if unconvinced still of the urgent need for universal education, would find plentiful reasons in the past to justify action in the present. This was a theme to which he returned, repeatedly, in writings and speeches about education. Wyse, challenging historical stereotypes and popular prejudices,

21. *Education (Ireland)*, pp. 5-6.

22. *Education (Ireland)*, p. 6.

denied that the Irish were a barbarous people, incapable of improvement, and argued, on the contrary, that they were once famed as the most learned people in Europe. He described how, in the Early Christian period, Ireland's monastic schools were celebrated centres of scholarship and instruction that sent missionaries all over Europe. To Ireland, Wyse stated, 'England chiefly owed her knowledge'. The continent, too, he claimed, was indebted to Ireland for its greatest professors and most distinguished universities. Asking what became of these places of letters and learning in Ireland however, Wyse cast an accusatory finger at his peers in the House of Commons, descendants of the Anglo-Norman conquerors who destroyed them:

Ask those who expelled the teachers, burnt the books, ruined the buildings, who wasted and withered wherever they came – ask those who civilised Ireland.²³

Thus began, claimed Wyse, six hundred and more years of English injustices against Ireland, from prohibition of education to proselytism, which he argued, demanded immediate redress. In his *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association*, Wyse argued that the state was morally bound to remedy historical injustices in respect of education:

New links should be formed between the different orders of the State; the relations which a long series of unwise measures and cruel laws have burst and kept asunder should be restored; the National intellect, waste but fertile, should be brought into cultivation, and another people, truly such, and not as they hitherto have been, too frequently a populace, should be raised up, out of the wrecks and lees of the past. England owes us this atonement for her former misrule and spoliation; she it was who made us and kept us ignorant. At her door is to be laid our barbarism, and all our barbarism has entailed upon us. A better order of things had begun; let her nobly aim at its consummation. Power is crime unless it be productive of blessing, and the most productive tyranny which ever dazzled and crushed man is not to be compared to the patient evolving happiness out of misery, health out of malady, knowledge out of ignorance, and morning out of night. Such trophies endure; they are well won. She will find in the Irish mind, when fairly dealt with, an enthusiastic and generous co-operators. But this fairness Ireland must have; with it she may do everything; without it – nothing.²⁴

Fifteen years later, at a public meeting in Cork in 1844, Wyse reiterated this demand:

23. *Education (Ireland)*, p. 10.

24. T. Wyse (1829), *Historical sketch of the Catholic Association of Ireland* (2 vols, London) ii, pp. 104-5.

Shall no equivalent be given, no atonement, no retribution for their loss? These are considerations, which must press upon the mind of every man, who reads history, and knows how to reflect upon it. We have this most imperative right of all, the right of the unjustly plundered of knowledge, the defrauded of civilisation. ... We are Irishmen, living in the 19th century, in the blaze of European civilisation, and yet without the enjoyment of those institutions, which our forefathers ought long since to have enjoyed. It is time to seek for restitution, it is time to come forward frankly with our demands for compensation.²⁵

Administration and organisation

Having given reasons why the government should provide a system of universal national education in Ireland, Wyse next discussed how it should do this. He advised the government to establish by legislation a Board of Education, similar to the existing one, but with more extensive powers. As with the current board, he believed it should comprise representatives of the main churches, of the government, and of the general public. Wyse advised the government to give the new board power to purchase land for schools, gardens for agricultural instruction, and supplementary buildings such as teachers' houses and technical workshops. He recommended, in addition, that the board be given funds and responsibility for supplying schools with all necessary provisions (books, equipment, tools etc). Wyse also discussed the provisions for establishing schools according to the Stanley 'Instructions'. He criticised the existing custom that a parish had to contribute at least one third of the expense because many parishes were too poor to pay the initial outlay. Wyse advised instead that the state should cover the costs of building and outfitting schools and then allow parishes to contribute to its upkeep in the long term.²⁶

After administration and organisation, Wyse turned his attention to instruction and emphasised the importance of educating the educators. He advised the government to establish 'teachers' schools', in which students would undertake a rigorous course of training for three or four years, at the end of which they would have to pass examinations to prove their competency to teach. Wyse recommended that the government publish an annual list of graduates to assure the public of the high standards of their teachers. Furthermore, to ensure these standards were maintained, Wyse recommended the appointment of inspectors (Catholic and Protestant) to monitor teachers' methods of instruction, to report back to the Board, and ultimately to parliament. Finally, Wyse urged the government to authorise the Board of Education to prepare texts for schools and to ensure that each parish had

25. T. Wyse (1845), *Speech of Thomas Wyse, Esq., M.P., on the extension and improvement of academical, collegiate, and university education in Ireland; at the meeting held for that purpose, at Cork, November 13, 1844* (London) 35 [hereafter cited as *Speech in Cork*].

26. *Education (Ireland)*, pp. 18-20.

a well-stocked library from which all schools in the area could draw upon.²⁷ These plans, progressive by modern standards, illustrate how pioneering and ambitious were Wyse's ideas at a time when the very concept of state education for all was contentious.

Although the bill legislated primarily for elementary education, Wyse, in his speech to the House of Commons, discussed his objectives for secondary and tertiary education. He praised the Government for providing, in its system of elementary schools, a basic education for all classes in society, especially the poor. He argued, nevertheless, that it also had a duty to provide progressively better facilities for the middle and upper classes in accordance with their higher social standing. 'Education', in Wyse's opinion, 'like all other civilisation, ought to proceed downwards'.²⁸

The Select Committee

In spite of widespread support for Wyse's bill, the government did not implement it. It established instead a Select Committee to inquire into the state of Diocesan, Royal, and other Schools of Public Foundation in Ireland to consider its provisions. The Committee, of which Wyse was chairman, conducted detailed investigations into the state of education in Ireland, in particular, post-primary education.²⁹ Its report, written exclusively by Wyse, was published in August 1838, and was another great manifesto on education. It provided a history of state policies and institutions and suggested how to reform them. The committee praised the work of the newly-established National Board in administering elementary education.³⁰ It condemned outright, however, the existing system of state-sponsored schools, Royal and Diocesan, which were supposed to provide free secondary education for all but failed completely to do so. In Wyse's words, these schools were 'perverted to a mere instrument of Protestant ascendancy', and did not meet the needs even of the minority Protestant community.³¹ They provided mainly a classical education,

27. 'The instruments for communicating education are Teachers and Books. ... To think of diffusing instruction without instructors, is beginning like the philosopher of Laputa, from the roof. You build schools, but you do not give education. Hence it is, that the Irish in so many instances are informed, but not educated', *Education (Ireland)*, pp. 20-3.

28. *Education (Ireland)*, pp. 24-5.

29. *Foundation Schools, (Ireland), 23 June 1835: Select Committee appointed to examine into the state, funds, and management of the Diocesan, Royal, and other Schools of Public Foundation in Ireland, as also into the system of education pursued therein, with a view to increasing their utility, and also to inquire into how far it may be practicable and expedient, and in what manner and from what resources to improve, extend, and permanently maintain, Academical Education in that country, and to report therein to this House:* cited in *Speech in Cork*, p. 63.

30. It suggested some changes, however, such as payments for Commissioners (who worked on a voluntary basis), and of a minimum salary for teachers, who were solely dependent on local subscriptions and pupils' fees.

31. *Speech in Cork*, pp. 9-12.

were exclusively Protestant institutions, and were attended almost entirely by sons of gentry. In Wyse's opinion, they did little other than prepare a small number of students for Trinity College Dublin 'but forgot the great mass of the Irish people'.³²

Having rejected the existing institutions, Wyse's Select Committee recommended comprehensive reform for post-primary education. It advised that the National Board be given power to establish secondary schools, to be known as 'county academies', in every county. These schools would prepare middle class pupils for universities or 'enable them to pursue with advantage to themselves, and the community, their respective occupations and professions in after life'. As with elementary education, the committee recommended that the government should establish and furnish the schools, the people should maintain them, and management should be shared jointly between the National Board and county committees.³³

The committee advised also that the government should found superior schools known as 'provincial colleges', which would be a step between county academies and universities. It recommended that there should be at least one provincial college in each province. This provoked speculation and heated debate about which county would benefit. Wyse argued that it did not ultimately matter whether the first college for Munster be established in Cork or Limerick or Waterford and appealed to people to work for the greater good of Munster and indeed Ireland:

Away, therefore, with all these petty jealousies about localities. Let it never again be said that it is a question of Cork against Limerick, or of Limerick against Waterford, or of this county or that county against the other. The point is not where we are to end, but where we are to begin. Where is the good work, not for Munster, or Ulster, but for all Ireland, to commence? Let there be no selfish contentions, but a generous rivalry between us. Let us not degrade so momentous a national movement into a struggle for local or partial advantage, like a mere Railway speculation, between this or that body of Directors.³⁴

The university question

The Select Committee also paid significant attention to the university question, another area of reform to which Wyse dedicated himself. To begin, Wyse criticised the sectarian nature of Trinity College Dublin, which discriminated against Catholics in its privileges and appointments. Scholarships were limited to members of the Established Church and all but four of the teaching positions were restricted to Anglican clerics. Wyse appealed to the Government to expand the university to provide for all denominations.³⁵ He advised it to make Maynooth and Belfast constituent colleges of the University of Dublin, of which Trinity was the only existing

32. *Speech in Cork*, p. 15.

33. *Speech in Cork*, p. 17.

34. *Speech in Cork*, pp. 31-2.

35. *Education (Ireland)*, pp. 24-5.

college. These three colleges then could function as theological faculties of the same university for Protestants, Catholics and Presbyterians respectively. This system, Wyse explained, worked well in many European countries such as Prussia, Austria and France.³⁶

If the government was not prepared to open Trinity, the only alternative, as Wyse saw it, was a new university for Catholics, which, he argued, Ireland's large population merited anyway. He did not favour this solution, however, as it served only to reinforce segregation and to consolidate divisions between Protestants and Catholics. To compromise, Wyse suggested that the proposed provincial colleges, if denominational, should constitute a single university, the seat of which should be in Dublin.

The final section of the Report dealt with supplemental education such as libraries, museums, galleries and botanical gardens, which were maintained by private societies and voluntary contributions. The Committee recommended that the Board of Education, with the assistance of local authorities, should take responsibility for them.³⁷

The Munster College Committee

Having presented the report, Wyse set out for the continent. He hoped to spend some time relaxing while using the opportunity to study foreign universities in greater detail. Shortly after arriving at his destination, Bonn, he was petitioned by a group called the Munster Provincial College Committee to return to Ireland to assist their campaign. The committee, comprised mainly of leading members of Cork's landed gentry, business and commercial classes, had come together in 1837 to lobby for a university.³⁸ The publication of Wyse's Report gave this campaign a renewed vigour and prompted others, most notably in Limerick and Belfast, to lobby on behalf of their respective cities.³⁹

The College Committee held two meetings in Cork in November 1838 for the 'Friends of Education of the Province of Munster', one of which Wyse addressed.

36. The University of Bonn, for example, had Protestant and Catholic chairs of theology that co-existed harmoniously in the same institution. The University of Vienna also had a Protestant and Catholic faculty of theology. France, too, had Catholic, Calvinist and Lutheran faculties in diverse towns but united in one university, *Speech in Cork*, pp. 29-30.

37. Auchmuty, *Thomas Wyse*, 165.

38. The first meeting was held in Cork on 31 October 1837, *Notes on education reform*, pp. 52-3. At a meeting in Cork on 4 September 1838, the Committee passed a vote of thanks to Wyse for 'the deep interest and consideration with which we regard his untiring and zealous labours in the cause of Education Reform'. It also requested Wyse's advice about how best to proceed and invited him to address a public meeting to be held the following month to direct 'the attention of the Citizens of Cork to his views upon this great national question', *ibid*.

39. On 11 December 1838, the nationalist politician, William Smith O'Brien chaired a public meeting in Limerick to discuss a campaign for a college, 'Limerick circular and prospectus', *Speech in Cork*, pp. 128-31.

He spoke for one hour and a half (the text of this speech was later published as a pamphlet), about the state of education in Ireland, in particular, the university question. Writing to his brother on 17 November, Wyse described how the meeting attracted 'all religions, professions and orders', and remarked how impressed he was by their enthusiasm for 'a purely intellectual question'. Wyse advised the College Committee to establish a Provincial Committee in Cork and another in London to promote their cause in the press and to petition 'Parish Priests, Parsons, Ministers, and influential gentlemen' for their support.⁴⁰ Acting on Wyse's advice, the College Committee drew up a petition to be presented to the Queen, wrote a memorial to be presented by Wyse to the House of Commons, and appointed a deputation of three, including Wyse, to present its case to the Irish Administration. In concluding their resolutions, the College Committee voted thanks to Wyse for his 'arduous and successful exertions in the great cause of general enlightenment'.⁴¹

Wyse was encouraged by reactions to the Report on Diocesan and Royal Schools and the enthusiastic campaigns for provincial colleges.⁴² There was some criticism of the Report and some opposition to the proposed institutions—mostly from critics of the existing system of national schools—but the popular response was predominantly favourable. Nevertheless, in spite of high hopes, meetings, petitions and memorials, these exertions had no immediate success: the government did nothing. The agitation, so well begun in 1838, was overshadowed after 1840 by O'Connell's reinvigorated repeal campaign, which dominated politics and effectively obscured the education debate. It was several years before the education question once again became topical. Wyse took the opportunity created by O'Connell's imprisonment in 1844 to direct attention away from Repeal and to reform. On 19 July, he made a speech in parliament about university reform, in which he returned to familiar themes, discussed at length in his recent speech in Cork:

40. Thomas Wyse to George Wyse, Camden Place, Cork, 17 November 1838: cited in *Notes on education reform*, 55-7.

41. Resolutions unanimously adopted at a meeting of the nobility, gentry, and inhabitants of the province of Munster, held in the city of Cork, November 15th, 1838', *Speech in Cork*, pp. 126-7, pp. 132-43; *Notes on education reform*, pp. 53-5. Two prominent members of the Cork group, Sir William Chatterton and William Crawford, along with Thomas Wyse, were chosen to present the address in December 1838 to Lord Normanby, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

42. 'Report of Sir Thomas Wyse, Esq., M.P., to the Cork Provincial College Committee, of the proceedings by him in and out of parliament, to carry into effect their resolutions, together with extracts from his letter to Lord Morpeth on the same, (afterwards printed, by order of the House of Commons, 19th July, 1843)', Letter from T. Wyse to D. B. Bullan (Secretary of the Munster Provincial College Committee), Waterford, 10 December 1841: cited in *Speech in Cork*, pp. 135-8; 'Bianconi, who is here and called to-day, promises all assistance, and to give his cars for conveyance hereof gratis. He is quite earnest about it, and thinks it is one of the greatest measures yet devised', *Notes on Education reform*, pp. 55-7.

Considering that the first object in every country pretending to the least degree of civilisation, is to secure the existence of an University system adequate in point of endowment and instruction, to the wants of the inhabitants – considering that in this particular, Ireland is worse provided than any other perhaps in Europe, with only one University for nine millions of people – and that University, on the assertion of its own members, confined as far as all higher dignitaries are concerned, to a section and the smallest of that people; in a word, that it is not Irish but Protestant, and not merely Protestant, but ecclesiastical ... considering that besides this institution, no other exists for the great majority of the community, that the government and the legislature have hitherto refused all aid, beyond a miserable pittance given reluctantly, and under constant menace of withdrawal, for the education of the Clergy of that majority, needing and anxiously desiring as they do, such education ... considering I say all these things, have I not a right to turn round and ask even the most prejudiced, is this a state of things which a wise statesman can in any shape pretend to justify, or a free and intelligent people ought for one moment to endure? ... The question then lies thus. – It is reduced to a simple dilemma. Either this University is an Irish University, designed for all the Irish people, and then it ought to be open, emoluments and dignitaries, as well as studies, without distinction of class or creed to all, – or it is an exclusively Protestant establishment, not for the Irish people, but for the exclusive service of the Protestant Church. ... Out of this alternative there is no escape, except to the open injustice of the old penal and ascendancy code.⁴³

In his speech, Wyse requested the government, as before, to nominate Maynooth and Belfast as sister institutions of Trinity College or to establish a second university for Catholics.⁴⁴ Robert Peel, the Prime Minister, stated that the Government would consider the matter, and paid tribute to Wyse:

I am sure I shall state what is in conformity with the general feeling of the House, when I say that no member of this House is better entitled to take up this subject than the honourable gentleman who has just sat down. I know of no member of this House who has devoted more time and attention to the consideration of this subject, and to devising means by which the advantages of education can be distributed throughout the country. I must also say that the honourable gentleman has another qualification besides that of experience on this subject – he has the high qualification of discussing with temper and with moderation, which ensures amongst all the animosities which may divide us, an impartial and favourable consideration of everything he proposes.⁴⁵

43. *Speech in Cork*, pp. 26-7.

44. *The Times* (20 July 1844); *Notes on education reform*, pp. 66-73.

45. *Notes on education reform*, p. 73.

The Colleges Bill

Although the government voted increased funding for Maynooth, it did not do anything further to implement Wyse's plan for another year. In the interim, many more meetings were held around the country, especially in Munster, to rally support for colleges. Encouraged by these developments, Wyse was quietly confident of success. His optimism was justified and his years of campaigning rewarded on 19 May 1845, when Sir James Graham (Secretary of State) introduced a bill 'to endow new colleges for the advancement of learning in Ireland'. Cork was assured one college, Belfast a second, and a third was to be located in Limerick or Galway. Recognising the Bill as a great personal triumph for Wyse, Graham concluded his speech with words of praise:

Now, sir, I should very imperfectly perform the task which I have undertaken, if I fail, before I sit down, to pay a tribute of well-merited applause to the honourable gentleman, the Member of Waterford, whose exertions on this subject entitle him to great praise. Under the most adverse circumstances – through good report and evil report – he has struggled for this object, he has forced it upon the attention of reluctant governments and adverse parliaments—he has, greatly to his honour, done his utmost to give effect to his own views – and then, without a particle of jealousy or ill-feeling even towards an administration not generally possessing his confidence, but one, which, he believed, was willing and had the power to give effect to his opinions, he has renounced for himself the glory, and relinquished it in favour of his adversaries. Conduct more honourable could not be exhibited by any gentleman; and whatever the success of this measure may be, and whosoever the hands in which it may succeed, I shall never cease to think that a large portion of the merit of that success will belong to him.⁴⁶

Wyse welcomed the bill warmly. The immediate response from Ireland was positive. The middle classes hailed the measure enthusiastically, especially in the three cities where the new colleges were to be located. The Catholic primate, Dr Crolly, the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr Murray, and the bishops of Limerick and Cork initially supported the Bill. The Archbishop of Tuam, Dr John MacHale, however, declared against the proposed system of 'Godless education', so called by Sir Robert Inglis, an Anglican opponent of non-denominational education.⁴⁷ MacHale persuaded a majority of the bishops that the colleges would present a threat to faith and morals. O'Connell, strongly influenced by MacHale, declared his opposition to the colleges, and the Repeal movement split on the issue. Thomas Davis and other leaders of the breakaway Young Ireland party argued eloquently, in the *Nation*, for the colleges and O'Connell argued equally passionately against the measure in the *Freeman's Journal*.⁴⁸

46. Parliamentary debates, House of Commons, 9 May 1845: cited in Auchmuty, *Thomas Wyse*, p. 170.

47. Auchmuty, *Thomas Wyse*, p. 170.

48. C. G. Duffy, *My life in two hemispheres* (2 vols, London 1898) i, p. 107.

On 27 May, the bishops published a memorial calling on the government to appoint Catholics to the chairs of theology, logic, physics, humanity, scriptures and history. The government refused this demand. It insisted that the colleges would be non-sectarian, that is, there would be no religious instruction or religious tests, and refused to compromise on this principle. Wyse, stigmatised by John O'Connell (son of the Liberator) as an infidel, attempted to find a compromise acceptable to all parties. To this end, he persuaded the government to provide for Catholic chairs to be financed by private endowments and proposed an amendment to the bill to provide for religiously-run boarding houses for students living away from home. This, he hoped, would win hierarchical approval as similar provision for Catholic students at Oxford and Cambridge had recently done in England, and with the sanction of Pope Leo XIII.⁴⁹

After much debate, the bill passed all its stages in the Houses of Commons and Lords. On his return to Waterford, Wyse visited Dr Foran, bishop of his native diocese, to persuade him of the improvements to the bill. He gave Foran a document to present to the bishops at an impending meeting in Maynooth (although he suspected that Foran never delivered this document).⁵⁰ At the same time, Wyse wrote to the College Committee in Cork, which had recently congratulated him on the bill. Wyse was encouraged by the positive reaction of Cork's intelligentsia to the bill, especially in the face of Episcopal opposition. He believed that the changes in the bill, in particular the provision for Catholics to endow Catholic chairs, and the establishment of residential halls for each denomination, would safeguard Catholic faith and end opposition. He hoped that the support of Dr Crolley, the Catholic primate, would bring the Catholic hierarchy on side and that time would persuade people of the value of the colleges.⁵¹ In the meantime, he urged Catholics, if still concerned, to patronise Catholic chairs:

You have only to raise a subscription of some thousand pounds to place it, as authorised by the Act, in the mastership of the Catholic Bishop of the Diocese or of the Bishops of the Province to endow with its proceeds a Chair of Religion, and to give to those Prelates, for the present and in the future, sole right of appointment to such chair, in any or all of the Colleges. ... The Act does not exclude, the Act simply does not endow but at the same time invites, encourages, protects endowment. It does the very thing which the French Catholic Clergy are calling on their Government to do: to endow and appoint to the secular Professorships, but to leave the endowment and appointment of the Religious Professors to them. ... The measure is now law;

49. Auchmuty, *Thomas Wyse*, pp. 170-1; *Notes on education reform*, pp. 74-7. See also, Wyse's address in parliament upon the introduction of a Bill to expand University education in Ireland, c. 19 May 1845, *ibid*.

50. *Notes on education reform*, p. 79.

51. Letter from T. Wyse to the University Committee in Cork, c. August 1845: cited in *Notes on education reform*, pp. 79-97: 81, 88. 'And in answer to paragraphs, anathemas and resolutions oppose no other name (for it is enough), the venerable name of Dr Crolley', *ibid*.

the Colleges about to be built; now is the time to test men's sincerity; you have the power in your own hands – not by denunciation, but by contributions—to convert at once these 'Pagan' Colleges into Christian Seminaries.⁵²

Meanwhile, work began on the new colleges. Dr MacHale (Archbishop of Tuam) continued his opposition and campaigned for Papal intervention. In October 1847, the Council of Cardinals sent a rescript to the Irish hierarchy stating that the colleges were harmful to religion. Dr Crolly, Archbishop Murray and six other bishops, having already and publicly supported the new colleges, appealed to the Council of Cardinals to reconsider its decision but to no avail. MacHale visited Rome in October 1848 and returned to Ireland with a second rescript. Another blow came in 1849 when Rome issued a third rescript denouncing the colleges, unequivocally, as dangerous to faith and morals. Thus, when the colleges opened that year they had, unsurprisingly, only a minimal Catholic attendance.⁵³

Wyse's legacy

Wyse was defeated in the General Election of 1847, a result due in large measure to the demand of Dr Foran, bishop of Waterford, that people vote against Wyse and the colleges. The Ballybricken priest Fr Sheehan, who had supported Wyse in the election of 1826 by travelling through the county with him and translating his speeches into Irish, challenged bishop Foran and urged parishioners to support Wyse. Sheehan's support was not enough, however, to counter the bishop's opposition. After the election a disheartened Wyse accepted a government office as Minister Plenipotentiary to Greece and devoted the rest of his life to Greek affairs.⁵⁴

Although disappointed with the outcome of the controversy over the colleges, Wyse had succeeded to a large extent in achieving his life's ambition. When he left Ireland there was in place a system of national education that was largely owing to his efforts. On the establishment of the Queen's Royal University in 1850 (comprising the colleges in Cork, Galway and Belfast), the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Clarendon, appointed Wyse to the Senate of the University.⁵⁵ The position was merely honorary in practice because Wyse was located in Greece and did not partake in the governance of the University. It was, however, a fitting tribute to his lifetime exertions in the cause of education in Ireland.⁵⁶

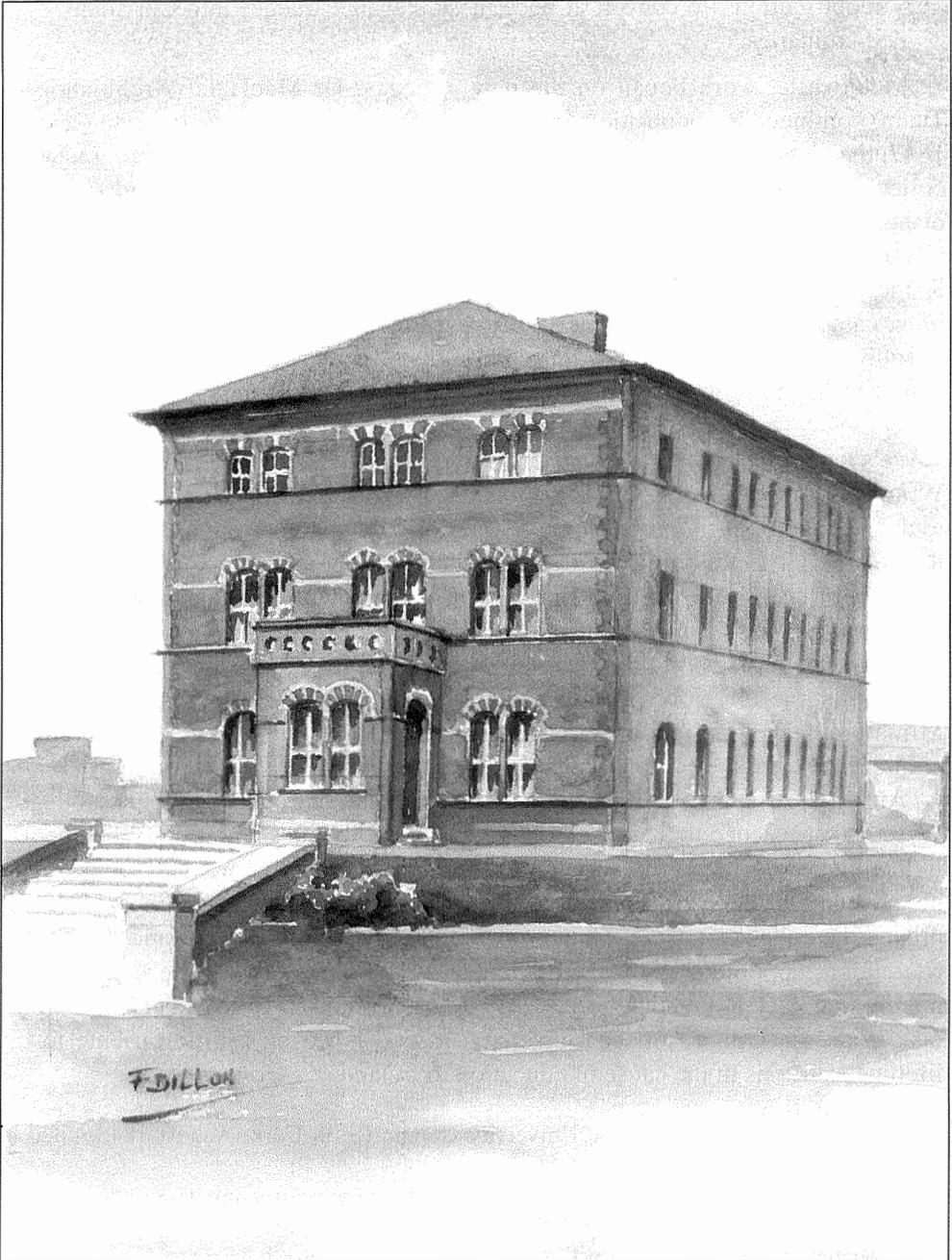
52. Letter from T. Wyse to the University Committee in Cork, August 1845: cited in *Notes on education reform*, pp. 86-7.

53. Auchmuty, *Thomas Wyse*, p. 172; *Notes on education reform*, pp. 97-8.

54. *Notes on education reform*, p. 102.

55. Auchmuty, *Thomas Wyse*, p. 172.

56. I would like to thank the curator and staff of the Granary museum, Merchant's Quay, Waterford for their assistance and generosity in allowing me to consult Wyse's writings, part of the Wyse family bequest, which are now part of its permanent exhibition on the illustrious Waterford family. Sincere thanks also to David Smith for his valuable comments on various drafts of this paper.



Mount Sion School

Mount Sion 1802 - 2002

by Frank Keane

When Edmund Rice made his way to Waterford in 1779, there was no bridge across the Suir. The young apprentice stood on the Kilkenny side of the river and waited for the ferry which carried him the distance to his new life beyond. The next twenty years were to be the most eventful in his life; these years brought him commercial success beyond expectation. They also brought unforeseen personal tragedy which changed the course of his life. His was a classic conversion experience, not dramatic in the sense of St. Paul's, but these years were marked by a number of well-defined steps which chart his transition from merchant to founder.¹

The first of June plays a very prominent role in the history of the Christian Brothers. Traditionally, 1 June 1762 is accepted as the date of Edmund Rice's birth in Callan, Co. Kilkenny. Work began on Tuesday, 1 June 1802, on the building of the residence at Mount Sion and the first temporary school opened in New Street, Waterford, also on 1 June. Edmund Rice was aged forty when he opened his first school. His years as a merchant and loving husband were over. The second half of his life was destined to be a time of achievement, mixed with some disappointment and much success. What he achieved in each half of his life would merit a place of honour in any history. The combined achievements of two periods of forty years certainly earn him a place in the annals of remarkable human accomplishment.

The death of his young wife in 1789 marked a pivotal point in the spiritual development of Edmund Rice. Working from his brokenness, his priorities changed perceptibly and the alleviation of the misery of others became a primary concern. While initially the desolate merchant considered the classic flight from the world, the chronic poverty of Waterford city convinced him that it was there he belonged.²

Rice was a competent and well-known business man in Waterford, highly regarded for his acumen and integrity and respected for his works of charity. Living in Arundel Lane with a shop in Royal Oak Lane, he was a familiar figure as he moved from home to work, from the churches to the Quays. In his frequent walks through the city one thing was evident; the large number of boys who spent their days on the streets, with nowhere to go, no work to sustain them were a nuisance in most peoples' eyes. What really upset Edmund was not the fact that so many neglected children roamed the streets, but the fact that no one took an interest in them: 'Indeed as early as 1793 (following the relaxation of the Penal Laws) he had decided to open a school, but this decision was not realised for almost another ten years. From 1789, the year of the death of his wife, to 1802, the year of the beginning of Mount Sion, Rice, along with caring for his only daughter, amassed a considerable fortune. Capitalising on the agricultural boom of the second half of the eighteenth century, in which Waterford played a major role, it is

1 Daire Keogh (1996) *Edmund Rice 1762-1844* (Dublin, Four Courts Press), p. 27.

2 *Ibid*, p. 35.

estimated that he had a capital value of around £15,000 in 1815. Rice was no Saint Francis. Rather, he retained his property and investments and used them to finance his great work. When he sold his provisioning business to his friend, Thomas Quan, part of the proceeds was used to purchase a three acre site at Ballybricken and £3,000 was spent on the construction of a new school, Mount Sion.³

The decision to take this radical option, however, had not been made lightly and Edmund possessed the faith and determination to bring his plan to fruition. 'Providence is our inheritance' became his motto and from humble beginnings in a small thatched school house Edmund took the first steps towards the achievement of a revolution in Irish education.⁴

He had by this time brought his only daughter to Callan where he knew she would be well provided for by his brother and his wife. In 1803 'four holy men' Edmund Rice, Thomas Grosvenor, Patrick Finn and James Mulcahy took up residence in the new house. During the following year the children were brought from the temporary school in New Street, opened in 1802, to the brand new, purpose-built school on a green-field site in Barrack Street. The grand adventure had taken a major step forward.

Mount Sion provided schooling for an ever-increasing number of boys with a curriculum designed to serve their immediate needs; but the building proved too small from the beginning. More temporary accommodation had to be provided but the six-bedroom residence and the two-room school proved inadequate and a major expansion was undertaken in 1816. This constituted the now demolished secondary school, familiar to many generations of past pupils. With the exception of a ten year period of residence in Dublin, Mount Sion was home to Edmund until his death in 1844. There Edmund ensured that the children were well educated, poor children given bread each day and those in need of clothing were also supplied.

The success of the school brought visitors from Ireland and beyond, to see first-hand the wonderful work in progress. One of Edmund's most satisfying moments was when Brothers Murphy and Grace departed in 1825, to open their first overseas schools in Preston, England. But Mount Sion remained the administrative centre for the Brothers, especially after the granting of Papal Approval in 1820. All the pioneering Brothers who gave wonderful services in Gibraltar, England, India, Australia and Africa, brought with them vivid and enduring memories of the school and its founder.

In 1838 Edmund Rice made his last will and testament in Dublin and travelled to Waterford the very next day. He was now moving into years of quiet retirement. However, he encountered more hostility and opposition in his six years of retirement than through his working life. Loving Waterford and its people, Edmund's great joy, when time permitted, was to visit the classrooms in Mount Sion, watch the teaching in progress, encourage the children and ask about their families. 'From the first tentative steps Edmund oversaw the rapid progress of his venture. Yet he, least of all, could have anticipated the success of this great mission of charity.

3 *Ibid*, p. 43-3.

4 *Ibid*, p. 42.

From humble beginnings the halls of Mount Sion soon thronged with youth eager to be free from the want that was their lot. The inspiration of this mission, however, was not mere philanthropy or compassion; Edmund and his companions were moved with a religious zeal and before long others accepted the spiritual injunction to 'come and see'.⁵

His death on Thursday, 29 August 1844, between 11am and midday, caused widespread grief in the city. The attendance at the funeral was so great that most of the mourners could not be accommodated in Mount Sion. When the question of a memorial was raised the enthusiastic support collected enough money to build a very large classroom and an equally spacious chapel in his honour. This first memorial to Edmund still stands in Mount Sion. If he was asked to specify his preferred style of monument, he would have remained silent. He did not want a memorial. However, the choice of a classroom and chapel would have pleased his two ambitions; honouring God and teaching the children.

Indeed on the occasion of a public dinner to celebrate the laying of the foundation stone of the Edmund Rice memorial in Mount Sion, Waterford, the youthful Thomas Francis Meagher said:

We witnessed this morning on Mount Sion a scene in the contemplation of which few could fail to have been affected. In commemoration of the Founder of the Christian Brothers in this city, the first stone of the appropriate monument was this day laid. His virtues, his labours, his achievement suggest a memorial the loftiest that art could execute. But whilst I stood a silent witness to that scene I was almost prompted to exclaim: O Friends, mourners, admirers of a just man! Your work is useless, and needless are your benefactions, The good, the wise, and venerable man to whom you this day raise a monument has anticipated your gratitude, and has reared with his own strong hands a monument that mankind shall reverence and heaven shall bless. Theirs is not a soul instructed, purified, ennobled in those schools of which he has been the Founder that will not be his monument, a monument which 'not the moth, nor the rust consumeth,' which the last fire when it swirls away this earth, with the tombs of the Caesars and the Pyramids of the Pharaohs, will not be competent to destroy.⁶

This essay does not pretend to be either a biography of Blessed Edmund or a history of Mount Sion. Two hundred years after its foundation Edmund Rice is still looking lovingly on his beloved Mount Sion and on his adopted city of Waterford. Mount Sion continues to be a strong magnet attracting visitors from all five continents, all eager to pray at the Founder's tomb. The work of education continues with renewed commitment and confidence. In this bicentennial year, a complete new school will begin. The modest two rooms of 1802 were the scene of a quiet

5 *Ibid*, p. 50.

6 *Waterford Chronicle*, 10 September 1845.

revolution; a revolution that transformed society throughout Ireland and had ramifications worldwide. It is difficult to speak of Edmund Rice, Mount Sion or Waterford separately, each is synonymous with the other. While the bicentenary of Mount Sion certainly marks two hundred years of service to the people of Waterford, Edmund Rice continues to smile on Mount Sion.



Edmund Rice

Obituary of Brother Edmund Ignatius Rice

Died 19 August 1844

by David Smith

WATERFORD city has an intimate relationship with two men, Luke Wadding and Edmund Ignatius Rice, who are regarded as being among the greatest Irishmen that ever lived. Wadding was born and educated in the city and, after leaving to become a priest, never again returned; the other, Rice, was born elsewhere but at seventeen years of age he came to this city where he laboured among the poor for most of his long life. Two hundred years ago, in 1802, Edmund Ignatius Rice began the building of Mount Sion School. To celebrate the bicentenary of that school we give, hereunder, the obituary of Brother Rice as published in the *Cork Examiner* of Monday evening, 9 September 1844, three weeks after his death.

It is an old axiom that a prophet is never recognised in his own country. It would appear, from the first paragraph of the obituary, that the newspaper editors in Waterford did not recognise Rice's greatness for which they were rightly criticised by the *Examiner*. The citizens of Waterford, however, knew the calibre of the man they had just lost and barely seven weeks after his death a public meeting was held in the sacristy of the Catholic cathedral where the following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Moved by the Rev. John Sheehan, P. P. – seconded by the Rev. Martin Flynn, P.P.:

Resolved – That we feel deeply sensible of the important services rendered to Ireland, and to our City in particular, by the late respected Edmund Ignatius Rice, as the Founder of an Institute which has diffused, not only throughout the City, but extended to many parts of the Country, the great benefits of a most useful system, for imparting a truly Religious Education to the Poor.

Moved by John Power – seconded by Ald. O Reilly:

Resolved – That we deem it our duty to testify our deep sense of the merits of that respected individual, as well as of the Religious Institute which he has founded, by some public Testimonial, which will at once perpetuate his memory, and record our grateful feeling.

Moved by Thomas Meagher, mayor of Waterford – seconded by Patrick Keily, T. C.:

Resolved – That for this purpose a Subscription be now opened, and a Committee appointed to carry out the object of these resolutions.

Donations were to be received by the bishop of Waterford, Right Rev. Dr Foran, Mr Thomas Meagher, mayor of Waterford (father of Thomas Francis Meagher) and Sir Thomas Wyse, M. P.

The people of Waterford responded as generously as they had done when they subscribed £20,000 to build the Catholic Cathedral in 1793. The Rice Memorial Chapel, with two classrooms underneath, was completed within six months and dedicated on 3 April 1845 by Dr Nicholas Foran, bishop of Waterford. It was a fitting memorial to 'a venerable, a good and, in the best sense of the word, a great man.'¹

Death of Edmond Ignatius Rice²

The Waterford papers announce the death of a venerable, a good and, in the best sense of the word, a great man – a man of powerful mind – of vast knowledge of human nature – of a comprehensive grasp of intellect – of undaunted courage – of irresistible perseverance – of unbending integrity – of pure piety – of immense charity – Edmond Rice, the founder of Christian Schools – the herald of a new age of Irishmen, in the way of instruction – the harbinger of virtue and of blessings – the benefactor of his species, not only in Ireland but in whatever quarter of the globe the present generation of the humbler classes of our fellow countrymen have penetrated, because to Mr. Rice is mainly attributable the credit of whatever intellectual training they enjoy. We regret our Waterford contemporaries have confined their notice of the loss of this inestimable man to a simple paragraph – The following are the words of the announcement in the *Mail* and the *Chronicle*: –

"At Mount Sion, in this city, in the 87th year of his age the venerable Brother Edmond Ignatius Rice, founder of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Ireland and England. The health of this venerable man has been declining for nearly three years. He bore his protracted illness with patience and resignation to the Divine will. In this city he founded his first establishment for the gratuitous education of boys in the year 1803, which has since branched out to the principal towns in this country and in England. He was a man of indefatigable zeal and charity, endowed with great prudence, energy and perseverance. He resigned the office of superior-general of his institute in the year 1838, in order to give his undivided attention to the concerns of his immortal soul. The city of Waterford particularly has lost in him one of its best benefactors."

1 *Cork Examiner*, 9 September 1844. [Mr Rice always wrote his name as Edmund but the *Cork Examiner* used the form 'Edmond'. We have reproduced the obituary as it was written.]

2 *Ibid.*

We regret that those who are on the spot have not been able to contribute more particulars of the life and exertions of this truly excellent man. We have had opportunities of knowing and appreciating his exalted work – of witnessing in some degree the extent and value of his labours – of being partially acquainted with the strength and depth of the magnificent edifice which he raised for the instruction of the poor of his native city in the first instance, and of Ireland, almost universally, afterwards. We have had some means of judging of the vast advantage conferred upon society by his ceaseless toils. We would endeavour, therefore to supply the void left by our Waterford contemporaries, to whom, we should have looked for the minutest particulars connected with the subject.

Mr. Rice, as appears from the paragraph written above given had arrived at the middle period of life before he founded the Christian schools, he was in fact forty six years of age at the time but for some years he was engaged in planning the system, whose maturity he enjoyed the gratification of witnessing, and whose triumph is one of the most remarkable features in the modern history of Ireland. In 1803 he commenced an establishment in Waterford, for the gratuitous instruction of youth in literature and Christian piety. He was joined in the undertaking by two young men, desirous of devoting their lives to the same laudable purposes. In May, 1804, during the episcopacy of the Right Rev. John Power, a prelate whose memory is held in deserved reverence to this day in Waterford, the schools were opened. We are not exactly informed of the causes operated on the mind of Mr. Rice to take this step. It was a new – it must have been a hazardous one just then. The great mass of the people were utterly unacquainted with even the rudiments of learning. The country had been suffering from the effects of the rebellion of 1798 – the mad rebellion of the unfortunate Emmet only broke out. The achievements of Napoleon were attracting universal concern, and causing general alarm. We believe that Mr. Rice's early life had not given promise of that religious seriousness which he now began to display. He had been engaged in trade – if we be not incorrect, it was in the provision trade – then one of the principal branches of business in Waterford, where, though the export of beef is annihilated that of bacon, even at this day is greater than from any other port of Ireland. His avocations brought him into immediate contact with the working classes. He perceived their ignorance – he perceived that in many instances irreligion proceeded from their ignorance – and that to its prevalence much of the crime that abounded could also be traced. He lived in a part of the city where vice and ignorance prevailed to a greater extent than elsewhere. En passant, we may observe that about this time also Mr. Rice had a

brother in Cadiz who occasionally lived in San Lucar de Berramueda and Seville, and who was also engaged in trade. He, too, abandoned the desk for the cloister, became an Augustinian friar, and by his abilities, energy, and piety did vast service to his order in Ireland; he lived for many years in Callan, and died some years ago in Malta, to which place he went from Rome on business connected with order. Mr Rice having once embarked on the cause he undertook was resolved to persevere; he did not mind the difficulties that opposed his progress – every obstacle tended but to give him more nerve – he was determined to work out the great achievement on which he had set his heart. He and his associates, few, but zealous, proceeded successfully in their good work. Daily augmentations were made to the numbers that flocked to their schools. They could have had no better cradle for their infant instruction than Waterford, where the purest piety and unbounded charity have always been known to exist, and where a princely magnificence on the part of the citizens in forwarding every benevolent object has always been known to prevail. It was but a few years before, and just when they were permitted by law, that the citizens erected one of the noblest edifices ever raised in this country to the worship of God, and one which has not since been surpassed in Ireland. The acute judgement of the learned Mr. Milner passed upon the facade of the Catholic cathedral of Waterford a high eulogium, and great was the compliment coming from the accomplished historian of Winchester cathedral, though Mr. Pugin [Pugin] is said to have expressed himself differently on a recent occasion. Mr. Rice and his companions attracted the attention of pious and benevolent citizens. Paul Carroll – a name which shall never be forgotten in Waterford – aided their incipient efforts, as he knew how to do. Thomas O'Brien, an eminent wine merchant – one of the good old times – a gentleman in the purest acceptation of the term, appreciated the good they performed, founded a school and establishment at his own expence in Carrick-on-Suir, of which town we believe he was a native, and this with the approbation of Dr. Power.

The school was finished in 1807, and is now one of the best of the description in Ireland, presided over for many years by a truly religious and good man, who has done material service to the community. In the same year, Dungarvan participated in a similar advantage. The school in Dungarvan had been for many years situated outside the town, at a place called Shandon; it was too small for the numbers that flocked to it; but the present truly apostolic Bishop of Waterford, the Right Rev. Dr. Foran, when parish priest of Dungarvan, built a magnificent schoolhouse, and a residence for the Christian Brothers at his own expence; and there are no buildings in Ireland belonging to the

order superior to them. In Cork the next foundation was laid; this was in 1811 – and when we say that it was there that Gerald Griffin ended his days, we have said almost sufficient in praise of the noble institution of which that city boasts, and which is known as the Peacock Lane schools – presided over by a gentleman of the most extensive acquirements, and of the most solid piety and purest benevolence. In 1812 an establishment was founded in Dublin, where the order made unexampled progress, and where Mr. Rice lived for years, at the house in Townsend Street.

In 1815 the Most Rev. Dr. Bray introduced the order to Thurles, where the establishment flourishes admirably, doing incalculable service. The Right Reverend Dr. Tuohy introduced the order in Limerick in 1816, and on the 5th of September, 1820, the Bull of Pope Pius VII was issued confirming the institute as a religious order. Mr. Rice was elected to the office of superior-general on the 12th of January, 1822, after a retreat conducted by the late distinguished, learned, and apostolic Dr. Peter Kenny, S.J., whose family resided in Waterford, where his brother was for many years at the head of one of the most respectable medical establishments in the south of Ireland. At the end of ten years the Pope's brief having provided that a general chapter should be held at the end of every ten years, and that the superior-general should govern for ten years only, Mr. Rice was re-elected to the high office he had held, in January, 1833, at a chapter convened at the house of the order, North Richmond Street, Dublin. This establishment is one of the principal of the society, and may be said to have been the offspring of the Catholic Association – the foundation stone having been laid by the illustrious O'Connell in June, 1828, surrounded by a vast multitude, who walked in procession from the Corn Exchange to witness the ceremony. This house, from its opening in 1831, became the principal residence of Mr. Rice for the remainder of his official life, and if anything more than wanting to add to its celebrity as an educational establishment, it would be found in the fact – that it was to this retreat of society and learning that Gerald Griffin repaired in 1838, and entered as a novice among the Christian Brothers.

In July, 1838, Mr. Rice resigned his office of superior, years and infirmities pressing hard upon him; and we may say that since that period he withdrew himself almost entirely from the cares in which he had been so long engaged, and devoted himself with pious assiduity to those more sublime concerns to which he ever attended, and of the necessity of which his life was a constant example to others. There are eleven houses of the order in Ireland, twelve in England, one in Sydney, and the applications for their extension to the colonies and

other parts of Great Britain and Ireland are constant and unremitting. We have thus hastily sketched an imperfect outline of the life of this great and good man. Mr. Rice enjoyed the intimate friendship of many of the Catholic prelates of Ireland and England, and of the leaders of the Catholic body in both countries. He and the Liberator were always on terms of the most sincere esteem and respect. His masculine mind – his undaunted energy – his integrity and perseverance, were qualities which won admiration at the hands of all who came into contact with him. He was trustee of several charities. The bequests left to his own institution were numerous and munificent; and there can be no doubt but that the best possible use has been made of them. Well may he say –

"Ezegi monumentum aere perennius."

He first laid the foundation of an educational system for the children of the Catholic poor of Ireland. On many and many a man, born in poverty, and who might have been brought up in crime, has he been instrumental of, not only rescuing from peril, but affording the means of arriving at eminence in the merchantile world, and perhaps, in the learned professions. To his order he was a solid example of every virtue – to the community at large he was the same. On all hands he was a Christian man in the most perfect sense of the word. The city which gave him birth has given the same to other illustrious men; but there is not one among the roll, perhaps, more conspicuous for public usefulness than Edmond Ignatius Rice, who has just been called, in the fullness of venerable years, to receive the reward of his labours in that kingdom after which he long sighed. His remains are laid in the cemetery at Mount Sion, Waterford, and may he rest in peace.

Voyages of some Waterford - built ships for years 1840-1849

by Bill Irish

MARITIME commerce has played a significant role in Waterford's development. Extensive shipping to and from the port of Waterford has spanned each century back to Norman times. The shipping boom of the early nineteenth century provided a stimulus for the growth in local ownership of ships, and by 1835 at least 115 were registered and owned in the port of Waterford. Many local ship owners were Quakers, and perhaps the maritime culture of local ship owning merchants and their trading destinations is best characterised by Whites, who were prominent Quaker entrepreneurs in Waterford.

At their shipyard in Ferrybank over sixty wooden hulled sailing ships were launched between 1820 and 1870. Many of these vessels were built for local owners and some for Whites themselves, who also had extensive shipping and business interests in the city. Fortunately, White's business records have survived, and their ledgers covering the period 1790 – 1970 are currently held in the Waterford City Archives. It is from these ledgers that the voyage patterns of some of their ships was sourced.

Whites began trading in O'Connell Street (then King Street) in 1776. Their sugar and general grocery business prospered and expanded. By the turn of the century they were stocking a diverse range of imported commodities such as tea, coffee, tallow, indigo, wick yarn, hemp, cod and seal oil, brimstone, spices, timber, pitch, and tar, for their provisions trade.

Whites were also ship chandlers and opened a ropewalk near Thomas Street in 1816, and a corn mill later at Ferrybank. As their business and trade grew they ventured into ship owning and then shipbuilding. By the 1830s they were commissioning ships to be built at their own dockyard (which had opened in 1819), many of them for their increased trading abroad. Like all astute business people they spread their risks and it was rare for Whites to have 100% ownership of any of their ships. Ship ownership was by convention divided into 1/64 shares, or for convenience 1/16 shares. Whites had the controlling shares of, or a minority shareholding in, the following ships built at Ferrybank: *Sarah Maria* built in 1832, *Liberator* 1833, *Rienvella* 1834, *Juvena* 1838, *Science* 1838, *Rambler* 1840, *Hesperia* 1840, *Curraghmore* 1841, and *Greyhound* built in 1842.

Most of the information presented below was extracted from White's business ledgers complemented by details from the Waterford Custom House Registers with added snippets gleaned from Lloyd's Register of Shipping.

A study of the voyage and trading patterns of three of Whites' vessels *Juvena*, *Science*, and *Curraghmore* for the years 1840-49 gives a valuable and revealing insight into a world of trade and commerce that was rich and diverse, and synonymous with Quaker entrepreneurship in Waterford.

The Barque *Juverna*

Built at Whites in 1838. 311 registered tons. Type of Rig: Barque.

Owner(s): White & Co. (Whites: 10/16 1838-45, 11/16 1845-49. Captain E. Grandy 4/16, Thomas Barnes 1/16). Bibby & Sons Liverpool 1849 -68

Port of Register: Waterford 1838-1849. Liverpool 1849- 1868

Voyages / Service career: Waterford/West Indies 1839-42,

1839 Bombay voyage – cargo not known – made a profit of £900 on this voyage.

1840 Mauritius voyage – cargo not known – made a profit of £750 on this voyage.

1842 Bombay voyage – no details available.

1843 *Juverna* in dockyard for major repairs costing £2,187.

1845 Calcutta voyage, cargo not known – made a profit of £550 on this voyage.

1846 (June-August) Bordeaux-Mauritius-Calcutta voyage, with freight of coal – made a profit of £825 on this voyage.

August 1846 freight of coal at Penang.

1847 March: freight from Penang

1847 April: freight at Calcutta (profit of £1922), freight at Cape of Good Hope (profit of £53). Freight to London and Waterford (profit of £250).

1847 May: Waterford – Quebec (passengers), passage money of £596-8-0 paid.

1847 November: Waterford – Quebec and Montreal (passengers), return with freight (most likely timber) from Montreal and Quebec to London - the freight generating a profit of £1,256.

1848 April: London to Leghorn with freight (not known) making a profit of £322.

1848 October: Smyrna to Constantinople with freight (profit of £33). Return freight from Odessa to Liverpool generating a handsome profit of £863.

1849 January: Vessel sold at Liverpool for £1,959.

1855 Liverpool/coasting.

Last known details: Lloyd's Register 1868

Expenses associated with voyages:

1847 March: Expenses paid to James Sedgwick, commander of *Juverna* for voyages in 1846-47.

	£	s	d
Wages 12 months and 22 days @ £10 per month	127	6	8
Commission on coal freight	17	10	0
Commission on coal freight at Penang	12	6	5
Commission on freight at Calcutta	46	13	0
Commission on freight at Waterford	6	10	6
Commission of 1/3 of passage money of £81-16-4	27	5	5
Victualling (for Waterford to Quebec voyage May 1847)	110	5	1
Victualling (for Waterford to Quebec voyage November 1847)	277	9	3
Port charges (up to March 1847)	437	2	3
Port charges October 1847 at Waterford	17	9	3

Port charges November 1847 at Quebec	284	16	1
Disbursements at Waterford October 1847	426	8	11
Disbursements at Quebec November 1847	59	14	1

Insurance

Both the ship and its freight was insured through Ogilby Moore & Co of London who acted as agents and brokers for Whites

November 1847:

Value of Whites 11/16 share of *Juverna* was £1,450

Insurance for 12 months to 16/9/1848 on £1,450 was £109-19-0 or 7.5 % of value of ship.

	£	s	d
Insurance on ship valued at £1,750 – voyage Quebec to London	65	6	0
Insurance on freight valued at £1,000 – voyage Quebec to London ..	15	15	0

October 1848:

Insurance on ship valued at £1,750 – voyage from London to Leghorn	27	12	0
Insurance on freight valued at £800 – voyage from Odessa to U. K.	15	0	0

Cost of ship and depreciation

Value of <i>Juverna</i> new in 1838 (or cost to build)	£
Value of <i>Juverna</i> new in 1838 (or cost to build)	6,321
Value of <i>Juverna</i> in 1845	3,558
Value of <i>Juverna</i> in 1846-7	3,200
Value of <i>Juverna</i> in 1848	2,720
Value of <i>Juverna</i> in 1849	959

Profit and Loss

There was a trading loss of £416-6-4 on *Juverna* and overall (including capital cost) a loss of £939-10-2. The repairs costing over £2,100 in 1843 were a major factor.

The Barque *Science*

Built at Whites in 1838. 270 reg. tons. Type of Rig: Brig./Barque.

Dimensions: Lengthened to 124' x 24' x 15' in 1857. Carvel build; Square stern; Figure head: Man figure

Owner(s): White & Co. 1838-48 (William White & Co.9/16: Richard Dyer, Joshua William Strangman, Thomas Murphy, Thomas Barnes, John Jones, Thomas Thomas, John Rowlands, 1/16 share each.)

Port of Register: Waterford

Voyages / Service career:

	£	s	d
1838 June:			
Barbados voyage, dividend paid on Whites 9/16 share	263	14	0
1839 May:			
Rio de Janeiro voyage - dividend paid on Whites 9/16	450		
1839 November:			
St. Jago de Cuba voyage - dividend paid on Whites 9/16 share	320	17	7
1841 June:			
Mauritius voyage, dividend paid on Whites 9/16 share	315		
1842 June:			
Mauritius voyage, dividend paid on Whites 9/16 share	116	1	5
1846: Victualling at Liverpool	243		
Freight from Liverpool to Manilla making a profit of	399		
Victualling at Manilla	94		
Freight of sugar Manilla to Waterford – profit of	1,777		
1847			
January: repairs at Waterford – ship carpenters work	237		
Sails per Thomas Barnes (sailmaker)	75		
February: Waterford			
March: Bristol			
May: Syria and Malta			
July: freight of barley from Orfano to Gloucester - profit of	1,154		
Cargo at Manilla – profit of	56		
October: Smyrna to Glasgow.			
November: freight of maddus from Smyrna to Glasgow - profit of	720		
1848:			
February-March: freight from Glasgow to Constantinople, Gibraltar, and Malta, - making a profit of	346		
June-August: cargo of linseed from Odessa to Grimsby - profit of ..	640		
September: cargo of coal Hartlepool to London- profit of	127		
November: 9/16 share of ship sold to Ben Budd for	1,200		
Last known details: Vessel lost on 6 May 1868 near Leading.			

Captains' wages and commissions:

The *Science* was rigged as a brig. in 1838 and then changed to a barque rig in the early 1840s. In her career with Whites she had two captains, Captain Henry Rees from 1838-46, and Captain William Westcott from 1846-48. Both Captains were paid £8 per month, which was £2 per month less than their counterparts on *Juverna* and *Curraghmore*. Perhaps the *Science* was a smaller ship, or its trade runs categorised as less profitable or hazardous. Any commission paid on freight was rare enough. There is just one mention of Captain Rees receiving £20 on freight in 1847 before he left White's service, and again one instance of Captain Westcott

being paid £12-15-4 commission on freight in September 1848 (probably from the Odessa - Grimsby voyage profits). Captain Rees would not have endeared himself with the owners of *Science* for having his wife on board in 1846. He was duly charged £50 on the Manilla voyage in 1846 *for having wife on board contrary to owners express desire*.

Insurance

The *Science* and its freight was insured through Ogilby Moore & Co of London. Detailed insurance costs for ship and freight are given for the years 1846-48.

Insurance for year 1846-7 on ship valued at £2400 was £129-10-6

Insurance for year 1847-8 on ship valued at £2400 was £129-10-6

Insurance on freight from Manilla to to Liverpool was £65-1-0

Cost of ship and depreciation

Value of <i>Science</i> new in 1838 (or cost to build)	£5,400
Value of <i>Science</i> in 1846 (for insurance)	£2,400
Value of <i>Science</i> in 1848 (when sold)	£2,134

Profit and Loss

The *Science* made a trading profit and dividends were paid to the owner/shareholders of the *Science* in February 1847 at the rate of £46-2-2 per 1/16 share (£737- 15 -1 total). William White & Co. received £414-19-11 for their 9/16 share.

A smaller dividend was paid out in April 1849 (after disposing of the vessel) at the rate of £12-19-4d. per 1/16 share (£207-9-5d total). William White & Co. received £116-4-1d for their 9/16 share.

The Barque *Curraghmore*

Built at Whites in 1841. 343 reg. tons. Type of Rig: Barque

Dimensions: not known. Carvel build; Square stern; Figure head: Marquis of Waterford

Owner(s):1841- 50 William White & Co. 10/16, Joshua W. Strangman 2/16, Thomas H.Strangman 1/16, Patrick Keily 1/16, Thomas Barnes 1/16, Thomas W. Jacob 1/16. Ogilby Moore & Co. London 1850-55

Port of Register: Waterford 1841-1850 London 1855

Launched Tuesday 5 January 1841

Voyages / Service career:

1842 London to Madras.

1845 March: London to Calcutta and St. Jago with freight.

1845 May: Madras .

1845 July: Calcutta – Capetown ↯ Bahia with freight and a few passengers(passage money paid for cabin £50, and steerage £20).

1845 September: Calcutta to London, 1845 October: Capetown, 1845 December: London.

1846 January – April: London - Calcutta, Calcutta – London.
 1846 May: London to Ascension.
 1846 June: Bahia, freight Calcutta to London giving a profit of £2,311.
 1846 September: freight to Ascension showing a profit of £514.
 1846 December: Patagonia to Waterford with cargo of guano.
 1847 January: Bahia.
 1847 February: freight London to Calcutta – a profit of £670.
 1847 March: freight from Calcutta to London – a profit of £2,117.
 1847 April: freight from London to Ascension – a profit of £533.
 1847 May: Guano from Patagonia to Waterford making a profit of £2,000.
 1847 June: Waterford to Quebec with passengers – passage money of £642-2-0.
 1847 July-August: Quebec to Waterford and London with freight.
 1847 September-October: Waterford to Quebec with passengers (no details).
 1847 December: Quebec to London with cargo of timber (deals) – a profit of £1,133.
 1848 February: London to Leghorn with freight – a profit of £608-5-0.
 1848 March: Leghorn.
 1848 April: Malta, Constantinople.
 1848 May: Odessa.
 1848 June: Guano (414 tons) from Patagonia (destination unknown) – profit of £2,140
 1848 July Constantinople.
 1848 September: Falmouth.
 1848 October: Odessa to Liverpool with freight – profit of £786
 1849 May-June: Passengers Waterford to Quebec – a profit of £267
 1849 August: Quebec to Liverpool with freight – a profit of £650.
 1849 September: Wages of £145 paid to crew at Liverpool.
 1850 March: Vessel sold to Ogilby Moore & Co London for £1,200
 1855 cross-channel coasting London - Liverpool
 Last known details: Lloyd's Register 1855

Captains' wages and commission:

William Walker Ball, commander of *Curraghmore* was paid the same monthly wage as Captain Sedgwick of *Juverna*, that is £10 per month. In addition he was paid 2.5% on freight. For example in the first six months of 1847 his commission on freight which earned a profit of £5,320 for Whites, was £133. His commission on the passenger trade to Quebec was three times higher at 7.5%. In June of 1847 from passage money for the Waterford to Quebec voyage of £642-2-0 Captain Ball received £48-3-0 in commission.

Wages to crew: Although crew numbers are not known their wages after particular voyages are recorded. In December 1845 the wages paid to the crew in London (after Calcutta – Capetown voyage) was £391-17-10. And in 1847 on 1 April wages of £506-14-7 were paid to the crew at Waterford (after London – Calcutta voyage), and on the 21 October wages to crew at London amounted to £252

(Waterford to Quebec and Quebec to London voyage).

Victualling (for Waterford to Quebec voyage May 1849) £84-8-7

Insurance

The *Curraghmore* and its freight was insured through Ogilby Moore & Co of London. Detailed insurance costs for ship and freight are given for the years 1844-9. Value of Whites share 12/16 of *Curraghmore* for years 1844-47 was £2,400

Insurance for 12 months to 6/4/1845 on £2400 was £149-8-0 or 6.25 % of value of ship. Same valuation and rate of insurance on ship for years 1846 and 1847.

June 1847:

Insurance on ship and freight (12/16 valued at £1,000) for voyage Waterford to Quebec and return from Quebec to Waterford to London £37 0 0

January 1848:

Insurance on ship valued at £1,800 for voyage London to Leghorn... £33 3 0

June 1849

Insurance on ship valued at £1,440 for Waterford to Quebec (passengers) and Quebec to Liverpool (freight) £65 1 8

Cost of ship and depreciation

Value of <i>Curraghmore</i> new in 1841 (or cost to build)	£6,170
Value of <i>Curraghmore</i> in 1844-46 (for insurance)	£3,200
Value of <i>Curraghmore</i> in 1848	£2,400
Value of <i>Curraghmore</i> in 1850 (when sold)	£1,200

Profit and Loss

Dividends were paid to the owner/shareholders of the *Curraghmore* in June 1849 at the rate of £72 per 1/16 share. William White & Co. received £1,152 for their 10/16 share. Thus, the barque *Curraghmore* generated a healthy trading profit.

The breadth and diversity of White's trading was remarkable. Far flung trade to remote and sometimes exotic destinations thousands of miles apart was common; coal from the U.K. to the West Indies and freight back to London and Waterford. Passengers were carried from Waterford to Quebec and Montreal returning with a cargo of timber (pine, and deals). Sugar from South America to Manilla and St. Helena; and linseed was brought from Odessa to Liverpool. Guano imports (bird droppings as fertiliser) from Patagonia to Waterford were especially important.

The coal, timber, sugar, linseed, and guano cargoes were particularly lucrative earning four-figure profits in most cases. There are gaps in our information – not all the freight is identified in the ledgers, and details for some years are missing. Yet the picture emerging is colourful and vivid.

The Captains of the vessels shared in the prosperity gaining healthy commissions on the cargoes safely delivered. No wonder they could afford large three and four-storey houses on the Quays and around William Street, Lombard Street, and Sion Row in Ferrybank. Although the profits gained seemed particularly high, ship owning was not without risk. Damage at sea requiring costly repairs particularly to sails was a fairly regular experience. The barque *Juverna* actually traded at a loss mainly due to a huge repair bill of £2,100 after extensive damage in 1843.

Names of sea captains also regularly featured in the ship shareholders list generally holding a 1/16 share in a vessel but sometimes more. Most of the prominent shareholders were Quaker merchants and business associates of Whites, with the recurring name of Thomas Barnes (sailmaker) showing up on all of their shareholders lists. This was a shrewd investment for Barnes, who had Waterford's largest sailmaking business, and was responsible for making the sails of every new ship launched at Waterford.

Whites' ships were involved in the carrying of passengers across the Atlantic in the great exodus of emigrants from Ireland to the New World during and after the famine.

From the evidence of victualling costs and other disbursements at Waterford for the Quebec voyage it is reasonable to assume that the people on board were well treated and provided for with food during the hazardous six-weeks at sea. There is compelling evidence from the *Waterford News* of 3 August 1849 regarding passenger welfare, when Whites informed the public of accounts received from America of the 'safe arrival of all the ships they despatched this year without a single instance of death occurring during the voyages and of all the passengers landed in good health'. This is in marked contrast to the way many thousands of Irish emigrants leaving through Liverpool and other centres were treated.

This short study of the voyages of Whites' ships sheds light on aspects of Waterford little written about – its seafarers, ships, sea captains and its Quaker merchants as risk taking entrepreneurs. Above all it reveals a prevailing maritime culture that was positive and vibrant and had a truly international dimension.

The County Waterford By-Election of 1866

by Tania O'Shea

Introduction

The Waterford election of 1866 must be considered a red-letter day in the annals of the country, for it sounded the death-knell of Protestant Ascendancy and landlord tyranny¹ in the county of Waterford.

This election, and the events surrounding it, had widespread political ramifications. Locally, the result reinforced the influence which the Roman Catholic middle class had established as a result of the 1826 election and ensured this political pre-eminence thereafter. On a national and international level a commission of inquiry set up in its aftermath paved the way for the Secret Ballot Act of 1872 which has since become the bedrock of parliamentary democracy worldwide.

Thus the coercion, threats and killings which characterised the 1866 election (in an attempt to elect the Protestant candidate) only served to hasten the demise of the political power of the Protestant ascendancy. While the Catholic middle class saw this election as 'a challenge to landlord tyranny and Protestant ascendancy,'² the Ballot Act which ensued would, for the first time, enfranchise the lower classes also and thus change forever the prevailing social order.

The 1826 Election

The 1866 election was not the first occasion in Waterford history where the electorate voted against the ascendancy candidate. A precedent had been set in 1826 when the Catholic Association chose a candidate to stand against the Beresford candidate. The Beresfords were a very wealthy and politically influential landed family. The issue of the day was Catholic Emancipation.

In the early half of the nineteenth century parliamentary seats were dominated by the Protestant landed nobility. These seats could be bought, sold or inherited. This effectively prevented Catholics from entering the political arena. As no Catholic could enter parliament 'it was decided by the promoters of Catholic Emancipation in county Waterford to choose a liberal Protestant candidate favourable to their cause.'³

- 1 Dermot Power (ed.) (1992) *The Ballads & Songs of Waterford from 1847* (Waterford) p.129.
- 2 W.H.C., 'Waterford and the Ballot Act' in the *Catholic Record of Waterford and Lismore, Vol. 1* (Mar 1913 - Feb 1914), p.38. Though the author of this article is anonymous he/she did proffer the initials, W.H.C. Authorship hereafter will be referred to with these initials.
- 3 Patrick C. Power (1990) *History of Waterford City and County* (Cork) p. 163.

Henry Villiers-Stuart was chosen to represent the Catholic interest. Villiers-Stuart was a liberal Protestant landlord who had won admiration for his efforts in alleviating distress on his and neighbouring estates during pre-famine period. 'More to the point, he had joined the Catholic Association and endorsed Catholic Emancipation.'⁴

Contested elections during this period were costly and as a result, rare. Because of the property qualification Ireland possessed a small docile electorate whereby landlords effected considerable influence over their tenants; especially in how they voted. Because of this the Catholic Association, ably organised by Thomas Wyse and Thomas Meagher, decided intervention was needed to bolster tenant confidence. The Bishop of Waterford, Dr. Kelly, organised a complete census of the Diocese. Each parish then had a registry book and every voter was registered.

As well as this, meetings were held (on a rotation basis) in each parish every Sunday after Mass. 'The voters met in their respective chapels and were instructed on the discharge of their approaching duties.'⁵ This continued frequently with the priests addressing tenants 'at all hours and in all places – in the chapels after mass, on the hill-sides, in the village markets, by day and night until it was clear that the man of their choice would be elected.'⁶

Lord George Beresford, the Conservative candidate, was not pleased with these developments and considered such events an encroachment on the rights of private property. He went so far as to say that such action constituted 'a palpable insurrection' which 'should not be tolerated by any government.'⁷ His failure was seen almost immediately on the morning of the election as many tenants travelled independently to vote. Those who were forced by soldiers into carts driven by local bailiffs defied instructions when it came to voting and gave their vote to Villiers-Stuart. The polls remained open for five days but on the fifth day Beresford had to admit defeat. Henry Villiers-Stuart was therefore duly elected as Member of Parliament for Waterford.

This electoral victory in Waterford prompted others in Louth, Monaghan, and Westmeath to follow the Waterford example. Three years later, Catholic Emancipation became a reality. It was this successful stand against a Protestant landlord that convinced many in 1866 that it could be done again. This proud tradition of independence was called upon repeatedly in the days preceding the 1866 by-election in order to create confidence and consolidate support.

The 1826 election result severely undermined the political power of the Beresford family. More had been achieved than the Catholic mass movement could have envisaged. If 1826 became the fulcrum for future Catholic agitation, the 1866 election and its consequences would end for ever Protestant political ascendancy in Ireland.

4 Emmet O Connor (1989) *A Labour History of Waterford* (Waterford) p. 50.

5 W. H. C., 'A Famous Election', p.8.

6 Joseph Hansard (1870) *History of the City and County of Waterford* (Dungarvan) p.109.

7 W. H. C., 'A Famous Election', p.8.

1866 – The candidates

In any election it is the candidates' manifestos that one would consider most informative and salient. However, it is also important to look at the background of the candidates. In 1866 the Conservative candidate was Captain Walter Cecil Talbot, nephew of the Marquis of Waterford and first cousin to Lord Charles Beresford inheritor of the Beresford lands and title. On the independent-cum-liberal side was Edmond de la Poer, a member of the Catholic landed gentry.

Walter Cecil Talbot was born on 27 March 1834 and was the second son of the Earl of Shrewsbury who had a claim to the title of Earl and Baron of Waterford. Talbot pursued a successful career in the Royal Navy and was 'MP to Waterford from 1859 to 1865.'⁸ It was commonly thought that Talbot was used by the Beresfords to keep open the seat for Charles Beresford, who was as yet, still under age.

Edmond James De Poher De La Poher, of Gurteen, county Waterford, was born on 6 March 1841. He was a staunch Catholic having been a 'Knight of Justice (Devotion) of St. John of Jerusalem (Malta), formerly Chamberlain of the Roman States.'⁹ His family had their own private chapel on their estate. He was also a Justice of the Peace for the county of Waterford

It is interesting to note that in 1863 de Poer changed his surname from Power to de la Poer. '*The Standard*', Waterford's conservative newspaper, commented on this by saying that

Mr. De la Poer or rather Mr. Power, for we believe that the Powers had not at that time attempted to claim affinity with the noble house of Curraghmore (the Beresford's estate) by assuming the name of de la Poer.¹⁰

But if the family genealogy of both candidates is checked, one can see that in 1717 Lady Katherine Power (ancestor of Edmond de la Poer), an only child, married Lord Marcus Beresford who then inherited the title of Marquis of Waterford. After the death of Katherine's father, Lord Power the 3rd Earl of Tyrone, the Barony of Power should have reverted to John Power, 9th Lord Power the nearest male relative. But due to the stain of Jacobitism on his name his inheritance was legally prevented and so the Power title and land passed into Beresford hands. A court case was later taken by a Power descendant and while the legitimate title lay with the Gurteen de la Poer's, nonetheless, the Beresfords remained the *de facto* Lords Curraghmore. The vast Curraghmore estates are still retained by the Beresfords to this day.

8 Sir Bernard Burke (1900) *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage together with Memoirs of the Privy Councillors and Knights* (London) p.1539.

9 Sir Bernard Burke (1898) *History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol II* (London) p. 373.

10 *The Standard and Waterford Conservative Gazette*, 29 December 1866.

As a result of this an interesting connection was made during the 1866 election: as the Beresford family was seen as pretender to the land and titles of the Powers, the Beresfords were now seen by the people as pretenders to the seat of de la Poer. This proved to be an important psychological barrier in preventing Talbot from ousting de la Poer in this election.

Run Up to the Election

In the weeks preceding the election the manifestos and speeches of the candidates were printed in Waterford's newspapers, where propaganda predominated. The Roman Catholic clergy, as in the 1826 election, again became involved in the promotion of the de la Poer cause and in the denunciation of Talbot.

De la Poer ran on the issues of Disestablishment of the Church, non-denominational education and tenant rights. He wanted to gain all this by peaceful constitutional means and, as a result, secured Roman Catholic clerical support. This support was first shown by a public announcement sent by the bishops and clergy in Waterford to all newspapers stating that, de la Poer was a candidate 'willing and determined to assert our rights and obtain remedial measure for our misgoverned country'.¹¹ The announcement stated unequivocally that

we pledge ourselves in union with them, to use all our efforts to secure his triumphant return as our representative to Parliament.¹²

This announcement began the systematic organisation of the election campaign through the parish system. Liberal newspapers urged 'every parish in the county to do its duty'¹³ on election day. They also advocated that

after praising our creator with becoming devotion, let the people assemble in their church or on the hill-sides if necessary, to devote an hour or two to their country.¹⁴

It was the priests saying Sunday Mass who warmed the people for the political rallies which followed.

The Standard took a very dim view of all this and printed some scathing attacks on the priests. Insinuations were made that the clergy was ignoring the actual wants of the electorate in favour of their own. 'Landlord, Tenant, Rate-payer and Yeoman are all ignored; the church dominant has spoken.'¹⁵ As election day approached comments became increasingly bitter and the *Standard* continually expressed wonder at how the Catholic Church could support de la Poer.

How men, wearing the garb of clergymen, and professing to be 'sanctified vessels', can bring themselves to utter the ribald platitudes which would disgrace a pot house, we do not know.¹⁶

11 *The Waterford Chronicle*, 7 December 1866.

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Ibid.*

14 *The Waterford News and General Advertiser*, 21 December 1866.

15 *Standard*, 21 November 1866.

16 *Ibid.*, 29 December 1866.

It also reminded readers that some of those clergy who had become involved in the campaign had been warned against it. 'Many a black-coated gutter agent has been warned to mind his own business and serve mass.'¹⁷ This highlighted the coercive methods the landed class continually used to win elections, but which were becoming increasingly ineffective as the results of this election was to illustrate.

The progress of Talbot and de la Poer was charted by both the conservative and liberal papers throughout the pre-election days. The conservative *Standard*, besides printing his election manifesto, did not spend much time promoting Talbot's cause. They described him as 'a fit and proper member'¹⁸ for the county and a 'gallant captain.'¹⁹ More time was spent ravaging the cause of de la Poer and insulting his supporters. The many rallies held in his support were ridiculed and it was said that de la Poer must have been 'highly disgusted with the magnificently poor demonstrations in his honour.'²⁰ De la Poer was known for his kindness to his tenants but *The Standard* cast doubt on this when it described his tenants 'whose appearance and wretched steeds did not tell much for the comfort of their homes under the rule of 'Johnny Poor's' son.'²¹

A most heinous allegation was made two weeks before the election by Sir Edward Kennedy, a staunch tory. Kennedy accused de la Poer of being a Fenian. He stated he was present at a meeting at which de la Poer was called a Fenian and he (de la Poer) did not deny the allegations. In correspondences with de la Poer which were printed in the *Waterford Chronicle* (a liberal newspaper) he stated

I did not hear you deny the allegation, except on two points, namely - that you were not obliged to leave the country for New Zealand on account of your sympathy with the Fenians, and that you had not ever received letters from Mr. O'Mahoney from America.²²

De la Poer countered these allegations with a strenuous denial. The public correspondence continued until Kennedy, due to lack of evidence, was forced to withdraw the allegations and publicly apologise. This episode badly damaged the electorate's opinion of the conservatives.

Such opinion however, did not prevent the conservatives from further caustic invective. They continued insulting de la Poer's supporters (the majority of the electorate), a tactic that was sustained throughout the election campaign. *The Standard* gives many accounts of de la Poer's rallies where his supporters were called 'the great unwashed', 'a mob' and 'hired ruffians'. De la Poer was seen as having 'pandered to the vitiated taste of the lowest of the rabble'²³ who 'knew very little about any kind of education.'²⁴ By referring to members of the electorate in

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Ibid.*

19 *Ibid.*, 1 December 1866.

20 *Ibid.*, 29 December 1866.

21 *Ibid.*

22 *Chronicle*, 21 December 1866.

23 *Standard*, 21 December 1866.

24 *Ibid.*

such a fashion the conservative faction alienated a huge proportion of voters, many of whom would have voted for Talbot.

The liberal Catholic newspapers, the *Chronicle* and the *News*, did not resort to personal slander in an effort to gain voters. They did nonetheless condemn the conservative cause. The *News* reported that

the election of Talbot would be to tighten the grasp of the iron hand that up to forty years ago held us mercilessly, and to rivet the chains which Lord Derby's party have ever been forging for the Irish people.²⁵

Once again the majority of paper space was devoted to de la Poer, but it was to promote his campaign rather than to detract from it. Differing accounts to the conservative ones of Edmond de la Poer's rallies, appeared in these newspapers. Attendance and support at these rallies definitely was not lacking. Rather, people thronged the streets to hear him speak. Many more reports appeared in the newspapers rejoicing in de la Poer's progress, but because (the literate) people were so incensed at the false accounts in the conservative papers, his victory was all but secure.

The lower classes of the time held little interest in these newspapers. The general population of Waterford would have been mostly illiterate and so a more important means of learning about the election was the ballad singer. The oral tradition was vital for the passing of information through that section of society. It was through ballads such as *The Tory Stew* that the general populace gained much of their knowledge.

Poer for ever he is the real man ;
Poer young Poer he will, never fail man
Poer will gallantly weather the game man -
Then down with the Tar and we'll burn the Mail man.
The grab all old Tories they laugh and get fat
They humbug, insult and plunder poor Pat
But wait boys na-'bocklish , for Pat without fail
We'll leather the Tories, says old Granuale.

Just then young de la Poer chanced to be going by
And he took in the whole with a glance of his eye.
The Marquis, Big Bill and the stew and the lot
"Confound you," says he, "you're a beggarly lot".

So now to conclude what I've written for you
Here's a health to young Poer so manly, so true.
And down with the Tories, the plundering lot
We'll tumble the Tar without Navy men's shot.²⁶

25 *Waterford News*, 27 December 1866.

26 Dermot Power (1992) *The Ballads and Songs of Waterford* p.129.

Ballads such as this demeaned the ascendancy class in the eyes of the general public and elevated the favoured candidate to the level of popular hero. These ballads had as much, if not more, influence than the daily newspaper reports. At this time, not only was the ascendancy political power on the verge of destruction, but the respect and faith that the ordinary people had held for the landed gentry was also waning.

Election Day

Many promises were made in the run-up to the election. De la Poer promised Disestablishment of the Church; non-denominational education; and tenant land security. All of these were highly emotive issues. Talbot, on the other hand, promised to resolve the conflicting interests of Ireland and Britain (amicably); proper management and economy of the military forces and improved coastal harbours. But unlike De La Poer, these issues were unlikely to impact to any great extent on the daily lives of the ordinary man in the street. On the day, it appears that the most important issues were the personalities of the candidates and the religious faction they represented.

Even before election day the landlords attempted to intimidate the voters. In the city alone, hundreds of troops were brought in from all over Ireland. A gun-boat was even moored in the harbour. In the county areas, such as Dungarvan and Lismore, double the amount of troops was requested. In Dungarvan an entire troop of the 12th Lancers was drafted in to supplement the normal police and military presence. Talbot's voters themselves were confined overnight in the Imperial Hotel and marched to the ballot at eight o'clock on election morning. 'A mighty effort was being made in defence of the last fortress of Ascendancy.'²⁷

The routine which greeted most tenant voters on the morning of 29 December 1866 was a common one. Landlords sent their bailiff or agent with a large cart to collect voters. These carts were escorted by large numbers of troops.

The mounted Dragoons went forth to the holdings of the different Tory landlords and brought in the serfs of the landowners to have them ready to vote at the earliest hour.²⁸

In the city, the voting began early. First to make their presence felt were the Roman Catholic priests who arrived escorting many voters. These priests were seen as

patriotic curate(s) . . . who marched into town at the head of . . . honest men, true to the cause of Ireland and de la Poer.

Talbot's voters, on the other hand, were escorted like prisoners to vote. These men had no choice in their vote 'but with their hearts imbued with the strongest opposite feelings to what their tongues were compelled to utter.'²⁹ Many small squabbles occurred during the day but none were of a serious nature.

27 W. H. C., 'Waterford and the Ballot Act', p.39.

28 *Waterford News*, 4 January 1867.

29 *Ibid.*

Nothing more serious occurred between them (the voters) and the military than continued 'chaffing', hooting and cheering, which were enjoyed as much on one side as the other.³⁰

Despite the coercion on the landlords behalf, at the end of the voting day the poll showed de la Poer, with 341 votes and Talbot amassing 274 votes; a majority of 67 votes for de la Poer.

In Carrick-on-Suir slogans such as, 'Vote for your country and your religion' and 'Vote for de la Poer in '66 as you did for Stuart in '26' summed up the mood of the county. Despite the strong support for de la Poer, Carrick-on-Suir was the only constituency where Talbot had a majority. He gathered 232 votes compared to de la Poer's 175. This gave him a majority of 57 votes, which was insignificant when compared to de la Poer's majorities elsewhere. Although there had been 'immense military preparations in this town'³¹ polling was carried out peacefully and no military intervention was needed.

The polling in Lismore was predictable from the outset as this was the stronghold of Lord Stuart de Decies, i.e. Henry Villiers-Stuart of the 1826 election. He had supported de la Poer from the beginning. Nostalgia was the order of the day in Lismore and emotions ran high, 'public feeling had scarcely ever been so much awakened as on this occasion.'³² Unsurprisingly, de la Poer gained 260 votes, while Talbot received just 132 votes; a majority of 128 in favour of De la Poer.

Election day began in Dungarvan as it had throughout the rest of the county, quietly. Dungarvan was however in a different situation to the other constituencies. It had the largest number of voters in the county. With a population of 5,886 and Roman Catholics constituting over 95% of that number, it had been decided that extra military back-up was needed for this area. All went well until around two o'clock when the Curraghmore and Palliser tenants arrived outside the town escorted by troops from the 12th Lancers.

From this point onward conflicting accounts pertaining to ensuing events makes any accurate assessment of what transpired on polling day difficult. Liberal and tenant accounts stated that as the tenants were being escorted across the bridge the mounted Lancers in front of the carts moved forward to make more room for their approach, but they got excited and charged the crowd. Hundreds of people scattered in all directions, some boarding boats in an attempt to escape the Lancers. One man was hit in the head by the butt end of a lance and then was deliberately and repeatedly trampled on by the Lancers' horses. He later died. Another man was stabbed in the neck while standing at his own door, with his wife and children looking on. He also died.

Conservative and military reports stated that, as the troops were escorting the tenants across the bridge, the crowd began repeatedly throwing stones. It was, according to these reports, in attempting to protect themselves that they charged

30 *Ibid.*

31 *Ibid.*

32 *Ibid.*

the crowd. It is interesting to note that even though the two deaths had been officially recognised and an inquiry set up by the British parliament, Waterford's conservative newspaper, *The Standard*, continued to question the authenticity of the reports of these fatalities.

Regardless of the seemingly needless violence and loss of life, Edmond de la Poer polled 704 votes, 358 in excess of Walter Cecil Talbot's 346 votes. Early the next morning all troops were withdrawn. It was now also clear that de la Poer had defeated Talbot in the county Waterford by-election by an overall majority of almost 500 votes.³³ The candidate who had been the peoples choice would now become their Member of Parliament at Westminster. Thus, De La Poer's victory was, in many ways, terminal for ascendancy power and influence in Waterford.

The Consequences

In the days following the election events carried on in much the same way as they had before. The conservatives harangued Edmond de la Poer and his supporters and they, of course, returned the pleasantries. Nonetheless, the conservative propaganda machine went into overdrive. Talbot himself complained that

altar denunciations, mob oratory, and priestly intimidation have done their work: murder has been attempted, many have been seriously injured, property has been destroyed and the representation of the county rendered a farce.³⁴

The Standard then picked up the theme and continued it for many days. It was said that many of the electorate had been bribed to give their votes to de la Poer. Though this claim was never substantiated with actual proof, it was repeatedly leveled at the liberal camp. The conservatives appeared to believe that

if the hundreds of voters who were driven back, literally like mad dogs, had been allowed to go to the poll, the Honourable Captain Talbot would on Monday have been duly elected as our representative.³⁵

The participation of the Catholic clergy was particularly frowned upon by the conservatives. This they considered unnecessary and provocative. It was said that

there were a number of Roman Catholic clergymen in the booths at different periods during the day, and their presence was not very conducive to the preservation of power.³⁶

They were further accused of inciting the mob and plying them with alcohol on election day. The conservatives said that these priests were

33 B. M. Walker (1978) *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland 1801-1922* (Dublin) p. 319. De La Poer's total vote was 1481 and Talbot's total vote was 984.

34 *Standard and Conservative Gazette*, 2 January 1867.

35 *Ibid.*

36 *Ibid.*

imbued with the most Anti-Christian feeling of bitter hatred, and persecuting intolerance towards their fellow man.³⁷

In addition to this they deemed to have preached 'hatred and intolerance.'³⁸

These damning attacks were contrasted with their own glowing accounts of conservative behaviour throughout the election. The many hundreds of troops who were drafted in, in an obvious attempt at gaining votes for Talbot, were, according to the conservatives, there only 'to protect the voters from the violence of hireling and ruffianly mobs, influenced to madness by the atrocious speeches delivered.'³⁹ These soldiers who ruthlessly attacked the crowd and murdered two men were seen to have become 'excited by the violence shown towards them'⁴⁰ and unfortunately struck 'a respectable ship captain named Kiely who heedlessly got into the melee.'⁴¹

Nonetheless, despite all the 'suffering' which the conservatives had to endure, they took defeat gracefully. Talbot himself was convinced that

defeat is more honourable than victory obtained by such weapons, the use of which is undoubted proof, that had the constituency been fairly polled, the result would have been different.⁴²

The conservatives in general decided that Talbot's defeat was actually a triumph and, that had the priests not had such influence and had the mob not been so intimidating, that 'he would have been at the head of the poll by a large majority.'⁴³

The liberals accused the conservatives of perpetuating all these same actions. It was believed that the conservatives had also bribed voters and used intimidation as a policy of their campaign. But the liberals main point centered around the use of troops during the election. It was surmised that

it was quite unconstitutional to bring troops among the people when there was no necessity to do so.⁴⁴

Furthermore, it was observed that by bringing the military and the electorate into such obvious collision, 'it was an infringement on the parliamentary privileges of the electors.'⁴⁵ Many calls were made for an inquiry into these procedures, but nothing was organised. Regardless of this, the taunt of being unconstitutional was used to goad the conservatives for some time after the election.

A petition was organised by Talbot and the conservatives shortly after the election. Talbot felt 'morally bound to challenge the return of Mr de la Poer'.⁴⁶ The conservatives backed him completely as they believed that this wrong needed to be

37 *Ibid.*

38 *Ibid.*

39 *Ibid.*

40 *Ibid.*

41 *Ibid.*

42 *Ibid.*

43 *Ibid.*

44 *Chronicle*, 1 January 1867.

45 *Ibid.*

46 *Standard*, 2 January 1867.

rectified. A meeting was held by the supporters of Talbot in order to back his attempt at petitioning. Over £1,000 was subscribed to fund this venture. The liberals concluded that

there were some so stung with defeat, that they thought a little money an excellent cover under which to make a gingling retreat from a camp of which they know nothing and are only capable of learning less.⁴⁷

This petition was presented to parliament where, in April 1867, a parliamentary committee determined that

no evidence was adduced before the Committee in regard to corrupt practices at the last election.⁴⁸

Accordingly, it was decided that Edmond de la Poer had been duly elected. This episode was embarrassing for the Protestant ascendancy and left them morally isolated.

A more serious aspect was a subsequent commission which was organised to inquire into the violence and the deaths in Dungarvan. An almost trial-like inquiry took place over a two week period. Mr. Waters, a barrister, appeared for the relatives of the dead, while Mr. H.B. Julian, a solicitor, appeared for the military. Both sides produced many witnesses throughout the duration of the inquiry and almost all gave contradictory accounts. Witnesses for the deceased claimed that they saw 'no stones thrown'; that perhaps the Lancers were 'not sober'; that people 'ran for their lives' when the Lancers charged and that 'the soldiers were under such excitement' that they were unstoppable.

Witnesses for the military challenged these claims by saying that 'stones were flung from the crowd', 'portions of bottles were flung also' and that the Lancers charged at merely a 'moderate pace' not intending to inflict injury. The inquest closed after two weeks for the coroner to consider all the evidence. Finally, on 22 February 1867, the coroner's verdict was read in the House of Commons. He concluded that 'the deceased were feloniously, willfully, and with malice aforethought, murdered'⁴⁹ by some of the sixteen Lancers who

'unlawfully charged down the quay on the 29th December 1866.'⁵⁰

This was a devastating blow to the ascendancy gentry who had requested the presence of, and then, accommodated the soldiers during their stay. The result of this verdict would have far-reaching consequences.

47 *Waterford News*, 11 January 1867.

48 British Parliamentary Papers, (April 1867) LVI. 209, p.583.

49 British Parliamentary Papers (January 1867) LVI. 209, pp. 3-5. Depositions before the Coroner at Inquests at Dungarvan.

50 *Ibid.*

Conclusion

The county Waterford by-election of 1866 was 'a challenge to Landlord tyranny and Protestant Ascendancy'.⁵¹ Coercion, threats and violence characterised the ascendancy campaign. Despite this, the electorate stood firm and voted in Edmond de la Poer, a Catholic liberal candidate. This election result undermined the foundations of the traditional ruling elite power base in Waterford. These landed families no longer had their member in parliament and so their influence was limited.

The violence which will forever be associated with this election prompted many commissions and inquiries. The most important of these, the *Inquiry into the Conduct of Elections* in 1868, resulted in the Secret Ballot Act of 1872. The open ballot was now a thing of the past and, as such, the opportunity for landlord electoral coercion was stymied. Moreover, the likelihood of an ascendancy candidate being returned in subsequent elections was also greatly diminished. Thereafter, the Catholic middle class provided the majority of successful election candidates. This was the electorate Parnell later exploited in the Land War. The 1866 election also consolidated the power and influence of the Catholic Church, first gained during the 1826 election.

The 1866 county Waterford by-election was a watershed in local, national and international electoral politics. On a local level, it dealt a terminal blow to the status of the traditional ruling elite in Waterford. However, its impact transcended local politics. In providing the impetus for the Secret Ballot Act in 1872, the bedrock for democratic governance was laid. To this day true democracy is measured by the sanctity of the secret ballot.

Though penned to appeal to the de la Poer constituency, the songwriter of the election song hereunder was perhaps more prescient than he or she envisaged. Indeed after 1872 many a 'tinker and tailor' experienced the refined surroundings of parliamentary buildings worldwide.

Oh, comrade true, we've work to do
 To save our ancient country,
 They're up again, the Orangemen
 Who gave us blood for bounty.
 But hand in hand we'll firmly stand,
 And spurn their English sailor.
 We'd rather see our Member be
 A tinker or a tailor.

We'll have La Poer, our own La Poer,
 We'll crown him, boys, with glory.
 Poor Talbot, he may go to sea;
 We'll have no English Tory.⁵²

True to its word, the electorate changed the face of Waterford politics, and unbeknown to them, the face of international politics also.

51 W. H. C., 'Waterford and the Ballot Act', p.39.

52 Power, *Ballads and Songs of Waterford*, p.130.

Excerpts from the Journal of Patrick Hayden, Merchant of Carrickbeg

by A. McCan

ONE day in the early 1800's, Patrick Hayden of Carrigbeg walked into the shop of Mr R. Farrell, Mirror office, Waterford and bought himself a ledger, made by Chambers and Halligan of Dublin, at a cost of £5-11-6. He took it home and commenced to write a journal in his beautiful copperplate which today, thanks to the excellence of the ragpaper and the quality of his homemade black ink, is as legible as the day it was written. As a model he took the journal of his late friend and neighbour James Ryan, who for years had recorded the life he saw around him, not in the form of a regular diary but rather in a series of commentaries on various subjects. Patrick Hayden adopted the same form.

He introduces himself to us on the first page as having been born 3 December 1774 at Clone, near Kilmoganny, Co Kilkenny, the eldest son of Daniel Hayden and Margaret Deady. Of his education he says nothing, though everything points to an excellent one. In November 1791, aged almost 17, he came to Carrick-on-Suir to serve his time to John Moore, an Army clothier said to have had a contract for the clothing of two regiments. In the National Museum today may be seen a pattern-book of brilliantly coloured uniform cloths and a notebook in Patrick Hayden's handwriting with recipes for the vegetable dyes used in their manufacture. The following excerpts are not in chronological order, but as he wrote them under various headings, and give a unique insight into the daily lives of wealthy middle class Catholics.

My ancestors.

My dear father Daniel Hayden died 19 November 1806 in the 63rd year of his age, being born 21 December 1743. He was married to my mother Margaret Deady 17 September 1771; his father, Patrick Hayden, died 14 April 1773 aged 80 years.

Dr. Walsh died in the Castle of San Angelo, Rome, where he was imprisoned. He had been elected Bishop with the connivance of Rev. P. Meagher, afterwards P.P. of Dungarvan. The election was considered invalid. Summoned to Rome, where he died three years later. Fr. Meagher was P.P. of Newcastle, Co. Waterford and by his influence had Dr. Walsh appointed Bishop, having extracted previously a promise that he (Fr. Meagher) should be made P.P. of Dungarvan, which was done after the election, though Dr. Walsh swore, before the assembled Bishops at the consecration, that he would not do so. Obviously ecclesiastical scandals are nothing new.

Commotion.

June 8 1829. Whit Monday. A dispute occurred between a party of the 65th Regiment passing through Carrick and some of the 75th quartered in town in which some townspeople joined the former. A mob and a riot speedily ensued and on some stones being thrown a party of the 75th was ordered by Mr. Pearse, a police officer, to fire by which a boy of about 13 years, son of the Widow Slattery, was killed and a woman wounded. The Rev. Standish O'Grady who came in the evening to quell the riot was thrown off his horse in the street, by which his spine was fractured etc. and he now lies in a hopeless state – died 12 June at night. (Pearse was tried at the assizes of Clonmel and acquitted).

Banks.

April 1 1820. Carrick-on-Suir Savings Bank opened this day. At the particular request of the Rev. Mr Maunsell and the Rev. Mr Smith, I agreed to be treasurer for a time. Stock in July 1824, £11,300; in November 1833, £20,224. I resigned the office of treasurer 20 May 1843, stock then about £10,600.

Roches Bank and Leslies Bank in Cork, Maunsell and Kennedys in Limerick and others stopped payment in May 1820.

June 1820. Newport Bank in Waterford, Rialls Bank in Clonmel, Loughnans Bank in Kilkenny stopped payment. Sausse Bank in Carrick also stopped but resumed payment in August 1820, paid off all but by losses ruined his property. In some months after this time a defalcation was announced and upon examining the books it appeared to have been caused by false invoices made by the clerk Stackpole who had died – at least he was blamed for it. The Bank was formally broken up. Richard Sausse, the owner of Sausse's Bank, was a first cousin of Bridget Hayden, Patrick's wife and brother-in-law of James Scully, owner of Scully's Bank in Tipperary, which seems to have been the only Private Bank to have survived the crash. Richard Sausse was ruined by his efforts to pay off all his creditors and followed the well-worn trail of impoverished Irish gentlemen to France. Patrick records his death there .

1832 Monday 21 May at 11 o'clock in the morning, my old worthy most respectable and valued friend Richard Sausse died at Toulouse in France, he, Mrs Sausse and most of his daughters being resident there. A close intimacy existed between us for over 30 years, he was cousin of my darling Biddy. I never knew a man of more integrity in prosperity and adversity, and I saw him in both situations, he was all the same to me, the affectionate and steadfast friend. Thou worthy honest man, peace be to you, may the Almighty receive your soul in union with our former friends.

Death of Patrick Power.

16 April 1827; Easter Monday. Patrick Power Esq. of Tinhalla died this morning at 7 o'clock. He was a man of the strictest honour and integrity and professed a spirit of independence which could neither be subdued or repressed, aged seventy-six. His nephews and the three Miss Ronaynes refused attending his funeral in conse-

quence of his not leaving them larger legacies. He appointed the Rev. John O'Neill, Cornelius Hahessy and me executors. He was married on 5 November 1826, his son Piers Power having been born at Tinhalla 16 October 1826 and baptised at Carrigbeg by the Rev. Michael Power on 17 October 1826. He had two other daughters, Alicia born 2 November 1816 and Catherine born 16 April 1818.

Patrick Power's mother was a Hayden, so Patrick Hayden was almost certainly related to him. The fury of the Ronaynes at not receiving what they considered their due is understandable. After all, they saw their elderly uncle with his fine estate still unmarried at the age of seventy-five and obviously ailing, when suddenly an heir appears and is rapidly legitimised by marriage. The bride, who is not named in the journal, was Mary Fennell who had come to Tinhalla (according to family tradition) as a dairymaid. In his will, Patrick Power remembers one other natural son and a natural daughter and their mothers with legacies, so obviously he was a man of his times.

The will is dated 8 February 1827, but word of its contents must have got out with a bad reaction from the Ronaynes expected, because a codicil dated 6 April 1827 directs that if any of the Ronaynes should challenge its provisions, all bequests to the Ronaynes should be revoked and their inheritance be divided amongst his family by the executors. He also made an important change in his bequest to Mary Fennell, who was originally to get Tinhalla House and demesne for the period of her widowhood but was now to get it for the term of her natural life. The Ronaynes had to be content with his family plate and the reversion to them of the lands of Dunbrattin, Kilmurrin and Knockane-Corbally should Piers Power die before the age of twenty-one.

All the newspaper accounts of his death assert that he was one of the delegates sent by the Catholic Convention to London to present their petition to George III in 1793. However, all the books I have consulted mention that there were five delegates, Byrne, Keogh, Devereux, Bellew and French with no mention of Power. He was, however, certainly a member of the Convention.

22 May 1827 on Tuesday, being one month and six days after Mr Power's death, his widow Mary Fennell married Doctor John Power of Carrick, her property the demesne of Tinhalla and £250 annuity was the sole inducement on Dr Power's side. She was but a few months married to Mr Power though she had lived several years with him.

16 July 1827 Monday after morning; the said Dr Power discharged a carbine through the hall door of Tinhalla from the inside and the ball passed through his wife's thigh, she having rapped at the door and the doctor, as he says, supposing that the house was being attacked by robbers. The doctor himself had been recently widowed when he married Mary Fennell. A report in the *Constitution* of 21 July 1825 says that the wife of John Power M.D. of Carrick-on-Suir had come to Tramore for sea-bathing but was seized by violent stomach pains just after leaving the water and died in a few minutes. Still, the redoubtable Mary saw Dr John off, as the following entry shows.

1 December 1837. Dr Power's widow, formerly Pat Power's widow, was married to George Devon, a young apothecary serving his time to Doctor Shea.

Currency

5 January 1826. Currency of Ireland changed into English currency, £1 Irish being about 18/5d British and 13d Irish being one shilling British. All denominations of Irish money to be discontinued and all future bargains and payments to be made in English money. Alas, poor Ireland, no law will be passed by the British Parliament to serve thee. English miles and acres also to be introduced.

Elections

9 August 1825 Tuesday. Henry Villiers Stuart Esq. of Dromana arrived in Carrick, the carriage drawn by the mob, preparatory to his canvass of county Waterford, he returned from Clonmel the following day, Wednesday, and canvassed Carrigbeg with Sir William Homan the writer in his carriage, and many others accompanied them.

24 August 1825 Wednesday. Lord George Beresford called on me today for my vote etc. - reply: In the answer I purpose giving your Lordship, I disclaim all intention of giving the smallest offence, on the contrary I have the greatest respect for your family, but my Lord I consider your application to any independent Catholic as little short of a personal insult, for you and all your family have joined in abusing, insulting and calumniating us. Lord George: I deny that I or any of my family have abused the Catholics, on the contrary it is well-known that Catholics are as welcome to Curraghmore as Protestants and my brother was the first man who brought in the Catholics in 1794. It may be so, my Lord, you may not have spoken, but you have joined and you have acted with those who withheld our rights, have abused and calumniated us and therefore, my Lord, you are identified with them. It is to you, my Lord, and the posture of your family which brought about the Union, that the wretched state of the country is to be attributed – you recollect, Mr Wall, twenty or thirty years ago the state of the population here, then thousands were employed in the Worsted manufacture earning a comfortable livelihood, now we are surrounded by wretchedness and starvation, increasing every year. You know it is a fact Mr Wall and you have contributed to make it so. (Mr Wall was most probably William Wall of Coolnamuck from whom Patrick had leased some land to build his new house. Beresford probably thought that his presence on the doorstep would ensure Hayden's vote .

22 June 1826. This day the election at Waterford commenced. Lord George Beresford, Henry Villiers Stuart Esq. and Richard Power Esq. candidates.

29 June 1826. Thursday, Feast of St. Peter and Paul. The election closed by the resignation of Beresford, to the great joy of all liberal and honest men. Each of the other candidates won about 800 over Beresford. The tenants of his brother, the Marquis of Waterford, voted principally for Stuart and Power. The Catholic Bishop, Dr Kelly, and the clergy of the Diocese by the spirit which they encouraged among their flocks, were principally responsible for the overthrow of the intolerant Beresfords. Numbers polled: Richard Power 1424, Henry Villiers Stuart 1357, Beresford 528.

This Waterford election of 1826 was obviously a precursor of the celebrated Clare election of 1828, showing the willingness of Catholic tenants to defy their landlords and the rising self-confidence of Catholic voters.

18 October 1826 Wednesday. My daughters Margaret and Mary and I were at a fancy ball given at Dromana by Henry Villiers Stuart Esq., Mary and Margaret as Spanish peasants, returned on Thursday. (Obviously the Haydens were on visiting terms in Dromana).

5 July 1828. Counsellor O Connell elected a Member of Parliament for county Clare in opposition to Vesey Fitzgerald by a majority of 1150 votes

13 April 1829. The Royal assent given by His Majesty George 4th to the Bill for emancipating the Catholics and removing all civil disabilities on account of religion, thus uniting all his subjects for the preservation of the throne and constitution. The opposition in the House of Lords was violent in the extreme, but the firmness of the Duke of Wellington, who was Prime Minister, overcame every obstacle.

23 February 1830. Election for the county of Waterford commenced this day between Lord George Beresford and a Mr John Barron. Lord Geo. having declared his adhesion to the principles of the Emancipation Bill, most of the Catholic gentlemen of the county voted for him except the relations of Mr Barron. I voted for Lord Geo. but would have declined voting at all had it not been for the insulting conduct of a committee Barron had here. The election terminated on Monday 1 March. Lord Beresford 483, Barron 321, Majority 162. About 80 men remained unpolled, of which Lord Geo. had about 70.

Wednesday 6 October 1830. On this night I was at a ball at Curraghmore given by the Ladies Beresford for the young Marquis of Waterford, not yet of age, about 300 people at the ball. Obviously fences had been mended after the bruising encounter on the doorstep in 1826. 9 January 1831. A collection was made at all the chapel doors for Daniel O Connell. That in Carrigbeg amounted to £35-5-8, Carrick £118.

15 May 1847. Died this night at Genoa on his way to Rome the great Liberator of his Catholic countrymen, Daniel O Connell Esq., aged about seventy-three, the greatest man who has lived for centuries, an orator whose equal was not at the Bar or in Parliament and who swayed his Catholic countrymen for over forty years.

Massacre

13 December 1831. About forty of the police under the command of their officer James Gibbons went out to protect a Process Server of the name of Butler, who was employed by Mr Hamilton, the Rector of Knocktopher, to serve subpoena in that neighbourhood for the recovery of *Tithe*. Near the village of Hugginstown, Co. Kilkenny, the country people collected in large numbers demanding the Process Server, which on being refused, they closed in on the body of police who were unable to fire but a few shots. Eleven of the police with their officer Gibbons and the Bailiff were killed, in all thirteen, three only of the peasantry were killed – in all sixteen dead bodies !!!

Mobs

23 February 1830. Mathew Sause and I were attacked by a mob on our way through the town going to the Waterford election, the mob instigated by Mr O Connor the Coadjutor, Toby Power, Boyles, and Billy Power the tanner. The prominent people in the mob were John Power the Skinner, John Power the Boatman, Pat Tobin the Butcher, Riordan etc.

28 February 1830 Sunday. My family were attacked coming from the Carrigbeg Chapel by William Cantwell, Billy Power, Germon the Smith etc.

27 February 1831. Ned Lalor and his family abused by the Carrick mob for supporting Lord Duncannon at the Kilkenny election.

21 August 1843. A mob of Clonmel boatmen set fire to and burnt a boat of John Walls for not complying with their regulations.

15 April 1846. A mob in Carrick broke in to John O'Neil's store and William O'Donnell's store, plundered stores etc. Same happened in Clonmel. Did not molest my store.

Petitions

Petition of the Roman Catholics of Carrick drawn up by the writer (Patrick Hayden) 20 April 1824. Presented by Colonel Bagwell to the House of Commons and by Lord Donoughmore to the Lords.

19 February 1825. Petition of the Protestants of Carrick in favour of the Roman Catholics adopted at a meeting of the protestants this day, Nicholas Skottowe in the chair. It was signed by his brother-in-law the Rev. Mr Sandys, curate of Carrick, and many others. The chief promoter of the petition was Mr Henry Hayden.

Nicholas Skottowe	Chas. Wm. Wall
William R. Sandys	Henry Briscoe
Walter Herbert	Richard Lester
Charles Lennon	Thomas Vine
John Miles	James Fraser
Thomas Christian	Jeremiah Wood
Richard Beale	Aaron Cashman
Henry Vant	Nicholas Herbert
Saml. Bradshaw	Richard Wilson
Usher Clarke	Robert Bowen
Alex Vass	Charles Lean
John Shea	William Lennon
Richard Brannigan	John Wright
Henry Hayden	Thomas Comendeon
Daniel Holiday	William Vass
Thomas Kelly	Jeremiah Briscoe
Richard Clarke	

All the Protestant inhabitants of the town signed except the Rev. Mr Monk's family.

Henry Hayden was probably a distant relation of Patrick. He was head of the Protestant land-owning branch of the family.

Cholera

This dreadful disease commenced in Carrick in June 1832 and continued for near six months. A Board of Health was formed in Carrigbeg of which I was chairman.

Number of cholera cases in Carrigbeg:

From 5 June 1832 to 24 December 1832, forty-six of which twenty-nine died

From 24 Decr. 1832 to 22 April 1833, thirteen of which seven died.

The disease made its appearance again in December 1837 and May 1849.

Suir Navigation Company

An Act of Parliament was passed on 28 July 1836 to form a Company for improving the river. The first directors were Lord Vesey Duncannon, Charles W. Wall, W. Curry, Thomas Hughes, B.P. Phelan, Wm. O Donnell, P. Hayden, John Power, James Cantwell, Thomas E. Lalor, James Hill, Patrick Feehan.

A contract was made with Edgar Clements to cut a channel through the rock and build a quay for £3,250.

6 March 1840. The Peace of Milford laden with culm being the first vessel arrived this day.

24 December 1840. Forty-two Vessels to this date.

26 February 1847. 1,103 people employed on Relief Works in Carrigbeg and its Vicinity.

Storm

6 January 1839. Sunday night a violent storm or hurricane which unroofed and levelled many houses all over the kingdom. No journal of this period would be complete without a mention of the legendary Big Wind.

Amateur Theatricals

Friday night 28 June 1802. The Tragedy of Pizarro was performed by the young men of the town for the benefit of Mr Patrick Lynch. Pizarro was played by Thomas Power, Rolla by me (Patrick Hayden), and Thomas Higgins played Alonzo. About £30 collected.

Business travels

Memorandum of the several places where I had been in Mr Moore's time.

Came to Mr Moore's, Carrick, to serve my time 4 November 1791. In Lismore 7 October 1795; Kilmacow 14 December 1796; had a fever in Carrick from 2 January to 15 February 1797; in Tipperary 1 September 1797 (great flood) and at Ballinasloe fair without Mr Moore from 29 July to 14 August 1799, in Cork. From 29 October to 13 November 1799, at Rosana; Lisduff, 27 January 1800; in Mallow

2 January 1802 and in Dublin after Mr Moore's death 24 July 1802 to 4 November 1802.

James Moore Esq. died 19 July 1802 at 24 Dorset St., he was my worthy friend and left me a legacy of £400 and voluntarily gave me £250 per year for conducting his business previous to his death.

Patrick Hayden bought the business from John Moore, brother of James, in 1803 and continued it until the import of cheap materials from the Lancashire mills after the Union ruined the Carrick clothing trade. As late as 1808 he was taking on an apprentice named Kyan to serve his time.

May 1813. I commenced the butter and provision trade.

July 1815. Went to London for the first time, returned.

9 May 1825. I left for Liverpool, arrived there the 11th, left it the 13th and arrived in London on Saturday night the 14th May, left London on the 20th, arrived in Portsmouth the 21st, left it the 22nd and returned to London. After receiving much attention from my friends Messrs Allen and Anderson, I left London on the 27th, arrived in Liverpool 28th, left it 30th May, arrived in Dublin 31st May and home here on Thursday evening 2nd June 1825.

11 April 1826. Left for London, being summoned by a Committee of the House of Commons on the Butter Trade. Was allowed travelling expenses and one guinea per day while in London.

His evidence may be read in the relevant Parliamentary Papers. He comes across as articulate, knowledgeable and with firm opinions on why Irish butter did not command the same price as Dutch in the market.

30 April 1827. Rev. John O Neill and I went to Dublin to take probate of P. Power Esq. of Tinhalla's will. He returned home on 6 May. I arrived the 18th having remained a few days with Edmond Power Esq. of Gurteen, who for some little attention presented me with a valuable (illegible).

This Power family does not seem to have been related to Patrick Power of Tinhalla. They were shortly to become de la Poer.*

1 September 1827. Mr Wm. Allen of London arrived here today and made a new arrangement with me.

15 April 1832. Left this day for London through Dublin, Liverpool and Manchester. Remained in London a week at Mr Anderson's house, experienced great civility from Mr Charles W. Harbon. Returned home the same route and arrived here Thursday 3 May.

The mention of travelling through Manchester suggests he may have used the recently opened Liverpool-Manchester railway on this journey. The mention of Birmingham and Bristol in entries from 1836 onwards implies that he travelled by rail, though it is curious that he makes no comment on this new mode of travel.

2 May 1836. Left this for London to assist as an evidence in passing the Bill for the improvement of the river at Carrick. With the assistance of Mr Joseph Anderson I sold 90 shares of £20 each. Came home by Liverpool and arrived here

* See Tania O'Shea's article for elaboration of this point.

Sunday 22 May. Bought a gold watch in Liverpool (my own being quite useless) from Joseph Penlington, Liverpool No. 3810, detached lever etc., cost £18 of which £6 allowed for old watch.

10 June 1836. Left for London with Mrs H. on the above business. Bill passed the House of Lords 28 June 1836, final Royal Assent William 4th 28 July 1836. We arrived home here after passing through Manchester and Liverpool 16 July 1836.

16 May 1837. Left this day through Bristol for London, left London on Sunday evening 21st, slept in Bristol at Mrs Downing's the 22nd, left Bristol at 8 o'clock on Tuesday 23rd, and arrived here home the following day at 7 o'clock in the morning 24 May. Settled with Mr Anderson, Mr and Mrs Downing most attentive.

13 September 1837. Mrs Downing, formerly the beautiful Miss Wall of Coolnamuck, arrived in Waterford from Bristol. I went to Waterford with her 24 October on her return to Bristol.

6 May 1838. Left for Dublin – Liverpool – London – Bristol, returned here Sunday 20 May, having slept at Mrs Downing's 18 May.

However, Patrick Hayden's finances seem to have taken a turn for the worse from now on. In 1839 a court judgement for £1,800 was made against him and in April 1840 he had to mortgage some lands he owned in Farranree and Linville to the National Bank in Carrick to raise the money. The following entry obviously has some bearing on the matter.

15 February 1841. An act of most disinterested friendship was conferred on me by Thomas Hughes Esq. of Clonmel – a wealthy and respectable Quaker – totally unasked and unexpected – he sent me £200 to use until May, free of interest – this as part of other pecuniary offers he has made me – all this in consequence of his hearing I had sustained loss by my London difficulty of about £8,000 my acquaintance with him was not very close which enhances the obligation all the more. He afterwards performed many other such deeds.

Nature might stand up and say to all the world, this was a Man. This good man died 1 February 1842.

This entry is badly torn so it is not possible to say what caused Hayden's loss, but it was clearly substantial, and some kind of fraud.

6 July 1843. Exchanged an old car and gig with Edward Jones, Clonmel, for a new outside car, apron etc. and paid him in all £20.

1 February 1844. Left via Liverpool with Master Piers Power. Placed him at Oscott College 6 February paying £28-17-0 in advance. Arrived home via London and Bristol on Saturday 10 February 1844.

4 April 1845. Left for London to oppose the building of any bridge at Graney on the Suir by the Railway Co., returned through Birmingham, saw Piers at Oscott where W. O'Donnell and I dined 16th, arrived in Dublin 18th, left 19th and arrived home same night.

Piers was Piers Power, son of Patrick of Tinhalla. Hayden had become his guardian after the death of the Rev. John O'Neill. Oscott had been set up by the English Catholic Bishops as a Public School and was popular with Irish Catholic gentry throughout much of the nineteenth century, though the Haydens and the next Power generation favoured Clongowes.

30 May 1845. W. O Donnell and I left for London on the same business and having succeeded in introducing a clause in the Railway Bill, returned home on Tuesday 10 June.

5 September 1845. Left for London via Liverpool, left London with my daughter Eliza the 12th, slept in Liverpool that night, left the following day for Mrs Penn in Waterford and arrived home on Sunday night the 14th September 1845.

16 October 1848. Left for London via Dublin, slept in Dublin and arrived at the Railway Terminus, Euston Sq., on Tuesday night 17th, left London 19th, slept in Bristol, home here 21st at 12 o'clock.

10 November 1850. Left for Dublin, Liverpool, London, stopped in Dublin and home here 18 December.

This was the last journey to London that Patrick Hayden was to make.

Miscellaneous and Family Occurrences

2 June 1823. Mr John White's family left this town for Dingle, where they arrived 4 June. Forced to give up his office as Inspector of Fisheries in August 1826 on a charge of embezzlement of bounty money. He was tried in Tralee in August 1827 and imprisoned for 12 months.

5 July 1824. My sister Joanna left for the Convent in Tralee.

Monday 5 July 1824. Miss McDermot accompanied her. She was later to be Mother Superior of the Presentation in Tralee. Miss McDermot was the governess to Patrick Hayden's daughters, later to be his second wife.

2 November 1824. My daughter Kitty with Miss Burrowes and Miss McDermot left for Dublin.

9 September 1825. Left with Kitty and Mary through Limerick for Tralee, remained at Tralee 11th and 12th, my sister Joanna being then in the Convent. We returned home through Killarney and Cork and arrived home here Thursday 15 September.

5 January 1826. This day, Thursday, my dear child Kitty aged 21 years last June went to the Ursuline Convent, Waterford. She will have the blessing of a dutiful and affectionate child, I never knew a better.

18 July 1826, Tuesday. My beloved child Kitty was this day received at the Ursuline Convent, Waterford, after being six months a postulant. The ceremony was most affecting and depressed me very much. May the Almighty protect her.

11 July 1827, Thursday. This evening Mary Anne McDermot and I were married by the Revd. Michael Power, parish priest. The concurrence and cheerful consent of my dear children has endeared them greatly to me.

August 6 1827, Monday. Paid this day to Miss Elizabeth Cooke, Superior of the Ursuline Convent, Waterford, £461-10-9 British, equal to £500 former Irish currency, being the sum agreed on for my dear child Kitty, to be returned in case of her death or withdrawing from the convent before profession. This sum is part of a legacy left by Mrs Kennedy and accumulation. Receipt among family papers in my pocket book.

18 October 1827. Mary Anne (Mrs Hayden) and Margaret left for Dublin and on Friday night 2 November 1827 about half-past seven my daughter Elizabeth Anne was born at 24 Dame St. where my dear Mary Anne and Margaret lodged. She was baptised in Dublin, Elizabeth Anne on 4 November 1827. Edmund Power Esq. of Gurteen and Mrs Wall of Coolnamuck sponsors for whom Charles and Bess McDermot stood proxy.

3 October 1830. Received an account this day of the death of my dear brother Thomas Hayden, who died at Perryville, Perry County, Missouri, America on 26 July last. He and his family had been there 10 years.

22 July 1828. This day (Tuesday) Margaret, Mary and I went to the Ursuline Convent, Waterford (Mary Anne being in Dublin) to attend at the profession of my dear child Kitty which has taken place. She was a model of purity and gentleness. I did not remain by at the entire ceremony. It is an awful ceremony but my dear child seemed quite happy and overjoyed.

17 March 1829. Mary Anne was safely delivered at 6 o'clock this morning of a seven month boy, died before delivery but baptised. Attended by Dr Purcell, buried in Abbey vault, Carrigbeg.

21 September 1829. My daughter Margaret aged 23 was married this morning to Mr Patrick Thunder. Ceremony performed by Rev. Michael Power, who received £22. I paid her portion £461-10-9 cash. May God bless them. They set off the following morning for Mr Thunder's residence in Tipperary.

10 February 1831. Mrs Thunder was delivered of her first born child in Tipperary, Henry Patrick Thunder.

25 September 1829. My old and most respectable friend Richard Sause Esq. (first cousin to my dearest Bidy who died 14 September 1815) left for Dublin to take shipping for Bordeaux. He proposes remaining there for some time. His family was the oldest and most respectable in Carrick, most exemplary in their conduct. I grieve most sincerely for poor Mr Sause's absence. Died at Toulouse 21 May 1832 at 11 o'clock in the morning.

2 September 1830. My daughter Jane was born this day Thursday about 2 o'clock. Baptised on 6th by the Rev. Michael Power. Proxies for Richard Sause and Mrs Thompson, sponsors.

2 January 1834. My daughter Frances Agnes was born this morning about 8 o'clock, baptised 6 January by the Rev. Michael Power. Roger Scully Esq. and Miss Eliza Lewis, sponsors.

2 April 1835. Having lived for near two years at Annsbro, Co. Kilkenny, we returned to our own house in Carrigbeg. (I can find no explanation for this entry. Annsbro was the residence of Richard Sause who had gone to France in 1829.)

31 October 1835. This morning about 9 o'clock my son Daniel P. Hayden was born in Carrigbeg, my dear Mary Anne ill since about 3 o'clock. Baptised by the Rev. Patrick Gaffney. Sponsors, Matthew Sause (for whom Pat Hayden was proxy) and Mrs Ellen Fitzgerald.

31 January 1836. A fire took place on the night or the morning of 1st February in the loft over the bacon cellar, caused by the drunkenness of Thomas Delahunty who let a candle fall on his bed. Thank God no material injury done.

15 February 1836. My niece Kitty Hayden married at Caherlesk today to Mr William Nowlan.

14 April 1836. My dear daughter Eliza left at School at the Ursuline Convent, Waterford, to remain here one year.

29 May 1837. Mrs Hayden and I went to Cork and Kinsale to see Margaret Thunder. She was confined of a son, Joseph. Returned home 2 September.

14 February 1838. Great snow and severe frost. The snow rendered the roads impassable for 3 days.

1 May 1838. My dear daughter Mary was received as a nun in the Convent of St. Catherine, 88 Lower Mount St. Dublin. Bidney travelled from Waterford in the mail to be present at her reception. She was afterwards obliged to leave from ill-health.

22 February 1839. On this Friday night about 11 o'clock my son William Hayden was born, baptised 25 February by the Very Rev. Dr Burke, parish priest of Carrick, who was one of his sponsors, Mrs Powell of Liverpool by proxy the other.

9 May 1839. My daughter Bidney and I left this for Liverpool and I left her there on a visit with Mrs Powell.

27 June 1839. Bond passed to J. Fitzgerald for Bank, £900. Mortgage 15th April 1840, £774.

16 January 1840. My dear daughter went to Kinsale today on a visit to her sister Margaret Thunder. I gave her £6-5-0.

23 November 1840. On this day my beloved daughter Bidney was married to Thomas Murray Esq. at half past six in the morning by the Rev. M. Gaffney, parish priest of Carrigbeg. May the Almighty bless them. No better child. Present Mrs Hayden, Eliza and my nephew Daniel Hayden. I gave her insurance on my life with the Royal Exchange £461-10-9 and cash £38-9-3 to make £500, husband to repay half should she die without issue in two years. Dan has the deed in trust. Nephew, Daniel Hayden was a solicitor with an office in Castle St.

18 February 1841. My nephew John Hayden was married this night to Mary, daughter of Richard Walsh of Moonvine.

Undated. My daughter Mary, who came about three weeks ago from Kinsale, went this day to Caherlesk to go from thence to the Convent in Tullow. I gave her £6-5-0.

6 July 1841. Mrs Hayden and Eliza went for Tralee this morning via Limerick, accompanied by P. Power and Miss Dora Rivers. Returned Saturday 24 July.

23 October 1842. Saturday this day my dear daughter Bidney, Mrs Murray, who was married 23 November last, was delivered of a son, baptised Thomas Murray in Carrick by the Rev. M. O Connor on Thursday, 28 October 1842.

11 November 1842. Received an account today of the death of my poor daughter Margaret Thunder, who died about 10 o'clock on the night of 9 Nov. at 41 North Cumberland Rd. Dublin. She, poor thing, suffered many trials in the last five

years in their worldly means. My poor child is released from this wicked world and gone to meet her sainted mother. She was married to Pat Thunder 21 September 1829, leaving five children, 4 boys and Mary Kate. She is buried at Glasnevin, near Dublin. The Thunders were brewers in Dublin.

20 August 1843. Left this with Danny and Piers Power for Limerick, by steamer to Tarbert, by car to Tralee to see my sister Joanna who is Abbess. Left Tralee Thursday 24th and arrived home here at 4 o'clock on Saturday 26 August.

8 October 1843. This day my daughter Mrs Murray's child was baptised Patrick Joseph Murray. Born on Thursday night 5 October. Miss Dora Rivers and I sponsors.

June 9 1844, Thomas Murray left with Bidney and her two fine boys, Tom and Pat. He is appointed Auditor of Poor Law Accounts, salary over £500 per year. At present they stop at his mother's house, Sheep Walk, Co Wicklow. Murray was born 26 April 1814.

20 August 1844. Mrs Hayden and Fanny left for Dublin to leave Fanny at Dalkey Convent School.

14 January 1845. Mr and Mrs Murray arrived here. Murray went on his Poor Law circuit.

7 March 1845. My dear daughter Mrs Murray, who has been for some days back attending Dr Fitzgerald's, left on her way home to Sheepwalk. She is in delicate health.

4 July 1845. My daughter Eliza left for London on a visit to Mr and Mrs Harbon.

29 July 1845. On this night at 11 o'clock my daughter Mrs Murray was confined of a daughter at 4 Talbot St. Dublin, baptised Mary Clare.

22 September 1845. My son Danny went to Mr Paisley's Academy, Greenhill, one and a half guineas per term, paid in cash. Paisley left in August 1847.

22 April 1846. Mrs Hayden, Eliza and Jane went to Dublin.

28 July 1846. Mrs Hayden, Piers Power and Rev. John Walsh went to Dunmore for bathing etc.

23 August 1847. Paid Mr Purcell, Tramore, three months in advance from 16th for Danny and Willy at school, £30.

17 October 1847 Sunday. My dear daughter Eliza was married this day to Piers Power Esq., son of the late Patrick Power Esq. of Tinhalla. May God bless them. Married by the Rev. Michael Fogarty. I had been his guardian.

23 October 1847. Mrs Hayden the young couple and my daughter Jane went to Clonmel. Poor Eliza was taken ill at the house of my friend John Orr Esq. Went to the Cove of Cork and returned home here on Ash Wednesday 1848.

28 January 1848. My dear and only surviving brother James Hayden died of influenza this morning about half past five at his son Dan's house in Carrick aged about sixty-nine or seventy years. Ill about 10 days, interred in Newtown, Co. Kilkenny on Sunday 30 January 1848..

22 March 1848. Richard O'Donnell called here today about Murray.

5 June 1848. Mrs Hayden, Eliza and Jane set off for Dublin. Piers followed them 27th June.

6 July 1848. Mrs Harden and children went to Liverpool, sailed thence for New York on the *De Wet*.

5 August 1848. My friend Dr A. O Ryan was arrested, brought to Clonmel Gaol, under the Habeus Corpus Suspension Act. No one is safe

11 September 1848. My dear son Danny went to Mr Galvan's school. £2-2-0 paid

16 October 1848. My dear Willy ditto.

19 February 1849. Went to Dublin for Insolvency Court hearing. My old friend Capt. John Orr, Barrackmaster of Royal Barracks, Dublin and Piers Power were my sureties, God bless them.

The exact details of what happened are not clear but it is clear that he was in bad financial trouble like many other merchants at this time. The Famine must have badly affected his provision trade.

14 July 1849. Returned home again. Final discharge on 14 October 1849 with no opposition.

26 April 1849. My dear daughter Eliza (Mrs Power) was safely delivered of a girl at 24 Dawson St., Dublin, baptised Mary Anne Josephine.

16 July 1849. My dear boys Danny and Willy were confirmed by the Right Rev. Dr Foran in the Chapel of Carrigbeg.

18 July 1849. In my distress of mind a friend has given me £5 unexpectedly.

11 August 1849. Some robbers broke in to the back office, wrenched the locks off the desks and stole £2 to £3.

10 November 1849. On this morning at Mylough at Mr Scullys offices, late Miss Ryans, were set fire to and consumed.

17 October 1849. On this night about 8 o'clock John Phelan was atrociously murdered in Carrigbeg. Two shots were fired at him, one of which penetrated his body. He was an excellent character, a most trustworthy faithful man. He was for over 20 years employed by me in collecting rents.

Evidence given to the Devon Commission in 1844 by Patrick Hayden shows that he acted as agent for several estates.

2 February 1850. My dear Daughter Mary is to go to Mrs O Donnell's, Cottage, tomorrow.

23 March 1850. 18,500 trees planted in two weeks at Kilmurrin, Pierses property. Cost of trees £6-12, carriage £1, cost of labour £15-18, total cost £23-10.

16 August 1850. Danny and Rev. Mr Deed returned from Dublin. They were at Liverpool and Chester, hospitably entertained by the Rev. Mr Carbery.

31 August 1850. Danny's collar bone broken by a fall from a horse in the back field.

9 September 1850. Four Firkins butter robbed out of the cellar.

17 November 1850. My grandson Patrick Joseph Power was born at 18 Stephen's Green at half past one in the morning. My dear Eliza was ill but a short time.

1 January 1851. Thank God the past year is ended, it was a year of much anxiety and care to me without producing any pecuniary benefit, but we are all, thanks to the Lord, in possession of a primary benefit, health.

9 January 1851. This day left my darling boys Danny and Willy at the Jesuits College, Clongowes Wood. The Rev. Mr Kavanagh, President and the Rev. Mr Daly, Vice-President; God bless my dear boys.

Clongowes was then, as it still is, an excellent and expensive boarding school, so how Patrick could have afforded the fees in his straitened circumstances is not clear. Perhaps Pierse Power helped out. As it happened, both boys entered the Jesuit Order, Danny dying just before he was ordained, but Willy went on to have a long and successful career. He was one of the group who founded the Gaelic League in 1893.

29 January 1851. My niece Margaret Hayden married to Thomas Hayden of Bishopsloagh. They were not related, except possibly very distant cousins.

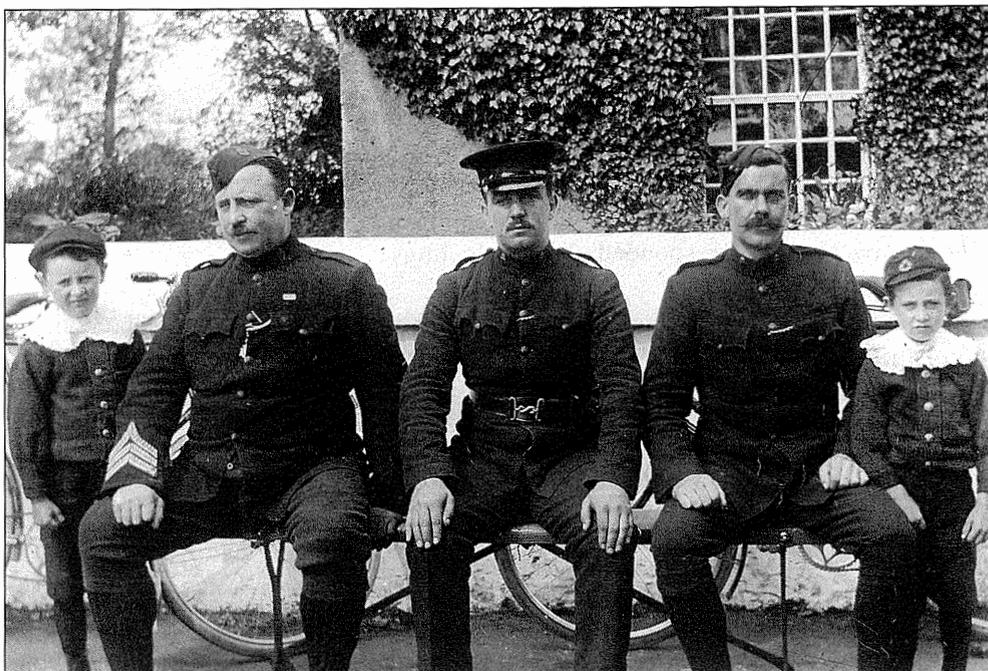
24 March 1851. My dear Danny sent me from Clongowes a copy of his first production, an Essay on Hope, a capital composition, the conclusion was to me affecting because it corresponded with my feelings.

The composition is attached to his journal. It is very well written. The conclusion Patrick refers to reads:

In the struggles of manhood, hope encourages the mind to bear up against and surmount the difficulties that may beset ones path and in the chill and loneliness of old age it teaches the widowed heart and broken spirit to look to Heaven for aid and bless the name of him who made it.

This is the last entry made by Patrick Hayden. He died 18 August 1851.

There are also a large number of entries of marriages and deaths of his friends and neighbours in Carrick for the period included in the journal. As these are of genealogical rather than general interest, I would refer any reader who wishes to consult them to the *Irish Genealogist* (1995) Vol. 9, No.2, where they are listed.



Members of Slieverue R.I.C. outside barracks.

Source: Sliabh Rua A History of its People and Places (courtesy Jim Walsh)

Waterford hasn't done much either?

Waterford in the War of Independence, 1919-1921 – A Comparative Analysis

by Pat McCarthy

IN November 1920 Ernie O'Malley was appointed commandant General of the IRA's Second Southern Division which covered East Limerick, Tipperary and Kilkenny. Before taking up his new appointment he travelled to Dublin for a meeting with Richard Mulcahy, Chief of Staff and other members of the IRA GHQ staff. He records part of his conversation with Mulcahy:

Before you go South there is an operation the Staff would like you to undertake. What do you think of the auxiliaries?

They are a fine body of men and a tough problem.

We must tackle them at once. The adjoining Cork Brigades will cooperate in taking Macroom Castle where there's an Auxiliary Company. I want you to capture Inistiogue, the headquarters of the Auxiliaries in County Kilkenny.

Kilkenny County has done little fighting.

You will have help from the Waterford men.

Waterford hasn't done much either ...¹

That throwaway comment by one of the most resourceful leaders of the IRA's guerrilla campaign reflects the general opinion that Waterford was one of the quieter parts of the country during the War of Independence. This comment is often reflected in statements such as 'Munster, with the exception of Waterford, was the heartland of the IRA campaign'. But is it accurate? Did one enter a land of peace when one walked across the bridge at Youghal from rebel Cork or crossed the Suir at Carrick from the domain of the renowned Third Tipperary Brigade? How does the level of revolutionary violence in Waterford compare with its other neighbours – Kilkenny and Wexford? This essay sets out to compare the revolution in Waterford with the four adjoining counties and to examine why Waterford was different – if it was.

Although by 1919 most towns and parishes in Ireland had a Sinn Fein club and by extension a local IRA company, the violence in the years that followed was very unevenly distributed. It is true that in the words of the song 'It was down in the town of Bandon, most of the fighting was done'. Cork city and county accounted for almost a third of the casualties suffered by the crown forces. One district alone,

1 Ernie O'Malley (1936) *On Another Man's Wound* (Dublin), p. 218.

Bandon, produced eleven times as many casualties (190) as the whole county of Antrim. On a *per capita* basis it was 128 times more violent! In contrast to Cork, East Leinster outside of Dublin city was barely touched by revolutionary violence. To quote O'Malley again:

Each county was different, the very map boundaries in many places seemed to make a distinction. The land seemed to determine the nature of the people often enough; weather, pasture, grazing, tillage good or bad, nearness to the sea, whether remote from towns and cities, hilly, mountainous or undulating. Sometimes I came to a townland where there was a company of twenty or thirty men and boys. Tall, well set up and lanky, eager, lithe, willing to take risks. Six miles away across the barony, the people were cowed; the men had no initiative. They were irresolute. The captain of the company sometimes made the difference, sometimes the men themselves, but in part it was the nature of the land and the long struggle against odds that had told.²

This difference was not lost on the Government forces.

A very noticeable feature of the rebellion in the South of Ireland is the fact that the war was waged far more vigorously and far more bitterly in some parts of the area than in others.³

As the British forces responded to regionalised increases in violence active IRA units came under more and more pressure. In turn they looked at other parts of the country not suffering to the same extent and pressurised GHQ to extend the struggle to these quieter areas. Various schemes were put forward and as GHQ became more interventionist it began to address this problem. However, before any such initiative could be effected the Truce was declared on 11 July 1921. Thus, the levels of violence in the regions prior to that date by and large reflect local activism and local conditions.

In carrying out this analysis the unit used is the county. This is the traditional unit for comparison in Ireland. In addition constituencies usually followed county boundaries or at least close enough to make political comparison meaningful. IRA brigades were also organised along county lines. Some counties had a multiple brigade structure – Cork four (later five), Tipperary three, Waterford two, Wexford and Kilkenny one each. As the struggle intensified in 1921 there was a tendency to divide brigades to create more manageable structures in the fighting areas. Conversely in other areas, brigades were amalgamated reflecting dissatisfaction with the performance of some brigade officers. Waterford had two brigades, East and West. Some parts of North-east Waterford – Clonea and Rathgormack – were part of the Carrick-on-Suir Battalion of the Third Tipperary Brigade. These townlands were part of the natural hinterland of Carrick. At the other end of the county the Lismore company was for a period attached to the Cork No. 2 Brigade.

2 O'Malley (1936) *On Another Man's Wound* p. 129.

3 Imperial War Museum, London. Strickland Papers, *The Irish Rebellion in the 6th Divisional Area from 1916 to December 1921*.

In the quotation above Ernie O'Malley outlines some of his thoughts as to the reasons for the difference. In so far as is possible this essay will examine some of the theories which are put forward to explain any difference between Waterford and its neighbouring counties. It does not seek to chronicle in detail the exploits of the Waterford brigades of the IRA. This has been done admirably elsewhere.

There are, of course, varying levels of support that can be offered to any organisation and to its campaign. At the simplest level there is voting. Occurring as they do on very few occasions, elections offer every voter an opportunity to express a view and to do so in an unthreatened way. At the next level there is involvement in overtly nationalist organisations. To identify one's self with Sinn Fein was to make a public declaration of allegiance and to run the risk of being seen as a target by the forces of the Government. The risk could be of arrest, internment, of being sentenced to a long term of imprisonment with no guarantee that a successful outcome of the war would lead to early release, or even of death in an unauthorised reprisal by the Crown forces. There was equal risk to ones property as reprisals became more frequent in 1920 and 1921. Burnt outhouses and businesses that belonged to prominent Sinn Fein supporters were a common sight in Ireland in this period. The ultimate level of involvement was to join an active service unit or flying column of the IRA. Then one ran the daily risk of death or capture. Life on the run was at best uncomfortable, at worst it was life in the shadow of the gun, constantly depending on the goodwill of sympathisers while knowing that one slip by anyone could lead to a gunbattle with the RIC or the British army.

Throughout this essay comparison is made with the neighbouring counties of Wexford, Kilkenny, Tipperary and Cork. Demographic data for these and for Waterford is shown in Table I. Waterford was by far the most urbanised county

Table 1 – Demographic Comparisons – 1911 Census

	Waterford	Wexford	Kilkenny	Tipperary	Cork
Population	83,966	102,273	74,962	152,433	392,104
Population of towns	38,424 (45.8%)	24,912 (24.3%)	15,622 (20.8%)	42,337 (27.8%)	137,545 (35.1%)
% Catholic	94.6%	92.3%	95.0%	94.6%	90.9%
% Irish speakers	38%	3%	4%	7%	24%
No. (%) of eligible males killed in British service World War I	625 (2.64%)	537 (1.90%)	475 (2.25%)	1,039 (2.36%)	2,226 (2.01%)
Area (including Co. boroughs, hectares)	183,786	235,143	206,167	425,458	745,988

Source: W. E. Vaughan, A. J. Fitzpatrick (eds), (1978) *Irish Historical Statistics, Population, New History of Ireland, Ancillary Publications* (Dublin) p. 5, pp 27-32, p. 49. and *Irish Sword*, No. 81, p. 206.

with 46% of the population living in towns. It also had a strikingly high percentage of Irish speakers (38%). Significantly it had proportionately the highest percentage of eligible males who were killed while serving in the British army during the First World War. This reflected the degree of urbanisation, since British recruiting efforts were more successful in the towns than in rural Ireland. Population varied significantly between the counties and where relevant figures are normalised for population to provide accurate comparison.

The Volunteers and the Rise of Sinn Fein, 1913-1988

As in the rest of the country, the events that culminated in the War of Independence began with the establishment of the Irish Volunteers in Dublin in November 1913. The movement spread rapidly throughout the country. According to RIC Intelligence reports the first branch of the Irish National volunteers in Waterford was formed in the city in March 1914. Growth was rapid as shown by the monthly police reports.⁴

May 1914	– 5 branches	1,75 members
September 1914	– 43 branches	3,994 members

The split in the Volunteers that followed the espousal by John Redmond, M.P., leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, of the British War effort and his plea to the volunteers to join the army was reflected in the constituency that he represented. By December the strength of the Redmondite Volunteers was estimated at 29 branches and 3,520 members. In contrast, the militant republican section that retained the name of Irish Volunteers had a membership of only 173.⁵ For arms the story was the same - the Redmondite National Volunteers had 275 rifles, the Irish Volunteers had only four. Although in 1915 continued recruiting into the British Army weakened the National Volunteers – of 891 men who enlisted from the city and the county, 453 were members of the National Volunteers – they still maintained their dominance over their rivals. Police estimates for December 1915 give a strength of 2,879 men with 277 rifles for the National Volunteer while the Irish Volunteers were down to 63 men with only two rifles.⁶ With such a paltry strength it is not surprising that the Military Committee of the IRB does not seem to have included Waterford in their plans for a Rising. It appears that the National Plan envisaged the volunteers from the county and city assembling in the city, proceeding to Clonmel to link up with the South Tipperary Volunteers with the combined force continuing to Limerick. There, the anticipated arms from Germany would be distributed and then all the Munster units would help to hold the 'line of the Shannon'. On Easter Saturday, Piersie McCan, prominent Tipperary IRB man

4 Brendan Mac Choille (ed) (1966), *Intelligence Notes 1913-1916* (Dublin), pp. 81 and 109.

5 Mac Choille, *Intelligence Notes*, p. 112.

6 Mac Choille, *Intelligence Notes*, pp. 176 and 177,

brought the news that the General Mobilization (the cover-plan for the Rising) had been cancelled, a message confirmed by Maeve Cavanagh McDowell, a courier from GHQ, Dublin.⁷ Apart from an abortive effort by Pax Whelan near Dungarvan, Waterford Volunteers took no part in the fighting during Easter Week.⁸

The rest of 1916 and the following year saw a resurgence in Sinn Fein and Volunteer activity and the extension of Sinn Fein Clubs to new areas. Progress in Waterford seems to have been slower than in the neighbouring counties and the density of Sinn Fein clubs was less than half of that in the neighbouring counties (Table 2). This comparative weakness became evident in the bitter by-election battle in March 1918 that followed the death of John Redmond, M.P., leader of the Irish Party who had represented Waterford for more than 25 years. Determined to capitalise on their recent by-election success in Armagh, the Irish Party fielded their strongest candidate, Redmond's son Captain William Redmond already an M.P. for East Tyrone. In every sense the Waterford city campaign was a bitterly fought one. Sinn Fein fielded the popular dispensary doctor, Vincent White. The result was a second defeat for Sinn Fein by 1,242 votes to 764, but the RIC commented that in such a strongly Redmondite city a Sinn Fein vote of 35% represented progress.⁹ When the Parliamentary Party won the subsequent by-election in East Tyrone it seemed that the Sinn Fein tide had been stopped.

All changed however in April 1918, when the House of commons passed the Military Service Bill which extended conscription to Ireland. The ensuing anti-conscription campaign gave a massive boost to Sinn Fein which was seen as leading the struggle and signed the death warrant of the Irish Party. This warrant was then executed in the November 1918 General Election. Outside of Ulster, where a number of agreed Nationalist candidates were returned, only one Irish Party candidate was successful – Captain Redmond in Waterford city. The revised electoral register along with the growth in Sinn Fein strength consequent on their anti-conscription role, ensured a much closer contest between the same candidates: Redmond – 4,915 (52.5%); White – 4,431 (47.5%).¹⁰

Waterford county followed the rest of the country. Determined to show their strength in Waterford, Sinn Fein had imposed one of their strongest candidates on the local organisation – Cathal Brugha, wounded hero of the South Dublin Union battle of 1916. Although he himself did not visit the constituency the local organisation 'got out the vote' and the result was Brugha – 12,890, J.J. O'Shee (sitting Irish Party M.P.) – 4,217. The margin of the Sinn Fein victory – 75%, was the highest in the country.¹¹

7 Dealgan Bric (1988) 'Pierce McCan, MP (1882-1919)', *Tipperary Historical Journal*, p. 129

8 Uinseann McEoin (1980) *Survivors* (Dublin), p. 136.

9 Michael Laffan (1999) *The Resurrection of Ireland; The Sinn Fein Party, 1916-1923* (Cambridge University Press), pp. 125-6.

10 B. M. Walker (ed) (1978) *Parliamentary Elections in Ireland, 1801-1922*. New History of Ireland, Ancillary Publications, IV, (Dublin), p. 191.

11 Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results*, p. 191.

Table 2 – Participation

	Waterford	Wexford	Kilkenny	Tipperary	Cork
1) Membership of UIL League (per 10,000 of pop.) 31/3/1913	149 1	249	273	374	182
2) Population per Sinn Fein Club, 1918	6,997	2,494	3,407	2,032	3,564
3) Sinn Fein membership (per 10,000 of pop.) January 1919	285	249	483	467	333
4) Membership of ITGWU (per 10,000 of pop.) January 1919	301	190	434	104	23
5) Electoral support for Sinn Fein in General Election November 1918	City – 47.5% County – 75%	North – 59% South – 51.5%	North – no contest South – 82%	North – no contest Mid – no contest South – 76% East – 61%	No contests

Source: D. Fitzpatrick (1978) *The Geography of Irish Nationalism, 1920-1921, Past and Present*, No. 78, pp. 432-35.

The War of Independence, 1919-1921¹²

On 21 January 1919 the newly elected representatives of Sinn Fein met in the Mansion House, Dublin; the first meeting of Dail Eireann took place. On the proposal of Count Plunkett, Cathal Brugha was elected to preside. Waterford's other representative, Captain Redmond, did not attend even though he had been invited. The same day, Dan Breen, Sean Treacy and other members of the Third Tipperary Brigade ambushed a small party bringing gelignite to the quarry at Soloheadbeg. The two members of the RIC escorting the explosives were shot dead. Throughout the next two and a half years a further 426 members of the force were to be killed by IRA action. The increasing violence can be traced by the fatal police casualties month by month:-

The first fatal attacks on the constabulary in Waterford did not take place until September 1920. Sergeant Martin Morgan and a Constable were cycling back to their barracks at Leamybrien when they were ambushed near Kilmacthomas. Sergeant Morgan was wounded and was taken to the Waterford City Infirmary

12 Sean and Sile Murphy (1977) *The Comeraghs – Refuge or Rebels, Story of the Déise Brigade, IRA* (Waterford) pp. 12-41 Also B. Byrne (1999) 'Law and Order and the RIC in Waterford, 1920 - 1921: A Chronology' *Decies No. 55* pp. 117-27.

Table 3. R.I.C. Fatal Casualties 1/1/1919-11/7/1921

	Countrywide	Waterford
1919	15	-
1920	178	3
1921 (6 months)	235	6

Source: B. Byrne 'Law and Order and the R.I.C. in Waterford, 1920-1921: A Chronology', *Decies* No. 55 pp. 117-27.

where he died on 27 September. Two months later there was a double attack in Cappoquin. On 21 November, Constable Isaac Rea was shot and wounded from a passing car as he walked along the main street in Cappoquin. Although rushed to the military hospital in Cork, he died on 28 December. A week later a similar attack mortally wounded Constable Maurice Quirke. He died from his wounds on 29 November 1920.

As measured by the growing death roll of RIC men the level of violence doubled in Waterford in 1921 – similar to the rest of the country. Faced with a rising tide of violence, martial law was extended to Waterford, Wexford and Kilkenny on 4 January 1921. This drastic measure did not stop the killing of RIC officers. The Pickardstown ambush on 7 January did not result in any police or military casualties, but on 3 March an RIC patrol was ambushed at Scartacrooks, near Cappoquin, where Constable Joseph Duddy was shot dead. Just over two weeks later, the Waterford IRA Flying Column was in action again. A joint police/military patrol on the way to Dungarvan was ambushed at Burgery, two miles from the town. During the fighting RIC Sergeant Michael Hickey and a military officer were kidnapped while Constable Sidney Redman was shot dead during the fighting. Sergeant Hickey was shot later, while the military officer was released, much to the annoyance of IRA headquarters. On 22 April, District Inspector Gilbert Potter was captured by the men of the Third Tipperary Brigade under the command of Dinny Lacey. When an offer to exchange Potter for volunteer Thomas Traynor, then under sentence of death in Mountjoy, was refused, Potter was executed on the banks of the river Clodiagh near Portlaw on 27 April. His remains were subsequently exhumed and he was reinterred at Cahir on 30 August 1921. On 9 June, Constable Denis O'Leary was shot while cycling to his lodgings at Carrickbeg. The last RIC man to die in the conflict in Waterford was killed in an ambush near Tallow. Ten RIC men from the village were ambushed by machine-gun fire and Constable Creedon was killed.

The RIC were not the only crown forces stationed in Waterford. Though not as heavily garrisoned as the neighbouring counties of Cork and Tipperary, there was a substantial military presence available to support the RIC in Waterford. The main units are shown in table 4 below. Apart from the main barracks listed, each unit had much of its strength deployed in small detachments. Thus the Buffs, the East Kent Regiment, had troops stationed at Dungarvan, Clonoskaine, Lismore and Ballinacourty.

Table 4. British Army Units in the Waterford Area

	H.Q.	Officers	Other Rank
1st Batt. Kent Regiment	Fermoy	31	627
1st Devonshire Regiment	Waterford	47	981
2nd Brig., Royal Field Artillery	Fermoy	29	489
1st Brig., Royal Field Artillery	Kilkenny	30	490
8th Brig., Royal Garrison Artillery	Fermoy	28	423
2nd Hampshire Regiment	Youghal (2 companies)	12	340

Source: National Library of Ireland, Florence O'Donoghue Papers, MS 31,150 (Dublin).

Fermoy was a major garrison town and also housed the headquarters of the 16th Infantry Brigade covering East Cork and West Waterford. Apart from the army there were small detachments of the royal Marines stationed at the coastguard stations in Ardmore, Ballinacourty, Tramore and Dunmore East. From these the military engaged in extensive patrols often in conjunction with the RIC. Although the chronology of events in Waterford record many engagements with the military forces, it does not appear that any fatal casualties were inflicted.

Fatal attacks on the forces of the crown are only the most violent manifestation of IRA activity in this period. A document in the Florence O'Donoghue Papers lists the various military activities carried out in Waterford County in 1920 and 1921.¹³

While not all 'incidents' were equally serious it is possible to detect a trend – a doubling of violent IRA actions every six months.

1920 - Quarter 1 - 3 incidents
 Quarter 2 - 3 incidents
 Quarter 3 - 7 incidents
 Quarter 4 - 6 incidents

1921 - Quarter 1 - 13 incidents
 Quarter 2 - 11 incidents

Not only was the number of such events doubling but their nature was changing. The events recorded for April to June 1921 are each more violent than those in the same period of the previous year.

Support for the IRA did not necessarily entail active military service or even logistical support for the men of the Flying Column. One very effective weapon used by the IRA was the traditional one of the boycott. Boycotting of the RIC

¹³ National Library of Ireland, Florence O'Donoghue Papers, MS 31,150 (Dublin).

began in 1918 with localised incidents initiated by the volunteers of the district. It intensified throughout 1919 as Sinn Fein leaders began to call publicly for a boycott beginning with Eamonn de Valera's speech to the second session of Dáil Éireann in April 1919. The boycott of the RIC became official policy of the IRA under a GHQ order of 4 June 1920 which stated

'Volunteers shall have no intercourse with the RIC and shall stimulate and support in every way the boycott of this force ordered by the Dail. Those persons who associate with the RIC shall be subjected to the same boycott, and the fact of their association with and toleration of this infamous force shall be kept public in every possible way. Definite lists of such persons in the area of his command shall be prepared and retained by each company, battalion and brigade commander.'

The enforcement of this order throughout the country was mixed, depending on the strength of the local IRA unit, but it had a major impact on the morale and effectiveness of the RIC. Overall, the boycott does not appear to have been enforced in Waterford. In one of the few oral testimonies of the RIC men, Constable Ernest Brookes who was stationed at Ballyduff Upper recalled:

'Ballyduff was alright. They (the locals) were all friendly, and there was just the very odd one that would take no notice of you ... the boycott had no effect in Ballyduff, not one bit. No trouble getting a pint in the pub ... you could walk, go down, go into a shop, you could buy what you wanted, nobody interfered with you'.¹⁴

Even though the barracks at Ballyduff was attacked on a number of occasions and a patrol ambushed with one constable killed, Brookes was definite that 'it was the outsiders that would have made the attacks, not the locals'.

The IRA also decreed a boycott of the crown courts and Petty Sessions. In this instance the boycott seems to have been much more effective. In the Summer of 1921 prospective jurors were warned that

'To obey such summons will be considered an act of treason against the Irish Republic, and you are hereby warned that you will do it at your peril!'

Understandably, very few jurors put in an appearance and the summer assizes had to be abandoned. The collapse of the crown court system and the parallel rise of the republican courts further undermined and destabilised the British Administration.

The military forces were far more self-contained and insulated from the populace and, hence, less susceptible to the effects of boycott. Nevertheless, passive resistance to the army developed in 1920 and Waterford played a leading part. In May of that year, dockers in Dublin port refused to unload military supplies from a

14 John D. Brewer (1990) *The Royal Irish Constabulary – An Oral History* (Belfast) pp. 72 and 111.

cargo vessel, the *Anna Dorette Boog*. Although a detachment of Royal Engineers intervened and unloaded the vessel, the material then lay on railway wagons when the railwaymen refused to handle it.¹⁵ The action spread throughout the country and took a new form when, on 14 June, a driver at Waterford, John Condon of Ferrybank refused to take out a train with 120 men of the Devonshire Regiment on board.¹⁶ The driver was dismissed instantly. Within two weeks a further five drivers and three guards had been dismissed. By 9 July twenty drivers and thirty four guards, porters and firemen had been sacked. The Waterford Workers' Council rallied to their support and organised weekly collections for the men and their families. By 26 November almost £6,000 had been collected in the city.¹⁷ The railwaymen's strike had a major impact on the army. Major General Jeadwine, commanding the 5th Division, warned that a stoppage of the railway system would have a catastrophic effect on military communications. In a remarkably quick time the authorities climbed down and announced that the railways would no longer be used for transporting arms, ammunitions, explosives or fuel. They also declared that only small parties of troops on non-operational duties (e.g. leave parties) would use rail transport. As a major rail centre the commercial life of Waterford city was heavily impacted upon by the dispute. Services to and from the city were disrupted and by September there was only one daily passenger service to Dublin – via-New Ross and Macmine Junction. By the winter of 1920 the transport situation had returned to normal, but not all the dismissed men were reinstated.

There is another measure of popular support – money contributed to the Dáil loan. In May 1919, the Dáil authorised Michael Collins, Minister for Finance to 'issue Republican Bonds to the value of £250,000'. This was the first of a series of Dáil Loans and the money was raised on a constituency basis. The amounts raised varied from East Limerick (£32,285) to the strongly Unionist mid-Antrim (£162). Waterford city contributed £636, the lowest of any constituency outside of Ulster.¹⁸ This undoubtedly reflected the comparative weakness of the Sinn Fein organisations in the city.

An alternative measure of the effectiveness of violence is to trace the activities of the targets of that violence, in this case the crown forces. Throughout the conflict the level of forces deployed in the Waterford area remained almost constant. As the British army poured reinforcements into the country in 1921, these were deployed to counties like Cork, Limerick and Tipperary and to Dublin City. No additional units were sent to Waterford. The IRA estimated that, apart from the Kerry No. 1 Brigade, Waterford units faced the least number of enemy forces (555

15 Charles Townshend (1979) 'The Irish Railway Strike of 1920: Industrial Action and Civil Resistance in the struggle for Independence', *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. XXI, No. 83, pp. 265-82.

16 *Munster Express*, 16 June, 1920; *Waterford News*, 25 June, 1920.

17 *Waterford News*, 15 December, 1920.

18 Arthur Mitchell (1995) *Revolutionary Government in Ireland, Dail Eireann 1919-22*, (Dublin) pp. 63-4

army, 187 RIC, 37 marines and significantly none of the feared auxiliaries).¹⁹ On 5 January 1921 martial law was extended to Clare, Waterford, Kilkenny and Wexford but the effectiveness of this measure is not clear. Under martial law a proclamation was issued in Waterford on Wednesday 12 January preventing the use of motor-cars, motorcycles or pedal cycles except by permit and forbidding their use totally between 8.00 p.m. and 6.00 a.m. Other restrictions followed as the government tried to stop IRA couriers and despatch riders but these were largely of no real benefit to the police or army.

The actions of the IRA in Waterford were not without loss to themselves.^{20,21} In January 1921, the West Waterford Flying Column moved into east Waterford and in conjunction with the local unit prepared an elaborate ambush at Pickardstown, near Tramore. In the fighting that followed on 7 January, two volunteers, Michael McGrath and Thomas O'Brien were killed in action. Pat Keating and Sean Fitzgerald were shot and killed on 18 March when they returned to the scene of the ambush at Burgery to collect ammunition and equipment. Although the East Waterford Brigade did not mount any large scale action after Pickardstown, they continued to harass the RIC and British army by blocking roads, etc. In the course of one such action John O'Rourke was shot by the British army near Holy Cross, Butlerstown. The last man killed in action was John Cummins who was shot by the soldiers during the Ballyvoile ambush. He was not the last to die. Two days before the truce six men, mostly local civilians, were killed when a mine exploded by accident.

In addition to the risk of death on active service, IRA members and sympathisers ran the daily risk of arrest, interrogation and imprisonment, with or without trial. While most of those arrested were released after a few hours and days, or were fined sums of money for contravening any of the many petty regulations, it is estimated that up to forty active members of Sinn Fein were imprisoned or interned for the duration of the conflict.

Comparison – Waterford and its neighbours

Comparative indicators of violence are presented in Table 5 and these show that the greatest contrast is between Kilkenny and Wexford on one hand, and Cork and Tipperary on the other. As might be expected Waterford was in the middle, half way between the quiescent east coast and rebel Cork. This is particularly obvious when allowance is made for population differences.

A rough summary would estimate that Waterford was twice as violent as Kilkenny and Wexford but witnessed only half the level of militant activity of Cork or Tipperary. This is also reflected in the consequences to the IRA. The number of Waterford men killed in action was half that of the adjoining Cork No. 4 Brigade.

This trend becomes more marked when one considers that most of the revolutionary violence in Waterford took place in the west of the county. East Waterford

19 O'Donoghue Papers, MS. 31,213.

20 Sean and Sile Murphy, *The Comeraghs*, pp. 27-44.

21 Nioclas de Fuiteoil (1948) *Waterford Remembers* (Waterford National Graves Association, East Waterford) pp. 20-25.

Table 5 – Indicators of Violence

	Waterford	Wexford	Kilkenny	Tipperary	Cork
Significant I.R.A. operations 1919-1921	14	8	8	55	136
Deaths of R.I.C. 1916 - 1921	7	3	4	43	96
Significant I.R.A. operations/10,000 of population	1.7	0.8	1.1	3.8	3.5
Deaths of R.I.C./10,000 of the population	0.8	0.3	0.5	2.8	2.4
1917-1919 I.R.A. violence/10,000 of the population	0.5	0	0	0.6	0.6
January 1920 - July 1921 I.R.A. violence/10,000 of the population	2.4	2	2.4	8.8	15.4

Source: University College Dublin, Mulcahy Papers, P7/A/38.

and the city were much akin to Kilkenny and Wexford while the west resembled East Cork and South Tipperary. This differentiation within a county was not unique to Waterford. Throughout the same period Longford was equally divided – the north of the county was republican and a centre of militant activity while the South remained a stronghold of the Irish Parliamentary Party and comparatively quiet.

The figures for IRA violence shown in Table 5 also demonstrate the comparative escalation of violence. From 1917 to 1919 Waterford was on a par with Cork or Tipperary. As violence escalated into full scale guerrilla warfare, Waterford was slow to make that transition. Kilkenny and Wexford were even slower. Why this should be so and some of the reasons for differences in levels of violence are explored in the next section.

The Reasons Why

For the IRA Commanders the reason for a lack of activity in any area was very simple – 'slackers', i.e. volunteers who 'share in the reflected glory of achievements elsewhere, while themselves neglecting to do their own share of work'.²² When *An t-Oglach*, journal of the IRA, berated other areas for letting Munster do most of the fighting it certainly would not have included East Waterford in 'Munster'. Michael

²² *An t-Oglach*, 1 May, 1920.

Collins himself lost no opportunity for abusing 'backward' commanders. GHQ was firmly of the opinion that the real cause of the inactivity of the East Waterford Brigade was the leadership. In 1921 they decided to act. Both Waterford Brigades were to be combined as one with the following officer cadre:

Comdt. P. Whelan	(formerly Comdt. West Waterford Brigade)
Vice Comdt. G. Lennon	(formerly Vice Comdt. West Waterford Brigade)
Adjutant P. O'Donnell	(formerly Adjutant West Waterford Brigade)
Quartermaster -	(formerly Q.M. East Waterford Brigade)
Intelligence Officer -	(formerly Adjutant East Waterford Brigade)
Training Officer – P. Paul	(formerly Comdt. East Waterford Brigade)

Mindful of local pride and susceptibilities the reorganisation was clearly aimed at creating a balance between the two units. The lesson of North Kerry was taken on board. There, when a popular local brigade commandant was replaced by a man from another county, the effect had been totally counter-productive and the fighting records of the brigade declined further. Nevertheless the amalgamation and subsequent demotion of some officers left a bitter taste.

Clearly, local leadership was important. When the legendary Sean Mac Eoin was arrested the level of violence in Longford declined precipitately as the local flying column went into abeyance. There was a similar story in the Killenaule area of Tipperary following the death of Thomas O'Donovan the leading local IRA officer. But leadership, or the absence of it, while essential was clearly not the only factor. The men on the ground took a different view from headquarters. The most common complaint was of a lack of arms, especially rifles. Shotguns were plentiful but of limited use. In April 1921, the adjutant of the South Mayo Brigade wrote to Richard Mulcahy, IRA Chief of Staff saying

'We have material here from a man-power point of view good enough to make the place hot as hell men I believe as good as any in Ireland. But we have absolutely no stuff'.²³

Mulcahy's reply told him bluntly that he should go and capture the 'stuff' from the enemy. The poor mouth was a convenient excuse but one that does not stand up to examination. Documents in the O'Donoghue papers enable a limited comparison to be made at the time of the truce.

Table 6 shows that, in comparison with the other brigades, the IRA in Waterford had sufficient manpower and arms.

The other reason put forward to excuse a lack of activity was the terrain. That open countryside was supposed to inhibit the activities of the Flying Columns. Michael Brennan, Commander of the East Clare Brigade wrote of the 'impossibility of campaigning under present circumstances in level country'.²⁴ Similarly the

23 Mulcahy Papers, P7/A/29. University College Dublin.

24 University College Dublin, Mulcahy Papers, P7/A/26.

Table 6. Comparative Strengths – At the Truce - July 1921

	Combined Waterford Brigade	Cork No. 3 Brigade	Cork No. 4 Brigade	Kerry No. 1 Brigade	Kerry No. 2 Brigade
<u>Manpower</u>					
Officers	232	197	214	229	198
Men	2,304	2,808	2,044	3,860	3,200
<u>Arms</u>					
Rifles	50	63	70	60	50
Machine Guns	-	1	1	1	-
Revolvers	45	52	75	40	40
Grenades in stock	250	500	700	200	180

Source: O'Donoghue Papers, MS. 31,213

Commander of the South Roscommon Brigade attributed his lack of action to the fact 'that the country is almost one vast plain with scarcely one bit of cover'.²⁵ Interestingly, the equally flat countryside of Longford, just across the Shannon, did not seem to inhibit Sean Mac Eoin. The view that mountainous or rough country favoured and indeed promoted violence was shared by the British Army. The historian of the 6th Division of the British army wrote

'It was indeed noticeable that areas in and around mountains were most disaffected.'²⁶

The concept is plausible but not tenable. At first consideration guerrillas should be more at home and less likely to be captured in rugged terrain. Moreover, such country should lend itself to good ambush sites. But the facts show that it is not tenable. Donegal and Wicklow, the two most mountainous counties, were not very violent; Limerick and East Cork, characterised by rich farmland, were. Waterford with its combination of fertile plains and mountain ranges offered both types of terrain. Neither seem to have had any influence.

In addition another variable needs to be considered – the degree of urbanisation, i.e. the extent of town or city dwelling in the county. Here again we must distinguish myth from reality. Dr. David Fitzpatrick has written that

'Irish nationalism was above all a rural preoccupation. Its most violent manifestations, such as the Land War of the 1880s and the War of Independence of 1920-1921 were concentrated in the countryside where soldiers and police were less prevalent, neighbours more inclined to shelter outlaws, and nights blacker.'²⁷

His analysis would seem to confirm the beliefs of many IRA commanders who believed that 'the country was always ahead of the towns' and that towns were 'the

25 Mulcahy Papers, P7/A/26.

26 Strickland Papers, Irish Rebellion 1916-1921, p. 4.

27 D. Fitzpatrick, *Geography of Irish Nationalism*, p. 423.

organizing centres of evil'. However, on closer analysis, this thesis does not stand up. It is unfair to include, as Fitzpatrick does, the Land War in any comparison since that was fought on a rural agenda (though with support from townspeople) and by its nature took place in a rural setting. To state that urban areas did not contribute to the War of Independence is to ignore the major contribution made by the Dublin Brigade and the Cork city units. Almost twenty per cent of British losses occurred in the cities of Cork and Dublin. As with every other variable it is impossible to generalise. Dublin and Cork cities were to the fore, while the cities of Limerick, Galway and Waterford lagged behind.

Other possible reasons such as presence of a Unionist minority, number of Irish speakers, occupations of volunteers, or the history of agrarian disturbance do not stand up to a sustained analysis and one can only conclude that the county area was unique in its contribution to the War of Independence. Indeed, the real question might well be why there was a difference between East Waterford and West Waterford.

East and West Waterford – Different Struggles

By the summer of 1921 West Waterford was heading towards a more active part in the War of Independence. The West Waterford Brigade had demonstrated its ability to mount relatively largescale operations such as the ambushes at Burgery (19 March) and Ballyvoile (6 June). It had the leadership, the manpower and the arms. It also had the active support of the neighbouring units in Cork. The level of violence had not yet attracted an overwhelming response from the British forces. Indeed, this combination of a well organised active IRA unit but comparatively low level of British army posts made it the ideal location for the proposed gunrunning operation. It is no wonder, therefore, that in May 1921 IRA GHQ decided to transfer the landing point from Glandore in West Cork to Helvick.

A number of Waterford volunteers were on the run and a full-time active service unit or 'flying column' had been formed. At a time when pressure from the crown forces had forced the disbandment of some fulltime IRA units, this development would surely have led to a further escalation in IRA activity but for the coming into effect of the Truce on 11 July 1921. West Waterford was no different in effect than the rest of Munster, the only issue was the pace at which IRA activity escalated into full-scale guerrilla warfare. This was often dependent on the level of support within the community for such action. It was rarely reached in one step, rather in a series of steps as violence and counter-violence increased. The interplay between community support and the wishes of the leadership is an iterative process. Local support for limited action can throw up leadership, a leadership which in turn moulds and directs the pattern and form that action will take. This cycle will continue in an escalating form until counteraction effectively breaks the cycle. If the leader and the community are not in harmony the resultant dissonance will effectively paralyse the movement and inhibit any action.

Further escalation of guerrilla activity in West Waterford would have been aided by the IRA policy of extending the conflict. At a meeting held in Cork, in

January 1921, at which the three Cork Brigades, Tipperary No.2 and No.3 Brigades and the East Limerick Brigade were represented, the officers present decided

'To offer GHQ an unarmed Flying Column of 20 men from each two brigades, i.e. three Flying Columns of 20 men each, to be armed by GHQ and sent by them to inactive areas.'²⁸

The response of GHQ to this proposal is not known but when brigades were grouped into divisions, Liam Lynch the Commanding Officer of 1st Southern Division, which included Waterford, was determined to extend the conflict.

East Waterford was indeed different! In the Ireland of 1919-1921 Waterford City was unique. It was unique in two ways. Firstly, and most notably, it was the Irish Parliamentary Party's sole surviving stronghold outside of Ulster. Indeed, the constituency's remarkable support for the Redmond political dynasty continued until the death of Mrs. Brigid Redmond in 1932.

Of equal if not more significance was the growing strength of the Labour movement in Waterford city and its rural hinterland. As one of only four counties in Ireland with more than two labourers for every farmer, even rural Waterford was a fertile recruiting ground for trade union activists.²⁹ Figures quoted by Emmet O'Connor show the spread and strength of the ITGWU in county Waterford. The branch structure of the union throughout the county, but especially in the east, provided an alternative social and political structure to the Sinn Fein clubs that dominated in the rest of the country. The urban district council elections held in January 1920 showed that working class solidarity extended to the political field and into the west of the county. In Dungarvan labour candidates won three of the fifteen seats on the Council and in Lismore two out of nine.

In this period labour strength in the city also grew. Reflecting their drift to the left and growing power, the city Trades Council renamed itself the 'Waterford and District Workers Council'. 1919 and 1920 saw relatively high levels of industrial conflict in the city, most of which was successful in winning significant wage increases for the workers. As in the county the labour movement took an active part in politics. At a Labour Party Conference to decide on an electoral strategy for the General Election of 1918, the Waterford delegates unsuccessfully opposed the motion to abstain in the contest. The first opportunity came with the local elections. Labour candidates won three seats on the Corporation while three more trade unionists were elected on the Sinn Fein ticket.

This election also showed that Redmondism was still strong in the city. While Sinn Fein (including trade union activists) won twenty of the forty seats on the City Council, supporters of John Redmond held onto fourteen seats. Two aspects of this poll are important. Firstly, it was held on a more restricted franchise than that of the General Election of 1918, and favoured property holders. Secondly, it was the first election to be held under Proportional Representation, aimed to ensure that seats won reflected votes cast and avoid the type of landslide victory

28 O'Donoghue Papers, MS. 31, 216.

29 Emmet O'Connor (1989) *A Labour History of Waterford* (Waterford) p. 143.

that Sinn Fein had won in 1918. The turnout in the city was 6,460 (75% of those entitled to vote) and there were only 104 (1.6%) spoilt votes. The retention by the old Irish Party of 14 seats (35%) compares with a national figure of 16% of the non-Unionist seats for all shades of nationalists excluding Sinn Fein. Labour was disappointed by its comparatively poor showing in the city but buoyed up by its performance in the town councils, especially Lismore where, as the *Munster Express* reported 'From the start it was a foregone conclusion that Labour would lead the poll.'³⁰

Elections the following June to the County Council are far less informative. Conscious of the setback of the January elections, Sinn Fein ruthlessly ensured that in many areas their candidates were unopposed. In Waterford some voting regions were faced with a combined Sinn Fein/Labour ticket. All Labour candidates had signed the 'Republican Pledge' and some of them described themselves as 'Republican-Labour'. It is no wonder then that the new County Council was composed entirely of Sinn Fein and Labour, with the latter supporting Sinn Fein in every respect.

The interaction of politics and labour activism in Waterford reached its climax with the 'Waterford Soviet' in April 1920. In support of republican hunger strikers in Mountjoy the Trade Union Congress called a general strike. In Waterford the Workers Council coordinated strike action that shut down all business activity and effectively took over the running of the city. Their actions made newspaper headlines all over the British Isles and the *Manchester Guardian* reported that a delegation of southern unionists had met Andrew Bonar Law, then leader of the Conservative Party which was part of Lloyd George's Coalition Government (although he was not at this time a member of the cabinet, Bonar Law was widely recognised as the power behind the throne). The newspaper report stated:

'A member of the deputation gave a full account of happenings in Waterford under Soviet Government. The city, he states, was taken over by a Soviet Commissioner and three associates. The Sinn Fein mayor abdicated, and the Soviet issued orders to the population which all had to obey. For two days, until a telegram arrived reporting the release of the hunger strikers, the city was in the hands of these men.'

For three days the city was in a state of revolutionary favour. Newspaper reports tell of

'large bodies of pickets, many armed with sticks marching through the city in military formation, enforcing the strike.'³¹

Huge crowds gathered outside City Hall to listen to speeches while the proceedings invariably ended with the singing of 'The Red Flag'!

The government quickly capitulated and released the hunger strikers. The Workers Council handed control of the city back to the mayor, Dr. Vincent White,

30 *Munster Express*, 24 January, 1920.

31 *Waterford News, Munster Express*, April 1920.

who afterwards congratulated the 'Soviet Government of Waterford on a very effective, masterly and successful administration'. Although there were elements of stage-management about the 'Waterford Soviet' it did demonstrate the power of organised labour in the city and its hinterland. In the words of Emmet O'Connor

'By 1921, the workers had created a powerful Labour movement in Waterford, syndicalist in structure, socialist in ideology.'³²

With the middle-class and the farmers remaining loyal to Redmond and the attention of the workers firmly focussed on the cause of labour, it is no wonder that Sinn Fein struggled to make an impact in the city. IRA activity in the city was generally of a minor harassing nature. In an area which had high recruitment to the British Army during the World War, and consequently a large number of families which had lost a husband or son, it is little wonder that the IRA failed to make headway. No exhortation from GHQ or reorganisation would have been likely to effect that.

In any society there is a limited number of activists and natural leaders. In Waterford city most of these were either defenders of the *status quo* (Redmondites) or socialists. The latter were the men and women who in other parts of the country were leading the nationalist revolution. In Waterford they were fighting a different struggle – a struggle that would reach its climax with the great farm labourers strike in 1922 and 1923, and which required all the apparatus of the new Free State, including a specially formed Infantry Corps of the army, to crush it.

When the cause of Labour and the cause of Ireland came together, Waterford city was to the fore. When they diverged both causes suffered, militant nationalism more so than socialist activism.

32 Emmet O'Connor (1980) 'Agrarian Unrest and the Labour Movement in County Waterford, 1917-1923', *Saothar*, No. 6, p. 55.

Roinnt Seanchais Stairiúil Ó Mhichéal Turraoin (Maidhc Dháith), An Rinn, Co. Phort Láirge

le Martin Verling

SAOL NA SPAILPÍNÍ AGUS NA SCLÁBHAITHE

Mé Féin in Aimsir¹

I dtosach mo shaoil nuair a chuas ag obair an chéad uair go dtí feirmeoirí ní raibh mé ach deich mbliana dh'aos agus chuaigh mé ag obair ar phúnt sa mbliain.

Bhíodh baraille uisce ón tobar agam fé a mbíodh sé ina lá ar maidin agus ba crúite agus gamhna fritheáilte agus mo bhroiceast ite agam le solas coinnle.

Tháinig an saol thimpeall ansan go bhfuair mé scilling sa tseachtain, dhá scilling sa tseachtain, agus arán tíortha agus gruth – meidhg ó bhainne gach aon mhaidean. Agus shíl na sclábhaithe go rabhadar go maith as nuair a fuairadar é sin agus prátaí agus iasc goirt chun a ndinnéir.

Thug mé trí bliana ar an imeacht san agus nuair a bhí na trí bliana caite agam is dócha gur tháinig rud beag meas agam orm fhéin gur shíl mé go raibh mé áblata ar m'agha' a thabhairt ar rud éigin níba fhearr. Chuaigh mé síos go Baile Uí Bhaoill go dtí fear dos na Cadhlaigh agus bhíodh arán tíortha agus *coffee* gach aon mhaidean ansan agus leite mhin tíortha, agus leamnacht istoíche, agus prátaí agus iasc um eadra. Agus fuair mé cheithre scillinge sa tseachtain ansan.

Agus bhíodh bróga á ndéanadh age fear ón Charraig i gCoill 'ic Thomáis Fhinn a dtugaimís bróga na Carraige orthu, agus bhíodh peidhre dhíbh san le fáil ar deich scillinge. Thug mé bliain nó dhó ansan agus chuaigh mé as san go dtí Aonach na Bealtaine agus ní raibh aon aonach cailíní ná buachaillí i gCoill 'ic Thomáis Fhinn ón lá san ó shoin – shin é an t-aonach déanach a bhí ann age buachaillí agus age cailíní. Agus bheadh a chomhartha ar siúl ag gach éinne – bheadh an bhuarach age'n chailín agus bheadh an córda nó an srian i ndorn an fear a bheadh ábalta ar

1 Bailithe ag Caoimhín Ó Danachair (ar chéirín) 1948: Uimh. Thag. C.B.É. M0015-18.

Aonach na Bealtaine: Bhíodh an t-aonach seo ar siúl ar an 12ú Bealtaine in Coill 'ic Thomáis Fhinn, Co. Phort Láirge (CBÉ S650:273). Bhíodh saoire ag na seirbhísigh ón lú go dtí an 12ú Bealtaine agus bhíodh ana-chuid ragairne ar siúl acu. Dúirt an faisnéiseoir céanna gur chuir Easpag Phort Láirge deireadh ar fad leis an aonach haidhreála ach gur leanadh ar aghaidh leis an ngnáth-aonach in Cill 'ic Thomáis Fhinn (Ibid., 274). Chun eolas cruinn, coimsitheach a fháil ar stair agus ar bhéaloideas na spailpíní féach O'Dowd, A., *Spalpeens and Tattie Hokers - History and Folklore of the Irish Migratory Agricultural Worker in Ireland and Britain*, (Baile Átha Cliath: Irish Academic Press, 1991).

Is le caoinchead Cheann Roinn Bhéaloideas Éireann atá an t-ábhar seo á fhoilsiú.



Michéal Turraoin

treabhadh a dhéanadh. Agus cheisteofaí thú cad a bhí tú inniúil ar a dhéanadh – an raibh tú ábalta ar ba a dh’ aodhaireacht, agus an raibh tú ábalta ar tithe a ghlanadh, agus an raibh tú ábalta ar prátaí a bhaint, agus an raibh tú ábalta ar ceangal a dhéanadh, agus mar seo.

Fuair mé trí phúint déag sa mbliain ansan ó fear des na Ceonaigh ó Bhaile Uí Dhubhain. Thug mé bliain eile ina fhochair sin.

Thug mé m’ aghaidh aníos ar an tsean-áit aríst, ar Dhonn Garbhán,² agus thit mé isteach le feirmeoir i nDonn Garbhán thall ti’ an tobac agus shocraigh mé leis. Thiomáininn é fhéin, a bhean agus a bheirt iníon go dtí an Aifreann, go dtí an séipéal mór go Donn Garbhán gach aon mhaidean Domhna ’dtí an chéad Aifreann. Agus nuair a thagainn abhaile ón chéad Aifreann Dé Domhna, na prátaí a bhíodh chun mo dhinnéir Dé Sathairn agam bhídís insa tinteán á dtéamh dom ar maidin Dé Domhna nuair a thiocfainn ón chéad Aifreann, agus billeog gabáiste glas. Dh’ imínn liom agus chaithinn tithe agus ba agus stáblaí agus gach aon rud a ghlanadh amach chomh dian is a chaithinn a dhéanadh Dhé Luain – gur tháinig mé aníos go dtí an Seana-Phobal aríst.

Agus shocraigh mé síos insa Seana-Phobal. Shin é an chéad uair a tháinig an choróin sa tseachtain amach agus ní hé gach aon fhear a gheobhadh an choróin sa tseachtain – gheobhadh fear sa ngeimhreadh cheithre scillinge agus fear a bheadh i ndiaidh capall, thitfeadh amach go bhfaigheadh sé an choróin go dtí go dtiocfadh Lá Fhéil Pádraig. Agus nuair a thiocfadh Lá Fhéil Pádraig is ea a thosnaítaí ... is beag a mbíodh aon téagar prátaí curtha acu ’dtí ’dtiocfadh Lá Fhéil Pádraig. Gheobhfá an scilling sa ló ansan ag cur na bprátaí. Agus más fear thú ná raibh ag obair coitianta i dtigh an fheirmeora gheobhfá trí raolacha, an lá a bheadh inniúil ar iad a chur, agus an lá ná beadh, tú a dh’ fhuireach sa mbaile. Bheadh cróca bainne le fáil aged’ bhean má bheadh sí ag teacht ag crú ba – cúig nó sé bha a chrú gach aon mhaidean, agus cúig nó sé cheannaibh gach aon oíche, agus crúiscín bainne géir a thabhairt di a thabharfadh sí abhaile ’dtína leanaí.

Agus deir buachaillí óga na tíorach liomsa inniu nach aon tsaol maith athá acu. Ach is dóigh liomsa air³ athá siad ag éirí inniu go bhfuil siad ag dul amach fé dhéin lá saoire seochas mar a bhí an saol nuair a bhí mé fhéin ag imeacht.

Saol na Spailpíní⁴

Chonac mé fearaibh agus mná ag cuir cuíreacha⁵ go leor ar phunanna arbhair ar tír raolacha agus ar bheagán cothaithe ná ar bheagán meas, agus tá naoi scillinge inniu acu agus a ndóthaint le n-ithe agus le n-ól agus meas dá réir orthu. Baochais⁶ le Dia agus leis an Rialtas a tháinig go hÉire chughainn go bhfuair amair Seán Buí agus a chuid dlithe a dhíbirt.

2 < i nDún Garbhán - Donn /daun/ a deirtear

3 < nuair

4 Bailithe ag Seosamh Ó Dálaigh (le Edifón) M. Fómhair 1945: C.B.É. 977:470-71.

5 < cuibhreacha

6 < buíochas

N'fheadaraíodar cathain a bhíodar ag góilt⁷ ná scur, go minic amuigh roimh lá agus na rámhainne féna gcuisle acu ag fuireach go n-imeodh an réilthín den aer chun solas a dh'fháil ar na prátaí chun dul á mbaint agus cuid acu ag dul seacht agus hocht míle lena rámhainne go dtí an mbaile mór ag seasamh ar an tsráid a d'iarra a bpá a throid. Chonac mé dachad rámhann ar shráid Dhonn Garbhán aon oíche Domhnaigh amháin dem shaol agus cuid acu ag dul go Coiligeáin agus cuid acu ag dul go Clais Mhóir, cuid acu ag teacht dtí an Seana-Phobal, cuid acu ag dul 'dtí Baile Uí Bhaoill agus mar sin de. Ón Seana-Phobal agus ón Rinn [ba dh'ea iad].

Ba mhór an pá ó dheich scillinge go dtí dódhéag agus 'á mbeadh cúpla lá briste ar an tseachtain bhíodar gan dada agus chaitheadar a bheith sásta agus teacht abhaile dtína dtithe istoíche Dé Sathairn, b'fhéidir le cúig nó sé scillingí agus fear bocht ana-shásta teacht abhaile 'á bhfaigheadh sé peanta⁸ mór pórtair agus bullóg aráin a bheith ite aige le haghá' an bhóthair a chuir de. Bhíodh a méile ar maidin acu agen a hocht a chlog – ghlaofaí isteach orthu. Ní raibh aon fhear ag crú aon bhó an uair sin. Bhí na ba á dh'fhágaint ages na mná agus na fearaibh amuigh insa pháirc ó dh'éireoidís go luifídís. Ghlaofaí isteach orthu chun bord prátaí agus gráinne salainn agus cárt bhainne géir. Ghlaofaí meadrach⁹ orthu chun blúire iasc goirt agus práta agus cárt bhainne, agus an cleas céanna chun do shuipéir. Agus nuair a thabharfadh na prátaí, mias leitean istoíche agus arán agus bainne beirithe meadrach agus dul isteach 'on scioból ar easair thuí agus dul a chodladh agus beagán cnáimhseála ná gearán.

Pá Ghairbh agus Pá Ghairbhíní¹⁰

Fear, firín agus *fairandrum*, a dheireadh fear a bhí anso, Liam Ó Muiríosa, bhíodh sé ag dul ag obair ar an bhfómhar. Nuair a thagadh sé abhaile tráthnóna Dé Sathairn fiarthaítí dho dén pá a bhíodh thall Dé Domhna.

"Bhí pá ghairbh ann,
Agus pá ghairbh *Anderson*,
Agus pá ghairbhíní," a dheireadh sé.

Pá ghairbhíní, pá dhos na fearaibh gan mhaith. N'fheadair mé fén diabhal cad é an pá ghairbh *Anderson*. Pá ghairbh, sin pá dos na fearaibh mhaithe is dócha.

An Cipín mar Chúntas Aimsire¹¹

Ó, is cuimhin liom an t-am gurb é an cúntas a bhíodh age fear na hoibre, dhá chipín ag cumhad cúntais ar aimsir ó sheachtain go seachtain. Agus chuaigh sé [an buachaill aimsire] chomh dian ar a mhaighistir gur chuaigh sé go Donn Garbhán

7 < *gabháil*

8 < *pionta*

9 < *um eadra*

10 Bailithe ag Seosamh Ó Dálaigh (gan Edifón) Márta 1948: C.B.É. 1100:31.

11 Bailithe ag Nioclás Breatnach leis an Edifón [dáta bailithe míshoiléir (faighte 18 Aib. 1936)]: C.B.É. 150:48-50.

agus fuair sé oiread toradh ar an gcipín agus fuair an maighistir ar an leabhar. Ó sea, bhí an maighistir ag gearradh a phá agus ag déanadh amach ná raibh oiread laethanta tabhartha agus a bhí sé ag rá. Bhí an túrnae a bhí age'n maighistir, bhí sé ag dul ana-dhian air mar gheall ar an gcipín, agus nuair a dh'iarr an breitheamh an cipín a bhí age'n mbuachaill thug sé oiread toradh ar an gcipín is a thug sé ar an leabhar.

Obair sa Seanaimsir¹²

Tá fear sa Seana-Phobal a dtugann siad Tomás Cole air agus nuair a tháinig sé amach as an séipéal dúirt sé gob iontach an saol anois é; gur dh'éirigh sé maidin inniu agus ná feaca sé aon deatach amach as aon tigh agen a sé a chlog seochas an t-am a raibh sé fhéin ag imeacht; go raibh sé ag déanamh naoi lá gach aon tseachtain agus ná rabhadh a dhéanadh anois ach thimpeall ceithre lá gach aon tseachtain. Chaitheadh sé éirí ar deireadh na hoíche agus coinneal pingin a dhó ag bualadh chuige na mbeithíoch agus ag crú na mba agus a bhriscast ite aige fé a mbeadh solas an lae aige. Agus nuair a thioctadh sé isteach ar cheann na hoíche, chaitheadh sé trí bualadh aríst go dtí a naoi a chlog san oíche, agus ní mórán aimsire a bhí aige le haghá' rince.

Béarla á Labhairt síos amach¹³

Béarla a bhí á labhairt urmhór in gach aon tigh nuair a bhíos-sa síos amach go dtáinig mé 'dtí Baile Uí Bhaoill – bhí Gaelainn go leor ann. Níor dh'airigh mé mórán Gaelainne in aon áit eile gur tháinig mé thar nais.

BRÍONTA

Sean-Aontaí agus Bruíonta¹⁴

Sé an áit a mbíodh na haontaí fadó ná amuigh ar an tuaithe, Caisleán an tSlé, Crosaire Chadhla. Mar sin ar fuaid na tuaithe a bhíodh an t-aonach. Agus bhídís ag aeráil bhataí inairde ins na simnéithe ó haonach go haonach chun bheith sa troid. Agus sé an uair a tháinig an síocháin ach nuair a chuireadh na haontaí isteach 'dtís na bailthí móra. Bhí na gardaí ansan chun iad a *summons*áil agus síocháin a chur orthu.

Agus nuair a theastaíodh uathu an t-achrann a chur inairde: “Shidí an gabhar agus togha an aonaigh.”

“Shidé an gabhar,” a dheireadh an fear eile, “a chuirfeadh an *row* ar éigint.”

Sin é mar a thosnaídís an t-achrann lena chéile.

12 Bailithe ag Nioclás Breatnach (le Edifón) [dáta bailithe míshoiléir (faighte 18 Aib. 1936)]: C.B.É. 150:50.

13 Bailithe ag Nioclás Breatnach (le Edifón) 25/8/34: C.B.É. 150:254.

14 Bailithe ag Nioclás Breatnach (le Edifón) 25/8/34: C.B.É. 150:272.

Na Factions - Muintir an tSeana-Phobail agus Muintir na Gráinsí¹⁵

Bhí muintir an tSeana-Phobail fadó agus muintir na Gráinsí ana-mhór i gcoinne a chéile. Bhí Paróiste an tSeana-Phobail a dhéanadh amach go mb'fhearr d'fhearaihb a bhí sa Seana-Phobal ná mar a bhí sa nGráinsigh, agus bhí an Ghráinsigh a dhéanadh amach go mb'fhearr na fearaihb a bhí sa nGráinsigh ná a bhí sa Seana-Phobal.

Agus maidean Domhnaigh agus Aifreann Dé á léamh tháinig muintir na Gráinsí fé dhéin mhuintir an tSeana-Phobail a throid. Agus i mBaile an Aicéada is ea a bhí an séipéal an uair sin. Bhí an sagart ar an altóir ag léamh an Aifrinn nuair a tháinig muintir na Gráinsí. Agus bhí Pádraig Paor, a bhí i Móin a Gheamhais, agus Micil Paor, a bhí i gCarraig a Mhadra, agus Diarmaid Ó Arta, ar a nglúine istigh sa séipéal nuair a tháinig an scéala. Dh'éiríodar dena nglúine agus dh'fhágadar an sagart ar an altóir ina aonar agus dh'imíodar leo agus chuadar isteach ar an bpáirc agus throideadar istigh ar an bpáirc.

Agus nuair a bhí na bataí briste ar mhuintir an tSeana-Phobail bhí tí' beag ar thaobh an bhóthair. Phreabadar inairde ar an tigh agus nochtadar an tigh go dtíos na taobháin, agus stracadar na taobháin des na cúplaí agus siad na taobháin a ghaibh an lá dhóibh. Tháinig triúr ar anuas ar Dhiarmaid – mar ard-fhear ba dh'ea Diarmaid – tháinig triúr ar anuas air agus leagadh é agus nuair a bhí sé leagaithe tháinig bean agus bheir sí ar chloch agus bhuaíl sí anuas insa cheann é agus chuir sí ionad a chinn síos tríd an mbán, agus nuair a dh'éirigh sé thar n-ais is é a ghaibh an lá – 'sé a sheasaigh an chath. Bhí an Curraoineach Fada ón Sliabh – bhí sé ann –

15 Bailithe ag Caoimhín Ó Danachair (ar chéirnín) 1948: Uimh. Thag. C.B.É. M0015-18 (Insint 1).

Bhailigh Nioclás Breatnach an scéal seo, leis, ó Mhaidhc (le Edifón), 25/8/34: C.B.É. 150:265-68 (Insint 2), agus bhailigh Micheál Ó hAodha uaidh chomh maith é [M. Ó hAodha, Seanchas ós na Déisibh, *Béaloideas* 14 (1944):97-8] (Insint 3).

In Insint 1 glaonn an scéalaí 'muintir' na Gráinsí agus 'muintir' an tSeana-Phobail ar an dá dhream a bhí ag brúfón, ach in Insint 2 agus in Insint 3 glaonn sé 'cumann' na Gráinsí ar mhuintir na Gráinsí. In Insint 1 luann sé Micil Paor, Seán Paor agus Diarmaid Ó hArta a bheith páirteach sa bhruíon, in Insint 2 luann sé Seán Paor agus Diarmaid Ó hArta, ach in Insint 3 ní luann sé ach Diarmaid Ó hArta amháin. In Insint 2 agus 3 luaitear an logainm Páircín na Bruíne mar shuíomh don mbruíon ach ní luaitear in aon chor é in Insint 1. In Insint 1 níl aon tagairt don sagart, an tAthair Ó Treasaigh, a chuir an ola dhéanach ar Dhiarmaid Ó hArta, mar atá in Insint 2 agus 3. In Insint 2 nuair a dheineann an sagart tagairt dos na gearraíochas ar fad ar cheann Dhiarmaid, deireann Diarmaid: "Ése, b'in é an ceann cruaidh," agus in Insint 3 deireann sé: "Ba dh'in é an ceann lúbach láidir, a minios san agus ceann bog t'athar!" Tá tagairt don mbruíon áirithe seo in P. O'Donnell, *The Irish Faction Fighters of the 19th Century*, (Baile Átha Cliath: Anvil Books, 1975), l. 182.

Bhailigh Nioclás Breatnach roinnt seanchais mar gheall ar na bríonta seo chomh maith: *Carabhait agus Seanabheisteanna*, ó Pheats Cotters (73), Cill na bhFraochán ar an 1/1/36 [C.B.É. 252:202-6].

Chun a thuilleadh eolais a fháil mar gheall ar na bríonta seo i gCo. Phort Láirge feic Sylvester Murray, "Carabhats and Seanbheists," *Decies* 4 (1977): 9-12.

ag baint leis an nGráinsigh is ea a bhí sé – agus nuair a thug sé fé Dhiarmaid i gcúinne na páirce chrom Diarmaid féig sa tslí gur chuaigh sé féna chois agus ar an taobh eile bhóthar a stad sé amach dá cheann.

Bhí san go maith. Chuireadar an díbirt amach den pháirc orthu agus ar maidin Dé Domhna a bhí ina gceann bhí an sagart ag léamh an Aifrinn sa nGráinsigh. Nuair a bhíodar ag fágaint na Gráinsí ag teacht fé dhéin an chath a bheith acu sa Seana-Phobail séard a bhí chun a mbroiceaist acu ná reithe. Dh’iompaigh an sagart amach ar an althóir agus nuair a bhí an tAifreann léite aige:

“Ha há,” arsa sé, “dh’airigh mé gur bhaineadh an reithe as úr mbolg sa Seana-Phobal.”

Shin é an deireadh athá air.

Pilib Tincéir agus Diarmaid Ó hArta¹⁶

Bhí sé [Diarmaid Ó hArta] ina chónaí i mBaile an Aicéada agus ní raibh aon fhear ró-mhaith dho ar dhá bhata. Dhá bhata a bhíodh ag troid an uair sin acu agus dh’airíodh sé trácht ar Pilib Tincéir, gur ana-fhear é. Agus tháinig Pilib go dtí doras an halla an lá so go dtí é. Ní raibh aon aithne aige air agus dh’fhiarthaigh sé dhe céir dh’é:

“Mise Pilib Tincéir,” arsaigh Pilib.

“Minic a dh’airíos trácht ort ar t’fheabhas agus do thréineacht,” arsa Diarmaid.

Dh’imigh sé isteach fé dhéin a cheithre bhata agus thug sé amach na ceithre bhata agus chaith fé chosa Pilib iad, agus dúirt sé leis a thogha a bhaint astu. Thóg Pilib peidhre acu agus luíodar chun a chéile age doras an halla agus chuir Diarmaid síos é i ndia’ a chúil ’dtí Drochad Bhaile an Aicéada. Agus chuir Pilib aníos ’dtí doras an halla aríst é agus chaitheadar uathu na bataí agus bhí dinnéar acu i bhfochair a chéile. Agus níor admháil éinne acu ó shoin cé acu fear ab fhearr. Bhíodh na daoine a dhéanadh amach go mb’fhearr d’fhear Pilib mar bhí an fána age Diarmaid síos air agus chuir Pilib aníos thar n-ais i gcoinne an chnoic é.

16 Bailithe ag Nioclás Breatnach (le Edifón) 25/8/34: C.B.É. 150:268-70 (Insint 1). Bhailigh Seosamh Ó Dálaigh an scéilín seo, leis, ó Mhaidhc le Edifón, M. Fómhair 1945: C.B.É. 977:523-24 (Insint 2) agus bhailigh Mícheál Ó hAodha uaidh chomh maith é [M. Ó hAodha, “Seanchas ós na Déisibh,” *Béaloideas* 14 (1944):97] (Insint 3).

Tá Insint 1 agus 3 ana-dhealraitheach lena chéile ach tá Insint 2 i bhfad níos giorra ná iad. In Insint 2 ní tugtar aon bhreith ar cé a bhuaigh an bhrúon ach in Insint 1 agus 3 deirtear go bhfuil sé ráite go mb’fhéidir gur bhuaigh Pilib, mar gur chuir sé Diarmaid i gcoinne an chnoic agus go raibh an fána ag Diarmaid nuair a chuir sé Pilib i leith a chúil.

Bhailigh Nioclás Breatnach seanchas mar gheall ar Dhiarmaid Ó hArta, leis: Ó Liam Ó Néill (56), Ceann a Bhathla ar an 17/1/36 [C.B.É. 153:22-25]; Ó Mhicil Paor (63), Curraichín ar an 18/2/36 [C.B.É. 153:307-8]

ÁRTHAÍ BÁITE

Árthaí Báite sa Seanashaol¹⁷

“Tá sé sin ar an saol ó bhliain an *Jubilee*¹⁸.” Chailleadh ártach anso go dtugaidís an *Jubilee* uirthi. Is dócha gur chuimhin le m’athair é. Chailleadh ártach eile a dtugaidís an *Sarah Anne*¹⁹ uirthi. Ní cuimhin liomsa í. Is cuimhin liom an *Moresby*.²⁰ Ártach Rúise ba dh’ea í. Agus chailleadh an *Frenchman* ann - scunaeir ba dh’ea í – agus an *Dunvegan*.²¹

17 Bailithe ag Seosamh Ó Dálaigh (gan Edifón) Márta 1948: C.B.É. 1100:45-6.

18 **An *Jubilee*:** Bád an *Jubilee* i nDún Garbhán ar an 16/2/1838. Bhí sí ag taisteal ó Learphól go dtí Mobile. Edwards a bhí mar chaptaen uirthi.¹

I E. J. Bourke, *Shipwrecks of the Irish Coast Vol. 3, 1582-2000* (Baile Átha Cliath: An Chomhairle Oidhreachta, 2000), l. 70.

19 **An *Sarah Anne*:** Bád an *Sarah Anne* ar an 21/1/1862 i mBaile na Cúirte. Seán Mac Cárthaigh a bhí mar chaptaen uirthi agus bhí sí ar a treo ó Cardiff go dtí Port Láirge le last guail. Cailleadh an captaen agus ceathrar criú.¹

I E. J. Bourke, *Shipwrecks of the Irish Coast*, l. 197.

20 **An *Moresby*:** Mar seo a leanas a chuir Maidhc síos ar bhá an *Moresby* do Mhicheul Ó Cionfhaolaidh:

Tráthnóna an tríú lá fichead de Mhí na Nollag, san mbliain 1895, a tháinig an *Moresby* isteach i mbéal cuain Dhún Garbhán. Bhí leoithne maith láidir de ghaoith anoir aneas ann. Bhí a cuid seolta stractha, agus ba chosúil go raibh aimsear stailceach tar éis bualadh fúithi ar an bhfarrage. Cardiff d’fhág sí le last guail, agus is ag triall ar Mheirce Theas a bhí sí, má b’fhíor. Long iarainn breis agus míle tonna ba dh’ea í. Chuaigh sí ar ancaire san Ród Leathan, agus ní tuisce a chuaigh ná seo an bád tárrthála a bhí i mBaile na Cúirte thall chúichi, ach dúirt an Captaen ná raibh aon bhaol air, agus ná fágfadh sé fhéin ná an fhoireann an long. Chuaigh bád beag ó Dhún Garbhán chúichi leis, mar ní fhaca an dream sin an bád tárrthála, mar líon sé de cheo. Le linn na huair céanna tháinig long bheag dhá chrann isteach sa chuan, agus ba é áit ar chuaigh sí sin ar ancaire ná ar chúl an tí solais.

An dream a chuaigh chúichi san mbád beag roimhe sin, chuar de shiúl a gcos go Baile na Cúirte, agus dh’iarradar ar Chaptaen an bháid tárrthála dul i gcabhair ar an dream a bhí á mbá. Dúirt seisean ná raghadh, agus ansan ghlacadar seilbh le foiréigin insan mbád tárrthála, agus chuar chun na loinge, ach bhí cuid des na máirnéalaigh báite an uair sin, agus a thuilleadh acu a chaith iad féin sa bhfarrage fhaid leo go n-éireodh leo an tráigh do shroisint de shnámh, ach mo léir níor éirigh. Do shaor an bád tárrthála seachtar acu, ach fuair beirt acu san féin bás tar éis teacht i dtír dóibh. An dream a bhádh chaitheadh a gcoirp isteach ar an gCois athá idir an Rinn agus Dún Garbhán, agus a thuilleadh acu níos giorra dhúinn anso ar thaobh na Rinne. Chaitheadh an Captaen isteach ar an gCois agus leanbh cheithre blian go daingean docht ina bhaclainn aige. Tháinig a bhean i dtír anso ar thaobh na Rinne.

An dream acu a chaitheadh i dtír anso gairid dúinn thugadh a gcoirp go dtí tigh tábhairne sa Rinn, agus dheineadh iad a thórramh i dtigh lasmuigh a bhí ag baint leis. Ar chapail a thugadh go dtí an tigh tábhairne iad, agus mé féin agus fear dárbh ainm Pádraig Tóibín a thug isteach san áit ar thórraíodh iad, ina nduine is ina nduine. Ba thrua leat bheith ag féachaint orthu.

Fuair Captaen an bháid tarrthála i mBaile na Cúirte ana-mhilleán de chionn nár chuaigh sé i gcabhair orthu, agus tamall ina dhiaidh san dh'aistríodh an bád go dtí an Rinn.¹

Ar Oíche Nollag, 1895 a bád an *Moresby*. Long sheoil iarainn de 1,155 tonna meáchain ab ea í agus bhí sí ar thuras ó Cardiff go dtí Meirice Theas le 1,778 tonna guail. Bhí criú de 23 duine inti chomh maith le bean an chaptaein agus a leanbh. Sa tuarascáil a d'ullmhaigh an Bord Trádála sa bhliain 1896 dúradh gur bheir drochaim-sir ar an long agus gur lean sí scúnaer, an *Mary Sinclair*, isteach go Cuan Dhún Garbhán. Nuair a thug an fear i dTigh Solais Bhaile na Cúirte comhartha dhi a hancaire a chaitheamh amach deineadh rud air. Cheap an criú go raibh na cosa tugtha leo acu ansan de réir dealraimh, agus nuair a tháinig bád tarrthála Bhaile na Cúirte chuchu níor theastaigh uathu an long a thréigint. Idir an dá linn bhí an *Mary Sinclair* tar éis rith i dtír i gCluain Fhia ach sábháladh an criú. Theip ar an aimsir arís agus chuir captaen an bháid tharrthála comharthaí inairde ag glaoch ar an gcriú, ach níor thánadar. Tharraing an *Moresby* a hancaire agus chuaigh sí inairde ar Bhanc an Tí Ghil (*Whitehouse Bank*). Nuair a fuair radharc ar maidín uirthi bhí a cliathán leis an bhfarraige agus daoine le feiscint inairde sa chrannaíl. Ní fios cad ina thaobh nár tháinig an bád tarrthála ag fóirithint orthu. Níor éirigh leis na gardaí cósta téad a chur ar bord uirthi agus ar deireadh thug cuid den chriú féin bhfarraige ag snámh. Dhein an máta iarracht ar bhean an Chaptaein a shábháil agus thug an Captaen a leanbh isteach san uisce ina theannta féin. Bhí an taoide ag trá agus sciobadh amach chun na farraige an criú ar fad. Ar deireadh d'éirigh le muintir na háite seachtar a thógaint beo ón bhfarraige isteach i mbád, ach cailleadh beirt acu san. Fiche duine ar fad a cailleadh.²

1 M. Ó Cionnfaolaidh, *Beatha Mhichíl Turraoin maille le Scéalta agus Seanchas* (Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair, 1956) l. 102-3

2 J. Young, *A Maritime and General History of Dungarvan - 1690-1978* (Dún Garbhán, 1979), l. 43-5.

- 21 **An Dunvegan:** Agus dhein Maidhc cur síos ar bhá an *Dunvegan* do Mhicheul Ó Cionnaolaidh chomh maith:

Maidean lae an aonaigh i Mí an Eanair insan mbliain 1899 a tháinig an *Dunvegan* i dtír i bhFaill na gCaerach i mBaile Mhic Airt, agus míle tonna guail inti. Long trí gcrann ba dh'ea í, agus beirt agus fiche d'fhoireann uirthi.

Bhí fear ón Scibirín uirthi agus fear ó Chill Chainnigh agus fear ó Ros Mhic Threoin. Bhí an Captaen agus a bhean agus iníon uirthi. Bhuail sí an chloch timpeall a ceathair an mhaidean san, agus dh'airigh muintir Phaid Innseadúin an adharc dá séideadh, agus seo go barra faille iad. Chuadar síos san bhfaill, agus bhí an long chomh gairid sin don lán mara go bhfuair a foireann téad do chur go dtí an dream do bhí istigh. Is amhlaidh a dheineadar cábla ar an téad chaol, agus is mar sin a thugadh isteach é. Chuir an dream do bhí sa bhfaill cúpla gró sa talamh ansan, agus dheineadar an cábla orthu. Tháinig na máirnéalaigh isteach ar an téad ó láimh go láimh. Thugadh bean agus iníon an Chaptaein isteach i gciseán, agus chuadar go léir go dtí tigh Phaid Innseadúin agus fuair bia agus iostas ann. Thugadar dhá lá agus dhá oíche ann. Tháinig teachtaire éigin féna ndéin, agus dh'imigh na máirnéalaigh ar chearranna, ach dh'fhan an Captaen, a bhean agus a iníon cúpla lá eile. Mac an Chluig dob ainm don Chaptaen. Ciardubhán ba shloinne don chéad mháta, agus Mac Coinnich don dara máta. Bhí roinnt mhaith brannda uirthi, agus tháinig daoine ó Aird Mhóir chúichi nuair a chiúnaigh an aimséar, agus fonn orthu roinnt den ól do thabhairt leo aisti, ach bhí beirt pléirí ó

Árthach Báite agus Tigh Dóite²²

Bhí mé tráthnóna Mí na Féil Bríde ag obair ar bharr faille nuair a chonaic mé dhá árthach ag triall siar ar Mhionn Ard thimpeall a ceathair a chlog um thráthnóna. Agus bhí sé ag éirí chun gála - gaoth anoir aneas. Chuaigh ceann acu chun farraige agus choinnigh an ceann eile an taca siar díreach.

An oíche roimh an aonach ba dh'ea í agus dh'fhan mé i dtigh an fheirmeora chun a bheith ag dul le beithígh dtí an aonach dar ná mháireach.²³ Agus ar a dó a

Chrosaire Chadhla á faire agus gunnaí acu. Bhí duine acu ana-óg, agus bhíodh sé á rá le muintir Airde Móire fuireach amach ón loing. Bhí eagla ar an bpiléir eile go ndéanfadh sé díobháil éigin leis an ngunna, agus bhain sé dhe ar fad sa deireadh é. Chuireadh an long ar ceaint ansan. Fear a bhí ina chónaí i mBaile Uí Choinn a cheannaigh í, agus bhíodh sé ag tarraingt píosaí dhí leis gach aon lá le báid bheaga, ach níor fágadh í go léir aige. Fuair sé greim ar ghabha agus ar fheirmeoir lá ag tógaint rud éigin aisti, agus thug sé chun na cúirte iad. Bhíodar i bhfad ag fuireach in Aird Mhóir sarar thosnaigh an chúirt, agus gan greim ite acu ón dearg-mhaidin. Dúirt an feirmeoir leis an ngabha teacht go bhfaighdís deoch éigin.

“Ní bhfaighinn é a dh’ól, a mhic ó,” arsan gabha, “tá mo ghoile lán de dhlí.”

Dh’éirigh leo dul ón dlí ar chúpla scilling fíneála.¹

Dar le Young ba i Mí Eanair, 1898 a bádh an *Dunvegan*. Long sheoil de 980 tonna meáchain ab ea í. Bhí sí ar thuras ó Barry Dock in Cardiff go dtí New Orleans le 1,000 tonna guaíl agus roinnt earraí eile. Ba é George Bell ó Cheanada an captaen agus bhí a bhean agus a leanbh ar bord; ba é Rudolph Belmore ó nGearmáin an chéad mháta agus ba é an tUasal McKensie ó Nova Scotia an tarna máta. Bhí fear de mhuintir Bharréid ó Eochail ar bord uirthi chomh maith agus daoine ón Scibirín, ó Ros Mhic Threoin, agus ó Chill Chainnigh leis inti. Tháinig gach duine slán aisti agus ba ar Mhuintir Innseadúin (Nugent) ó Bhaile Mhic Airt a bhuíochas san.²

1 M. Ó Cionnfhaoilaidh, *Beatha Mhichíl Turraoin*, l. 110-12

2 J. Young, *A Maritime and General History of Dungarvan*, l. 30-1.

- 22 Bailithe ag Caoimhín Ó Danachair (ar chéirmín) 1948: Uimh. Thag. C.B.É. M0015-18.

Marechal de Noailles: Is í an *Marechal de Noailles* - a tháinig i dtír sa nGlinntín gairid do Mhionn Ard sa mbliain 1913 - an long atá i gceist anseo. Tá cur síos iomlán ar an eachtra seo agus ar an ndóiteán a lean í i dtigh Mhaidhc in *Beatha Mhichíl Turraoin*, l. 106-12.

Dominique Huet a bhí mar chaptaen ar an árthach seo¹. Bhí sí ag iompar last de earraí éagsúla (cóc, gual, clochaoil agus ábhar bóthar iarainn) ó Ghlaschú go dtí New Caledonia agus 24 duine de chriú ar bord uirthi. Bhí sé braite ag na gardaí cósta go raibh sí i mbaol agus chuireadar fios ar an mbád tarrthála in Heilbhic. Ba iad na gardaí cósta a chuir an téad chomh fada leis an long mar níorbh fhéidir leis an mbád tarrthála teacht in aon ghaobhar di. D’éirigh leo gach duine a thabhairt i dtír slán sábhálta le *breeches buoy*. Bhí seans Dé le criú an bháid tharrthála an baile a bhaint amach iad féin ar deireadh mar is in olcas a chuaigh an aimsir ina dhiaidh sin.²

1 E. J. Bourke, *Shipwrecks of the Irish Coast*, l. 200.

2 J. Young, *A Maritime History of Dungarvan*, l. 47-8.

- 23 < lá arna mhárach

chlog san oíche tháinig an tAthair Ó Sé ó Aird Mhóir agus an *Rocket*²⁴ agus a chuid fear isteach sa macha agus chuir sé as an leaba sinn. Chaitheamair stáblaí a dh'fháilt dos na capaill agus iad a chuir isteach, agus thimpeall a trí a chlog chuamair go barra faille agus bhí sí anairde ar an bhfaill, í fhéin agus ceathrar agus fiche fear agus iad ag béiceadh agus ag liúirigh mar a bheadh ... sé an tslí a thaibhríodar dúinn nach²⁵ mar a bheadh céis a bheadh ag liúirigh.

Chuireadh an chéad chábla ar bord uirthi ar a ceathair a chlog agus ceann ar a cúig, ceann ar a sé, ceann ar a seacht, agus ní bhfaighidís aon cheann acu a dh'oibriú - ní bhfaighidís dul dtíos na miasa. Ar a hocht a chlog ar maidin is ea fuaireadar breith ar an gcéad cheann agus é a chuir i bhfeidhm. Bhí an chéad fhear ar an talamh againn ar a deich; bhí an captaen ina sheasamh ar an drochad agus an gunna ina láimh ag cuir ordaithe – gach aon fhear d'réir mar a bhí sé goirithe, bhí sé le teacht ar dtúis sa chiseán. Bhí an *Rocket* ina dhá roinnt, taobh ag tabhairt amach an chiseáin folamh agus an taobh eile ag tabhairt isteach an chiseáin a mbeadh an fear istigh ann.

Ar a ceathair a chlog um thráthnóna bhí an fear déanach istigh againn ach an captaen agus an madra. Chrom sé ag stracadh a chinn nuair a bhí an fear déanach imithe uaidh agus é ag béiceadh. Chuir sé an madra roimhig²⁶ fhéin isteach sa chiseán ansan ar dtúis agus nuair a tháinig sé fhéin isteach bhíomair – le neart gleithreáin – mé fhéin agus buachaill des na Cathánaigh, ní raibh aon ghal tobac againn mar dhearúdamair an tobac le gleithreán an tsagairt chun teacht in aonacht leis: dhearúdamar na pópaí is an tobac insa mbaile.

“Thá gach aon rud istigh anois,” a dúirt mise, “ach an tobac.”

“Ó tobac,” arsaigh an Francach, ag déanadh comhartha go raibh sé imithe síos.

Bhí triúr acu agus a gceathrúna briste agus bhí beirt acu agus a riostaí briste, agus thuas tí Bhraonáin, fear an tsolais, is ea a bhíodar go léir istigh in seamra²⁷ ansan againn agus sinn ag baint díbh agus ag cuir umumpu.²⁸ Tháinig fear na seolta a dhéanadh a bhí ar bord uirthi, tháinig sé isteach sa seamra nuair a bhíodar lán a bheith réidh agam fhéin agus age Muiris Churraoin athá thall ar an *mButtery*. Bhí allas ag titim anuas díom mar a bheifeá ag caitheamh uisce orm le neart teais á nochtadh is ag cuir umumpu. Thug sé buidéal *rum* isteach agus roinn sé thimpeall ar a chuid fear istigh sa seamra é. Agus nuair a bhí sé óltha, gach éinne acu, deoch

24 **Rocket Cart:** Bhain na cartacha seo leis na Gardaí Cósta. Sa bhliain 1886 bhí 51 díobh ar chostaí na hÉireann. Ar a shon go mbíodh an trealamh fé chúram na nGardaí Cósta, go minic bhíodh cabhair dheonach ar fáil ón bpobal áitiúil. Bhíodh 25 duine ag teastáil chun an trealamh a oibriú. Ba é an trealamh a bhíodh ar bord na cairte ná: *Whip Block and Tally Board, Hawser Cutter, Heaving Cane and Line, Rocket Machine, Fuze Boz, Rocket, Whip, Hawser and Breeches Buoy, Cliff Ladder.*¹

¹ *Illustrated London News, Mí na Nollag, 1886.*

25 < *ach*

26 < *roimhe*

27 < *seomra*

28 < *umpu*

faighte acu go léir, leag sé an buidéal ar an mbord agus an ghloine agus níor dh'fholáir sé braon dom.²⁹ Tháinig Dochtúir Craen agus a bhean, go ndéana Dia trócaire orthu, agus nuair a tháinig sí sin isteach sa seamra, í fhéin agus bean Bhraonáin, dh'fhiarthaigh sí dhíom an bhfuair mé aon bhraon is dúirt mé léi ná fuair mé.

“Well, shin é an nós athá insa mBreathnaisc,” arsa sí. “Traeteálfaidh siad a muintir fhéin agus leagfaidh siad an buidéal agus an gloine ansan chun éinne eile, pé rud is maith leis a bheith aige gheobhaidh sé fhéin é bheith aige. Agus ní Francaigh in ao'chor iad,” a dúirt sí, “ach *Britons*,”³⁰ a thug sí orthu.

Tháinig an dochtúir agus chóirigh sé iad agus tháinig an cearr leabhair ansan agus chuadar isteach dtí an óspaidéal.

Hocht lá ina dhiaidh chuaigh mé síos go dtí barra faille maidin Sathairn agus fuair mé baraille lán d'ola istigh ar an tráigh agus shábháil mé ón taoide é. Nuair a tháinig mé abhaile go dtí mo bhroicest bhí mé ag nisint don ... fear an tí go raibh an bhaille thíos age'n bhfaill sábháltha agam. Agus dh'iarr na feirmeoirí ansan - mar ní bhfaighinn an baraille aníos go deo gan ligin leis an ola imeacht leis an bhfarráige nó gan teaca³¹ an baraille a ligin amach arís - dh'iarradar díom an dtarraingeoidís an ola. Dúirt mé leo í a tharraingt leo, agus chuaigh mé go Donn Garbhán le dhá ualach coirce agus nuair a tháinig mé abhaile chuaigh mé síos go dtí an tráigh fé dhéin an bhaille - bhí an ola go léir tarraingthe acu. Thug mé liom an baraille aníos agus bhí an oíche milltheach agus fána mór leis an áit a raibh mé im chónaí, agus 'á ligfí leis an mbaraille bhí sé imithe leis an bhfána síos sa sruth agus é briste.

Agus thit amach gur leag mé isteach in seamra nua a bhí déanta ar an tigh é. Tháinig buachaill des na comharsain isteach go bhfeicfeadh sé an baraille agus rug sé ar an gcoinneal do bhord na cistean, agus nuair a chuaigh sé 'dtí doras an tseamra tharraing an baraille splanc ón choinneal isteach sa mbaraille agus ba shin tigh trí thine. Thug mé leathuair a chloig ag lorg na leanaí go léir agus á gcuir amach, agus bhí éinne amháin den chlann gan fáil agam - an tara duine ba shine - ní raibh aon phioc de le fáil agam. Chuaigh mé tríd an tine trí huair agus i ndeireadh thiar tháinig casachtach éigin deatach a bhí á mhúchadh istigh fén leaba agus é casta in cuilt mná tí istigh fén leaba.

Agus nuair a fuair mé é a tharraingt amach ón leaba bhí mé chomh tabhartha is ná raibh mé ábalta ar é a chuir inairde sa bhfuinneog. Agus tháinig Pádraig Ó Gríofa, go ndéana Dia trócaire air, agus rug sé ar gheaitín³² na cairte agus bhuaile sé an fhuinnóg, *sash* agus fráma agus gach aon rud eile amach as an bhfalla agus dúirt sé liom cúinne éigin dá chuid éadaigh a thabhairt do agus go dtabharfadh sé amach é, go dtabharfadh sé cúna dhom. Agus fuair mé cúinne dhá chasóige a thabhairt do agus tharraing sé amach é. Agus chuir sé a lámh isteach ansan agus rug sé ar bhún na casóige orm fhéin agus fuair mé dul amach pé ar domhain de.

29 < níor tharraing sé braon dom

30 *Bretons* atá i gceist is dócha.

31 < *neachtar* acu

32 < *tailboard*

Agus nuair a chuaigh mé amach thit mo cheirte go léir díom, dóite ina gcipíní anuais díom. Thit mé i bhfanntais amuigh ansan agus thugadh 'dtí tigh 'os na comharsain mé agus chuireadh fios ar shagart agus ar dhochtúir agus ní raibh sagart ná dochtúir le fáil – go dtína dó a chlog dar ná mháireach is ea a tháinig an dochtúir agus an sagart 'dtí mé. Chuir an dochtúir fios ar leathpheanta biotáile siar go dtí Ti Chadhla agus thug sé dho fear an bhosca - an bosca a bhíodh ag tarraingt na ndaoine tinne isteach an uair sin go dtí an óspaidéal. Thug sé cnagaire dhe dhom le n-ól agus cnagaire eile dho fear an bhosca le tabhairt dom nuair a raghainn leathslí.

Agus nuair a niseadh do chriú na bhFrancach gur mé a bhí ag teacht – a bhí á gcóiriú nuair a chuardar fhéin isteach - dh'iarradar leaba a thabhairt dom ina bhfochair agus chuireadh isteach ina bhfochair mé.

Thug mé dhá lá dhéag gan gaoth ná grian a dh'fheiscint, ná duine, ach banda thimpeall ar gach aon phioc díom ar feadh sé lá dhéag a thug mé istigh, agus thug mé trí mhí díomhaoin. Loisceadh ó mhulla mo chinn go dtí bonn mo chos mé agus sin a bhfuairreas-sa dho bharrá an árthaigh sin.

NA FÍNÍNÍ

Na Fíníní ar Thráigh na Rinne³³

Bliain ceathair a trí is fichid a tháinig na Fíníní ar thráigh na Rinne. Thug Peaid Lonáin isteach in bád iad. Tháinig an t-árthach leasmuigh den ché age Ceann Heilbhic agus ghlaoigh an t-árthach ar Pheaid Lonáin. Tháiníodar ó Shasana Nua

33 Seosamh Ó Dálaigh (le Edifón) M. Fómhair 1945: C.B.É. 977:545-47 (Insint 1).

Bhailigh Nioclás Breatnach an scéal seo ó Mhaidhc, leis, le Edifón, 25/8/34: C.B.É.150:262-64 (Insint 2).

Is mar a chéile beagnach an dá insint ach amháin go bhfuil an t-amhrán in easnamh in Insint 2. Luaitear Pádraig Brún san amhrán ach ní deirtear in Insint 1 cad é an pháirt a ghlac sé san eachtra, ach in Insint 2 deir Maidhc go raibh Pádraig Brún i bhfochair Pheaid Lonáin.

Peaid Lonáin: Ba é seo Peaid Mór na bhFíníní (General Whealan), mac le Pártholán Ó Faoláin agus Johanna Ní Lonáin ó Bhaile na nGall Beag a phós sa bhliain 1813. Rugadh Peaid sa bhliain 1827. Ghlaotaí Lonán air i ndiaidh na máthar. Phós Peaid Ellen Paor sa bhliain 1858 agus bhí seisear clainne acu: 1) Pártholán (1853); 2) Nioclás (1860); 3) June (1863); 4) Máighréad (1863), leathchúpla June a cailleadh óg; 5) Tomás; 6) Máighréad.¹

Deir Sylvester Ó Muirithe, Heilbhic, gur sheol a athair mar garsún óg sa bhliain 1905/1906 ar húicéir na bhFíníní le Batt Lonáin, mac le Peaid Mór. Deir sé leis, go dtugtaí 'An Fínín' uirthi as leaindeáil na bhFíníní sa bhliain 1867.²

Bhailigh Nioclás Breatnach blúirí eile seanchais mar gheall ar na Fíníní sa Rinn:

Ó Mháire Bean Uí Mhuirithe (85) ar an 13/11/35 [C.B.É. 151:503];

Ó Liam Ó Caoimh (82), Rinn Croiche, Par. Dhún Garbhán ar an 4/6/36 [C.B.É. 153:421-24];

Ó Mhicil Paor (64), Curraichín ar an 18/5/36 [C.B.É. 183:385-94].

1 N. Mac Craith, "Baile na nGall Mór agus Beag," An Linn Bhuí 3 (1999) 40.

2 Litir phearsanta ó Sylvester Ó Muirithe (9/8/00).

agus chuaigh Peaid Lonáin cliathánach leis an ártach – Peaid Lonáin ó Bhaile na nGall – agus dh’oscálaíodh an doras i dteora an uisce san ártach agus nuair a dh’fhéach Peaid Lonáin amach sa bháidín bhí an bád lán agus dh’iarr sé ar an gcaptaen gan í a shanncáil.³⁴ Thug sé isteach ar thráigh na Rinne ansan iad agus riothadar anso agus ansúd agus gabhadh cuid acu i nDonn Garbhán, agus cuid acu ar an mbóthar go hEochaill, agus cuid acu ar an tráigh, agus cimeádadh insa phríosún iad gur trialladh i mBaile Átha Cliath iad.

Agus ar lá a dtrialla i mBaile Átha Cliath bhí Dónall Ó Coileáin agus Aindrias De Róiste ag dearbhú orthu. Ón Rinn ba dh’ea an bheirt agus bhearradh trí huair ceann acu chun go bhfaighfí iad a dhalladh agus an trígiú babhta a tháinig sé amach ar an mbinse dh’fhiarthaigh an breitheamh de Dhónall Ó Coileáin an aithníonn sé anois é.

“Dh’aithneoinn beirthe é,” arsa sé, “fear an dá ribe.”

“Coileán, Coileán,” arsaigh an breitheamh, “agus is coileán fhéin thú!”

Ghlaodh ar Pheaid Lonáin, agus nuair a chuaigh sé inairde i láthair an bhreithimh, nuair a bhí an breitheamh ag dul ró-dhian air:

“Well, a Thiarna Bhreithimh,” arsa Peaid Lonáin, “n’fheadair mé nách ceann acu tú fhéin.”

Tóigeadh Peaid Lonáin agus thugadh ar ghuaille daoine go dtí an traen é agus bhí garda pílears ar Dhónall agus ar Aindrias gur chuireadh isteach insa traen iad agus nuair a tháiníodar abhaile bhí bean insa Rinn agus dhein sí amhrán dóibh:

Agus a Aindrias ghairid nár bhàine tú an fómhar,
 Agus a Aindrias ghairid nár bhainir ná an mhóin,
 Mar dhearbhaigh tú ar an bhFínín bocht a bhí fliuch dtína ghlúine,
 Agus chuir tú ó Éire é go daor i bpríosún.

A Dhan Uí Choileáin na n-áran nár dh’fheicirse Dia,
 Is a Dhan Uí Choileáin na n-áran nár dh’fheicir ná an ghrian,
 Mar dhearbhaigh tú ar an bhFínín bocht a bhí fliuch dtína ghlúine,
 Agus cuir tú ó Éire é óna ghaolta, mo chumha!

Dhein tú mar phlean é chun teacht ar an gcíos,
 An *blood money* a ghlacadh is na fearaibh a dhíol.
 A Phádraig Brún na n-áran ní san áit úd ab fhearr liom tú a bheith,
 Ach sa Linn Bhuí a ghrághil agus bog-phuins led ais,
 Agus Aindrias gránna ar shlabhra age’n bhfear maith.

Bean a dhein an t-amhrán san, ón Rinn. Chonacsá ina dhall é is n’fheaca sé an ghrian ag fáil bháis do – Dan Ó Coileáin.

34 < shuncáil

Biographical Note

Michéal Turraoin

Micheál Turraoin, or Maidhc Dháith, was born in Cnocán an Phaoraigh Íochtarach, Ring, Co. Waterford on the 20 March 1878. He went into service when he was twelve years of age and was present at the last hiring fair for servant boys and girls in Kilmacthomas. He spent much of his working life as a farm labourer and small farmer, although he also worked for periods as a fisherman, quarry worker and builders labourer. In 1902 he married Bríd Ní Bheaglaioich of Baile na Móna. Michéal and Bríd had 17 children. Although he could not read or write Michéal was renowned locally and among Irish scholars from far and wide for the richness and fluency of his Irish and for his intimate knowledge of the local Déise dialect. Between 1928 and 1932 the German linguist Wilhelm Doegen, working on behalf of the Royal Irish Academy, recorded samples of the Irish dialects of selected areas around the country. On the 5 April 1928 Michéal Turraoin was one of three people from the Ring district who were recorded by him. In 1932 the folklore collector Nioclás Breatnach visited Michéal and recorded some material from him on the Ediphone recording machine on behalf of the Irish Folklore Commission. In 1933 Seamus Delargy the director of the Irish Folklore Commission visited him. Between 1933 and 1940 Micheál Ó hAodha, the Professor of Irish in University College Dublin recorded a considerable amount of material from Michéal. In 1933 he was also visited by Ristead A. Breatnach who recorded some songs from him. The bulk of the material recorded from Michéal was collected during 1945 and 1947 by Seosamh Ó Dálaigh, a full time collector with the Irish Folklore Commission. During the late fifties Una Parks, a primary teacher in Ring, recorded a considerable amount of material from him on tape, and around the same time Ristead B. Breatnach of the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies also made some tape recordings of him. Indeed, Ristead was involved in a study of the Ring dialect from 1939 and Michéal was one of the main informants for his research, resulting in the linguistic works *The Irish of Ring, Co. Waterford: A Phonetic Study* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1947) and *Seana-Chaint na nDéise II: Studies in the Vocabulary and Idiom of Déise Irish based mainly on material collected by Archbishop Michael Sheehan (1870-1945)* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1984). Seán Ó Súilleabháin (1940), Caoimhín Ó Danachair (1948), the B.B.C. (1950) and Leo Corduff (1954) made recordings of Michéal on records. Tomás Ó Faoláin and Séamus Mac Shamhradháin, members of the teaching staff of Coláiste na Rinne also collected sporadically from him. Michéal died on the 13/10/1963.



Group photographed in Spain. Frank Edwards is standing, extreme right.

Source: Seán Cronin (1980) Frank Ryan, *The search for a Republic* (Repsol, Skellig Press).

The man that fought the Bishop¹

The story of Frank Edwards and the Mount Sion Strike

by David Smith

Introduction

In this year, 2002, we celebrate the bi-centenary of Mount Sion school. It was here in 1802 that Edmund Rice founded his first school and it is in this school the founder rests. In the intervening years Mount Sion pupils have contributed enormously to every social and cultural event in the city and beyond and have gained distinctions for themselves, their school and their city all over the world. Mount Sion and its pupils have achieved a lot of 'firsts' in many fields, but one such 'first' – when pupils went on strike on behalf of a teacher – rocked the city to its foundations. It led to several court cases, mass meetings, a baton-charge by the *Gárdaí*, a bishop's pastoral and a march in the city by the Irish Republican Army (IRA). All this happened at a time when Waterford city was at the very centre of left wing politics in Ireland.

This article is the result of extensive reading of the period's history and of the local and national newspapers. I interviewed people who knew the Edwards family and also three men who were schoolboys in Mount Sion at that time; one boy took part in the strike and two were pupils of Edwards. All but one of my interviewees wished to remain anonymous and their reactions to my request to publish their names could be summed up in the reply of one of them; "Why drag up all that now, after so long? Wouldn't it be better to leave things as they are and not rake up things that are better forgotten?"

Why, then, do I proceed with the article! The story needs to be told, not only because it is a great story but also to clear up some of the myths that have proliferated during the intervening years and to correct some false information that is now accepted, through repeated publication, as fact.

The Edwards family

The Edwards family consisted of the father, Patrick; the mother, Annie; three boys, Jack, Willie and Frank and three girls, Josephine, May and Tess. The family came to Waterford from Belfast in 1917 when Edwards was ten years old. Edwards has written that his father and mother had no background in the national movement; that stance came from his maternal grandmother's family in Co. Limerick.² Shortly

1 Joe Monks (1985) *With the Reds in Andalusia* (The John Cornford Poetry Group). The new Commander of the XX International battalion, a Mexican named Colonel Gomez, came to Chimorra to visit his No. 2 Company. Gomez could speak English and his first message was that we would be relieved on the morrow – manana. He wanted ... to shake hands with ... him that fought the bishop.
See webpage <http://members.lycos.co.uk/spanishcivilwar/archives/>

2 Uinseann MacEoin (1980) *Survivors*, (Dublin, Argenta Publications) p.1. [Hereafter cited as *Survivors*.]

after arriving in Waterford where they lived at number eleven John Street, the family suffered a series of deaths that claimed three members within a year.³ The oldest son, Jack, had experienced sectarian violence as a young boy when he was beaten up by an Orange mob whilst walking home from school. Nothing else is known about the family before their arrival in Waterford but as soon as they did, Jack, aged eighteen, joined Sinn Féin, Connradh na Gaeilge and the Irish Volunteers. Jack was almost six feet in height and was very well built with fine features and he soon became the life and soul of every Gaelic gathering in the city.⁴ He was a member of the 4th battalion, No.1 Waterford Brigade of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and was attached to D Company. During the War of Independence he had to leave his employment as a fireman with the Great Southern Railway because of his political activities and he went 'on the run' as a member of the East Waterford Flying Column. After the treaty Jack was one of the garrison that took over the Waterford infantry barracks from the British forces. At the beginning of the Civil War he drove some trains carrying IRA units from Dublin to their stronghold in Munster, where a fresh stand was being made.

When Waterford city was besieged by Free State troops in July 1922, he was one of the Republican garrison that defended the city. He was stationed in the Head Post Office on the Quay and Edwards tells how he, (aged fifteen), turned up at the Post Office only to be told, by Jack, to 'go home to hell.'⁵ Jack was taken prisoner following the siege and was imprisoned in Kilkenny jail. On 19 August 1922, he was speaking with some comrades in the prison yard when he was told that someone on the roadway outside the prison wall wanted to talk to him. Having hurried to his prison cell and whilst he was shouting down to his friend he was challenged by a sentry. He ignored the sentry who took aim and shot him dead. The family, and the IRA in Waterford, believed that Jack's death was a tit-for-tat retaliation for the killing in Barrack Street of twenty-one year-old Lieutenant Commandant Ned O'Brien of the National Army during the previous week. In that same week, two members of the National Army were killed in an IRA ambush near Clonmel.

It is at this point that a major discrepancy occurs between the version of events as told by Edwards in *Survivors* and the facts as related to me by witnesses and as reported in the local newspapers. Edwards' version has gained great currency in books, magazines, newspapers, on the Internet, and in speeches. He wrote, referring to his brother's funeral

3 The first to die was Willie, aged seventeen years. He died from tuberculosis on 21 September 1918 and his father did not long survive him. Patrick, a prison warder, had joined the British army during the Great War and, having survived that conflict, he died in Waterford of organic brain disease on 1 April 1919 aged fifty four years. Josephine, aged ten years, died of tuberculosis only four months after her father on 1 August 1919.

4 Nioclás de Fuiteoil (1948) *Waterford Remembers*, (Waterford, National Graves Association, East Waterford, p. 34).

5 *Survivors*, p. 5.

I went to Kilkenny to claim his body. In spite of everything, there was a great turnout when it arrived in the city, but the doors of the Church were shut against him. The Christians and the Provisional Government, you could say, were hand in glove.⁶

This statement is untrue. His brother's remains were given all the rites and honours of the Church.

At the Cathedral the remains, borne on the shoulders of the pall-bearers – were met by the Rev. Father O'Connell, Adm., and Rev. Father Murphy, C.C. who preceded the coffin to the mortuary chapel where it was placed on a catafalque. On Tuesday morning, Requiem Mass was celebrated by Rev. Father O'Connell at eight o'clock. ... Large numbers visited the church on Tuesday morning ... the face of the deceased being visible through a glass inserted in the upper portion of the ... coffin. At noon, the funeral took place to Ballygunner. A large crowd congregated ... and the hearse ... preceded by the T.F.Meagher Sinn Féin Brass and Reed Band moved off.⁷

The reasons for Edwards' statement that 'the doors of the Church were shut against him' is a matter for conjecture, but a hint may be gleaned from a comment made by Joe Monks, his comrade in the Spanish Civil War, who wrote about Edwards that 'in his heart he was a bitter man. His bitterness was directed against ... the Catholic hierarchy that had had him dismissed from his school teaching post.'⁸

His brother's death was a seminal moment in young Edwards' life. The loss of a revered brother in such a fashion cemented his republicanism, just as the deaths of his brother and sister from tuberculosis, caused by the terrible housing conditions, helped to advance his growing socialism. If Jack's death had been a baptism of fire for young Edwards, his mother's activities confirmed him in the republican faith. Annie Edwards was, like her sons, an activist; she was a committed member of Cumann na mBan and a key member of the movement to free the Waterford Republican prisoners.

Frank Edwards

One can only imagine the effect that all of this had on the mind of an impressionable fifteen year old. He was already a member, since 1917, of Fianna Éireann, a republican youth movement founded in 1909 to counter what was thought to be the anti-nationalist Scout Association of Ireland. On joining the Fianna, members had to declare; 'I promise to work for the independence of Ireland, never to join England's armed forces and to obey my superior officers.' The Fianna was regarded, locally, as a stepping-stone to the IRA.

6 *Survivors*, p. 4.

7 *The Express*, August 26, 1922.

8 Monks, 1985.

After attending school in Waterpark College, Edwards went to the De La Salle teacher-training college in Waterford, where the majority of work was carried out through Irish, and he became a national schoolteacher. He was now in the prime of life, a tall, strong, well-built young man who was a member of Waterford Boat Club where he rowed for the senior eight. He was elected to the committee of the club in March 1931 and he was a playing member of Waterford City Rugby Club's 1st XV. In October 1932, he was admitted to membership of the Irish National Teachers Organisation (hereafter INTO) at a meeting in City Hall (he had obtained a teaching post at Mount Sion schools) and in the following week he was voted on to the committee of the Gaelic League at the annual general meeting of that body.

It would appear that the coming together of Edwards and Mount Sion was a match made in heaven. The school's nationalist and gaelic ethos were in tune with his own and the teaching of all subjects through the medium of Irish would have been very close to his heart. Furthermore, his school superior Brother Flannery (a man of wide cultural tastes who appreciated the fine arts, particularly music) believed, like Edwards, in Brother Rice's apostolic work of caring for the poorest children and that it was no use trying to educate boys who were hungry – the body had to be fed as well as the mind.⁹ Brother Flannery sought out those boys who were often in want of the very necessities of life and he took care to have meals provided for them in the monastery, before classes began. One of my interviewees, a former pupil of Edwards, told me that Edwards did likewise. Boys were given meals, on a regular basis, at his Barrack street home where the family now lived.

Political activities

Edwards had joined the IRA in about 1924 but in the latter part of the decade, he had become inactive. He joined Saor Éire, the political wing of the IRA, at its foundation in 1931. The local IRA was involved in various activities such as when three men visited all the local cinemas, in August 1932, and requested the managers not to show films 'of a decidedly British type.' The manager of one city cinema admitted to a *Waterford News* reporter that 'as far back as two years ago he himself had noticed that the news films supplied by *Pathe* ... and *Fox Movietone* were being utilised for propaganda purposes. The men who visited him were very courteous, he said, and ... he promised ... that whenever possible, he would censor the film in future where it appeared to him to carry the taint of propaganda.'¹⁰ Edwards was involved in the 'Bass' protest. This meant the entering of public houses and the smashing of all the stock of Bass Ale on the premises as a protest against British goods being sold.¹¹

In the late twenties and early thirties, Waterford was a hotbed of republican and working class agitation in which Edwards played a leading role. The Unemployed

9 Edmund Ignatius Rice was the founder of the Irish Christian Brothers at Mount Sion, Waterford in 1802. Brother Rice had a bakery and tailor's shop attached to the school, to feed and clothe the poor boys. Edwards was a teacher in the school.

10 Peter O'Connor (1966) *A Soldier of Liberty*, (Dublin, MSF), p. 2.

11 *Ibid*, 5 August 1932.

Association in the city was so strong that it succeeded in having two of its members, David Nash and Thomas Purdue, elected to the city council on the platform 'Bread, Blood and Work.' For the next few years the local scene was enlivened by numerous and often boisterous marches and meetings in City Hall and in the People's Park. An example of the type of rhetoric that was used can be gained from a speech made by councillor Purdue when he said, 'If we [the unemployed] are not going to get what we want, we will leave this city like the Temple of Jerusalem—we won't leave a stone upon a stone.'¹²

The first recorded speech by Edwards was in 1932 and the context is indicative of the type of political action in which he was engaged at the time. On Sunday 4 September 1932, a public meeting of Cumann na nGaedheal to which admission was by ticket only, was scheduled for the Large Room at City Hall. The mayor, Mr. Matthew Cassin, presided, the Marquis and Marchioness of Waterford were guests and Mr. Paddy McGilligan, ex-Minister for Industry and Commerce was the principal speaker. At the same time, a counter demonstration was staged on the Mall outside. The 'Soldier's Song' was sung with much enthusiasm by the gathering on the roadway, and as its strains came through one of the open windows of the Large Room, someone on the Cumann na nGaedheal platform left his place and closed the window. A number of the Mall protesters then tried to gain admittance to the Large Room. They got a little more than halfway up the stairs when they were charged by the Cumann na nGaedheal supporters and a general melee ensued. Two of the protesters were injured in the clash, Robert Walsh of Carrigeen Lane receiving a kick in the stomach (for which he was detained in the Infirmary) and Joseph Tobin a kick in the shins. At the close of the meeting a vote of thanks to the ex-Minister was proposed by Mr. John Hearne, builder.¹³ His name will come up again.

On the following night, another demonstration was held on the Mall, presided over by Edwards. The meeting was due to start at eight o'clock but the owner of the lorry that was to be used as a platform was visited at his home shortly before the meeting was timed to start and was threatened with dire consequences if he permitted his vehicle to be used for the purpose for which it was hired. The owner declined to proceed to the meeting venue and a second lorry had to be procured from Mr. T. Power, garage proprietor, the Quay. When this lorry arrived at the scene the meeting had already begun, with Edwards addressing the large attendance from a jarvey car.

The *Waterford News* reported

Mr. Edwards, who spoke first in Irish, and continued in English, said the meeting that evening had been arranged in order to appeal for their support for Fianna Éireann – the only national boy organisation in Ireland that was doing its best to educate the future manhood of the country to become loyal citizens of the Irish Republic, which they

¹² *Waterford News*, 21 October 1932.

¹³ *Waterford News*, 9 September 1932.

would attain, and which they were bound to strive to attain (cheers). They were all agreed that it was absolutely essential now for the workers of Ireland to unite to fight the forces of reaction and British Imperialism which were so strong in the country. They could see how those reactionary forces were united against the workers. The people who were associated with the gang of traitors in the Town Hall the previous day were the bosses, the men who exploited the workers – the men who had accumulated wealth from the sweat and the blood of the workers (loud cheers). Then they had the solicitors – it was not necessary for him to make any comment about them – and the rent collectors and the landlords – the Marquis and Marchioness of Waterford. These were the reactionary forces in the country who were backing up the Cumann na nGaedheal party – the organisation that was masking under a Gaelic title, but that was really the force of British Imperialism that was driving the Gael out of the country (loud cheers). ... I forgot to mention ... the Ballybricken bullies who were associated with Mr. McGilligan and his gang in the Town Hall yesterday. The IRA has been accused by Mr. Blythe of being a thug organisation. You people of Waterford can judge for yourselves on which side are the thugs; and let me tell you that the cause of Irish independence has not been killed, and it will not be killed, by these thugs (loud cheers) ... Mr. Edwards concluded, amid loud cheering, as he had begun – in Irish.¹⁴

Edwards' speech is interesting for the various groups that he attacked—bosses, solicitors, rent collectors, landlords and the Ballybricken Redmondites. It is quite certain that he was a marked man after that speech – if he had not already been noted as an agitator and as one who was stirring up revolutionary ideas among the masses. Two of the people who were attacked by Edwards were Mayor Cassin and John Hearne. The latter was the leader of the master builders federation in the city and was a prominent member of many of the city's Catholic organisations. He was, also, a personal friend of Archdeacon Byrne.

Archdeacon Byrne

Archdeacon William Byrne was parish priest of Ballybricken and, therefore, the manager of Mount Sion schools where Edwards was a teacher. He was, in effect, Edwards' employer.¹⁵ Intellectually, Byrne was a heavyweight. During the first

14 *Waterford News*, 9 September 1932.

15 Byrne was born in Knocklofty, Co. Tipperary, a few miles west of Clonmel. He was a student at Clonmel High School and later entered St. John's College to begin his ecclesiastical studies. He was ordained at Maynooth and following three years as Professor at All Hallows College, Clonliffe he returned to St John's where he became President. In 1930 he was made parish priest of Ballybricken parish, the largest in the diocese. He was later created archdeacon and finally a Domestic Prelate. He was Vicar Capitular of the diocese in the interim between the death of bishop Hackett and the elevation of Dr. Kinane as bishop.



Monsignor Byrne and Bishop Kinnane, 1941.

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World War, before his presidency of St. John's College, he was editor of *The Catholic Record of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore* and under his editorship the circulation of the *Record* reached the figure of six thousand copies a month.¹⁶ While he was president of St. John's his sermons at the Cathedral drew large congregations from every parish in the city. He was particularly keen on education and educational facilities throughout the whole diocese and he was not regarded in Waterford as a parish priest in the strict parochial sense, rather was he looked on as one whose assistance could be relied on in any movement for the spiritual or temporal advancement of the citizens. He was regularly called upon to arbitrate in industrial disputes. Although he was thought

of, in some quarters, as a friend of the employers, his arbitrations in such disputes were generally well received. He was ever on the alert for any infiltration of Waterford workers by socialists and communists and he regarded the latter as followers of Satan.¹⁷ He congratulated, publicly, the unemployed and the Worker's Council for their stance against communism

The Waterford Worker's Council rightly and indignantly repudiated the pretensions of a certain trio to represent Irish workers at anti-God celebrations in Moscow. More recently, still, those who represent the vast majority of the unemployed in our city effectively nullified an attempt to introduce organised Communism amongst us.¹⁸

16 Patrick Power (1937) *A Compendious History of the United Dioceses of Waterford & Lismore*, (Cork, Cork University Press), p. 4.

17 The esteemed Canon Power wrote of him that 'During 1934-35 he engaged in public controversy with communist and other subversive agents and defended Catholic Truth with great ability, Christian dignity and no little success.' *Ibid*, p. 295.

18 *Waterford News*, 18 November 1932. This was in reference to the sending of an Irish delegation to Moscow for the fifteenth anniversary of the Russian revolution. The Unemployed Association had declared that 'they saw no reason why they should follow in the path of Trotsky, Lenin or Stalin.'

Byrne, in his crusade against communist infiltration, found a ready ally in the new bishop, Canon Kinane, who was elevated to the diocese of Waterford and Lismore in May 1933.

Bishop Kinane¹⁹

Dr. Jeremiah Kinane DD., DCL., was created Bishop of Waterford & Lismore on 29 June 1933. On his arrival in Waterford, he gave a free dinner at the courthouse to five hundred poor men of the city. At his official reception in the council chamber at City Hall and in response to addresses of welcome from the Corporation, the Harbour Commissioners, the Waterford Workers Council, the De La Salle Brothers, the Waterford Branch of INTO etc., the bishop said (rather ominously for future relations with Edwards and his friends)

No address has given me more pleasure and satisfaction than the address from the Workers Council. Clearly communistic propaganda has taken no effect in Waterford.²⁰

Bishop Kinane in his first address in the Cathedral since his consecration as bishop articulated the communist threat as being one of the major difficulties, as he perceived it, of his coming tenure as bishop.

From the political stand point the world is in a state of flux and no man can foretell what forms of government will ultimately emerge and survive. No condition of things could be more inimical to the Church's interest or more favourable to the machinations of her enemies. These enemies in their various forms are active the world over. Ireland has not been free from their influence. Communist and secret society agents especially have made us the object of their activities, but so far they have met with very little success ... From my personal experience and from what I have heard the progress made by these enemies of the Church in this great diocese has been less than in most others.²¹

Warnings about the dangers of communism and irreligion were not confined to priests. At the blessing of the colours of the Mount Sion and De La Salle scouts by Archdeacon Byrne, Mayor Cassin spoke of 'the great danger to their faith, their manhood, their womanhood and their nationality ... Irreligion and materialism were sweeping all over the world.'²²

19 Dr Kinane was a native of Gortnahulla, Upperchurch, Co. Tipperary where he was born on 15 November 1884. He was ordained at Rome on 24 April 1910. From 1911 to 1933 he was Professor of Canon Law at St Patrick's College, Maynooth. He was bishop of Waterford & Lismore from 1933 to 1942 and archbishop of Decros and coadjutor of Cashel & Emly from 1942 to 1946 when he succeeded to the archbishopric. He died on 18 February 1959.

20 *Waterford News*, 30 June 1933.

21 *Ibid*, 14 July 1933.

22 *Ibid*, 9 June 1933.

The Red scare

The great fear in the thirties was that atheistic communism would sweep the world and that the very existence of Christianity was under threat. Pope Pius XI had laid down the defeat of international communism as one of the primary objectives of his pontificate and he had galvanised Catholic opinion to that end. Catholic Ireland, of course, was in the vanguard of such action. Publications appeared such as Professor James Hogan's pamphlet *Could Ireland become Communist?* and Father Edward Cahill's book *Ireland's Peril*. Professor Dermot Keogh has written that 'One might be forgiven for reflecting that in the 1930s some of the more obsessional local writers on that theme [the red scare] must have believed that when Joseph Stalin woke up each morning his first thoughts turned inexorably towards the subversion of Catholic Ireland.'²³

The Cosgrave government was not backward in using the anti-communist line and introduced coercive legislation, the Constitution Amendment (No. 17) Act that became law on 16 October 1931. This legislation established a military tribunal for political offences, massively extended police powers and gave government the power to ban organisations. It was aimed at all dissident forces in the country such as the IRA, Saor Éire, the Communist Party etc., and was intended to stifle opposition from the left. On Sunday 18 October 1931 the Irish Catholic bishops issued a joint pastoral letter that was read out in all the country's churches describing Saor Éire as 'frankly communistic'. The pastoral declared Saor Éire and the IRA 'sinful and irreligious' and pronounced that no Catholic could lawfully be a member of them.²⁴ On 20 October 1931 the military tribunal was established, twelve organisations were banned, and arrests, raids and searches were the order of the day. Newspapers such as *An Phoblacht* and *Workers Voice* were raided, repeatedly, until they were forced out of business. IRA men and those on the left of politics went into hiding or on the run.

In the general election campaign of 1932, the government played the 'red' card, on a platform based on law and order and the communist/subversive threat, in an attempt to counter the Fianna Fáil challenge.²⁵ At the time of the Civil War, all the leaders of the IRA had been excommunicated from the Catholic Church. Most of the bishops who had agreed with that ban were still in office in 1932 and were enthusiastic supporters of the Cosgrave government. Among the higher echelons of government and society, the leaders of Fianna Fáil were regarded with extreme suspicion but Mr De Valera and his party had been working assiduously since 1927 to allay those fears and to re-assure the elites that the party could be relied on, if it took power. Mr De Valera had convinced Cardinal MacRory, at a private meeting, that the Fianna Fáil party was committed, totally, to the bishop's pastoral call for solutions to the country's social and economic problems that were in accordance with the traditions of Catholic Ireland.

23 Dermot Keogh (1983) "De Valera, the Catholic Church and the 'Red Scare' 1931-32" in *De Valera and his Times*, ed J. P. O'Carroll and John A. Murphy, (Cork, Cork University Press), p. 134.

24 Dónal Ó Drisceoil (2001) *Peadar O'Donnell*, (Cork, Cork University Press), p. 68.

25 *Ibid*, p. 70.

Catholic action

In 1891 Pope Leo XIII in *Rerum Novarum (Of New Things)*, which dealt with the condition of the working classes, was the first pope to speak against the abuses of capitalism. Social teaching was further elaborated by Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno (In the Fortieth Year)*.²⁶ In this encyclical, issued on 15 May 1931 the Pope recommended the setting up of social study groups. The clergy were urged to promote such groups among the workers, the youth and the employers the better to study social issues in a Catholic context and, therefore, to bring decision making down to the local level. In a direct response Rev. Canon John Kelleher delivered a lecture entitled *Reconstruction of the Social Order on the principles laid down in the Papal Encyclical*.

Owing to social injustices the very existence of the Christian religion was widely menaced. Capitalism was approaching a deadlock brought about by its own selfish abuses ... A vigorous practical Christianity could survive even under the most corrupt Capitalist system, but not under the Communism which threatened to supersede it ... The great aim of social legislation should be to re-establish vocational groups through which employers and workers would be united in one union with common aims and common interests.²⁷

Catholic Action was a major recommendation of the 1931 encyclical. By Catholic Action, the Pope hoped that the laity might become lay Apostles, soldiers of Christ, standing side-by-side with the clergy, although always subject to the authority of the Hierarchy. In January 1933, Mr. Dan Foley, as President of the Waterford and District Worker's Council, delivered a major speech at its annual meeting

The time is propitious. A young Government, with sympathies towards the welfare of the masses, is considering plans to combat unemployment, and one to improve the prosperity of our people. ... There is a possibility of a re-modelling of the present financial system in the interest of the many instead of the few. The great question of ownership may be examined in the light of the Pope's Encyclical, and equality of opportunity may then be nearer the reach of all. ... This, fellow delegates, means a social revolution of the better kind, and one

26 The present writer attended Mount Sion in the 1940's and 1950's and an abiding memory is our daily half hour of Christian Doctrine. The Christian Brothers followed strictly the guidelines drawn up by the Irish Hierarchy in 1919 with its emphasis, in years one to three, on the study of the Gospels, Church history, grace and the sacraments. This was followed in years four to six by a detailed course in Economics (from a Christian standpoint), Christian apologetics and Catholic doctrine and, most memorably, the teachings of the two great social encyclicals. Whilst researching this article and as an experiment I asked several secondary school pupils if they knew what an encyclical was. None of them had even heard the word.

27 *Waterford News*, 7 April 1933.

in which we should all play our part. ... In keeping with the dignity of the Council our share in that revolution should be to act as guide for the workers in this district in such a manner as to broaden their outlook. We must get them to take a general survey of the whole economic structure, and not confine their thoughts to mere questions of wages and working conditions. As President of the Council, I would strongly recommend the Catholic workers to interest themselves in the Catholic Action movement and join the study groups.²⁸

Immediately on the conclusion of the President's address Edwards disagreed with some aspects of it, especially where the speaker had said that the Government sympathised with the masses.²⁹ His was the only dissenting voice. It was becoming clear that should a social revolution happen it would be a conservative one, controlled by the Catholic Church.

Turbulence was rife among the working classes in the city. There were strikes, marches and meetings, although the workers were careful to assure the employers and the Church that whilst they were striving for workers' rights the struggle was not tainted by communism and the workers remained good Catholics. There was a large meeting of the unemployed workers in the People's Park at which a committee was appointed to press for the right to work. The chairman of the new association declared that there was no communistic element attached to the association and Mr. D. Nash explained that they were non-political and non-sectarian.³⁰

In February 1933, a Catholic study movement, known as the St. Thomas Aquinas Study Circle, had been initiated in the city, presided over by Archdeacon Byrne. In an address to the Circle the Provincial of the Dominican Order, Fr. Finbarr Ryan, explaining the need for Catholic study, told the packed audience that it was

A lay action to be carried on by lay people, by persons in every state and rank of society. It was work to be carried out, not by separate individuals but by organised bodies, and such organised bodies could lay claim to the title of representing Catholic Action only when they were in immediate connection with the Church and under the direction of the Hierarchy.³¹

A hearty vote of thanks to the speaker was proposed by Mr. Liam Raftis who said 'as far as the menace of Communism was concerned, they would uphold the motto of the city, *Urbs Intacta Manet.*' Mr. Raftis was supported by Mr. Dan Foley President Waterford Worker's Council and by Rev. Brother Flannery, Superior Mount Sion and the proposal was adopted by acclamation.³²

28 *Waterford News*, 16 January 1933.

29 *Ibid*, 16 January 1933.

30 *Ibid*, 21 October 1932.

31 *Ibid*, 24 February 1933.

32 *Ibid*.

The response of the Waterford 'left'

On the other side of the political spectrum, Peter O'Connor had formed a Workers Study Club where the members, including Edwards, studied the writings of leading socialist figures such as Marx and, especially, James Connolly. Edwards recalled

I had got the writings of Marx and Lenin by this time. ... When I went to Dublin for the Saor Éire meeting, I called down to Connolly House, in Great Strand Street, the Communist Party headquarters, where I met Johnny Nolan. I bought a lot of books from him. At that time we held packed discussion groups every Sunday night to which the public were invited.³³

Some of the members were also members of the Irish Revolutionary Workers Group. In 1933, this group disbanded and out of the ashes rose the (re-formed) Communist Party of Ireland. A group of young men in the city, including Edwards and Peter O'Connor, had been dissatisfied for some time with the leadership of the IRA, particularly with that organisation's emphasis on military rather than political action. O'Connor was a reader of the *Irish Workers Voice*, the paper of the Irish Revolutionary Workers Group, and he asked that an organiser be sent from the Dublin headquarters to organise the unemployed workers in Waterford. The organiser who arrived was Seán Murray, later to become the first secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland. His arrival in Waterford moved public agitation onto an altogether higher level and confrontation between the employers and the workers (employed and unemployed) was common. Strikes were common in the city at that time. The *Waterford News* reported, on 4 November 1932, that the teachers had met to voice their opposition to a threatened pay cut and in December 1932, the road-workers in the Asphalt Company went on strike. In January 1933 all the men of the Plasterer's Society struck. The plasterers involved were all employees of John Hearne, and this was when Edwards first came into conflict with the local Catholic Hierarchy. John Hearne, a close personal friend of Archdeacon Byrne, asked Byrne to mediate in the strike. Edwards said of Hearne that he was 'constantly in and out of the presbytery.'³⁴

The Republican Congress

At an IRA convention in March 1934, a motion was proposed to establish a Republican Congress. This was intended to be an umbrella group covering republicans, trade unionists, small farmers and people on the left of Fianna Fáil. When this motion was voted down a group broke with the IRA and decided to have a meeting of the Congress in September 1934. Edwards was among the first to leave the IRA and he joined the Republican Congress with the likes of Peadar O'Donnell, George Gilmore, Frank Ryan and Peter O'Connor.

In Waterford, members of the Congress were very active and one of their great successes was the exposure of the slum landlords in the city and the terrible living

33 *Survivors*, p. 7.

34 *Survivors*, p. 8.

conditions of the people in places like Little Michael Street, New Street, Brown's Lane and Kearney's Court (off Patrick Street). Edwards had now found his true avocation, that of a polemicist, with his contributions to the Congress newspaper (also called the Republican Congress). From the beginning of the paper, in May 1934, reports from Waterford appeared in almost every issue, usually on the front page, with headlines such as *SLAVERY IN WATERFORD* (2 June 1934); *SNOB-BISH WATERFORD TOWN CLERK* (21 July 1934); *SLUM DWELLERS OF WATERFORD/CONGRESS WORKERS ATTACK WARRENS* (28 July 1934); *WORKERS CAPTURE STREETS OF WATERFORD* (4 August 1934); *SCABS CHASED BY STRIKERS* (1 September 1934); *FIERCE CLASHES BETWEEN STRIKERS AND POLICE* (8 September 1934). Edwards wrote those reports from information supplied by fellow Congress members. He believed in a policy of 'naming and shaming' and his reports were full of colourful language. He nicknamed one local businessman 'Mattie the Rat' and wrote of him

At present he decorates the city Council. ... He is also sometimes held up to the workers of Waterford and especially to those he is depriving of a Christian living as a model Christian. The Lord deliver us.³⁵

Edwards believed that all his troubles with the Church started with the exposure of the slum landlords. He wrote that Monsignor Byrne (he was created a Monsignor in October 1933) was a trustee of some slum property, although Edwards didn't know it at the time, and that this was the cause of Byrne's animus towards him.³⁶ Byrne was, however, attacked by name and even called a liar. The following appeared in the issue of *Republican Congress* dated 18 August 1934 under the heading *Editorial Notes*.

Right Rev. Mgr Byrne, Waterford P.P., is a strong upholder of Imperialist-Capitalism. He makes a habit of invoking religion in politics. His latest effort was to ban the Builder's strike on the grounds that a strike 'involves serious risks to higher interests, to the sacred interests of justice and charity,' etc., etc. He trots out the lie that he will be 'very sorry if the workers put themselves in a position in which they cannot have public approval.'

It is high time that unwarranted interferences of Mgr Byrne be checked. Mgr Byrne is talking for the bosses. He is on the side of the bosses. In his opinion 10½d. an hour (when they can get it) is good enough for 'common people.' The Mgr does not know what hunger and want mean; he has never experienced either. The workers of Waterford save him from hunger and want. Mgr Byrne is a priest. Let him cease to be an Imperialist mouth-piece.'

35 *Republican Congress*, 28 July 1934.

36 *Survivors*, p. 8.



Brother Flannery

Prior to the Republican Congress Convention, that took place on the 29 and 30 September 1934, in Rathmines Town Hall, Brother Flannery had warned Edwards that his attendance at the convention would lead to his dismissal. This was the third time that Edwards had been warned by his co-managers. In 1932, after Edwards had spoken from an IRA platform, Monsignor Byrne

sent for me and spent three hours pleading with me to leave the IRA 'for the sake of my soul!' When he saw that no words of his could prevent my soul from going to the devil, he dropped the pose of Mentor and spoke to me as a Boss. He said that if pressure were brought to bear on

him as Co-Manager of the school, 'he would be very reluctant to consent to my dismissal.' About a year later he repeated the threat. Similar threats, though not so openly expressed, were made by Bro. Flannery, Superior of Mount Sion ... [who] took quite a different line. 'A school is like a shop. And you know that the man who keeps a shop cannot offend his customers by publicly expressing any opinion on controversial subjects. In the same way a teacher must be careful not to offend the parents of the children.'¹³⁷

Edwards, however, was committed to his course and he attended the Convention where he made two speeches—one on internal organisation and the other on the Irish language.

Notice of dismissal

On his return to Mount Sion he was again summoned to the Superior's office (on 2 October 1934) and was asked if he were the Mr. Edwards who was reported as having attended and spoken at the Republican Congress held in Dublin on 30 September 1934. Edwards answered in the affirmative and he was then ordered to cease teaching catechism to the Confirmation class, pending a review. On 15 October 1934, he was served with three months notice of dismissal. Edwards, who was financial secretary of the INTO branch, brought the dismissal notice to the attention of the INTO executive. The *Irish School Weekly*, the journal of the INTO, recorded on 10 November 1934, that representatives were deputed 'to deal with a case of threatened dismissal in the Waterford area.'¹³⁸ There was some disquiet, locally, about the threatened dismissal and the school's co-managers, Brother Flannery and Monsignor Byrne, wrote to the local press, each explaining his involvement in the issuing of notice

³⁷ *Republican Congress*, 27 April 1935.

³⁸ *An Múinteoir*, p. 11.

Sir, As an unjustifiable attack has been made on the revered Parish Priest of Ballybricken in reference to the termination of a teacher's appointment in the Christian Brother's School, Mount Sion, I desire to make it very clear that responsibility for serving the notice of the termination of the said teacher's employment is entirely mine.

Yours faithfully
12/12/'34 S. J. R. FLANNERY

Dear Sir, Rev. Brother Flannery has sent me a copy of a letter which he is sending you for publication. What he states in his letter is true—I would add even chivalrously so. He must, however, permit me to state that he took me into consultation on the matter and that I approved of his decision.

Yours faithfully,
12/12/ 34 W. BYRNE, P. P.

Edwards replied

Sir, In reply to the letters which appeared in your issue of the 12th inst., re my threatened dismissal, I wish to state that I have made no attack upon Mgr. Byrne, and that if such an attack has been made, I am in no way responsible.

I do not know who is responsible for my dismissal, and the letters of the Joint Managers do not make the matters clearer. What I do know is, that I am being dismissed unjustly. I was of the opinion that a teacher could only be dismissed on one of three grounds, namely, inefficiency, immorality or irreligion. No charge has been made against me under any of these heads, and no such charge can be made with justification.

Yours sincerely,
13/12/'34 F. EDWARDS.³⁹

The first salvos of the war had now been fired and over the following three weeks the city was in uproar. A public meeting in support of Edwards was mooted, but was postponed at the request of the INTO. The local INTO Branch Committee sent a resolution to its executive committee asserting that a 'very serious principle' was involved in the case and requesting the Executive to ensure 'an amicable settlement.' On 21 December 1934, this committee heard a submission from Edwards in person. The executive committee resolved to seek reasons for the proposed dismissal and to send a deputation to meet the bishop of Waterford.⁴⁰ The INTO president and general secretary met bishop Kinane on 4 January 1935 and the bishop showed them a document that he had prepared asking Edwards to sign an undertaking, which would be made public, to dissociate himself from the Republican

39 *Waterford Star*, 14 December 1934.

40 *An Múinteoir*, p. 12.

Congress and not join any similar movement in the future. He told them that if Edwards were prepared to sign, the notice of dismissal would be withdrawn. Subsequent to this meeting the INTO representatives met the Mayor and the chairman of the Worker's Council, both of whom had backed Edwards, and told them that they would advise Edwards to accept the bishop's proposal. Attitudes had become polarised and, as the new year approached, it was clear that some desperate measures were needed to break the deadlock.

Interview with the bishop

Rumours abounded in the city that the bishop was about to give a reason, after a delay of almost three months, for the proposed dismissal of Edwards. This reason was to be in the form of a pastoral letter condemning the Republican Congress, the IRA and, in fact, all republicans who had not repented for their opposition to the Treaty. On Saturday 5 January 1935, the day after the INTO had seen the bishop, an interview took place between the bishop, the editor of *Republican Congress* Frank Ryan, and local schoolteacher Séamus Malone [teacher of Irish at Newtown School]. The following are extracts (relating to the Edwards case) from that interview as written by Frank Ryan and published in *Republican Congress*.

Bishop Kinane received Malone and myself immediately on arrival at the Cathedral. Our interview lasted over an hour. I set down here extracts from the notes taken by each of us. We do not claim that the conversation is reported verbatim ... [but] we emphasise that the substance of the statements are correctly reported by us. As arranged by us, before the interview, our questions fall under certain headings, aimed at the elicitation of the views of the bishop⁴¹

After prolonged questioning of the bishop concerning his position with regard to the Pastoral Ban of 1922, whether the bishops condemned any imperialist organisations and what the bishop's views were on the 'Blueshirts', Malone asked;

Q: Supposing, for arguments sake, that your Lordship's condemnation of the Congress is right. Edwards could not have been aware of it, was not made aware of it, in fact, until this week. Is it then not exceedingly harsh treatment to victimise him for an offence of which he could not have been aware?

A: Mr. Edwards should have known from the pronouncement of his P.P. Monsignor Byrne that membership of the Congress is contrary to Catholic teaching.

Q: Is Mgr Byrne, therefore, also entitled to decide their faith and morals for the people of Waterford?

A: He undoubtedly is for his own parishioners ...

Q: Is there not a grave danger of abuse of this authority?

A: I feel sure he would not abuse his authority.

41 *Republication Congress*, 12 January 1935.

Q: Mgr Byrne is regarded by the majority of his parishioners as a bitter Imperialist. Is it not unfortunate that he was the priest on whom Edwards was so dependent for advice on such questions?

A: I consider Mgr Byrne an excellent type of Irishman.

Q: Mgr Byrne sent advice to Edwards, through Mrs. Edwards and Miss Edwards, advice of a political character?

A: I believe that is so.

Q: You are aware that the Mgr attacked Miss Edwards for selling Republican emblems near the Church and tried to hunt her away, while at the same time he allowed a seller of Imperialist emblems to remain. Would you consider that a good introduction for friendly advice?

A: The Mgr admits to me that he committed an error of judgment on that occasion and has expressed regret.

Q: He has not expressed regret to Miss Edwards. Is not his liability to error, and his failure to undo the injustice he did to Miss Edwards proof that he is an unreliable teacher for Mr. Edwards?

A: You must not speak thus of Mgr Byrne.

Q: The late Dr. Nulty of Meath, who condemned the Plan of Campaign, and the late Dr. O'Doherty in his hatred of Republicanism were looked upon as tyrants. Yet both these bishops declared their willingness to forgive and forget ... Why be a greater tyrant than they? Why condemn Edwards for a crime which you have not hitherto pronounced a crime?

A: Far from acting as a tyrant, I am prepared to have him reinstated, or at least transferred if he signs an undertaking that he will not associate with certain organisations.

Q: Are the Blueshirts among these organisations?

A: The Republican Congress is the only organisation mentioned.

Q: You are depriving the man of his position, refusing him a reference, and thus making it impossible for him to gain a livelihood, and you are doing all that because he attended the Republican Congress, months before you declared your disapproval of the Congress?

At this stage there was a heated scene during which I lost my temper. ... For charity's sake I will not report my utterances. One point I did make clear; no denial can disprove it: The Pastoral was invoked three months after, to cover up the victimisation of Edwards, and to check the opposition to that victimisation.

Malone continued his questions:

Q: Are you aware that the signing of such political tests as you demand of Edwards is looked upon with such disfavour in Ireland that men have faced the firing-squad rather than sign undertakings less

objectionable than this? [The bishop stated that the document presented to Edwards was not a political test. It concerned faith and morals only. He said he would agree to Edwards' signing the document privately.].

Repeated requests drew from His Lordship the explanation that he was refusing to allow Frank Edwards to get another school because 'it would be on his conscience to see a teacher holding such views' in charge of young people. He admitted that there was no evidence, no charge even, that Edwards presented his personal views directly, or indirectly, at school. Edwards was an efficient teacher in every way. His Lordship alleged that a few Ballybricken residents had objected to Edwards being employed as a teacher. Malone replied: Edwards' slanderers, the Imperialists who for three years have been engineering his dismissal do not hail from Ballybricken. The residents of Ballybricken were amongst the first to offer sympathy and support to Edwards. They are hard fighters politically, but I believe they would be not so uncharitable as to act as the Joint managers of Mt. Sion Schools have acted.⁴²

The bishops pastoral

On the following day, Sunday 6 January 1935, the bishop issued his pastoral. A large force of *Gárdaí* was present inside the Cathedral, and outside, while the bishop was speaking. Numbers of *Gárdaí* also attended at the other city churches where the pastoral statement was also read. These precautions were indicative of the highly charged atmosphere in the city concerning the case. The Cathedral was crowded when the bishop rose to speak

My dearly beloved—The event which is the occasion of my addressing you today, is the termination of a teacher's appointment in the Christian Brothers' School, Mount Sion. I understand that there is a certain amount of sympathy for this teacher in the city, that resolutions in his favour have been passed by certain bodies, and that there is an agitation on foot to secure his continuance in his position. These facts have brought home to me the necessity for an authoritative statement from me on this matter, and for authoritative teaching on certain other matters connected with it. ... Bishops are the successors of the Apostles and, as such, are divinely constituted authoritative teachers in faith and morals. ... From the fact that a Bishop is the authoritative teacher of faith and morals in his diocese, it follows that his teaching is binding, and that his subjects must obey it, even under pain of mortal sin, whenever the matter involved is notable. ... Any failure in obedience in grave matter is a mortal sin. ... I may now proceed to the main purpose of my discourse. ... I am speaking to you mainly as

42 *Republican Congress*, 12 January 1935.

your divinely constituted leader in faith and morals, and I intend whatever teaching my address contains to have all the authority and binding force which can be derived from the sacred office which I hold.⁴³

It was at this point in the address that disturbances began in various parts of the Cathedral. Women, men and some children were seen to rise from their seats and it was thought that some violent demonstration was planned. The demonstration, however, was peaceful and took the form of a walkout. The demonstrators arrived at the aisles, genuflected to the Blessed Sacrament, turned their backs on the bishop and marched out of the Cathedral. The bishop continued.

I may now proceed to the main purpose of my discourse. I have given the matter careful study and much thought. ... The Superior of the Christian Brothers' School, Mount Sion, consulted me before issuing the notice terminating the services of the teacher in question. He informed me that this teacher, despite the public warning—twice issued—of his parish priest and co-manager of his school, attended the Republican Congress and took an active part in its discussions—this fact was published in the press and is admitted by the teacher himself. Now, the principles and aims of the Republican Congress movement are opposed to the teaching of the Church; its principles are Socialist and Communistic: it aims at setting up a socialist Republic, evidently on the Russian model ... and one of its weapons for achieving this is class hatred and class warfare. Evidently, one who belongs to a movement of this kind is unfit to be a teacher of Catholic children. The most appropriate course in the circumstances would have been instant dismissal. The spirit of leniency and the desire to recall the teacher from the error of his ways, however, prevailed. ... During the past week having invited the teacher to come before me ... I explained to him the opposition between the principles of Republican Congress movement and the teaching of the Church, and I told him of his own grave obligations in the matter. I then asked him to sign an undertaking, which would be made public, to dissociate himself from this movement and not join any similar movement in the future. Whilst I urged him to sign the undertaking principally because of his duty as a Catholic and for the welfare of his immortal soul, I at the same time promised that, if he did sign it, I should recommend him for employment to the Christian Brothers and I gave him an assurance that my recommendation would be accepted. He refused to sign the undertaking.

It is hardly necessary for me to state that it would be sinful to try to prevent the action of the manager of the Christian Brothers' School, Mount Sion, from becoming effective, or to cause him or anybody

43 *Waterford News*, 11 January 1935.

else inconvenience on account of it. ... Now, when the good Catholics of this city are aware of the vital religious issues at stake, I am confident that whatever little agitation has been afoot will immediately cease.⁴⁴

Aftermath of the pastoral

As the crowds left the churches it was clear that the Pastoral had only inflamed an already tense situation. The notice of dismissal was due to expire in nine days. A meeting of support to demand the withdrawal of the notice of dismissal had been called for the following Saturday 12 January 1935. This meeting had the support of the local INTO branch, two cumainn of Fianna Fáil (P.H. Pearse and Gracedieu), the IRA, the Republican Congress Branch, the Gaelic League, Gasra an Fháinne, Waterford Worker's Council, the Irish Citizen's Army and various trades union branches. On 11 January 1935, Mgr Byrne wrote a letter to the press cautioning people to stay away from the meeting 'which is to be held in flagrant opposition to the authoritative teaching and ruling of the Bishop of the Diocese ... The Bishop has spoken; the Church has spoken; and the opposition to the Church is opposition to Jesus Christ.'⁴⁵ Despite the Monsignor's warning and driving rain, which fell continuously for the two hour duration of the meeting, a large crowd numbering several hundreds turned out in Broad Street to hear the speakers, Peadar O'Donnell, Frank Ryan and Seamus Malone, secretary of the Edwards Defence Committee, under the chairmanship of Jimmy O'Connor, Poleberry. A motion from Malone was passed calling for a strike of pupils on the following Tuesday.⁴⁶

The support for Edwards appeared to be very strong, and widespread. The mayor had assured Frank Ryan that ninety per cent of the people were behind Edwards, but in truth the city was deeply divided.⁴⁷ On Saturday 12 January 1935, (the day of the Broad Street meeting) the Waterford Pig Buyers' Association passed unanimously a resolution 'That we ... pledge ourselves as faithful Catholics to give our unqualified support in every way possible to our beloved Bishop, Most Rev. Dr Kinane and his clergy, and we further desire to express our wholehearted approval of his Pastoral read in all the city churches on Sunday, the 6th inst.'⁴⁸ On the following day, both Dr Kinane and Monsignor Byrne were given a tremendous reception when they attended the annual tea party at St. Joseph's Boys Club. When they entered the room the assembled boys cheered for several minutes and then sang *Faith of our Fathers*. Messages of unqualified support for the bishop poured in to the newspapers from the many sources including the Legion of Mary, the Mount Sion Sodality, the United Ireland Party (John Redmond Branch), the Sodality of Mary, the Aquinas Study Circle and Fine Gael, Waterford Central Branch.

The Dockers' Society of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers

44 *Waterford News*, 11 January 1935.

45 *Ibid*, 12 January 1935.

46 *The Irish Times*, 15 January 1935.

47 *An Múinteoir*, p. 12.

48 *Waterford News*, 18 January 1935.

Union (ATGWU) held a special meeting on 14 January 1935 at the union rooms, O'Connell street, to propose and pass, unanimously, an extraordinary expression of loyalty and support. I quote it in full.

We, the members of the Dockers' Society assure our beloved and revered Bishop, Most Rev. Dr Kinane that, conscious of our duty as Catholics, we accept and will loyally obey his authoritative teaching given us in the Cathedral on the 6th inst. Mindful of the warning conveyed in that solemn pronouncement, we can assure him that we shall do all in our power to keep our Union free from the virus of Communism and Socialism. We will endeavour to see that our Union shall be guided by the principles laid down by Pope Leo XIII and the present Holy Father rather than by the anti-Christian maxims of Communist and Socialist agitators. We wish this expression of our Loyalty and obedience to be some reparation to his Lordship for the unfilial attitude of an insignificant section of his flock in the city.

Signed, Matthew McCloskey, Chairman.⁴⁹

Over the following week, many more groups filed similar expressions of loyalty.

The strike

On Monday morning, however, about half-a-dozen boys carrying banners with inscriptions such as *WE WANT OUR TEACHER BACK; WE ARE ON STRIKE; WE STAND FOR JUSTICE; STRIKE ON HERE* appeared outside Mount Sion. They paraded in front of the schools and urged other pupils to join them. About ten pupils responded and the demonstrators then marched through the principal streets of the city cheering loudly for Edwards. They halted for a meeting on Ballybricken and two of the strikers declared that they were not going back to school until the teacher was reinstated and victimisation was stopped. A few Civic Guards remained on duty outside the schools until after the luncheon interval, by which time the demonstration had withdrawn, several of the boys returning to their homes. The Irish Times reported 'speculation is rife as to the number of boys, if any, who will take part in tomorrow's one-day strike.'⁵⁰

The dismissal

The events of Tuesday, the day Edwards' dismissal notice expired, were distilled neatly in the *Waterford News* headlines describing the day's events

SCHOOL AS USUAL; EXCITING INCIDENT; CLASH IN BARRACK STREET; MEN TAKEN INTO CUSTODY; STRIKE PICKET SCUFFLE; STATEMENT BY MOUNT SION SUPERIOR

Some dozen boys, aged from eleven to fourteen, who left school on Monday, again made appearance on the streets on Tuesday morning, and remained for some time outside the gates as the scholars were entering classes and endeavoured to persuade them to join them. The

49 *Waterford News*, 11 January 1935.

50 *The Irish Times*, 15 January 1935.

scholars, many of whom were brought to the school gates by parents or relatives, remained loyal to the teachers, and entered on their daily tasks with indifference to either pleas or threats. One youngster amongst the strikers tied the school gates with a short length of rope, which was, however, quickly burst asunder by another boy going into school. A woman who called non-striking boys 'cowards' was booed and hissed by the crowd who had assembled to watch events.

As the day advanced, matters took a more serious turn. About mid-day a number of boy strikers formed a picket in front of the school buildings, carrying banners and shouting: 'We are on strike.' By this time some hundreds of adults, including many women, had assembled on the sidewalks and roadway in Barrack Street. Shouts were raised of 'Up the Pope' and 'Up the Catholics.' Following this there was an unexpected stir amongst the crowd, and a menacing situation developed which, eventually necessitated the drawing of batons and a charge was made by the *Gárdaí*.

In a subsequent melee more than one youngster was seen to fall and one member of the youthful picket alleged that he had received a blow of a baton ... the crowd quickly dispersed, but before they had done so *Gardaí* took into custody three young men and one boy whom they removed to barracks nearby. Shortly afterwards Mr. Séamus Malone, Secretary of Frank Edwards' Defence Committee, was seen to enter the Barracks, following which the boy was released by the *Gárdaí*.⁵¹

The *Irish Times* reported

Brother Flannery issued a statement stressing the normality of the schools' day and referred to pupil attendance as being excellent. He said that Mr. Edwards was in attendance all day and that the three months notice expired that afternoon. As the closing hour arrived, people began assembling again at the school gates. 'A double cordon of Guards ... was drawn up and through this avenue of police the pupils left the schools for their homes. As Mr. Frank Edwards appeared there were cheers and counter-cheers and from the neighbourhood of the schools the crowd moved down Barrack Street and congregated in front of his home before they again dispersed quietly. Brief addresses were delivered by Mr. Frank Edwards and his mother.'⁵²

It was after these statements that an event happened that is regarded as a shocking act of vindictiveness by the bishop. Peter O'Connor referred to it in his book.

Frank's mother did not escape persecution either. Bobby [Aileen] Edwards, Frank's wife, in an interview with Rosemary Cullen, shortly

51 *Waterford News*, 18 January 1935.

52 *The Irish Times*, 16 January 1935.

before her death in 1989, records the following: Mrs Edwards [Frank's mother] made a statement to the effect that 'in spite of the injustice done, the Edwards' will remain good Catholics.' A priest was sent to her by the Bishop ... to say that unless she publicly withdrew that statement she would be passed [refused Holy Communion] at the altar rails. To a woman like Mrs Edwards who was a devout Catholic this was a most hurtful and cruel thing to say. The injustice of [it] ... is beyond comprehension.⁵³

One of my interviewees corroborated the above story and told me that it affected Mrs Edwards deeply.

Some weeks later, three men appeared in court on a charge related to the pickets. These were, Patrick Walsh, John Lucas and John Hunt [This is the Jackie Hunt, later to become one of the ten Waterford men, including Edwards, who went to Spain to fight against the Fascists]. The State Solicitor told the three defendants that if they would give an undertaking to keep the peace he would not ask for any bonds or bails and he would withdraw the charges. All but Hunt agreed and he was put back for trial. At the Hunt trial, some six weeks later, Inspector Tobin elaborated on the reported incidents that happened outside the school. He said that some boys paraded outside Mount Sion School with placards. At that time there were about three hundred people assembled in the street. A number of men carrying placards, led by Hunt, appeared and proceeded to picket the school. A Garda approached Hunt and warned him that the actions of the picketers might lead to a breach of the peace but Hunt paid no attention to him. There was some rival shouting and the Gardaí threw a cordon across the street. A section of the crowd rushed towards the pickets and the Gardaí charged with batons drawn. Lucas dashed towards the pickets flashing a short stick and he came to grips with Sergeant Duignan. It was then that the Gardaí arrested the three men. The Justice dismissed the case for lack of evidence.⁵⁴

The aftermath

After Edwards' dismissal, Waterford Corporation held a special meeting and agreed, unanimously, a resolution of loyalty to the bishop. It was quickly followed by similar resolutions from the Ursuline Convent, Ballybricken Church outdoor collectors, De La Salle Pioneers and Past Pupil's Union, Mercy Convent Children of Mary, Mount Sion Sodality, Waterford Legion of Mary, etc., etc.⁵⁵ Commandant Cronin of the League of Youth (The Blueshirts) also issued a statement on the issue and called on all its members to 'uphold Christian principles, and to oppose strenuously and uproot Communism.'⁵⁶ However, in an extraordinary development the Dungarvan Urban District Council, by eight votes to six, supported its chairman in refusing to accept a resolution pledging allegiance to Most Rev. Dr.

53 *A Soldier of Liberty*, p. 4.

54 *Waterford News*, 1 February 1935.

55 *Ibid*, 18 January 1935.

56 *The Irish Times*, 18 January 1935.

Kinane, Bishop of Waterford. The dismissal of Mr Edwards, the Waterford teacher, was mentioned during the discussion, a member remarking that he believed Mr Edwards had been victimised.⁵⁷

The *Waterford News* ceased reporting on the case and considered it closed. In its issue of 18 January 1935 under the by-line 'Local & District Gossip' it printed

Although we regret that, so early in his career, Mr. Frank Edwards, a popular young man of brilliant attainments, has been faced with the ordeal known to the Dublin press as 'the Waterford controversy,' we should like to say that the position is such that one particular misunderstanding should be removed from the mind of anybody who happens to have misinterpreted this aspect of the points at issue. This is the aspect as to the respect in which His Lordship is held by his whole flock. We should like to say that His Lordship the Bishop has no more loyal and faithful body in his diocese than those who are supporters of the Government. They acknowledge in the fullest possible manner his jurisdiction over them, and accept his teaching on faith and morals unreservedly.

We have received from Mr Frank Ryan, with a request for insertion in the 'News', a copy of his letter published on Wednesday in the 'Dublin Press.' Owing to the pronouncement made by the Bishop, addressed to all under his jurisdiction in this diocese, and binding on all Catholics, we are precluded from publishing Mr Ryan's comments. We think that the Bishop's pastoral letter should be received in the proper spirit by all. It was clearly intended to be the final pronouncement in this controversy.⁵⁸

The controversy had now become a national one and a war of words exploded in the national press. The *Irish Times* was to the forefront and published daily reports from its Waterford reporter.

On Saturday 26 January 1935, a private meeting of Catholic teachers in Waterford took place. A resolution was passed expressing loyalty and unswerving obedience to the Bishop

as guide and teacher in matters of faith and morals. When Mr Frank Edwards, the dismissed teacher, endeavoured to address the meeting from the platform there were repeated interruptions, and for several minutes pandemonium reigned. After the resolution had been adopted, Mr Edwards, who was accompanied by members of the Republican Congress group, left the Town Hall.⁵⁹

Immediately after this meeting the INTO held its quarterly meeting and Edwards was appointed as one of the delegates to the annual teachers' congress.

57 *The Irish Times*, 21 January 1935.

58 *Waterford News*, 18 January 1935.

59 *Ibid*, 28 January 1935.

The following day saw a massive show of support for Edwards when eight hundred members of the IRA, marching four deep and accompanied by two pipe bands, took part in a torchlight parade and two thousand people subsequently attended a republican meeting on the Mall. Contingents of the IRA were present from Waterford city and county and from the adjoining counties of Wexford, Kilkenny, Tipperary and Cork. A large force of Civic Guards was on duty but the meeting passed off without incident.⁶⁰

This meeting went ahead despite a warning from the bishop read at all Masses that morning but the most extraordinary fact about the meeting was that Mr Patrick Kinane, the bishop's cousin, was billed as one of the speakers. In the event, the meeting chairman read a letter from Mr Kinane in which the latter apologised for his inability to attend and stated that he stood firmly for the IRA and its policy, as outlined and recently expounded by the Army Council. The principal speaker was Maurice Twomey, Chief of Staff, IRA and Tom Barry, the West Cork republican leader, also spoke.

The public controversy petered out eventually and the *Gárdaí* and detectives were withdrawn from Mount Sion where they had patrolled the schools and grounds for the previous three months. Edwards was given another opportunity to argue his case, this time in Dublin. On 2 February 1935, the INTO executive met and the following is the minute of the section of that meeting which concerned itself with the Edwards dismissal:

A report was submitted of the action taken since the last meeting in connection with this case, including an account of the interview with the Bishop of Waterford. The Secretary reported that all the members of the Executive had approved of the action taken by the President and himself in advising Mr. Edwards to sign the document presented to him by the Bishop. A very long discussion took place in regard to the case, but no action was taken.⁶¹

Appeal to the INTO congress

The committee considered the case closed but Edwards had one final chance to speak. At the INTO Congress, Edwards, as a delegate, was allowed to speak on the committee's report concerning his dismissal. He was the only speaker and he was greeted with some applause as he rose.

I would like to say that in coming to you, I am not coming before you as a pathetic case looking for sympathy and trying to convert you to my political views. I will state my side of the case. ... I have been dismissed for my political opinions.

At this point a delegate interjected; 'You should be thrown out. You have no political opinions.' This delegate was later escorted from the hall after a third interruption.

Edwards continued

60 *Waterford News*, 28 January 1935.

61 *An Múinteoir*, p. 13.



At Frank Ryan's grave in Dresden, 1966 (left to right): Frank Edwards; Arno Herring, formerly volunteer in the XI (German-speaking) International Brigade; Donal O'Reilly; Michael O'Riordan; Anneliese Ichenhauser (interpreter); behind a representative of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

Source: Michael O'Riordan (1979), *Connolly Column* (Dublin, New Books).

I have been dismissed because of my political opinions expressed outside the school. The Bishop admitted I never introduced political opinions inside my schools ... therefore my dismissal raises an issue of whether a teacher has the right to hold political opinions.⁶²

He went on to tell of his attacks on local slum landlords, and of Brother Flannery's warning to him. He said that at that time, although his support for the Republican Congress was known, he was given the Confirmation class. 'Why did they do that if they thought I was teaching anti-Catholic doctrine?' he asked, alleging that the Bishop's condemnation of the Republican Congress was done to provide a reason for his sacking. At the conclusion of his speech, Edwards said

I am very sincere in appealing for a backing not merely because I have lost my job, but it is more than that. Liberty to hold political opinions outside the school. This is at stake. I would ask you to reconsider the decision of the C.E.C. [committee] advising me to surrender that right to hold political opinions. It is not on the side of the manager but on the side of the teacher that the C.E.C. should come in, in such a case. If I did sign that document, I would feel that I had betrayed not only my own convictions but the INTO in general. I thank you very much for the hearing you have given me.⁶³

The paragraph in the committee report outlining the steps taken by the executive was then put to Congress, and agreed to, only one delegate dissenting; and so ended the Edwards controversy.

After the dismissal, Edwards went to Dublin where he helped Frank Ryan edit the *Republican Congress*. He got a month's work in a school in Sligo and then got a job digging ditches in Dublin for a pipe-laying company. On the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, he went to Spain where he fought with great courage against Franco's Fascists. On his return to Ireland, he eventually secured a teaching post in Mount Zion Jewish School in Rathgar, where he taught until his retirement. He had completed his journey from Mount Sion to Mount Zion. He died on 7 June 1983 and his remains were cremated at Glasnevin. In a graveside oration Peadar O'Donnell said

I think Frank Edwards will become a legend and his legend and his name will live on long after most of us here are forgotten.⁶⁴

62 *An Múinteoir*, Ip. 13.

63 *An Múinteoir*, p. 13.

64 Manus O'Riordan (1983) *Portrait of an Irish Anti-fascist*.

See webpage <http://members.lycos.co.uk/spanish/civilwar/Edwards/>



John J. Hearne
(By kind permission of the National Library of Ireland)

'A Planned Announcement'? – Costello in Canada, September 1948

by Emma Cunningham

THE VISIT of John A. Costello to Canada set in motion the final step leading to Ireland's departure from the Commonwealth. Ireland became a member of the British Commonwealth as part of the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty settlement. Between 1922 and 1932, W.T. Cosgrave's government sought to gain greater freedom for Ireland and the other Dominions by constantly calling for the development and reform of the Commonwealth organisation. However, when Eamon de Valera came to power in 1932 Ireland's gradual retreat from Commonwealth membership began. Under the 1936 External Relations Act, the King was authorised to only act for Ireland in the spectrum of external affairs when advised by the Irish Government. In 1937, de Valera introduced a new constitution. John J. Hearne, later to be the first Irish High Commissioner to Canada, but at the time legal adviser to the Department of External Affairs played a major role in drafting the document. The Constitution did not refer to the King and while Ireland was not declared a Republic, the document seemed to imply it. These steps coupled with Ireland's neutrality in World War 2, while the other Dominions fought, meant that Ireland's links with the Commonwealth were tenuous by the time Costello visited Canada in September 1948.

The Irish diplomatic representative during Costello's visit was John Joseph Hearne. John Hearne was born in Waterford in 1893. His father Richard Hearne was the founder of one of Ireland's first boot factories and Mayor of Waterford.¹ He attended Waterpark Christian Brothers School in Waterford before studying for the priesthood at Maynooth College. He left Maynooth shortly before he was to be ordained. He then pursued a legal career. He was awarded a BA and a LLB from the National University of Ireland and was called to the Irish Bar in 1919 and served on the Leinster Council. With the outbreak of civil war, he joined the pro-treaty Free State Army.² He subsequently became a legal adviser to the Department of External Affairs, a position he held between 1929 and 1939. According to Professor Dermot Keogh, he was perhaps 'the person with whom de Valera had the closest contact during the early years of his coming to office'.³ Hearne's proven diplomatic skills in the Department of External Affairs at headquarters in Dublin made him an ideal choice to fill the post of Irish High Commissioner in Canada when it was established in 1939. He served in this post until 1950.

1 *Irish Times*, 31 March 1969.

2 M. Hearne, *Proposals for the biography of John J. Hearne* (Unpublished work). Copies of these notes were kindly given to me by Ms. Bernadette Kilduff.

3 D. Keogh, 'Profile of Joseph Walshe, Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs, 1922-46' in *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1990), p. 74.

In September 1948, the Taoiseach and head of the first Inter Party Government, John A. Costello travelled to Canada to address the Canadian Bar Association. He was a guest of the Canadian Government during his time in Canada.⁴ While in Canada, Costello made a controversial announcement that has engaged historians in debate over the subsequent fifty years.⁵ On 7 September 1948, he declared that it was his Government's intention to repeal the External Relations Act. This would in effect mean that Ireland would sever its last link with the Crown. The External Relations Act authorised the King to act on behalf of Ireland only 'for the purpose of the appointment of diplomatic and consular representatives and the conclusion of international agreements'.⁶ According to the historian Nicholas Mansergh, the act was by 1948 important 'not by reason of any diplomatic functions discharged, but because of the symbolic status it had acquired as a surviving relic from past confrontations. It was unpopular and had been reduced to a device for leaving ajar the door to unity.'⁷ This act was the last link binding Ireland to the Commonwealth. If it was repealed and no other link was put in its place, it was generally assumed that Ireland would cease to be a member of the Commonwealth.

Costello and the Governor General

Costello's announcement in Canada has been generally seen as more spontaneous than planned. His actions have been frequently attributed to a number of incidents that occurred during his trip. The first episode occurred at a garden party at McGill University in Montreal at which the King's representative in Canada, the Governor General, Viscount Alexander of Tunis, was also present. Alexander's family were from Northern Ireland. President Sean T. O'Kelly later told the Acting High Commissioner for Canada in Ireland, David Johnson of the events that transpired. According to O'Kelly, an aide of the Governor General approached Costello and his wife and said the Governor would like them to join him for tea. The Costellos were then taken to the Governor's marquee and seated near the Governor. According to Costello, the Governor did not greet them on their arrival or speak to them throughout the course of the tea. After tea was served, the Costellos left the tent, still without exchanging a word with the Governor.⁸

4 Pearson to Turgeon, 25 August 1948. RG25, vol. 4480, file 50021-40, pt. 1, National Archives, Canada [NAC].

5 Studies by Ian McCabe and Frederick McEvoy have done much to illuminate these events. See I. McCabe, (1991) *A Diplomatic History of Ireland 1948-1949* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press) and F.J. McEvoy, 'Canada, Ireland and the Commonwealth: the declaration of the Irish Republic' in *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. XXIV, No. 96, November 1985.

6 'The Status of Ireland: The External Relations Act', 9 September 1948. RG25, vol. 6181, file 484-40, pt. 2, NAC.

7 N. Mansergh, (1991) *The Unresolved Question: the Anglo-Irish Settlement and its Undoing 1912-1972* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London), p. 328.

8 Memorandum: Johnson's report on meeting with President O'Kelly. Sent in letter from D.B. Hicks to Johnson, 17 December 1949. RG25, vol. 4481, file 50021-40, pt. 1, NAC.

That evening the Irish party attended the annual dinner of the Canadian Bar Association over which Alexander presided. The official programme for this dinner said that there would be two toasts, one to the King and the other to the heads of other sovereign states. As the host country was Canada, the toast to the King was given first. The second toast covered the other countries that were represented at the event but did not mention Ireland. In response to a query from the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Louis St Laurent, Costello informed him that the toast to the King did not cover Ireland.⁹ This incident irked Costello, as he had been earlier in the year when he had visited Downing Street and the British Prime Minister, Clement Atlee had proposed the toast to the King. It was usually the custom for the visitor to make the toast. Atlee, by his actions, had indicated that he still considered Ireland to be part of the Commonwealth family and not a foreign visitor. For Costello 'both these incidents were a striking confirmation of the views we held as to the confusion and difficulty created in our international relations by the External Relations Act of 1936.'¹⁰ Costello's private secretary, Patrick Lynch later wrote that at this event, the Governor 'seemed either anti-social or slightly hostile in his few exchanges with Mr. Costello'. However, John Hearne later explained to Lynch and Costello that 'the Governor General's manner tended to be dour and that too much should not be read into it'.¹¹

The next episode occurred on 4 September 1948 at a dinner given by the Governor General in honour of Costello. Costello was angered by the table decoration used for the event. Facing him was the 'Roaring Meg'. This was a silver replica of the artillery used by King William's forces in the Siege of Derry. This had been presented to the Governor General six months earlier by the city of Londonderry when he had been awarded the freedom of the city. It had since been used consistently as a centrepiece on the dining table for formal functions at his residence, Government House. The Secretary to the Governor General, General Letson later explained that 'the placing of this ornament on the table at the time of the Costello visit was, therefore, quite a routine matter and it did not occur to anyone that it should not be used.'¹² Sean T. O'Kelly later told the UK Representative in Ireland, Lord Rugby that during the dinner Costello was so annoyed by the presence of the 'Roaring Meg' that he 'made the decision to cut through all this and made the statement which brought on the repeal of the External Relations Act'.¹³ This contradicts Costello's own reports of events; while annoyed by the table decoration, he said he 'decided to make no comment, although I considered the matter as being in bad taste. I felt that any protest would only disturb and embarrass the [Canadian] Prime

9 *Irish Independent*, 8 September 1967.

10 *Irish Independent*, 8 September 1967.

11 P. Lynch, 'Pages from a Memoir' in Lynch, Patrick and Meenan, James (eds) *Essays in Memory of Alexis Fitzgerald*, pp. 50-51.

12 Secretary of State for External Affairs to the High Commissioner for Canada in Ireland, 28 February 1949. RG25, vol. 4480, file 50021-40 pt. 2, NAC.

13 I. McCabe, 'John Costello 'Announces' the Repeal of the External Relations Act', in *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1992, p. 75.

Minister and that while the display was tactless it was not intended to be provocative.¹⁴

For Costello, the real snub of the evening again revolved around the issue of toasts. Before attending the dinner Costello had asked Hearne to check protocol for the evening. Patrick Lynch later recorded that Hearne told Costello that he had enquired from the Canadian Department of External Affairs and was told there would be a toast to the King and to the President of Ireland. Lynch further claims that on the evening of the dinner, the Governor's secretary telephoned Hearne's residence to confirm the arrangements already made with the Department concerning the toast.¹⁵ However, when the toasts were made after the dinner there was one to the King but none to the President of Ireland. Patrick Lynch described the evening thus:

Subsequent conversation between the two men [Alexander and Costello] could not be described as animated, but the Taoiseach displayed an unusually subdued manner until the formalities ended. Afterwards he expressed annoyance to the High Commissioner at the lack of the toast to the President. John Hearne perhaps acting the diplomat, said that the omission may have been the result of a breakdown in protocol. Certainly no reference was made to the 'Roaring Meg'.¹⁶

Later, when Hearne contacted the Department of External Affairs he was informed that they had no control over the happenings at Governor General's functions.¹⁷ The Governor General was not made aware of Costello's annoyance and when questioned several years later he said that it was his recollection that they had done everything possible to make the Taoiseach welcome even to the extent of decorating the table with green, white and yellow flowers.¹⁸

While Costello was annoyed, it was not customary for a toast to be proposed to the President of Ireland at such events. The Canadian High Commissioner in Ireland, William Turgeon wrote in December 1948 that he had been in Ireland for almost two years and had never witnessed such a toast. Lord Rugby who had been in Ireland for nine years also agreed that it was unusual. He told Turgeon that he had only once heard of such a toast being proposed and that was just a month before Costello's visit to Canada. The occasion was a dinner given in Dublin in honour of the British Lord Chancellor, Benjamin Jowitt. As the Lord Chancellor walked into the dining room with the Minister for External Affairs and leader of Clann na Poblachta, Seán MacBride, he was asked to propose a toast to the

14 *Irish Times*, 8 September 1967.

15 P. Lynch, *Pages from a Memoir*, p. 52.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

17 Memorandum: Johnson's report on meeting with President O'Kelly. Sent in letter from D.B. Hicks to Johnson, 17 December 1949. RG25, vol. 4481, file 50021-40, pt. 1, NAC.

18 *Irish Times*, 25 March 1961.

President at the end of dinner. Lord Jowitt had no time to consult London about the correct protocol so he made the toast. According to Turgeon there was

no doubt that this question of a toast to the President of Ireland, being a very recent innovation, is part and parcel of the general scheme to substitute the President for the King in Ireland's External Affairs, the intention being to confer a high degree of importance on the presidential office; although the Irish Constitution of 1937 does not warrant this.¹⁹

The Press Conference

On 6 September 1948, two days after the dinner at the Governor's residence, Costello was informed that the previous days *Sunday Independent* had carried the headline 'External Relations Act To Go'. Hector Legge, the editor of the *Sunday Independent* claimed that the story was the result of 'journalistic intuition' based on recent comments by government members but that government members did not give him information.²⁰ Costello, faced with a pre-arranged press conference, knew the points raised in the *Sunday Independent* article would be mentioned. According to Costello:

I had only four courses to take: (1) to say 'no comment' and to decline to make any statement or suggestion, however great the needling of the press might be; (2) to deny the truth of the report (which was splashed in Dublin newspapers); (3) to admit its accuracy, or finally (4) to say the matter would be dealt with on the re-assembly of the Dáil.²¹

In an interview published in the *Irish Times* in 1967, Costello stated that he believed 'the story was not just "intelligent anticipation" but was the result of a "leak" from some person with inside knowledge'. He refused to name the person involved.²² Costello gave a similar explanation to Nicholas Mansergh in 1952 and this time indicated that he believed the leak came from MacBride:

on Sunday before the announcement, *Sunday Independent* published forecast of repeal. Press enquiry to C. [Costello] who put receiver down. On reflection and suspecting deliberate leak (MacBride) and clearly influenced by incidents above decided at Press Conference next day to say Yes. This was in accordance with general Cabinet view as recorded in minutes but evidently not in point of time.²³

19 Turgeon to Secretary of State for External Affairs, 7 December 1948. RG25, vol. 4480, file 50021-40 pt. 2, NAC.

20 *Sunday Independent*, 1 November 1970.

21 *Irish Times*, 8 September 1967.

22 *Irish Times*, 8 September 1967.

23 D. Mansergh (ed), (1997) *Nationalism and Independence: Selected Irish Papers by Nicholas Mansergh* (Cork: Cork University Press), p. 189.

According to Patrick Lynch, on 6 September Mac Bride sent a telegram to Costello advising him to make no comment. Lynch also recorded that he and Hearne advised that course of action.²⁴ The historian David McCullagh, disputes Lynch's version of events and records that according to MacBride's personal secretary Louie O'Brien, MacBride leaked the story and later telephoned Costello to encourage him to confirm the story at the press conference.²⁵

The press conference on 7 September 1948 began with Costello discussing the economy, emigration, relations with the UK and partition. When asked if the government intend to repeal the External Relations Act, he responded in the affirmative. This reply became known popularly as Costello's 'announcement'.²⁶ Lynch describes how this received little reaction because most of the reporters had never heard of the act. However, when the issue was pursued and Costello was asked if that meant leaving the Commonwealth, Costello said it would. With that, a buzz of excitement spread around the room.²⁷

A planned announcement?

Historians have extensively debated the motivation behind Costello's announcement. Prior to his visit, there had been discussions in government circles on the issue of repealing the External Relations Act. During the debate on the Taoiseach's estimates in August 1948, Eamon de Valera, the leader of the opposition, spoke at length about Ireland's relationship with the Commonwealth. In response William Norton, the Tánaiste proclaimed it his view that to repeal the External Relations Act would be good for Ireland's self respect and her image at home. To which de Valera announced 'go ahead, you will get no opposition from us'.²⁸ In a press interview in 1967, Costello claimed that by 1948, all the government ministers agreed that the External Relations Act should be repealed, with the exception of Noël Browne who was not in attendance when the issue was discussed. During this interview, Costello claimed that he was unsure whether the decision to repeal the External Relations Act had been recorded, he was certain that the decision was taken before he left for Canada.²⁹ There is no record in the Cabinet minutes before Costello's visit to Canada of a decision being taken to repeal the External Relations Act. This however, could be the result of irregular recording of Cabinet minutes, caused by MacBride's distrust of the civil service. MacBride had persuaded the cabinet to exclude Maurice Moynihan, the secretary to the government from government meetings. The job of taking minutes was instead assigned to the inexperienced Liam Cosgrave.³⁰ President Seán T. O'Kelly substantiated Costello's account. In December 1949, David Johnson, the Acting High Commissioner for Canada in

24 D. McCullagh (1998) *A Makeshift Majority: The First Inter-Party Government, 1948-51* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration) p. 84.

25 *Ibid.*

26 I. McCabe, *A Diplomatic History of Ireland*, p. 13.

27 P. Lynch, *Pages from a Memoir*, p. 55.

28 *Irish Times*, 8 September 1967.

29 *Irish Times*, 8 September 1967.

30 R. Fanning (1983) *Independent Ireland*, (Dublin: Helicon Limited), p.167.

Ireland reported that O'Kelly had told him that the Cabinet had decided to repeal the External Relations Act before the trip to Canada in order to ensure political survival. According to O'Kelly, MacBride had been especially pressing for this, as he believed to remain in office Clann na Poblachta had to seem to be more Republican than Fianna Fail.³¹

Indications of the government's plans were evident in Costello's speech to the Canadian Bar Association a few days before he made his announcement at the press conference. Before he left for Canada, the Cabinet had unanimously approved the text of this speech. MacBride later claimed that this was the only time in the term of office of the First Inter Party Government that a speech was read and approved at a Cabinet meeting.³² He described it in 1979 as a 'good lawyer-like speech'.³³ It contained three main ideas, firstly that Ireland had been in the vanguard in the development of the Commonwealth. Secondly, that Ireland needed to look on Irish people abroad as part of her empire, albeit a spiritual one and finally that the External Relations Act was 'full of infirmities and inaccuracies' which the speech implied could only be suitably dealt with by repeal.³⁴ Speaking at the University of Toronto in 1978, MacBride explained that:

Mr. Costello as Taoiseach came to Canada on the invitation of the Canadian Bar Association to deliver a speech. I was then a member of his Cabinet and the speech he made detailed the various reasons why the continuance of Ireland in the membership of the Commonwealth had ceased to be acceptable to the Irish people. He stated this very clearly and definitively in a speech which he prepared and circulated to the Cabinet in Dublin at least a week before he came to Canada and the speech represented a statement of the considered view of the Irish Government.³⁵

Costello's private secretary, Patrick Lynch, supports MacBride's argument. Lynch recorded that 'it strains credibility to suggest that the future of the relationship with the Commonwealth had not been decided before the Taoiseach left for Canada.'³⁶ Certainly, his speech to the Bar Association, Norton's comments in the Dáil during the summer of 1948 and the general preoccupation evident regarding the External Relations Act during the adjournment debate in the Dáil in 1948 showed intent on the part of the government. What is less clear is where or when they planned to announce their intentions to repeal the External Relations Act.

31 Memorandum: Johnson's report on meeting with President O'Kelly. Sent in letter from D.B. Hicks to Johnson, 17 December 1949. RG25, vol. 4481, file 50021-40, pt. 1, NAC.

32 *Irish Times*, 10 July 1962.

33 *Irish Times*, 1 and 2 January 1979.

34 Escott Reid to Turgeon, 14 October 1948. RG25, vol. 4480, file 50021-40, pt. 1, NAC.

35 S. MacBride, 'A Toast to Canada' in R. O'Driscoll and L. Reynolds (eds) (1988) *The Untold Story – The Irish in Canada, Vol. 2*, (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada), p. 884.

36 P. Lynch, 'Pages from a Memoir', p. 45.

In the aftermath of his visit to Canada, Costello continually stressed that the decision to make the announcement in Canada was not the result of the alleged slights in the company of the Governor General. Initially, all official reports of the trip seemed very positive. In a letter to the Tánaiste, William Norton just four days after the announcement Costello said that there was a very friendly feeling in Canada towards them and that it was the *Sunday Independent* article that decided his action for him.³⁷ However, rumours persisted that it was anger that prompted Costello's announcement. On his return to Dublin, Costello told Priestman, the Commercial Secretary in the Canadian High Commission that with 'one solitary exception, of which he would not speak, everyone made him welcome'.³⁸ Canada's High Commissioner in Ireland, W.A. Turgeon heard that Costello was annoyed by events in Canada from Lord Rugby, who had been told of it by Frank MacDermot, a *Sunday Times* correspondent. Turgeon was surprised to hear this, as Hearne had told him that they had been very pleased with all aspects of the trip.³⁹

After hearing from various sources of the alleged affronts, the Canadian Department investigated the affair. It was felt that 'possibly the whole episode can be explained by the fact that Viscount Alexander is of a Northern Ireland family and that Mr. Costello's attitude would be unsympathetic and that he might have been looking for anything that could possibly indicate the slightest insult'.⁴⁰ While it was decided not to tell the Governor General about the reports, it was decided to speak to his secretary, General Letson.⁴¹ The Department was unable to verify the reported events at the garden party and the 'Roaring Meg' incident was considered simply an oversight. It was determined by the Canadian Department of External Affairs that Hearne did contact them on the subject of the toasts but the report concluded that it was suggested that he should contact Government House directly. It could not be confirmed if he did this.⁴² The Canadian Department of External Affairs was in no doubt that Costello had decided to repeal the act before he arrived in Canada. However it was felt 'quite possible that Mr. Costello might have advanced his announcement of the repeal, if he considered he may have been affronted. He is known to be impulsive and emotional'.⁴³ Chapdelaine, the Acting High Commissioner in Dublin reported in June 1950, 'Mr Costello has his own solid dose of Irish susceptibility, and in a fortnight of daily rubbing elbows in

37 Letter from Costello to Norton, 11 September 1948. Published in *Irish Times*, 3 January 1979.

38 Priestman to Secretary of State for External Affairs, 5 October 1948. RG25, vol. 4480, file 50021-40 pt. 1, NAC.

39 Turgeon to Secretary of State for External Affairs, 7 December 1948. RG25, vol. 4480, file 50021-40 pt. 2, NAC.

40 Memorandum for Secretary of State for External Affairs, 31 December 1948. RG25, vol. 4480, file 50021-40, pt. 2, NAC.

41 Memorandum for Secretary of State for External Affairs, 28 February 1949. RG25, vol. 4480, file 50021-40, pt. 2, NAC.

42 Chapdelaine to Robertson, 1 June 1950. RG25, vol. 4481, file 50021-40, pt. 1, NAC.

43 Memorandum prepared by H.F. Feaver, Commonwealth Division, 7 February 1950. RG25, vol. 4481, file 50021-40, pt. 1, NAC.

Canada, it is inevitable that some of the rubbing may have hit upon angles.¹⁴⁴ He continued, 'Mr Costello was rarin' to go and, almost like a child with a secret, could not hold it.'¹⁴⁵

Meeting with the Mackenzie King

Whether the announcement was planned or unplanned, once made the Irish and Canadian parties involved in his visit had to deal with the change of focus. On the evening of Costello's announcement, the Canadian Prime Minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King held a dinner for the Taoiseach. The Governor General and his wife were also present and Patrick Lynch later recorded that they were friendlier than on the previous meetings. Perhaps noting the changed atmosphere, Costello was also more courteous and complementary.¹⁴⁶ At the end of the evening Mackenzie King recorded that the dinner was 'one of the most difficult in some respects I have ever had to face. One difficulty filled with dynamite, which might have occasioned an explosion, which, would have been far reaching indeed.'¹⁴⁷ Mackenzie King had not seen the afternoon papers and did not know of Costello's announcement until the Governor General's wife informed him. He recorded in his diary that he 'knew that this question was coming up ... but had not anticipated anything of the kind would be announced in Ottawa, and certainly not on the day of the Government giving the P.M. [Prime Minister] a dinner'.¹⁴⁸ Mackenzie King had previously decided that there would be no toasts at such dinners. However, unknown to him the Protocol Division of the Canadian Department of External Affairs had decided that there would be toasts that evening. On the back of the menu card there was mention of two toasts, one to the King, the other to the President of Ireland. In the aftermath of the press conference Mackenzie King considered that to give a toast to the President of Ireland would be to recognise Ireland as a completely separate country from the Commonwealth. He decided he could not allow the toasts to go ahead as planned because 'nothing of course could have suited Costello's book better than the menu card as arranged. Equally nothing could be more full of explosives than just what that card might produce.'¹⁴⁹

Mackenzie King spoke to Costello and explained that there were many at the dinner sympathetic to the position of Northern Ireland. The Canadian Prime Minister explained he wanted the gathering to be a social one and did not wish to create a controversy that could get into the press and asked Costello's advice about what they could do about the situation. Costello suggested that the toast should be proposed to the President of Éire and in that way he would only be referring to the twenty-six counties and that he would offer the toast to the King.¹⁵⁰ J.A.

44 Chapdelaine to Robertson, 1 June 1950. RG25, vol. 4481, file 50021-40, pt. 1, NAC.

45 *Ibid.*

46 P. Lynch, Pages from a Memoir, p. 55.

47 Mackenzie King Diary, 7 September 1948. MG26, J13, vol. 126, NAC.

48 *Ibid.*

49 *Ibid.*

50 *Ibid.*

Chapdelaine, the Acting Canadian High Commissioner in Dublin noted in 1950 that:

It is rather sad that, even though it was after the cat was out of the bag, this additional irritant should have piled on to the shoulders of Mr. Costello – to find himself denied the pleasure of having his Fianna Fail opponent, the President of Ireland, Sean T. O'Kelly, toasted when he got within reach of that victory by having the toast printed on the menu – but at least that incident came after the event and could not be considered as having in any way prompted it.⁵¹

That night Mackenzie King made what he felt to be 'one of the best speeches of my life'.⁵² He spoke of the contribution made by Ireland to Canada including the contribution being made at present by Viscount Alexander and Hearne and he spoke of Costello's public record. In response Costello was gracious in his reference to Mackenzie King and no reference was made to the announcement made earlier in the day.⁵³

On 9 September, Costello visited Mackenzie King at his country house outside Ottawa, Kingsmere. Also in attendance were John Hearne, Norman Robertson, the Canadian High Commissioner in London and Lester B. Pearson, then Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs but appointed Secretary of State for External Affairs the following day. While discussing the announcement made at the press conference, Costello said he feared that if the Irish Government did not act quickly a private member would bring a bill before the Dáil and that it would be passed.⁵⁴ He also explained to Mackenzie King that he feared

if it was not dealt with now and finally, there might well be a relapse into the habits of political violence from which Ireland had suffered so much and from which she was now happily free. Since Ireland was now already outside the Commonwealth, the repealed External Relations Act would only formalise what for some time had been the *de facto* situation.⁵⁵

Costello argued that 'the Crown had been the symbol of the humiliation and subjection of the Irish Nation and of the religious persecution of the Irish people'.⁵⁶ The repeal of the External Relations Act would remove the last obstacle, but one, to closer friendship between Britain and Ireland. The one obstacle remaining was partition.⁵⁷ According to Hearne, 'no summary could adequately record the

51 Chapdelaine to Robertson, 1 June 1950. RG25, vol. 4481, file 50021-40, pt. 2, NAC.

52 Mackenzie King Diary, 7 September 1948. MG26, J13, vol. 126, NAC.

53 P. Lynch, Pages from a Memoir, p. 56.

54 Mackenzie King Diary, 9 September 1948. MG26, J13, vol. 126, NAC.

55 Notes of conversation between the PM of Canada and the PM of Ireland, at Kingsmere, 9 September 1948. RG25, vol. 4480, file 50021-40 pt. 2, NAC.

56 Report from Hearne on the Kingsmere Conversation, 9 September 1948. Secretary's Files, P12/5, National Archives, Ireland [NAI].

57 Notes of conversation between the PM of Canada and the PM of Ireland, at Kingsmere, 9 September 1948. RG25, vol. 4480, file 50021-40 pt. 2, NAC.

Taoiseach's objective and masterly presentation of the historic Irish case against the Crown. He was superb. He excelled all his wonted excellence.⁵⁸

After listening to Costello, Mackenzie King said that he hoped Ireland would continue to be in some way associated with the Commonwealth. Mackenzie King was astute enough to realise that repeal of the External Relations Act did not necessarily mean that Ireland would have to sever all links with the Commonwealth. Costello explained that Canada and Ireland had strong historical and spiritual ties, which made constitutional ties irrelevant. Co-operation could continue between Republics such as Ireland and India and constitutional monarchies such as Canada and Britain without it being expressed in constitutional terms. Mackenzie King agreed it was possible and the Canadians were to become a significant force in the negotiations that were to take place in the following months to decide the nature of the Irish relationship with the Commonwealth members.

Conclusion

There is no clear reason as to why Costello made the announcement when and where he did. His claim that he did it to finally bring peace to Ireland seems an unlikely reason. If that was his sole reason, he surely could have waited until he returned to Dublin and announced it in the regular way. The frequently cited argument that Costello was so angry at the slights received at the hand of the Governor General that he made the announcement in anger also does not appear to be a sufficient explanation for his actions. The press conference was held almost two days after the infamous dinner, thereby giving Costello time to calm down and to reflect on his actions. Had the *Sunday Independent* article not been published, it is possible that Costello would not have acted in the way he did. It brought the issue of the External Relations Act further into the forum for discussion. The article coupled with the fear a private member would introduce a bill were probably the issues that forced Costello's hand. He knew that immediate action would be required on his return to Ireland. Therefore as he faced the press conference he was aware that questions regarding his intentions would be raised. To deny the rumours would be to lie and it would be proven he had lied within a few weeks when the Cabinet moved to introduce the planned bill. Also to deny the rumours would be to imply that Ireland was happy to maintain unchanged their existing ties to the Commonwealth, a position Costello believed was untenable. To tell the truth was probably the honourable course. However one can't help feeling that a simple 'no comment' would have been better and he could have allowed the press read what they wished into it and made the announcement of repeal back on Irish soil. While Costello was a very able lawyer and politician, he was an inexperienced Taoiseach. He panicked in a difficult situation and made his decision for short-term political reasons without fully contemplating what the long-term effects were for Ireland.

58 Report from Hearne on the Kingsmere Conversation, 9 September 1948. Secretary's Files, P12/5, NAI.



John A. Costello

Ireland's departure from the British Commonwealth¹

by John B. O'Brien

EVER since John A. Costello, the Irish Prime Minister, announced in Canada on 7 September 1948 that his government was going to Repeal the External Relations Act, that decision has been shrouded in controversy. Costello himself always maintained that it was a deliberate decision of the government and that his announcement in Canada was due to a leak in the *Sunday Independent* on 5 September about the intention of the Irish government. He has been supported in that claim by his Minister for External Affairs, Sean Mac Bride, while on the other hand his Minister for Health, Dr Noel Browne has alleged that it was an impulsive more provoked by the reception which Costello received in Canada, especially the placing of a silver replica of 'Roaring MEG', the famous cannon used by the Protestants in their defence of Derry's walls against the Catholics, in front of him at dinner. In fact, Browne goes further and states that Costello proffered his resignation on his return because 'he had no authority from the Cabinet for his decision' although other Cabinet members, for example, James Dillon, Dan Morrissey and Paddy McGilligan denied that any such Cabinet meeting ever took place.²

It is obviously impossible to reconcile such irreconcilable positions, but I hope in this article to draw some conclusions, based on a detailed analysis of the crucial events of late 1948 and early 1949, which place those events in a clearer relief. This analysis surprisingly uncovers another participant in the saga, namely Dr H.V. Evatt, the Australian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs who, without any prompting from the Irish, played a vital role in averting a hostile response by the British to Costello's move. Dr Evatt's motives are as obscure as Costello's. He had no previous involvement in Irish internal affairs; he was not of Irish extraction and he had not instructions from Canberra, but he was destined to play a pivotal part in the crisis.

Decision to Repeal the External Relations Act

In repealing the External Relations Act the Costello Government had two objectives in mind – first to break the last connection with the British Crown and second to confirm Ireland's departure from the British Commonwealth. While under the

1 This article was previously published in *The Round Table* (1988), 306 (179-194). My thanks to Professor Catherine O'Brien, Dr O'Brien's widow, for permission to re-publish in *Decies*.

* DO (Dominions Office); ERA (External Relations Act); CRO (Commonwealth Relations Office).

2 Fanning, Ronan (1983) *Independent Ireland* (Dublin: Helicon) pp. 172-180; also Brown, Noel (1980) *Against the tide* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan) pp. 129-133.

terms of the 1926 Balfour Declaration and subsequent Statute of Westminster these two steps were inextricably linked, the Commonwealth had undergone profound changes in the intervening years. For example appeals were being abolished to the Privy Council, Commonwealth countries were acquiring full powers of constitutional amendment and they also now had direct access to the Crown. The Commonwealth itself therefore was changing, especially in its relationship with Britain and with the King so that even within the British civil service doubts were being raised about the durability of the link.

Neil Pritchard, a Commonwealth Relations officer, seconded to the office of the British representative in Dublin in 1948, held that 'if the crucial issue in the present concept of the Commonwealth is represented by the tenuous link with the Crown incorporated in the External Relations Act, it is difficult to see why we should regard the Commonwealth idea as worth defending. If we accept neutrality as being possible within the Commonwealth – why should we jib at a republic?'.³ In a similar vein, Dr Herbert V. Evatt, the Australian Deputy Prime Minister urged that they should not hesitate 'to explore any of the possibilities of newer modes, forms or symbols of association which may be suggested even if they were to depart in some respects from the orthodoxy of the Balfour Report'.⁴ The monarch was therefore becoming dispensable for the Commonwealth so that a break with the Crown need not necessarily imply a break with the Commonwealth.

The Eire government, however, could not envisage a Commonwealth without a king - the Indian expedient in which the monarch was symbolic of the link between countries rather than the head of their association, was unacceptable to the Costello government. And even if it had been possible for them to exorcize the monarch from the Commonwealth it is doubtful if they would have renewed their membership; in their view, the Commonwealth being the offspring of the British Empire was still a testimony to servitude and compulsion rather than an ongoing guarantor of basic freedoms and they accordingly rejected it. In fact they went even further and insisted that they had left the Commonwealth in 1936. By insisting on a republic outside of the Commonwealth, Ireland forfeited whatever chance it might have had of salvaging some of its former Commonwealth benefits. At a meeting which Sir Norman Brook, Secretary to the British Cabinet, had with the Prime Ministers of Australia, Canada and New Zealand about the end of August 1948 the 'general feeling among them was that if the External Relations Act was repealed, they had no alternative but to regard Eire as a foreign country'.⁵

Britain could now either extend all Eire's former privileges to other foreign countries or else they could strip Eire of them and place her on a similar footing to existing foreigners. She initially opted for the latter, on the grounds of the impracticability of the former course but also because her attitude towards Ireland began to harden once it became apparent that Ireland wanted neither the King nor the

3 DO 35/3960 (8 September 1948) memo from Neil Pritchard.

4 DO 35/3962 (12 October 1948) letter from H. V. Evatt to C. Attlee.

5 DO 35/3979, report by Sir Charles Dixon on the 'Departure of Eire from the British Commonwealth of Nations'.

commonwealth. A punitive element now crept into their response and within a short time they became obdurate in their resistance to any concessions to the Irish. Unfortunately for the Irish, this coincided with a fear about its own future, then rampant within the Commonwealth Relations Office itself.

The Commonwealth Relations Office and Lord Rugby

Following the demise of the India Office as an independent entity in 1947, the Commonwealth Relations Office's predecessor, the Dominions Office, had been obliged to absorb the staff of that department: initially two distinct streams were retained but by 1949, the two departments had merged. That step inevitably led to frustrated career prospects for many, not only in the India office but even in the Dominions Office itself where it became apparent that while the middle ranks of the service had swelled, the pinnacle was as pointed as ever. Only the lucky ones could expect to advance as in the case of Sir Gilbert Laithwaite, an ex-India Office official who became the first British Ambassador to Ireland. Ireland's departure from the Commonwealth now threatened the Dominion Office itself; it only had a rationale while a Commonwealth existed. Commonwealth Relations officials were fighting as much for their own survival as for the Commonwealth itself. This fear was not imaginary. Mac Bride did not expect that once the External Relations Act was repealed that 'control of relations with the Irish Republic would be handed over to the Foreign Office'.⁶ But even more disturbing for them was the suggestion by Dr Evatt that the CRO should be abolished.⁷ Following Mac Bride's note the Commonwealth Relations Office became convinced that

... if Ireland was to go to the Foreign Office, it would set a bad example to three dominions who are already inclined to vie with one another in eliminating any marks of Commonwealth relationship. It would also strengthen those elements in the old dominions such as Dr Evatt and Dr Burton who advocate that the Commonwealth Relations Office should be transferred to the Foreign Office and encourage the Foreign Office themselves to resume, in spite of their recent set back, their intrigues for absorbing into their Empire the whole field of Commonwealth relations.⁸

As a result the Irish government could no longer count on the support of the Commonwealth Relations Office: in the 1930's the Dominion Office had championed the Irish case in the face of hostilities from other government departments especially the Board of Trade. Dominion Office officials had insisted on trade quotas for Ireland being kept in abeyance in anticipation of the siege being lifted in the

6 DO 35/3984A, memo by Garner for Smith, 15 August 1950.

7 Evatt was reported to have made that suggestion at San Francisco in 1945 while his permanent Head of the Department of Foreign Affairs in Canberra, Dr Burton, is said to have raised the matter with British High Commission officials in Canberra on many occasions. See DO 35/3984A, memo by R. Syers, 14 December 1950.

8 DO 35/3984A, memo from CRO to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations undated but presumably August 1950.

economic war. Norman Archer was one such official but by 1948, when he had moved from the Australian desk to the Irish, he had become noticeably soured. Writing to Sir Norman Brooke in December 1948 he remarked that the 'underlying difficulty is that while views in Whitehall are formed on a basis of reason and common-sense, it has been my difficult duty to represent that this approach may be inapplicable to Eire'.⁹ A similar transformation is noticeable in the attitude of Gordon Walker, a government minister at the Commonwealth Relations Office. He had been alone in an attempt to tone down the initial response of the Commonwealth Relations Office to Eire's decision to Repeal the External Relations Act- later, however he was adamant that the Unionists in Northern Ireland should be wholeheartedly accommodated even if it meant further alienating the Eire government. In a note to Attlee in January 1949 he wrote that 'I am in favour of standing up to Eire if necessary over the guarantee of Northern Ireland's continuation as an integral part of the United Kingdom' and he also revealed that they, at the Commonwealth Relations Office, would have gone further in meeting Sir Basil Brooke's requirements had other departments not raised specific technical objections.¹⁰

Dispatches from Lord Rugby, the British representative in Dublin tended to reinforce that hostility. Rugby appears to have had a lowly opinion of the Costello government, especially of Costello himself: the fact that Costello failed to recognize this and made a unique presentation (18 silver bacon dished and four silver salt-cellars) to Rugby on his departure for his 'signal assistance to both Britain and Ireland',¹¹ must have reassured Rugby in his assessment of Costello. In a letter to Sir Eric Machtig, permanent head of the Commonwealth Relations Office, Rugby wrote that 'Mr Costello personally has conducted this business in a slapdash and amateur fashion'. Rugby also detected 'signs of uneasiness in the department of External Affairs at Mr Costello's incautious remarks'¹² and he even advised the Commonwealth Relations Office to cultivate Mac Bride in order to win his assistance in containing Costello's republican proclivities.¹³ Rugby was also relieved that Costello declined Attlee's invitation to discuss the repeal of the External Relations Act with himself and Commonwealth leaders in October 1948 and he was pleased that Mac Bride attended in his place because Rugby believed that 'Mr Costello was so 'emotional' on that question that he cannot easily be made to look at the facts - Mr Mac Bride would be more calm'.¹⁴ This constant stream of anti Costello reports could only further alienate the Commonwealth Relations Office and sharpen the existing divisions between Ireland and Britain.

9 DO 35/3968, Norman E. Archer to Sir Norman Brooke, 23 December 1948.

10 DO 130/105, Gordon Walkers' comments on Sir Norman Brooke's working party on the measures required following the repeal of the ERA, January 1949.

11 DO 35/3970, Neil Pritchard to Sir Percival Liesching on the Lord Rugby's departure.

12 DO 35/3963, Lord Rugby to CRO, 25 November 1948.

13 DO 35/3936, N. E. Archer to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, undated.

14 DO 35/3962, memo from CRO to Attlee, 13 October 1948.

Irish determination to repeal the External Relations Act

Ireland's actions did little to mitigate that antagonism; if anything, they accentuated it though it is doubtful if the Irish government fully realised the dangers inherent in the actions it was taking. Their expectations of Attlee, their confidence in other Commonwealth leaders and their disregard for possible legal difficulties lured them into a false sense of security that only strengthened their resolve to pursue their set course. Mac Bride made absolutely clear to Lord Rugby from the outset that in order 'to avoid any risk of misunderstanding, its decision to repeal External Relations Act was not open to revision or modification.'¹⁵ Their mistaken trust in Attlee was based primarily on personal friendship but also his lack of response up till then, to developments in Ireland, bred a false complacency. Attlee was admittedly on very good terms with Mac Bride and had in fact toured Mayo by car in the company of Mr and Mrs Mac Bride in the summer of 1948. Mac Bride understandably believed that he enjoyed Attlee's confidence. Further both Noel Baker, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth relations and the Lord Chancellor, Lord Jowitt, visited Ireland that year and in fact the Lord Chancellor had toasted the President of Ireland at an official dinner (in the Royal Dublin Society) without any rebuke from Attlee.¹⁶ But Attlee was much more attuned to Sir Basil Brooke's overtures than he was to Mac Bride's, no doubt conscious of Northern Ireland's role in the recent war. It was Attlee himself who inserted the parliamentary guarantee to the Northern Ireland Unionists in the 1949 Ireland Act, contrary to the recommendations of his working party¹⁷. And he recommended the withdrawal of citizenship rights and trading preferences from the Irish in the event of a repeal of the External Relations Act.¹⁸ However, the Costello government was not to know.

Second, they expected support from Commonwealth countries without obtaining any prior assurances and while this did eventually materialise, it could not have been foreseen or taken for granted. The only intimation which the Costello government had of Commonwealth assistance prior to their announcement of the repeal of the External Relations Act came from MacKenzie King. Costello acknowledged that fact in the Dail¹⁹ and Rugby deplored the 'dangerous encouragement during Costello's visit to Canada'.²⁰ MacKenzie King was alone in proffering that encouragement as there is no evidence to suggest that the Costello government had obtained the backing of other Commonwealth governments prior to September 1948; on the contrary, as has been noted, Commonwealth Ministers in London in August 1948 had agreed with Sir Norman Brooke that following the repeal of the External Relations Act, Eire should be treated as a foreign country. Even Dr Evatt,

15 DO 35/3960, Lord Rugby to CRO, 12 October 1948 in which he reported a conversation he had with Mac Bride.

16 DO 35/3969, Lord Rugby to Sir Eric Machtig, 1 December 1948.

17 CAB 129/32, Part 1, Cabinet Paper, 10 January 1949.

18 DO 35/3964, revised draft of note to the Eire government, 12 November 1948.

19 Costello's Dail speech, 25 November 1948 on the second reading of the repeal of the External Relations Act.

20 DO 35/3963, Lord Rugby to CRO, 25 November 1948.

who was later to play such a prominent role in averting that outcome, was apparently stunned when he heard of Costello's intention. By a strange coincidence both Dr Evatt and P.J.Noel Baker were in Dublin on 7 September 1948 when Costello made his speech in Canada. Noel Baker reported that 'they were both taken completely by surprise and Dr Evatt was extremely indignant. He said it had placed him in a most difficult position as a guest of the Eire government'.²¹ It would therefore seem that MacKenzie King's support was sufficient for the Eire government.

One final, and perhaps unusual feature of the Irish refusal to compromise was their disregard for the legal difficulties inherent in their proposals. Eire Ministers told A. P. Ryan of *The Times* of London that as 'they were all lawyers themselves, they knew very well that there were always ways around legal difficulties'.²² After the Chequers meeting in October 1948, Mac Bride told Lord Rugby that 'none of the questions raised presented a difficulty which lawyers could not get around',²³ though rugby also added that 'Boland (Secretary of Irish Department of External Affairs) seemed less ready to brush aside the possible difficulties'. And after the Paris talks in November 1948, Mac Bride again told Rugby that he was 'not worried' about legal difficulties which he alleged the 'British exaggerated' using them 'to oppose political change'.²⁴ On the other hand, Boland indicated that the legal problems 'had not penetrated the minds of the Eire Ministers'.²⁵

It is therefore apparent that Ireland's determination to proceed with the Repeal of the External Relations Act without regard to possible adverse repercussions, was based on ill conceived hypotheses: Mr Attlee turned out to be a hostile witness; the Commonwealth was at best tepid and at worst hostile to Eire while nearly all lawyers in both Ireland and England with the exception of those in the Costello cabinet, insisted that the legal difficulties were considerable. Britain was not likely to make any concessions; she believed she had the Commonwealth behind her; she was convinced that the Irish proposal was ridden with legal flays; she was bespoken to the Unionists to protect their status within the UK and the Commonwealth Relations Office had its own peculiar reasons for opposing change. On balance then, there is little doubt that unless some unforeseen developments took place, Costello's decision to Repeal the External Relations Act would have adversely affected Irish citizens abroad and Irish trade.

This of course ignores the role played by Dr Evatt in the proceedings, but in September 1948 the British could be excused for taking his cooperation for granted. Chifley, the Australian Prime Minister, had pledged support for Britain in August and Dr Evatt was 'extremely indignant' at Costello's announcement. It therefore came as a great shock to the British when Dr Evatt decided to champion the Irish cause from October onwards.

21 DO 103/104, note by P. J. Noel Baker, 27 May 1948.

22 DO 35/3964, Neil Pritchard to N. E. Archer, 11 November 1948.

23 DO 35/3961, Lord Rugby to Sir Eric Machtig, 19 October 1948.

24 DO 35/3964, Lord Rugby to CRO, 19 November 1948.

25 *Ibid.*, Lord Rugby to CRO, 11 November 1948.

Evatt's Motives

The British liked to think that Evatt's conversion to the Irish cause was inspired by electoral considerations in Victoria. There may be some truth in this though it is unusual that Chifley, the Prime Minister, was not unduly concerned about the Irish vote in Victoria and Evatt himself, being an MP for a Sydney constituency, had little to fear personally from the Irish in Victoria, whose numbers anyway were declining. Of possibly greater importance for Evatt was his concern for world peace-keeping bodies - he had been largely instrumental in designing the Charter for the United Nations and in 1948, he was President of that body. He was equally committed to the British Commonwealth as a vehicle for the preservation of peace and of the democratic way of life in the world and so he was loath to see it being undermined or fragmented. In his opinion the departure of Ireland was a significant step in that direction especially as Ireland in his view was as much a mother country as Britain. Evatt, however, was less concerned with structures than with the essentials of the Commonwealth community believing that 'legal conceptions must be adopted to fit the facts of the long established and close historical connections between Eire and the UK',²⁶ rather than *vice versa*. And in his letter of 12 October to Attlee, he advised that they should 'avoid at this stage formulating conditions which must be accepted in order that a particular state shall not cease to be a member of the Commonwealth' and he recommended that they should look into the possibility 'of finding links that would be acceptable to all, including Ireland'.²⁷ It was for the Commonwealth to make the adjustment and not Eire.

In this respect he appears to have been acting entirely on his own initiative. Archie Cameron representing Barker, asked Chifley if 'relations between Australia and Eire were left entirely to the discretion of our wandering star in Paris' - the Prime Minister replied that they were not and that 'Australian government policy had been perfectly clear for a considerable time' and that 'he had made that clear at the Conference of Empire ministers'.²⁸ He did not say what that policy was but when pressed the following day, again in the House of Representatives, he reiterated Australia's own view of the Commonwealth which was based 'upon our relations with the King not merely as a symbol of association but as monarch and enjoying the same loyalty and affection in Australia as in Britain itself - not only for the King but for the Royal family',²⁹ thereby anticipating Menzies' famous Adelaide speech in which he referred to those in the old dominions as being 'the king's subjects and the king's men'.³⁰ Evatt's Commonwealth was much more widely based; it had room for much more than the 'king's men' and because of that he could promote Ireland's interests, seemingly impervious to the views of his Prime

26 DO 35/3965, letter from Ian Mac Lennon to British High Commissioners in Commonwealth countries, 10 December 1948.

27 DO 35/3962, H. V. Evatt to C. Attlee, 12 October 1948.

28 DO 35/3965, telegram from Acting British High Commissioner in Canberra to CRO, 25 November 1948.

29 *Ibid.*, 26 November 1948.

30 *The British Commonwealth of Nations in International Affairs*, AIIA, 1950, P.3.

Minister or his Cabinet colleagues. It would appear that Evatt failed to keep the Cabinet informed of developments. A detailed search in Canberra of all the communications from overseas received in the Department of External Affairs during that period has failed to unearth any from Dr Evatt. It was only after a settlement had been reached in Paris in November 1948 that J.A. Beasley, the Australian High Commissioner in London, informed Chifley of the outcome, extolling the role of 'the Doc' in the process.³¹

Evatt's effectiveness was enhanced by the fact that he was in Europe and not in Canberra because it is extremely doubtful if he would have received the backing of the Cabinet for his actions. Equally important was the presence in Paris of both the New Zealand Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, and of the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Lester Pearson. Whilst not as committed as Evatt to Eire's case, they became staunch allies, under Evatt's tutelage, and gave him their full backing at the Paris meeting in November. Again it is doubtful if these two Commonwealth statesmen would have carried their cabinets with them on the issue had they not been away from home; being abroad they had far greater leeway because instead of having to obtain prior approval for their actions, they found it possible to present their colleagues with a *fait accompli*, making it very difficult for the latter to withhold their endorsement. However, in spite of that, the arrangements did come very near to being unstuck in both New Zealand and Canada. Meeting on 24 November in Pearson's absence, the Canadian Cabinet was 'very cold towards Eire' and was angry that such important matters were being dealt with in 'unseemly haste due to the Irish pressure' and so they refused to make a statement welcoming the course taken at Paris.³² It required Mr Pearson's presence, on his return, to rescue the situation.³³ The New Zealand Cabinet, in Mr Fraser's absence, was also quite tepid in its response, concluding that, 'there must be serious doubts whether the policy proposed is tenable'. However, after hearing from Fraser, they modified their view saying that arrangements would create more problems for the UK than for New Zealand.³⁴ Ireland could also depend on Luwoy from South Africa for support though because of the small numbers of Irish in South Africa, he did not participate in the actual negotiation. Thus, the presence of Evatt, of Fraser and Pearson in Paris was of signal importance for the Irish. Without them it is doubtful if the Irish would have made any headway with the British.

Dr Evatt and his Commonwealth colleagues had less success with the Irish than

31 Australian Archives, Canberra, AA: A3830, 1948, IK 18352. According to Beasley 'Only for the doc and he was supported by Fraser and Pearson, the Conference would have been bogged down and the obstinacy of both sides left further memories.'

32 DO 35/3965, letter from the UK High Commissioner in Canada to the CRO, 24 November 1948.

33 *Ibid.*, F. E Cumming Bruce to Sir Eric Machtig, 1 December 1948 where he mentions that Pearson stated that the Canadian response was substantially more forthcoming than earlier reports might suggest.

34 DO 35/3965, telegram from UK High Commissioner in New Zealand to CRO, 24 November 1948.

with the British. The Irish failed to respond to any of Evatt's overtures and while at Chequers on 17 October 1948, they weakly hinted that they might consider rejoining the Commonwealth at a later stage. On returning to Dublin they promptly dropped the idea and never raised it again. Even on the matter of reciprocal privileges for Irish and Commonwealth citizens in the other person's country, the Irish refused to match like for like. The British, on the other hand, were much more amenable to Dr Evatt's overtures – not because they were convinced of the merits of his case but rather because they placed Commonwealth solidarity before the inevitable hostile foreign reaction to the Eire settlement. The British Cabinet decided that 'Eire should not leave the Commonwealth in circumstances that would leave a lasting grievance among other countries'.³⁵ It was this leverage, used to great effect by Dr Evatt, that was to break the deadlock caused by the initial hostility of Britain to Eire's decision to repeal the External Relations Act and Ireland's obduracy in refusing to make any concession whatsoever. Dr Evatt's greatest achievement was that he succeeded in forging an informal link between Ireland and the Commonwealth by means of the concession of non-alien status for Irish citizens in Britain and Commonwealth countries and also by allowing Ireland to retain its most favoured nation status in trade.

British reaction to Repeal of External Relations Act

Britain's hard line response to Eire found expression in its draft note to the Eire government adopted by the Cabinet on 12 November 1948. This was a reply to an *aide-memoire* of 20 October from the Eire government. In its note the British government indicated that

... if Eire became a foreign state, any attempt to treat Eire citizens in the United Kingdom otherwise than as aliens might provoke demands from the numerous foreign countries under their treaties with the United Kingdom that their nations should enjoy similar privileges in the United Kingdom. If any such demands were conceded, it would be impossible to operate in anything like its present form the whole of the United Kingdom system of aliens control. The United Kingdom government would therefore have no alternative but to bring Eire citizens under the ordinary aliens control applicable to foreign nationals.

Similarly in respect to trade the note pointed to the large number of foreign countries in which Britain had

... undertaken to accord to those countries treatment not less favourable than that accorded to any other foreign country. If Eire became a foreign state, such countries could claim that they should be treated not less favourably than Eire. The United Kingdom would therefore either have to withdraw trade preferences which she now accords to Eire; if she made no change in her treatment of Eire, the

35 *Ibid.*, extract of conclusions of Cabinet meeting, 13 November 1948.

consequence would be that, except for a few protective and revenue duties, the United Kingdom government could have virtually no tariff, because every important country would have to be granted the almost universal free entry now enjoyed by Eire. For these reasons it would be difficult to avoid the consequences that the United Kingdom would be compelled to take action to terminate its commitments to accord preferential treatment in customs matters to Eire goods.³⁶

This note was the outcome of weeks of deliberation during which the Commonwealth Relations Office produced the original draft; the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney General made some modifications and the Home Office also had an input before the document was finally endorsed by the Cabinet on 12 November 1948. As such it was a deliberate statement of British government policy on the repeal of the External Relations Act. It was never sent. Dr Evatt's intervention prevented the government from proceeding with its intentions. Evatt accused the British of 'trying to force Eire out of the Commonwealth from the outset'³⁷ and Attlee felt obliged to reconsider his position.

Evatt's Intervention

Evatt was upset not only because of the tone of the note but also because it seemed to him to go counter to the decisions reached at an earlier conference held at Chequers. Evatt correctly took credit for that meeting; he had earlier been instrumental in having it called - Attlee had been forced to involve other Commonwealth governments in the Irish problem against his own wishes. Rugby had advised against such a course³⁸ on the ground that Eire might manipulate these countries to its own advantage and in fact Machtig was later to inform his Secretary of State that 'the Irish - relied greatly on Mr Luow and Dr Evatt for sympathy and support for the Irish view on the decision to repeal the ERA'.³⁹ However, Attlee had little choice when Evatt took the initiative himself on 12 October 1948 and requested Attlee to convene a meeting between Commonwealth statesmen and the Eire government.⁴⁰ There is no evidence to suggest that this intervention was inspired by Dublin.

The Chequers meeting⁴¹ was a success for Evatt; it was agreed that 'it was the wish of both Eire and Commonwealth countries that Eire and Commonwealth countries should not become foreign countries in relation to each other and that

36 *Ibid.*, DO 35/3964, Revised Draft of Note to the Eire Government, adopted by Cabinet on 12 November 1948.

37 *Ibid.*, Sir Norman Brooke to C. Attlee, 12 October 1948.

38 DO 35/3960, Lord Rugby to CRO, 12 October 1948.

39 DO 35/3962, Sir Eric Machtig to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 15 October 1948.

40 *Ibid.*, H. V. Evatt to C. Attlee, 12 October 1948.

41 This meeting was held on 17 October 1948 and was confined to ministers representing the British, Irish, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand governments. Officials were not present.

Eire citizens should not become aliens under the laws of Commonwealth countries'.⁴² That was sufficient link for Evatt to retain Eire's association with the commonwealth; but the conference went further and apparently obtained the qualified consent of the Eire delegates that Eire would reapply for admittance to the Commonwealth within six months. While this stipulation was not included in the subsequent exchange of notes between prime ministers and while Sir Charles Dixon in his account of the meeting merely refers to the 'possibility that Eire might, after an interval, re-enter the Commonwealth on some basis (eg common citizenship)',⁴³ the detailed account of the Chequers deliberations compiled by Sir Eric Machtig and Sir Norman Brooke and later confirmed by W. E. Beckett of the Foreign Office, lays special emphasis on that aspect of the alleged agreement. The officials concluded that they would then 'be confronted with a new kind of Commonwealth relationship' ie a relationship without the king. It was also their understanding that the status quo was being maintained 'on the assumption that Eire would carry out stage two and do so within a reasonable period'.⁴⁴

Eire chose to ignore that particular commitment and instead in its *aide memoire* of 20 October, ie three days after the conference, laid more stress on its claim to privileged treatment which in its view was 'dependent on long established custom or tradition and did not therefore involve the creation of new rights and privileges entitling other nations to raise objections'.⁴⁵ No mention was made of reciprocal rights between Eire and Commonwealth countries; no mention was made of re-entry - merely the retention of the *status quo* as of right. Britain regarded this response as a breach of trust and immediately set in motion the series of departmental discussions which resulted in the Cabinet document of 12 November 1948, in which, as has already been seen, Britain was determined to have Irish citizens in Britain treated as aliens and to withdraw all preferences for Eire under the most favoured nation clauses of trade treaties.

Dr Evatt responded differently; no doubt he was also disappointed with the Eire *aide memoire* but he was equally determined that the bridge between Eire and the Commonwealth, however flimsy it might appear, should not be jettisoned. He saw in the British response a deliberate attack on Eire's membership of the Commonwealth and it confirmed him in his view that in fact Britain was trying to force Eire out. He had been equally incensed when the British, against the expressed wishes of the other ministers, had informally briefed a select band of journalists after the Chequers meeting on 'the grave consequences that would follow' for Eire if she repealed the External Relations Act.⁴⁶ Evatt had protested

42 DO 35/3961, exchange of notes between the UK Prime Minister, representing the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth, and the Prime Minister of Eire.

43 DO 35/3979, report by Sir Charles Dixon on the '*Departure of Eire from the British Commonwealth of Nations*'.

44 DO 35/3962, Sir Norman Brooke and Sir Eric Machtig to Prime Minister, 18 October 1948.

45 This *aide-memoire* dated 20 October 1948 is to be found in DO 35/3964.

that was not only was this at variance with the spirit of that meeting but also that 'it had prejudiced any chance of reaching a satisfactory understanding with the Eire government'.⁴⁷ In his opinion the 12 November note was another manifestation of that mentality. There is no evidence to suggest that he was prompted by Dublin. In the first place, the Eire government did not anticipate such a response and so had no knowledge of the note; in fact Mac Bride was most surprised when the present writer informed him of it in 1983.⁴⁸ Further, Dr Evatt was hardly to champion a cause unless he was totally committed to it himself and finally, at the end of the day when the British had capitulated, Dr Evatt, hardly the most modest of men, insisted that the British give him full credit for it.⁴⁹

Still in spite of that forewarning, the vehemence of Dr Evatt's reaction to the British note took all concerned by surprise; The note was delivered to Dr Evatt in Paris by the Attorney General on the evening of 12 November; the Attorney General rang Attlee at 10.00 pm complaining that 'Evatt was most difficult'. Evatt would not endorse the note because he maintained 'that the consequences described in it would not follow upon Eire's Repeal of the External Relations Act - because Eire was covered by Sections 2 and 3 of the British Nationality Act' so that the 'United Kingdom would have to Repeal these two sections' if Eire was to forfeit her privileges in Britain.⁵⁰ Evatt also dissociated himself from the British move and insisted that any reference to the Chequers meeting where a consensus had been achieved would have to be deleted. He also recommended that further meetings be held with Eire ministers. The Attorney General again rang Attlee at midnight to say that Fraser agreed with Evatt and that Pearson, while more reasonable, also concurred. As a result a Cabinet meeting was hastily convened on the following morning, Saturday, 13 November,⁵¹ at which it was decided to scrap the note to Eire and to substitute a much milder version in which they referred in vague terms to the difficulties involved in the Repeal but that the 'last thing they would wish would be to be hurried into taking action in advance, and they requested the Eire government to at least delay the 'commencement of the Act'.⁵² The Cabinet also agreed to reconvene a meeting of Commonwealth ministers and possibly have the Irish along as well.

Evatt once again dominated proceedings at the Paris meetings held on 14 and

46 DO 35/3962, N. E. Archer to Mr Gordon Walker in which he advised that the official communique should be brief but that 'a small group of journalists should be informed of the possible consequences of Eire repealing the ERA'. See also telegram to UK High Commissioners in Commonwealth countries giving detailed information about that press briefing.

47 DO 35/3964, Sir Norman Brooke to Attlee, 12 November 1948.

48 Interview which author had with Mac Bride on 28 June 1983.

49 DO 35/3965, note by Ian Mac Lennan on 23 November 1948 of a conversation which Cumming Bruce had with Dr Evatt.

50 DO 35/3964, Sir Norman Brooke to Attlee, 12 November 1948.

51 *Ibid.*, extract of conclusions of Cabinet meeting, 13 November 1948.

52 *Ibid.*, British government reply to Eire *aide-memoire*, 13 November 1948.

15 November 1948 and it was his intervention at the opportune moment which broke the deadlock between Britain and Ireland. Mac Bride and Mac Gilligan, Ireland's Minister for Finance, representing Costello, held to their earlier position and insisted that Ireland had not been a member of the Commonwealth since 1936 and had no intention of becoming one now. At the same time the Eire ministers 'stressed the desire of their government to continue and to strengthen the close factual relationship between Eire and the other countries of the Commonwealth'.⁵³ However, the British failed to see how this could be done without recourse to an unambiguous legal framework that was essential if the relations between Eire and the Commonwealth were to be consolidated - such a framework, in their view, was only feasible within the context of the Statute of Westminster.

It was at this juncture that Dr Evatt made his decisive intervention. He argued that even if Eire 'was not a member of the Commonwealth' she and the Commonwealth countries would not regard each other as 'foreign'. He said that 'it was a fact that an Australian would never think of himself as a foreigner in Eire any more than an Irishman would think of himself as a foreigner in Australia'⁵⁴ and later that afternoon he produced a formula encapsulating that sentiment which he hoped would prove the basis for a statement by the Eire government in the course of the debate on the second reading of the Bill to repeal the External Relations Act. He said that 'the facts not only negative the view that Ireland the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand are to be regarded as 'foreign' countries'; but they also evidence the fact of a special association which it is the firm desire and intention of Ireland to maintain and strengthen'.⁵⁵ This formula found acceptance with Mac Bride - in fact he may have had an input though he does not remember; it was also acceptable to the other Commonwealth statesmen and the British eventually concurred, albeit unwillingly, because as Lord Jowitt put it, 'if we persisted in the view that Eire must be regarded as a foreign country once the ERA was repealed, we should find ourselves alone in that view'.⁵⁶ All that remained then was to work out the details and it was in these discussions that Mac Bride obtained a most vital concession.

Evatt's formula referred to Commonwealth citizens in Ireland being entitled to the 'rights and privileges of citizens of Ireland' but in the course of these later discussions Mac Bride succeeded in obtaining agreement for the exchange of 'comparable rights as distinct from 'identical' rights. The legal background of the Costello Cabinet had some use after all! Mac Bride cited Ireland's constitution as an impediment to certain concessions though he did promise to review the matter in due course.⁵⁷ This limitation' however, meant that while Irish citizens enjoyed the

53 CAB 129/31, memorandum by the Lord Chancellor and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations to the Cabinet on Eire's future relations with the Commonwealth, 17 November 1948.

54 *Ibid.*

55 CAB 129/31, Appendix 11 to Annex B - Draft Declaration.

56 CAB 129/31. See note 53.

57 *Ibid.*, note of a meeting in the offices of the Right Hon. H. V. Evatt at the Palais De Chaillot, Paris, 16 November 1948 at 5.00 pm.

franchise in the UK and other Commonwealth countries, the same was not true for UK and Commonwealth citizens in Ireland; further UK and Commonwealth citizens could not serve on juries in Ireland while the restrictions imposed by the Control of Manufactures Act 1934 and the Civil Service Regulation Acts 1924 and 1927 continued unimpaired.⁵⁸

International Reaction

Ireland was now of the Commonwealth without being in it. The *Sydney Sunday Sun* described it as 'so typically Irish that perhaps a solution should best be left to the Irish. No other people could hope to understand it'.⁵⁹ The *Sydney Morning Herald* commented on the fact that Attlee and Chiefley's explanation of the Repeal were so similar, and that paper correctly surmised that it was the result of 'concerted policy',⁶⁰ but the paper also observed that because 'both were obscure' it appeared that 'the immediate parties to that queer arrangement were themselves unsure of what it meant or where it would lead'. Indeed the politicians at the Paris meeting agreed that the Eire government should avoid saying anything 'which would increase the legal and political difficulties which Commonwealth governments will find in explaining the position - and Commonwealth governments will refrain from any public statements which would make it more difficult for them to maintain that despite the repeal of the ERA, Eire is not a foreign country'.⁶¹ Boland had even recommended to Pritchard 'that in general terms the same lie should be told on both sides of the Channel'.⁶² Still it suited the Irish; while the exercise was more symbolic than real it achieved their immediate objective of breaking the link with the Crown which in Mac Bride's opinion 'placed our relationship with Britain and other Commonwealth countries on a new and better footing on the basis of frank and cordial friendship'.⁶³ The Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords on 15 December might outline with due gravity the great loss to Ireland of Commonwealth membership but on closer examination, these losses appear quite trivial: Lord Jowitt singled out the 'flow and interchange of communications and the sharing of common tasks and common friends as the 'hallmark of the Commonwealth relationship' - 'from all these things' he said 'Eire must now be excluded'.⁶⁴ He was not quite correct; at a meeting on 7 January 1949 between Boland and Sir Percival Liesching, the new permanent Head of the Commonwealth

58 DO 35/3965, report of talk which Neil Pritchard had with R. Boland, 8 December 1948.

59 DO 35/3965, telegram from the UK High Commissioner in Canberra to CRO, 8 December 1948.

60 The *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 November 1948.

61 CAB 129/31. See note 53; this reference is found on page 4 of that memorandum.

62 DO 35/3961, Neil Pritchard to N. E Archer, 7 November 1948.

63 'Why Eire has cut the link with the Crown', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 November 1948.

64 Lord Jowitt speaking in the House of Lords, 15 December 1948, Hansard, Columns 1092-1093.

Relations Office, and other UK officials it was explained to Mr Boland that 'while Eire should go off the Committees at once' in order to mark her break with the Commonwealth, 'subsequent special *ad hoc* arrangements for Eire's attendance as observers were not ruled out'.⁶⁵ So that even what was considered the most substantial of Ireland's losses, the deprivation would only be temporary.

Northern Ireland

But there was a sting in the tail for the Irish; in claiming that she had left the Commonwealth in 1936, Ireland created doubts in the minds of legal experts in Britain about whether the 1948 Nationality Act would apply to those arriving from Ireland. The Lord Chancellor argued that it did apply, while Lord Simon and Sergeant Sullivan took the opposite view. In order to clear up this uncertainty, the British government decided to introduce the Ireland Bill which would place beyond doubt the status of Irish citizens in Britain.⁶⁶ Evatt had stated in November that such a bill was superfluous⁶⁷ but did not reckon with the line of argument that the Irish were to pursue so tenaciously. As a result the British Ireland Bill was introduced, more by accident than by design. Had the Eire government not forced it on the British government it is doubtful if they would have introduced the Ireland Bill themselves. Nevertheless it did provide that vital opening for Ulster Unionists to copper fasten their attachment to Great Britain and their separateness from the rest of Ireland. Within three days of the Paris meeting, Sir Basil Brooke was being briefed by Attlee at Chequers on the outcome.⁶⁸ Sir Basil had no objections to Eire leaving the Commonwealth; in fact it emphasised the differences between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland but he was most anxious to strengthen the ties between Northern Ireland and Great Britain. He asked for a statutory guarantee that the status of Northern Ireland would not be altered without the consent of the Northern Irish parliament; he pressed for a seven year residence qualification in Northern Ireland in order to qualify for the franchise for the Northern Ireland parliament and a six month residence there in order to qualify for Westminster elections.⁶⁹ He was successful in most of his submissions.⁷⁰ If there was any doubt before the repeal of the External Relations Act about the survival of Northern Ireland as a separate entity, there were none afterwards. It was the tactics used rather than repeal itself which brought that about.

By a strange irony only Sir Basil Brooke could have been completely satisfied

65 DO 103/104, note of meeting with Mr Boland - present were Sir P. Liesching, Sir N. Brook, Archer and Pritchard, 7 January 1949.

66 R. M. Heuston, 'British nationality and Irish citizenship', *International Affairs*, Vol. 26, No.1, January 1950, p.87.

67 DO 35/3964, Sir Norman Brook to Attlee, 12 November 1948.

68 DO 35/3965, Downing Street press release, 22 November 1948.

69 DO 35/3972, N. E. Archer to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 25 November 1949.

70 He was granted his statutory guarantee; a five year residence for the franchise for elections to the Northern Ireland parliament and a three month's residence for Westminster.

with the of the External Relations Act. While Mac Bride had ditched the King, taken Ireland out of the Commonwealth and retained most of Ireland's erstwhile advantages, his vision of a united Ireland was severely dented. He would have been tempted to return to the Commonwealth had it guaranteed a united Ireland as would de Valera whose attachment to the External Relations Act was based primarily on it providing a 'bridge' between the two sections of the island.⁷¹ However, in both Mac Bride's and de Valera's estimations, it had outlived its usefulness by 1948, though it is doubtful if either of them realised that its Repeal, far from leaving matters as they were before 1936, only further prejudiced the realisation of their common goal. While Dr Evatt succeeded in retaining some link between Ireland and Commonwealth countries and was most anxious that he be given credit for it, his ultimate aim of Ireland's reconciliation as a full member of the Commonwealth, was never achieved. Finally the outcome was most unpalatable for the British government.; it had been forced on them; they considered that it was a dangerous precedent which left them open to charges of duplicity and possible retaliation by foreign countries. The Commonwealth itself had lost a member, albeit a recalcitrant one, but, as the Commonwealth Relations Office clearly recognised, that could be the beginning of the end. Within a short time the Commonwealth was to become so diffuse and amorphous that it was scarcely recognisable as such.

Conclusion: deliberated or impulsive?

It is therefore quite clear that the Irish government did not anticipate Britain's initial response to its decision to repeal the External Relations Act. This would suggest that either the Irish government had not thought through the full implications of its actions despite Costello's assertion that those actions had been long standing government policy or on the other hand that the decision to repeal was an impulsive one. Ironically the latter interpretation is more flattering for the Irish as it provides some excuse for the short-sightedness of that policy decision. The Irish could not have anticipated Dr Evatt's intervention without which Ireland would surely have suffered irreparable damage to its trade and restrictions on the movements of its citizens. By emphasising the deliberate nature of their decision, Costello and Mac Bride are acknowledging that a policy decision had been taken without regard to its consequences. Thus the impulsive response to the 'Roaring Meg' incident or the leak in the *Sunday Independent* may perhaps be less damaging.

71 DO 35/3936, meeting between Lord Rugby and de Valera on 16 October 1948 in which 'Dev said that opinion in Ireland had turned very heavily against the ERA - it had been his hope that this act might prove to be a bridge - but it had done no good and had involved him and his government in difficulties and humiliation'. Later on 25 November 1948 de Valera told Rugby that 'he had hesitated about removing the ERA because it was intended to serve as a bridge to end partition - he could no longer hope for a solution along these lines' (DO 35/3963).

Book Reviews

Sliabh Rua - A History of its People and Places by Jim Walsh. Sliabh Rua Parish Pastoral Council, 2001.
Pp 612. Price E38.

According to Cicero, *History is a witness of the times, the torch of truth, the life of memory, the teacher of life, the messenger of antiquity*. In many respects, Jim Walsh in compiling this masterly tome is, for *Sliabh Rua*, the teacher or messenger of antiquity who has managed to bring the memory of a thousand years to life. Indeed, it is only when one reads a book of this nature that one realises that even the smallest of places is capable of possessing its own remarkable and unique history. Nonetheless, it takes remarkable vision and fortitude to bring a book of this kind into existence; much skill to manage to evoke the resonance of the past and then to give that past a voice.

Much thought has gone into the layout of this book. Divided into ten separate and self contained sections and beautifully illustrated with maps and photographs, it allows the reader dip in and out of this compilation at will. This makes *Sliabh Rua* very user friendly. Indeed the initial few chapters of the book (Part 1) introduces the reader to the old civil parishes of the village and to their twenty-one town-lands; each of which is accompanied with its own Ordnance Survey Map. This is both innovative and informative and, in familiarising the reader with the village and its environs, one is gently lulled into a memorable odyssey through an almost secret world of folklore and religion, commerce, science and sporting endeavours.

With over one hundred separate contributions this book is a reviewer's nightmare. However, there are I believe a number of articles that incorporate the essence of *Sliabh Rua* and, in the preface, Jim Walsh gives one a starting point by stating that 'any study of Slieverue ... has to put John O'Donovan in a central position'. This book does just that, and rightly so.

Part VI of this book is devoted to John O'Donovan. Gillian Smith's article on *O'Donovan and the Ordnance Survey* is an erudite portrayal of the gelling of individual scholarship and fierce tenacity in producing an invaluable body of information on Irish topography. This work is ably complemented by Eamonn Coady's article on '*Gaul's Garden*' and Frank Heylin's *Sean O Donnabhain*. While the former illustrates the meticulous care that O'Donovan went to in naming each townland and every physical feature, the latter article shows O'Donovan at the centre of an amazing cultural milieu that included Eugene O'Curry and George Petrie who, between them, 'laid the basis for all subsequent Celtic studies and the foundation of Irish topographical science'. Although Part VI would seem to be the fulcrum upon which the rest of this compilation rests, it is only when the entire book is read that one can appreciate that O'Donovan was a living link with Ireland's past and spoke for the poor disinherited folk from whom he had come. It also becomes clear

that while there may seem to be over one hundred disparate entries, *Sliabh Rua* has a common thread running through all 612 pages; and that thread places O'Donovan centre-stage in the preservation of a unique Irish heritage. With this in mind it is therefore important to become *au fait* with that past to fully appreciate the significance of O'Donovan to Irish history and to Irish nationalism.

One such article is Ben Murtagh's *Kilmurphy Castle and other related sites in Slieverue Parish* (Part 11). Lavishly illustrated, Murtagh chronicles the archaeological genealogy of Slieverue and its environs over a thousand years. This provides a good basis for understanding the rich cultural heritage of the parish, one that O'Donovan readily tapped into. When combined with Fearghus O Fearghail and Jim Walsh's fascinating article (my own personal favourite) *A 'Penal' Crucifix from 1721* (Part III) which explores the pre-Christian symbolism on a crucifix in the possession of a family in the parish, it shows that there was an older heritage in place that had, in the fifth century, a Christian one superimposed on it and demonstrates that Slieverue was subjected to these influences. Although Jim Walsh's *Slieverue Mills, Milling and Millers* (Part IV) brings the reader into the social and economic world of post eighteenth century Slieverue, the reader is brought on a journey from the beginning of cereal cultivation to make food, around 7000 B.C., through the technological advances of the Greek and Roman empires to the Brethon Laws and Norman Manorial System governing mill usage. It also reminds one that Slieverue was in many ways an adjunct of one of the great Irish trading centres - Waterford city. This becomes apparent in the many articles on Large Houses and Estates owned by Waterford merchants on the northern side of the River Suir, in Slieverue parish (Part VII).

A good overview of post-Famine Slieverue can be gleaned from Jack Burtchael's excellent *Social Structure of Slieverue - 1850s* (Part IV). Therein we learn of the abject poverty of Slieverue's landless and smallholding poor; a section of the local society that accounted for just over 51% of the townlands of the Catholic parish. Burtchael estimates that when combined with labourers, 67% of all households in Slieverue lived in poverty. Furthermore, the author states that by 1861 the parish had lost 29% of its pre-Famine population. Part VII of *Sliabh Rua* is an interesting short section of the book detailing the history of education in the parish. In particular, the origins of the *Convent of the Sacred Heart of Mary School, Ferrybank*, is worthy of attention.

The last two sections of this book explore local people of note and their contribution to the parish, the country and beyond (Part IX), and sport and sports people and their organisations (Part X). The former luminaries range from the late Donal Foley, Deputy Editor of the *Irish Times* to Gilbert O'Sullivan, songwriter and Erskine Childers, politician. Though the least substantial of the ten sections of the book, it yet again emphasises that one does not have to be born in a teeming metropolis in order to make a significant contribution to society. If Part X demonstrates anything, it is this; though most Slieverue natives might earn their living in Waterford, when it comes to sport there is no doubting that their allegiance is to Kilkenny. In the first article on *Hurling - An Ancient Game*, Jim Walsh illustrates

the Rules, Field and Team specifications for both hurling and football from 1884 to 1910. And in his second article on sport, *The G.A.A. in Slieverue in the Early Days*, the same author notes that Slieverue had a Gaelic Football team as early as 1887 and organised their first tournament in 1888. This will be of major interest to Sport Historians; a discipline that is growing in popularity. One could not ask to leave this anthology in a better frame of mind than by reading the last article in *Sliabh Rua*, *The day Tom Hogan broke the world long jump record*. This tongue-in-cheek article is indeed the stuff of local history. But then according to Cicero, *To be ignorant of what went before is to remain always a child*. Surely after reading this book there can be no children left in Slieverue!

There can be no doubting that this work has been a labour of love and, in creating a beautifully paced anthology, Jim Walsh has managed to exact a perfectly balanced symbiosis between the anecdotal and academic; a feat often attempted by local historians but rarely achieved. *Sliabh Rua* can rest assured that the twenty-six contributors to this anthology have done full justice to the south eastern Kilkenny village. I have no doubt that this book will be the standard reference for future generations.

John M. Hearne

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Shipbuilding in Waterford 1820 - 1882. A historical, technical and pictorial study
by Bill Irish. Wordwell, Bray, 2001.
Pp. 273. Price E30 (hardback).

Maritime history is a discipline that has, for many years, been a neglected area of Irish historical research. Tony Lawlor's *Maritime Survey* of over fifty years ago and the more recent erudite works of Dr John de Courcey Ireland have sadly not been followed; until now, that is. Bill Irish's *Shipbuilding in Waterford 1820 - 1882. A historical, technical and pictorial study* makes the long wait worthwhile, and as such is a very important publication. That Waterford is the focus of this study makes it even more interesting.

This is a meticulously researched and lavishly illustrated publication that draws on many disparate areas of history to offer the reader a journey into one of the more peripheral and little researched regions of Irish history, Waterford's shipbuilding history. The author makes a number of salient observations regarding this industry, particularly the fact that the local economy possessed high levels of advanced technology and skilled artisans at this time. Furthermore, this was an industry that was fully integrated into the British and global shipping economy and, the author states, in the course of its existence Waterford's shipbuilders made significant technological contributions to nineteenth century maritime advances.

This book opens with a general survey of Waterford's maritime history from the Vikings to the Victorians (Chpt. 1). Therein, the author credits the arrival of the Huguenots in the late seventeenth century with the development of Waterford's

seafaring skills and in expanding her global trade links. Within a hundred years Quaker entrepreneurs White, Penrose, Pim, Strangman and Malcomson had exploited these skills and trade routes; seen most effectively in the development of the Newfoundland trade. By 1820, when Waterford's first locally built ship was launched from White's shipyard thus inaugurating her nineteenth century shipbuilding industry, the city was already a maritime centre of significance. Indeed, by 1882, the time of the demise of shipbuilding in Waterford, over one hundred ships had been built by the city's three shipbuilders White, Malcomson and Penrose.

The author concentrates on the two larger shipyards, Whites and Malcomsons, and states that the former was the most prodigious, building sixty ships between 1820 and 1868. Whites also had the distinction of building, for Bewleys, the SS *Helas*, the first ship to bring tea direct from China to Ireland in 1832. In 1856, the same shipyard built the largest wooden ship ever built in Ireland, the *Merrie England* for James Beazley of Liverpool, one of the largest shipowners in Britain. However, the emergence of steam powered iron ships heralded their demise and their last ship was built in 1867, finally closing sometime around 1873 (Chpt. 2). Put in context, between 1820 and 1850 Whites built forty-one wooden ships while the combined output of the three Belfast shipyards was around fifty ships.

The entry of the Malcomson family into the shipbuilding industry was part of the vertical integration of their overall business empire which had, by this time, one of the largest cotton factories in Ireland at Portlaw and were already ship owners of some significance. They also had interests in many Irish, and later, international shipping companies as well as railways and coal mines. In 1843 their Neptune repair yard opened in Waterford city and, by 1846, had built their first iron steamship thus pioneering Ireland's iron shipbuilding industry. Like its cotton enterprise, technical expertise was imported to supplement the well established local skills base. During the 1850s and 1860s Malcomson Brothers was one of the largest steamship owners in the world, with diverse business interests stretching from the Americas to Russia. Between 1846 and 1858 they owned about 70 ships and had built 12 large iron steamships. Many technological innovations inherent in these ships, the author states, are often attributed to other shipyards. This book puts the record straight and ably demonstrates the capacity, at local level, to absorb and implement new technological innovations while simultaneously initiating technical innovations of their own, thereby influencing global marine engineering and design. Many of these innovations pre-dated Brunel, Cunard and Harland and Wolf, and are detailed throughout the book. It was indeed ironic that, at the very time that the Neptune shipyard had reached the zenith of its manufacturing capacity, internal and external forces combined to undermine the solvency of their entire business empire (ch. 4). In 1877 Malcomson Brothers filed for bankruptcy and the Neptune Shipyard closed in 1882, thus ending shipbuilding in Waterford.

Copiously illustrated with line etchings, lithographs and photographs, this book details every facet of the artisan's skill, especially the tools and methods used. Given that most of these have either been lost or replaced by technology, such

illustrations provide a valuable record of Irish labour and industrial heritage. Chapter six contains a fascinating account of riveting at the Neptune shipyard, one that graphically illustrates the physical nature of nineteenth century work and the skills required of the artisan.

These are supported by detailed appendices which provide a valuable source of information for economic, industrial and business historians alike. Nonetheless, the fact that Quaker business practice was conducted within the parameters of Quaker business networks and was governed by strict Quaker religious ethics inhibited large-scale business expansion, especially from the 1860s onwards.

Bill Irish is to be highly commended for broadening our knowledge of nineteenth century Irish history. In so doing, he not only challenges the orthodox assumptions regarding nineteenth century Irish de-industrialisation but offers a thought provoking conclusion in the process. No one in 1840, he states, would have envisaged a transatlantic iron steamship being built in Waterford, yet within twenty years a global shipping empire was being controlled from the city. All the ingredients necessary to progress as a major centre of shipbuilding into the twentieth century were present, mobile skilled labour, capital and technological know-how; and an industry that was fully integrated into the British and global maritime commerce. But the collapse of the Malcomson business empire, in many ways, resulted from the implosion of very forces that helped in its creation and with it large-scale manufacturing and employment in Waterford.

J. M. Hearne

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Discover Waterford by Eamonn McEneaney. The O'Brien Press Ltd, Dublin, 2001. Pp 109. Price E12.68. (paperback: ISBN O-86278-656-8).

Eamonn McEneaney's *Discover Waterford* is the fourth volume in the City Guides series, which seeks to provide pertinent information for the discerning visitor to major Irish cities. Preceded by guidebooks of Derry, Kilkenny and Galway, this most informative handbook was published in 2001 by The O'Brien Press Ltd., Dublin, (which receives assistance from the Arts Council). It was launched at a very enjoyable function in that most appropriate of venues, Waterford Museum of Treasures, where its author serves as curator.

Adorned by Terry Murphy's image of a modern Waterford Crystal fruit-bowl, which separates that panoramic prospect of old Waterford, first seen in Charles Smith's 1746 local history, from Michelle Brett's stunning view of the modern marina and the new Wallace Plaza, the very cover of this book indicates the delights contained therein. As with the three previous City Guides, this edition is a volume of two parts, the first dealing with the history of Waterford city, while the second details the visual souvenirs of the cultural development of the city. It is here that the professionalism of the author becomes apparent; Eamonn McEneaney has

mastered that most difficult of disciplines, the art of weaving a cohesive historical narrative without overburdening the reader with too much detail.

Starting with the establishment of a Viking *longphort* in 853, the author recounts the development of Viking Waterford, the Christianising of the early populace, the Norman invasion and acculturation of the medieval city, Cromwell's unsuccessful siege and the eventual fall of the city to General Ireton. Thereafter he depicts the post-Restoration maturation of Waterford, evolving through such events as Bishop Este's commissioning of Richard Castle to design a magnificent Episcopal Palace, through the architectural masterpieces of John Roberts who erected City Hall and both Cathedrals, through the completion of the Presentation Convent designed by the internationally renowned Augustus Welby Pugin, and through developments such as the highly respected Quaker involvement in those staples of Waterford commerce in that era, glass production and ship building. Nor is modern cultural expansion ignored. The location and activities of the Garter Lane Arts Centre are dealt with fully. The William Vincent Wallace Plaza, built as a millennium project, and now dominating the historically renowned Quay of Waterford, commemorates our colourful, native-born opera composer. The Genealogical Centre utilises records from civic sources and from churches of all denominations to facilitate the tracing of one's ancestry. These are a few of the currently available, diverse facilities which are described in this book.

Waterford Crystal, producers of the world's finest cut crystal, and now regarded as the cradle of the post Second World War prosperity of the city, is ranked among the top four tourist attractions in Ireland. Its Visitor Centre, its showrooms, and its guided tour are acknowledged to be of the most distinctive calibre, and receive the prominence in this publication which they deserve. Perhaps the author may be forgiven for equally accentuating the charms of the unique Waterford Museum of Treasures, which is located on Merchant's Quay, and conjoins the Tourist Information Office. Here, in this deservedly much-awarded repository of Waterford artefacts, can be found anything from the needle-work of the pre-Reformation Benedictine cope dated circa 1480, to the proverbial anchor used by the Neptune ship-yard in the mid-nineteenth century.

This is a delightful book, which introduces the perceptive visitor to a city of which its citizens are justifiably so proud. Not only should it be first on the tourist's list of purchases in Waterford, it should certainly be required reading for our schoolchildren, so that in researching their provenance, they may appreciate whence, and from whom they have come. Its discerning photographs portray interesting artefacts and aspects of our city, while the riot of photographic colour in its centre pages gives testimony that the quotation from Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sydney's description is as apt today as it was in 1567. Sydney wrote:- 'This city of Waterford much flourisheth, and I suppose was never in better state since it was builtd.' *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*

Niall J Byrne.

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I was a day in Waterford: An anthology of writing about Waterford City and County from the 18th to the 20th century by T N Fewer. Published by Ballylough Books, Callaghane, Co. Waterford 2001. Price E30 [paperback: ISBN 0 9533704 1 0]

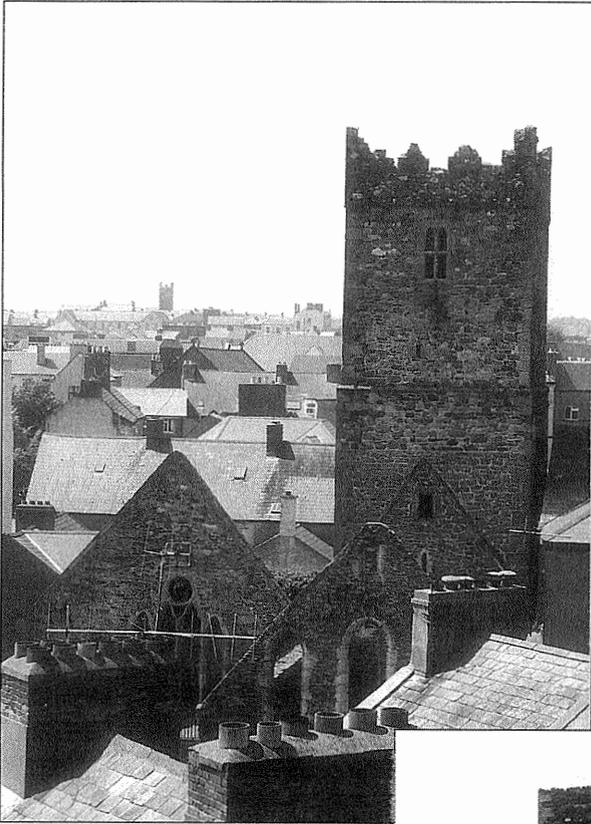
This is a compilation by Tom Fewer of pieces by 76 authors who have either visited the city or county, lived here, or indeed have been born here, over a span of 300 years. If one judges a book by its cover then Tom Fewer's second book is very attractive. An original watercolour by Glenmore artist Maeve Doherty of The Mall with its historic buildings adorns the cover. The title is taken from the old Irish song learned and sung in the past by many a school-child—'*Bhios 'a la i bPortlairge'*'.

Some of the authors will be well-known to readers of local history such as Charles Smith, P M Egan, and Reverend R. H. Ryland, but contributions from living authors writing about our own times also make their appearance. These include Dervla Murphy, Bill Long, Ian Lumley, Jim Lusby, Annabel Davis-Goff, Julian Walton and Michael Coady.

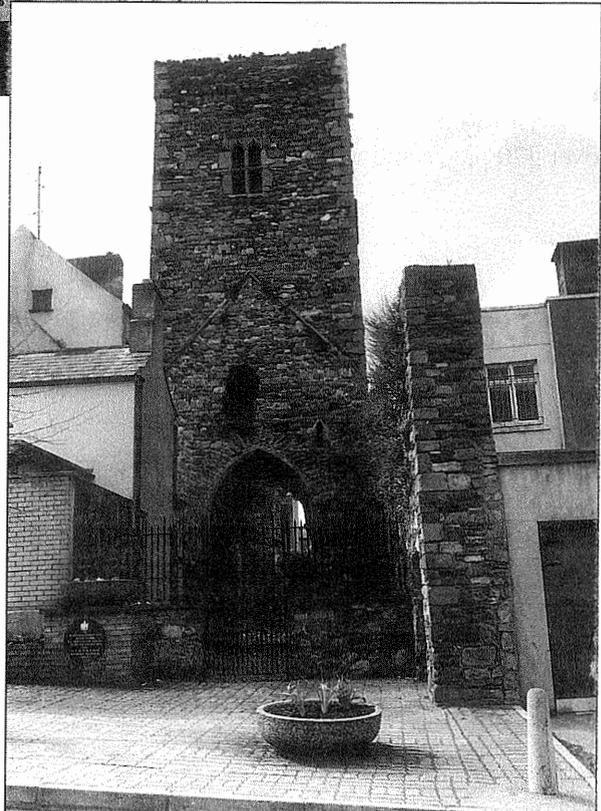
Nostalgia abounds in this volume. I was agreeably surprised to read a piece on fishing for lobster and wildlife at the Back Strand by that great Dunmore East character of the recent past, Eddie Don. In between, there are items on many aspects of life and times in this ancient place – not all of them complimentary. Among them is a colourful description of a 'monster' meeting at Ballybricken in 1891 addressed by William O'Brien, Nationalist M.P.. Short biographies of the authors by Tom Fewer, head up each contribution.

This is a book that will appeal to expatriate Waterfordians in particular. If you are visiting friends and relations abroad it will make an ideal present and, with over 370 pages and very handsomely produced, is good value for money.

Patrick Grogan.



Greyfriars, ruined medieval Franciscan church, closed by King Henry VIII. It was later used by French Protestant Refugees, Huguenots.
(Courtesy Ben Murtagh)



Remains of Blackfriars, the medieval Dominican Friary founded in the thirteenth century.
(Courtesy Ben Murtagh)

Nellie Croke – An Appreciation



Nellie Croke RIP

TOWARDS the end of 2001, as we were looking forward to Christmas, we in the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society as well as her friends in other walks of life, were shocked and saddened to learn of the sudden death of Nellie Croke.

For many years Nellie had acted as Honorary Secretary of the Society, a position she filled with great distinction, always carrying out her duties with the calm efficiency that characterised all that she did.

Born and brought up in the city, Nellie was always conscious of her heritage. Her pride in her native city, its past history and its ongoing development always manifested itself on those occasions when conversations tended in that direction. Thus, it was inevitable that Nellie should become involved in the Old Waterford Society (as our

Society was then called). As secretary, her contributions in Committee were always characterised by common sense and relevance to the subject matter in question; for this she will be sadly missed.

Nellie was educated in the Sisters of Mercy Schools where music featured prominently on the curriculum and, as she grew and matured into her teenage years, her beautiful soprano voice ensured her a prominent place in the Schools' musical productions. From those beginnings it was an obvious progression to membership of the choir of St Saviour's Dominican Church in Bridge Street where, in a very short time, she became a soloist. Nellie remained involved with St Saviours even after she had ceased to sing. Her interest in music however, remained alive and she was regularly found at various musical events in Waterford. Her comments on some of these productions were invariably entertaining, frequently pithy and always to the point.

Nellie's many interests included membership of the Apostolic Work Society where her skilful needlework was soon recognised, with the results of her efforts being regularly displayed at the Society's annual exhibitions, which she helped organise. After the death of her husband, Jimmy, she joined the Waterford Branch of the Widow's Association, eventually becoming President; a position she held up to the time of her untimely death.

Nellie was never one to boast of her own attainments, nonetheless, she was justifiably proud of the career of her only child, David, who as current Professor of Genetics at the Royal College of Surgeons, Dublin, has forged for himself an international reputation in his chosen field of science. Indeed earlier this year David

delivered a lecture to the WAHS, an event which his mother looked forward to with some pride. Sadly, her untimely death deprived her of that pleasure which would surely have been the highlight of her later years. Although not present physically, there was, nonetheless, an acute awareness of Nellie's spirit and critical eye hovering nearby by all those present.

I had the honour and pleasure of knowing Nellie for almost forty years and during the course of that time her various interests, gifts and accomplishments were revealed to me. Nevertheless, it is as a very human personality that I remember her best. She was hospitable, generous, critical, fun-loving and always a person of quality whose company always gave unfailing pleasure and whose absence will be keenly missed for many a day still to come.

I ríocht Dé go raibh sí go deo.

F.D.

John Mulholland

JOHAN MULHOLLAND who died recently was a frequent contributor to *Decies* in the late seventies and early eighties, and was also briefly editor of the journal.

A retired teacher of the Classics, John settled in County Waterford at Ballynasissala near Bunmahon. His avid interest in the history of the locality soon became apparent, and his exploration of the area was accompanied by research in the archives of Dublin and beyond. The establishment of *Decies* early in 1976 enabled him to share his concerns with others, and the early numbers of the journal contained many notes and queries by John on such topics as the mining history of the area and the origins of Annestown. He also produced longer articles on the vanished medieval settlements of Templevrick (*Decies* No. 2), *17th-century tokens issued by Waterford tradesmen* (No. 10) and the settlements at Rossmire (No. 11).

At this time I was transcribing the pre-1900 tombstone inscriptions of east Waterford on behalf of the Irish Genealogical Research Society and, as I moved westward I soon encountered similar work being done by John in the centre of the county. Our common interest resulted in many chats and expeditions. John's classical training and natural attention to detail was of great advantage in the work of transcription, which in the case of gravestones is all too often prone to bizarre error. His article on the large and important old graveyard at Stradbally, a *tour de force* of persistence, was published in *Decies* No. 16.

John started work on a checklist of the castles of our county, but on learning that I had already compiled one back in 1961 he insisted that mine should be the one to appear in *Decies*. Needless to say, with his careful scholarship he was able to add several sites which in my youthful exuberance I had overlooked. Similarly, his checklist of Church of Ireland places of worship (*Decies* No. 14) has proved of value to subsequent researchers.

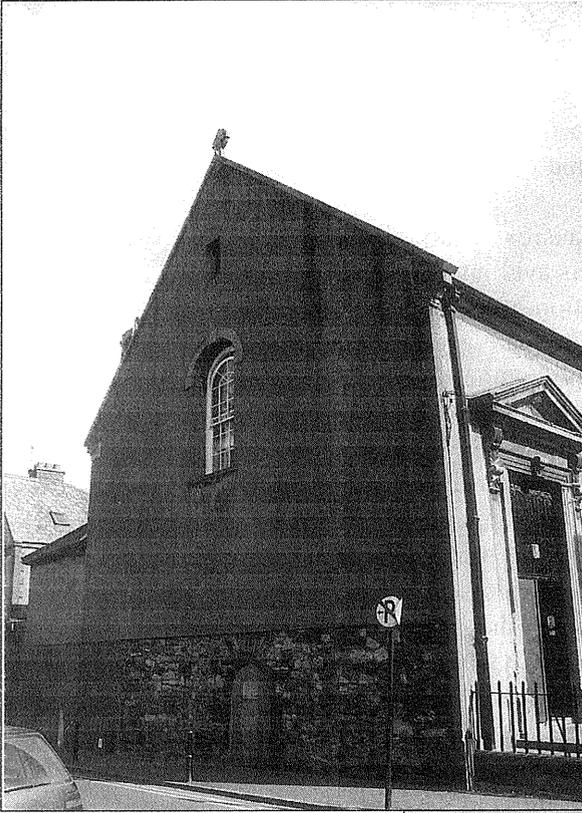
As a member of the editorial committee of *Decies*, John provided a wise and moderating influence, and when it was decided to rotate the editorship he undertook to produce No. 16 (January 1981). Not only did he see a number of important articles into print, but in his editorial he suggested a number of thought-provoking lines of research for the future.

John's last article for *Decies* appeared in January 1984 – a perceptive review of the documentation on the trial in 1532 of 'Alice the Abbess' – Alice Butler of Kilculliheen - whose alleged activities would make tabloid headlines even in today's cynical world and certainly raised eyebrows in high places in the early sixteenth century.

In his later years, failing eyesight curtailed John's researches. His gentle scholarship will be missed. His role in the activities of our Society, and particularly during the formative years of *Decies*, deserve to be remembered.

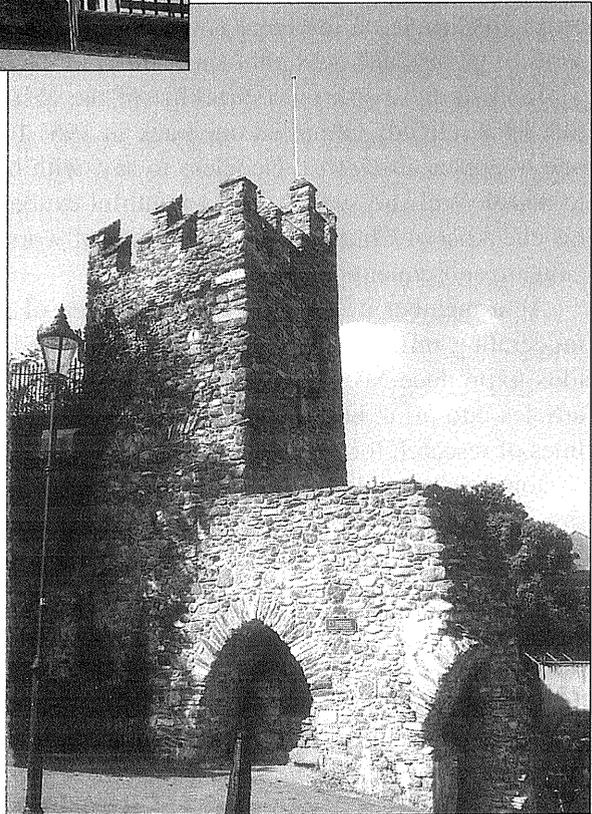
J. C. W

St. Olav's church, a legacy of Waterford's Scandinavian past. (Courtesy Ben Murtagh)



Beach Tower, located on the western section of Waterford's city walls and built during the fifteenth century. It was restored for Waterford City Council in 1994.

(Courtesy Ben Murtagh)



WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MEMBERSHIP 2002

(Up to September 30th 2002)

Abbeyside Reference Archives, Parish Office, Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

Allen County Public Library, P.O. Box 2270, 900 Webster Street, IN 46801-2270, USA.

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Hogan, Mrs P., Slieverue, via Waterford.
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Kavanagh, Mrs A., 'Manswood', Newtown, Waterford.

Kavanagh, Mr G., 'Sion Hill House', Ferrybank, Waterford.

Keane, Miss H., 60 Cannon Street, Waterford.

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Kilkenny County Library, 6 John's Quay, Kilkenny.

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Memorial University of Newfoundland, Periodical Division Main Library, St.
John's, Newfoundland A1B 3Y1, Canada.

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National Museum of Ireland, (ref. Enda Lowry), Collins Barracks, Benburb St.
Dublin 7.

Newberry Library, 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610, USA.
Nolan, Farrell & Goff, Solicitors, Newtown, Waterford.
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Notre Dame University, 122 Hessburgh Library, Notre Dame, IN 46556-5629, USA.
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Ó Mathúna, Mr S. N., 8 Fawcett House, Stockwell Gardens West, Stockwell Road,
London SW9 9HD, England.
O'Neill, Thomas P., Library, Serials Department, Boston College, Chestnut Hill,
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Patrick Power Library, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia,
Canada B3H 3C3.

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- School of Celtic Studies Library (Ms Niamh Walsh), 10 Burlington Rd., Dublin 4.
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Tipperary Libraries, Castle Avenue, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
Tipperary S. R. County Museum, Parnell Street, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.
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Waterford Co. Library, West Street, Lismore, Co. Waterford.

Waterford Heritage and Genealogical Survey, Jenkin's Lane, Waterford.

Willis, Mr M., 'Gorse Cottage', Killegar, Bray, Co. Wicklow.

WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Lectures & Events Programme - Autumn 2002 & Spring 2003

VENUE: COMMITTEE ROOM, CITY HALL, WATERFORD
TIME: 8 p.m.

Friday, 25th October, 2002

Speaker: Donnacha O'Ceallachain, M A.
Topic: 'Joseph Fisher and the Land League in Waterford'.

Friday, 29th November, 2002

Speaker: Dr. Eibhear Walshe.
Topic: 'A sense of place—three Munster women writers, Elizabeth Bowen, Kate O'Brien & Teresa Deevy'.

Friday, 31st January, 2003

Speaker: Dr. Angela Bourke.
Topic: 'After the burning of Bridget Cleary'.

Friday, 28th February, 2003

Speaker: Dr. Seamus O'Maitiu.
Topic: 'W & R Jacob—150 years of biscuit-making'.

Friday, 28th March, 2003

Speaker: Jeremiah Falvey, M A.
Topic: 'Roman Catholicism and Bishop Berkeley of Cloyne, [1685-1753]'.

Friday, 25th April, 2003

Speaker: Jack Burchaell.
Topic: 'Newfoundland—Fish, Politics, and the European connection'.

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December 1st 2002

ANNUAL LUNCH, DOOLEY'S HOTEL
[Details will be notified to members later]

April 11th 2003

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING