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COMHAIRLE CATHRACH PHORT LAIRGE
WATERFORD CITY COUNCIL

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Cover Illustrations

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Back Cover: The River of Waterford, by permission of the British Library. *Decies* 60, 2004

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Decies **60**

CONTENTS

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The launch of Decies 59 by the Mayor of Waterford, Cllr. Tom Cunningham. Left to right, Ben Murtagh (Vice-Chairman), Tony Gunning (Hon. Treasurer), John M. Hearne (Hon. Editor Decies 59), The Mayor Cllr. Tom Cunningham, James Walsh (Chairman), Béatrice Payet (Hon. Secretary), Pat Grogan (PRO).

EDITORIAL

THE year 2004 marks a significant anniversary in the field of local studies in the southeast of Ireland. Exactly 110 years ago, on the 25th January 1894, the Waterford and South East of Ireland Historical and Archaeological Society was launched, building on the work of earlier historians and antiquarians such as Smith, Ryland and Hansard and thus establishing on a formal basis the study of local history and archaeology in the region. Dr. Sheehan, the catholic bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and the first president of the new society delivered the Inaugural Address, during the course of which he outlined a number of goals. These included: the publishing of a journal, the collection of sources for local studies, the establishment of a museum, and the cataloguing and preservation of archaeological sites and monuments.

Although the original society and its journal did not survive the period of civil unrest in the country between 1916 and 1923, a number of these original objectives have since been realised. Local records are preserved and made available to researchers by the City and County Library Services, in the Waterford City Archives, and in the County Archives in Dungarvan. Waterford Museum of Treasures, and Dungarvan Museum preserve and put on display various aspects of our rich heritage. *Decies* the Journal of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society is now in its twenty-eighth year of publication. A number of important academic publications in recent years have recorded the archaeology and built heritage of the region.

In the city major works of conservation have been carried out under the auspices of Dúchas and Waterford City Council. The conservation of Reginald's Tower, the ongoing works at the Double Tower, works at St. John's Priory, the plans for further conservation work at the French Church and the proposed plans to re-roof the tower are projects which deserve our praise and encouragement.

However concerns remain, especially with regard to conservation. Again it is worth quoting from Dr. Sheehan in 1894:

> There are few I believe who have any idea of the rapidity with which the old monuments... are disappearing. Time, and a neglect little short of vandalism, have played sad havoc with some of our most important ruins. The walls of venerable buildings have been everywhere pulled down to construct stables and sties.

Although it would be perhaps disingenuous to describe recent developments in the city as 'stables', some decisions prove that as a people, we are sometimes slow to learn from the mistakes of the past. In previous editorials in *Decies* a number of threats to aspects of our built heritage have been outlined, including developments in Grady's Yard and in the Railway Square area, and their possible impingement on sites of archaeological importance such as the Watergate and the remains of St. John's Gate.

Another area of concern is the site between Michael Street and Stephen Street, which lies in the heart of Norman Waterford. In all probability, this area will be re-developed in the near future. A number of important historical sites are located within the area of probable development. These include a seventeenth century house, the site of St. Stephen's church and graveyard, as well as the leper hospital which was attached to St. Stephen's church. This hospital is traditionally thought to have been founded by King John in the twelfth century. It is interesting to note that the last leper in Ireland died here in 1775. It is also interesting to note that the resources of this hospital were used to build the City and County Infirmary.

Our Society feels that Waterford City has a unique historical asset in its remaining medieval walls and towers, and they should be properly excavated and conserved in an appropriate manner, preserved for future generations, and not destroyed, damaged or obscured. We believe that respect for our heritage and economic progress can and should be complimentary.

One very concrete example of the benefits of economic progress can be seen in the programme of road construction in the city and county, which is turning out to be a golden opportunity for archaeological excavation leading to the unearthing of sites hitherto unknown, thus adding to our knowledge and understanding of early settlement patterns in the region. The various bodies involved in this work, Waterford City Council, Waterford County Council and the National Roads Authority are to be praised for the ongoing excavation in the areas affected. The current Journal includes archaeological reports on the R708, Airport Road.

The discovery of a major site of early Viking settlement on the banks of the Suir, at Woodstown, Killoteran, may well prove to be one of the most important archaeological discoveries anywhere in Ireland in the past number of years. This site, which probably pre-dates Waterford City itself, seems to be the first Viking longphort discovered in the southern half of the country. Excavations in the heart of Viking Waterford in the 1990s have greatly enhanced our knowledge and understanding of the earliest years of our city. A similar operation, as advocated by Dr. Pat Wallace, Director of the National Museum is needed now in this newly discovered area of Viking settlement. A short article by Richard O'Brien and Ian Russell on the excavation to date is being published in the current Journal.

The Religious Society of Friends celebrates 350 years in Ireland this year. To mark the occasion, a number of commemorative plaques were erected to mark the sites of the early Quaker graveyards in the Wyse Park and John's Lane area in the city. The Society of Friends donated these sites to the then Corporation in the 1950s, on condition that they be used as an amenity for the people of the city. Originally the Parliament Street site was incorporated into the existing Wyse Park, and as such was enjoyed as an amenity by several generations of Waterford people. However, vandalism and general neglect resulted in the deterioration of the site in recent years. Local residents and members of the Quaker community are to be commended for their efforts in highlighting the dilapidated condition of the area, and in campaigning for its renovation.

After many years of neglect it is gratifying that Waterford City Council are engaged in a programme of restoration of Wyse Park, which includes these former Quaker burial grounds. The site has been cleared of refuse and the graffiti removed. It has been laid out as a park again. It is hoped that Waterford City Council will continue with this programme of restorative work, so that the area will become an amenity for the people of Waterford as originally envisaged by the Society of Friends. Joan Johnston has written articles on these sites in past issues of *Decies,* and the Society is pleased to publish her most recent update on developments in this area.

It is interesting to note, that one of the articles in the first volume of the *Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Historical and Archaeological Society* was by W.A. Sargent, entitled 'Old Records of Waterford' and gave a short account of the *Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae,* which he described as a 'curious old book.' This major historical source had been mentioned by John T. Gilbert in the *First Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* in 1870, and again in 1885 in the *Tenth Report.* Gilbert considered this work to be, 'the most important of the archives of the City of Waterford', and went on to state that:

> if printed.., would go far towards giving an accurate view of the ancient position and social state of the commercial and municipal classes in Ireland and their relations with the native Irish, as well as with England and the Continent.

This 'curious old book' truly remained Waterford's forgotten historical treasure. It must be surely a great source of pride for the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society that one of our members, Dr. Niall Byrne has this year completed the first transcription and translation of this major work. This is a work of scholarship. The *Liber* spans a period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, is written in a mixture of Norman French, Latin and English and is a unique insight into the development of Waterford as a city. We are especially proud that Dr. Byrne has agreed to publish his Introduction to the *Liber Antiquissmus Waterfordiae* in *Decies* 60. It is of great importance that the complete work is published as soon as possible, so that it is made available to historians for further research.

Since Viking times Waterford was one of Ireland's chief ports for the importing of wine and the exporting of wool and hides. By the eighteenth century a new merchant class developed worldwide trade links, especially with New Foundland, and had also developed a vibrant shipbuilding industry. In 2005 Waterford will celebrate its rich maritime history by hosting the start and first leg of the Tall Ships' Race. A fleet of over eighty majestic sailing ships from around the world will start arriving in Waterford on July 6th. The event will culminate in the grand finale a 'parade of sail' on Saturday 9th July when all the Tall Ships will sail down the river Suir and into the Irish Sea *en route* for Cherbourg. To mark the occasion *Decies* 60 is including a short maritime section.

I would like to thank all those who gave of their time and expertise in bringing about the publication of this edition of *Decies.* I would like to thank the members of the editorial committee for their advice, expertise and enthusiasm. I am especially grateful to Eddie Synnott for his expert typesetting and editing skills. I would also like to thank the outgoing Editor, Martin Hearne for his advice and for help with some of the articles.

Ever since its foundation in 1976, *Decies* has provided a forum for both professional and amateur historians. I would like to pay a special tribute to the contributors to *Decies.* Without their dedication, devotion, and their sheer love of local history it would not be possible to produce a journal such as this.

List of Contributors

Anthony J. Brophy is a native of Waterford and a chartered accountant by profession. He was Secretary of the Waterford Chamber of Commerce in the mid-1960s and served in a number of senior positions in the Waterford Wedgwood Group. He has always maintained many interests beyond business including freelance writing on a variety of topics for journals at home and abroad. He is married to Anne and they live in Waterford City.

Niall Byrne spent his early childhood in Tramore, Co. Waterford. He has worked all his adult life in veterinary practice in Waterford and south Kilkenny and is currently the veterinary officer for Waterford City Council. He has an MA and a PhD in Medieval History from NUI Cork, and also hold a B.Div. (1996) from the University of London.

Kevin Downes is a fisherman who lives in Duncannon, Co. Wexford. He is one of the founders of Duncannon Maritime Museum, and has a specific interest in the military and maritime history of the region.

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 Johnson 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 and Mary Ellis: Background and Quaker Relief in Letterfrack.*

Andrew James Johnston attended St. Paul's Community College, Waterford. He holds a BA in History and Economics from UCC, and has recently completed an MA in European Economic Affairs at the Dublin European Institute in UCD. While studying in UCC he won the John O'Brien Memorial Prize in Local or Economic History.

Frank Keane was associated with Mount Sion, Waterford, for many years, where he was Curator of the Blessed Edmund Rice Museum and the Blessed Sacrament Chapel. He is a regular contributor to the Waterford local papers on matters of historical interest. He previously contributed to *Decies* on the occasion of the Bicentenary of Mount Sion in 2002. Now resident in Dublin he is engaged in biographical research connected with the Christian Brothers.

Pádraig G. Lane teaches History at Capuchin College, Rochestown, Cork. He was co-editor of *Laois: History and Society,* and a contributor to *Galway: History and Society*, and Carla King (ed.), *Famine, Land and Culture.* He also wrote *Bastille agus Scéalta Eile* in Irish.

Pat McCarthy was born in Waterford 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. He is a frequent contributor to *Decies.*

Ben Murtagh is a buildings archaeologist who is based in the south east of Ireland. He has carried out work on the city walls of Waterford over the last twenty years. He is currently conducting excavations on the Double Tower. He received a BA in Archaeology and History from NUI, Dublin, in 1979, and an MA in Archaeology in 1982. He is currently Vice Chairman of the Society.

Richard O'Brien is the Project Archaeologist of the N25 Waterford Bypass, Contract 1. Richard is a native of Cashel, Co. Tipperary and graduated from UCC in 1994 with a Masters Degree in Archaeology. He worked as a field archaeologist from 1989-2001, and has been licence eligible since 1997. Richard joined Waterford County Council in 2001 working as a Project Archaeologist in the Tramore Regional Design Office. Published work includes: 'New Archaeological Finds at Killea Graveyard' in *Tipperary Historical Journal,* (2000), (& Joanne Hughes), 'The Church of Ballykelly in the Parish of Boherlahan / Dualla' in *Boherlahan-Dualla Historical Journal,* (2000), 'Nenagh Bypass Excavations, 1998-1999' in *Tipperary Historical Journal,* (2001), 'The Benedictine Priory of Kilcommon' in *Tipperary Historical Journal,* (2003) 'A Preliminary Report on the N8 Bypass, Archaeological Excavations in the Parish and its Environs', in *Boherlahan-Dualla Historical Journal,* (2003) 'A Spindle Whorl from Ballykelly', in *Boherlahan-Dualla Historical Journal,* (2003), Forthcoming, 'Excavations at Synone Castle, Co. Tipperary', in *Boherlahan-Dualla Historical Journal* 2004.

Aidan O'Connell, a graduate of University College Dublin, is an archaeologist with Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd., based in Drogheda Co. Louth. He previously worked in the Archaeological Unit at Limerick County Council and is a member of the Institute of Archaeologists of Ireland.

Dónal O'Connor was professor of Old Testament at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth until 1985 when he was appointed parish priest of Ardmore. He is a frequent contributor to various periodicals, including the *Irish Theological Quarterly,* of which he was Review Editor for some years. His book *Job: His Wife his Friends and his God* was published in 1995 by Columba Press. His booklet, *Walking the Holy Ground* (Dublin, Áis, 2003), deals with early Irish spirituality in Ardmore and Lismore, and is now in its fourth edition.

Ian Russell is the Site Director of the Woodstown excavations to date and works for Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd. Ian is a native of Drogheda, Co Louth and graduated from UCD in 1998 with a Masters Degree in Classics. He has been working for Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd since 1998 as a field archaeologist and has been licence eligible since 2000. Published work includes an article in *Riocht na Mide* concerning the M1 archaeological excavations.

Orla Scully received her BA and MA from UCC. She has directed parts of the Waterford city centre excavations, including the final dig in 1992. Thereafter she worked as senior archaeologist with Waterford City Council, bringing together all the results and specialist reports, resulting in the publication of the book, *Late Viking Age and Medieval Waterford.* She is a consultant archaeologist in the Waterford area.

The Work at the Double Tower, Waterford

By Ben Murtagh

Introduction

After Dublin, Waterford was Ireland's most important city during the Middle Ages. Also, it was one of the most important ports in the country. In an age of intermittent political instability and war, it was necessary that a city wall defended such a significant place. Such a task was a major undertaking for any city. Waterford had extensive defensive walls that took a number of centuries to construct. As the medieval city gradually expanded new sections were built to enclose the suburbs. Today extensive sections of the city walls survive above the ground. They include six mural towers that still stand to the height of their battlements. One of these is the Double Tower, which is currently undergoing a programme of conservation works and archaeological excavation.

Although the extent and remains of Waterford's city walls and towers are impressive, most survive in various stages of disrepair. The task of conserving them is a formidable one. This largely falls to Waterford City Council, which still owns much of the walls and most of the towers, including the Double Tower. Since the early 1980s various excavations and conservation projects have been carried out in relation to the walls and towers. However, a detailed study or survey of the entire remains of the upstanding walls has never been carried out or an overall conservation plan been drawn up. Nevertheless, some important individual projects have been completed, particular in relation to the towers. For example, during the mid 1990s Waterford Civic Trust restored the Beach Tower on behalf of Waterford Corporation (the now City Council). More recently, The National Monuments Service completed a major programme of work to Reginald's Tower. The writer was engaged as Project Archaeologist on both of these projects.

Site location

The Double Tower was located at the southern end of the walled city. Today it adjoins a fine section of late medieval city wall that runs southeast to Manor Street (Plates 1, 5), which leads to the Cork Road. Along the inside of the wall and tower there is a grassed area. This fronts onto Parliament Street to the northeast, where a row of Georgian houses stood until the 1980s. Along the exterior of the tower and above section of city wall there is a narrow strip of open ground that fronts onto Castle Street to the southwest. Here a row of Georgian houses formerly stood. The northwest end of the tower adjoins another section of city wall (Plates 5, 9) that runs for a short distance to a later defensive bastion. The latter is a long rectangular stone-built structure that projected out from the line the late medieval city wall. It runs up hill in a northwest direction towards the French Tower (Moore 1999, 211; Power 1943, 131).

Plate 1 - Aerial view of the Double Tower and adjoining city wall from southwest, with ruins of the medieval St. John's church in the background. BM July '04.

Plate 2 - Aerial view of the southern city wall from east, showing the Watch Tower in the foreground and the Double Tower in the background. BM July '04.

To the southeast of the Double Tower, there is a gap in the city wall where Manor Street cuts through it (Plate 1). On the far side of street, the city wall continues southeast to the cylindrical Watch Tower that overlooks Railway Square (Plate 2), where a major development is currently being constructed. From here the wall continues northeast to the Watergate bastion in the former Grady's Yard. Located to the northeast of the Double Tower, on the far side of Parliament Street, is the ruined medieval St. John's Church (Plate 1).

Description

The Double Tower is oblong in plan, measuring 7m in length from northwest to southeast by 4.5m in width. It is 10.5m in height. It looks like mini-tower house, joined at either end by the city wall (Plates 3, 4). However, habitation was not the primary function of this building. The city wall at either end abuts onto the exterior of the tower. This indicates that the latter is earlier and was originally built as a freestanding structure.

The **ground storey** was built as a single block with locally quarried shale bonded mainly with a weak lime mortar. Inside it contains an oblong chamber at southeast, which is entered from the outside through an original entrance doorway in the northeast wall of the building (Plate 7). It was lit by a small loop in the southwest wall. There may have been another loop in the southeast wall. To the northwest there is a passageway running right through the building (Plates 3, 4). This was a **postern** or sally port that gave access from inside of the city wall to the outside. It was divided from the chamber to the southeast by a spine wall and there was no original direct access from one to the other.

The **first storey** was also built as a single block, but is of a different construction to the ground storey below. This would indicate that there was a time lapse between the constructions of the two. The first storey originally consisted of a large single oblong chamber inside, surrounded by four walls that were constructed of grey limestone masonry that was imported from either County Kilkenny or the Hook peninsula. The use of limestone gave a better finish to the masonry, as opposed to shale, particularly in regard to windows, quoins, etc. In the southwest wall, fronting onto Castle Street, there is a large window with a dressed surround (Plate 3). There was a similar window in the far wall that also lit the first floor chamber. There are the remains of a blocked loop in the southeast end wall that gave a view of the exterior of the city wall. In the far end wall there are the blocked remains of a doorway that formerly gave access out onto the city wall (Plate 6).

Subsequent to the construction of the first storey block, the building was heightened. This involved a change in design to the interior. For example, a stone stairwell was inserted into the western part of the first storey chamber. This blocked access to the earlier doorway in the northwest wall. The **stairwell** was extended down into the ground storey chamber where there had not been one previously (Plate 7). A pointed **barrel vault** was constructed over the remaining area of the first floor chamber. Impressions of wicker centring can still be seen on the underside or soffit.

The vault supported a stone roof or **battlement**. The latter is enclosed on three sides by an overhanging parapet that is supported by a gutter course in the Irish fashion of the late medieval period (Plates 3-5). Water chutes that are located at regular intervals pierce the parapet. At northwest, the tower rises upwards to support an upper battlement that is now largely destroyed. The purpose of this feature was to accommodate the stairwell that gives access from the lower part of the tower to the lower battlement. The parapet that enclosed the battlements originally had stepped crenellations that are now destroyed.

The section of city wall to southeast of the tower still has the remains of its parapet. However, at the northwest end the original **stepped crenellations** can still be seen rising upwards to abut the tower (Plate 10). This is a rare survival on the Waterford city wall. The remains of an overhanging wall walk can still be seen running along the inside of the wall between the Double Tower and the Watch Tower. However, the battlement does not survive along the top of the city wall to the northwest of the Double Tower (Plates 5, 9).

The investigations to date have revealed that the city wall was strengthened along the inside during the Post-Medieval period by the construction of arcading. This involved the removal of the original over-hanging wall walk between the Double Tower and the Watch Tower. Between the two towers the arcading was destroyed above ground level. However, the remains of the arcading can be seen above the ground to the northwest of the tower (Plates 6, 9).

Previous work

During the years 1984 to 1990, the writer carried out a series of archaeological excavations on the southern city wall for Waterford Corporation and the National Monuments Service. These extended from Grady's Yards to the Double Tower. At the former, the excavation was located in and around the Watergate bastion (Murtagh 2001). Another was located at the Watch Tower (Murtagh 1991b). During 1990, the writer conducted an excavation inside in the Double Tower (Murtagh 1991a). It not only revealed that there was deep and complex archaeological stratigraphy, but also the extent of the structural problems within the tower.

Furthermore, an important discovery was made during the 1990 excavation. It revealed that the tower was built upon the remains of an earlier gateway (Plate 7). The cobbled passageway and the spud-stones for the former timber gates survive in good condition. The finding of this structure suggested the existence of earlier defences along the line of the later city wall.

The current work

Reginald's Tower, which is owned by Waterford City Council, is now in the guardianship of the National Monuments Section of the Office of Public Works, which maintains it. This partnership has been extended to the Double Tower. The ruined medieval Franciscan church, now known as the French Church, is another important monument in the city on which the National Monuments Service is currently carrying out a programme of conservation works.

Since May 2003 a programme of conservation works has been on-going to the Double Tower. This is being carried out by the staff of the National Monuments Service, under the direction of senior conservation architect, Ms. Aighleann O'Shaughnessy. The writer has been engaged as project archaeologist. Outwardly, the tower looks to be in good condition. However, this masks serious internal problems that have developed over many years. The work has to address and overcome these difficult problems. Moreover, the tower has a complex building history, which has caused some of the problems. Therefore, a detailed study of its fabric has been necessary.

Most of the interior and much of the north exterior of the bottom storey within the area of the city wall was concealed by a build-up of ground over the centuries. In order to facilitate the on-going work, it has been necessary to archaeologically excavate this material in order to expose the bottom of the building. The writer has conducted the excavation in stages to enable necessary structural works to be carried out.

Findings from the excavations

In 2003 work resumed after an interval of fourteen years to complete the examination of the interior of the Double Tower. Also excavation began on a long rectangular area skirting the northeast side of the building. It measures 10.5m in length and 3.5m in width. Its purpose is to reduce the ground level to the base of the tower. This work is still on going. The archaeological investigations to date have turned up some interesting and even surprising results regarding the Double Tower. Some of these results also help to explain the causes of some of the structural problems with the building.

We now know that the tower was built in stages as a freestanding structure, prior to the construction of the adjoining sections of city wall. The fact that it was built on the remains of an **earlier gateway** was a surprise. It once gave access from the Priory out to St. John's Manor. The remains consist of a cobbled passageway. It had clay-bonded sidewalls that were plastered (Plate 7). The passageway widens at the rebate for the former timber gates. The gateway appears to have pierced an **earthen rampart** along the line of which the city wall was later constructed. It was found that the wall to the northwest of the tower was constructed upon redeposited clay.

The apparent existence of earlier defences to south of John's Priory was previously unknown, but not surprising. A lot of the rampart may have been levelled in to the fosse on the outside to facilitate the construction of stone defences. Nevertheless, the latter appears to have been built on the unstable remains of the former. This would later cause subsidence in the stone built defences. It may help to explain the present outward tilt in the tower and adjoining sections of wall towards Castle Street.

Another important discovery was made earlier this year. This was the finding of a **blocked gateway** in the city wall, adjoining the northwest end of the tower. It would appear to have replaced the gateway found below the tower for a period of

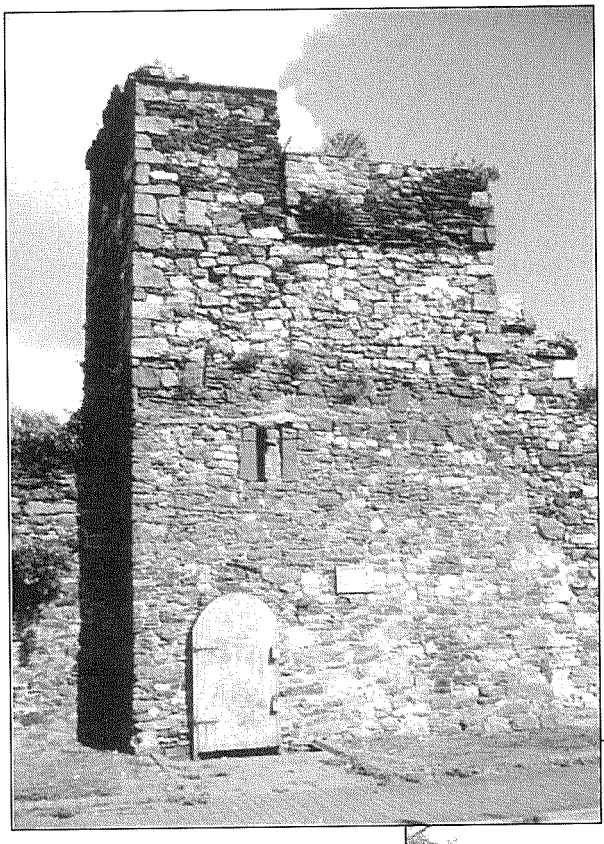

Plate 3 - Southwest exterior of the Double Tower, fronting onto Castle Street outside of city wall, prior to commencement of conservation works in May 2003.

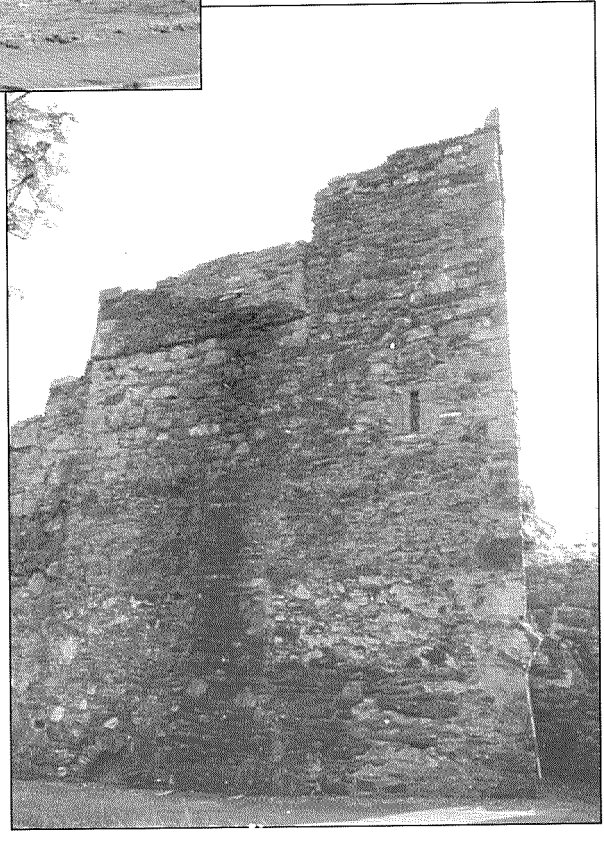

Plate 4 - Northeast exterior of the Double Tower.

time, prior to the construction the Close Gate on the present Manor Street. It is interesting that the blocked gateway is located beside the postern through the tower. The gateway was later narrowed considerably when the **Post-Medieval arcading** was built along the inside of the city wall. The first archway of the arcading to the northwest of the tower gave access to the inside of the narrowed gateway (Plate 9). The latter was eventually blocked up for the insertion of a gun port. By this time the Close Gate was standing in what is now Manor Street, piercing the city wall midway between the Double Tower and the Watch Tower (Murtagh 2001, Fig. 2).

Beyond the blocked gateway to the northwest of the Double Tower, investigations have revealed that there is a serious outward tilt in the city wall, which appears to have lead to partial collapse. On the outside, running uphill along what is now Castle Street; the long **rectangular bastion** was constructed during the Post-Medieval period in order to strengthen the weakened defences. The interior was backfilled with clay and this prevented the total collapse of the earlier city wall at northeast.

The excavation at the northeast of the tower has revealed the bases of piers of the demolished Post-Medieval **arcading.** The remains of a section of the same arcading running from Manor Street to the Watch Tower was exposed in excavations carried out by the writer in 1990 (Murtagh 1991b, 55). Investigations have also revealed that during the Post-Medieval period a section of the southeast corner of the Double Tower collapsed. It is not clear if this was caused by the outward tilt in the building. The resulting large cavity was rebuilt. The southeast ground chamber was then backfilled with clay. Before this, quarrying of masonry had taken place within the chamber, which added to the structural problems of the tower.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a significant build-up of ground along the inside of the city wall at the Double Tower. During the **eighteenth century** terraced houses were built to the northeast, which fronted onto what is now Parliament Street. The gardens of these extended back to the city wall at the Double Tower. The excavations have exposed the remains of the boundary walls of two of these gardens. The work has further revealed that cesspits were dug at the end of the gardens for the dumping of domestic and even industrial waste. To the southeast of the tower, a large opening was made through the bottom of the city wall for the purpose of dumping domestic waste. To the northwest of the tower, a large cavity was made in the blocking of the former gateway. This was used as a coal shed for the former Georgian house that fronted onto Castle Street. It was later filled up as cesspit during the course of the nineteenth century.

Discussion and Historical Background

As seen above, the Double Tower was built in stages over a period of time. As will be seen below this centres on a period towards the end of the Middle Ages. However, documentary evidence is lacking regarding the progress of the work. Nevertheless, if we look at the documentary evidence in conjunction with the archaeological and architectural evidence in relation to the southern city wall in general, a picture emerges concerning dating of construction phases.

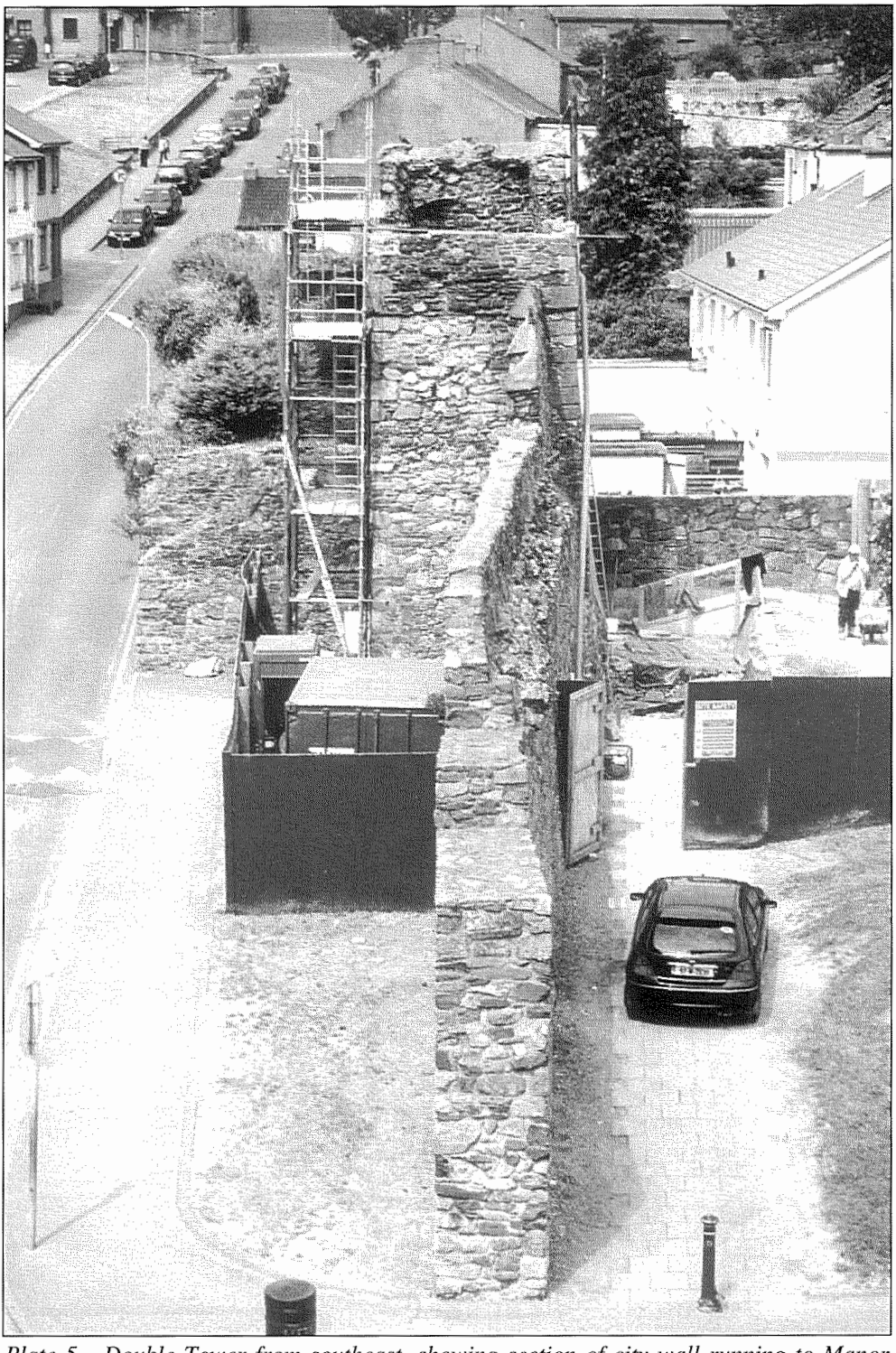

Plate 5 - Double Tower from southeast, showing section of city wall running to Manor Street in the foreground. BM July '04.

The southern end of the medieval city consisted of a parish and suburb that grew up around the **Priory of St. John the Evangelist,** which was founded back in the late twelfth century (Murtagh 2001, 12). As seen above, the ruins of the church of this monastery still survive (Moore 1999, 191/2). Adjoining the latter was a large estate or manor that extended southwards from the city towards Kibarry. The Benedictine Priory of St. Peter and Paul of Bath in England owned St. John's Priory, together with its extensive lands and properties (Murtagh, *ibid.*). For centuries, the Priory and suburb were located outside the walled city and were thus vulnerable to attack from the city's enemies. Matters became more acute during the fourteenth century when the security situation in County Waterford deteriorated (Byrne 2004, XVII, 18).

Finally, in the **year 1466** an attempt was made to rectify the situation. This involved an agreement between the Priory of St. Peter and Paul in Bath on the one hand and mayor and citizens of Waterford on the other to extend the city wall to enclose the Priory and suburb of St. John's (*ibid.,* 15). The construction of a stonewall with towers, etc. was a major undertaking in manpower, financing and materials over many years. It was understood that this task would take some years to complete, though a time scale was not specified. The wall does not appear to have been completed until the middle of the following century (Murtagh 2001, 13,14,18).

By the **1480s,** relations between the Prior at Bath on the one hand and the mayor and citizens of Waterford on the other deteriorated. This stemmed from the Prior in Bath regarding his priory and associated interests at Waterford merely as a commercial enterprise. It is unlikely that he had any interest in contributing to the expense of building a wall around the priory in Waterford. Instead, it was interested in increasing his revenues from the latter. When the Prior at Bath tried to cancel all their leases that were held from his priory in Waterford, the locals were naturally outraged. The mayor and citizens, many of whom held leases, took evasive action to prevent the landlord having his way (Byrne 2004, XI; Power 1896, 86). These events may have had a negative effect on the progress the city wall around St. John's suburb. If so, it would have only been temporary. In time, progress continued to be made.

It would appear that, as in the case of the Double Tower the southern wall was built in stages, starting with the most vulnerable or land ward side to west (Murtagh 2001, 13). This merely involved a continuation of the building of the wall around the **west suburb** of the city. The latter ran from across Barronstrand Street at north to the Beach Tower; across Carrigeen to St. Patrick's Gate and south to the top of New Street. This wall would appear to have been completed, at least to St. Patrick's Gate by the **1470s** (MacNiocaill 1966, 142, 195, 204, 210). The wall on the western side of St. John's suburb, which still stands, runs south from the site of New Gate to the French Tower or the corner tower (Moore 1999, 210; Power 1943, 131). From here the wall was continued down hill in a southeast direction to the Double Tower and onto the Watch Tower etc. Prior to the completion of the wall, the eastern half of John's suburb was somewhat protected by John's River and the salt marsh known as John's Pill that skirted it.

Plate 6 - Northwest end of the Double Tower, showing remains of city wall in foreground.
BM May'04.

After the overthrow and death of the Yorkist King Richard III in **1485,** the citizens of Waterford and tenants of John's Priory had a vested interest in the completion of the construction of the city wall. The city supported the new regime of **Henry Tudor** in England. The new King was unpopular in Ireland and this left Waterford politically isolated and vulnerable within the country. Yorkist supporters wasted little time in mobilising their forces in Ireland to destabilise the new regime and Waterford became one of their targets. The latter survived the **Simnel** rebellion of 1487 and the new king was very grateful for the city's support. In the following year he sent **Sir Richard Edgecombe** on a mission to Ireland. He was warmly received in Waterford. On the 1st July **1488:** 'The Mayor had the feyd Sir Richard about the Citty, and fhewid unto hym the Walls and Reparations of the fame' (Harris 1764, 61). This would indicate that the state of the city walls was a priority with the mayor and citizens and that the works to them were ongoing at the time.

The concern of the Waterford citizens with defences was well founded. In 1495, the city was finally attacked and besieged by a formidable Yorkist army and navy under the Pretender **Perkin Warbeck** and his ally the earl of Desmond (Smith 1746, 134/5). The citizens put up a stout defence, but the attackers were very determined. They landed a large force at 'Lombard's Weir' to the east of the city. This would suggest that they were trying to cross John's Pill to attack a weak spot in the city's defences, perhaps the undefended eastern half of John's suburb. To prevent this happening the citizens kept the Pill 'full of Water towards Kilbarry, by feveral dams by the city for that purpofe'. The citizens eventually defeated the attackers and the siege was raised (*ibid.,* 135). For this major victory over his enemies, the grateful King Henry VII granted the city its motto *Urbs intacta manet Waterfordia* (the city of Waterford remains untaken) (Walton 1992, 32).

After 1495 the city remained relatively secure for the next forty years. It is not clear if this had any effect on the pace of building the wall around John's suburb. However, the latter must be viewed in the context of another development that was taking place. This was the gradual decline towards extinction in the size of the religious community at John's Priory by the end of the Middle Ages. In the same year as the siege, the Prior of St. John's leased the lands and tenements of the Priory, both within and with out of the city, to **Maurice Wyse** (Power 1896, 86). Henceforth, his family gained a vested interest over this vast and wealthy estate and they were determined to gain further control over it. Finally their chance came after more than forty years, when Henry Tudor's son **Henry VIII dissolved the Priory** of St. John after more than three centuries of existence (Byrne 2004, 16).

Sir William Wyse, a grandson of the above Maurice, was in high favour with the King. He used this to transform his position from being a tenant of the former Priory to becoming landlord over its lands and other properties in and around Waterford (Johnston Auchmuty 1939, 3, 4; Power 1896, 90/1). Wyse took up residence in the old Priory.

These events coincided with a period of upheaval in Ireland, which stemmed from the political and religious ambitions of Henry VIII. The result was widespread rebellion in the country. Once again Waterford was to the forefront in

defending Tudor interests in Ireland and the state of the city's defences became a priority (Murtagh 2001, 180). It was essential for Sir William Wyse that his suburb of St. John's was secure within the walled city. Documentary evidence is lacking regarding the progress of construction of the wall around St. John's. What we do know is that it was eventually completed. Moreover, the results of archaeological excavations and investigations carried out to date on the architectural remains provide us with clues regarding stages and rates of progress.

For example, as noted above, the **Double Tower** was built as a freestanding structure on the remains of an earlier gateway. The two adjoining sections of city wall at either end were built later. It is likely that the section of wall to the northwest that ran down hill from the French Tower was built first. The wall running southeast to the Watch Tower and turning northeast to Grady's Yard appears to have been built in a single campaign. There was a projecting angle in the wall in Grady's Yard at the edge of John's River. From here the wall ran for a short distance to the former John's Gate that gave access to John's Bridge (*ibid.,* 11, Fig. 2).

The angle in the wall in Grady's Yard appears to have been built to facilitate the later construction of the **Watergate bastion.** The latter was built around the **year 1551** (Murtagh 2001, 15-18). This shows that the wall running from Grady's Yard back to the **Double Tower** was constructed in the years immediately prior to this. However, as seen above, the latter was already standing to full height before the construction of the adjoining city wall. It indicates that construction works on the various stages of the tower were carried out during a period that spanned the later fifteenth and extended into the first half of the sixteenth centuries. Based on the current evidence we cannot be more precise than this.

The wall enclosing the eastern side of the suburb, facing John's Pill, appears have been the last section to have been built. The earliest known map of Waterford by **Edmund Yorke** depicts the wall on the eastern side of the suburb in the year **1590** (Murtagh 2001, Fig. 4; 2004, 130/1). For example, it shows John's Gate, the Watergate bastion and the Watch Tower. It also shows the wall running northwest from the later into infinity. Unfortunately, it does not show the Close Gate or the Double Tower. At this time, outworks were under construction to further strengthen the city's defences (Kerrigan 1985, 18; Murtagh 2004, 130).

The earliest documentary evidence for the existence of the Double Tower comes from the **1599 Rent Roll of Waterford Corporation** (Byrne 2004, 268).

It mentions a number of city wall towers in the area that were held by John Wyse fitz James. Unfortunately, some are difficult to identify, including the Double Tower. However, one example, refers to 'a tower by East the **close gate'** that appears to be the Watch Tower, which had a rent of 2 shillings. If so it would indicate that by this time the Close Gate was located on the site of the present Manor Street.

The Rent Roll also mentions '**Dermodds Castell** by the close gate'. It had a substantially higher rent than the above tower, amounting to 6s. and 8d, indicating that it was a large building. However, there is a problem regarding its location. It is inferred that it was a tower located on the north west side of the gateway. In the

Plate 7 - Ground story chamber inside Double Tower from northwest, showing paving of earlier gateway in background. BM Spring '04.

Plate 8 - View of excavation at northeast exterior of Double Tower, with paved yard in foreground. BM July '04.

late medieval period towers were some times built beside gateways rather than over them. There was such an example elsewhere in the city. This was the Goose Gate, which stood on the Quay near the end of the present Henrietta Street. The gateway is shown to be located beside a tower of the city wall on the 1685 Phillips Map of Waterford (Bradley and Halpin 1992, Fig. 5.5). However, the same map shows a tower located on the Close Gate, rather than one side of it.

There is a further problem in relation to 'Dermodds Castell'. As seen above, excavations carried out by the writer earlier this year revealed that there was a gateway in the city wall at the northwest of the Double Tower (Plate 9). Its purpose may have been to replace the gateway that was originally on the site of the tower. Is it possible that the latter was 'Dermodds Castell'? However, the following line on the Rent Roll refers to '**the smale castell over the old close gate**' that was worth 14d. The findings the excavations to date would indicate that this refers to the Double Tower. If the latter is correct, it infers that by the end of the16th century the gateway to the northwest of the tower was redundant and that the Close Gate had been moved to the present Manor Street.

The above suggests that 'Dermodds Castell' was located along the city wall between the Double Tower and the Watch Tower at or near the former Close Gate that stood in Manor Street. The Double Tower and the Watch Tower are depicted on the **1673 Map of Waterford** (Murtagh 2001, Fig. 5). However, no tower is shown at the Close Gate. A tower is not shown at John's Gate either where we know that there was one. This map was reproduced by Ryland (1824), but it appears to be based on an original that is now lost (Carroll 1982, 30/31). It depicts the former St. John's Priory as still roofed. The adjoining land towards the southern city wall is shown as an open and undeveloped area with trees, perhaps relating to orchards. The latter is divided by what is now Manor Street, which back then was no more than a laneway leading to the Close Gate. By this time the latter had had become known as Bowling Green Gate (Pender 1964, 135), as it gave access to this public amenity located beyond the city wall that was in front of the Double Tower.

The Ryland Map does not show the long rectangular bastion, which projects out from the line of the city wall to the northwest of the Double Tower. However, it is shown on the **1685 Phillips Map.** As noted above, the latter shows a tower at the Close Gate. However, the Double Tower is depicted as being circular rather than rectangular in plan. Thomas Phillips, who was a military engineer, was probably more concerned with accurately depicting the location of the tower on his map of the city walls, rather than showing a correct plan of the building.

The **1746 Smith Map** of Waterford shows the outline of the southern city wall, but it does not depict the Double Tower. It shows the Close Gate as a mere opening in the wall. However, it does show that the present Castle Street had been laid out along the outside of the city wall and it is called 'The Rampart'.

The outline of the southern city wall is shown clearly on the **1764 Richards and Scalé Map of Waterford** (Murtagh 2001, Fig. 6). The Close Gate is also shown as an opening in the city wall on what was then known as Bowling Green

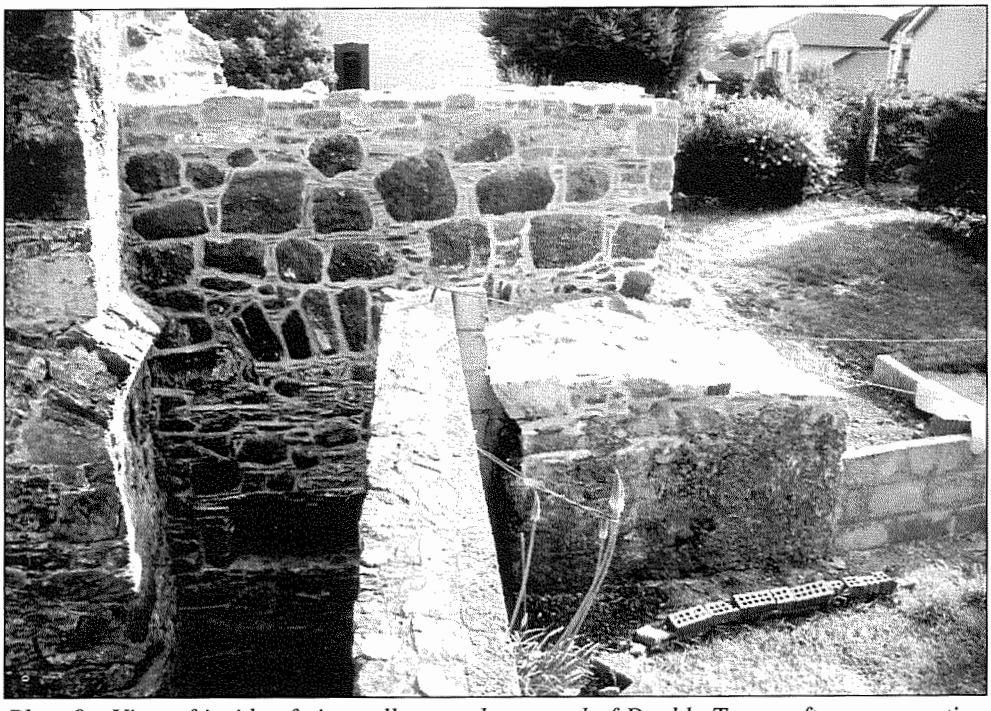

Plate 9 - View of inside of city wall at northwest end of Double Tower after conservation works, showing remains of secondary arcading. BM July '04.

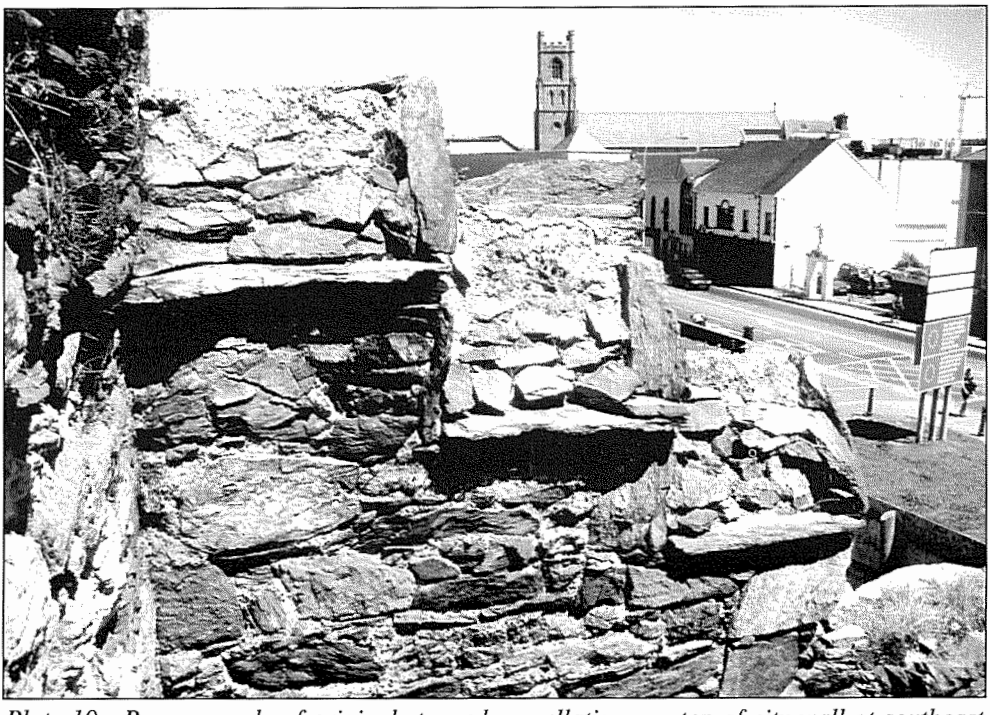

Plate 10 - Rare example of original stepped crenellations on top of city wall at southeast end of Double Tower. BM July '04.

Lane. The Double Tower is depicted as a small structure projecting from the wall. What is interesting about this map is the detail shown regarding the extent of the development that had taken place in this part of the city since the Ryland Map some ninety years earlier. On the outside of the city wall terraced housing had been built along the far side of Castle Street, then known as 'The Ramparts'. On the inside of the city wall to the northeast of the Double Tower, Vulcan Street (now known as Parliament Street) had been laid out. This street is not shown on the 1746 Smith Map. The 1764 map on the other hand, shows terraced housing located along either side of the street. The houses on the southwest side had their gardens backing to the city wall adjoining the Double Tower. As seen above, the excavations have shown that by this time a considerable build up of ground had taken place along on the inside of the city wall in this area.

Conclusion

The conservation works and excavations at the Double Tower are still on going, but are well advanced. When the site works are completed, the building will have been made structurally safe and secure for the foreseeable future. Visitors will be able to view newly exposed features, particularly in and around the lower part of the tower.

The excavations are limited to facilitating the conservation works. Therefore, some areas will remain unexcavated, thus leaving some questions unanswered. Total excavation would be impossible for structural reasons. Moreover, further excavation in some areas would involve the removal of early masonry - built features that are part of the history of the tower and therefore should be preserved for the future. Nevertheless, when the excavations finish, they will have been extensive. As seen above, a great deal of information has already been gained concerning the archaeology and development of the site. After the completion of the fieldwork, the post-excavation work will commence to compile a full report of the findings, which will be published.

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Archaeological Monitoring of the Topsoil Stripping on the R708 Airport Road Re-alignment (Excavation Licence No. 03E0883)

By Orla Scully

Introduction

The author was commissioned in 2002 by Waterford City Council to assess the archaeological impact of the proposed re-alignment of the R708 Airport Road. The assessment comprised a desktop study of relevant documentary sources in conjunction with the plans for the proposed development. A walkover survey was then conducted along the proposed route. The results of the paper survey and field walking were combined and highlighted the potential impact of the road realignment on the ecclesiastical remains (RMP WA017:005) and the site of a possible standing stone (RMP WA017:108). It was recommended that archaeological monitoring take place during the stripping of topsoil for construction of the road (Scully 2002). The City Council commissioned further detailed archaeological assessment of the impact on the two known sites (see O'Connell this volume). The author was employed to carry out the archaeological monitoring of the topsoil stripping along the rest of the route. This report is a synopsis of a detailed excavation report, copies of which have been lodged with Waterford City Council, The Department of Environment, Heritage & Local Government and the National Museum of Ireland.

Archaeological Monitoring

Archaeological remains in the area of the road in the vicinity of Kill St Lawrence were preserved *in situ* (see O'Connell this volume). Topsoil stripping of the remainder of the route was monitored by the writer, under licence from the Dept. of Environment, Heritage & Local Government.

The area covered by this licence (03E0883) was located in the townlands of Kill St. Lawrence and Carrigavoe. In total the area within which monitoring took place was 0.8km long, it had an average width of 14m. A small link road back to the old road was also stripped.

The typical depth of topsoil was between 0.30m-0.40m and varied little over the length of the route. It overlay dense silt, varying in colour from pale brown to buff, which formed an interface between the topsoil and the underlying rock. The rock was weathered shale. Some early-modern pottery and bottle glass was retrieved from the topsoil during monitoring. No finds earlier than the late eighteenth/nineteenth century were recovered.

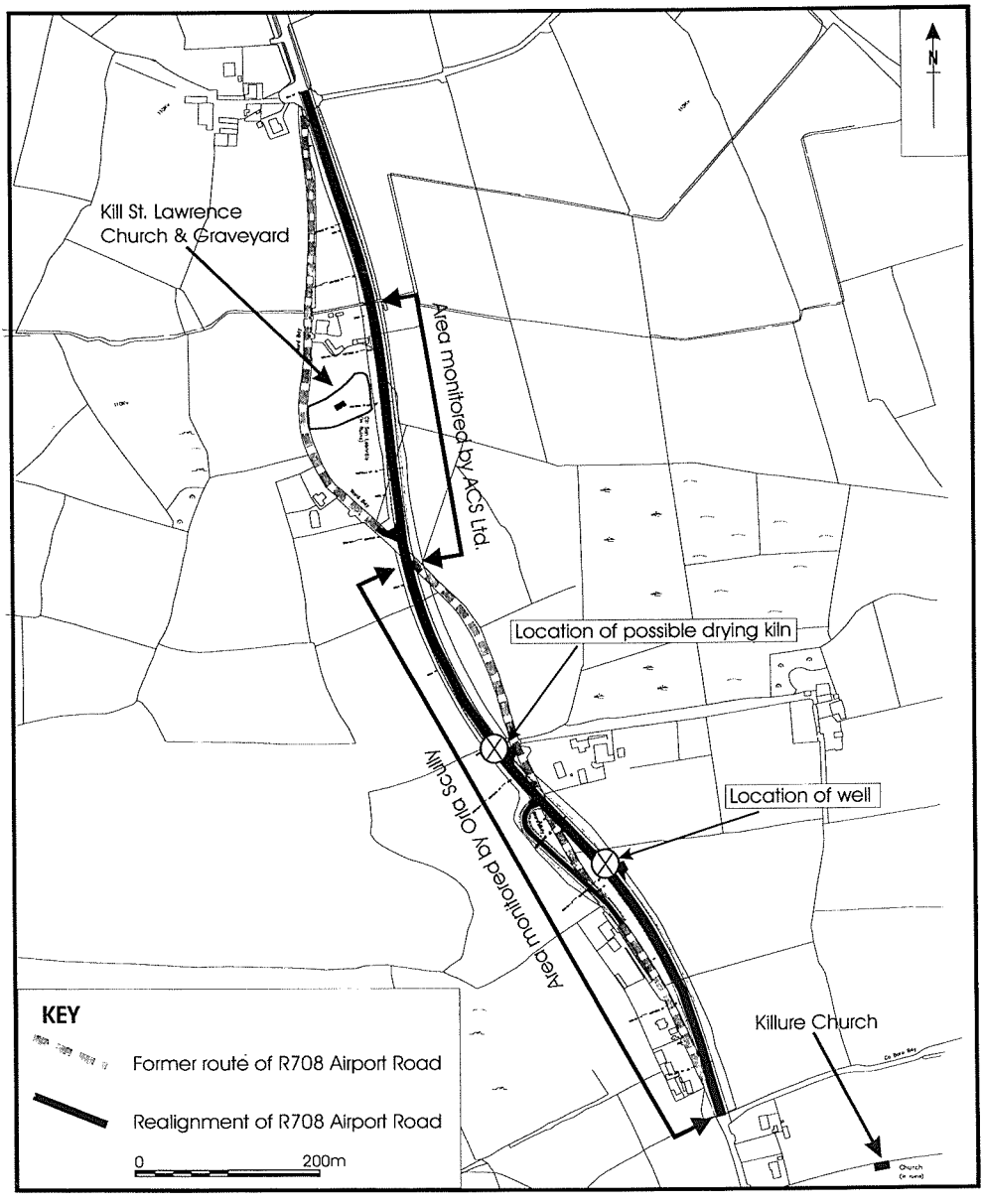

Fig. 1 Location of areas archaeologically monitored

A boundary ditch was removed in the area across the road from the entrance to Carrigavoe House (NGR E261444 N108789). Where the ditch was removed a concentration of 19th century pottery and bottles was found, and a socketed stone (spud stone), on which a gate or door would have pivoted, was found. No trace of any associated buildings was evident, though some brick and occasional stones scattered in the area may derive from demolished structures.

A map published in 1819 by William Larkin, for the Grand Jury of the County of Waterford shows a building in this general area. Furthermore, a house or farm is depicted on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey 6 inch Map (1842) in this location. Immediately north of the settlement a possible laneway is depicted on the map, this corresponds with a cattle track still in use at the time of monitoring.

Five metres farther south of the demolished ditch, the partial remains of what was possibly a drying kiln were found. Its location was 2.40m from the western edge of the cut, 5.25m from the fence line at the west (NGR E261447 N108784). The remains consisted of a sub- circular bowl (the fire bowl) filled with black silt, rich in charcoal. Emerging at the northern end of this well-defined hearth was the remnants of a slightly curved flue, filled with fine oxidised silt. The bowl measured 0.80m on its long axis, 0.70m on the shorter. The flue was 0.80m long and measured 0.33m at the junction with the bowl, 0.37m at its widest, tapering to 0.26m at the terminus. The maximum depth of the bowl was 0.15m, that of the flue was 0.29m. One stone remained at the lip of the bowl. No evidence for a further stone lining of the fire bowl was noted. Kilns were used to dry grain, particularly after a damp harvest, and 'operated on the principle that hot air rises' (Gowen 1988, 160). The flue at Carrigavoe ran upslope, as did that found in Ballynaraha, Co. Tipperary (*ibid.*). This facilitated draughting. The flue may have continued out of the fire bowl to the south towards the drying chamber, which did not survive. Kilns in Britain are normally excavated into a hillside, and would have been lined with stones. In north-west County Mayo it has been recorded 'that built-up kilns seemed to have been used where the land was shallow, and where there were no steep or high banks, particularly of peat, in which kilns might be excavated' (Gailey 1970, 63). This may have been the case here, but it remains speculative in the light of what remains. The kiln was likely to have been associated with the house or farm building marked on the 1842 map of this area. It may even have been used in illicit poteen making. A sample from the fire bowl was sent for analysis to the lab of M. Gowan & Co. Ltd. The sample contained wood charcoal. It was entirely of oak, of which there are two native species, pendunculate oak and sessile oak (anatomically indistinguishable). The branch pieces were four to ten years old and of fast growth. The charcoal did not contain any insect holes, which indicated the wood was relatively fresh when burned. It was the opinion of the plant remains analyst that the charcoal identified in the sample 'came from managed woodland, as only one wood type is present, and growth is quite good and regular' (O'Donnell 2004, 1). This concurs with the interpretation of the feature as contemporary with the dwelling marked on the 19th century maps.

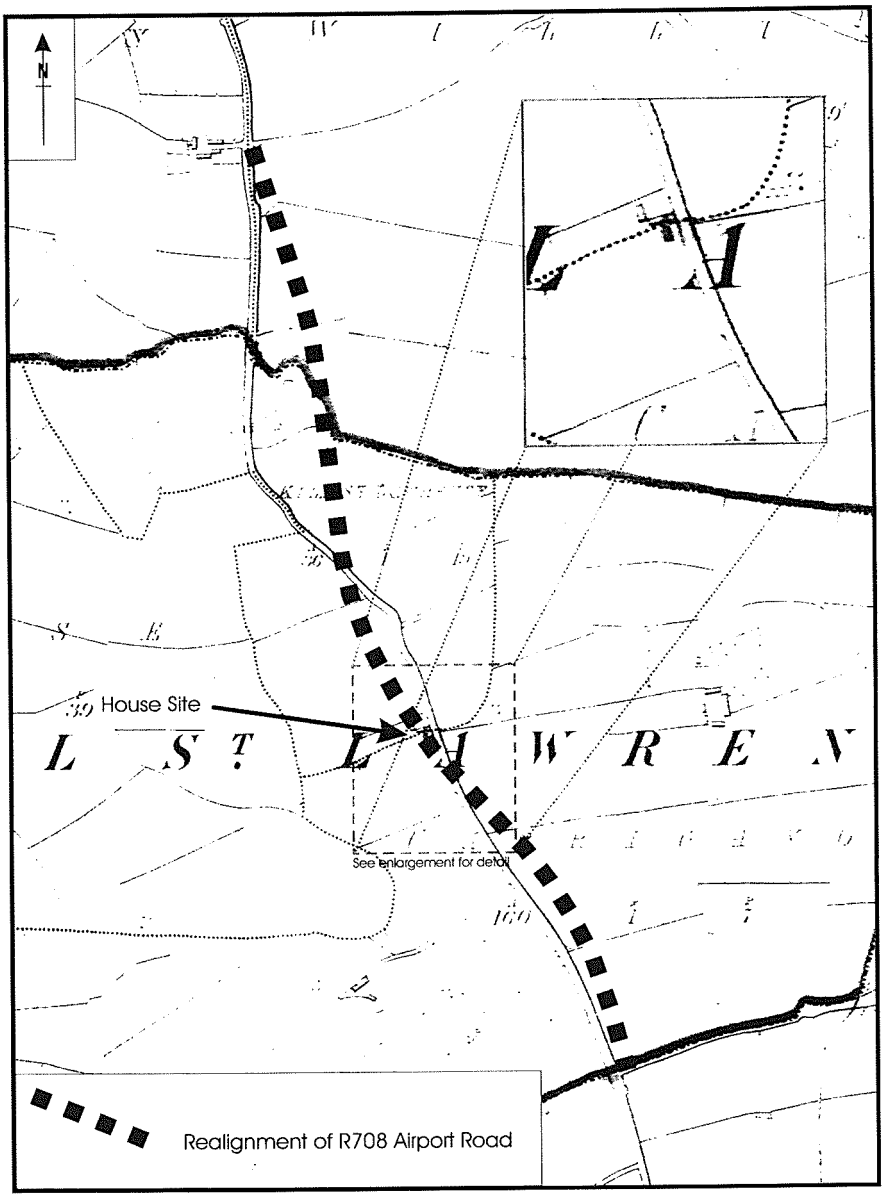

Fig. 2 Extract from 1st edition 6" to 1 mile scale Ordnance Survey map of Co. Waterford (Sheet 17). Surveyed 1841. (Not to scale). Reproduced courtesy of Ordnance Survey Ireland Permit no. MP003504 © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland

A well was uncovered 170m south-west of the features described above. It was located within a field, *c.* 3m inside the roadside ditch on the east side of the existing road (NGR E261556 N108662). It was sub-circular and had been capped with concrete. The well was built of stones, roughly coursed, and had a plastic pipe fitted in recent times. The well is not marked on the first edition 1842 map, though it is indicated on the second edition OS. It measured 1.30m on its longer axis, 1.10m on the shorter one. It was 1.60m deep. Due to its location on the line of the road, it was necessary to fill it in.

Conclusion

The area covered by the monitoring was located between two medieval church ruins; Kill St. Lawrence and Killure. Kill St. Lawrence is an early ecclesiastical site (see O'Connell this volume) and was once the property of the Knights Hospitallers of Kilbarry (Moore 1999, 179). Killure Church is to the south east of the proposed realignment. It was first mentioned in historical references in 1300, and was also owned by the Knights Hospitallers (*ibid.*). However, construction of this section of the R708 road disturbed little of antiquity. Those remains that were encountered appear to relate mostly to settlement activity of the post-medieval period, though the possible drying kiln may be of greater antiquity.

Acknowledgements

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I would like to thank Joanne Rothwell, Waterford County Archivist, for bringing the William Larkin map to my attention and for discussing the archival records pertaining to Kill St. Lawrence graveyard. I would like to thank Willie Fraher, Dungarvan Museum for providing a copy of this map and for giving permission for publication of an extract from it.

The illustrations were prepared for publication by James Eogan

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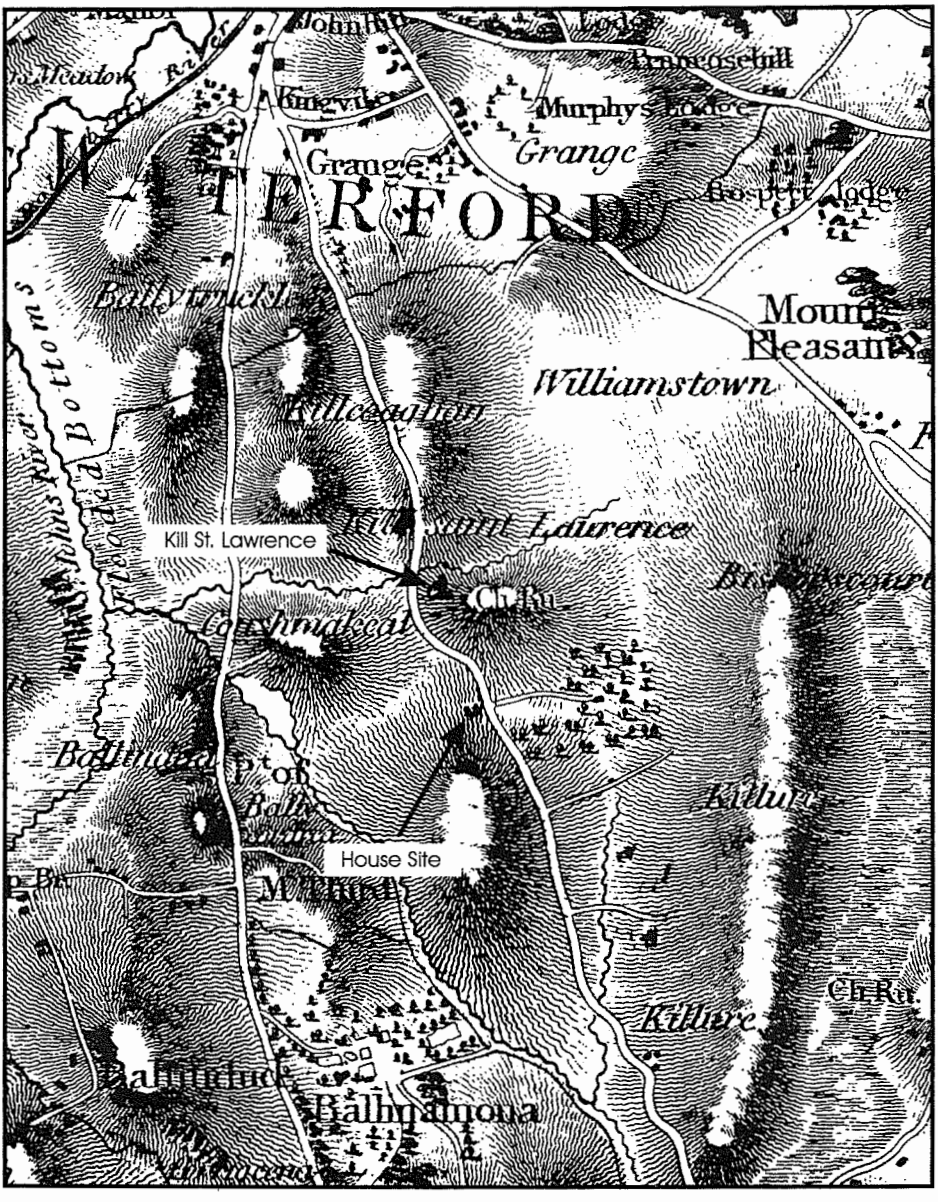


Fig. 3 Extract from 'A map of the County of Waterford ...' by William Larkin. Surveyed 1818. Engraved 1819. Reproduced courtesy of Dungarvan Museum

Material consulted in Waterford County Council Archives

Ordnance Survey of County Waterford, Sheet 17, Scale: 1 to 10,560, Date, 1842.

A Map of the County of Waterford in the Province of Munster in Ireland. Dedicated to the Grand Jury of County Waterford. Cartographer William Larkin. Surveyed 1818. Engraved 1819.

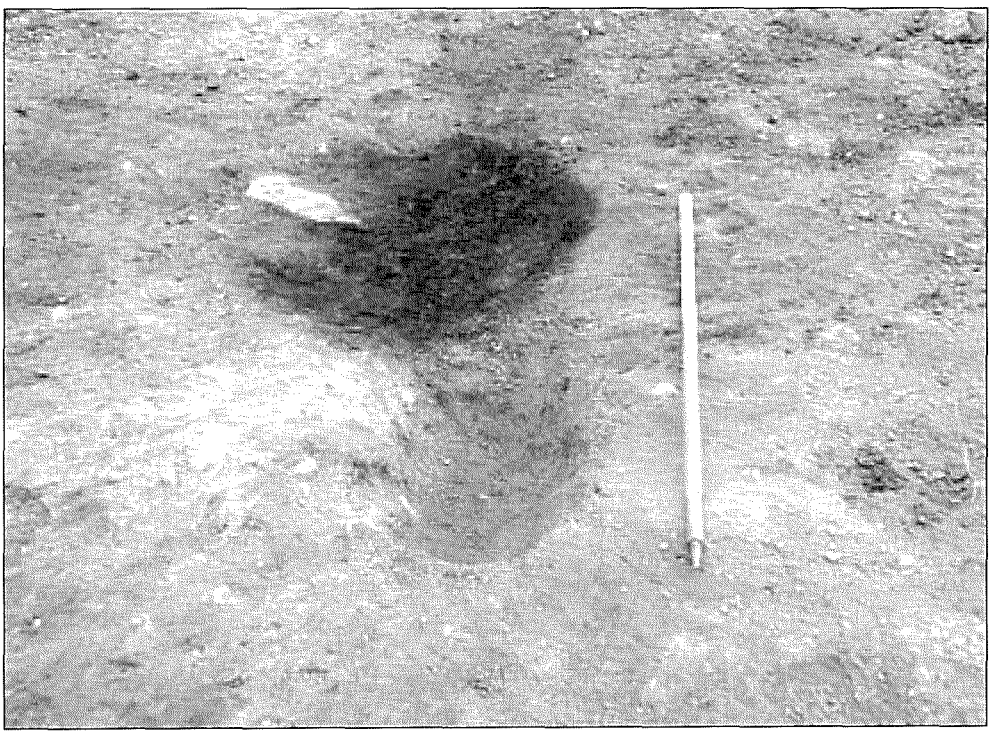


Plate 1 - Possible drying kiln during excavation, from north.

Plate 1 - (D-DI) Outer ditch, trench 1, south (02_50_CP3_14).

Recent Archaeological Investigations at Kill St. Lawrence, Waterford, Carried Out as Part of the Realignment of the R708 Airport Road

By Aidan O'Connell

Summary

Waterford City Council undertook the realignment of the R708 Airport Road, on the southern outskirts of Waterford City in 2003. The realignment works impacted upon archaeological remains associated with the church and graveyard and earthwork enclosure at Kill St. Lawrence (Record of Monuments and Places ref. WA017:005). Kill St. Lawrence is an overgrown graveyard, which contains the remains of a small medieval church and a large number of graveslabs of 18th and 19th century date; it is surrounded by a wall constructed in the 19th century. The graveyard is partially enclosed by an earthwork which has a projected diameter of 110m. A programme of archaeological assessment and mitigation works was carried out in advance of and during construction of the road. This article is a report on the site and the works that were carried out by Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd. on behalf of the City Council.

The results of archaeological assessments confirmed the existence of archaeological features within the enclosure surrounding the church and graveyard at the east of the site and within the land acquired for construction of the road. The main features of archaeological interest revealed were two concentric enclosure ditches, both of which appear to pre-date the existing graveyard. The outer enclosure ditch, which was previously visible as a low lying earthwork to the south of the enclosure was located to the east of the graveyard. It was 6m wide by 1.38m deep, enclosing an area of 9500 sq. m. Charcoal from the fill of this ditch has been radiocarbon dated to 650-780 CAL AD. A previously unidentified concentric inner enclosure ditch, enclosing an area of 2800 sq. m., was also located during the assessment. Archaeological activity on the interior of the enclosure was recorded in the form of possible pits and postholes/hearths in the course of test trenching. Charcoal from one of the pits has been dated to 370-540 CAL AD, indicating the potential for pre-enclosure activity at the site. No evidence for burials was found during the excavation.

As a result of the identification of the significant archaeological remains within the land acquired for construction of the road at Kill St. Lawrence, the road was redesigned in order to preserve them *in situ.* This necessitated the excavation of part of a partially stone-faced earthen bank roughly following the line of the outer

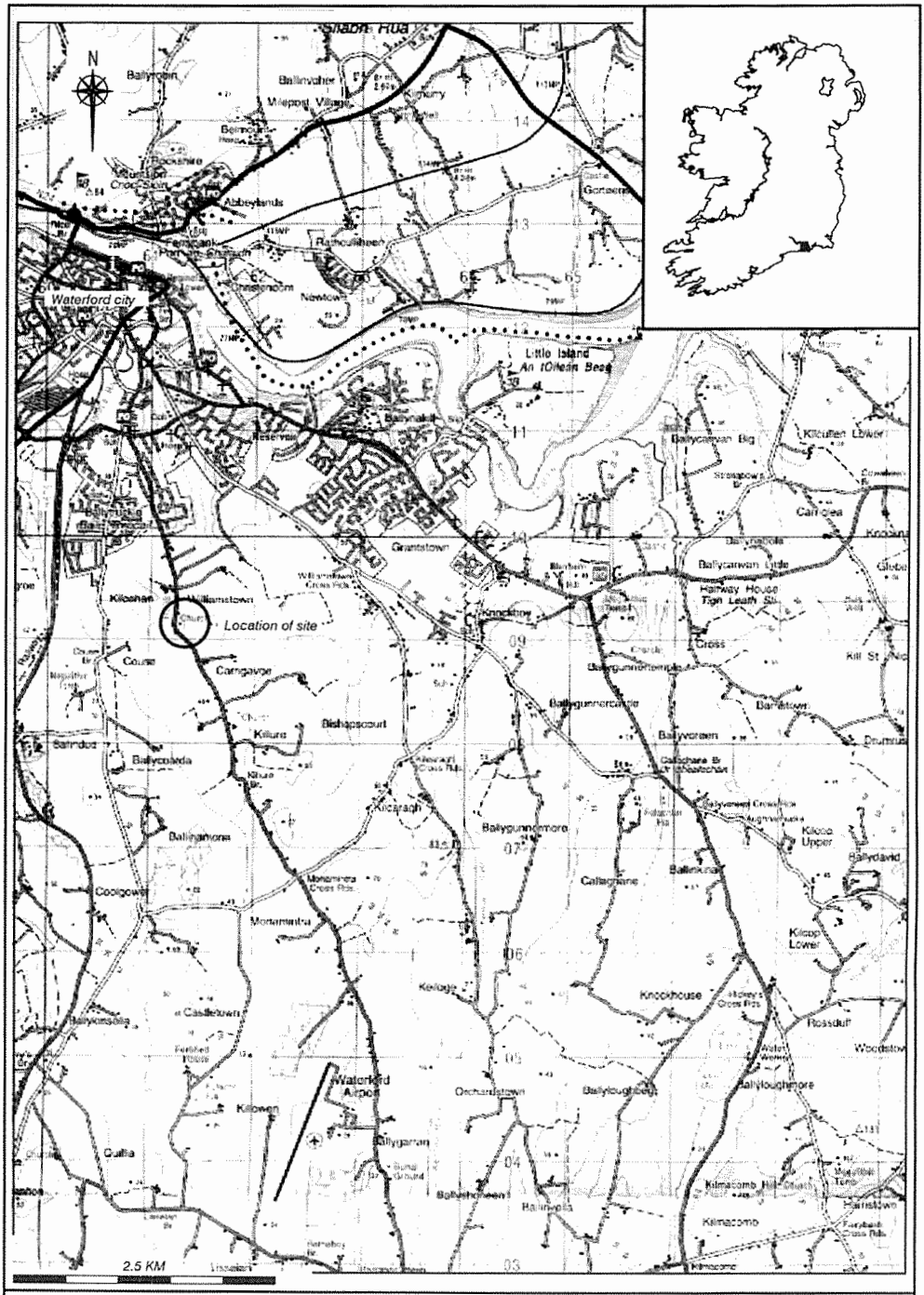


Figure 1: Location of site

enclosure. A full record of the bank was preserved and no archaeological remains were disturbed.

The preservation of archaeological remains has been achieved by constructing the road on an embankment built on the existing ground surface without disturbing the underlying archaeological remains.

1. Introduction

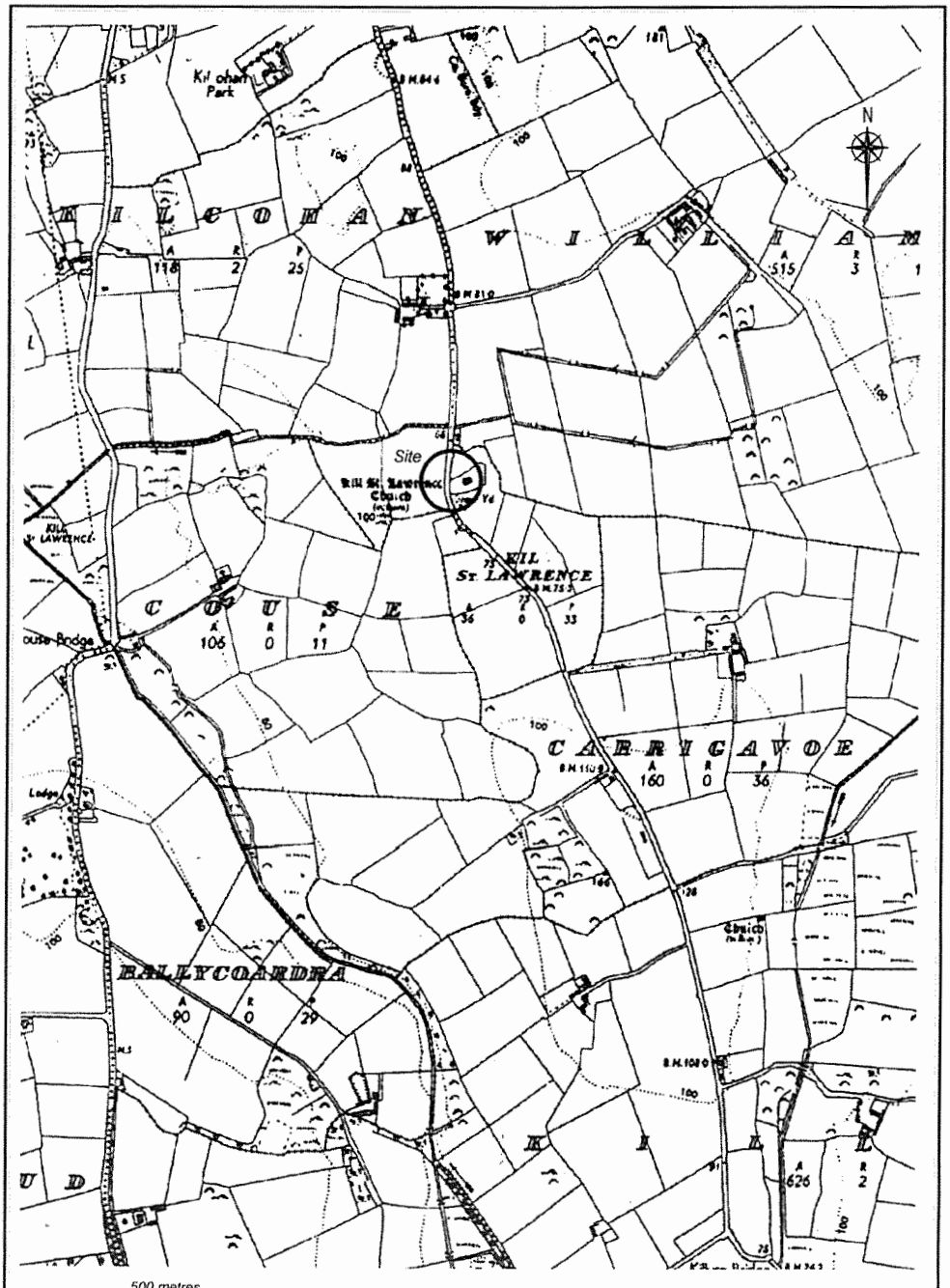
Waterford City Council has undertaken the realignment of the R708 Waterford Airport Road. Lands which were acquired by Compulsory Purchase Order in the early 1990s for the realignment included part of an earthwork enclosing Kill St. Lawrence church and graveyard (Record of Monuments & Places (RMP) No. WA017:005) and the site of a possible standing stone (RMP No. WA017:108) recorded by the Archaeological Survey of Ireland in 1989.

The development has led to a programme of archaeological assessment at the site in advance of construction. An archaeological impact assessment was initially undertaken by Orla Scully to examine the impact of the proposed development on any archaeological remains along the route (Scully 2002). This report highlighted the impact of the road realignment on the enclosure and the site of a possible standing stone. As a result, the City Council commissioned Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd. (ACS Ltd.) to carry out further archaeological assessments comprising geophysical survey, topographical survey and test excavation; this work took place in September 2002. The archaeological assessment confirmed the existence of archaeological features within the enclosure surrounding the church and graveyard at the east of the site and within the road take for the realignment works. As a result, the road was redesigned with a view to preserving these archaeological remains *in situ.* This necessitated the excavation of part of a field boundary in the form of a partially stone-faced earthen bank roughly following the line of the outer enclosure ditch. The excavation was carried out in February 2003. Additional topographical survey of the field boundary was undertaken in conjunction with the excavation. In addition, the groundworks associated with road construction in May & June 2003 were archaeologically monitored to ensure the methodology agreed for preservation of the remains was adhered to.

This report is based on a number of unpublished detailed technical reports prepared by staff of ACS Ltd. (Corcoran 2002, Gimson 2002, O'Connell 2003, O'Connell & Whitty 2003) which have been lodged with Waterford City Council, The Department of Environment, Heritage & Local Government and the National Museum of Ireland.

2. The Site

The site is located in the townland and parish of Kill St. Lawrence and the barony of Gaultiere (OS six-inch sheet 17, 822mm from the west margin and 465mm from the south margin; National Grid Reference 261329, 109174). It is positioned on a slight rise in low-lying landscape at 18m OD in pasture-land on the southern outskirts of Waterford City, directly east of the remains of the church and graveyard of Kill St. Lawrence.



Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd. Unit 21, Boyne Business Park, Greenhills, Drogheda, Co. Louth

Site: Kill St. Lawrence, Waterford
Issued for: Archaeological Excavation
Client: Waterford City Council

Scale: 1: 10560 A4
Date: 05 Nov '03
Origin: Waterford 6" sheet 17
Drawing no : 02_50_C32

Figure 2: Detailed location of site

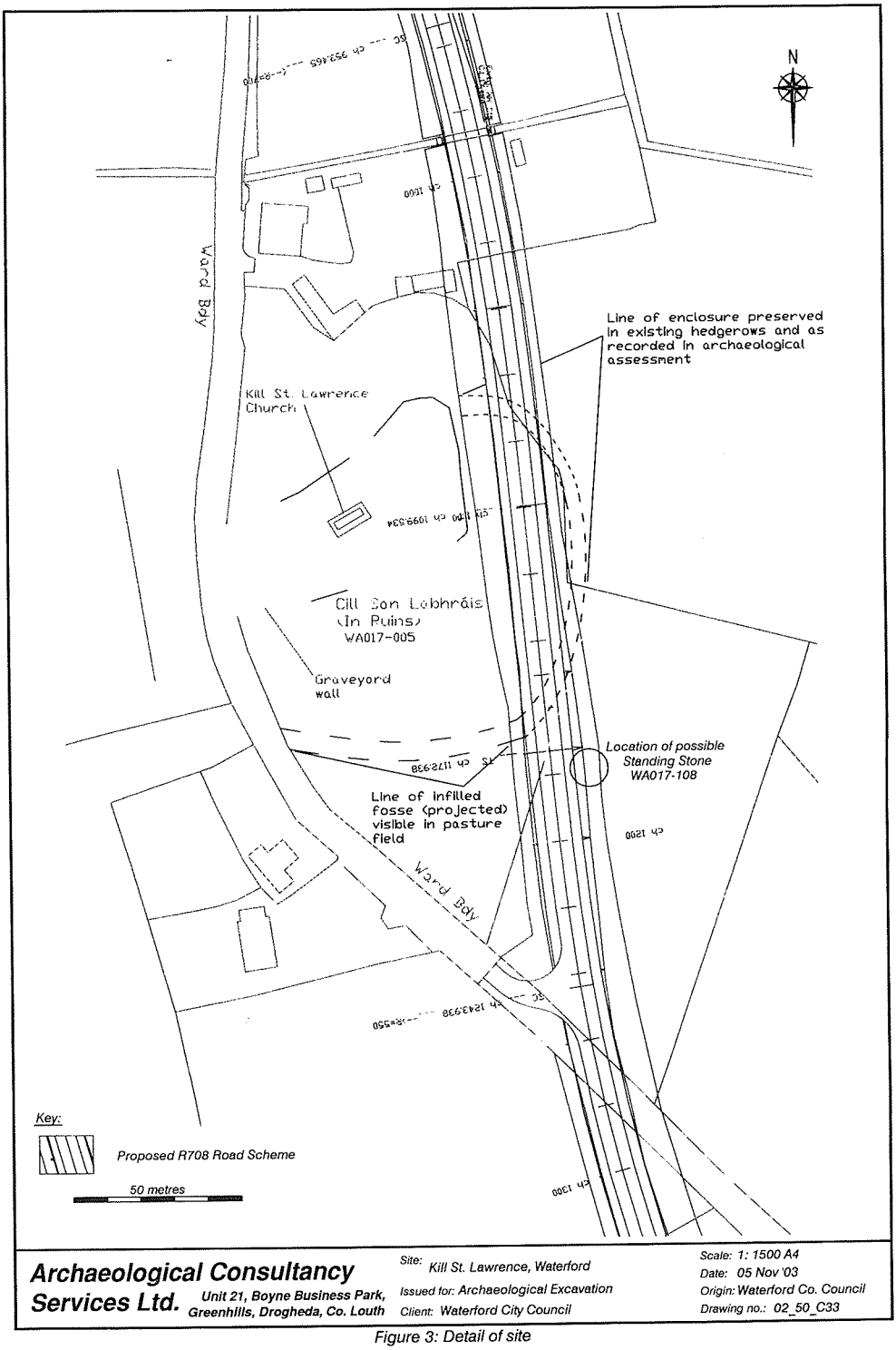


Figure 3: Detail of site

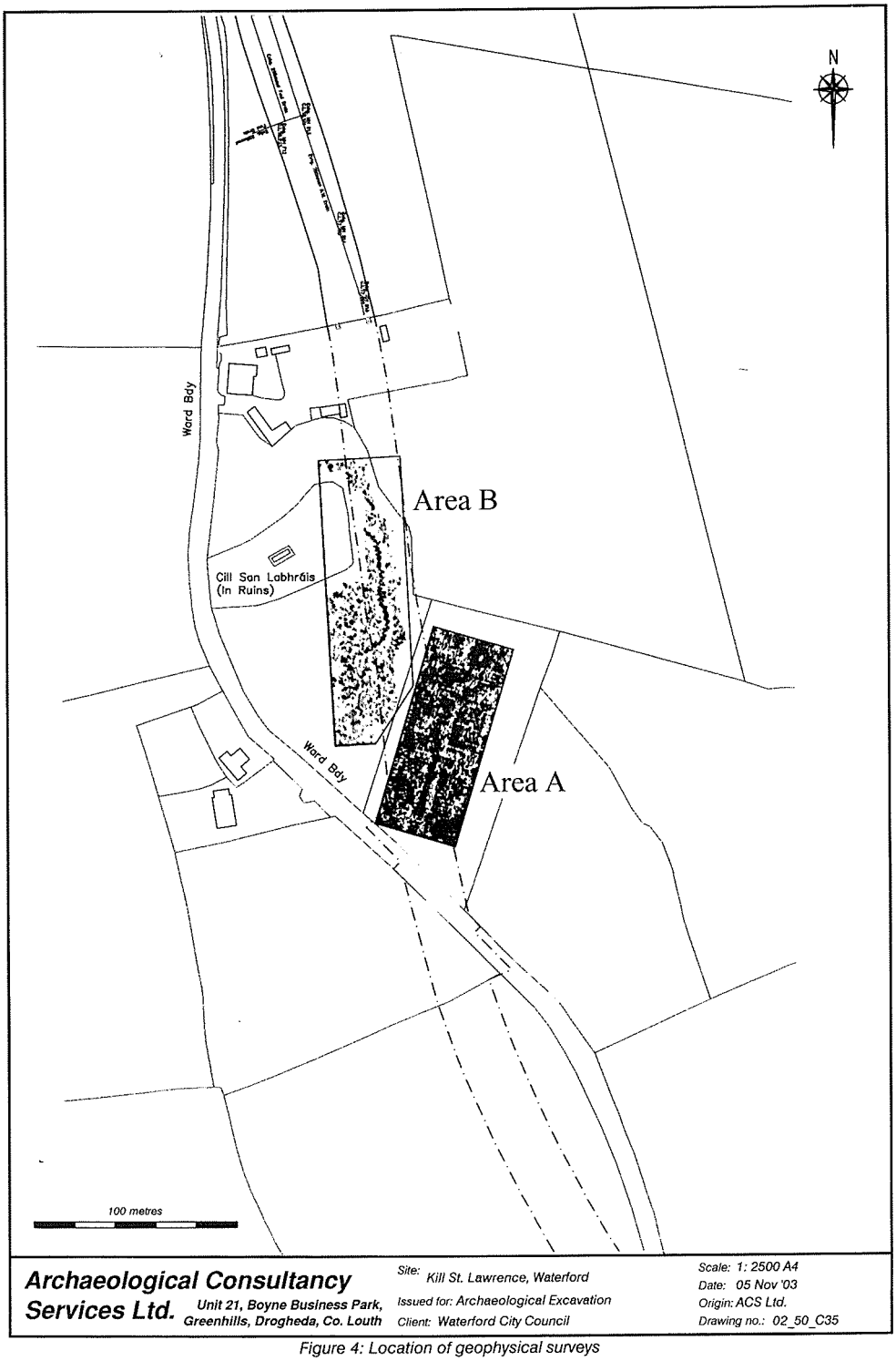


Figure 4: Location of geophysical surveys

The archaeological site comprises a subcircular enclosure measuring approximately 110m in diameter and enclosing an estimated area of 9500 sq. m. The enclosure ditch is visible as an earth bank and external ditch in the field to the south of the church and graveyard. A curvilinear field boundary to the southeast and east of the graveyard reflects the line of the enclosure in this area. There is no visible trace of the enclosure to the northeast or north of the graveyard. The archaeological investigations described in this report have led to the confirmation of the line of the enclosure to the northeast of the graveyard and the identification of a concentric inner enclosure ditch *c.*16m inside the outer ditch which encloses an estimated area of 2800 sq. m. A number of possible pits and postholes/hearths were identified within the enclosure to the east of the church and graveyard during the pre-development testing as was evidence of substantial ploughing of the field.

3. **Archaeological and Historical Background**

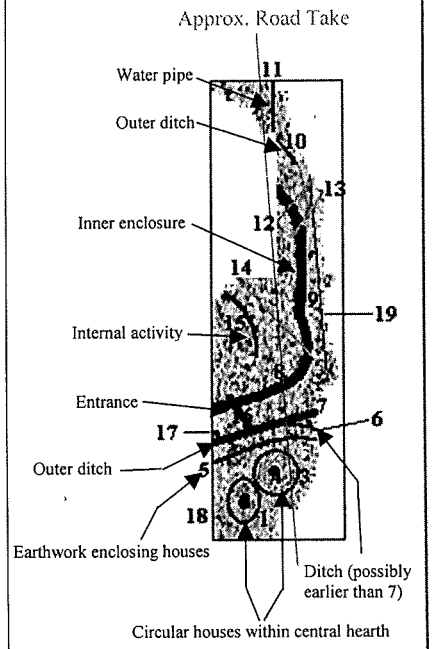
The ruined church of Kill St. Lawrence is located in pasture three miles south-southeast of Waterford City on a slight rise in a low-lying landscape (Lewis 1837, 155; Moore 1999, 179). The church and graveyard are located within a large circular enclosure measuring approximately 110m in diameter and enclosing an area of 9500 sq. m. It is visible as an earthwork in the field to the south of the church and graveyard and further defined to the west by a curving section of the old R708 road.

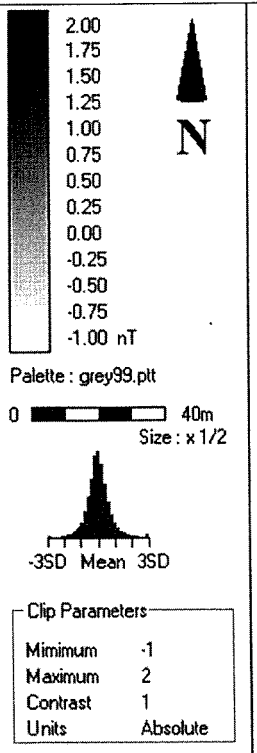
The only other recorded monument in the vicinity of the church and graveyard is a possible standing stone that was recorded by The Archaeological Survey of Ireland in 1989, approximately 100m southeast of the enclosure. In the course of the archaeological assessment, geophysical survey was carried out in this area and a test trench was excavated around the location of the standing stone in order to determine the presence or absence of a socket and associated features. No evidence was found for a socket or any associated features. The stone measures 2m x 0.7m x 0.5m and showed no signs of having been worked. The stone may have served as a scratching post for cattle when upright (Corcoran, 2002, 9-10).

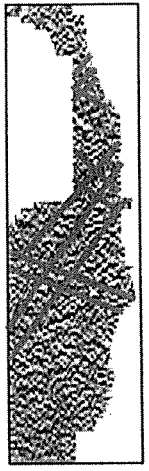
As the townland name indicates this church was dedicated to St. Lawrence; a pattern was held annually at the site on St. Lawrence's Day (August 10th) until the early nineteenth century (O'Flanagan 1929, 28-29). The church was once part of the possessions of the Knights Hospitaller of Kilbarry (Moore *op. cit.*). All that survives of the church at the present time is the eastern gable and a small portion of the western gable with traces of the footings (1m wide) of the south and north walls, the surviving remains are approximately 10m in length by 5m in width. A rectangular-topped window of Dundry Stone inserted into a wider embrasure survives in the eastern gable and the remains of a flat arched doorway are just about visible in the western gable (*ibid.*).

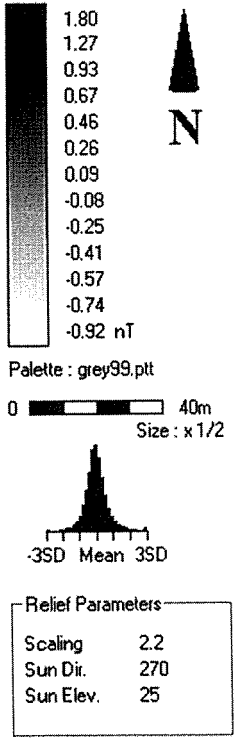
The graveyard was used for burial by the Guardians of the Waterford Poor Law Union in the 19th century; it was also used by the citizens of Waterford in times of plague or epidemic (Power 1891, 497). The graveyard was walled in 1878 due to misuse, such as 'surreptitious burials effected at night', which breached the Public

R708 Waterford Airport Road, Area B









Interpretation Diagram

Magnetometer Data — Magnetic Anomaly — Cultivation Furrows

Figure 5: Geophysical Interpretation Drawing No.: (02_50_T15)

Health Act 1878 (Minute Book of the Board of Guardians of the Waterford Union, 2nd February 1878, 1102). During the excavation of the foundations for the graveyard wall, bones were uncovered suggesting that the graveyard once extended beyond their current limits (*ibid.,* 1103). Analysis of the 1st edition Ordnance Survey six-inch map for the area (Co. Waterford sheet 17, surveyed 1839) suggests that before the construction of the new graveyard wall in 1878, the graveyard did indeed extend further northwards at the northeastern corner. This area appears to be outside the limit of the lands acquired for the new road.

The morphology of the site is important in defining its ecclesiastical nature. Swan (1988, 4-5) has listed ten recurring features that can be found in an early ecclesiastical site (i.e. one dating to the period before the reorganisation which followed the Synod of *Ráith Bressail* in AD 1111). These characteristics are:

Feature	**Description**
1	a church or churches in a ruinous condition, mainly of a late- or post-medieval date
2	a surrounding graveyard
3	an indication of the outline and dimensions of the enclosure provided by the pattern of streets, roads, lanes and field fences
4	an ecclesiastical element in the placename, indicating the nature of the site and occasionally giving the name of the patron or founding saint
5	a traditional association with a holy well
6	an association with a bullaun stone
7	the location of carved stone crosses or cross slabs
8	the coincidence of the enclosure with a townland boundary
9	the location of souterrains, pillar stones, founders' tombs or slab shrines
10	an association with traditional rituals or folk customs pertaining to burials, funerals or the celebration of a patron saint's feast

Three is the minimum number of characteristics taken to determine the identification of an early ecclesiastical site (*ibid.,* 5). An analysis of the available evidence reveals that the site at Kill St. Lawrence has six of these characteristics, namely Features 1-4, 8 & 10.

4. **Archaeological Assessment**

4.1 ***Archaeological Impact Assessment***

The archaeological impact assessment comprised three elements, geophysical survey, topographic survey and test excavations. The works were carried out in September 2002.

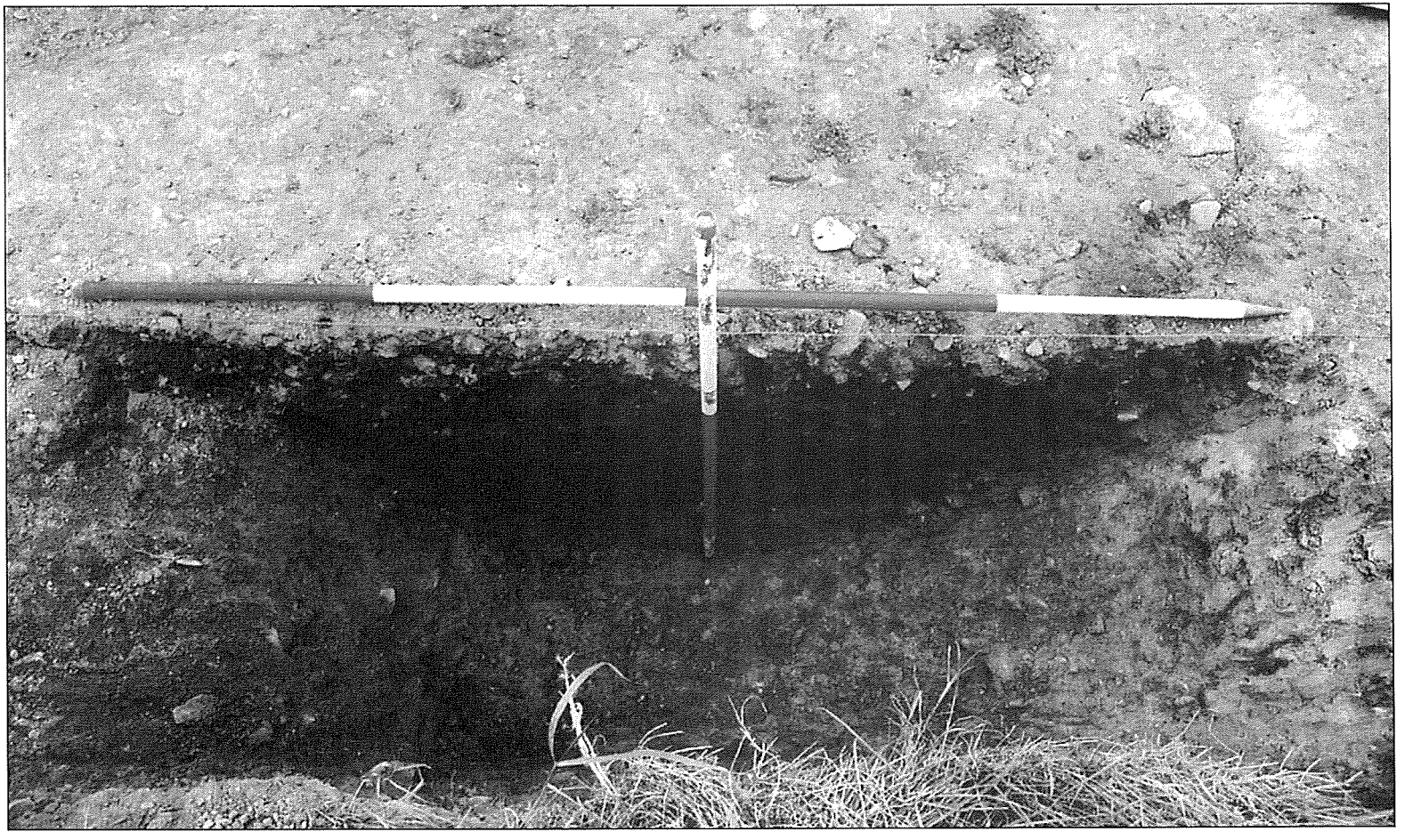


Plate 2 - (H-H1), Inner ditch F17, Trench 4, east (02_50_CP3: 19).

4.2 ***Geophysical Survey***

The geophysical survey involved the application of a magnetometer survey. This involves the measurement of variations in the magnetic field of the earth. These variations can be the result of human activity such as lighting fires, the digging of ditches etc. (Gimson 2002, 11). The work at Kill St. Lawrence was carried out under detection licence 02R140 issued to Heather Gimson.

Geophysical survey was undertaken in two separate areas: Area A and Area B.

Area A was located southeast of the church and graveyard and covered an area of 4000 sq. m. Three geophysical anomalies identified in this area were shown by subsequent excavation not to be of archaeological significance.

Area B was located directly east of the church and graveyard and covered an area of *ca.* 4100 sq. m. Numerous archaeological features were detected within this area (Gimson 2002, 4-8).

The outer enclosure ditch was detected in two separate locations at the north (Anomaly 10) and south (Anomaly 7) of the survey area. A sub-linear area of magnetic enhancement (Anomaly 10) to the north of the survey area has been interpreted as a continuation of the outer enclosure ditch system that has been modified by later cultivation activity. In addition, a curvilinear positive magnetic anomaly (Anomaly 8) was subsequently shown by excavation to be a ditch. This was roughly concentric to the outer ditch and will be referred to as the inner enclosure ditch. A series of low magnetic signatures (Anomaly 9) was located on the external edge of the inner ditch (Anomaly 8) and matched the location of a possible bank identified from the topographical survey. This feature (Anomaly 9) was not apparent in subsequent test trenches and may be geological in origin. A small linear area of enhancement was located towards the southwestern edge of the survey area (Anomaly 16) and outside the road-take. This may be an entranceway associated with the outer enclosure, but further investigation would need to be undertaken to establish this. Further geophysical anomalies, within the enclosure, and outside the road-take consisted of a curvilinear area of positive magnetism (Anomaly 15). This feature consisted of small magnetic anomalies that could not be interpreted using fluxgate gradiometry.

Six further features were located during the geophysical survey to the south and outside of the outer enclosure (Anomalies 1-6). None of these features were tested and five of them were either partially (Anomalies 3-5) or fully (Anomalies 1-2) outside the road-take.

Anomalies 1 and 3 represent curvilinear ditch-type anomalies with central areas of enhanced magnetism (Anomalies 2 and 4).

The final two anomalies located during the geophysical survey (Anomalies 5 and 6) were identified to the north of Anomalies 1-3 and south of the outer enclosure ditch. A region of enhanced magnetism (Anomaly 5) forming a sub-circular division across the survey was interpreted as an enclosing earthwork for anomalies 1 and 3. A positive magnetic linear anomaly (Anomaly 6) was partially detected, extending from the outer enclosure (Anomaly 7). Its orientation was concentric with the sub-circular division (Anomaly 5) suggesting that the two features may be related.

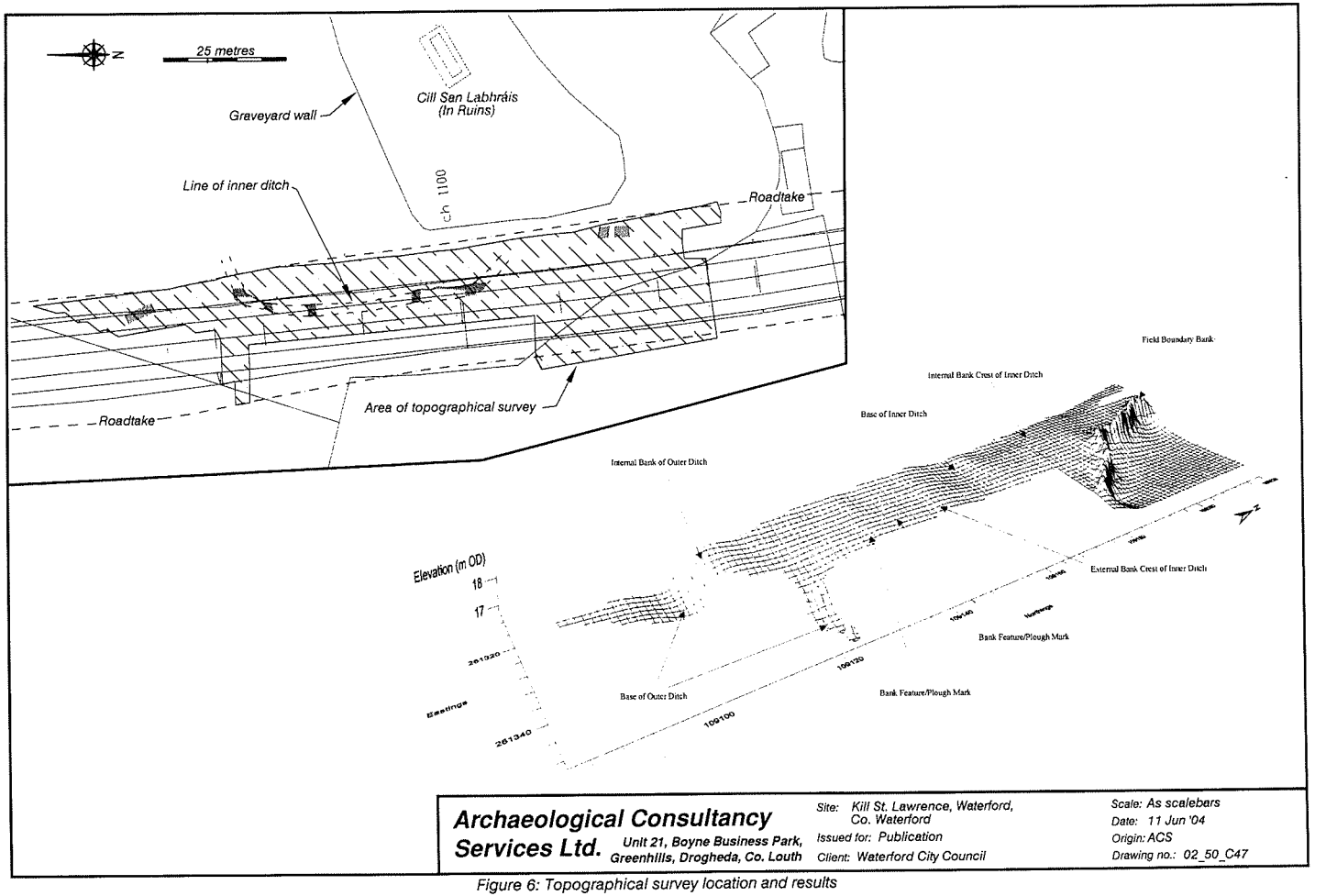


Figure 6: Topographical survey location and results

4.3 ***Topographic Survey***

A high resolution topographic survey was undertaken of *circa.* 1700 sq. m. of the field to the east and southeast of the church and graveyard (Figs. 8 & 9). The survey was carried out by Nick Duggan using a SOKIA SET4010 Total Station. The site was surveyed along a series of transects with readings recorded at horizontal intervals varying from 0.5m-2m. Additional topographic survey of previously inaccessible areas was undertaken by Niamh O'Connor, in conjunction with the excavation of the field boundary.

4.4 ***Test Excavation***

The test excavations at Kill St. Lawrence were undertaken under licence 02E1448 issued by *Dúchas* The Heritage Service, Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government to Eoin Corcoran.

Thirteen test trenches were excavated in three fields that form part of the lands that had been acquired for construction of the road adjacent to the church and graveyard (Corcoran 2002). Topsoil was initially removed with the aid of a mechanical excavator equipped with a toothless bucket and under archaeological supervision. The trenches were then cleaned by hand.

4.4.1 *Field C*

Two trenches were excavated in the northeastern field. The first trench was aligned north/south and had dimensions of 48m long by 2.2m wide. A second trench in this area was aligned perpendicular to the first trench and 10m long. No archaeological features were located in these trenches.

4.4.2 *Field A (site of standing stone)*

A single test trench was excavated in the southern field. This was aligned north/south and 50m long. It was expanded around the location of the site of the possible standing stone (WA017:108). No trace of a stone socket or associated features was uncovered.

4.4.3 *Field B (field surrounding graveyard)*

A total of nine test trenches were excavated in this field directly east of the church and graveyard. Trench 1 was 140m long and mainly aligned north/south. The remaining eight trenches (Trenches 2-9) were aligned perpendicular to Trench 1. They varied in length from 7.5m to 12m. The archaeological features that were recorded in this area comprised four ditches, sixteen pits, six deposits and three possible hearths.

Outer enclosure ditch and associated features

The most substantial feature encountered was the outer enclosure ditch, sections were excavated through this feature in two locations. On the southern side of the enclosure the ditch (T.1 F6) was 6m wide at the top and 0.74m deep, it was steepest on its northern side in this area it had a shallow stepped profile with a flat base.

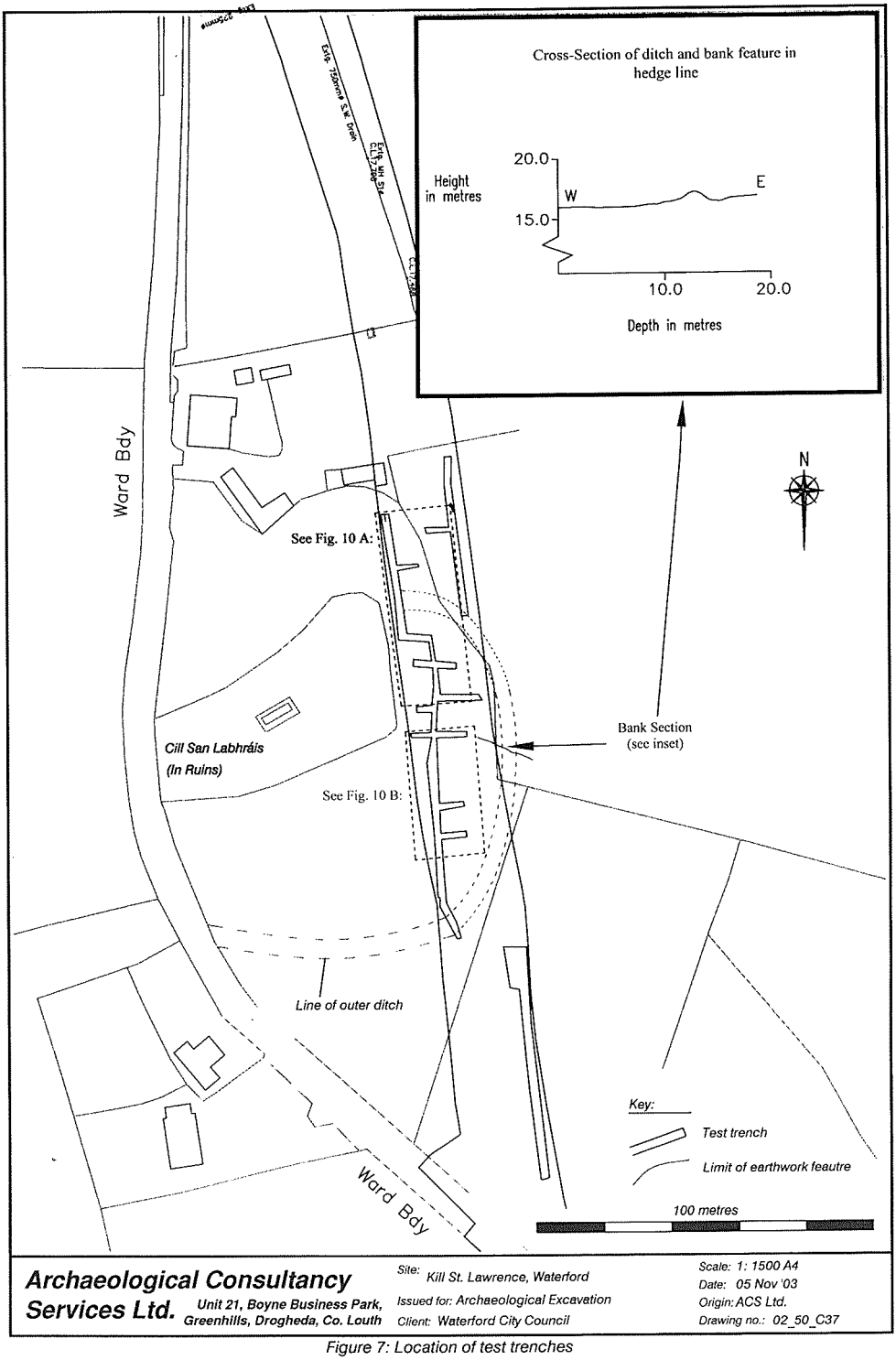


Figure 7: Location of test trenches

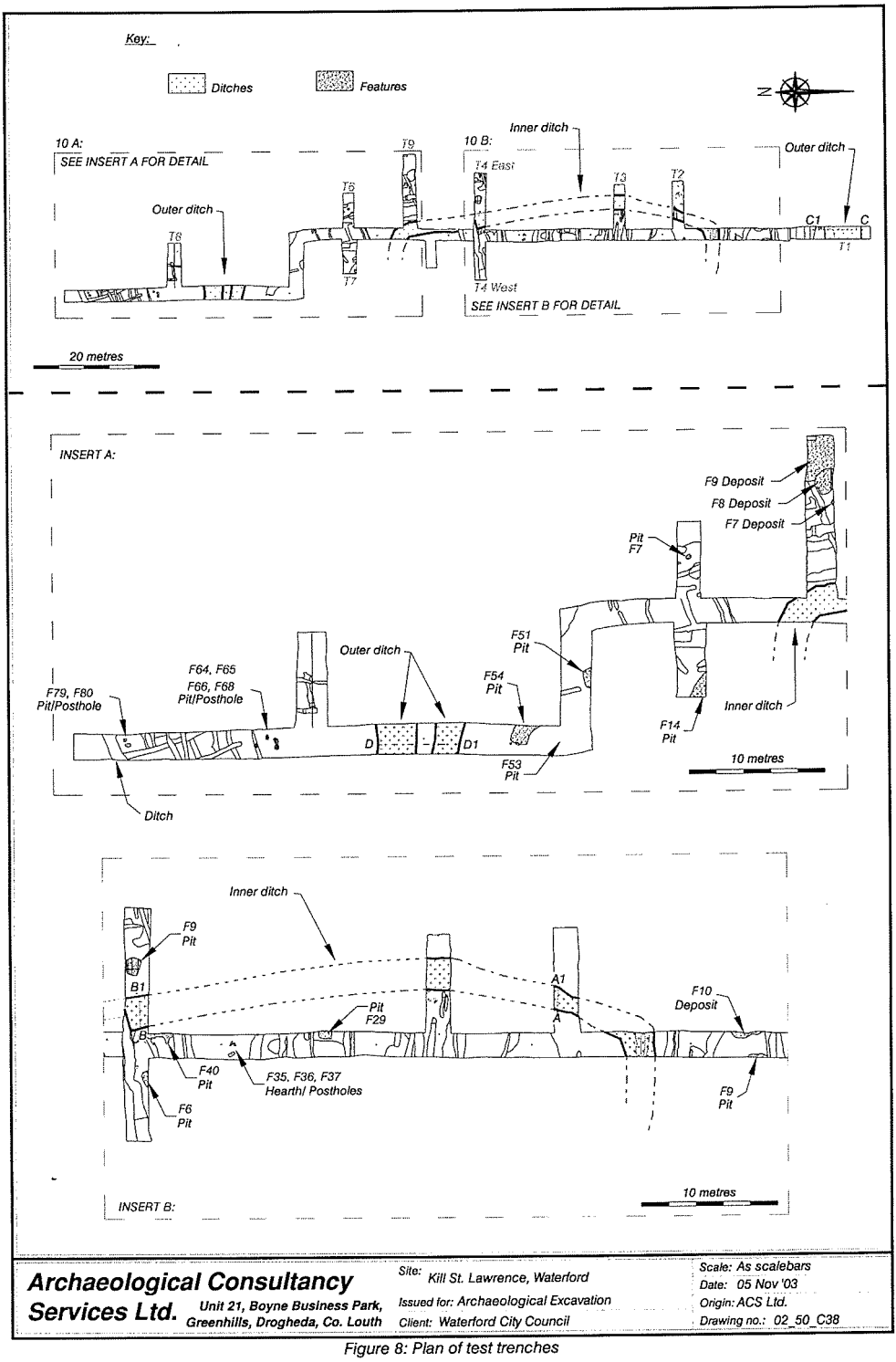
It was filled with two deposits. The basal fill (T.1 F5) was a compact grey silty clay with occasional small stones and charcoal. The upper fill (T.1 F4) was a loose mid-brown silty sand which contained moderate amounts of stones and occasional charcoal. On the northern side of the enclosure the ditch (T.1 F63) was 2.8m wide at the top and 1.38m deep, it had steeply sloping sides and a V-shaped profile. It was filled with three deposits in this location. The basal fill (T.1 F62) was a compact grey clay with moderate inclusions of stones and occasional pieces of charcoal. The middle fill (T.1 F61) was a brownish grey silty clay which contained frequent stones. The upper fill (T.1 F60) was loose mid-brown silty sand with occasional inclusions of small stones.

The extrapolated diameter of the outer enclosure ditch is approximately 110m and it would, therefore, enclose an area of approximately 9500 sq.m.

A bank (T.1 F2) of redeposited natural mottled yellow/grey sandy clay was found immediately north of the enclosure ditch on the southern side of the site. It was 2.5m wide and 0.4m thick. No evidence for an internal bank was found on the northern side of the enclosure. However, in this area a second ditch was found parallel to and 1.3m south of the outer ditch. This internal ditch (T.1 F59) was 1.8m wide at the top and 0.58m deep, it had steeply sloping sides and a concave base. It was filled with two deposits. The basal fill (T.1 F58) was a light greyish brown silty sand which contained occasional small stones and inclusions of charcoal. Five pieces of slag (02E1448:58:1-5) were found in this deposit. The upper fill (T.1 F57) was a mid-brown loose silty sand which contained occasional small stones.

Inner enclosure ditch

Geophysical survey had identified the line of an internal ditch roughly concentric to the outer enclosure. Excavation confirmed its location, two sections were excavated through it in Trench 2 and Trench 4. In Trench 2 the inner enclosure ditch (T.2 F6) was 1.9m wide and 0.96m deep, it had gently sloping sides and a concave base. It was filled with three deposits. The basal fill (T.2 F5) was compact light grey silty clay which contained moderate amounts of pebble-sized stones and moderate inclusions of charcoal. The secondary fill (T.2 F4) was a deposit of brown grey silty sand which contained moderate amounts of mid-sized angular stones and occasional inclusions of charcoal, this deposit was confined to the western side of the ditch. The upper fill (T.2 F3) was moderately compact grey-brown silty clay which contained rounded stones. A flint flake (02E866:3:1) was found in this deposit. In Trench 4 the inner enclosure ditch (T.4 F17) was 2.3m wide and 0.85m deep, it had steeply sloping sides and a concave base. It was filled with four deposits. The basal fill (T.4 F16) was moderately compact light greyish yellow silty clay with occasional inclusions of wet charcoal. The secondary fill (T.4 F15) consisted of moderately compact grey silty clay with moderate inclusions of charcoal. The tertiary fill (T.4 F14) was loose mid greyish brown silty sand with frequent inclusions of mid sized stones. The upper fill (T.4 F4) was loose mid brown silty sand with frequent inclusions of small stones and occasional inclusions of charcoal.



Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd. Unit 21, Boyne Business Park, Greenhills, Drogheda, Co. Louth	Site: Kill St. Lawrence, Waterford Issued for: Archaeological Excavation Client: Waterford City Council	Scale: As scalebars Date: 05 Nov '03 Origin: ACS Ltd. Drawing no.: 02_50_C38

Figure 8: Plan of test trenches

No evidence for an internal bank associated with the inner enclosure ditch was found contrary to the interpretation of the geophysical survey. The extrapolated diameter of the inner enclosure ditch is approximately 60m which would enclose an area of 2800 sq. m.

Other internal features

Twelve pits were identified within the enclosure. Only two of them were fully exposed (T.4 F9 and T.6 F7). Most of the pits appeared to be sub-circular in plan though two appeared to be sub-rectangular. Their average maximum dimensions were 0.8m. Charcoal recovered from the primary fill of one of the pits (T.7 F13, fill of T.7 F14) was radiocarbon dated to 370-540 CAL AD (Appendix 3). In addition, three unidentified seeds, a single fragment of charred hazel (*Corylus*) nut shell and three small fragments of burnt animal bone (either pig or sheep/goat) were recovered from the fill of another pit (T.4 F8, fill of T.4 F9; Appendix 2). Although there were insufficient quantities of hazel nut and animal bones to suggest that the pit (F14) functioned as a rubbish depository, their presence in a secure archaeological context is an indication of the diet of those who were using the pit. Three possible hearths/postholes and four deposits were also exposed within the enclosure. The possible hearths/postholes (T.1 F35-F37) were all close together located within the inner enclosure ditch, they contained a very charcoal-rich fill and averaged 0.25m in diameter. The deposits varied from sub-rectangular to very irregular in form with average dimensions of 1.3 x 1m.

External features

The features outside the enclosure ditches comprised two deposits, four pits and one ditch. The ditch was exposed at the northern extreme of the test area. It was approximately 1m wide and orientated east to west. The pits were all subcircular or oval in plan and had an average diameter of 0.3m. The two deposits were sub-circular in plan and measured an average of 0.23m in diameter.

There was no evidence for burial activity located in the test trenches either outside or inside the enclosure.

5. **Excavation and Monitoring**

5.1 ***Introduction***

The results of archaeological assessment confirmed the existence of substantial archaeological deposits within the area of realignment works. Following consultation with *Dúchas* The Heritage Service and in accordance with national policy (DAHGI 1999) Waterford City Council redesigned the realignment of the R708 in order to preserve these remains *in situ.* Preservation of the archaeological deposits was achieved by constructing the road on an embankment built on the existing ground surface.

The boundary of Field B consisted of an overgrown stone faced earthen bank, it survived to a maximum height of 0.6m above the ground surface to the west. It was therefore necessary to reduce the height of this earthen bank/field boundary to the

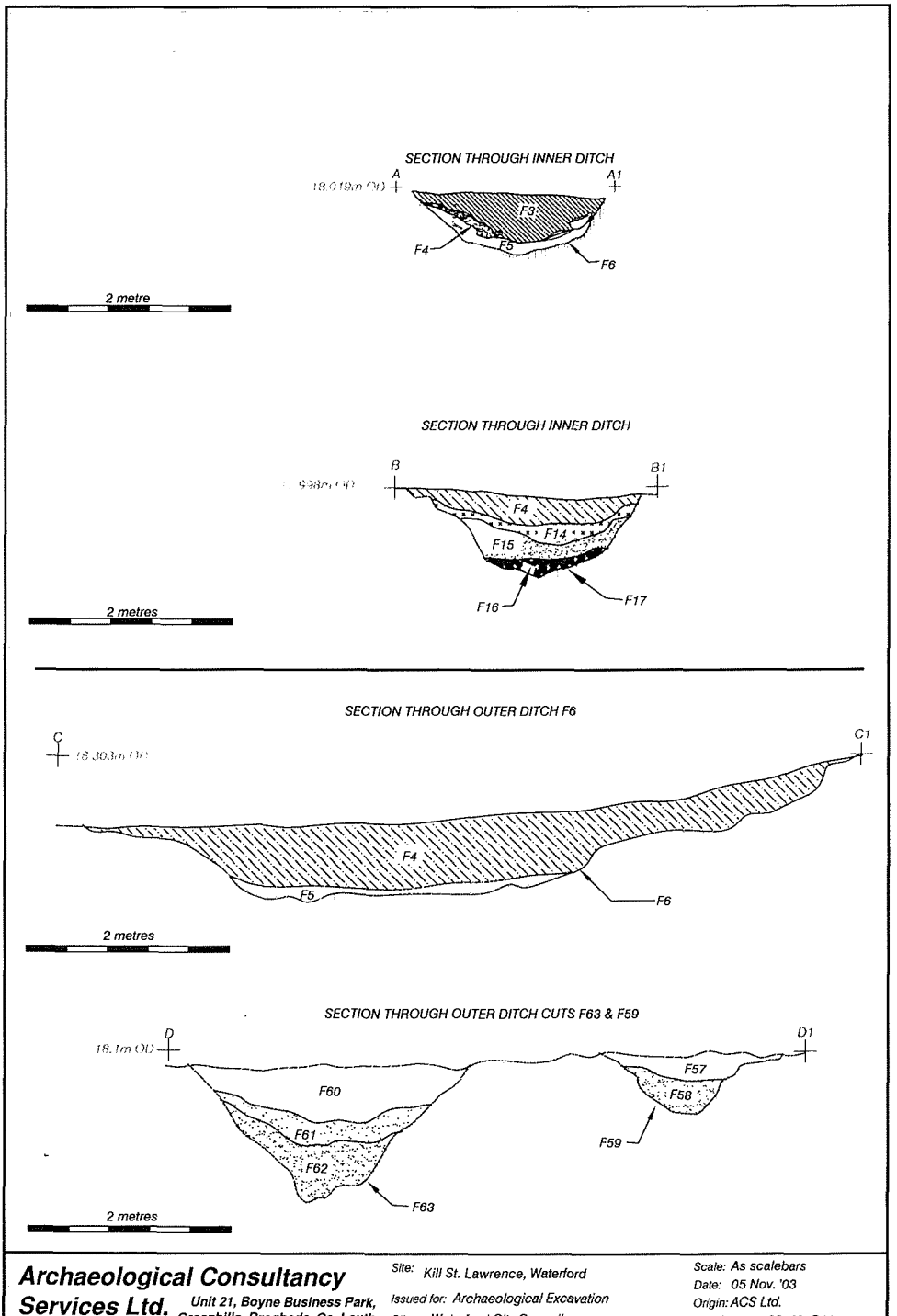


Figure 9: Sections through inner and outer ditches

same level as the sod and topsoil in Field B. As the earthen bank also partially coincided with the line of the outer enclosure ditch the bank was archaeologically excavated in order to fully record potential archaeological deposits and retrieve any artefacts, associated with the enclosure.

5.2 *Archaeological Excavation*

Archaeological excavation was undertaken at the site in February 2003. This work concentrated to the east of the church and graveyard where the field boundary followed the line of the enclosure. The archaeological excavation was carried out under licence 03E0129 issued to Aidan O'Connell.

The field boundary was heavily overgrown with whitethorn trees, bushes and briars. The overgrowth was cleared in an archaeologically sensitive manner by hand and with a JCB. The stumps of the trees that had to be cut down were left *in situ.* The remaining bushes and exposed roots were then cleared by hand. No machine clearance was undertaken on the eastern side of the bank so as not to disturb the stone facing on this side.

When the bank was cleaned back, a full photographic (Plates 2-3) and written record was undertaken, including a pre-excavation plan. This was followed by the excavation of five sections through the bank to examine its make-up and record its profile. When the bank was fully recorded, it was excavated by hand as far as the ground level Field C. The tree stumps were removed with the aid of a chainsaw.

The field boundary bank was 43m long within the area of excavation. It was aligned southeast-northwest for the initial southern 16m and south-southeast-north-northwest thereafter. It survived to a maximum height of 0.6m above the existing ground surface in Field B to the west and an average height of 1.2m above the existing ground surface in Field C to the east. Evidence was found to show that both sides of the bank were originally stone-faced. A number of eighteenth-nineteenth-century artefacts including ceramics and a clay pipe stem were excavated from the field bank. A full written and photographic record of the bank was compiled in advance of excavation. No features or artefacts of archaeological significance were uncovered in the course of excavation and the outer enclosure ditch was not disturbed during this work.

The bank (F2) and stone facing (F3) were excavated from Point A at the south (NGR 261339.169, 109181.101) to Point B at the north (NGR 261320.781, 109216.300).

5.3 *Monitoring of Construction Works*

Archaeological monitoring was undertaken at the site between Ch.990 at the north and Ch.1260 at the south, in May and June 2003 (O'Connell & Whitty 2002). The purpose of this work was to certify that construction of the road was undertaken in accordance with the methodology agreed with *Dúchas* The Heritage Service.

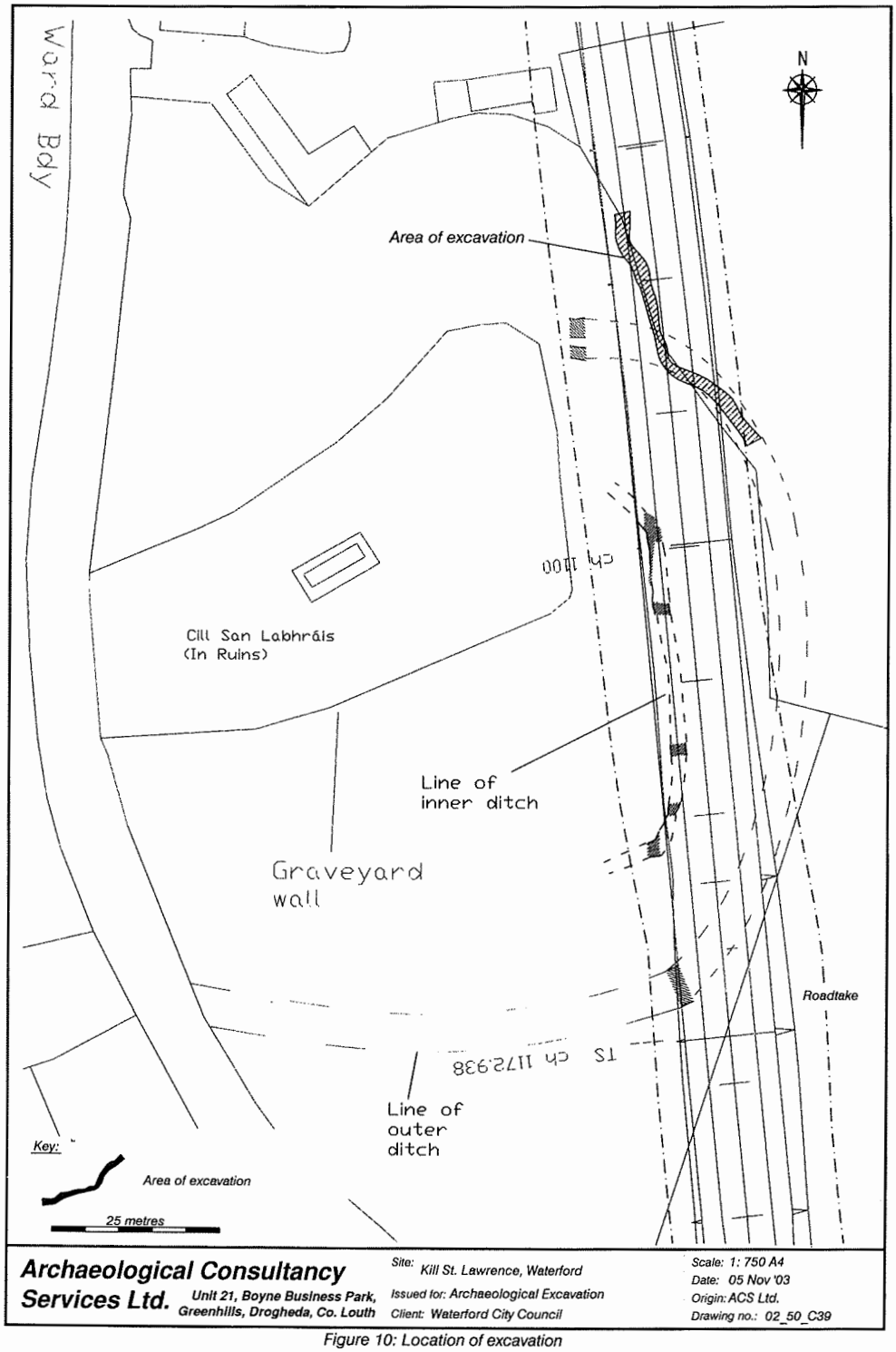


Figure 10: Location of excavation

Site Preparation

Two portions of extant field boundary were mechanically removed. The first was located between Ch.1035m and Ch.1051m. It divided Field B from Field C. It was located outside and north of the outer enclosure ditch and consisted of an earthen bank that was heavily overgrown. No archaeological remains were disturbed or uncovered.

A second portion of field boundary that divided Field A from Field B was mechanically removed at the south of the site between Ch.1140m and Ch.1188m. This boundary was delineated by a thick hedge but no earthen bank. This area lay outside the projected line of the outer enclosure. However, in the course of scrub removal, a portion of the outer enclosure ditch 12.5m long by 2.5m wide was exposed. The line of the ditch was surveyed and a written and photographic record made of it. It was then preserved *in situ* in conjunction with the remainder of the site (see below).

Two areas at the north and south of the site were then stripped of sod and topsoil to facilitate access to the site for construction traffic. Topsoil stripping was confined to areas that lay outside the outer enclosure ditch. No archaeological remains were identified in these areas.

Advance groundworks

The following stages of advance groundworks were monitored by an archaeologist.

A layer of terram (Clause 609 geotextile separator) was initially rolled across the site. It covered the natural boulder clay to the north and south and the intact sod and topsoil elsewhere.

The terram was then covered with a layer of hardcore material to the north and south of the archaeological remains.

In the most archaeologically sensitive areas, a thin layer of crushed stone 100mm deep covered the terram (Plate 4). At the northeastern part of the site, there was a difference in the ground level of 0.5-0.6m between Field B and Field C. This was built up in Field C with a layer of hardcore material and levelled with a further layer of crushed stone 100mm deep.

A plastic geogrid (a heavy-duty plastic mesh) was then laid above the crushed stone in an east-west direction.

It was in turn covered by 300mm of hardcore material.

This layer was then sealed by a final covering of terram at the two locations where the road embankment traversed the outer ditch.

The road embankment was then constructed over these protective layers. A system of surface water drainage was then inserted to the east of the road embankment above the archaeological deposits.

The sod and topsoil, which was left *in situ* between Ch.1045m and Ch.1180m, provides the first layer of protective covering for the archaeological remains on site. The overlying terram serves as a breathable membrane above the archaeological deposits, as well as providing further protection. The terram is in turn covered by crushed stone and the geogrid. The geogrid consists of a heavy-duty plastic

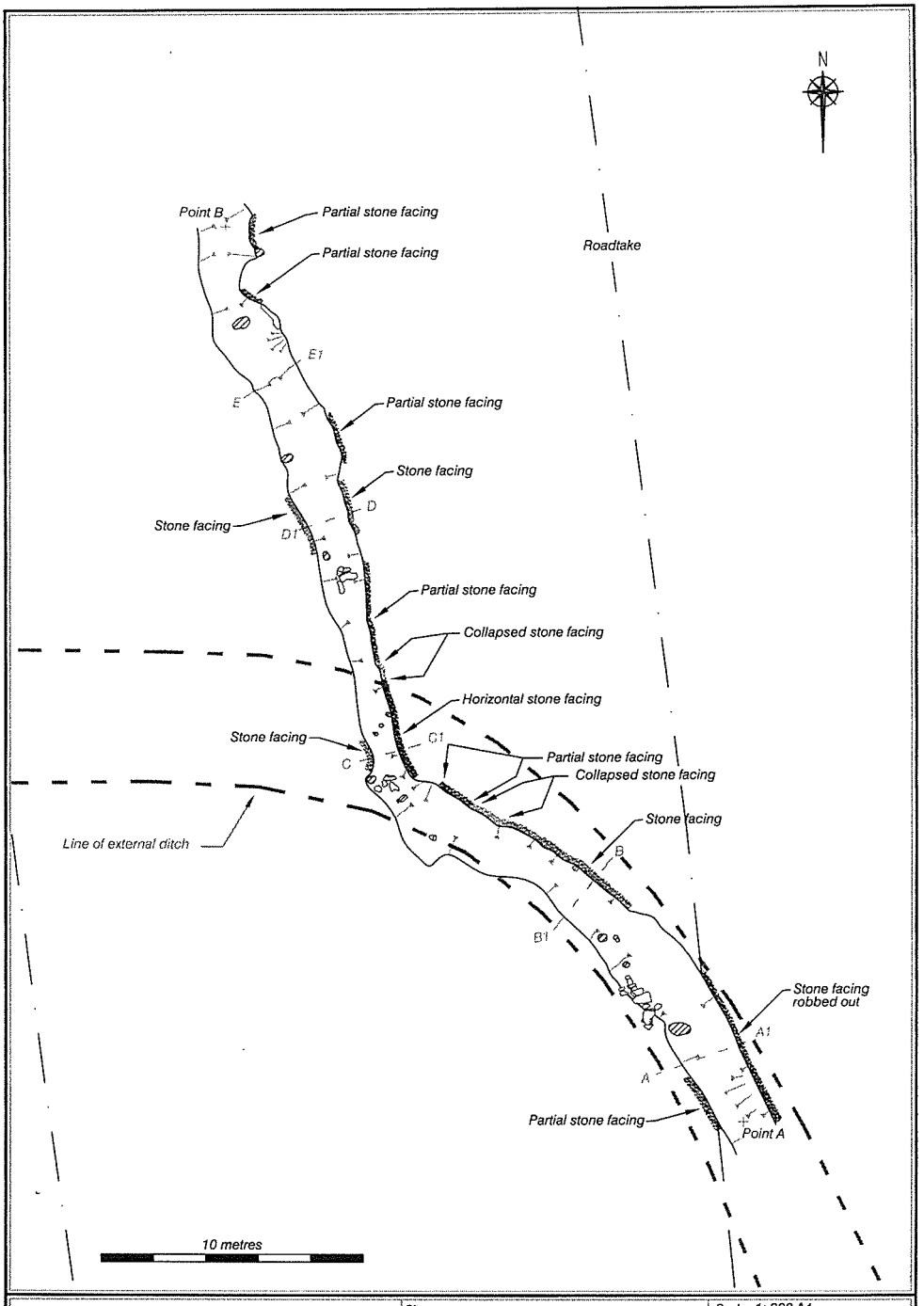


Figure 11: Plan of bank from excavation

mesh that spreads the weight of the overlying embankment across the entire road area and in so doing lessens the compressive impact of the road on underlying archaeological deposits. The final protective layer consists of a heavy-duty terram laid above the geogrid and located at the two portions of the outer enclosure ditch affected by the realignment works.

6. **Discussion**

The realignment of the R708 Waterford Airport road has resulted in the completion of a programme of archaeological works at the site of the church and graveyard of Kill St. Lawrence. As a direct result, substantial archaeological remains have been located in this area. The most significant findings of the pre-development site assessment relate to the two concentric enclosure ditches.

Both of these ditches were located in geophysical survey, topographical survey and archaeological testing. The outer enclosure ditch is clearly visible as an earthwork in the field to the south and in curving sections of the field boundary to the east and west. The application of survey and test excavation has, however, accurately located the northern extent of the ditch. In addition, radiocarbon dating of charcoal samples have revealed a date of 650-780 CAL AD for the primary (basal) ditch fill (Appendix 3). This is evidence for an Early Christian date for the outer enclosure ditch. No evidence has been revealed for the existence of burials, within the enclosure.

The location of the inner enclosure ditch is also significant as this feature was hitherto unknown. We know that this (inner) ditch is earlier than the adjoining graveyard as it appears to run under the graveyard walls. Limited exploratory excavation in this (inner) ditch has meant that it was not possible to collect sufficient amounts of charcoal for dating purposes. However, due to its location in such close proximity, and concentric to the outer enclosure ditch, it is possible to infer an association between, and a broadly contemporary date for, the two features. The validity of this inference could be tested in the future by means of an archaeological excavation to the south of the church and graveyard. This is where the inner ditch has been located outside of the limits of the land acquired for construction of the road by means of the geophysical survey.

A large number of features (twelve pits, three possible hearths/postholes and six deposits) indicative of settlement activity were identified within the enclosure. Slag was recovered from two contexts indicating that metalworking may have been carried out at the site. This is a common occurrence on both secular and ecclesiastical sites in the Early Christian period (Edwards 1990, 86). Charcoal from another internal pit has been radiocarbon dated to 370-540 CAL AD. The pit (T.7 F14) would therefore seem to predate the outer enclosure ditch by two centuries, indicating that the site was in use before the construction of the outer enclosure ditch. However, the limited amounts of charcoal that were retrieved made it impossible to 'determine if the material derived from twigs (or other growth contemporary with charring) or from trunks of great age' (Appendix 2). In this context, it is important to note that radiocarbon samples derived from oak heartwood (the charcoal sample

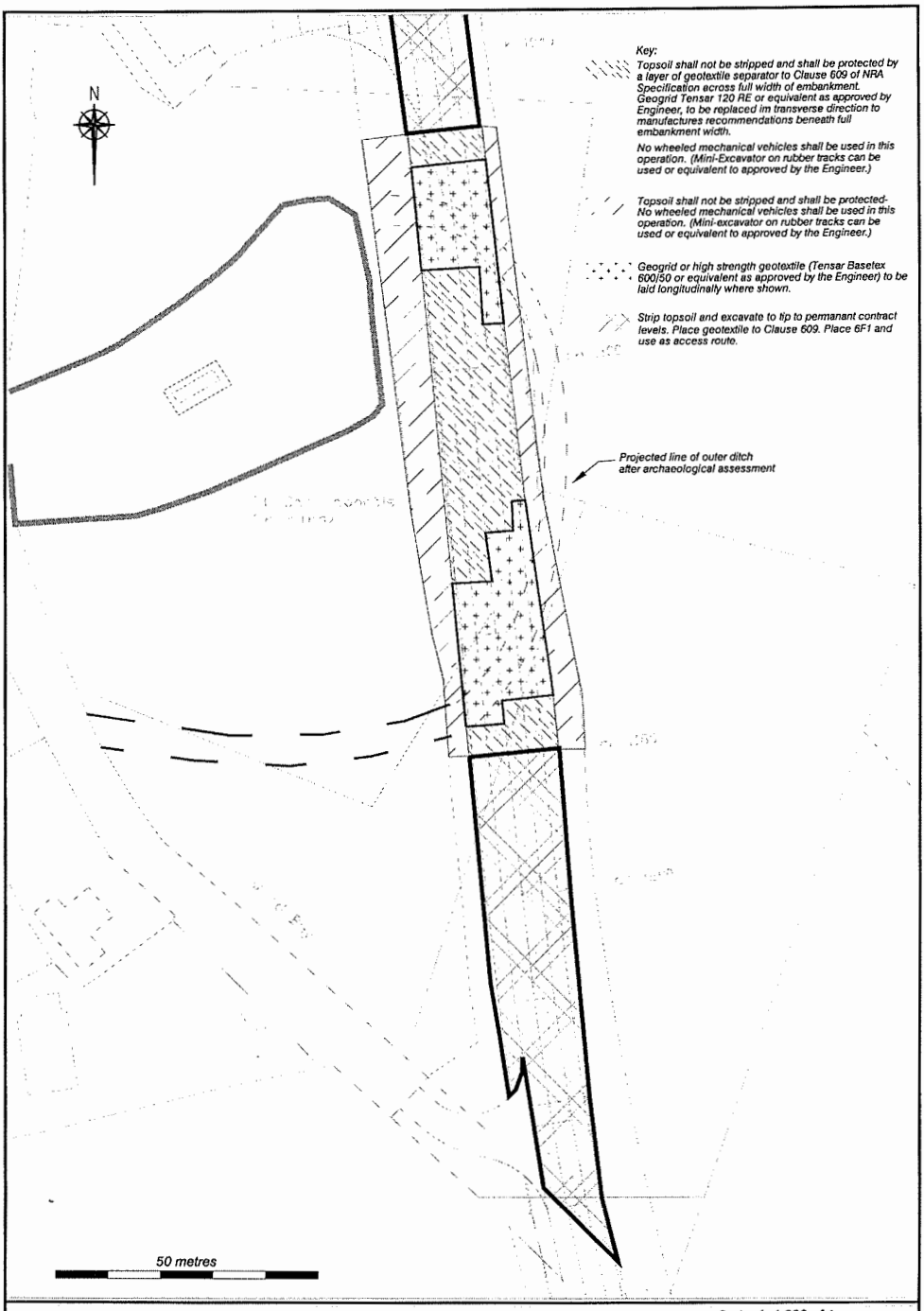


Figure 12: Methodology of road construction

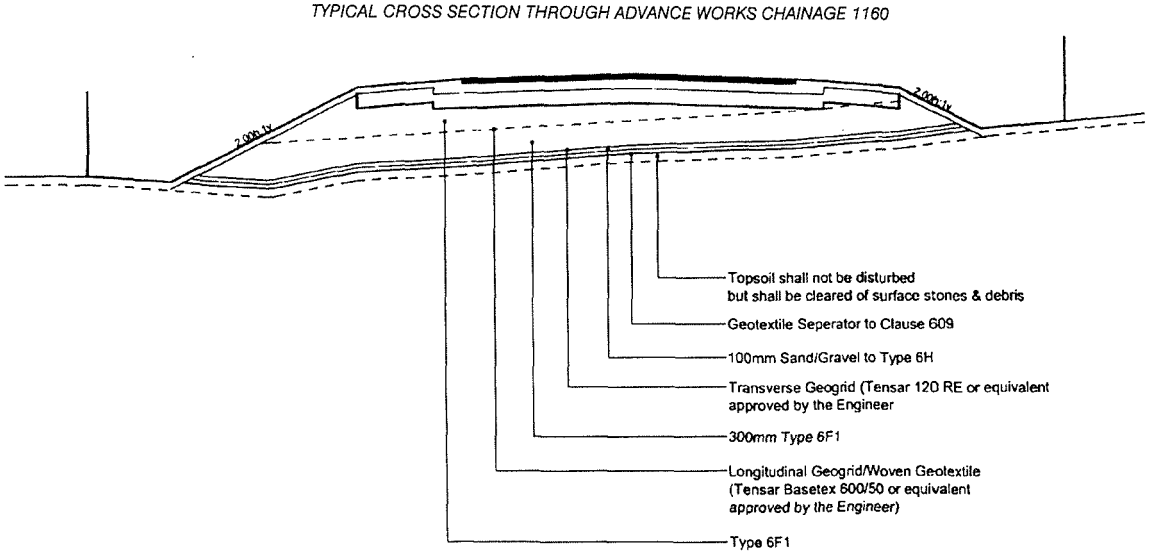
from the internal pit was possibly derived from oak) can relate to the lifespan of the unburnt tree which can predate its deposition in an archaeological context by several hundred years. This phenomenon is known as the 'old-wood' effect and indicates a possibility that the dating of the outer ditch and the internal activity may be broadly contemporary. The potential for pre-enclosure activity, however, cannot be ruled out at this stage.

These recorded remains at Kill St. Lawrence constitute a bivallate early ecclesiastical enclosure, occupying an area of 9200 sq.m. It has been estimated that there may be in the region of two thousand of these sites countrywide (Mitchell and Ryan 1997, 291). The average diameter of ecclesiastical enclosures has been estimated at 90-120m and a significant number range in diameter from 120m to over 400m (Swan 1988, 5). The projected diameter of the outer enclosure ditch at Kill St. Lawrence (110m) falls into the national average range.

There are twenty-two recorded ecclesiastical enclosures in Co. Waterford and a further six possible enclosures (Moore 1999, 163-179). Eight of these enclosures are circular, five are sub-circular, five are oval, two D-shaped, one sub-oval and one sub-rectangular. The D-shaped enclosure at Ardmore (180m by 150m) is the largest in the county and is associated with the monastery of St. Declan and a twelfth-century round tower (*ibid.*, 163-4). In addition, the oval enclosure at Tooracurragh associated with a church and ogham stone (165m by 115m) is larger than the national average. Thereafter, the sites at Kill St. Lawrence, Loughdeheen (120m x 100m) and Kilcannon (Osborne) (diameter 100m) are the only Waterford enclosures that are comparable in size to the national average. The remaining sites in the county range in size from 27m in diameter Ballygarren (*ibid.*, 165-6) to 85m Island (*ibid.*, 175). In this context, it can be inferred that Kill St. Lawrence may have been an important regional ecclesiastical centre.

Archaeological features have been identified outside the road-take in the course of the geophysical survey. The location of both enclosure ditches was traced to the south of the church and graveyard. Future archaeological research could be undertaken here, especially with a view to dating the inner enclosure ditch. In addition, a possible entrance at the southwest of the enclosure ditches was detected in the course of the magnetometer surveys. This anomaly could also be further examined to define its nature and its relationship to the ditches. The nature of the possible internal activity defined by Anomaly 15 could also be further examined.

Another avenue for future research would be an examination of the geophysical anomalies located at the south of Survey Area B. A preliminary interpretation of these features based on the geophysical data suggests the location of two subcircular structures with central hearths and enclosed by a double-ditch system. While it may be suggested that these remains represent an enclosed settlement site, it is impossible to state with any certainty the nature of this activity, particularly its dating, in the absence of excavation. This is an issue that may be addressed by future research.



Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd. Unit 21, Boyne Business Park, Greenhills, Drogheda, Co. Louth

Site: Kill St. Lawrence, Waterford
Issued for: Archaeological Excavation
Client: Waterford City Council

Scale: Not to scale
Date: 19 June '03
Origin: Courtesy of client
Drawing no.: 02_50_C42

Figure 13: Section through advance works @ 1160m.ch.

7. Conclusion

The site at Kill St Lawrence is a bivallate ecclesiastical enclosure of the Early Christian period of significant regional importance. The outer enclosure ditch, which has been dated to the period between 650 and 780 AD, enclosed an area of 9500sq. m. The inner enclosure ditch, with a diameter of approximately 60m, would have enclosed an area of 2800 sq. m. Internal activity within the enclosure includes postholes/hearths and pits. Charcoal from one of the internal pits has been dated to 650-780 CAL AD, a possible indication of pre-enclosure activity at the site.

Significant archaeological remains have been preserved under the new road embankment. In addition, future avenues of research have been opened up outside of the road take due to the application of geophysical techniques in this area.

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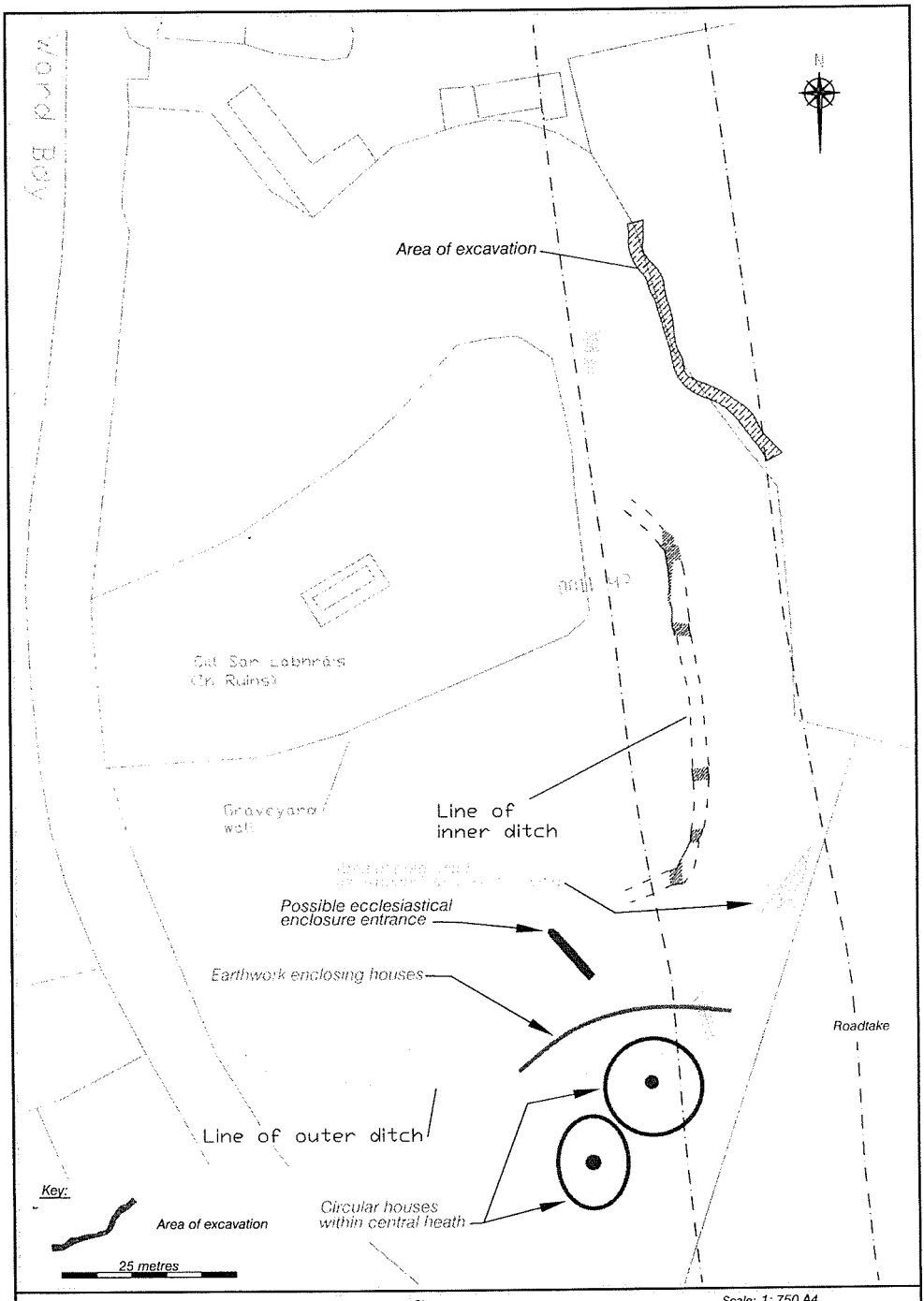

Figure 14: Location of excavation

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Topographical Files of the National Museum of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin 2.

Acknowledgements

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Thanks are due to Tom Mackey, former Director of Services & City Engineer and Lar Power, Director of Services.

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Dermot Donovan, Malone O'Regan, consultant engineers designed the proposal for preservation *in situ.*

Joanne Rothwell Waterford County Archivist facilitated study of the Minute Book of the Board of Guardians of the Waterford Union. This research was kindly made available to ACS by James Eogan and is gratefully acknowledged.

Michael Farrell, the former land owner, gave useful information on the recent land-use history of the site.

Sincere thanks are due to Donald Murphy and the staff at Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd. for assistance with the compilation of the report.

Heather Gimson conducted the geophysical survey and Eoin Corcoran directed the test excavations. Their reports are summarised and quoted in this article.

The topographical surveys were undertaken by Nick Duggen and Niamh O'Connor. The results of these surveys were combined by José Casaban.

Martin Halpin and Aidan Kenny produced the figures and plates.

Special thanks are due to Rachel Sloane who processed the environmental samples and co-ordinated the production of the specialist reports.

Thanks also to the hardworking excavation crew David Swift, Deirdre McCarthy, Liam Darcy, Pat Anderson and Kieran Norton and to Yvonne Whitty who undertook much of the archaeological monitoring.

The National Roads Authority Project Archaeologist was James Eogan of Waterford City Council, who was available at all times during archaeological assessment, excavation and monitoring to provide advice and encouragement on-site, as well as vital editorial assistance later on. Any errors or omissions are those of the author.

Plate 3 - Earthen bank with stone facing from east (02_50_CP7_16).

Appendix 1

TECHNICAL REPORT: BIOLOGICAL REMAINS FROM EXCAVATIONS AT R708 WATERFORD AIRPORT ROAD, WATERFORD, REPUBLIC OF IRELAND (SITE CODE: 02E1448)

by
John Carrott, Allan Hall and Deborah Jaques

Summary
Small quantities of biological remains recovered from the processing of bulk sediment samples from deposits encountered at R708 Waterford Airport Road, Waterford, Republic of Ireland, were submitted for analysis.

The remains were restricted to very small quantities of charcoal, uncharred seeds (possibly of modern origin), a single fragment of charred hazel nut shell, and six fragments of burnt bone.

Sufficient charcoal was recovered from F5 and F13 for radiocarbon dating to be attempted (at least via AMS). The fragments were too small and too poorly preserved for wood species identification to be made, however. Furthermore, it was not possible to determine if the material derived from twigs (or other growth likely to be contemporary with charring) or from trunks of great age. Whether the fact that wood from charred trunks could give an artificially early radiocarbon date is important or not depends on the archaeological questions to be addressed.

KEYWORDS: R708 WATERFORD AIRPORT ROAD, WATERFORD; REPUBLIC OF IRELAND; TECHNICAL REPORT; ?PRE-19TH CENTURY; PLANT REMAINS; CHARRED PLANT REMAINS

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13 October 2003

Technical report: biological remains from excavations at R708 Waterford Airport Road, Waterford, Republic of Ireland
(site code: 02E1448)

Introduction

An archaeological excavation at R708 Waterford Airport Road, Waterford, Republic of Ireland, was undertaken by Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd (ACS).

The site was tested in advance of the construction of the R708 Waterford Airport Road. For the purposes of testing the site was divided into three fields. One test trench was excavated in the first, nine in the second and one in the third. The first and last fields revealed no evidence of archaeological features or deposits. In the second field, a number of archaeological features were exposed as well as evidence of substantial ploughing of the field. The main features of archaeological interest revealed were two enclosure ditches, both of which appear to pre-date an existing graveyard (and so probably pre-19th century), as well as possible pits and post-holes. No evidence for burials was found during the testing.

Small quantities of biological remains recovered from the processing of bulk sediment samples were submitted to PRS for analysis.

Methods

The soil samples were placed onto 1 mm nylon mesh in a sieving tank. The light organic fraction was washed over through a 2 mm sieve into a 500 micron sieve to collect the flots. Each of the soil samples was put through this system twice to ensure that as much material as possible was recovered.

The sediment samples were processed by ACS prior to delivery to PRS and only the small quantities of recovered plant remains were submitted for analysis. These remains were examined and identified where appropriate.

Results

The results are presented in context/feature number order. Archaeological information, provided by the excavator, is given in square brackets. The sediment description was also supplied by the excavator.

F5 [Primary fill of outer ditch F6]
Sample 9
Grey silty clay, with occasional inclusions of small stones and charcoal.
A little charcoal (less than 1 g) recovered from this sample was submitted for wood species identification prior to radiocarbon dating. The fragments were mostly too small (to 10 mm) and crumbly for identification. The larger pieces were of either ?oak (cf. *Quercus*) or bark, with some vivianite infiltration (possibly from other organics in the soil) and some buff silt remained on some of the surfaces.

The were also the remains (as fragments) of about ten uncharred seeds (mostly unidentified but a few of ?elder, ?*Sambucus*).

F8 [Primary fill of pit F9]
Sample 14
A layer of dark grey silty clay containing frequent inclusions of charcoal and occasional inclusions of burnt bone.

The remains recovered from this sample comprised fragments of three uncharred seeds, a single fragment of charred hazel (*Corylus*) nut shell and three small fragments of burnt bone (to 8 mm). The largest bone fragment was probably of a medium-sized mammal (pig or sheep/goat) phalanx.

F13 [Primary fill of possible pit or portion of a ditch F14]
Sample 25
Mid brownish grey silty clay, with moderate inclusions of charcoal and a piece of slag.

A little charcoal (less than 1 g) recovered from this sample was submitted for wood species identification prior to radiocarbon dating. As with the charcoal from F5 (Sample 9), the fragments were mostly too small (to 10 mm) and crumbly for identification. The larger pieces were again of either ?oak or bark and some buff silt remained on some of the surfaces.

F58 [Primary fill of ditch F59]
Sample 5
Light greyish brown silty sand containing occasional inclusions of charcoal, slag and small stones.

Three (two of which indicated fresh breakage) small fragments of unidentified burnt bone (to 5 mm) were recovered.

F62 [Primary fill of outer ditch F63]
Sample 6
Compact grey clay, with moderate inclusions of stones and occasional inclusions of charcoal.

The remains consisted of fragments of about six unidentified uncharred seeds.

Discussion
Sufficient charcoal was recovered from F5 and F13 (Samples 9 and 25 respectively) for radiocarbon dating to be attempted (at least via AMS). The fragments were too small and too poorly preserved for wood species identification to be made, however. Furthermore, it was not possible to determine if the material derived from twigs (or other growth likely to be contemporary with charring) or from trunks of great age. Whether the fact that wood from charred trunks could give an artificially

early radiocarbon date (perhaps by several hundred years for, for example, oak heartwood) is important or not depends on the archaeological questions to be addressed.

The few uncharred plant remains are likely to be of modern origin and were, in general, not identified.

Only trace quantities of burnt bone were recovered from F8 (Sample 14) and F58 (Sample 5). These remains were of no interpretative value.

Retention and disposal
All of the material (other than that required for radiocarbon dating if undertaken) should be retained as part of the physical archive for the site.

Archive
All material is currently stored by Palaeoecology Research Services (Unit 8, Dabble Duck Industrial Estate, Shildon, County Durham), along with paper and electronic records pertaining to the work described here.

Acknowledgements
The authors are grateful to Rachel Sloane of ACS for providing the material and the archaeological information.

Appendix 2

Radio Carbon Dates

by
Darden Hood

Beta Analytic Inc., Florida, USA

Radiocarbon sample from basal fill (F5) of outer enclosure ditch

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
Beta - 183612	1330 +/- 40 BP	-26.1 o/oo	1310 +/- 40 BP

Sample no.	02E1448F5S9
Analysis	AMS-Advance delivery
Material	Charred material
Pretreatment	Acid/alkali/acid
2 sigma calibration	Cal AD 650 to 780 (Cal BP 1300 to 1170)

Radiocarbon sample from fill of internal pit (F13)

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
Beta - 183613	1600 +/- 40 BP	-23.7 o/oo	1620 +/- 40 BP

Sample no.	02E1448F13S25
Analysis	AMS-Advance delivery
Material	(charred material): acid/alkali/acid
Pretreatment	Acid/alkali/acid
2 sigma calibration	Cal AD 370 to 540 (Cal BP 1580 to 1410)

CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-23.7:lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-183613**

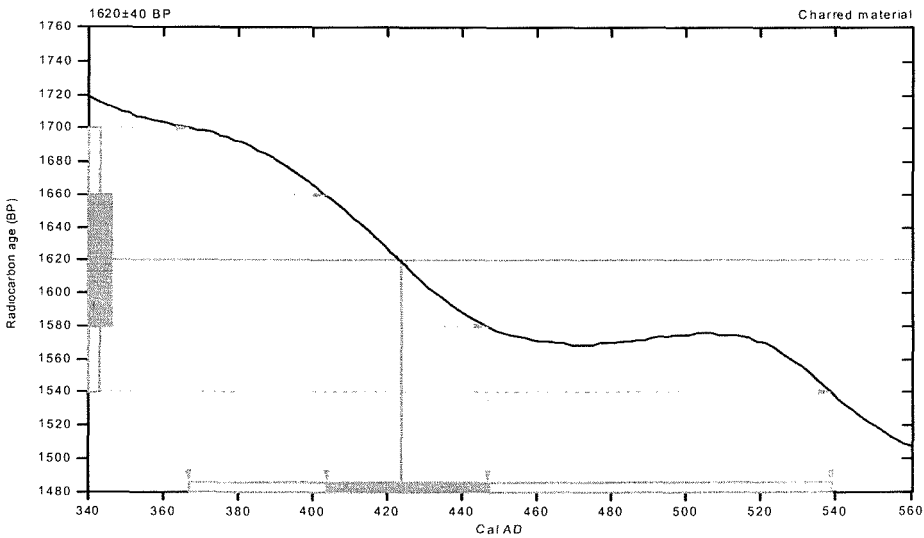
Conventional radiocarbon age: **1620±40 BP**

2 Sigma calibrated result: (95% probability) **Cal AD 370 to 540 (Cal BP 1580 to 1410)**

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age with calibration curve: Cal AD 420 (Cal BP 1530)

1 Sigma calibrated result: (68% probability) Cal AD 400 to 450 (Cal BP 1550 to 1500)



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Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, Radiocarbon 35(2), p317-322

Beta Analytic Inc.

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CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-26.1:lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-183612**

Conventional radiocarbon age: **1310±40 BP**

2 Sigma calibrated result: (95% probability) **Cal AD 650 to 780 (Cal BP 1300 to 1170)**

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age with calibration curve: Cal AD 690 (Cal BP 1260)

1 Sigma calibrated results: (68% probability) Cal AD 670 to 720 (Cal BP 1280 to 1230) and Cal AD 740 to 760 (Cal BP 1210 to 1190)

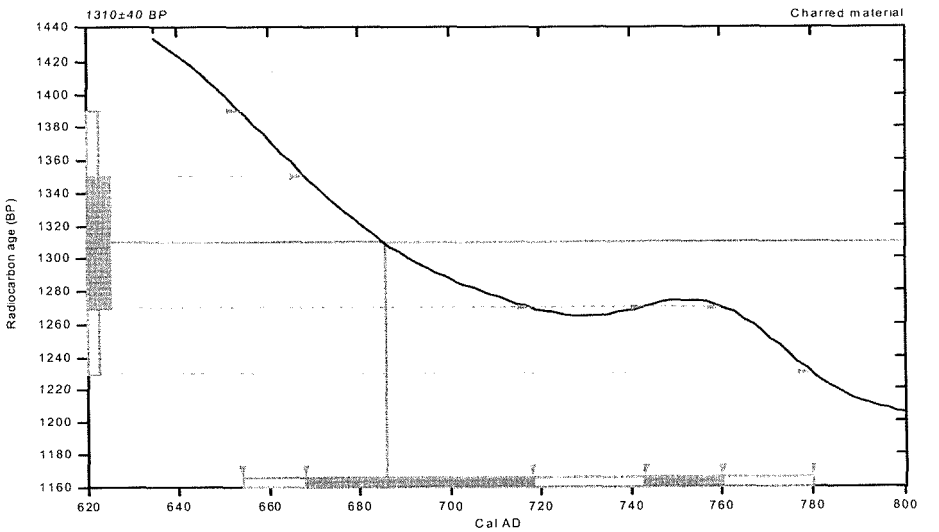

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Plate 4 - Crushed stone spread over basal terram, 1160.m.ch. (02_50_CP16_20).

Plate 5 - Geogrid covered with hardcore material at 1180m.ch. and general view of site from south (02_50_CP16_13).

A Preliminary Note on the Archaeological Site of Woodstown 6, Co. Waterford

By Richard O'Brien and Ian Russell

Introduction

The archaeological site known as Woodstown 6 was discovered in early 2003 when the route of the proposed N25 Waterford Bypass was archaeologically investigated in advance of construction.[1] The investigation was conducted by excavating linear test trenches in a herring-bone pattern within the lands owned by Waterford City Council.[2] The specific site of Woodstown 6 is located beside the River Suir and Suir-Valley Railway, extending over two pasture fields, commonly used for horse grazing.[3] A wetland forms the western boundary between the site and the Killoteran Stream.

Discussion

Between March-April 2003 a total of twenty-nine test trenches were excavated within the site, and *circa* 600 features (subsoil-cut pits and posts) revealed for the first time. A Geophysical Survey was conducted in July 2003 to determine the extent of other features between the test trenches. Specific archaeological assessment followed in August 2003 to determine the nature and date of the archaeological features. The results showed that Woodstown 6 probably represented a univallate enclosure(s) approximately 500m in length, situated beside the River Suir and extending beyond the road take of the Bypass.[4]

1 The Archaeological Consultant for Woodstown 6 was Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd. Archaeological Investigations in the form of Testing, Field Inspection, Topographical and Geophysical Survey were conducted elsewhere on the Bypass from early 2002. To date, over 110 new archaeological sites have been discovered, and resolved on the Bypass.

2 Waterford City Council is the lead authority on the Scheme, representing Waterford County Council, Kilkenny County Council and the National Roads Authority.

3 National Grid References 254767, 110787 to 255098, 111306 (measured from chainage 5780-6400). Elsewhere in Woodstown townland five other excavations were carried out as part of the Archaeological Investigations on the Bypass; one fulacht fiadh site was discovered and resolved at chainage 6860; 03E0305.

4 The width of the site may measure *circa* 150m. The road take occupies *circa* 60m width of the site. However the site originally extended to the northwest, under the railway, out to the foreshore. The construction of the railway has largely destroyed most of the river-side portion of the site.

Plate 1 - Aerial view of Woodstown and Killoteran, Co. Waterford. June 2004 showing the 2003 test trenches. Waterford City is at top right.

Consultations between Waterford City Council, the DoEHLG and NRA regarding the preservation of the site in-situ, i.e. under the roadway, occurred in late 2003.[5] As part of this proposal the culverting of two small streams on the site was necessary. Archaeological excavation commenced in March 2004 in Culvert 1, at the easternmost boundary of the known site. This work involved the full hand excavation of all archaeological features within this area, and finished in June 2004. In tandem with this excavation the original test trenches from 2003 were backfilled and the spoil scanned using a metal detector, and visual inspection. This phase of the finds retrieval programme concluded in July 2004. Culvert 2, at the centre of the site was topsoil stripped; the exposed features were recorded by plan and photograph only; no archaeological excavation took place here.

Excavation Results 2004[6]

The excavation in Culvert 1 revealed the outer enclosure ditch for *circa* 15m in length, and proved that the enclosure originally continued under the railway, probably to the River foreshore. The post medieval field boundary had completely masked all traces of this enclosure ditch, and no above ground traces survived. Non-archaeological linear features uncovered either side of the field boundary reflected changes in land ownership during this period. The finds analysis indicates that the site was moderately disturbed over time by agricultural activity and also most likely during the construction of the Waterford-Lismore-Dungarvan railway.

The enclosure ditch was discontinuous having a gap 7.9m wide, perhaps an entrance, that may have been associated with a stone metalled surface exposed nearby. An associated re-deposited natural clay bank contained a number of internal postholes and stakeholes, where another possible shallow ditch representing a possible revetment base, was filled with oxidized clay and charcoal. Radiocarbon analysis of a number of ditch charcoal samples has indicated that a large defensive ditch was first dug beside the River Suir in the early fifth century AD, the late Iron Age / Early Medieval Period.

The excavation of each ditch terminal revealed varied ditch usage. The ditch nearest the railway was V-shaped in section measuring 3.4m wide and 2m deep. Three subsequent metalworking phases within the ditch all pre-dated 660AD. At one ditch level a number of stakeholes were found in association with an anvil stone. Stratified finds included a complete crucible bowl, fragments of another, furnace bottoms, fragments of a bone comb, amber beads, a copper pin and a large amount of slag were recovered from hand sieving these ditch fills.

The other side of the ditch was excavated to the south of the possible entrance. The ditch here was U-shaped in section measuring 3.9m wide and 1.6m deep. Stratified finds included a wood-cutters axe, slag, burnt bone (animal?), hone stones and un-worked wood. However no evidence for metal-working in this portion of the ditch was found. Each layer within the bank and ditch has been sampled separately for environmental analysis. Such sampling will achieve a full

5 The preservation in-situ proposal was agreed with the DoEHLG in March 2004. This proposal is no longer an option.

6 The percentage of the CPO area of the site resolved to date is 4.9% and 7.9% tested.

environmental profile of the bank and ditch morphology. With the arrival of the Vikings in the mid. ninth century, the ditch was subsequently re-cut and strengthened over time.

One grave-cut (1.50m x 0.85m x 0.20m) was discovered *circa* 22m outside the eastern enclosure ditch; no trace of a skeleton was found due to the acidic nature of the subsoil.[7] A broken sword, one spear head, a battleaxe, a copper alloy ring pin, a shield boss, a possible shield handle, a triangular-shaped perforated hone stone and a piece of iron-encrusted wood were recovered from the hand excavation of the grave fill. The grave goods can be dated stylistically between the 9th - 11th centuries AD.

Other external enclosure features included a number of agricultural furrows, two narrow ditches of unknown function, and a kiln-type feature containing stakeholes, and *circa* five postholes. All these features were fully archaeologically resolved.

To date, approximately 4,595 artefacts have been recovered both from the excavations in Culvert 1 and the finds retrieval program. In summary, the artefacts include objects of iron, copper alloy, lead, silver, stone, bone, whale / walrus ivory, wood, lignite, glass and amber. A total of 174 lead pan weights have been recovered, of total mass 3,624 grams, compared to thirteen weights from late Viking Waterford (Hurley, 1997: 467). This represents the largest rural assemblage of such objects discovered in Ireland.[8]

Some of the artefacts represent typical Scandinavian imports such as two fragmentary hone stones of possible Norwegian schist. A fragmentary Cufic coin (possibly Byzantine) is the only such discovery in Munster to date and reflects wider international trade. Although 4,019 artefacts were recovered from the topsoil, their distribution is as a result of later disturbance and cannot be used to indicate the function or potential of the underlying archaeology. Approximately 576 of the total artefacts are archaeologically stratified, and all artefacts, including modern items have been retrieved and catalogued.

The 2004 excavations did not extend beyond the area designated as Culvert 1 and all invasive works were confined within Waterford City Council property.[9] A Geophysical Survey of the remainder of the two fields was conducted on behalf of the DoEHLG in May 2004. This work revealed further potential archaeological subsoil-cut features, including a 30m^2 roughly square-shaped enclosure. Aerial Survey commissioned in June 2004 by Waterford City Council revealed potential for associated archaeology in the foreshore, and on the opposite side of the river in County Kilkenny. It is likely that the opposing bank of the river must have been utilized, as it would have allowed quick and easy access into the heart of ancient

7 As part of the post excavation works it is proposed to conduct phosphate analysis on the soil samples recovered from the grave fill to aid in the determination of skeletal remains.

8 The 2003 Archaeological Excavation Report of Woodstown 6 has been published on the NRA website, www.nra.ie

9 The fields to the south of the site are in private ownership.

Plate 2 - Excavation of ditch fills from the outer enclosure, Culvert 1.
Photograph by Studiolab.ie

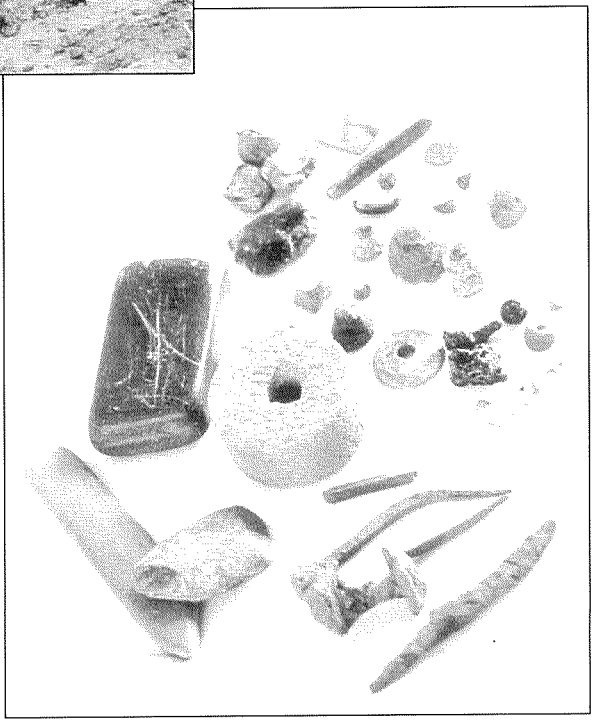


Plate 3 - A selection of the finds from Woodstown 6: stone, lead weights, bone, ivory, beads, glass, coins, nails, silver and iron.

Osraige. The DoEHLG diving unit undertook a detailed Side-scan Sonar Survey of the River Suir at Woodstown, and did not reveal any definitive results (Fionnbar Moore, pers comm).

The National Roads Authority and Waterford City Council commissioned further investigations within the wetland area of the site.[10] This inter-disciplinary research included a Geophysical Survey, a Paleo-Environmental Survey and additional Archaeological Testing within this specific area. This work began in August and a report was produced in late October 2004. The results proved that the wetland was already in existence at the time of the first settlement in Woodstown 6, and acted as a natural, defensive barrier on the western approach to the site. It may have been another reason why people first settled in Woodstown.

Conclusion

The archaeological investigations at Woodstown 6 reveal the first period of site occupation dates from the early fifth to eighth centuries AD, beginning in the late Iron Age / Early Medieval period and this occupation was native Irish in character (the Deisi?). A second occupation dating from the mid -late ninth to mid eleventh centuries AD may have been exclusively Viking in nature? It is yet unclear whether continuous occupation or a distinct hiatus separates the two phases; however, overlapping statistical ranges for C14 dates from features within the enclosure may allow for some degree of cultural overlap during the ninth century. The later occupation of the site appears to terminate by *circa* 1050AD. This is tantalizing evidence as it roughly coincides with the beginning of the earliest known occupation of Waterford City itself. An association between Woodstown 6 and nearby Killoteran church, and Woodstown *Old Court* ringfort will be examined during further research.

The occurrence of Viking material, and possible re-occupation, however brief, on a native Irish site is paralleled on sites such as Ballinderry I, Co. Westmeath, Clondalkin, Co. Dublin, Clonmacnois, Co. Offaly, Emly, Co. Tipperary and Lagore, Co. Meath to name a few. The recent Viking discovery at Old St. Canice's Church in Finglas, Co. Dublin closely mirrors in date the Woodstown 6 discovery.

It is hoped that another, more detailed article will appear in the next issue of *Decies.*

References

Hurley M.F. & Scully O.M.B. (1997), *Late Viking Age and Medieval Waterford: Excavations 1986-1992* (Waterford Corporation, Waterford).

10 The wetland marks the former Coilte Plantation and is located between the Killoteran Stream and western limit of the site.

Eugenius, Bishop of Ardmore and Suffragan at Lichfield (1184-5)

By Very Rev. Dónal O'Connor

Introduction

When one looks at an ancient ecclesiastical site like Ardmore one can only lament that so little is known of the people who built it up over the centuries after its foundation by St. Declan in the fifth century. Apart from St. Ultan, Declan's reputed successor, only three of their names survive, and in each case with only the briefest of information.

The earliest name is that of Siadal Mac Testa of Ardmore who is listed in a *Céli Dé* document from the Monastery of Tallaght where the leaders of this very strict ascetical movement were Maelruain (d. 792) and his disciple Maeldithruib (d. 840). These monks, in their turn, drew inspiration from monasteries in the south of Ireland. Indeed Maelruain himself had been a disciple of Ferdáchrích in Dair-inis (Molana's Abbey), only eight miles from Ardmore. The document, published in 1911, relates that Maeldithruib testified that it was not the practice of the *Céli Dé* for one to drink anything after passing one's water, and that 'this was the practice of Siadal Mac Testa of Ard Mor', (*ised fognid la siadal mac testa o aird móir*).[1] The other great centre of the *Céli Dé,* viz. at Finglas also had a connection with the *Déisi* spirituality through Cainchomrac, who was 'bishop of the Déisi', and *anam-chara* (soul friend) to Dublitir, abbot of Finglas.[2]

A second name which occurs in the *Annals of Inisfallen* is that of the builder of the cathedral of Ardmore who died in 1203. His name is Mael Éátin Ua Duib Rátha (also given as Mael-ettrim Ó Duibhreatha), and he is styled as *uasalshagart* (noble priest) of Ardmore. The notice is given in a blend of Irish and Latin in the entry for the year 1203.[3]

A third name preserved is that of Eugenius, Bishop of Ardmore. We have a notice that between 1172 and 1179 a charter of Diarmait MacCarthy was witnessed

1 E.J. Gwynn and W.J. Purton, 'The Monastery of Tallaght', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* 29C (1911), p. 142. Henceforth abbreviated as *PRIA.*

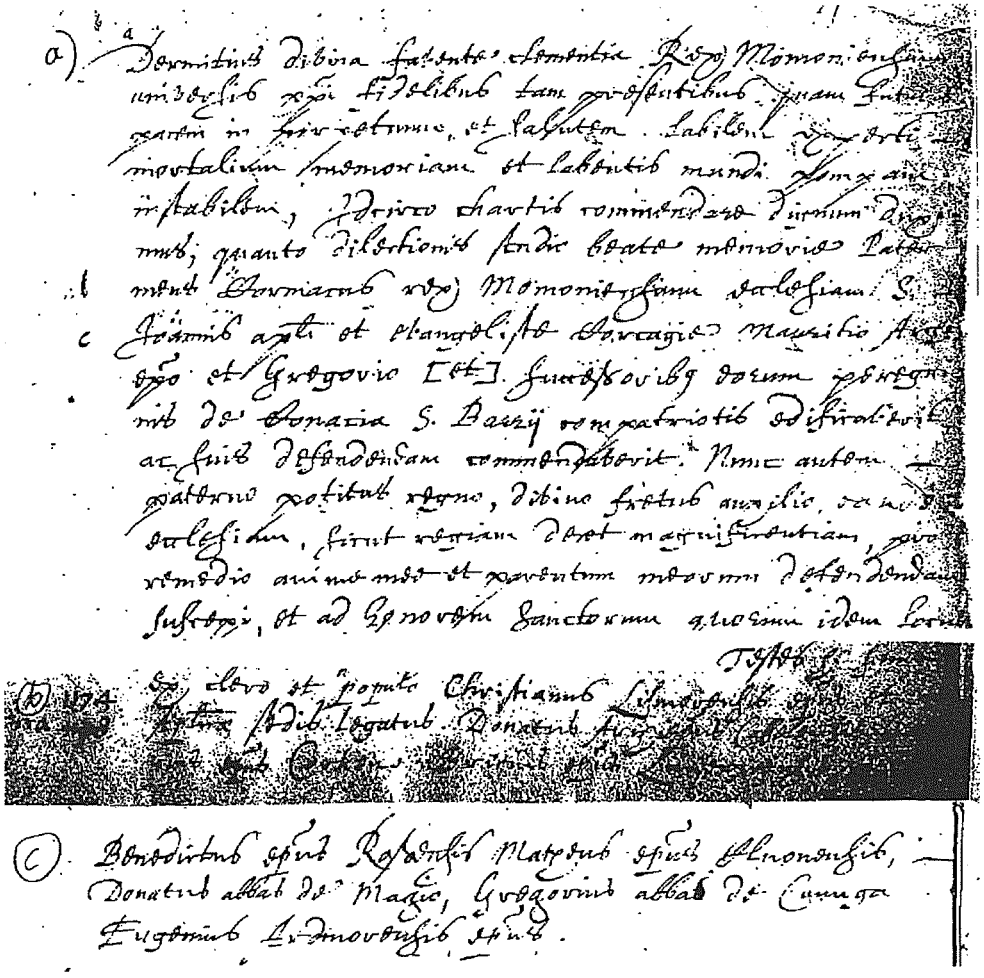
2 *Ibid.*, p. 130. This paragraph relates how one day Dublitir and Cainchomrac, his *anam-chara* were walking together on the green outside the monastery garden in Finglas when a poor old woman approached Dublitir and begged him to allow her to sleep in the nuns' house. Dublitir, however, angrily refused her and made an insulting remark to her. Cainchomrac, without saying a word, prostrated himself on the grass. Dublitir, seeing this extra-ordinary behaviour, asked for an explanation, and the bishop was not slow in supplying it. The woman was granted her request.

3 'Uasalshagart Arda Móri, mortuus est ár tairgsin leis tempuil Arda Móri do dénam.' Directly before this entry, and also for 1203, is the record of the death of 'Art Corb Ua Faeláin, Rí na Néssi,' (King of the *Déisi*). See *The Annals of Inisfallen* (MS. Rawlinson B 503), edited with translation by Seán Mac Airt, (Dublin, 1951), p. 333.

TRANSCRIPT OF PARTS OF THE DIARMAIT MacCARTHY CHARTER, c. 1174.

ADD. MS. 4793, FOLIO 70, THE BRITISH LIBRARY

(by permission of the British Library)



Explanation: a) First half of the charter, beginning with:
"Dermitius divina favente clementia Rex Momoniensium…"

b) The list of witnesses begins four lines from the bottom of the folio, which is darker and more difficult to read. It begins:
"Testes hi sunt ex clero et populo…"

c) The list of witnesses concluded at the top of folio 70v
The last of the witnesses is Eugenius Ardmorensis epus.

by Eugenius of Ardmore and by Christian O'Conarcy, who was bishop of the near-by and more prestigious see of Lismore, and papal legate in Ireland (1152-79).

This was Diarmait MacCarthy, king of Munster, who decided 'for the health of our soul, and of the souls of our parents' to re-edify and enlarge the church of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist in Cork which his father King Cormac had built. The witnesses to the charter were Christian, followed by the archbishop of Cashel, the bishops of Cork, Limerick, Ross, Cloyne, the abbots of Mayo and Cong, and finally by 'Eugenius Ardmorensis episcopus'.[4] The abbots were Donatus of Mayo and Gregory of Cong, neither of whom was a bishop. It seems strange that Bishop Eugenius' signature did not come *before* that of the abbots - a problem I leave for the moment.

Diarmait's father, Cormac MacCarthy, after whom Cormac's chapel in Cashel is named, had built the Cork church for the use of Archbishop Maurice O'Duffy of Tuam - and for the pilgrims out of Connaught for whom the tomb of St. Finnbarr in Cork was a place of pilgrimage because that saint had been born near Galway. And King Diarmait himself made an additional grant to the same pilgrims of the lands of Illa, and his son - another Cormac, who later rebelled against his father - made a further grant of land (at Mael dulgi), at the request of Catholicus (Cathal O'Duffy), archbishop of Tuam, another member of the O'Duffy family who held important ecclesiastical positions over several generations. At the end of the charter comes the list of witnesses:

> Testes hi sunt ex clero et populo:
> Christianus, Lismorensis Episcopus et Apostolicae Sedis legatus;
> Donatus, Archiepiscopus Casselensis.
> Gregorius, Episcopus Corkensis; Bricius, Episcopus Limericensis;
> Benedictus, Episcopus Rossensis; Matheus, Episcopus Cluonensis;
> Donatus, Abbas de Magio; Gregorius, Abbas de Cunga;
> Eugenius Ardmorensis Episcopus.

There is something unusual about Eugenius' signature. Bishop Eugenius is listed not with the other bishops but *after* the two abbots, neither of whom were bishops. I am presuming, of course, that Ware's order of signatories corresponds to the original charter.

This abnormality, if one may call it such, was not to be expected in a document so solemnly drafted so as to include some of the most prominent royal families of twelfth-century Ireland: the O'Connors of Connaught and the MacCarthys of Desmond, as well as the papal legate and the archbishop of Cashel and the O'Duffys, hereditary ecclesiastical prelates in Tuam. The cultural sophistication of these families still survives in two of the most outstanding achievements of twelfth-century Ireland: Cormac's chapel in Cashel and the Cross of Cong. The inscriptions on the latter request 'a prayer for Muiredach Ua Dubthaig, (religious) senior of Ireland' (who is the Archbishop Maurice in the MacCarthy Charter), and

4 Charles Webster, *The Diocese of Cork,* (Cork, 1920), pp. 375, 376. The transcript of this charter is now in the British Library, Additional MS. 4793, f.70.

'a prayer for Tairdelabach Ua Conchobair, King of Ireland, by whose direction this artefact was made', whose victory over Cormac MacCarthy in 1134 resulted in Cormac being obliged to build the church of St. John the Evangelist in Cork for the pilgrims from Connaught.

The Catholicus in the charter was Cadla Ua Dubthaig (Cathal O'Duffy) archbishop of Tuam 1161 - 1201, and he was the son or grandson of a former bishop. In 1175 Cadla was entrusted by King Rory O'Connor - the last High King of Ireland - to negotiate the Treaty of Windsor in which Rory recognised Henry II as his overlord.

Diarmait's father Cormac MacCarthy was the king of Desmond who had built Cormac's Chapel in Cashel, as we said, one of the greatest cultural treasurers of Ireland.

In addition to these distinguished personages we must also acknowledge the literary sophistication of the charter. Marie Therese Flanagan has made a study of the charters written in Latin in twelfth-century Ireland. She finds that the charter of Diarmait MacCarthy reflects stylistic influences from the German imperial chancery. Thus the opening sentence of the charter, 'Dermitius divina favente clementia Rex Momoniensium' (Dermot, by favour of divine clemency, king of Munster), may be compared with the contemporary charter of Emperor Frederick I where the form is, 'Fridericus divina favente clementia imperator Romanorum'.[5]

The solemnity of Diarmait's charter is further heightened by his exaggerated description of himself as king of Munster, whereas he was king only of the southern half of Munster, viz. Desmond. One further observation many come as a surprise, namely that the Diarmait charter was probably drafted at the scriptorium of the Monastery of St. James in Regensburg with which the MacCarthys had close links, and which itself was in receipt of imperial charters.[6]

This, then, is the very special context in which we may consider why Eugenius' entry in the charter comes at the end of the list of signatories after the abbots.

That Eugenius was bishop of the diocese of Ardmore is not in doubt, but we do not know when his episcopacy began, and we do not know the boundaries of his diocese, nor do we know when Ardmore diocese ceased to be a diocese and was subsumed into Lismore. Ardmore diocese is listed among the suffragans of Cashel who did fealty to Henry II in 1172, and Eugenius of Ardmore was among the signatories of the MacCarthy Charter in 1172 x 1179, as we saw. Finally, Ardmore diocese is listed among the suffragans of Cashel in a papal letter of 1210. But after that there is no further mention of the diocese of Ardmore. Its name is not mentioned at Rathbreasail nor at Kells. It was a shadowy diocese and the papal legate, Christian, bishop of Lismore, who was the first of the signatories of the MacCarthy Charter, would have known the Ardmore situation better than most, and may have regarded Eugenius' episcopal status as inferior to that of the other bishops present, all of whose dioceses had synodal approval. As papal legate he would feel a

5 Marie Therese Flanagan, 'The Context and Uses of the Latin Charter in Twelfth-Century Ireland', in *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies,* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 21.

6 *Ibid.,* p. 21.

special responsibility to continue the diocesan reform initiated by the former papal legate, Gille, (or Gilbert), bishop of Limerick, who had presided at the Synod of Rathbreasail which defined the boundaries of the Irish dioceses. Gille went to great pains to copperfasten the boundaries of his own diocese of Limerick by naming fourteen boundary-markers (instead of the usual four), and issuing a dire threat against anyone violating his territory:

> Gibé tí tar na teorannaibh-se tar sárughadh an Choimdhe is Pheadair apstail is Naomh Pádraig is an chomhorba is na heagailse Criostaidhe thig sé..., (Whoever shall transgress these boundaries goes against the Lord and Peter the Apostle and St. Patrick and his successor and the Christian church.)[7]

Gille was bishop of Limerick 1106 - 38. A specialist in Canon Law, he was author of *De Usu Ecclesiastico* and *De Statu Ecclesiae,* in which he took a gloomy view of the state of the Irish Church and set out his reform programme 'so that those separated and schismatical orders, by which almost the whole of Ireland is deceived many yield to the one, catholic Roman office.'[8] Invoking all the powers of the Almighty and St. Peter and St. Patrick against anyone violating his newly placed boundaries should have prevented all interference from neighbouring churches who might feel they had a right to part of Gille's territory. But it did not deter the ancient church of St. Nessan in Mungret, only three miles from Limerick, and which found its territory incorporated into Gille's diocese by the Synod of Rathbreasail (1111), from making a claim for its own bishop. This claim was made at Kells (1152) and shows that old foundations like Mungret, with a long tradition behind them, were not overawed by Gille's papal legateship. It fell to Christian O'Conarchy, as papal legate at Kells, to face this challenge from Mungret. The Mungret challenge was accompanied by a similar challenge from another Munster church which was the ancient foundation of St. Declan. We know this from a note appended to the list of suffragans which Kells approved for the Archbishop of Cashel. The note reads: 'Due autem ecclesiae sunt sub eodem archiepiscopo que dicunt se habere episcopos quorum nomina sunt haec: Ardimor et Mungaret', (There are two churches subject to the same archbishop which say they ought to have bishops. Their names are Ardmore and Mungret).[9]

These two churches do not seem to have regarded themselves as having been subsumed into either Lismore or Limerick, but as simply subject to the Munster metropolitan, and thus retaining their ancient identity.

The fact that ancient churches kept their identity alive even after the Rathbreasail reforms was further exemplified in the case of Cloyne, the church founded by St. Colman (d. 606), and only twenty miles west of Ardmore. Cloyne was not given diocesan status at Rathbreasail (1111), but in spite of this, we find a bishop of Cloyne, whose *obit* is recorded in 1149.

7 Geoffrey Keating, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn,* edited by D. Comyn and P. Dinneen, (London, Irish Texts Society, 1914), iii, p. 304. Henceforth abbreviated as FFÉ.

8 John Fleming, *Gille of Limerick,* (Dublin, 2001), p. 145.

9 H.J. Lawlor, 'A Fresh Authority for the Synod of Kells', in *PRIA,* 36C (1922), p. 18.

Its bishop Nehemias, or Giolla na Naemh Ua Muircheartach received the title 'uasal epscop deisceirt Ereann' (noble bishop of southern Ireland) from the Four Masters who recorded his death in 1149. St. Bernard also, in his life of Malcahy, relates how Nehemias, bishop of Cloyne, was sitting at table with Malachy in Cloyne when the latter worked a miracle. Finally the *Visio Tnugdali* relates how Tnugdal, in a vision of heaven, saw St. Patrick surrounded by many Irish bishops including Nehemias, bishop of Cloyne. So here we find, at least three years before the Synod of Kells which recognised the diocese of Cloyne, a highly regarded bishop of Cloyne, a diocese which Rathbreasail had not even mentioned.[10] We have no idea what the boundaries of Nehemias' Cloyne were. They were hardly co-extensive with the Cloyne approved by Kells, by which parts of Cork diocese (as well as parts of Cashel and Lismore) constituted the strange semi-circle of territory surrounding Cork. Needless to say, the bishop of Lismore who presided as papal legate at Kells, would, as a young monk in Lismore have been fully aware of the importance of Nehemias as an outstanding spiritual leader in nearby Cloyne in spite of his lack of synodal approval. Important enough for his *obit* to be conveyed (probably from Lismore) to St. Bernard in Clairvaux.

And so, in the years leading up to Kells, three ancient churches in Munster, namely Mungret, Ardmore and Cloyne, still cherishing their founders (Nessan, Declan, & Colman), kept their hopes for diocesan status. Cloyne was eminently successful, Mungret failed, but Ardmore eventually got its bishop some time after Kells.

Bishop Eugenius in England 1184-85

The story of an Irish bishop acting as suffragan or caretaker in the vacant see of Lichfield can be briefly sketched because of the three entries in the Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of King Henry II of England, relating to payments made to Eugenius for his episcopal services in the period from September 1184 to March 1185. The first was for twenty-six days, 3-29 September 1184 at the rate of five shillings per day, amounting to £6 and 10 shillings. This payment was by royal mandate (*per breve Regis*) and was registered in the Great Rolls of King Henry's Exchequer and was not a private stipend from local clergy. It was taken from the diocesan revenues of Chester.[11] The second payment is for a period of fifty nine days until 28 December 1184 again at five shillings per day, £14 and 15 shillings in all. Again *per breve Regis.* Both payments were made from the income of the vacant see.[12] But the third payment (£25 and 5 shillings) for his longest period, 101

10 A. Gwynn, *The Irish Church in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,* (Dublin, 1992), p. 236.

11 *Pipe Roll Society,* xxxiv (London, 1913), 'Pipe Roll 30 Henry II', p. 24: 'de EPISCOPATU CESTRIE post mortem Gerardi episcopi. Et in liberatione Eugenii Alcmorensis episcopi. vj. 1 et .x. s. per breve Regis a die Lune proxima post festum Egidii usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis, scilicet, de .xxvj. diebus .v. s. in die.'

12 *Ibid.,* 'Pipe Roll 31 Henry II', p. 142: 'Et in liberatione Armorensis episcopi .xiiij. 1. et .xv. s. per breve Regis de liberatione sua de .lix. diebus, scilicet a festo Sancti Michaelis hujus anni non computato usque in crastinum Beati Lini pape ejusdem anni computatum'.

days, ending in March 1185, was made not from the diocesan revenues but from the Benedictine Abbey of Chester and was also listed in Roll 31 of the Great Rolls of Henry II.

The watchful eyes of the Exchequer could not have been more searching: a payment of £21. 12s. 6d. for the food and necessary expenses of the monks; £6. 9s. for their clothing, and £100. 10s. 4d. in payment and food for the servants. Then follows the payment to the bishop or Ardmore, followed by the payment of £20 to Hugh de Nonant, bishop-elect of Chester, with the custody of the Abbey.[13]

The occasion for Eugene's visit to England was the death of Gerard Pucelle, bishop of Coventry, in January 1184. He had been consecrated bishop only four months previously, in succession to Richard Peche who occupied the see from 1160 to 1182. Both Peche and Pucelle styled themselves bishops of Coventry, but the links with Chester and with Lichfield in Staffordshire were always maintained.[14]

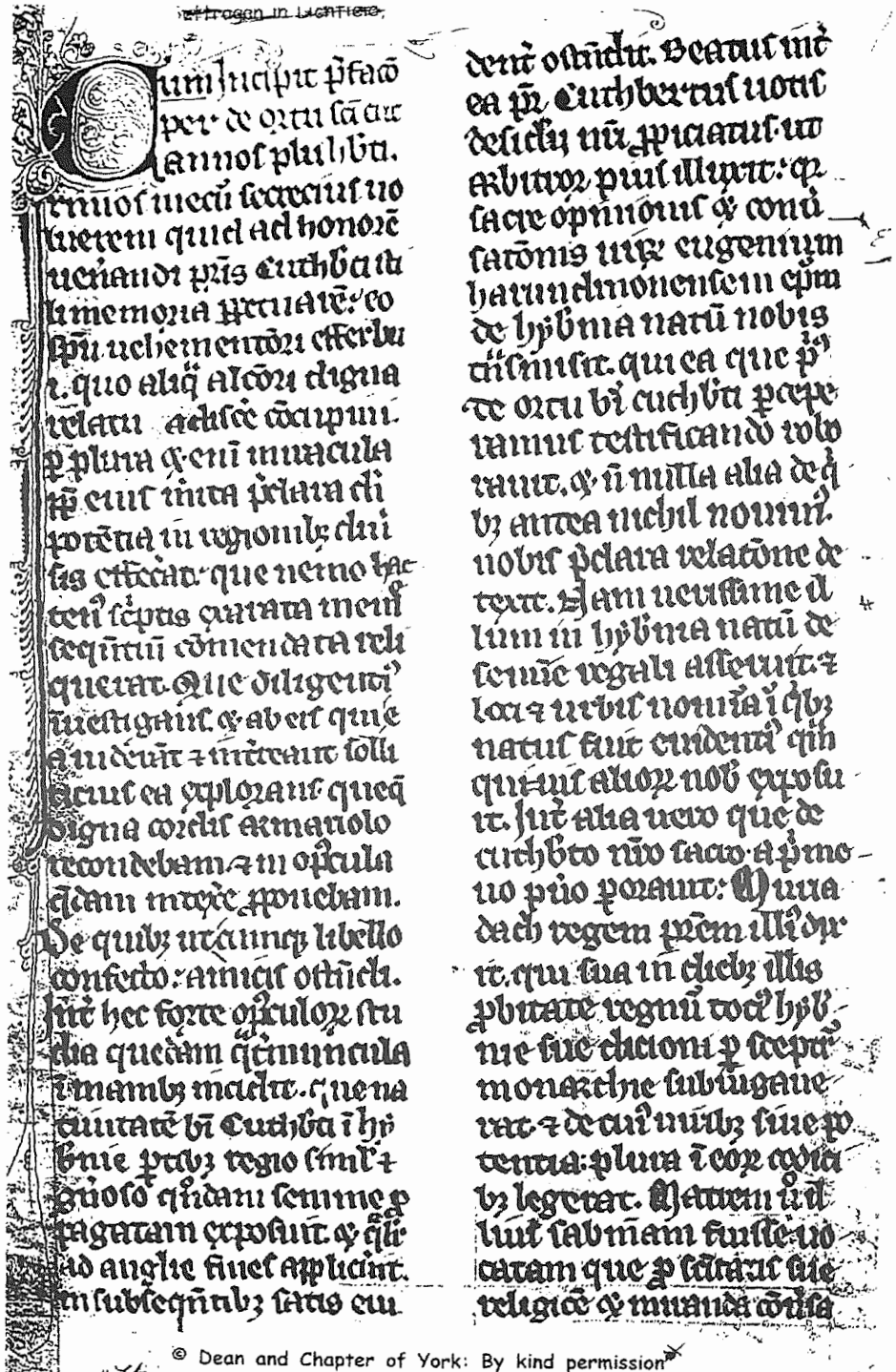
The see of Lichfield already enjoyed an Irish connection. Its first bishop was St. Chad (d. 672), a disciple of St. Aidan who had sent him to Ireland for part of his education. For four hundred years the see of the bishop had remained at the town of Lichfield until the Norman conquest, and in 1075, by decree of Archbishop Lanfranc, it was transferred to the more prosperous town of Chester. Only two Norman bishops (Peter and Robert) sat there. The latter decided to remove the see to Coventry where he obtained the custody of the famous Benedictine abbey there. Six successive bishops after him up to and including Hugh de Nonant styled themselves bishops of Coventry. After that the title 'Coventry and Lichfield' was used.

Chester too would have been important for Eugenius. It had its cathedral, the Church of John the Baptist, in the eleventh century and also the Benedictine abbey of St. Werburgh, founded in 1092 by Hugh Lupus, earl of Chester, nephew of William the Conqueror. As we saw, this abbey was the source of Eugenius' payments in 1185. This abbey contained the shrine of the Anglo-Saxon princess St. Werburgh (d. 700). In Eugenius' time, St. Werburgh had a church dedicated to her in Dublin, for the benefit of merchants from Chester and Bristol who dealt in Ireland. Eugenius' immediate successor, Hugh de Nonant, was a prelate of importance. He was one of the highly educated clerical *élite* in the service of King Henry II. He had been educated in Canterbury where he was close to Thomas Becket, and went into exile with his archbishop. Later, after Becket's murder, he was employed by Henry in an important diplomatic mission to Pope Lucius III at Verona in the autumn of 1184. The mission was a success and the king decided in early 1185 to reward Hugh with the vacant see of Coventry where Eugenius was then acting as

13 *Ibid.*, 'Pipe Roll 31 Henry II', p. 142: 'ABBATIA DE CESTRE. (Et) in victu monacorum et necessaries expensii .xxj. l. et. xij. s. et. vj. d. Et in vestitu eorum . vj. l. et. ix. s. Et in mercede et victu servientum. c. et. x. s. et. iij. d. Et in liberatione Armorensis episcopi .xxv. 1. et .v. s. de liberatione sua de .c. et .j. die, scilicet a crastino festi Beati Lini pape non computato usque in crastinum Beatarum Virginum Perpetue et Felicitatis computatum. Et Hugoni de Nunant electo Cestrensi .xx. 1. per Regem cum custodia abbatie, de quibus idem electus debet respondere.'

14 Modern historians describe the see as tri-cephalous.

LIBELLUS DE ORTU STI. CUTHBERTI, MS XVI I12 FOLIO 71R



temporary caretaker. Hugh's election took place in mid-1185 but his episcopal consecration was delayed for nearly three years (31 January 1188) for reasons unknown, perhaps due to opposition from the monks at Coventry, monks for whom Hugh retained a lasting disdain. One of Hugh's missions, as Henry's agent, was to go to Rome to obtain the Pope's permission for the crowning of Henry's son, John, as king of Ireland. Hugh returned to England at Christmas 1186 as papal legate for Ireland, (even though not yet a bishop), with the required papal permission. The ceremony of coronation did not, however, take place.[15]

In Lichfield alone we find seven other Irish bishops listed as temporary suffragans between Eugenius' time and the Reformation.[16] It was not only the small sees like Ardmore and Ardfert that lent their bishops to England. Another Eugenius, this time archbishop of Armagh, served in the dioceses of Exeter and Worcester in 1207 with the express authorisation of King John.[17] This same Eugenius, also in the year 1207, was one of the Irish bishops who wrote to the Pope in support of the canonisation of Archbishop Laurence O'Toole, who had died in Eu in Normandy (1180), and whose tomb there was already becoming a place of pilgrimage.[18]

In all, seventy-seven bishops of Irish dioceses served as suffragans in England and Wales from the beginning of the Norman period until the Reformation.[19] Of these, Eugenius is the earliest. Indeed he is the only one in the twelfth century, the next being Albinus of Ferns who served in Winchester in 1201.[20] One may conclude that Eugenius was *persona grata* to the English authorities. The brief notices from the Pipe Rolls, for September 1184, place Eugenius, bishop of Ardmore at the opening of a new phase in the history of the Irish Church.

Libellus de ortu Sti Cuthberti

When Eugenius arrived in England the interest in the life of St. Cuthbert was receiving renewed attention and Reginald, monk of Durham, the foremost historiographer of that abbey, had already (in 1174) produced his *Libellus* on the recent miracles of St. Cuthbert, which had occurred at or near the saint's tomb in Durham.[21] Reginald himself had witnessed two of these miracles. Durham, thanks

15 M. J. Franklin (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta, 17 Coventry and Lichfield 1183-1203,* (Oxford, 1998), xxviii-xxix.

16 See Powicke and Fryde (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology,* 2nd edition, (London, 1961), pp. 269-71. Eugene figures on p. 269.

17 F. Barlow (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta, Exeter 1186-1257,* (Oxford, 1996), xlvi.

18 Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives,* (Oxford, 1991); p. 32, note 118 erroneously attributes to Eugenius of Ardmore the letter which Eugenius of Armagh wrote to the Pope in 1207 in support of the canonisation of Laurence O'Toole. See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* xxvii (1926), p. 349, where Myles V. Ronan gives the full Latin text of the letter from 'Eugenius, divina miseratione electus archiepiscopus Armachan,' and also the letter to the Pope from Archbishop John Comyn (the first Anglo-Norman Archbishop of Dublin) who visited Eu and actually witnessed the healing there of a man deaf and dumb for fifteen years.

19 Powicke and Fryde (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology,* pp. 269-71.

20 *Ibid.,* p. 270.

21 'Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus quae novellis patratae sunt temporibus,' in *Surtees Society,* (1835).

to the many miracle-cures at the saint's tomb, had long been a centre of pilgrimage, but may well have felt threatened by the rising interest in the tomb of the martyr Archbishop Thomas Becket at Canterbury where, soon after his murder in 1170, pilgrims venerated his relics. There were some Irish pilgrims too, and we know that Archbishop Laurence O'Toole of Dublin prayed there in 1173.

Reginald seeks, in a none too subtle way, to claim the superiority of Cuthbert over Becket. He recounted how some ailing cleric, who had previously served Archbishop Thomas at Canterbury, had, after the latter's martyrdom, become the servant of the archbishop of York. On becoming ill he decided to seek healing from his former master at Canterbury. St. Thomas, however, in a vision, advised him to return to Cuthbert's tomb where he was duly healed.[22]

Such was the scene which greeted Eugenius of Ardmore when he came into contact with the veneration of the local saints of Northumbria: of St. Chad in Lichfield, whose tomb was the centre of pilgrimage and healing, of St. Werburgh in Chester and of St. Osburgh in Coventry, and, *facile princeps,* St. Cuthbert in Durham. Eugenius himself contributed to the story of St. Cuthbert on which an anonymous Northumbrian scribe (of Durham perhaps) was already engaged.[23]

The Northumbrian scribe happened to be writing a little book on the birth-place and early years of St. Cuthbert, the bishop of Lindisfarne, who ended his days in his island hermitage of Inner Farne in 687, and whose *Life* the Venerable Bede had already composed both in prose and in verse. But Bede was silent as to Cuthbert's birthplace, parentage and early years. The *Libellus* sought to show that Cuthbert had been born in Ireland and that both his parents were of royal stock, and that their son, as a young lad, was taken to Northern Britain by his mother.

The author of the *Libellus* was delighted to find that Eugenius agreed with him on this and was able to cite the tradition held in Kells, County Meath, Eugenius having first-hand knowledge of this area because he was, himself, a Meath man and grew up there from early childhood to full manhood.[24] We may recall that the *Vita S. Declani* relates his paying a visit to county Meath, the land of his forefathers (*ad pristinam suam patriam*), from whence some of the *Déisi* emigrated south.[25] The link between Ardmore and country Meath is exemplified in Eugenius.

Here we may pause and acknowledge that modern scholarship considers Cuthbert to be of Anglo-Saxon parentage and not Irish at all. J. F. Kenny's view of

22 *Ibid.,* cxvi.

23 'Libellus de Ortu Sancti Cuthberti', York Minster Library, MS XVI 1 12, in James Raine (ed.) *Libellus de Nativitate Sti Cuthberti de Historiis Hybernensium exceptus et translatus, in Surtees Society,* 8 (1838) pp 63-87. This MS, dated by J. F. Kenny to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, consists of fourteen folios written in Latin on both sides. All quotations from the *Libellus* are taken from Raine's edition.

24 'in quibus partibus [Meath] ipse natus et a primaeva aetate usque in virum perfectum educatus est', *Libellus,* p. 72.

25 Charles Plummer (ed.), 'Vita S. Declani', in *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae,* 2 Vols., (Oxford, 1910; Repr. Dublin, 1997) ii, xxvi. Henceforth abbreviated as *VSH.*

the *Libellus* is worth quoting: 'There is no reason to place any credit on this fiction' concerning the Irish origin of the saint. He added however, that 'it may preserve the substance of Irish legends of the twelfth century'.[26] But P. F. Moran, who took a more positive view of the *Libellus,* argued that not only in twelfth-century Ireland, but also in Durham there were voices supporting the view expressed in the *Libellus.*[27] But our concern here is not with Cuthbert but with Eugenius and the impression he made on the author of the *Libellus,* who described him as bishop of Ardmore, a man of sanctity in thought and conduct.[28]

Eugenius was acquainted with the most ancient Irish annals which he had seen and read.[29] Importantly, from an Irish perspective, Eugenius told the author of the many miracles worked by St. Declan, the most wonderful being his raising to life nine dead people, and that Bishop Declan's tomb at Ardmore was where Eugene's episcopal see lay: 'In cuius Episcopatus sede Sanctus Tedanus Episcopus, novem mortuorum suscitator magnificus, requiescit ....'[30]

This story about Declan raising to life nine people also features in the *Vita S. Declani* where he raised to life nine noble hostages who were being held by the king of Cashel and who had died during a severe plague there.[31] When we recall the importance of miracle stories in furthering the claims of Cuthbert and Becket, we may opine that Eugenius was also promoting his own diocese by recounting such stories. This is only to be expected. He was well positioned to do this and was in good standing with the Anglo-Norman administration since Ardmore had signed the oath of fealty to Henry II at Cashel in the presence of Henry's agent, Ralph, archdeacon of Llandaff, he who brought the documents outlining the defects of the Irish church to Pope Alexander III in Rome. The same pope, in a letter to the Irish bishops, 20 September 1172, speaks of this Ralph as 'a wise and prudent man who verbally related to us the sad state of the Irish church'.[32] Eugenius, being the first Irish bishop to act with official approval as suffragan in England, was free to use his diplomatic skills with the authorities to protect his beloved little church from such plundering as the Normans carried out in Lismore in 1173 and in the subsequent decades.

The Life of Declan as Twelfth-Century Propaganda – The Texts.

The *Life of Declan* has come down to us in both Latin and Irish. Patrick Power regarded the Irish Life (which he edited) as the earlier which was later translated into Latin.[33] Power used the MS in the Royal Library Brussels for the *Life of*

26 J. F. Kenny, *The Sources of Early Irish History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical,* (Dublin, 1997), pp. 225-6.

27 Patrick F. Moran, *Irish Saints in Great Britain,* (Dublin, 1879), pp. 271-3.

28 'sacrae opinionis et conversationis virum Eugenium Harundinonensem Episcopum de Hibernia natum ...', *Libellus,* p. 63.

29 'hacc Episcopus Eugenius Hardionensis se vidisse et legisse in Historiis Hibernensium asseruit', *Libellus,* p. 64.

30 *Ibid.,* p. 73.

31 Charles Plummer (ed.), 'Vita S. Declani', xxiii, in *VSH* ii, p. 48.

32 M. Sheehy, *When the Normans Came to Ireland,* (Cork, 1998), p. 24.

33 Patrick Power, *Life of St. Declan and Life of St. Mochuda,* (London, Irish Texts Society, 1914).

Declan, which was copied by Brother Michael O'Cleary of the Four Masters from an older MS of Eochy O'Heffernan dated 1582. Power held that the original from which the Brussels MS derived was written 'some period previous to Rathbreasail', while 'the first collection of materials for it go back to the eight or ninth century.'[34]

Many scholars today regard the Irish text as a translation from the Latin. Charles Plummer, had, a few years before Power's work appeared, edited 'with rare scholarship' as Power acknowledged, the Latin collection of the *Lives of Irish Saints*.[35] These were contained in two sister MSS, one in Marsh's Library, Dublin, the other in Trinity College. A dating *c.*1400 is suggested for both.[36] The text of the *Vita S. Declani* edited by Plummer is from the Trinity MS collated with the Marsh MS. Plummer considered the Irish Lives to be translations from the Latin. His view is widely followed, and a twelfth-century date is commonly assigned to the *Life of Declan.*[37]

The *Life of Declan* would thus reflect the opinions and concerns of the twelfth-century author, particularly emphasising the claims of Ardmore for episcopal status, but could not be depended on for fully reliable information on the fifth-century origins of the see.

And yet it is to these origin-stories that our author devotes his literary skills, but always with a reference to his own time and beyond. Thus in the well-structured legend of Patrick and Ailbe and Declan meeting at Cashel in the presence of King Oengus, we read that St. Patrick, patron of all Ireland, recited a verse in the Irish language defining the episcopal status of Ailbe of Emly as the Patrick of Munster and of Declan as bishop of the *Déisi* forever:

> Ailbe humal Pátric Muman, mo gach ráth;
> Declán Pátraic na nDéisi, na Déisi ag Declán go bráth.

And this final clause is further explained in that Declan should be second to Patrick...and that the *Déisi* should form his diocese (Latin 'dyocessis'; Irish 'paraiste agus espuccoide') to the end of time.[38]

The reference to Ailbe as archbishop of Munster would point to a date of composition of the verse prior to the Synod of Rathbreasail (1111) when Cashel became the metropolitan of Munster and took over much of the territory of Emly.

The Splendour of Twelfth-century Ardmore

When one considers the ill-fortune that befell Ardmore's neighbour Lismore in the final decades of the twelfth and in the first decade of the thirteenth centuries, one can only be impressed by the splendour achieved just then by Ardmore: a 'city'

34 *Ibid.,* xxv.

35 *Ibid.,* x.

36 Charles Plummer (ed.), *VSH.*

37 Richard Sharpe, 'Quotuor Sanctissimi Episcopi: Irish Saints before St. Patrick' in Ó Corráin, Breathnach, McCone (eds.), *Sages, Saints and Storytellers,* (Maynooth, 1989), p. 398.

38 Charles Plummer (ed.), 'Vita S. Declani', ch.xxi, in *VSH,* ii p. 48. See also Patrick Power, *Life of St. Declan and Life of St. Mochuda,* p. 42.

built on a hill looking out over the sea: its new round tower, its recently extended church which enjoyed cathedral status at least until the year 1210, when, for the first and last time, Ardmore was recognised in a papal letter as *cathedralis ecclesia.* The letter of 6 April 1210 from Pope Innocent III to the Archbishop of Cashel listed 'ecclesiam Waterfordiensem, Ardmorensem, Lismorensem' among the eleven suffragans subject to the metropolitian at Cashel.[39] As well as the round tower and the new cathedral and the tomb of Declan housed in the tenth-century oratory nearby, the pilgrims to Ardmore around the year 1200 were drawn to the hermitage located 'a short mile' (*modicum milliarium*) from 'the city.'

This little hermitage (*desertulum*) is described in some detail at the end of the *Life of Declan.* Indeed, the anonymous author of the *Vita* (could he have been Eugenius?) seems to have regarded these final pages as more important than the many pages that went before. He complains that he was weary from writing down the fantastic miracle stories, and 'out of consideration for the reader, and to spare him any possible tedium', he omits many other miracles and goes on to relate how Declan used to retreat to his beloved cell (*cara cellula*) in the *díseart* in order to devote himself to God alone (*vacare soli Deo*) in vigils, fasting and prayer.[40]

The author of the *Life of Declan* makes one final observation on Declan's dysert: it was, in the author's day, still being frequented by religious men, and its original purpose, the contemplation of God, was maintained.[41]

But the splendour of Ardmore would have been incomplete without the honour of having its own bishop. Eugenius knew, better than most, how close to extinction small bishoprics like his were due to contemporary church reforms. To ward off such a catastrophe, he or one of his colleagues in Ardmore, set out the case favouring Ardmore as the see of the 'Patrick of the *Déisi*'. The *Déisi* people throughout county Waterford and South Tipperary would always belong to Declan and his successor.

The Déisi should have a Bishop

The bond between Declan and his people is the thread running through the *Life of Declan* from beginning to end. The neighbouring diocese of Lismore, for which its founder, St. Carthage, a native of Kerry, received permission for his monastery from *Rí na nDéisi,* could never claim the spiritual allegiance of the *Déisi* in whose territory he lived. And this in spite of the great importance of the monastery of Lismore as a centre of learning and spirituality, visited by the young St. Malachy of Armagh who came to study there under Bishop Malchus, whose holiness of life was praised by St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

But let us return to the case being made in the *Life of Declan* for the bonds binding the people of the *Déise* country to Ardmore rather than to Lismore. Declan's father Erc is described as *Rí na nDéisi* (king of the *Déisi*),[42] a people who

39 M.P. Sheehy, *Pontificia Hibernica,* (Dublin, 1962), pp. 140-2.

40 Charles Plummer (ed.), VSH, p. 58. The Irish text says Declan's purpose was 'to read, to pray and fast in Díseart Declan'. See P. Power, *Life of St. Declan and Life of St. Mochuda,* xxi, p. 68.

41 *Ibid.,* ch. xxxviii, 'et viri religiosi semper in ipso loco habitant.'

42 Patrick Power, *Life of St. Declan and Life of St. Mochuda,* p. 6.

had been expelled from their tribal territory known as the Decies of Tara in county Meath, and had settled in Munster. Declan is presented as the one who brought Christianity to his own people, the *Déisi* of Munster. All this was away back in the fifth century, but even in the twelfth century we find that the title *Rí na nDéisi* was still being used by the Ó Faoláin families and the allegiance of the *Déisi* people was still being claimed by Declan's successors in Ardmore: 'na Déisi ag Deuglán go Bráth.'

In Declan's final address shortly before his death he blessed 'his people' and at his requiem solemnities his body was blessed by holy men and by 'the people of the Decies' (*Pobal na nDéisi*),[43] who gathered to honour their preacher.[44] Even after the Anglo-Norman conquest we still find the concept and the reality of 'the people of the Decies' and of the *Rí na nDéisi,* though the power of the latter had been reduced. The *Annals of the Four Masters* for the year 1205 record the death of Dónal Ó Faoláin (Phelan), 'Tighearna na nDíisi Mumhan.'

In the previous year (1204) King John had sanctioned an agreement between the same Dónal Ó Faoláin and Meiler FitzHenry, 'whereby Dónal agreed to surrender one of the three cantreds to the crown in return for a secure title for the other two'. The Ó Faoláins accepted this reduction of their authority, but the native population of the Decies were encouraged to remain on the land ceded to Meiler FitzHenry: King John ordered FitzHenry to cause all the natives and fugitives to return together with all their kindred and chattels.[45] There were outbreaks of violence. The Ó Faoláins murdered David Breathnach (Walsh), bishop of Waterford in 1208. He had been 'having a dispute with the bishop of Lismore respecting some property belonging to that see'.[46]

What emerges from all this, however, is that the people of the Decies, or Declan's people, as the Ardmore scribe would call them, were still an identifiable community throughout the county of Waterford and South Tipperary, who looked towards the tomb of Declan at Ardmore as a place of pilgrimage and grace. Lismore, for all its international prestige and undoubted importance in Irish ecclesiastical history, could not claim the same allegiance from the *Déisi* as Ardmore did. The scholars of Ardmore, in drawing up the *Life of Declan,* stressed the devotion of the *Déisi* for the founder of the see of Ardmore: they wanted a bishop for Ardmore. This claim was also made at the Synod of Kells (1152), as we saw above. The complete list of Irish dioceses approved at Kells, as contained in the Montpellier MS 92, gives the names of the twelve suffragan sees subject to Cashel. Neither Ardmore nor Mungret are on this list, but both are mentioned in a note appended to the list: 'Due autem ecclesiae... dicunt se habere debere episcopos,

43 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

44 Charles Plummer (ed.), *VSH*, ii, p. 59: 'Populus na nDéisi ad eum predicatorem suam conveniens'.

45 See C.A. Empey, 'County Waterford: 1200-1300', in W. Nolan and T.P. Power (eds.), *Waterford, History and Society,* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1992), p. 136.

46 Henry Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae I,* [The Province of Munster], (Dublin, 1851), p. 117.

quorum nomina sunt ha Ardimor et Mungarath.' Ardmore's plea was successful but Mungret's was not.[47] When exactly Ardmore received its bishop is not clear. It certainly had one in the 1170s.

In this context it is revealing to compare the death-bed address of Mochuda (Carthage) with that of Declan: the only ones present to whom Mochuda addressed his valedictory exhortation were his monks, whereas Declan, as we saw, had words for his clergy, his disciples, and his *Pobal na nDéisi.* The bishop of Lismore, who had been a fellow novice in France with the now reigning Pope Eugenius, and had been appointed bishop and legate by the same pontiff, had considerable discretionary powers, and may have felt under an obligation to the people of the Decies, in whose territory and by whose gift his monastery stood, not to deprive them of their own bishop.

Not only the people, but their kings, the Ó Faoláins, were not to be offended. Indeed, the rise to power, in the period 1150 - 70, of Maoilseachlainn Ó Faoláin, king of the *Déisi,* who, with a force of three thousand fighting men tried, unsuccessfully, to halt the Anglo-Norman invasion of Waterford in 1169 and 1170,[48] coincides with the elevation of Ardmore to a bishopric. This link between the political and ecclesiastical spheres followed the pattern which saw the rise of O'Briens in Munster and the O'Connors in Connaught co-incide with the elevation to metropolitan status of Cashel (in 1111) and of Tuam (1152).

Ardmore's hopes and yearnings for splendour, for its bishop, its king and its *Pobal ag Deuglán go Bráth,* never came to fruition except for a brief period at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries. This was followed by decline but not before Bishop Eugenius made his mark. He was perhaps the best informed member of the Irish hierarchy on the condition of the Church under the Normans in England in the 1180s. He was also a scholar with a special interest in hagiography and is considered by one modern historian as a possible author of the *Life of Declan,* in which the claims of Ardmore are so powerfully set forth.[49]

One claim in particular receives special emphasis in the *Vita S. Declani,* viz. St. Declan's total adherence to the practice and rules of the Roman Church. This claim is set out in chapter nine in great detail in a way that seems to echo the pattern of church reform which the papal legate, Bishop Gille of Limerick proposed at the Synod of Rathbreasail. The legate, in his *De Usu Ecclesiastico* made a devastating criticism of the Irish Church, viz. that its lack of conformity with Roman discipline placed it in schism, a schism 'by which almost all of Ireland is deceived.'[50] The legate insisted that Ireland must return 'to the consecrated rule of the Roman Church', *(ad consecratam Romanae Ecclesiae regulam).*[51]

47 A. Gwynn, *The Irish Church in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,* pp. 223, 241, and H. J. Lawlor, 'A Fresh Authority for the Synod of Kells', in *PRIA* 36c (1922), p. 18 gives the full list and the note.

48 Geoffrey Keating, *FFÉ* iii, p. 332. Keating, though of Norman stock himself, has no hesitation in condemning Raymond Le Gros' excessive cruelty.

49 Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives,* p. 32.

50 *De Usu Ecclesiastico,* ll, 8-9. See John Fleming, *Gille of Limerick,* p. 145.

51 *Ibid.,* l. 20.

Against this dark background, the *Vita S. Declani,* in chapter nine, sets out to show how faithfully St. Declan followed Roman practice. Thus his decision to visit Rome was inspired by his desire to learn the customs of the church,[52] and to receive the grades[53] (i.e. the seven orders leading to, and including, priesthood) and also to obtain permission from the Roman See to preach, and to take back to Ireland the order and rules according to the Roman institution, *(ordinem et regulas secundum institucionem Romanam)*, almost a verbal replica of Gille's phrase.[54] Having been ordained bishop by the Pope, Declan was presented with 'the books and rules of the Roman Church', and the licence to preach, and was sent back to Ireland.[55]

Indeed, all of chapter nine may be looked on as Declan's *curriculum vitae* up to, and including his mission as a bishop to Ireland. But there is no mention at this stage that Declan established a monastery for these early disciples, nor that Declan himself was a monk. Later, as a missionary bishop, he is said to have founded 'many monasteries and churches'.[56]

The picture that emerges in chapter nine is that of Declan, as a missionary bishop devoted to the conversion of his own people, the *Déisi.* His was a pastoral mission that differed from the restrictive requirements which Gille set out for monks: 'it is not the task of monks to baptise, to give the Eucharist or minister anything ecclesiastical to the laity... Their duty is devote themselves in prayer to God alone' *(Soli Deo... in oratione vacare).*[57] Not that St. Declan neglected contemplative prayer: in his old age he used to retire to his little hermitage, a half-mile from his community and 'devote himself to God alone in ... prayers', *(vacare Soli Deo...in orationibus)* echoing Gille's formula.[58] Indeed, so many of Gille's requirements are purported to be fulfilled by St. Declan in chapter nine of his *Vita* as to point to a twelfth-century date for this section of the book.

Where the Synods of Rathbreasail and Kells set the geographical landmarks for the newly recognised dioceses of Ireland, the *Vita S. Declani,* by way of contrast, observes the ancient bond between the bishop and his people: Declan's diocese is defined primarily not by geographical landmarks but by his people. Thus St. Patrick and King Oengus of Munster are said to have decreed 'that Declan should be the patron of the *Déisi* and that the *Déisi* should be his diocese *(dyocessis;* variant *dyocis)* until the end of time'.[59]

52 Charles Plummer (ed.), *VSH,* II, ix, p. 38, 'ut mores ecclesaisticos disceret'.

53 *Ibid.,* 'et gradus acciperet.' Compare to Gille's phrase from *De Statu Ecclesiae,* 'septem gradus sustinens solus sacerdos', referring to the four minor and the three major orders, in John Flemming, *Gille of Limerick,* p. 26.

54 *Ibid.,* 'licentiam predicandi a sede Romana...et ordinem et regulas secundum institucionem Romanam secum duceret.'

55 *Ibid.,* p. 39, 'Et postea, traditis sibi libris et regulis, missus est ad patriam suam.'

56 *Ibid.,* ch. xvii, p. 44, 'multa monasteria et cellas'.

57 *De Statu Ecclesiae,* ll 43-9.

58 Charles Plummer (ed.), 'Vita S. Declani', xxxviii, p. 58, in *VSH,* ii.

59 'ut Declanus patronus esset na n-Dési, et na Dési sua dyocessis usque ad finem saeculi essent'. See Charles Plummer (ed.), 'Vita S. Declani', xxi in *VSH,* ii,.

In the same paragraph, we find the *Déisi* identified with the people whom he converted from heathendom, *(quos de gentilitate ad fidem convertit, id est, na Désí).* Where his people are, there is the 'parrochia episcopatus eius', (the territory of his episcopate).[60] At the Synod of Rathbreasail, however, no recognition was given to Declan's *parrochia*. At this Synod also the newly created archbishopric of Cashel took over part of the ancient church of St. Ailbe at Emly, which for centuries had been the chief church of Munster, as the *Vita S. Declani* attests when it links Declan and Ailbe in the direction of St. Patrick that both their bishoprics should continue 'till the end of time'.[61]

Such sentiments, however, would find little favour in the eyes of the papal legate. Gille, in all probability of Norse-Irish descent, and educated outside Ireland, had the support of Muirchertach O'Brien, king of Munster, who had moved his seat from Cashel to the city of Limerick. So, as the new bishop of a new royal city, Gille felt free to set generous boundaries to this new diocese at the expense of Mungret, St. Nessan's Church. In this climate of change and power politics, ancient churches like Ardmore knew they were in danger of fading from history.

By the year 1152, however, a new papal legate had replaced Gille. He was, as we saw, Christian O'Conarchy, bishop of Lismore. He had been a monk at Lismore, and would have known the nearby Ardmore and its story of faith with its bishop, its *pobal* and its king. He may, sometime in his long legateship (1152-79) have acceded to Ardmore's claim for diocesan status even though this claim had been rejected at the Synod of Kells, over which the legate had presided, and even though the granting of Ardmore's request involved a loss of the diocesan territory which the synod had approved for the legate's own diocese of Lismore. And if there were disagreements between Lismore and Ardmore concerning their respective boundaries this could have delayed official recognition of Ardmore's diocesan status. Lismore's loss would also have displeased the MacCarthy family who had been generous benefactors of Lismore, where King Cormac had taken refugee when forced to flee from Cashel in 1127. And so, King Diarmait may have registered his displeasure by assigning Eugenius' signature last on the list of ecclesiastical witnesses to his charter. All this, however, is pure speculation.

An alternative explanation, however, may be drawn from an entry relating to Ardmore in Mervyn Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum;* 'A.D. 1174 about the time abbot Eugene was a subscribing witness to the charter granted to the monastery of Finbarry in Cork.'[62]

This would imply that the Eugene who signed the MacCarthy Charter, was, at the time of signing, abbot of Ardmore, and not (yet) a bishop. And so his signature was correctly entered with those of the other two abbots present. It may be the case that Ware's source for the MacCarthy Charter was not the original, which would have read 'Eugenius abbas de Ardimor', but a copy made after Eugenius' subsequent elevation to the episcopacy of Ardmore, which the scribe altered with a minimum of change since Eugenius' name was already at the end of the list of eccelesiastics.

60 *Ibid.,* ' parrochia episcopatus eius... quae est magna et clara'.

61 *Ibid.,* xxi.

62 Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum,* (Dublin, 1786), p. 684.

This approach finds support from an article by Diarmaid Ó Murchadha which shows that there is a strong likelihood that the form of the charter in Ware (who uncharacteristically gave no information as to its provenance) results 'from a complete recension having been made in a later century.'[63]

If this hypothesis is accepted then the un-named bishop of Ardmore who swore fealty to Henry II in 1172 would not be our Eugenius, as is often presumed. It would imply, of course, that in the 1170s Ardmore had a bishop who swore fealty to Henry II, and an abbot (Eugenius) who signed the MacCarthy Charter and later became bishop of Ardmore and suffragan in Lichfield in the 1180s, and in whose lifetime the old church in Ardmore was extended into the worthy cathedral whose ruins we see today. See Appendix based on J.T. Smith's article on Ardmore Cathedral.[64] Some aspects of Smith's interpretation have since been challenged by Tadhg O'Keeffe.[65]

The Cathedral of Ardmore had been completed shortly before 1203, the year the builder died, as is recorded in the *Annals of Inisfallen.*[66] It is also recorded by Archdall, quoting a source not now traceable, but claiming that the builder, after all his labours, was honoured with the bishopric of Ardmore: 'A.D. 1203 Died Moelettrim O Duibhe-rathra, who, after he had erected the church, became the reverend bishop of Ardmore.'[67]

Harold G. Leask in his study of the Ardmore Cathedral shows that it evolved over three periods. For the final period, at the end of the twelfth century, he quotes, with approval the testimony cited above by Archdall and concludes, 'Since the details of the building accord well with the end of the twelfth century this statement of the learned antiquary, though unattested, is acceptable.'[68]

There is one further peculiar feature in Eugenius' signature: apart from the legate's lengthy signature which reflected his double dignity, all the other bishops wrote the word *epus* for *episcopus* (bishop), immediately after their names, this being followed by the name of the diocese. But in Eugenius' case we find the reverse of this: his diocese comes before *epus,* 'Eugenius Ardmorensis epus'.

In a charter of such exalted pretensions as MacCarthy's the likelihood is that if Eugenius were a bishop at the time of the charter, his signature would have observed the same word-order as the other Episcopal dignitaries, viz. 'Eugenius epus Ardmorensis'. If Archdall, however, is correct then Eugenius, as *abbot* would

63 Diarmaid Ó Murchadha, 'Gill Abbey and the Rental of Cong,' in the *Journal of the Cork Archaeological and Historical Society,* Vol. XC No. 249, (1985), p. 32.

64 J.T Smith, 'Ardmore Cathedral', in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquarians in Ireland,* 102 (1972), p. 10.

65 Tadhy O'Keeffe, 'Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture at Ardmore', in W. Nolan and T. P. Power (eds.), *Waterford History and Society,* pp. 73-102, and Tadhg O'Keeffe, *Romanesque Ireland: Architecture and Idealogy in Twelfth Century Ireland,* (Dublin, Four Court Publications, 2003), pp. 216-30. See also S. McNab, 'The Romanesque Sculptures of Ardmore Cathedral', in *JRSAI* 117 (1987), pp. 50-68.

66 Seán MacAirt (ed.), *The Annals of Inisfallen,* p. 333.

67 Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticum Hibernicum,* p. 684.

68 Harold G. Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings,* (Dundalk, 1960), p. 39.

have signed with the other abbots, and a scribe, who in later years knew of Abbot Eugenius' elevation to the bishopric of Ardmore, simply allowed Eugenius' name to remain at the end of the list where it had been, changing, however, his title to 'bishop', but without observing the word-order of the other signatories.

There is another entry in Archdall which differs from Ware's transcript. Archdall's list of witnesses omits the legate, the archbishop, and the bishops of Cork, Limerick, Ross and Cloyne. It gives only the abbots of Maig and of Cong, and finally Eugene of Ardmore:

> 'A.D. 1174 About this time Dermot, King of Munster, who was the son of the founder, confirmed the grant made to his father (corrected to 'made by his father' in P.F. Moran's edition) and made additions to it. Donat, abbot of Maig, Gregory abbot of Cunuga, and Eugene of Ardmore were subscribing witnesses to this charter.'[69]

Archdall, in a footnote on the same page 64, cites as his source William King (1650-1729), Archbishop of Dublin, whose compilation, *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* was transcribed by the Dublin antiquarian Walter Harris (1686-1761). Like Ware, King gives the text of the MacCarthy Charter, and the full list of signatories, with Eugenius coming last. Here is how King's charter concludes in Harris' transcript, 'Donatus, abbas de Majio, Gregorius ab de Cunuga, Eug. Admorensis'[70]

This text abbreviated Eugenius' name and Archdall translated it as 'Eugene of Ardmore', but later, when treating of Ardmore, refers to him as '*Abbot* Eugene, a subscribing witness to the charter.'[71] This would explain how Eugenius' name came to be grouped with the other two abbots rather than with the bishops. Archdall thought that, at the time of his signing the charter, Eugene was abbot of Ardmore.

So Eugene's name occurs both in Ware's transcript and in King. In both instances his name comes at the end of the list, but whereas Ware calls him *Eugenius Ardmorensis epus,* King calls him simply *Eugenius Ardmorensis,* which Archdall translates as Eugene of Ardmore. There is no reason to doubt that Eugenius signed the MacCarthy Charter, but what his status was at the time of signing is not clear.

There are many problems surrounding the Ware transcript and the King MS and the question arises whether some of the generous grants made to the Connaught beneficiaries were inserted later into the original. These matters I leave to others.

My purpose was to collect all the references in the sources to the activity of Eugenius in the 1170s and 1180s and to place him in the context of twelfth-century Ardmore, the period of its splendour.

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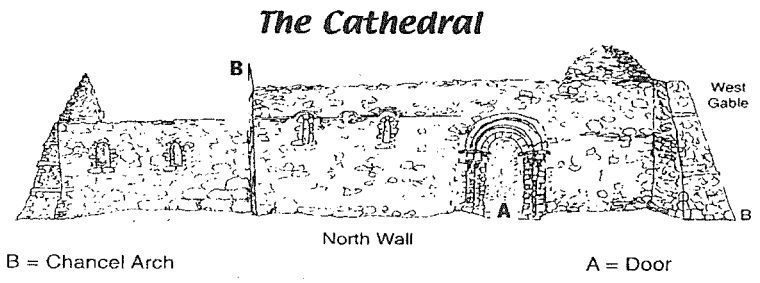
69 Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum,* p. 64, edited with extensive notes by P.F. Moran, Vol. 1, (Dublin, 1873), p. 118.

70 National Library of Ireland MS 13, William King, 'Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis', p. 337.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 684.

Appendix



Drawing by B. Shelly

The drawing shows the North Wall of the twelfth-century Cathedral of Ardmore as it stands in its ruined condition today. On the viewer's left are the twin buttresses (seventeenth century) and then the cathedral proper. It may originally have been built in the ninth or tenth century as a small one-cell church, whose massive roughly-coursed masonry stands out clearly in the lower parts of the wall. (See the drawing above, and the darkened areas in the plan below).

In the second phase of construction this small church became the chancel (containing the altar) to which a nave was added towards the West. This took place in the second half of the twelfth century when Eugenius flourished. The third and final stage took place around 1203 when the nave was further extended westwards (presumably to provide for episcopal ceremonies), incorporating the Romanesque doorway in the North Wall (see Drawing) and finishing with the richly sculpted West Gable. Some smaller alterations also took place extending the chancel to the East (see plan).

An Introduction to the *Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae*

By Niall Byrne

RECOGNISED for almost a century and a half as the most remarkable historical compilation of any Irish municipality,[1] the *Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae* is a unique record of medieval history which is particular to Ireland's oldest city. Displayed under glass at Waterford's Museum of Treasures, its very rarity ensuring that it is securely maintained under conditions of constant temperature and humidity, this veritable treasure throve of local history is opened at its most ornate page for public viewing. Yet its quality also contributes to its exclusivity, because, since it cannot readily be perused, its contents are relatively unknown except to a handful of scholars. Consequently, although equal to if not surpassing in importance to Waterford's Great Charter Roll, which is displayed totally unfolded for scrutiny, the *Liber Antiquissimus* might possibly be classified as Waterford's Forgotten Archive.

The book contains some 233 folios of vellum, 229 of which contain scripted records, each being fifteen and a half inches in length (*circa* 45 cm) and eleven inches in breadth (*circa* 28 cm). Handwriting, which is typical of the various hands and scripts practised in the late fifteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries, covers both the recto and verso surfaces of most folios, although occasional leaves are blank. The folios of parchment[2] present a faint golden hue, while the medieval ink has faded somewhat to a slightly brown pigmentation. The only ornamentation in the early section of the manuscript consists in the rubrication of some capital letters. Later sections of the manuscript are endowed with ornate capital letters, particularly on those folios which record the names of the Mayor and Sheriffs annually elected to office. The folios are paginated on their recto surfaces only, the page number being encased in square brackets and located on the left-hand side of the foot of each folio. The volume is bound between oaken boards, which are surfaced in dark coloured leather. The title of the manuscript is stamped in gold leaf into the spine of the book, but the name of the city is entered in English, which is at variance with the other words, which are written in Latin, the inscribed title being *Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterford,* indicating that this is 'The Very Old Book of the City of Waterford'. Although containing references to events of the early thirteenth century, in essence the *Liber Antiquissimus* spans three centuries, from the mid-fourteenth century to its final entry of the Mayoralty of John Livet, who governed the city during the successful resistance to the besieging forces of Oliver Cromwell in 1649.

1 John T. Gilbert, *Archives of the Municipal Corporation of Waterford,* (London, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1885), Tenth Report, Appendix IX, Part V, p. 265.

2 Parchment was made from the treated skin of an animal, generally from sheepskin. Vellum, usually made from calfskin, was a finer type of parchment. The best vellum was uterine vellum, which was made from the skin of a prematurely born calf.

Enjoying the synonym 'The Great Parchment Book of Waterford,' which gives an indication of its composition, this volume is the prime example of the linguistic progression of Irish historiography. Early entries in Norman French are replaced by script in contracted Medieval Latin and later in quaint Chaucerian English, tracing the development of these historical records from Anglo French through Vulgar Latin to its eventual resting place in late Plantagenet vernacular English. While the volume is an historical artefact of priceless value in the archives of the City of Waterford, it is this linguistic progression which causes Waterford's *Liber Antiquissimus* to be of major, national, historical significance. Early Acts of Parliament, municipal ordinances and other records were written in French in the period from AD 1310 to 1472, with Latin gradually coming to prominence. French and Latin were then used concurrently until English became popular, causing concurrent Latin and English to replace Norman French. The use of Latin declined from 1450, so that English had become the language of official records by 1500. The English dialect spoken in the later years of the Plantagenet dynasty survived to a much later date in Ireland than in England, and is now classified as Hiberno-English. Hiberno-English was replaced by standard official English from the mid-sixteenth century.

This is where the *Liber Antiquissimus* is unique, since it contains not only several Norman-French entries in addition to copious Latin records, but its remaining contents are the earliest Irish municipal archives which are written in Hiberno-English. Municipal Ordinances of Waterford City, extending from 1356, are registered in Hiberno-English, while other 'laudable ordinances' commence in 1407. It is known that these were copied at the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and it is possible, if not probable, that the original records may have been written in Latin or French, which were then translated into English in 1525.[3] Kilkenny Corporation records in English are the next earliest to be extant, the first such entry being dated 1434. While the records of the Dublin Merchant's Guild were written in English from 1438, the earliest Dublin municipal entry is found in The White Book of Dublin in 1471.

The Norman-French content of the *Liber Antiquissimus,* although limited to only a few folios,[4] justifies the inclusion of these texts amongst the Irish historical records which endure in this medium. Two substantial Irish historical works written in Norman French survive, both of which have a strong Waterford connection. The earliest, *La Chanson Dermot e le Conte,* known as 'The Song of Dermot and the Earl,' covers the period from AD 1152 to 1175, and is recognised as a primary authority for the Norman Invasion of Ireland, in which conflict Waterford city played a major role. It was probably compiled between 1200 and 1225, which dates its composition to less than fifty-five years after the event. The text survives in a single manuscript, MS 596 of the Carew Papers in the Archiepiscopal Library

3 Art Cosgrove, *A New History of Ireland* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987), Vol. ii, Part 2, p. 714.

4 *Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae,* f 9v, Translation pp. 17 and 18; f 12r, p. 22.

at Lambeth Palace. The second work, *Rithmus facture ville de Rosse,* is dated 1265. It is a poetic record of the entrenchment of New Ross, which describes how the labour of digging the town's defensive trench was rotated on a daily basis between the members of each trade and craft, the ladies of the town sharing in the workload on Sundays. This New Ross poem is preserved in Harleian MS 913 in the British Library.

A later section of MS 913 contains a reference in French to Maurice fitzThomas becoming the 1st Earl of Desmond in 1329, thereby triumphing over his great local rival Arnold le Poer. It also contains references to Irish Franciscan Provinces, Drogheda, Kildare, New Ross and Waterford being mentioned by name. On folio 2 of Harleian MS 913 is to be found the inscription 'Iste liber pertinet ad me Georgium Wyse', (This book belongs to me George Wyse), who has been identified as that George Wyse who served as Mayor of Waterford in 1566. Folio 29 of the same manuscript shows the entry 'Iste liber pertinet ad Thoe Lombard ... Waterfordie.' It is of interest that Thomas Lombard was Mayor of Waterford in 1536-7 and again in 1545-6.[5] The epic poem 'Young Men of Waterford,' written in esoteric Hiberno-English, was probably originally contained in Harleian MS 913. Its first stanza is now preserved in Lansdowne MS 418.[6] Since the ex libris notations on Harleian MS 913, which is mainly a French language record, confirm that the manuscript was almost certainly located in Waterford City in the period from 1536 to 1566, and since the *Liber Antiquissimus* with its French sections was undoubtedly compiled in the city, Waterford has also been suggested as a likely place of origin for Harleian MS 913. Consequently, as can readily be appreciated, since Waterford City is such a focus of interest in all these manuscripts detailing Irish history through the medium of Norman French, the *Liber Antiquissimus* can take its deserved place alongside such classics as Carew MS 596 and Harleian MS 913. The real surprise is that a manuscript of this significance and exceptional quality did not suffer the same fate of removal to England, as did so many other Irish manuscripts of note.

Provenance

The contents of the *Liber Antiquissimus* derive from a number of previously written records of the city of Waterford. The first mention of a prior source comes early in the manuscript when the Commons Papers are alluded to in AD 1552.[7] Reference was made in 1568 to a written source known as 'The Common Register',[8] while in 1599 'the olde Redd Register book of the Cittie of Waterford' is named.[9] Other known sources include the *Liber Primus*[10] and the *Liber Secundus.*[11]

5 Eamonn McEneaney (ed.), *A History of Waterford and its Mayors From the 12th to the 20th Century,* (Waterford Corporation, 1995), pp. 229-30.

6 Art Cosgrove, *A New History of Ireland,* pp. 716-9.

7 *Liber,* f 6v, Translation p. 11.

8 *Ibid.,* f 98v, p. 188.

9 *Ibid.,* f 148v, p. 259.

10 *Ibid.,* f 42r, p. 78 ff.

11 *Ibid.,* f 107r, p. 205 ff.

An entry 'Customs of the Cittie of Waterford employed from ancient times, as contained in the olde rolls of the said Cittie newly written in the tyme of James Rice Mayor', indicates that these and perhaps other unknown municipal records were stored as Pipe Rolls, and were transcribed when the original official records were deteriorating in quality.

Compilation

From such details of provenance it is possible to glean the information that the records of Waterford City derive from at least five ancient sources, which had probably been maintained as Pipe Rolls. As older records deteriorated in quality they were copied onto fresh parchment folios, which were retained in loose-leaf format until a much later date, again probably as Pipe Rolls. It is recorded that the Customs dues charged at Waterford from ancient times were rewritten in 1476, when James Rice was Mayor, with Thomas Browne and Gerald Lincoll serving as Bailiffs.[12] A separate section of the same folio confirms that later customs charges were copied by Waterford's Recorder Peter Walshe in 14 Elizabeth I, AD 1572. It is also recorded that 'certayne of the auncient Customes used tyme oute of mind within the Cittie of Waterford' were collected by some of the most trustworthy Aldermen and citizens 'being sworne for that purpose and afterward approved ratified and confirmed by all the Citizens of the said Citie in their Common assemblie at Michaelmas 1574 holden before the woorshipfull Mr James Walsh Maior and Patrick Quemerford and Robert Walsh Sheriffes as the very ancient and old continued customes within the same from the beginning.'[13]

Evidence of such copying is to be found in the manuscript on line nine of Ordinance Number 153 of the *Liber Primus,*[14] where the scribe has incorrectly entered the words 'the proper goodes,' has then crossed them out, but has re-entered them in their correct context on line twelve. The 'Register and Table of this Book,' which occupies the first five pages of the manuscript, gives the number and the title line of 187 municipal ordinances. The *Liber Primus* also lists ordinance numbers alongside the full text of some 173 ordinances; yet, while there is a certain similarity between both lists, there is also considerable disparity. This anomaly provokes the opinion that the index contained on the initial pages of the current manuscript relates to an original sequence of ordinances, which differed substantially from a secondary list, which is found in the *Liber Primus.* The mistake by the scribe in moving from ordinance number 89 to number 100 in the initial index, totally omitting the intervening numbers,[15] and the omission of any numbers for the final sixteen ordinances,[16] are possible indications that when these folios were being rewritten at a later date, the scribe had two differing lists in front of him and was attempting to relate one list to the other. In addition to copying existing folios,

12 *Ibid.*, f 30r, p. 59.
13 *Ibid.,* f 110r, Translation p. 210.
14 *Ibid.,* f 65v, p. 125.
15 *Ibid.,* f 2v, p. 3.
16 *Ibid.,* f 3v, p. 5.

it is evident that entire pages from previous records were incorporated into the *Liber Antiquissimus.* For example, the most ornate folio in the volume was certainly taken from a prior record, since its original pagination as folio 51 is still discernible on the top right hand corner, while its correct page number, as folio 91 of the *Liber Antiquissimus,* has been juxtaposed.[17]

The *Liber Secundus* has a commencement date of 9 Henry IV (AD 1407) and terminates in 1465, but the arrangement of the last line of the last folio of this text suggests that the entry is incomplete, that further sections of the *Liber Secundus* have not been copied, or that several folios have been lost. When the copying from the original sources had been completed, successive entries, which became increasingly more ornate, were added to the manuscript. Such entries generally recorded the names of the Mayor and Sheriffs who were elected annually, each year being dated by relating the year of the election of the civic dignitaries to the regnal year of the current monarch of England. It also became customary to register the names of the citizens who had been admitted to the freedom of the city at the time of the Mayoral election in a list following the recording of the Mayoral election, and also noting the entrance fee paid for this privilege. The first list of Freemen of Waterford is recorded in 34 Henry VIII.[18]

At a much later but unknown date, certainly later than 1647 and probably later than the date of the last entry in 1649, the loose folios were bound into book form. The tops of these loose folios, which apparently were of varying lengths, were cut in order to standardise the folio size. Evidence of this trimming is to be found in several places in the manuscript. The upper portion of the ornate capital letter 'A' on folio 9v has been removed.[19] The upper sections of various ornate capital letters 'L' have similarly been truncated on several folios of the Liber Primus,[20] and again in parts of the Liber Secundus.[21] However, this trimming is not responsible for the removal of the ornate capital letter 'T' on folios 213r and 223r.[22] It is quite likely that the current book is not the original binding of the volume. Two folios amongst those unused pages which are to be found prior to the first entry and subsequent to the last entry show thickening and stiffening of the parchment and traces of dried glue, suggesting that perhaps these were the end papers of a previous binding. The presence of some graffiti on these apparent end papers is the probable reason for their retention in the present volume.

It is almost certain that the pagination was added at the time of the binding since all the folio numbers in the manuscript are written in the same hand, in the same format, and in identical square brackets, from the beginning to the end of the book. Evidence for this can also be found on folio 69*r,[23] which has been duplicated

17 *Ibid.,* f 91, p. 178.
18 AD 1542.
19 *Liber,* Translation p. 17.
20 *Ibid.,* f 50r, Translation p. 94; f 54r, p. 102; f 55r, p. 104; f 55v, p. 105.
21 *Ibid.,* f 50r, p. 94; f 54r, p. 102; f 55r, p. 104; f 55v, p. 105.
22 *Ibid.,* Translation pp. 358 and 369.
23 *Ibid.,* pp. 132 and 134.

in error by the enumerator, the error being partially rectified but undoubtedly accentuated by the addition of an asterix to the duplicated page number. The Mayoral entry for 1647 has been inserted incorrectly into the book,[24] the list of candidates admitted to the freedom of the city inadvertently preceding the recording of the names of Mayor John Walsh and of Sheriffs Andrew Morgan and Bartholomew Sherloke. Obviously the wrong edge of the folio was inserted into the spine of the book, resulting in the verso side erroneously being placed in the recto position. The fact that this error was compounded by inscribing the page number on the incorrectly placed side of the folio indicates that the pagination was applied at or after the time of binding into book form, which occurred later than 1647.

This also may be taken as an explanation for the often-voiced query regarding the omission of any references to some major events in the city's history. There is no mention of the siege of Waterford by Perkin Warbeck and the Earl of Desmond in 1495, or of the naval expedition by Waterford ships against the west Cork town of Baltimore in 1537. In similar fashion the major confrontation with Lord Deputy Mountjoy, who invested the city with a large army during the Recusancy Revolt in 1603, received extremely scant recognition. Some records exist of the various Mayors elected and deposed during the religious controversies of the early 17th century, yet there are several notable omissions. There is no mention of the seizure of the city's charters in 1618, when officials of the Dublin government forcibly disbanded Waterford Corporation, and occupied the city with an extensive armed garrison. During this confrontation all the records of the city were seized and were eventually transported to Dublin. Following the accession of King Charles I to the throne in 1625, Waterford was reinstated to royal favour, and the municipal records were returned. A hiatus, covering the span of years from 1615 to 1626, consequently occurs in the *Liber Antiquissimus.* It is quite possible that numerous folios which detailed these events have been lost, or equally feasibly that some folios were removed from the records in a selective editing by either central or local government officials, who may have been displeased by their contents. The fact that page numbers were not added until after Cromwell's siege in 1649, (some thirty-one years after the seizure of Waterford's records), has obviously clouded this issue, since the late pagination would have obscured the fact that folios were missing. It is very apparent from the abrupt ending of the text of folio 9v that at least one folio is missing,[25] or perhaps that the copying was unfinished, the latter explanation being equally probable since both sides of folio 10 are blank, perhaps indicating the intention of the scribe to finish this section at a later date.

Dating

As with all medieval manuscripts, dating is an irresolvable problem. Throughout the entire *Liber Antiquissimus* an event was dated by relating it to the tenure of office of the current Mayor of Waterford and on numerous occasions it was also related to the regnal year of the current monarch of England, entries prior to AD

24 *Ibid.,* f 227, Translation p. 376.

25 *Ibid.,* Translation p. 19.

1541 taking, for example, the following form 'In the xxth yere of Kynge Edwarde the fourthe Jeames Rice being Maior.' The royal title 'Lord of Ireland' became redundant in 1541 when Henry VIII became King of Ireland, his newly acquired kingdom being thereafter added to his list of honours, and succeeding monarchs were also referred to as 'our King' or 'our Queen,' as the case may be. Later entries also dated events by using the *Anno Domini* system of the 'Yere of the Lorde.' Since none of these systems were coterminous, confusion abounds. Up to the second half of the 16th century the Mayor was elected on the 'Monday nexte following the feastday of the Exhaltation of the Crosse,' which was *circa* 14th September. Queen Elizabeth's charter of 1568-9[26] altered the date of this election to 'this present Monday next after the Visitation of Our Lady,' which located the election at *circa* 2nd July.

There was similar confusion with respect to the regnal year of the monarch, which is best illustrated by referring to the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (AD 1558-1603). Since Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the throne on 17th November 1558, but was not crowned until December of that year, her first regnal year could thus be said to run until either November or December 1559. Consequently there was a minimum five months disparity between the regnal year of the Queen and the tenure of office of Waterford's Mayor. The fact that the Julian Calendar, which reckoned the year as commencing on Lady Day, 25th March, was still in use in northern Europe, further adds to the confusion for the modern reader. Conditioned by the Gregorian Calendar in current use, which reckons the year as commencing on January 1st the modern researcher is inclined to regard January 1559 as being the second year of the Queen's reign, when in reality the year began on the following 26th March 1559, even though only four months had elapsed since her coronation. Consequently, precise dating is virtually impossible for events of this period.

Ornamentation

Early decoration of the texts is extremely rudimentary, being confined initially to an enlarged capital letter on the opening word of each entry. While some of these early capital letters were simply of a slightly larger size than the accompanying writing, they increased in size and in elaboration as the volume progressed. By the time of the recording of 'The Ordre and Manere of the Election' of various municipal officers,[27] the majuscules opening each paragraph were assuming an increasingly ornate form. In order to accentuate and dramatise the letters, rubrication was added simply by tracing the outline in red ink. The capital 'T' of *Tempore* (In the time of) and the 'M' of *Memorandum* (Be it in Memory) were the principal objects of ornamentation. Attention gradually centred on the uncial 'T' of *Tempore,* so that the registration of the tenure of office of each Mayor opened with a highly ornate capital letter, while the remainder of the details of Waterford's officials were also written in a decorative Gothic script. Although being invariably crafted in dark ink

26 *Ibid.,* f 95r, Translation p. 186.

27 *Ibid.,* ff 21r - 29r, Translation pp. 39 - 54.

on the natural background of the parchment, the volume contains neither an Aurum, a Champe, nor a Sprynget in the sense of a coloured letter on a halved or quartered coloured background; but feathering, that is pen drawn tendrils usually with a blank lobe, became increasingly more common.

At variance with this style, on four successive folios[28] the letters 'T' in the records of municipal officers in the period 1634-7 are written in the Roman style of upright writing with large red capitals encased by red borders. Some remains of gilt lettering are apparent on folio 213r, but the capital 'T' has been cut from the page.[29] Subsequent capital letters on this folio were infilled with gold colouring, this being the sole departure from the use of black and red ink in the entire manuscript. Several capitals contain human profiles either attached to the side of the letter or hidden within the decoration of the more ornate majuscules. The minute sign 'c' is apparent on some pages[30] where the scribe has omitted a capital, this being normal practice in palaeography to instruct a limner to insert a coloured uncial in this location, but such directions were not always complied with in the manuscript. For the sake of clarity and continuity these omissions have been rectified in the translation. Elaborate section dividers, always quill drawn solely in black ink, are evident in the later sections of the manuscript.[31]

The recording of the Mayoralty of Peter Aylward in AD 1566, the outstanding example of decoration in the entire *Liber Antiquissimus,*[32] was of such elaboration as to cause the first reviewer of the volume, John T. Gilbert, to have it reproduced by a draughtsman for inclusion in the *Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland,* published in 1884.[33] Similarly, because of its ornamentation, this is the folio at which the book lies open for public scrutiny in its glass case in Waterford's Museum of Treasures. Bordered on the head, outside margin and foot by decoration which surrounds the text recording the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Freemen of Waterford in that year, this folio is a startling mixture of royal heraldic symbolism, of Scriptural iconography relating principally to the Day of Judgement, of an affirmation of the Doctrine of Purgatory, and of a representation of the pre-Christian druidic ideology echoed by the depiction of the Green Man, an early medieval remnant of pagan superstition.

Such is the sophistication and serious theological content of this ornamentation that it is obvious that this folio is not merely an outstanding artistic adornment of a civic record, but that it is in fact a Mission Statement, a Confession of Faith by the mentors of the population of Waterford in a time of religious flux or of great theological instability. The 1566 dating of this folio is crucial to appreciating its significance because it follows so closely after the 1563 closure of the Council of Trent,

28 *Ibid.,* ff 211r - 214r, Translation pp. 355 - 359.
29 *Ibid.,* Translation p. 213r.
30 *Ibid.,* ff 19r and 19v, Translation pp. 35 and 36.
31 *Ibid.,* ff 211r - 229 r, pp. 355 - 379.
32 *Ibid.,* f 91r, p. 178.
33 John T. Gilbert, *Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland,* (London, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1884) Part IV, 2, Appendix, Plate XXVI.

which, in instigating the Counter-Reformation, had trenchantly reaffirmed the Catholic teaching on Purgatory, an ideology which the Reformation had strenuously refuted. Furthermore, since it embodies the deep theological awareness and commitment of the limner, it is almost certain that the responsibility for illustrating at least this folio of the *Liber Antiquissimus,* and probably the remainder of the volume, was the prerogative of a member of one of Waterford's monastic orders. Additionally, since it has already been shown that this folio had been transferred *in toto* from a previous municipal record, it is certain that the theological content was as important as the ornamentation of the page to the compiler of the volume.

The ornamentation, and the implication of the iconography, comprises two distinct sections, separated by a transverse division across the outer margin of the page. Three images are portrayed in the lower section, each symbolising a facet of a current ideology. In the left-hand area of the foot of the page is depicted a gargoyle of the Green Man, from whose mouth issue tendrils of intertwined branches, which, through their leaves and flowers (even Tudor roses being depicted), conjoin the early medieval fertility figure with the Christian symbolism adorning the right hand margin and ultimately with the Scriptural representations at the top of the folio. The lower, bare-breasted figure in the margin is identified by her halo as the Blessed Virgin, nursing the Holy Infant. The upper figure, devoid of a halo and surrounded by buildings, represents Queen Elizabeth, the Head on Earth of the Church, ruling her kingdom under the aegis of the Virgin and Infant. Such positioning, which consigns the pre-Christian effigy to the base of the page, might be assumed to indicate the subjugation of idolatry by Christianity under the leadership of the monarch, through the ministrations of the Blessed Virgin.

In the top right hand corner of the folio is located a Tau or T-shaped cross, complete with its *Titulus Triumphalis* 'INRI,' but devoid of a figure and consequently representing the Resurrection of Christ. Alongside are shown the Archangels Michael and Gabriel blowing their horns to awaken the dead, represented by the souls in Purgatory, who are identified by the inscription *Memento Mori,* which enjoins the observer to pray for the souls of the faithful departed. Since the theological concept of Purgatory and its associated ideology of the Communion of Saints, which allowed the souls in Purgatory to profit from the prayers of the living, were being hotly disputed by Protestants at this time but had recently been authenticated by the Council of Trent, this is an undeniable assertion of the Catholic beliefs of the people of Waterford. Central to this symbolism is the Parousia, the Second Coming of Christ who is depicted in the clouds of Heaven about to administer the Last Judgement. To the left of all this iconography is shown the picture of the Infant Jesus, bearing an orb surmounted by a cross, representing the sovereign power of God. The location of this image is crucial, since the Holy Infant reclines above all other imagery, both spiritual and temporal, an indication of his total jurisdiction over all things. Perched on the Infant's right knee is a bird, which signifies either the Dove of Peace, or the Holy Ghost.

On the far left hand side of the head of the folio the capital letter 'T' of the word *Tempore* is replete with the royal heraldic shield surmounted by a temporal crown, all superimposed over a stylised drawing of Waterford City, which is identified by the Gaelic word *Portlairge,* the only Irish word to occur throughout the manuscript. The city is represented by the outlines of closely packed houses, which sit atop a quay wall constructed from large dressed stones. In the river are depicted a succession of barges and galleys, and a number of moored ships, the latter dividing the text. The motto *Nosce te ipsum* (Know thyself) is strategically placed above the temporal crown as if to identify the imagery of the royal presence dominating the thriving port of Waterford, a royal city which had been the property of the English monarch since 1171. However it is what is missing here, rather than what is portrayed, that infers the theme of this section of the folio. Subservient to God and deferring to the Judgement of Christ by her coat of arms being located below the Holy Infant holding his orb and below the representation of the Parousia, Queen Elizabeth's heraldic shield nevertheless occupies the highest temporal site in this iconography, a position that previously would have been reserved solely for the Pope.

The reason that this iconography is startling lies in the recent ecclesiastical history of the city. At the Synod of Clonmel, convened at the behest of King Henry VIII by Archbishop George Browne of Dublin in January 1538, Bishop Nicholas Comyn of Waterford, in association with seven other bishops and two Archbishops, had sworn the Oath of Royal Supremacy, and had also ratified the King's New Injunctions which deprecated the doctrine of Purgatory. This abjuration of papal authority, and the acknowledgement of the monarch as Head on Earth of the Church, was continued by Comyn's successor Bishop Patrick Walshe until the latter's reaffirmation of Roman Catholicism in 1576. Yet this ornamentation was constructed in 1566, ten years prior to Bishop Walsh's re-conversion to Roman Catholicism, apparently to illustrate total support for the reassertion by the Council of Trent of the Doctrine of Purgatory, thereby rejecting the King's New Injunctions, which had been accepted under oath on behalf of the citizens of Waterford by the previous bishop in the reign of King Henry VIII. Here is represented for the first time that duality of allegiance which would persist in the city for the following seventy-five years, whereby Waterford would continue as a Roman Catholic city, while professing total loyalty to a Protestant monarch, a position eventually rejected as untenable by the Dublin central government authorities and by London.

Church

In Waterford City the late medieval period was an era in which religion mattered, and it mattered to an extent which is almost incomprehensible to the citizen of the present day. At the submission of the Irish ecclesiastical hierarchy to King Henry II at the Synod of Cashel in 1172, it was recorded that Canon 7 of that Synod had decreed that 'thus in all parts of the Irish church all matters relating to religion are to be conducted hereafter on the pattern of Holy Church and in line with the

observances of the English church.'[34] Consequently the church in Waterford City became part of the *Ecclesia inter Anglicos* and practiced the Sarum Rite, which, as the liturgical rite practiced at the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, was the accepted norm for all English churches. The practice of patronage, intrinsic to the feudal social system, was also integral to the liturgy of the Sarum Rite, utilising the intercession of a plethora of patron saints to gain favour with God. Additionally, the doctrine of Purgatory had focussed the Catholic mind on the obligation to pray for the souls of the dead. The pandemics of Bubonic Plague which had devastated Europe throughout the 14th century had also wreaked havoc in Waterford, where the epidemics were attributed to the just indignation of God, which, according to the *Liber Antiquissimus,* had been provoked by the 'abbomynable trade of horedome.'[35] The massive plague-related death toll had caused the survivors, and their successors, to become preoccupied with the ideology of a temporary life of atonement in Purgatory for the soul prior to its gaining the ecstasy of Heaven. It is therefore no surprise to find that the references to church and liturgy found in the *Liber Antiquissimus* exemplify these ideologies.

The Cathedral of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, generally known as Christ Church, was the largest church in the city, and received most mention in the *Liber,* although others, notably the Dominican Church of St Saviour's at Blackfriars, the Franciscan Church of the Holy Ghost at Greyfriars, the Cistercian Priory of St John the Evangelist and St Catherine's Augustinian Abbey were also mentioned. The Cathedral was run by the Dean and Chapter, while the monastic foundations were controlled by their Priors or Guardians, who regulated and supervised the liturgies performed in their churches. All, except the Franciscans who had taken a vow of poverty and the Dominicans who were similarly inclined, owned massive areas of land, which they had been granted originally by endowment, later augmented by bequests from deceased parishioners.

Chapels, known as Chantry Chapels and dedicated to a particular patron saint, were established in the Cathedral complex by wealthy benefactors such as James Rice, or by a city Guild. Here, in these private chapels, Chantry Masses were celebrated by Chantry priests specifically for the souls of the relatives of the benefactor, or for the souls of the deceased members of the Guild. Such Chantry priests were privately employed, being paid by the benefactors of the private chapel. In order to finance 'the merchant's Cheapell of the Pittie Rode within the Cathedral Churche' it was enacted in 1524 that 'of all manere goodes and merchandises' traded by any Waterford inhabitant 'oute of the haven and Porte of the same' the said Chantry Chapel should receive a halfpenny from every £1 traded for the upkeep of the chapel and to pay the annual salary of £5 to the priest.[36] Similarly it had previously been enacted that every ship carrying freight from Waterford to Flanders should pay God's Penny for the maintenance of Christ Church, the merchant being bound to personally deliver the tax to Christ Church before he sailed.[37]

34 A.B. Scott and F. X. Martin (eds.), *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis* (Royal Irish Academy, 1978), p. 101.

35 *Liber,* f 93, Translation p. 182.

36 *Ibid.,* f 66v, Translation p. 127.

37 *Ibid.,* f 63v, p. 121.

The statues of patron saints were placed on altars located within the Cathedral complex but not always in a private chapel dedicated to that saint. The patronage of the saint was sought through prayer and by the practice of maintaining lighted tapers or candles at the altar. In 1485 the craft of webers was to 'sustain a light of 12 tapers before the altar of St Martyn in the Trinitie Church,'[38] while the craft of shoemakers was similarly to sustain a light of twelve tapers before the altar of St Blaise.[39] Apparently the quality of the candles had a bearing on the quality of the patronage, since it was enacted in 1493 that 'to every of the 6 tapers which is yerely kept by the Citie before the ymage of St Otheran the balif for tyme being shal putt ii li of wax[40] be it dere or good chepe.'[41]

The enormous tracts of land owned by ecclesiastical establishments such as Christ Church, or St Catherine's Abbey, or the Priory of St John the Evangelist were all held free of taxation. The people of Waterford city and its hinterland, who farmed this vast acreage, had leased their properties from the owners, successive generations of tenants paying high rents to their ecclesiastical landlords. In 1481, in a concerted action aimed at increasing their incomes, the Prior of the Friars Hospitallers, the Prior of Bath who was also the Prior of St John's, the Prior of St Katherine's, the Abbot of Dunbrody, the Abbot of Tynterne, the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, the House of St Stephen, and diverse other establishments sought Bills of Resumption and Acts of Parliament in order to have all their leases cancelled and the lands returned to their possession.[42] Since many families legally held their lands by virtue of long leases which had not expired, this attempted action caused outrage amongst the laity. The great distress caused by this proposal resulted in a massive reaction against the local church, which was supported by the current Mayor James Rice.

It was organised that if any clerical landlord resumed any unexpired lease, no one should lease any such land, or house, or tenement, or mill, unless the dispossessed previous tenant gave his consent. It was enacted that anyone contravening this direction would be subject to a fine of £100, and that the dispossessed tenant should have an action of debt before the Mayor and Bailiffs of Waterford, which would cause the offender to lose his franchises if he were a Freeman, while a stranger should be exiled from the city for ever. Clearly, the merchant prince James Rice, who was known to be a major benefactor of Christ Church where he had endowed the Chantry Chapel of St Katherine and St James, and is otherwise known for his friendship and charitable collaboration with Dean John Collyn, was not prepared to allow unjust unilateral action by the ecclesiastical authorities.

Municipal Ordinance Number 146 in the *Liber Primus,* enacted later that year to counteract the avarice of any lessor, confirmed the validity of the existing leases.[43] Nevertheless, the rancour resulting from this confrontation persisted for several

38 *Ibid.,* f 60r, p. 114.
39 *Ibid.,* f 60v, p. 115.
40 2 lbs of wax.
41 *Liber,* f 63r, Translation p. 120.
42 *Ibid.,* f 56v, p. 107.
43 *Ibid.,* f 64v, Translation p. 123.

years, since, during the Mayoralty of Richard Strong in 1484, it was found necessary to legislate against any person who 'breke other perishe ony glasse wyndew or wyndewes or ony parrcell of tham of ony Churche or Cheapell within the Citie or Suburbes.'

Freemen of Waterford

The freedom of the city was a coveted honour sought by citizens, denizens and suitably qualified merchant strangers alike since, in addition to conferring enviable status on the recipient, it provided very advantageous and preferential trading concessions for those admitted to the liberty and franchises of Waterford. Not alone were these privileges, which were mainly exemptions from tolls, taxes and customs dues, of very considerable benefit within the city, suburbs and port, they also extended to the other towns of Ireland, so that Freemen of Waterford could trade, free of most taxation, throughout the entire country. Such was the exclusivity of the honour that almost all the municipal ordinances enacted to control the inhabitants made the expulsion of an offender from this mercantile cartel the principal component of any penalty, in addition to any monetary fine imposed on a culprit. To accentuate the newly acquired status of the recipient and the gravity of the occasion the newly admitted Freeman was inducted by means of a solemn oath administered during the accompanying religious service.[44] Since the names of the newly admitted Freemen were usually listed in the *Liber Antiquissimus* after the details of the Mayor and Sheriffs elected for the current year, the elections of the Mayor, Sheriffs and Freemen all being conducted in the Dernhundred,[45] it is surmised that this religious service was that solemn Mass, celebrated in St Saviour's Church, which blessed the election of the Mayor. Furthermore, only Freemen were entitled to vote in these municipal elections.

Although a Freeman's son qualified automatically for admission,[46] other applicants had to satisfy several stringent conditions. Only a royal subject who had been born in England, Ireland or Wales was eligible. A candidate was required to be of full age, of good character which must be vouched for by a senior municipal official, and be a householder in the city where he must have had at least three years residence. An apprentice having served a seven years apprenticeship could be admitted to the liberty on the recommendation of his master, while a Freeman's widow also qualified but was required to take her individual oath with the sacrament. Those of Irish blood were not excluded, but were required to have 'the King's liberty under seal' prior to application (meaning the approval of the English authorities), and must dress in English apparel, live in the English manner, and also speak English.

44 *Ibid.*, f 46v, p. 87.

45 The Dernhundred was the jurisdictional assembly of the Council or Commons of Waterford City, convened under the authority of the Mayor, Bailiffs and senior Municipal officials, which was legally empowered to enact Ordinances, to administer justice, and to punish offenders. A hundred was a division or part of a county, supposed to originally have contained a hundred families or Freemen. A Hundred Court, corresponding to a Court Baron, comprised the inhabitants of the hundred.

46 *Liber*, f 69r*, p. 134.

While the earliest list of the names of Freemen is only recorded in the *Liber Antiquissimus* as late as 1542,[47] it is well documented that this privilege had been effective for numerous generations previously. For example, in 1394 it was ordained 'that from thens noman shall be recevid unto the fredome of the saide Citie if he wil not duel within the Libertie of the same.'[48] In 1463 it was enacted that all Sensers who were licensed to cross the sea should lose both their licence and their freedom of the city if they failed to pay their taxes and customs dues within the stipulated period of two months following Michaelmas term.[49] By 1470 all citizens and Freemen were to be suitably armed with protective armour, a helmet and agreed hand weapons to assist in defending the city, while more than half a century later, in 1526, mandatory personal weapons for every Freeman included a long bow and a sheaf of arrows.[50] In 1492, since the course of merchandise was utterly disordered and abused by 'craftysmen and others foraines' trading in the city 'to the great hurt and enpoverishing of the fre citsains,' the ordinances governing trading in the city were reinforced to curtail the activities of the 'craftysmen and Yrish servanntes' who were causing the problem.[51]

Complementing the privileges of the Freeman were the restrictive practices enforced on others who were excluded from the freedom of the city. The cost of hides was strictly controlled, the top price permitted for a dicker of salted hides throughout counties Waterford, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Wexford and Carlow being 13s. 4d., while a fresh hide could not realise more than 14d. and a frise[52] could not cost more than 4d. a yard. Yet any Freeman could buy from or sell either fresh or salted hides to another Freeman 'as dere and good chepe as he will.'[53] Foreign traders were forced to sell their wares 'to the fremen of the Citie and to none other',[54] but the ordinary citizens of Waterford were equally restricted, since they could sell their fresh fish solely to a Freeman. Only a Freeman could be admitted to the Statute Staple,[55] which organisation funded the merchants and seafarers at advantageous rates, giving them considerable financial assistance and credit, which was not available to ordinary citizens. While these practices were enacted at different dates throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, it is nonetheless obvious that at any time the freedom of the city provided entry to a cartel for the privileged few.

Because the passage of time had gradually introduced variability into the charges imposed as the admission fee to the freedom of Waterford, which was causing much debate, the Commons legislated to standardise the entrance charge.

47 *Ibid.*, f 70, Translation p. 136.
48 *Ibid.*, f 43r, p. 80.
49 *Ibid.*, f 49v, p. 93.
50 *Ibid.*, f 67v, p. 129.
51 *Ibid.*, f 62v, p. 119.
52 A fries or frieze was a coarse woollen cloth with a nap on one side.
53 *Liber*, f 59v, Translation p. 113.
54 *Ibid.*, f 62v, p. 119.
55 *Ibid.*, f 51, p. 96.

From 1536 onwards 'every Juriers son legittem borne being of xxi yere eage shalbe made free paing two half bargis stones and the fees accustomed.'[56] From 1536 until 1615 when the last entry was made prior to the dissolution of Waterford Corporation in 1618, this charge of two half barge stones remained constant, although the accustomed fees varied according to the entry qualifications of the applicant. Half barges had been mentioned previously in Municipal Ordinance Number 140,[57] which enacted 'that noo bootes shall bring woode butt only half barges and quarters exept such other bootes as shall bring it to the use of the owners and to no salis.' The remainder of this ordinance gave an indication of the size of these work boats, stipulating 'that every half barge have vi men And they goo to the Roure to have vii men And every quarter to have iiii men and to the Roure v men.'

It is thus known that a half barge was a shallow-draught workboat used to transport cargo to and from the city on any of the rivers Suir, Nore and Barrow. Relating a half barge to its modern day equivalent among the small fishing boats known as 'half-deckers' which ply their trade on the same three rivers, it is gleaned that a half barge was decked with wooden planking in the bow area to prevent seas from breaking inboard when fully laden, while the waist was open to facilitate the loading or unloading of cargo. A quarter was a smaller boat, with less decking, and requiring a smaller crew. Such craft, lying at anchor in the river Suir, close to the quay wall of the city, are depicted in the ornamentation on folio 91r, where their half-decked bows and open waists are clearly discernible.

Since it was difficult to keep unladen, shallow draught sailing boats on course, it was common practice to stabilise such vessels by taking ballast aboard, usually in the form of large stones, which were placed low down in the cargo hold, customarily atop the keel strake. Such ballast stones needed to be large enough to provide adequate weight, but manoeuvrable enough to be capable of being manhandled, which rendered them eminently suitable for use in constructing and repairing Waterford's massive city walls, entrance gates and quays. Since these structures had been under constant maintenance and repair for centuries past, suitable stones were very scarce, hence the demand for two half barge stones as part of the admission fee to the freedom of the city. The accustomed fees varied from the 4s. 8d. charged to normal applicants to an increased fee of up to £3 for those less qualified, while some were admitted free for services rendered, dignitaries of both church and state being admitted to honorary freedom in later years.

Guilds

It is apparent that Guilds were in operation in the city from quite early times, since the *Liber Antiquissimus* records that, by his letters patent dated at Marlebridge in 1205, King John had granted that the citizens of Waterford should 'have and enioy their reasonable geeldes.'[58] During the Mayoralty of Peter Dobbyn in 1552-3 complaints were made concerning the misuse of power by the guilds and crafts of

56 *Ibid.*, f 69*r, p. 134.

57 *Ibid.*, f 54r, Translation p. 122.

58 *Ibid.*, f 37r, p. 65.

the city 'in the makinge concludinge & settinge forth of many unreasonable & unlawful ordinances & statutes,' which caused legislation to be enacted in the Dernhundred forbidding them to make or conclude any order without the prior consent of the Mayor and Commons.[59] The 'Othe of the Craftis' was then recorded in order to stress the obligations of craftsmen. Following the discovery of 'corrupcion and deceitful dealing in the Goldsmiths of this Cittie,' who were defrauding customers by 'uttringe unto them base sylver in stede of fine,' measures were eventually taken to remedy the abuses of shoddy workmanship in all the crafts.

An Alderman was appointed to supervise each Guild in the city, the Masters and Wardens of individual guilds being ordered to co-operate fully by allowing this municipal officer full access to all meetings, and facilities for the inspection of their records.[60] Thereafter, the Corporation sought to strengthen its control over the Guilds and their officers by licensing them through deeds of incorporation. The first deed was issued to the Guild of Hammermen (which included such artificers as Goldsmiths, Silversmiths, Pewterers etc) in 1577.[61] The Guild of Glovers was incorporated in 1593,[62] while a deed of incorporation for the Guild of Tailors was issued in 1626,[63] with the Guild of Cotners (Shoemakers or leather workers) being incorporated in 1632.[64] The Guild Hall, which often served as a municipal building, was located near The Cross at the lower end of Patrick's Street.

Charters

Letters patent from Queen Elizabeth,[65] dated 8 February 11 Elizabeth I and written in Latin, changed the date of the election of the Mayor to the first Monday following the Feastday of the Visitation of Blessed Mary the Virgin. It confirmed that Waterford had total jurisdiction over the Haven, which lay between Rodyback and Ryndovan, and extended as far as 'Innystiogue & Saynt Molyng' on the rivers Nore and Barrow respectively, and to 'le Carrygg' on the river Suir. These locations signified the tidal and navigable boundaries of each river, the shallows at both Inistioge and St Mullins and the rock in the river at Carrick limiting further easy access to the upper reaches of the three rivers, portage being necessary to circumvent these natural obstacles. This extent is so precise as to suggest that it was originally drawn up to deter New Ross officials from interfering with Waterford merchants travelling past their town.

The full texts of two charters granted to Waterford City by Queen Elizabeth I are recorded in the *Liber Antiquissimus.* Both are written in Latin. The first charter, which is dated 16 July 16 Elizabeth I,[66] granted that Waterford City 'shall be a Countie in itself,' with the exception of the lands and buildings of the 'Church and

59 *Ibid.,* f 74, p. 144.
60 *Ibid.,* f 90v, Translation p. 177.
61 *Ibid.,* f 117, p. 221.
62 *Ibid.,* f 39v, p. 65.
63 *Ibid.,* f 37r, p. 69.
64 *Ibid.,* f 40 v, p. 75.
65 *Ibid.,* ff 95r - 96v, pp. 186 - 189.
66 *Ibid.,* ff 113v - 115v, pp. 214 - 218.

Chauncell of the Black Friars & the location in the same place lately called Our Lady Chapel.' It conceded that the municipal officials were to be 'a single Corporation of one Maior, two Sheriffes and the Citizens of the Countie of the Cittie of Waterford.' It confirmed the grants given in the letters patent of 8 February 11 Elizabeth I, which changed the status of the Bailiffs to Sheriffs, and confirmed all previous privileges and tolls. It further re-authenticated Waterford's jurisdiction over the estuary, from the entrance to the Haven between Rodibacke and Ryndivan extending as far as 'Innistiogue, Saint Molinge and Carrig.'

The second charter was dated 12 March 25 Elizabeth I.[67] It stipulated that the 'villages and hamlets of Killotheran, Ballinekill and Kilbarrie, with all their hereditaments and appurtenances extending from the river Suire as far as the limits of Killure should become part and parcel of the Countie of the Cittie of Waterford.' In consideration of the great cost borne by the Corporation in erecting the Keep or Blockhouse at Passage for the protection of merchant vessels and fishing boats from pirates, and for the 'good government betwixt fishers commonly called The Fishermen who come thither annually from diverse and several regions of our dominions and kingdoms,' the Queen authorised the Waterford officials to levy taxes and to exact payment from each ship or vessel using the Haven.

An exemplification of King John's charter to the Prior of St John the Evangelist, which confirmed the monarch's protection for the brothers and all their property, stipulating that 'these brothers are to have the water from opposite the Church of St Catherine as far as the Old Bridge,' is also found in the *Liber Antiquissimus.*[68] There are many references to other charters granted by various English monarchs to Waterford city, often having excerpts from these charters or from letters patent quoted throughout the text.

It is remarkable how little some things have changed throughout the centuries. The reference to fishermen from diverse regions coming to Waterford Harbour annually for seasonal fishing, evokes memories of hundreds of trawlers fishing the colossal shoals of herring which frequented our waters some few years ago. Furthermore, the current conservation measures to protect dwindling fish stocks by limiting the extent of fishing simply echoes a similar situation in 1575. For the preservation of the fish, it was agreed that 'in certen nightes of the wicke noe body shuld dryve, but as a forbidden night every man to be restrained.' The case was recorded in the *Liber Antiquissimus* simply because an official abused his power, the Vice-Admiral of the port 'under colour of his office wrongfully doth dryve and abuse the good subiect in that behalfe.'[69]

Selected Contents

Following the initial five-page index which has already been described come several pages detailing leases of Corporation land. Of note here is the AD 1552 lease of the land of the dissolved Convent of Kilklethin (the site of the present Abbey

67 *Ibid.*, ff 121v - 122v, Translation pp. 228 - 230.

68 *Ibid.*, f 9r, p. 16.

69 *Ibid.*, f 105v, p. 221.

between Rathculliheen and Ferrybank) by the last Abbess, Dame Katryne Mothing, to Piers Earl of Ormond and his wife Margaret. Indented Inquisition records follow, which initially deal with the Priory of St John the Evangelist and contain an account of the charter granted by King John to this Priory. These then describe the decline of this establishment some 300 years later occasioned by the loss of the original idealism of the resident Brothers and Sisters of St Leonard, until its eventual dissolution under the provisions of the AD 1536 Act of Absentees. The final entry dealing with this topic contains the instruction from King Henry VIII to William St Loe, James White gentleman, and James Wodloke merchant of Waterford, authorising them to suppress the Priory of St John the Evangelist.[70]

Completely out of chronological sequence, in the next entries which seek a temporary relief from the expense of the fee-farm due to the king, the serving Mayor and Commons provide graphic details of Waterford City's struggle to survive both the vagaries of nature, which caused the collapse of the belfry of Christ Church Cathedral during a violent tempest, and the repeated attacks of 'English rebels and Irish enemies.' Here, written in Norman French, is recounted the ambush and slaughter at Cloncammonmore of Mayor John Malpas (AD 1366-7), Sheriff John Devenysh of County Waterford and Brother John Walsh of the Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, together with thirty-six citizens of Waterford and four score of English merchants who were then in Waterford and who had rallied to defend the city. Six weeks later the Powers of County Waterford again attacked the city, and in this confrontation at St John's Bridge, Zenobius de Forester, twenty-four citizens and some sixty other defenders were killed, the ships moored in the river were captured, and the passage of ships and barges on the river was rendered impossible. Only the massive walls, which protected a small city of not more than 7 acres in extent, prevented further loss of life.[71] It was not until 1466 that the 'defaute of sufficient mures,' which rendered 'the parish of St John the Evangeliste be sides the saide Citie of Waterford' so prone to attack by 'the Kinges Irish enemyes and Englishe rebelles,' was rectified. There is a copy of a 1466 Indenture which bound the Mayor, Bailliffs and Commons of Waterford to instigate and finance the building of a 'walle of lyme and stone within the saide parache in suche a place as them thinketh moste expedient for the surer safgard thereof.'[72]

A file on the brothers of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, which is a collection of all the records of Waterford Corporation pertinent to the issue, opens with synopses of the charters of Kings John, Henry III, Edward I, Edward II and Edward III, which detail the considerable privileges and exemptions conferred by these monarchs on the Friars Hospitallers. In listing all the freedoms from the various tolls enjoyed by the Hospitallers, this file contains very considerable detail of the tolls and taxes borne by the King's vassals in the area of Waterford. Complaints

70 *Ibid.*, f 9r, Translation p. 16.
71 *Ibid.*, f 9v, pp. 18 - 19.
72 *Ibid.*, f 8v, p. 15.

by Waterford officials, claiming that the Hospitallers were abusing their chartered privileges, particularly their exemptions from certain taxes, sought the King's sanctions to control the Hospitallers.[73] A variation of the religious fraternity of Friars Hospitallers survives to the present day as the Knights of Malta.

Thereafter comes the most difficult section of the entire *Liber Antiquissimus.* Concerned with the most serious and prolonged crisis to beset late medieval Waterford city, a file of records dealing with the trade war with New Ross, which often erupted into violence, has been preserved. Written in Secretary hand, which was in regular use throughout the fifteenth century, this file extends to seven folios of very compact contracted Latin text, which, since both surfaces of the folio were used, comprises fourteen full pages of difficult prose. One suspects that it is the appearance and difficulty of this file and its location in the early part of the volume which has intimidated previous hopeful researchers from proceeding with the further interpretation of the *Liber Antiquissimus.* It is well established that Waterford was a royal city, the sole property of the English monarch since it had been ceded to King Henry II by Strongbow, Earl of Strigule, in October 1171. Henry II had granted privileges to Waterford, which had been ratified and extended by King John's Charter of 1215, and by other charters of subsequent kings of England. The town of Ross had been endowed by William Earl Marshal of England, and it also had been granted chartered privileges.

Dated 12 Edward IV (AD 1472), the initial entry in this file is an exemplification of records, pleas and certain writs enrolled in the Common Bench of Ireland. The exemplification notes briefly that the complaint concerns sundry citizens of Waterford, who load boats at Thomastown, Inistioge and St Mullins, being arrested by the overlord of Ross as they travelled to Waterford. The Waterford officials complained that this seizure was illegal and they sought redress, but announced that they were unable to come to court because of 'the danger of the way.[174] The Mayor and Bailliffs of Waterford demanded that the Chief Official and the Reeve of Ross and their attorneys should attend court in person to prove their claimed right to arrest Waterford citizens, for redress of which wrong Waterford demanded £20 compensation.[75] The exemplification stated that King Edward had examined the letters patent of King Richard II (1377-99) and of King Henry IV (1399-1413) and then quoted from the charter of Roger Bigote, formerly Earl of Norfolk and Earl Marshal of England, by which liberties had been granted to the burgesses of New Ross.[76] Details of the liberties granted were then given, and the names of those noblemen who had applied their seals to authenticate the charter were recorded.

For purposes of comparison with the liberties granted to New Ross, there followed a review of the franchises, usages and customs enjoyed and practised by the burgesses of Kilkenny by virtue of the charter of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke.[77] Two full folios of information concerning the privileges granted to

73 *Ibid.*, f f 11r - 12r, pp. 19 - 22.
74 *Ibid.*, f 13r, Translation p. 23.
75 *Ibid.*, f 13v, p. 24.
76 *Ibid.*, f 14r, p. 25.
77 *Ibid.*, f 14v, p. 26.

Kilkenny follow, which include the permission to hold a fair once annually, extending from the 9th hour on the Eve of Pentecost to the 9th hour on the Eve of St Martin.[78] For the enforcement of the laws which are stipulated, Kilkenny is to have a whipping post, a pillory, a tumbrel, and everything which pertains to these appliances.[79] It is confirmed that the chief official and burgesses of Kilkenny may claim freedom from passage, lastage, pontage and murage, just as the burgesses of Gloucester enjoy such freedoms.[80]

The Reeve and Commons of New Ross sought that the burgesses of New Ross might be free throughout all the lands of the late Earl of Norfolk, as were the burgesses of Bannow, Kilkenny and Wexford. The King then approved all the grants of the Earl of Pembroke to Kilkenny, further affirming the charter of the Earl of Norfolk to New Ross, and confirmed that the burgesses of New Ross should enjoy the same liberties as had previously been listed for Kilkenny.[81] Aware that New Ross, being on the frontier of 'our Irish enemies,' was the first to be laid waste, the King approved all the liberties granted to New Ross in the aforesaid charters.[82] The Reeve and Commons were to enjoy those franchises, liberties and advantages, both by land and water, which the Mayor and Commons of Waterford enjoyed.[83] Since Ross had recently been burned, which had caused the citizens to threaten that they would abandon the town, the Lord Deputy applied his seal as a witness to the grant which gave the same liberties enjoyed on land and water by the citizens of Waterford to the burgesses of Ross.[84]

The penultimate page gives details of an apparent test case. The Chief Official, the Reeve and the Commons of Ross, through their attorney, presented their case that John Bottillere, Jenkyn Molgane and Nicholas Devrous,[85] all citizens of Waterford, had loaded two boats with four lasts of hides at Thomastown and Inistioge (both on the river Nore) and at 'saynt Molyng' (St Mullins on the river Barrow) for transport to their cellars at Waterford. The hides were then to be exported from Waterford to Bristol, in a ship called the *Mary,* which was owned by Nicholas Devrous. Claiming that the franchises of New Ross extended to the conjoined rivers Nore and Barrow, which flowed past New Ross, the officials of that town demanded payment of cocket tax from the Waterford merchants. The Waterford citizens refused to pay what they considered to be a spurious unlawful tax, and resisted the demands made upon them. They were forcibly arrested, their boats and cargoes were confiscated, and they were lodged in jail until they paid the toll.[86]

78 *Ibid.,* f 15r, p. 27.
79 *Ibid.,* f 15v, p. 28.
80 *Ibid.,* f 16r, p. 29.
81 *Ibid.,* f 16v, Translation p. 30.
82 *Ibid.,* f 17r, p. 31.
83 *Ibid.,* f 17v, p. 32.
84 *Ibid.,* f 18r, p. 33.
85 John Butler served as Mayor of Waterford in 1486-7 and again in 1487-8. Nicholas Devrous or Devereux also served two terms as Mayor, in 1468-9 and again in 1479-80.
86 *Liber,* f 18v, Translation p. 35.

The case apparently resulted from the burning of Old Ross (originally enfranchised by William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke), which resulted in New Ross being built closer to the conjoined rivers. The new town had been enfranchised by the Earl of Norfolk. The officials of New Ross, claiming that the old town and the new town 'now existed as one' with the old franchises supplementing the new franchises, maintained that their franchises extended across the river, entitling them to extract the cocket tax from any cargo which crossed their boundaries. The Mayor and Baillifs of Waterford asserted that they had attended court to have this claim by New Ross either justified in law, or else denounced, because, since there was no existing law to justify this claim, a non-existent law was insufficient authorisation for the arrest of their citizens. Judgement was reserved until Hillary term, when the senior officials of the city and the town were ordered to re-attend.[87]

Judgement was eventually given that the plea of Ross was without official support and as such was inadequate in law for authorising the arrests and confiscations previously carried out. Waterford was judged to be free of all duty to Ross, and Ross was ordered to desist from her actions. Waterford's advocate, James Sherlock, sought an exemplification of the records of these entire proceedings, and it is likely that this exemplification comprises this file. The last folio of this section records that the requested reversion of Waterford's fee-farm was granted to Nicholas Strangewich,[88] who served as Mayor of Waterford in 1484-5.[89]

While there is no obvious or intended division of the *Liber Antiquissimus* into sections, nonetheless the context and extent of related entries causes such a separation. Following what are very obviously a series of files compiled to present a certain focus, such as the trade war with New Ross, or the disciplining of the Hospitallers, or the dissolution of St John's Priory, the *Liber* records 'the Ordre and Manere of the Election of the Maior,' the Baillifs and the other officials who controlled the City of Waterford. In addition to mentioning how these officers were to be appointed, the appointee being required to swear on oath his commitment to the full and proper performance of his stipulated duties, this section gives a fascinating insight into the running of an important, medieval, Irish portal city. Eight folios are devoted to these appointments.[90] Then follow regulations concerning the amount of the fines to be imposed for varying offences which were to be tried in the Dernhundred Court, in the Court of Pye Powdre or in the Staple Court.[91] The fees payable to the Recorder, to the Clerks and to the Water Bailiff for every type of ship which visited the port are listed.[92] The salaries and wages paid to municipal officers, from the Mayor to the 'Constables of the Suburbes' are recorded. The

87 *Ibid.*, f 19r, p. 36.

88 *Ibid.*, f 19v, Translation p. 37.

89 Eamonn McEneaney, *A History of Waterforfd and its Mayors,* p. 229.

90 *Liber,* ff 21r - 27v, Translation pp. 39-54.

91 *Ibid.*, ff 28r - 29r, pp. 55-57. The Court of Pye Powdre or Court of Piepoudre was an old court of record, incident to every fair and market. The Staple Court enforced the regulations of the Statute Staple, a financial institution, which maintained the few designated Staple Towns as exclusive markets.

92 *Ibid.*, f 29r, p. 57.

Murage and Customs dues levied on a variety of products are all registered,[93] as are the legal obligations regulating the quality of the bread offered for sale in the city. While at first glance the recording of these details might be considered simply as a boring list of inconsequential tolls, a more perceptive examination delivers a tremendous insight into the type of ships which visited the port, the astounding variety of imports and exports through the Haven, and a glimpse at the life-style of the citizens of medieval Waterford.

The *Liber Antiquissimus* is replete with hitherto unknown details of the involvement of Waterford City in the Nine Years War. Too numerous to mention them all individually, nevertheless some reference must be made to these accounts, if for no other reason than to whet the local historian's appetite. There are records of troops from England, with their named general, colonel and fifteen captains, landing in Waterford prior to their becoming involved in the early stages of combating the Earl of Tyrone's rebellion.[94] There is a detailed inventory of arms and munitions imported by Waterford Corporation in 1598 for the defence of the city and of Duncannon Fort.[95] Money and munitions were often lent to government officers, while Waterford also supplied local towns, such as 'Clonmel, ffiderth, Cashill, Ross, Youghill, Callan and Wexford,' when they were in urgent need of munitions.[96] An account is given of a soldier from Duncannon Fort being stopped and searched as part of the normal security at one of Waterford's Gates, and on being found to be secretly carrying 26 lbs of gunpowder to supply the rebels, he was summarily 'hanged at the marckett crosse of this Cittie by course of martial law.'[97] In April 1598 Sir Henry Norreys commanded 2,000 soldiers who landed at Waterford from England, and were fed and billeted in the city for seven weeks prior to marching westwards to besiege Cahir.[98]

Elsewhere, a description of plague in Waterford City, which killed 2,256 people in the year ended 28th September 1604, with a figure of 116 deaths weekly during the previous August,[99] provides unaccustomed detail not only for the local historian, but also for academics at University College Cork, who acknowledged this as a unique record of the ravages of plague in an Irish city. The detail is so precise as to beg the opinion that the Waterford Corporation chronicler must have been using some detailed written record or register of all these deaths. The realisation of Corporation officials that the plague was being spread by soldiers of the garrison, who, under cover of darkness were raiding the houses of the dead to steal their clothes and their goods, and the successful measures to stop this pilfering, make fascinating reading.[100]

93 *Ibid.*, ff 29v - 30r, pp. 58 - 9.
94 *Ibid.*, f 136v, p. 242.
95 *Ibid.*, f 137r, Translation p. 243.
96 *Ibid.*, f 145r, p. 253.
97 *Ibid.*, f 145r, p. 253.
98 *Ibid.*, f 145v, p. 254.
99 *Ibid.*, f 164r, p. 285.
100 *Ibid.*, f 165v, p. 288.

Apparently mundane records such as the 1599 Rent Roll of Waterford Corporation,[101] or the list of the 'feffmentes and fermes' granted by the various Mayors from 1366 to 1550,[102] give tremendous detail of forgotten locations in medieval Waterford. Here, in a myriad of detail, are listed twelve castles, twenty towers, seventeen gates, five walls, six ditches, and eight quays, all components of the defences of Waterford. The names of ten streets, six highways, fifteen lanes, and eighty almost forgotten locations within the city are all mentioned, and these figures relate only to a perfunctory counting. Details of mills, of lime kilns, of weirs, of churches, of chapels, and a host of other place-names are readily available to anyone interested enough to peruse the records, even the repair of a public clock, mounted on the municipal clock tower over 400 years ago, being mentioned.

It is my fervent wish that the considerable effort expended in translating the *Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae* (to give it its correct title) will provide the research stimulus for the next generation of Waterford local historians.

101 *Ibid.*, ff 149r - 158r, pp. 260 - 278.
102 *Ibid.*, ff 195v - 210v, pp. 325 - 354.

The *Great Lewis* and the Siege of Duncannon, 1645

By Kevin Downes

IN THE summer of 2001 while dredging the channel at Duncannon Bar, the dredger *Lesse* brought up some pieces of timber and a cannon ball. This was reported to Dúchas, who the following summer sent down a team of divers to investigate. They discovered a timber wreck buried in the sand, which they later thought to be the *Great Lewis,* the flagship of a Cromwellian fleet.

To realise how the *Great Lewis* came to be lying in the sand off Duncannon Fort we have to go back nearly 360 years to 1644. In England the Civil War was being fought between Parliament and the King, Charles I. In Ireland in 1642 the Confederation of Kilkenny had been formed to oppose Cromwell and the Parliamentary forces.

Meanwhile in Duncannon Fort, the commander Lord Edmond was loyal to the King, but the almost 300 soldiers of the garrison were in a mutinous state, and they declared for Parliament.

Cromwell therefore in December sent word to Captain Bell, under the command of Captain Richard Swanley of the *Great Lewis* to supply the fort. He arrived at Duncannon in January with four ships, the *Madeline, Mayflower* and *Elizabeth* and the flagship of the fleet, the *Great Lewis.*

This declaration by the fort for Parliament, caused the people of Waterford and Ross to petition the Confederation of Kilkenny to capture the Fort. In compliance with these representations, General Thomas Preston was given command of an army to take Duncannon. He marched from Waterford after the Feast of the Epiphany at the head of 12,000 infantrymen, a troop of eighty cavalry together with a very efficient corps of Flemish engineers. This little army appeared before Duncannon on Monday, 20th January 1645.

The next morning the troops in the Fort opened fire, and made a sortie to assess the strength of the Confederates, but they were beaten back by the engineers. All that afternoon they kept up fire from the ramparts, but realising that they were only wasting ammunition they desisted. Next morning they renewed their fire after sunrise. Towards nightfall Preston ordered engineers to erect a battery near the mouth of the harbour, from which he could open fire on the enemy ships.

Next morning, the 23rd of January, the ships fired on the Confederates to demolish all the works they had thrown up during the night but their cannon balls fell so wide of the mark that they passed right over the camp. During the whole of the following night, the besiegers worked to complete a ship battery.

On the following morning, the 24th the battery directed its fire on the enemy's ships, and with such effect that Captain Bell, the commander of the squadron was compelled to cut his cables and head for the open sea, without raising his anchor.

The other three ships under his command were obliged to do the same, losing their anchors. At that moment with only a light breeze blowing up and a rising tide, the vessels were prevented from getting off, and were exposed to the muskets of the Confederate forces. Finally, Captain Bell, aided by a favourable wind got out of reach of his attackers and cast anchor in safe moorings.

Two days afterwards however, on Sunday January the 26th the flagship of the fleet, the *Great Lewis,* which was so damaged in the action and unable to weather the rough sea, went down with almost everyone onboard.

By the next day the Confederate engineers had the fort blocked off on the landward side, so that the besieged could not receive any food or water.

On Tuesday, 28th January the other three ships sailed on the early tide for Milford. The besiegers learned this from a Frenchman who escaped in a boat from the Flagship and came ashore near the battery.

In the novel *The Wild Rose of Lough Gill,* published in 1883 the hero Edmond O'Tracy, after many adventures, ends up on the *Great Lewis* and is aboard her when she is sunk off Duncannon. He manages to get ashore on Duncannon beach and looks up to 'see the cold, grey rock and frowning ramparts of Duncanon Fort'.

The siege of the fort continued until March of that year when the defenders were finally forced to surrender to the Confederate forces.

For over 350 years the ship lay lost and undisturbed, its grim secrets forgotten until the *Lesse* brought up the pieces of timber and the cannon ball. Divers from Dúchas dived on the wreck in 2002 and 2003. They found the wreck in a good state of preservation, lying just off the west side of the main channel, one and a half miles from Duncannon. There are many iron cannon in almost perfect condition, except for one, which had its cascable broken off where the dredger went through it.

In 2003, while trawling in Waterford Harbour, a local fisherman, Nicho Murphy trawled up a dead eye, a timber block used in the rigging. This has been authenticated as being from the wreck, and is now on display in the local Duncannon Maritime Museum.

Sources

Connie Kelleher, 'The Duncannon Wreck: A Seventeenth-century Ship in Waterford Harbour; *Archaeology Ireland Heritage Guide No. 26,* (Dublin, Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government, 2004).

P. H. Hore, *History of the Town and County of Wexford,* (Professional Books, 1904).

John T. Gilbert (ed.), *History of Confederation and War in Ireland,* Vol. iv, (Dublin, 1888), pp. 181-202.

Mail Packet Steamers at Waterford

By Bill Irish

PASSENGER vessels, better known as the 'mail packets' have plied between Waterford and Milford since the middle of the 18th century. Arthur Young in his book *A Tour in Ireland* (1780) tells us of his experience on board the mail packet brig *Countess of Tyrone* in 1776, which was not a very pleasant one. The service being in private hands, commercial considerations prevailed, and Mr Young expecting the regular service that was advertised in the local press, had the frustrating delay of almost three days before *Countess of Tyrone* had enough passengers to warrant a sailing. Happy to set sail from Passage East at 8 a.m. on Sunday the 20th of October, Mr Young ran into more bad luck as a violent gale came up and blew *Countess of Tyrone* way off course, up the Irish Sea and opposite the Arklow sands. The storm lasted thirty-six hours and the embattled ship did not cast anchor in Milford Haven until Tuesday the 22nd at 1 a.m. According to Young the average passage time in fair weather was twelve to fourteen hours. Almost seven weeks earlier the *Waterford Herald,* reported 'the brig *Countess of Tyrone* making a swift passage from Milford to Waterford in seven hours', well ahead of the allowed time of 8 hours and 15 minutes.[1]

Arthur Young paid 21 shillings single passage for himself, £3. 3s. for his three horses, £3. 3s. for a four-wheel chaise, and 21 shillings for his two servants on board. Two years later the service had disimproved and Young with his entourage had to wait twenty-four days at Passage and Cheekpoint before the packet *Tyrone* (the only one that could take a chaise, or horses) set sail for Milford. The brig *Countess of Tyrone* was now under repair, and Young was bewildered at the constant false assurances and promises of the brig being ready to sail in five days, and also the misleading advertisements of the papers announcing regular sailings of the packet *Tyrone,* when indeed the opposite was true.

The early packets were small sailing ships called brigs and there were about three or four in service on the route. In1784 Mr Cornelius Bolton, Mr Samuel Newport and others, set up an improved packet service between Passage East and Milford with an increased number of small sailing ships called cutters. Sailing ships were defined by their rig, the brig having two masts - a fore and main mast - both of them 'square rigged', that is having the sails set at right angles to the keel. The cutter was the humblest form of sailing vessel, having just one mast and a bowsprit. But for all that, she carried four sails: main sail, top sail, jib sail, and fore sail, all of which were stretched in line with the keel. Furthermore the cutter type was designed to be fast, and was used by the Navy to chase smugglers and pirates.

1 *Waterford Herald,* 3 September 1776.

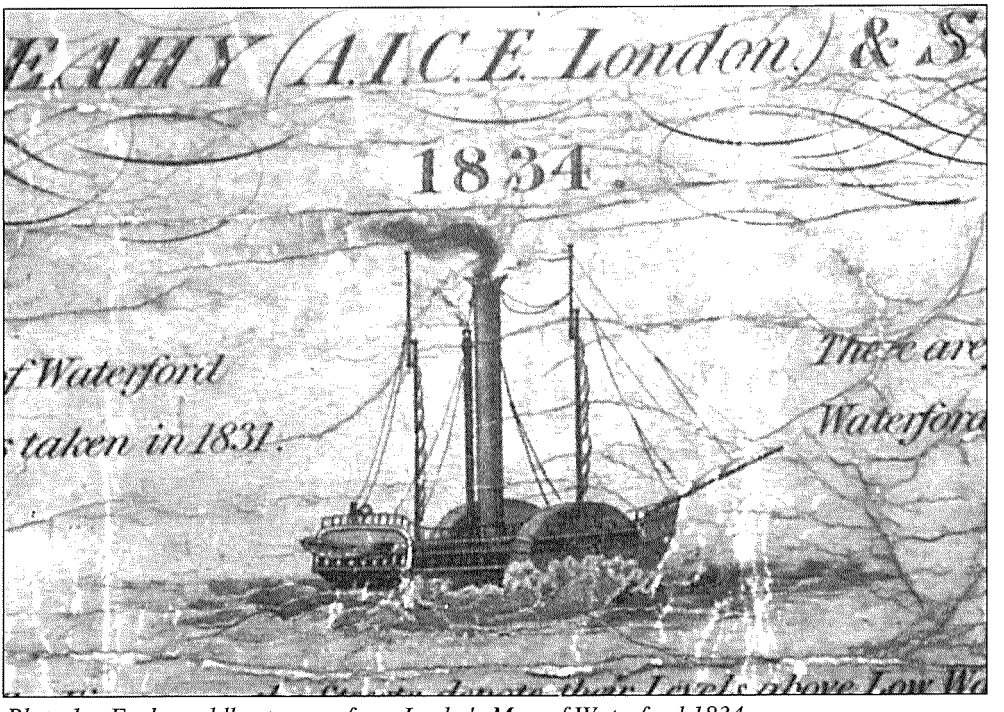


Plate 1 – Early paddle steamer from Leahy's Map of Waterford 1834.
(Courtesy of Peter Carroll)

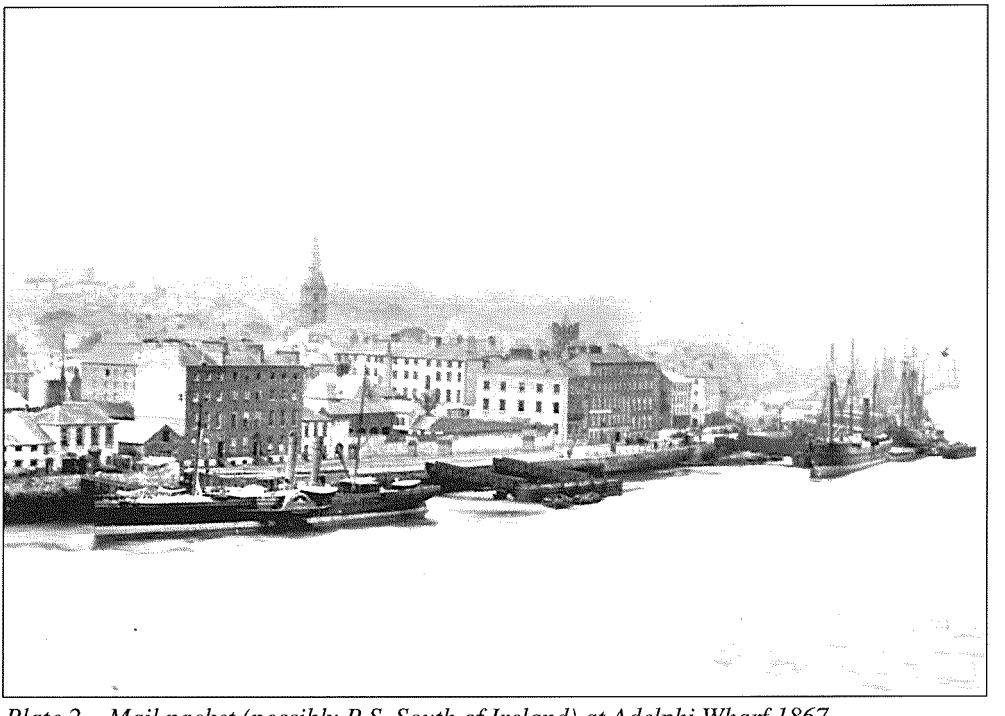


Plate 2 – Mail packet (possibly P.S. South of Ireland) at Adelphi Wharf 1867.
(Lawrence S.P. 1356 Courtesy of National Library of Ireland)

By the year 1815 the sailing packets (all cutters) on the Milford-Waterford route numbered seven, and their names along with their masters were: *Auckland* (Capt. Richards), *Countess of Mansfield* (Capt. Charles Nuttall), *Sandwich* (Capt. Jenkins), *Leicester Steel* (Capt. May), *Gower* (Capt. May), *Freeling* (Capt. Hughs), *Cambden* (Capt. James Nuttall).

Conditions on board and the accommodation provided, were frugal enough. In the *Countess of Mansfield* the latest vessel on the station, there were fourteen beds for cabin passengers, and just two beds for steerage passengers. The other six packets had twelve beds each for cabin passengers, and two beds each for steerage class. The account of a voyage aboard the packet *Countess of Mansfield* leaving Passage on Thursday 4th of May 1815 records twenty passengers *en route* for Milford, eleven of them cabin, and the remainder steerage passengers.[2]

Era of Steam

In 1823 the Post Office took control of the mail packet service between Milford and Waterford. From the beginning its declared intention was to employ its own steam vessels.

The sailing packets proved unreliable, often hostage to the whims of wind and weather and consequently delivering a very inadequate service. Convincing evidence of the consistency and superiority of the steam vessel emerged from a much - publicised event, which took place in October 1822. The Dublin-Liverpool steam packet *St George* was instructed to depart from her schedule, and call at Milford to take on passengers and some mails for Waterford which had been detained at Milford due to high winds and foul weather. Once loaded *St George* proceeded to Waterford, and after dropping off the passengers and mails there, resumed her normal voyage to Dublin and then Liverpool, arriving back at Bristol at her scheduled time notwithstanding the extra sea miles.[3] This event had not escaped the notice of the Post Office who at the earliest opportunity replaced the sailing packets with steamers on the Milford-Waterford run in 1824. In one swift move the service became much more reliable, the paddle steamers reducing the crossing time to a fairly consistent eight to nine hours. The packet station at Waterford had earlier moved from Passage to Dunmore East, the first packets calling at Dunmore sometime after 1818.

The first paddle steamers to service the Waterford-Milford route were: *P.S. Ivanhoe, P.S. Vixen, P.S. Meteor,* and *P.S. Royal Sovereign.*

P.S. Ivanhoe helped to inaugurate the new steam mail service between Milford and Waterford in 1824. Built by John Scott & Sons of Greenock in 1820 *P.S. Ivanhoe* was 170 tons gross, and measured 102 feet long. Her early career was on the Holyhead-Howth run, and then alternated between the Cork-Bristol and Dublin-Liverpool routes before returning to the Dublin-Holyhead service in 1822-3.

2 Trinity College Dublin, Donoughmore MSS, D/2/3, Lord Donoughmore, Journal of a Journey From Knocklofty to London in 1815, Thursday 4th May 1815, p. 15.

3 Grahame Farr, *West Country Passenger Steamers,* (2nd edition, Lancashire, Stephenson & Sons Ltd., 1967), p. 40.

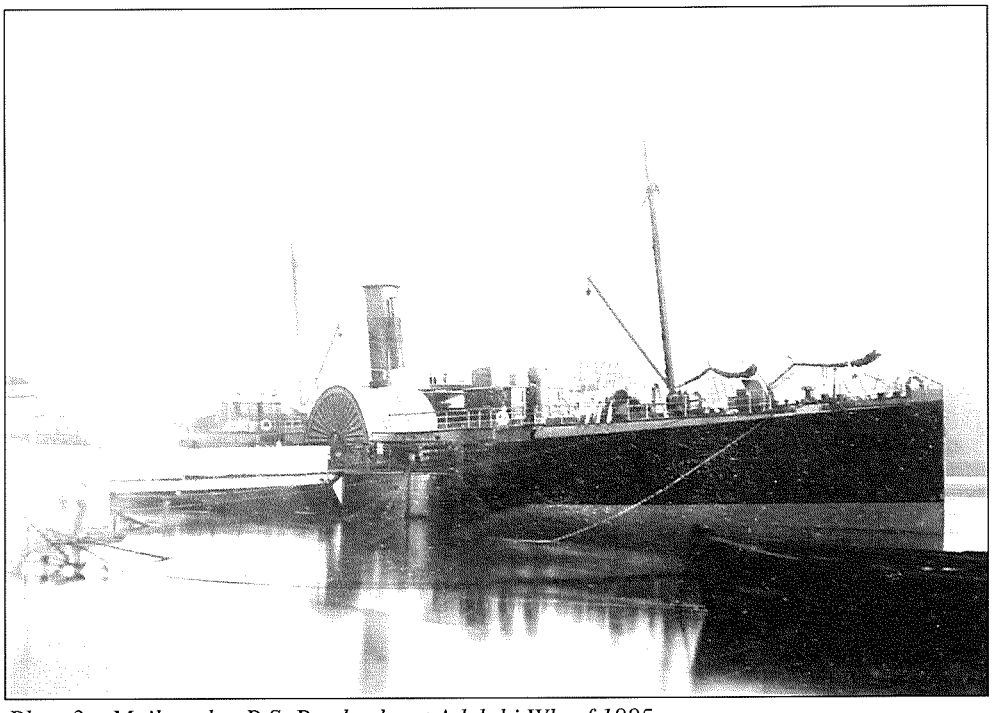


Plate 3 – Mail packet P.S. Pembroke at Adelphi Wharf 1885.
(Lawrence S.P.1356 Courtesy of National Library of Ireland)

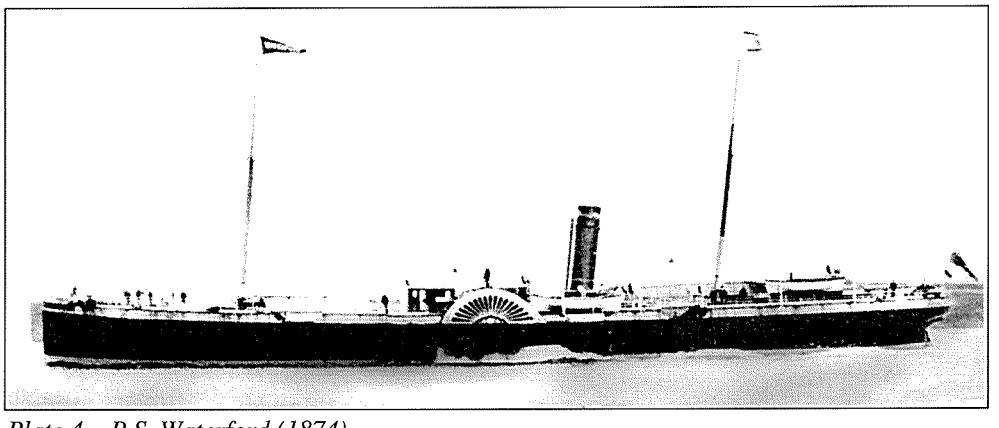


Plate 4 – P.S. Waterford (1874).
(From Grahame Farr West Country Passenger Steamers)

In late 1823 *P.S. Ivanhoe* was bought by the Postmaster General for the reported sum of £6,353, and after an overhaul was placed on the Waterford-Milford route. Joining *P.S. Ivanhoe* were three other steam packets: *P.S. Vixen, P.S. Meteor,* and *P.S. Royal Sovereign.*

P.S. Vixen (189 tons) was built at the Royal Dockyard at Deptford London in 1823. She came to the Milford-Waterford route after twelve months on the Holyhead station. *P.S. Meteor* (189 tons) was built in 1821 for the Post Office by Evans at Rotherhithe. Her first three years were spent on the Holyhead-Howth mail run.

P.S. Royal Sovereign (205 tons) was also built by Evans of Rotherhithe in 1821, and like her sister ship *P.S. Meteor* serviced the Holyhead-Howth route from 1821 to 1824 before her call up for the Milford-Waterford service.

After just one year on the Waterford run *P.S. Ivanhoe* was brought back to the Holyhead station where she served for a further two years. Then in 1827 *P.S. Ivanhoe* was transferred to Weymouth to inaugurate the new steam mail service between there and the Channel Islands. The replacement for *P.S. Ivanhoe* on the Waterford-Milford station in 1825 was *P.S. Crocodile* (237 tons), a new steamer coming straight from the builders yard at Harwich.

P.S. Meteor was withdrawn from the Waterford-Milford service in 1827, and she subsequently joined her former companion *P.S. Ivanhoe* on the Weymouth-Channel Islands service.[4]

A new steamer built at Liverpool *P.S. Sybil* (233 tons) replaced *P.S. Meteor* and became the youngest packet vessel at the Milford station in 1827. She was also the fastest steamer on the crossing with a record of 8 hours 13 minutes for a sailing between Milford and Dunmore East.

P.S. Royal Sovereign ended her stint on the Waterford-Milford run in 1835, and then served at the Liverpool station up to 1841. Her replacement at Milford was *P.S. Aladdin* a vessel that had notched up twelve years on the Holyhead-Dublin route. *P.S. Aladdin* (230 tons), was built by Symons at Falmouth in 1824.[5]

Lloyds Register of Shipping in 1835 lists four vessels *P.S. Aladdin, P.S. Crocodile, P.S. Sybil* and *P.S. Vixen* as being the steam packets in the service of His Majesty's Postmaster General at the Milford-Waterford stations. In the same year a new pier at Hobbs Point in Milford Haven was opened, and the mail packets came up the Suir, extending the service to Waterford City. This left the Dunmore East station out in the cold, but it was a bonus for passengers travelling to Waterford, eliminating the inconvenience of a coach trip by road. The Post Office continued to run the mail service on the route up to 1837 when it was taken over by the Admiralty.

4 Grahame Farr, *West Country Passenger Steamers,* pp. 41-43 and D.B. McNeill, *Irish Passenger Steamship Services, (Vol. 2), South of Ireland,* (David & Charles, 1971), p. 94.

5 D.B. McNeill, *Irish Passenger Steamship Services (Vol. 2),* p. 94.

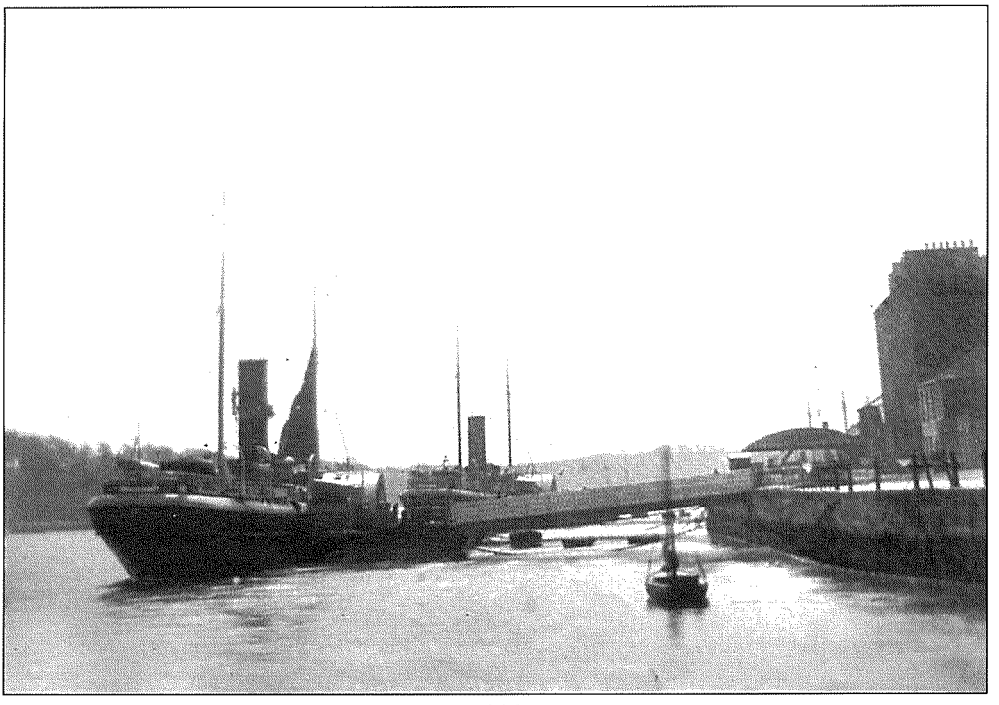


Plate 5 – Mail packets at Adelphi Wharf c. 1890.

(Courtesy of B. Colclough)

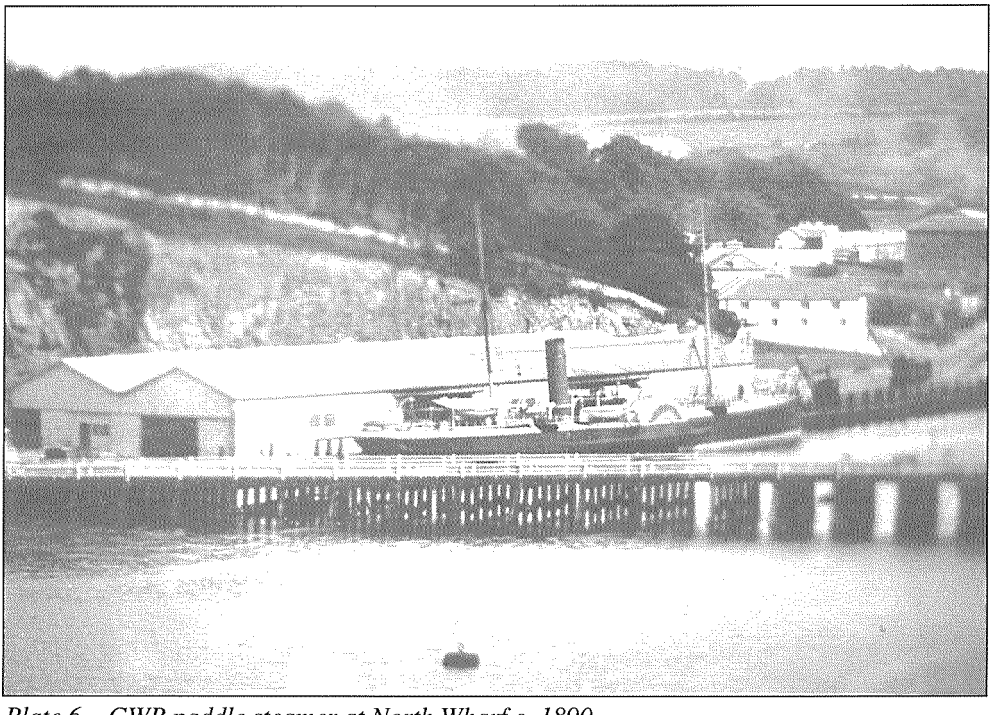


Plate 6 – GWR paddle steamer at North Wharf c. 1890.

(Courtesy of B. Colclough)

Admiralty Era

The Admiralty increased the number of steam mail packets on the route in 1837 to five, with the acquisition of *P.S. Prospero* (234 tons). She was built by Wood and Ritchie at Glasgow in 1829 as the *P.S. Belfast,* and after her purchase by the Admiralty she was lengthened, before her name change to *P.S. Prospero* for the Milford station.

All the other steam packets on the route had their names changed with the Admiralty take-over. *P.S. Aladdin* became *P.S. Jasper, P.S. Crocodile* became *P.S. Adder, P.S. Sybil* became *P.S. Pigmy* and *P.S. Vixen* became *P.S. Advice.*[6]

These five steamers remained on the Waterford-Milford service up to its closure in 1848. Harvey's *Waterford Directory* of 1839 reports that:

> A Government steam packet starts every morning at a quarter past eight from the Adelphi Wharf with the English mail for Hobbs Point, Milford Haven. Fare 21 shillings.

Passengers were few enough on the steamers, as west Wales before the railways, was fairly inaccessible. Less than 2000 people patronised the route each year: the total receipts from all non-government sources averaged around £19,000 per year - a fraction of the operating costs which were about £150,000 per annum.

In 1848 after eleven years of service by the Admiralty steamers, the Government closed down the Milford-Waterford mail route, along with the Port Patrick-Donaghadee mail route. From that time, there were no regular passenger sailings between Waterford and West Wales until the railway to Neyland (a short distance from Hobbs Point) was completed in 1856. One of Milford's great drawbacks (its inaccessibility by land), was now overcome, with a direct rail link all the way to London. The Waterford-Milford route again became a commercially viable, if not a lucrative proposition. Astute London shipowners R. Ford and T.T. Jackson were quick to see the potential rewards of this positive development and joined forces with the Great Western and South Wales Railways in August 1856 to reopen the Milford-Waterford service.[7]

Ford and Jackson Era

Initially Ford & Jackson operated a twice-weekly steam packet service between Milford and Waterford with their newly acquired screw steamer *S.S. City of Paris.* This however was increased to three times a week, with the purchase of a paddle steamer *P.S Malakhoff* a few weeks after the introduction of the service. The steamers departed from Milford every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday and berthed at Adelphi Quay in Waterford after a nine-hour passage. Passengers, mail and livestock (cattle and horses) were taken on board and the ship left Waterford

6 D.B. McNeill, *Irish Passenger Steamship Services (Vol. 2),* p. 74 and Grahame Farr, *West Country Passenger Steamers,* pp. 41-43.

7 D.D. McNeill, *Irish Passenger Steamship Services (Vol. 2),* p. 93 and Grahame Farr, *West Country Passenger Steamers,* p. 44.

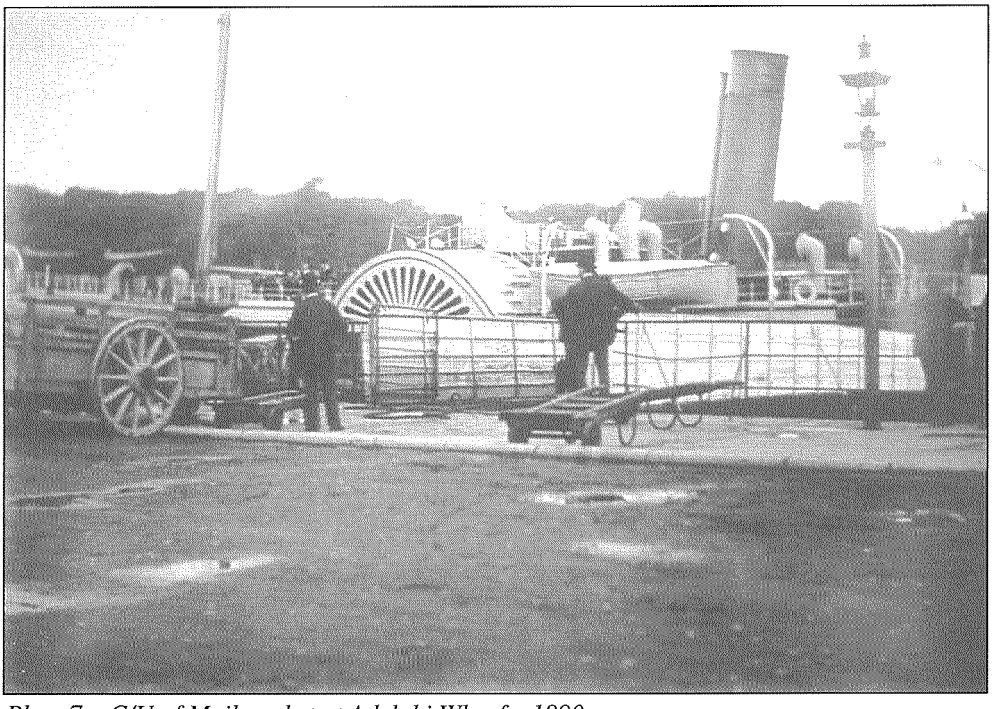


Plate 7 – C/U of Mail packet at Adelphi Wharf c.1890.
(Poole Collection National Library of Ireland WP)

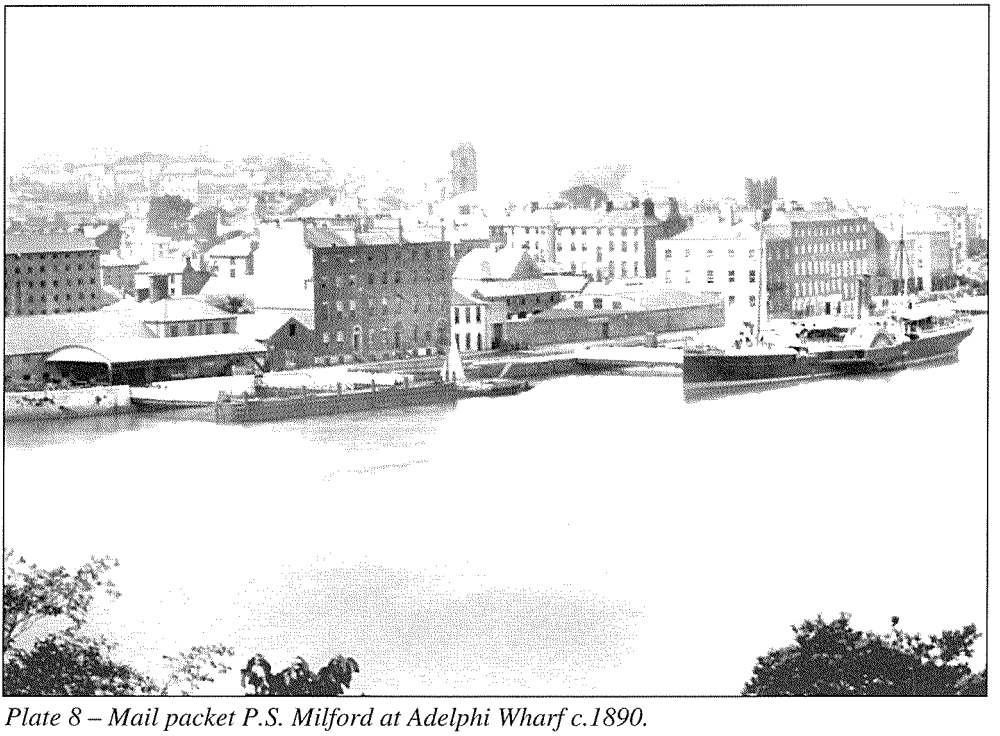


Plate 8 – Mail packet P.S. Milford at Adelphi Wharf c.1890.
(Lawrence 1204 Courtesy of National Library of Ireland)

for Milford on the following day. To cater for a substantial growth in the export of cattle from Waterford to Milford it was announced on the 1st of June 1858 that a daily service between the ports would commence. The *Waterford News* carried the following advertisement in June of that year:[8]

Waterford and Milford Haven
Royal Mail Steamers

Daily communication (Sundays included) between the South of Ireland, South Wales and England, via Waterford and Milford Haven, in connection with express trains on the Great Western, South Wales, Waterford and Limerick, Waterford and Kilkenny, and other trains in the South of Ireland.

On and after the 1st of June 1858 these steamers carrying her Majesty's mails will sail ;-

From Waterford-from the Adelphi Wharf daily, after the arrival of the Limerick trains at 3pm on weekdays and 4pm on Sundays, reaching Milford Haven (wind and weather permitting) in time to enable passengers to proceed by the 2.45am express train to London, reaching Paddington at 11.10am. Third-class passengers will be forwarded by the through 7.15am train to London on weekdays, and the 9.15am on Sundays.

From Milford Haven - from the Railway Pier daily at 1.20am. after the arrival of the 4.50pm express train of the previous evening from London, on week days, and the 8am down train on Sundays, reaching Waterford (wind and weather permitting) so as to secure the departure of the 10am train to Limerick, Cork, and the South of Ireland, and the 11.45am train to Kilkenny and Dublin. Passengers by the 6.15am train (third class passengers) from Paddington will also be conveyed by these steamers at reduced rates.

Fares:

Waterford to Paddington:- 1st class and cabin 50 shillings
2nd class and saloon 40 shillings
3rd class and deck 24 shillings and 6 pence.

Return Tickets - From Waterford to London, Oxford or Reading:-
1st class and saloon 75 shillings
2nd class and cabin 60 shillings.

Fares by steamer:- Waterford to Milford - cabin 12s. 6d., deck 7s. 6d.
Return Tickets :- cabin 18s. 9d., deck 11s. 3d.

Passengers with 2nd class tickets can exchange from the cabin to saloon on payment of 2s.6d. each.

8 *Waterford News,* 11 June 1858.

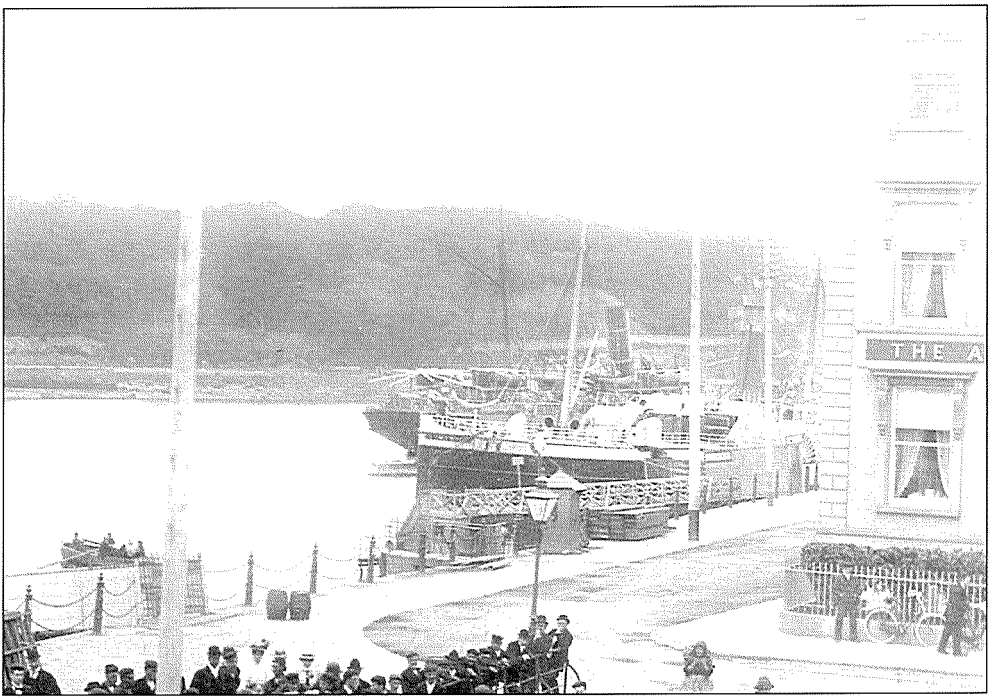


Plate 9 – P.S. Limerick berthed at Adelphi Wharf c.1890.
(Poole Collection, National Library of Ireland)

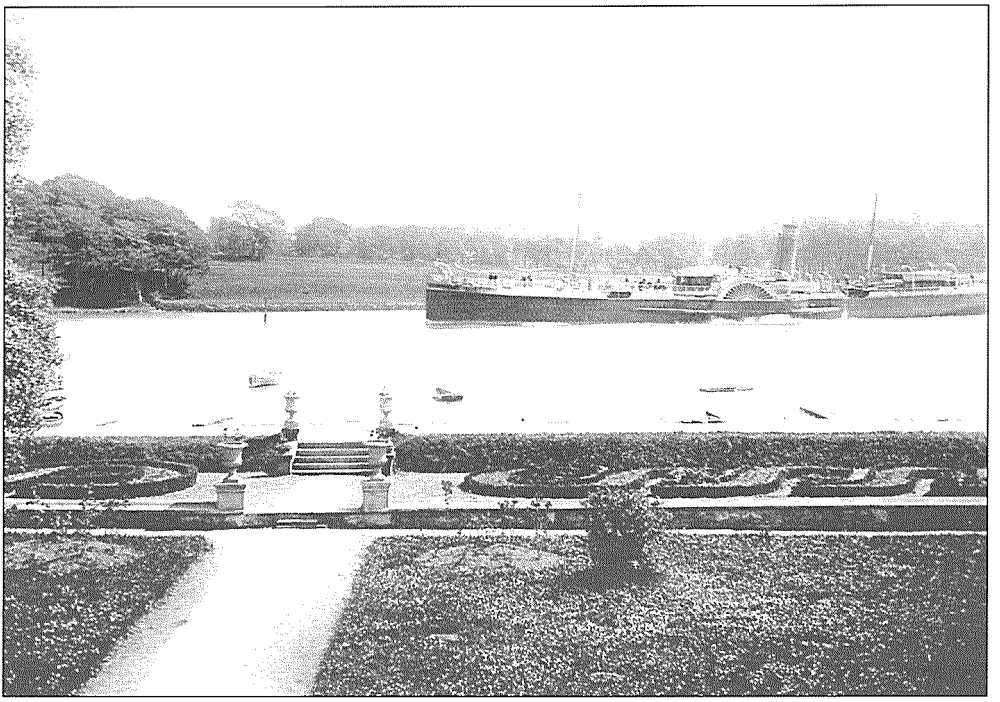


Plate 10 – Mail packet steamer (unidentified) passing Waterpark.
(Author's Collection)

Through tickets allowing passengers to break the journey may be had at Paddington Railway Station, and at the 1st class stations of the Great Western and South Wales, Waterford and Limerick, and Waterford and Kilkenny Railways, also at the offices of Messrs. Ford and Jackson, 36 Cannon Street, London, and Milford Haven Railway Station, or of Mr. M. Downey, 30 Merchants Quay, and Adelphi Wharf, Waterford.

The sea voyage is only seventy miles.

The *City of Paris* was an iron hulled screw steamer of 382 tons gross, and built by Joyce and Co. at Greenwich in 1850. She remained at the Milford station from 1856 to 1864.

P.S. Malakhoff was built by John Scott Russell and Co. at Milwall in 1851 as the *Baron Osy* for the Antwerp Steam Navigation Company. She traded between London and Antwerp in her early years, and worked in the Mediterranean and Black Sea transporting troops and horses during the Crimean War. Scott Russell bought her back in late 1855, renamed her *Malakhoff* for her Crimean service, and sold her to Ford and Jackson in July 1856. She gave sterling service on the Milford-Waterford run and remained on the route up to the time of its acquisition by the Great Western Railway (GWR) in 1872, and energetically continued as a GWR steamer until her sale for scrapping in 1884.

For a short spell in 1861 *P.S. Courier* worked the route, and also serviced the Milford-Cork run at different times. *S.S. Griffin* also gave some service on the Waterford-Milford route in the early 1860s. With the sale of *S.S. City of Paris* in 1864, *P.S. Malakhoff* was the only survivor of the original Ford and Jackson fleet remaining on the route, and along with other chartered vessels continued to ply across St. George's Channel several times a week.

However plans to give her more able assistance were in hand, with the commissioning of two new iron paddle steamers specially designed for the route. *P.S. South of Ireland* and *P.S. Great Western* (Plate 11), each named after the two railways closely connected to the service, made their maiden voyages between the stations in 1867. W. Simons & Co. at Renfrew built and engined the two vessels, but although of similar dimensions they were not exactly sister ships. *P.S. South of Ireland* was registered with a tonnage of 475 tons gross, and had a certificate for 461 passengers, whereas *P.S. Great Western* was 447 tons gross and was certified to accommodate 403 passengers. Both steamers worked the Waterford-Milford stations up to the take-over of the route by the Great Western Railway in 1872, and continued afterwards until, they were transferred to the GWR Weymouth-Channel Islands run in 1878. Captain Pearn of 7, William Street, Waterford, was master of the *P.S. Great Western* along with Captain Enoch Davis for most of the ship's career on the Waterford-Milford run. In 1870 Ford and Jackson added another paddle steamer *P.S. Vulture* - a vessel of considerably larger tonnage - to the fleet. *P.S. Vulture* of 793 tons gross was originally built for the European Trading Company of London in 1864 by Aitken & Company of Whiteinch.[9]

9 D.B. McNeill, *Irish Passenger Steamship Services, (Vol. 2),* pp. 93-4, and Grahame Farr, *West Country Passenger Steamers,* pp. 41-43.

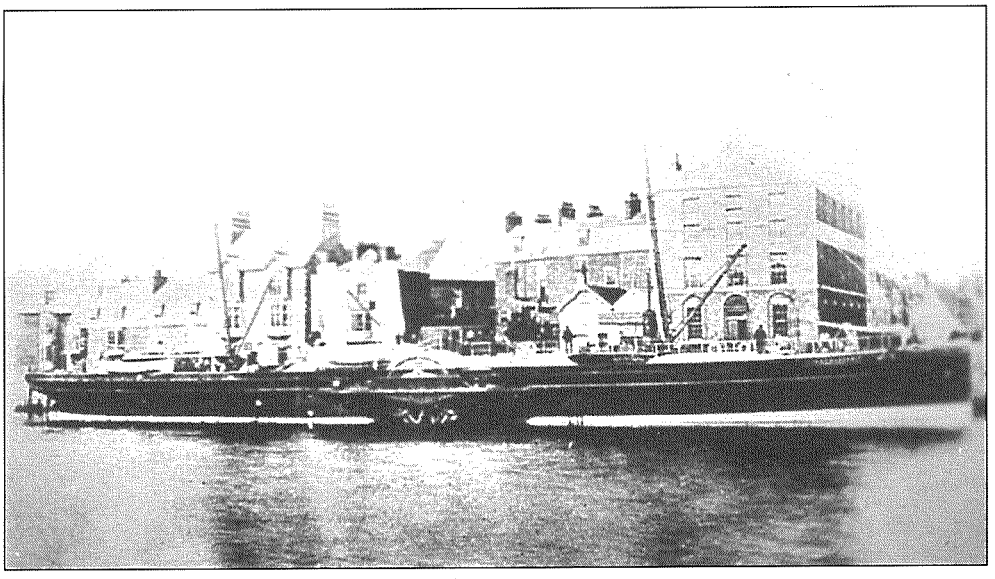


Plate 11 – P.S. Great Western (1867-1878).
(From Grahame Farr, West Country Passenger Steamers)

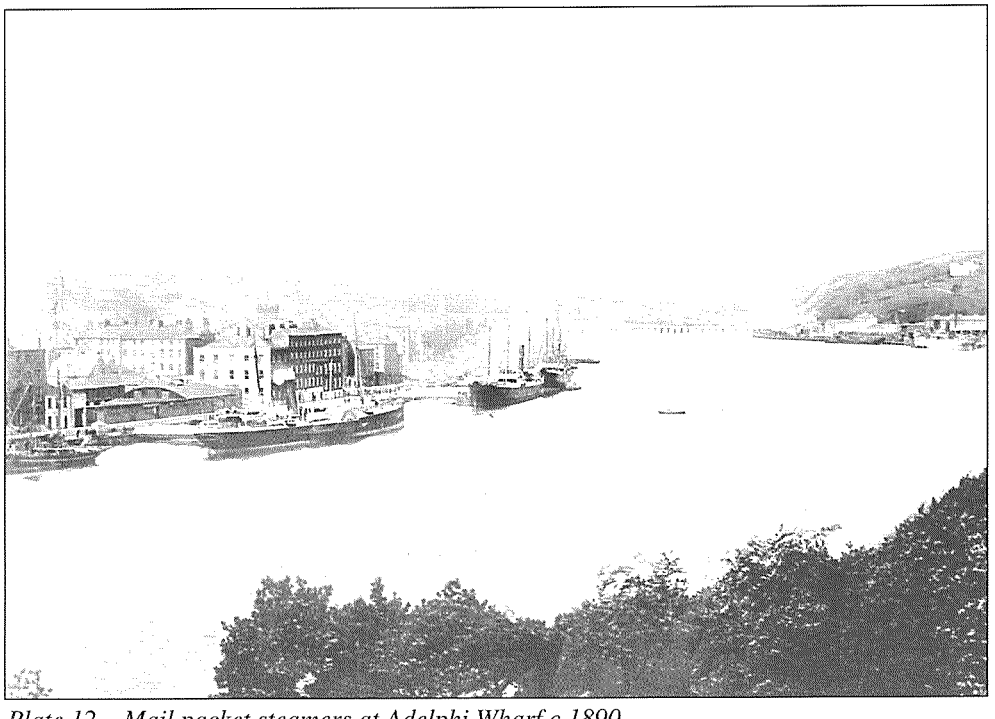


Plate 12 – Mail packet steamers at Adelphi Wharf c.1890.
(Poole Collection National Library of Ireland WP 243)

Great Western Railway Era

The South Wales Railway line had been absorbed by the Great Western Railway (GWR) system as early as 1863, and in 1864 the GWR were given the authority to work their own steam vessels. Eight years passed before GWR exercised this authority for the running of the mail steamers between Milford and Waterford. On the 1st of February 1872 the GWR officially took over the responsibility for the steamer services and purchased the existing fleet, comprising the *P.S. Great Western, P.S. South of Ireland, P.S. Malakhoff* and *P.S. Vulture* from Jackson & Co. for £45,500. To coincide with the steamer service take-over, GWR announced that four new powerful steamers were to be built at a cost of £100,000. Shortly after acquiring the steamer route, the GWR commissioned the new iron paddle steamers from W. Simons & Co. of Renfrew. The new sister vessels had almost identical gross tonnage (912, and 914 tons), and their passenger certificates allowed 400 people each, in winter, and 500 people each, in summer.

The first of the new steam packets *P.S. Milford* (Plate 8) was delivered in 1873, followed by *P.S. Limerick* (Plate 9) which entered service in the same year. *P.S. Limerick* did not remain long in service, and is reputed to have been wrecked when less than a year old. Her name was given to one of the second pair of new vessels delivered from W. Simon's yard in 1874. The other half of the second pair was named *P.S. Waterford* (Plate 4) and the introduction of the three modern vessels reduced the passage time to eight hours. With seven vessels now at the Milford station, it provided a daily service to Waterford, and a twice-weekly service to Cork. Sometime after 1875 the now thrice-weekly service to Cork proved uneconomic, and was taken over by the City of Cork Steam Packet Company. The three new ships along with *P.S. Vulture* and *P.S. Malakhoff* provided adequate cover for the Milford-Waterford run, and *P.S. Great Western* and *P.S. South of Ireland* were transferred to the Weymouth-Cherbourg route in 1878, where they also became relief vessels to the Channel Islands' service.[10]

An advertisement by the GWR for their new service in May 1872 reads:

> *England, South Wales, and the South of Ireland via Waterford and New Milford, and the Great Western Railway. The shortest route.*
> *Improved Daily Communication by Express Trains and Fast Mail Steamers.*
> *On and after the 1st of June, the 4.50 p.m. express train from London (Paddington Station) will run to New Milford, arriving there at 1.40am., and the steamer will start for Waterford immediately after, and arrive there (weather permitting) in time for passengers to proceed by the 10am. mail train to Limerick, Killarney, Cork, etc., and by the Waterford and Central Ireland Company's trains to Kilkenny and Maryborough.*

10 D.B. McNeill, *Irish Passenger Steamship Services, (Vol. 2),* p. 95 and Grahame Farr, *West Country Passenger Steamers,* pp. 44-47.

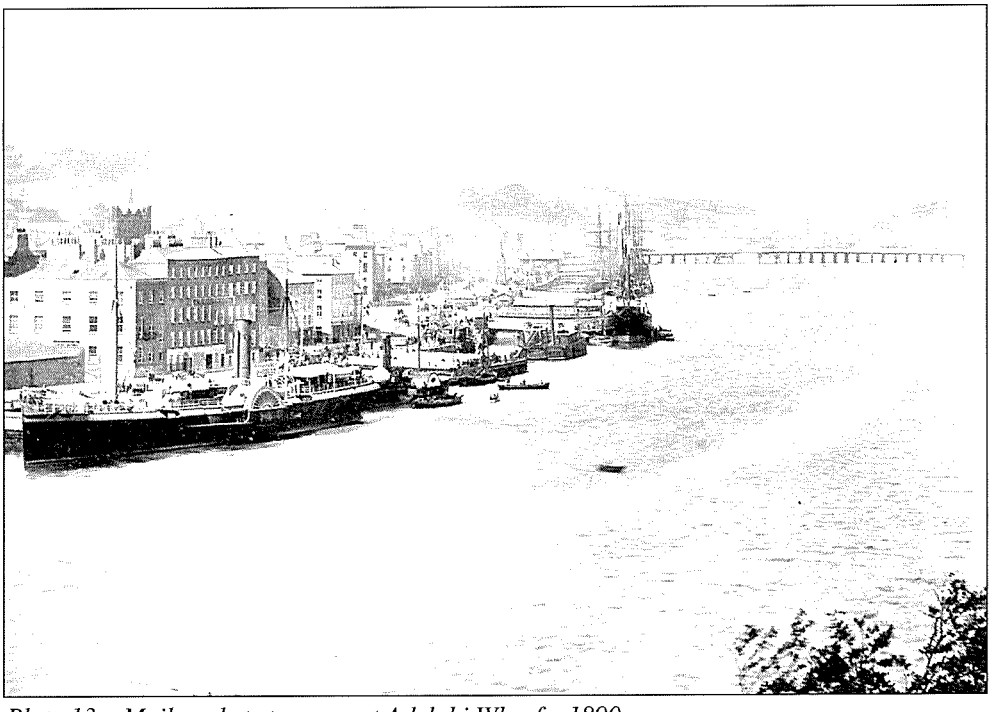


Plate 13 – Mail packet steamers at Adelphi Wharf c.1890.
(Poole Collection National Library of Ireland Imp. No. 293A)

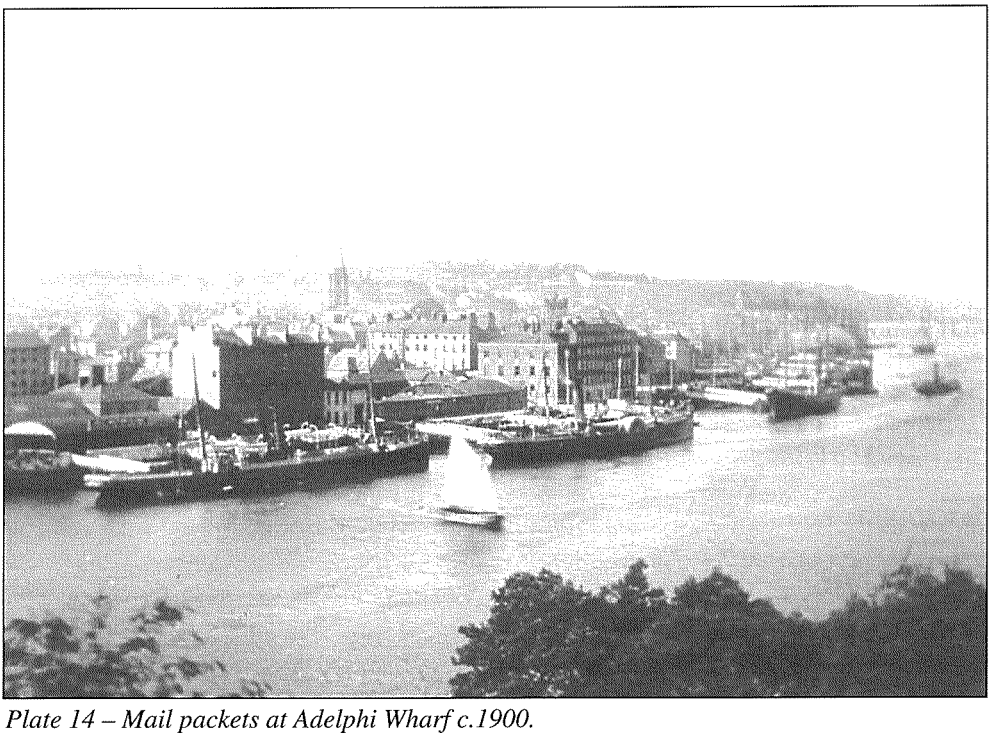


Plate 14 – Mail packets at Adelphi Wharf c.1900.
(Nicholson Album Courtesy of B. Colclough)

A steamer will leave Waterford (weather permitting) at 4.00pm. (Irish time) daily, Sundays excepted, in connection with a new express train from New Milford at 2.00am reaching London at 11.15am., except from the Saturdays boat on Sunday morning.

Passengers sailing from Waterford on Saturdays proceed from New Milford by the 11.10am. train on Sundays, reaching London (Paddington) at 11.15pm., or by any subsequent train during the period for which their tickets are available.

Through tickets at reduced fares will be issued between the nominated stations on the Great Western Railway, and Waterford and Limerick, and Waterford and Central Ireland Railways.
Fare between London and Waterford:-
Single tickets-1st class 46s.; 2nd class 35s. 6d.; 3rd class 20s.
Return tickets-1st class 76s.; 2nd class 59s.
Single tickets are available for four days and return tickets for one month, and passengers have the privilege of breaking the journey at Glo'ster, Chepstow, Swansea, New Milford, and Waterford.
Third class passengers to and from London will be conveyed by the above-mentioned express trains.

Full particulars may be obtained at the Company's Stations and Receiving Offices, and of Messrs Jackson & Co., New Milford, Mr Downey, Adelphi Wharf, Waterford, and Mr. Bussell, Great Western Railway Company's Office, Paul's Square, Waterford.

In 1880 a new vessel, *P.S. Pembroke* (927 tons gross) - the largest paddle steamer built for the GWR fleet, joined *P.S. Waterford, P.S. Limerick, P.S. Milford, P.S. Malakhoff*, and *P.S. Vulture* at the Milford station. *P.S. Pembroke* was also the last of the paddle steamers in the GWR fleet, and was built by Laird Brothers at Birkenhead as a replacement for the first *P.S. Limerick.* She had compound engines and was built of steel.[11]

A year before *P.S. Pembroke* (Plate 3) joined the fleet, changes in the berthing arrangements of the steamers at Waterford were underway. White's shipbuilding yard at the North Wharf on the Ferrybank side closed in 1873, and was acquired by Waterford and Limerick Railway Company (W&LR). The W & LR Company extended the railway line from Sallypark/Newrath to the North Wharf, and built a large warehouse on the new site (Plate 6). An agreement was reached between the W & LR and the GWR, that from the 1st of April 1879 the Milford steamer arriving at Waterford on Fridays could berth at the new North Wharf, after discharging her passengers and cargo at Adelphi Wharf. When loaded the steamer would now start her passage to Milford from the North Wharf railway berth on Sundays. Also it was agreed that on one day per week a cattle steamer, after loading livestock from the Limerick train, would sail from the North Wharf, the W & LR undertaking to pay the relevant bridge tolls due on 'Timbertoes' (which was not free of tolls

11 D.B. McNeill, *Irish Passenger Steamship Services (Vol. 2)*, p. 96.

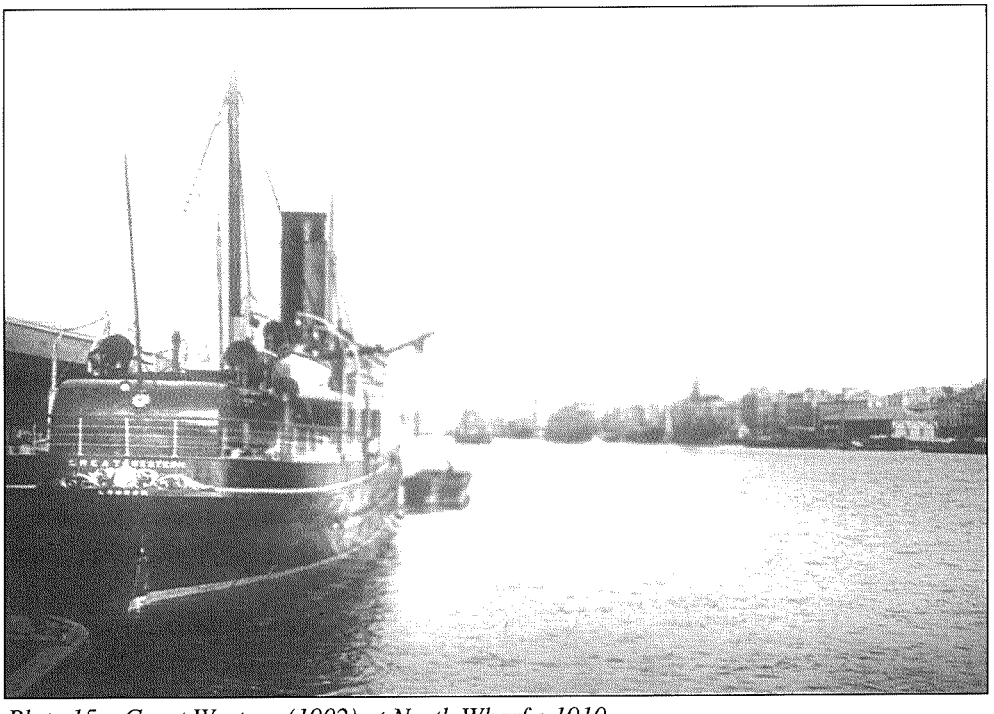


Plate 15 – Great Western (1902) at North Wharf c.1910.

(Courtesy of B. Colclough)

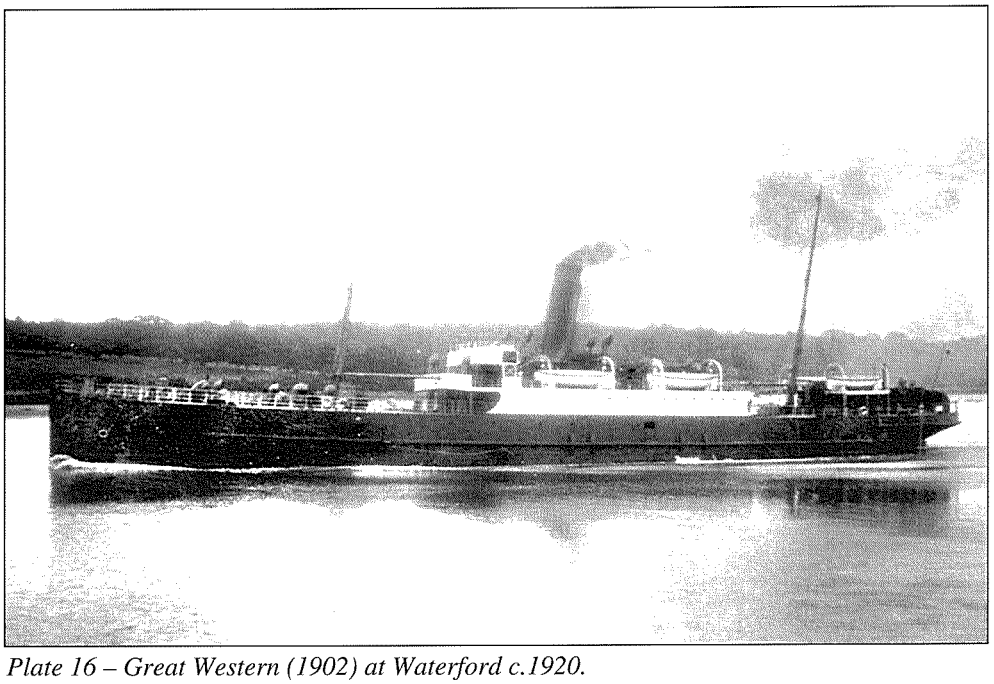


Plate 16 – Great Western (1902) at Waterford c.1920.

(J. Hartery Collection, Courtesy of Mrs. B. Baldwin)

until the end of 1907). By January 1882 sailings from the North Wharf had increased to twice weekly-steamers departing from the railway berth on Tuesday and Thursday mornings. Approaches were made by the W & LR to GWR in 1883 for a daily steamer service from the North Wharf and in November 1884 the GWR agreed to provide the steamer service to load and discharge through traffic daily for a trial period of three months. GWR proposed that after discharging local traffic at Adelphi Wharf, the steamer would proceed to the North Wharf. There it would unload, and take on through traffic by the railway, returning on the following morning to its berth at Adelphi Wharf, where passengers and cargo were taken on board before sailing for Milford. It is unclear if the daily steamer service trial period ever went ahead, or if full agreement was reached between the parties, for it was another nine years before daily sailings to, and from, the North Wharf commenced - the first one on the 31st of May 1893.[12]

Returning to the fleet of vessels, the veteran *P.S. Malakhoff* was scrapped in 1884, followed by *P.S. Vulture* making her final journey to the breakers yard in 1886. Meanwhile *P.S. Pembroke* the first steel-hulled vessel owned by the GWR went back to her builders after an accident to her engines in June 1895, for a major refit. The refit transformed the ship, converting her from a paddle steamer to a very much up-to-date twin-screw vessel in 1896, with two sets of triple expansion engines, enhancing her performance and considerably extending her career. But probably the biggest alteration was the lengthening of her hull by 95 feet improving her superstructure and presenting a sleek and more elegant appearance. The new *S.S. Pembroke* spent thirty-five years crossing St George's Channel before ending her career in 1915.

P.S. Milford, P.S. Waterford, and *P.S. Limerick* gave loyal service to just beyond the turn of the century. *P.S. Milford* was badly damaged following an epic forty hour crossing in December 1900, and was withdrawn shortly afterwards and broken up. *P.S. Limerick* was sold to Sunderman and Zoon of Dordrecht in Holland, for scrapping.

The arrival of the two new sister ships *S.S. Great Western* and *S.S. Great Southern* in 1902 led to *P.S. Waterford* being put into reserve, allowing the new ships to operate with *S.S. Pembroke. P.S. Waterford* did not again operate as a passenger ship and was sent to Garston for scrapping in 1905. *S.S. Pembroke* spent her summers supplementing the Weymouth services, and her winters relieving the new Waterford ships *S.S. Great Western* and *S.S. Great Southern* when they went for overhaul. After the outbreak of the First World War *S.S. Pembroke* was sent to Weymouth to serve the Channel Islands route. After the war she never returned to the Suir, remaining permanently based at Weymouth until her scrapping in 1925.[13]

Returning to the two new identical passenger steamers *S.S. Great Western* (Plates 15, 16) and *S.S. Great Southern* (Plate 17), both were built at Laird's yard at Birkenhead, each having a gross tonnage of 1,339 tons. They were twin screw

12 Ernie Shepherd, Unpublished MS, 'The Waterford & Limerick Railway', (Forthcoming Publication).

13 Grahame Farr, *West Country Passenger Steamers,* p. 48.

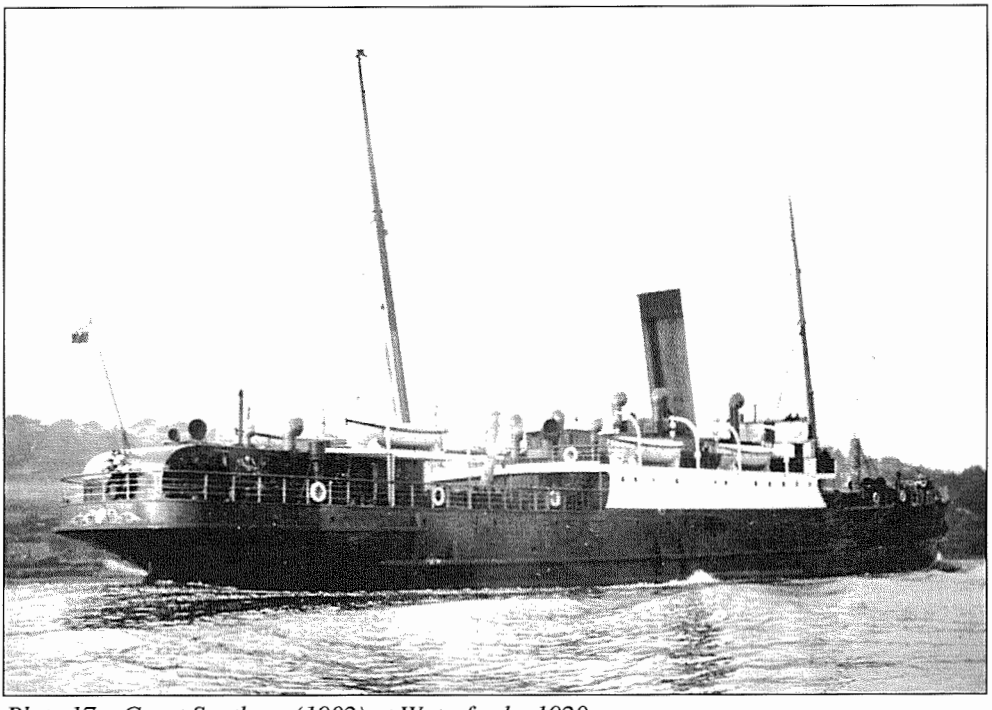


Plate 17 – Great Southern (1902) at Waterford c.1920.
(Author's Collection, Courtesy of Miss Cherry).

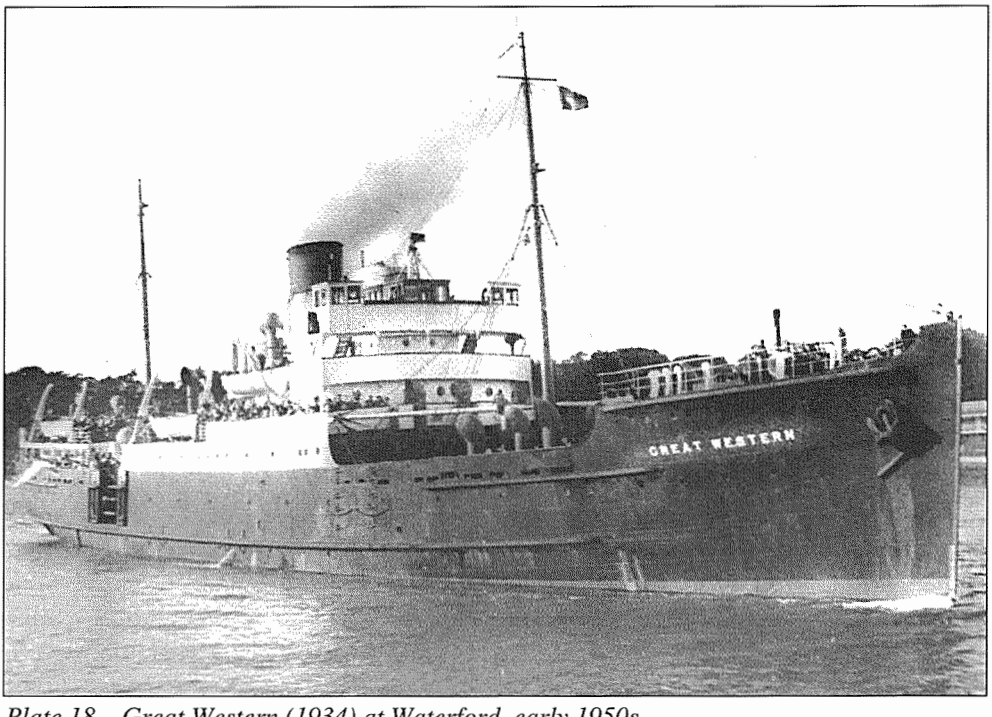


Plate 18 – Great Western (1934) at Waterford, early 1950s.
(J. Hartery Collection, Courtesy of A. Brophy).

steamers fitted with a four-cylinder triple expansion engine which easily delivered the designed speed of 16 knots. Both ships were a great advance on earlier packets being much larger and faster, and having sleeker lines. Each vessel had two decks and a shelter deck, with the saloon passengers being accommodated amidships and steerage aft. The new sisters had barely settled into their daily routine between Waterford and New Milford in 1902, when far reaching changes in the service were being planned and implemented. As early as 1898 with the formation of the Fishguard and Rosslare Railway and Harbours Co. Ltd., new extensive piers were being constructed at Rosslare and Fishguard financed from both Great Western Railways and Southern Irish interests. After eight years they were completed, and on the 30th of August 1906 the new Rosslare-Fishguard service was inaugurated, closing down the New Milford terminal, and mail packets leaving Waterford now berthed at Fishguard. Up to this time at Waterford the GWR ships moved to the North Wharf to load and discharge passengers, but goods to and from inland destinations were brought to the ship as she lay at Adelphi Quay. A fleet of barges was employed for this purpose and their contents were loaded or discharged into, or from No. 1 hold as the barges lay alongside ship.

Along with *S.S. Great Western* and *S.S. Great Southern* the modernised *S.S. Pembroke* was the third ship now operating the Waterford-Fishguard service. The new Rosslare-Fishguard service was predominantly passengers and mails with little provision for other cargo, and as in Waterford, three ships looked after its requirements.

In 1912 a new vessel was delivered to the GWR for the Waterford-Fishguard service. She was named appropriately enough *T.S.S. Waterford,* and was the only GWR steamer to have a quadruple expansion engine. The new steamer was built in the Newcastle-on-Tyne yard of Swan Hunter and Wigham Richardson and Co. and at 275 feet long was similar in size to *Great Southern* and *Great Western.* But her appearance was much more refined and stately, with her lines resembling those of a yacht. The *Waterford* like her consorts had a designated speed of 16 knots, but is reputed to have reached 17 and a half knots on pre-delivery trials. She established herself as a consistently fast ship but her sleek design made her rather lively at sea - a disadvantage when carrying livestock - resulting in a higher casualty rate among her cattle cargoes than that experienced by her sisters in the fleet.[14]

At the outbreak of World War One in August 1914, the three ships operating the Rosslare service were requisitioned as troop ships by the Admiralty, and to replace them *Great Western* and *Great Southern* were transferred from the Waterford route to Rosslare. The newest ship in the GWR fleet *Waterford* was left as the sole operator of the service between Fishguard and Waterford, which was now reduced from a daily to a thrice weekly one. *Waterford* remained on this service for the duration of the war and was relieved by the *Great Southern* when *Waterford's* annual survey came around. Shortly after the war she was finally relieved by the *Great Western* and after some overhaul *Waterford* operated for a

14 James Hartery, Unpublished MS, 'The Waterford – Fishguard Service', extracts by kind permission of Mrs Bridie Baldwin.

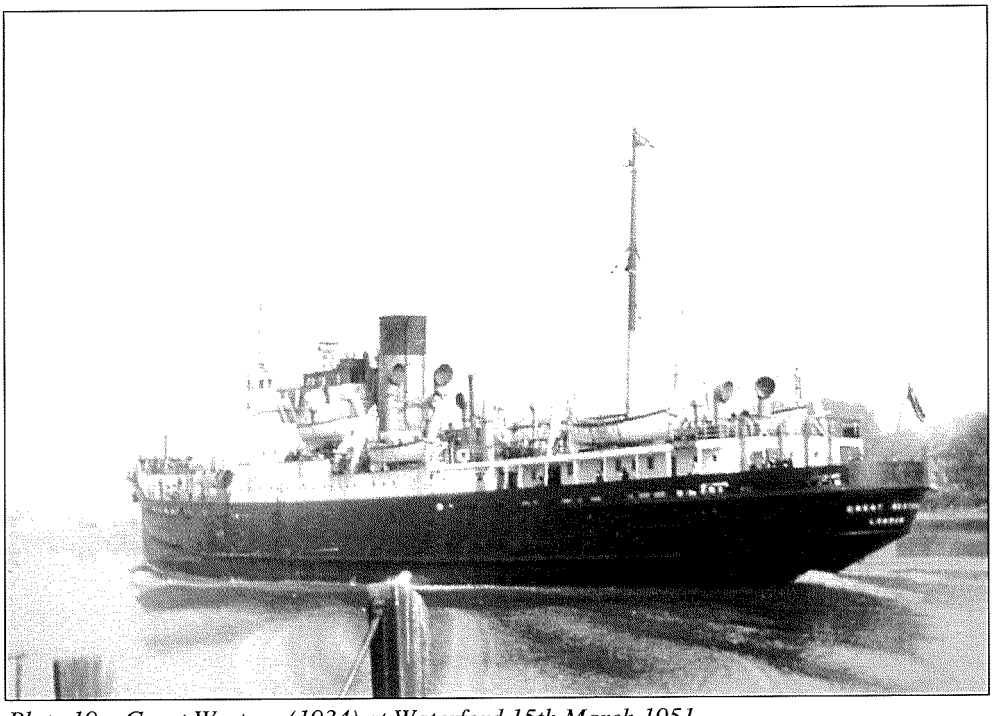


Plate 19 – Great Western (1934) at Waterford 15th March 1951.

(Courtesy of P. Shortall)

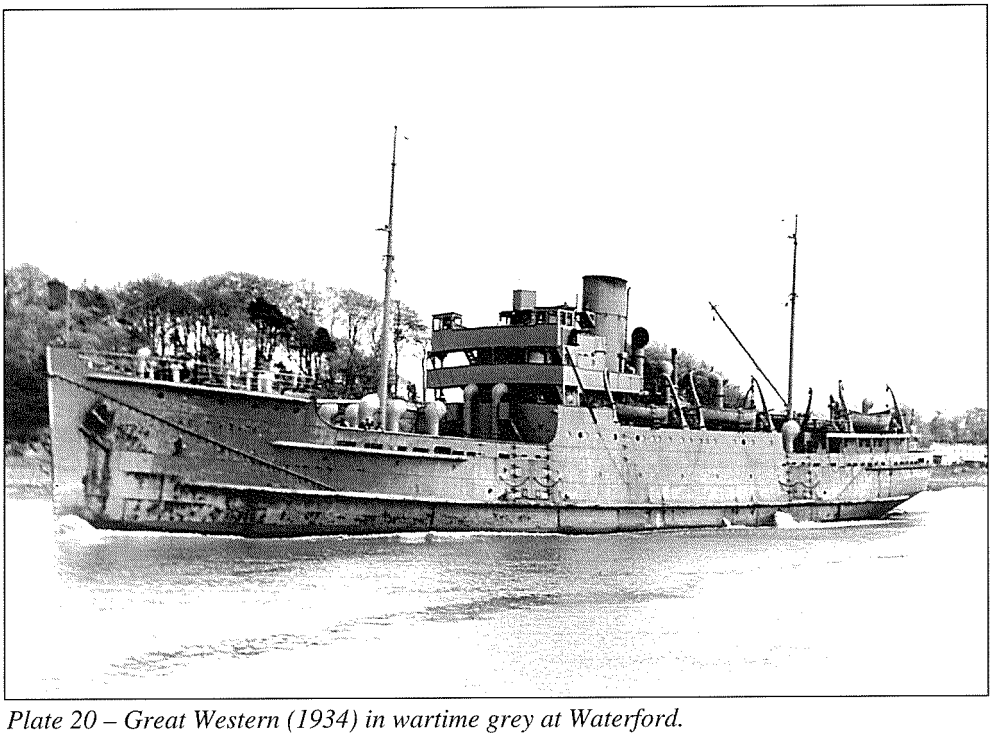


Plate 20 – Great Western (1934) in wartime grey at Waterford.

(J. Hartery Collection, Courtesy of A. Brophy)

while at Weymouth. *Great Southern* was now also released from the Rosslare service, and all three vessels interchanged for spells on the Waterford or Weymouth routes. Despite having three vessels available the Waterford service continued as in wartime, thrice weekly. The fleet was reduced to two in 1924 with the sale of *Waterford* to Philippine owners and this quashed any hope of restoring a regular daily service at Waterford.

In the period 1929 to 1931 the export of live cattle through Waterford was extensive, and both *Great Southern* and *Great Western* were often at Adelphi Quay at the same time, each loading to its full cattle carrying capacity. A significant growth in passenger numbers through Rosslare also happened at this time, and even with the delivery of two large new ships specially built for the route, it wasn't possible to cope with the numbers in summer weekends there. Invariably at peak weekends in July and August one of the Waterford steamers was called in to assist.

By 1932 the Waterford steamers were nearing the end of their careers and when the cattle trade was disrupted by the 'economic war' of that year, the *Great Western* was withdrawn and laid up at Newport. It is worth recalling that on one of the final crossings the *Great Western* made before her withdrawal, a regular speed of 19.9 knots was recorded - a fine achievement for a thirty year old vessel. *The Great Southern* around this time had a moderate refit, and among other things had her funnel replaced, the new one being considerably shorter than the old one. Both ships' days were now numbered.

Great Western had her name changed at Newport in 1933 to *GWR No. 20* in order to free her original name for a new ship on order. The new *Great Western* built at Cammell Lairds yard at Birkenhead, entered service early in 1934, and in that same year *Great Southern* along with *GWR No. 20* were broken up at Newport.[15]

S. S. Great Western 1934-1966

The proposed design for the new *Great Western* (Plates 18, 19), was progressive, the ship was to be much larger than her predecessors with very generous passenger accommodation, and her boilers were to be oil-fired. This last proposed innovation brought an angry response from the coal mining interests in South Wales. They loudly protested that the GWR who derived such a large portion of their revenue from coal could not be insensitive to the reality of unemployment in the coalfields in Wales. Their lobbying proved successful and a late design alteration replaced the oil-fired system to firing by coal from mechanical stokers.

Both speed and passenger accommodation became casualties of the changed design. The necessity to fit coal bunkers amidships increased the vessel's superstructure height which retarded her speed in head winds. Consequently the *Great Western* when completed only reached 14.5 knots on trials making her the slowest vessel on the route - almost 2 knots slower than the vessel she had replaced. With the oil-fired design she would have more than likely reached her optimum speed of 16 knots, with probably a couple of knots in reserve. Being the only ship on the

15 *Ibid.*

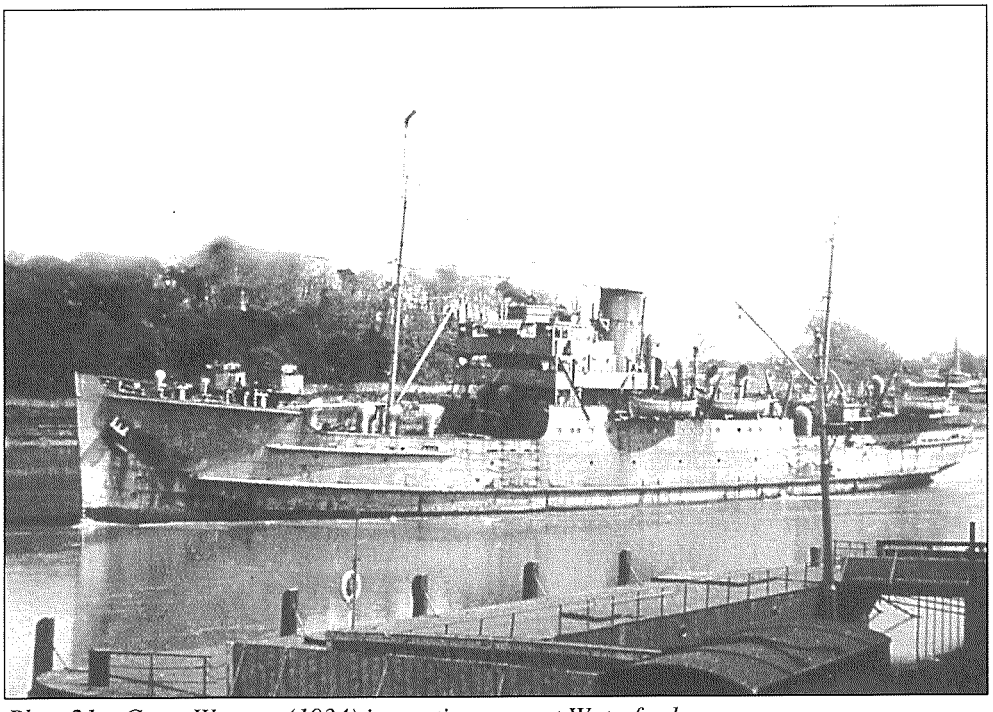


Plate 21 – Great Western (1934) in wartime grey at Waterford.
(J. Hartery Collection, Courtesy of Anthony Brophy)

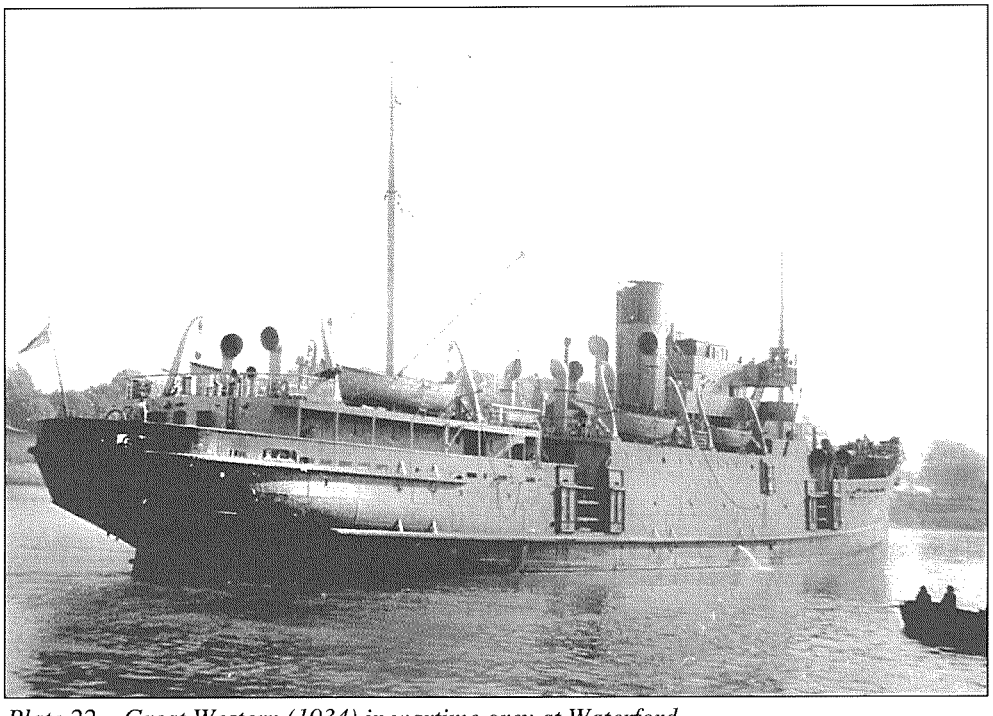


Plate 22 – Great Western (1934) in wartime grey at Waterford.
(J. Hartery Collection, Courtesy of Anthony Brophy)

route, and needing to respond to a significant rise in cattle exports with extra sailings, speed, - and as a consequence regularity of service - should have been the key criteria. Not alone did the high superstructure hamper her progress at sea, it also made her berthing at Waterford very difficult and hazardous in certain conditions of wind and tide. The performance of her attempts to berth in these conditions gave much entertainment to the quaysiders, but was not at all amusing to the delayed ship's passengers about to miss their planned rail connections. Although designed with generous passenger accommodation, this was restricted amidships to a ridiculously short portion of the ship's length due to the changed siting of her holds to facilitate coal firing.

In her early years, to meet increased heavy livestock shipments the *Great Western* departed from her thrice-weekly schedule, and often returned the next day from Fishguard reaching Waterford about noon, and when loaded sailing out again. *Great Western* on several occasions would arrive at Fishguard at about the time when she should be departing from that port to Waterford, if her normal schedules were being adhered to. Passengers due to sail out of Fishguard to Waterford on the *Great Western's* normal timetable (which could not now be met) were given the option of using the Rosslare route, but as a public relations exercise in improving passenger business it was less than helpful.[16]

The Second World War

For most of the Second World War the *Great Western* continued on the Waterford - Fishguard run with some sporadic interruptions. In June 1941 the Rosslare-Fishguard vessel *St. Patrick* was sunk in mid-passage by an air attack. The *Great Western* replaced her at Rosslare denying Waterford its cross-channel service for three months. Returning to Waterford in October 1941 the *Great Western* resumed her scheduled service, but with many interruptions and delays it was impossible to adhere to her traditional timetable. War-time also imposed colour changes to her structure, initially coating her prominent white painted surfaces with a very dark grey (Plate 20), and then after her survey in 1940 coming back into service with a light grey hull and her paintwork above deck level changed to a light buff (Plate 21). Over a year later the two-tone was camouflaged with an all over dark grey (Plate 22).

It was deemed prudent to dress the *Great Western* in other wartime defensive accessories which added to her now almost sinister look. She was fitted with a degaussing apparatus for protection against magnetic mines, a barrage balloon to guard against aircraft, and a four-inch gun to defend against submarines and enemy ships. Concrete slabs and sandbags were fitted to her bridge to deter machine gun attacks from aircraft, and four anti-aircraft guns disposed about her decks improved her security from air attack. The Waterford-Fishguard service was again interrupted in 1944 when the Admiralty requisitioned the *Great Western* for duty from May 11th of that year to August 24th. Fortunately she did not become a

16 *Ibid.*

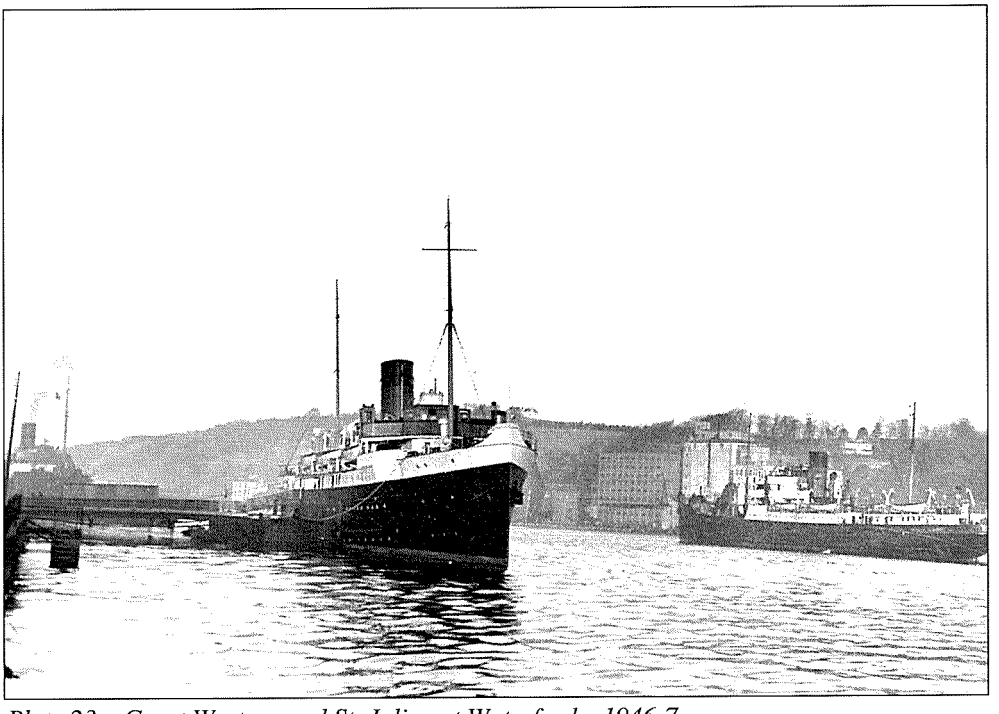


Plate 23 – Great Western and St. Julien at Waterford c.1946-7 .
(J. Hartery Collection, Courtesy of Anthony Brophy)

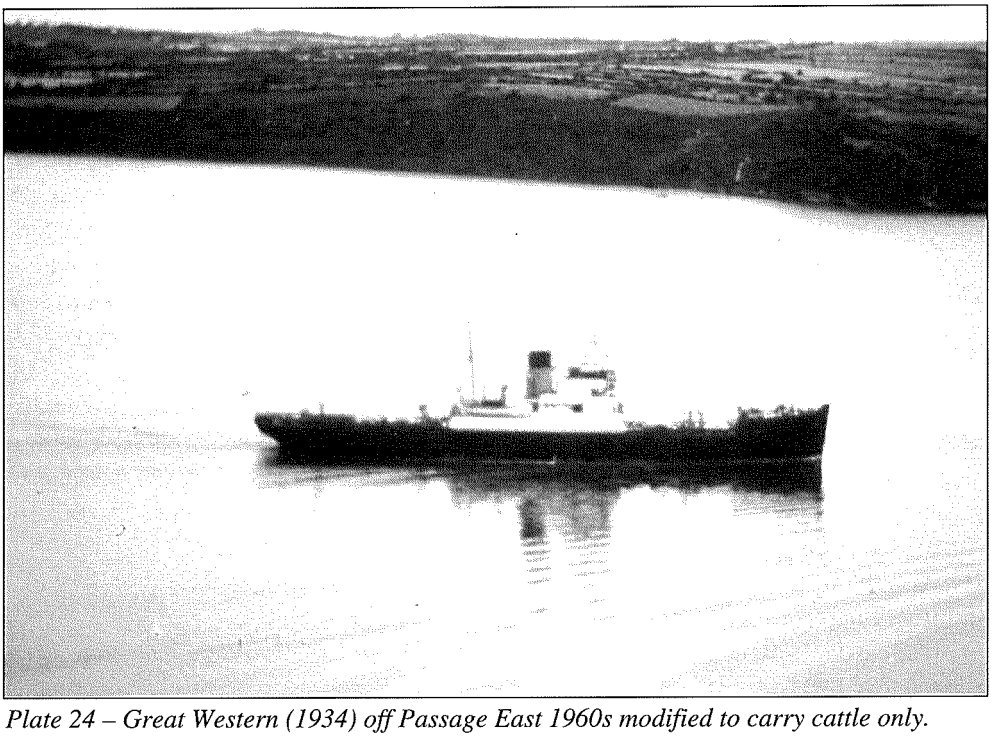


Plate 24 – Great Western (1934) off Passage East 1960s modified to carry cattle only.
(Courtesy of T. O'Sullivan / S. Heffernan)

casualty of the war, as many locals then believed. Had that been the case, the Waterford-Fishguard service would have ended, as a replacement ship could not be found. Locals were very relieved on the 24th of August 1944 when the *Great Western* made a welcome return to the Waterford service, and continued in that capacity to the end of the war. Travel restrictions were eased shortly after victory was declared in May 1945, and pressure on the *Great Western's* passenger accommodation was incessantly heavy. To further aggravate matters the Rosslare-Fishguard service was not restored for some months after the war ended. The *St Andrew* which was the only survivor of the ships on that route was retained for British Government service.

With the Rosslare service closed, and the *Great Western* on the Waterford service unable to cope with passenger demand at peak holiday periods, many Waterfordians from the London and Midland areas of England were obliged to use the Dublin or Dun Laoghaire services to get home. *Great Western's* annual survey could not now be fixed for a convenient time of the year due to a post-war shipyard boom, and on occasions she was absent for the Easter and Whit holiday periods. At such times her schedule was covered by two relief ships *Princess Maud* and one of the Weymouth passenger vessels *St Julien.* When the Rosslare-Fishguard service re-opened in 1946 it eased the pressure on the Waterford route to some degree. However with the huge amount of Irish emigrants from the south-east now settled in Britain there was still great demand at peak periods for a passage home on the *Great Western.* When off for her annual survey she was again replaced by two relief vessels, one of which was the *Princess Maud.*

A major political decision was taken in 1948 which influenced the policy and future direction of the service. The Atlee Government nationalised British railways with all their ancillary services, and on the 1st of January 1948 the GWR relinquished their business and influence to new management.

During her first post-war refit a great opportunity was missed for increasing *Great Western's* speed, when she underwent a conversion to oil fuel. Advantage was taken of extending her passenger accommodation by removing her now redundant coal bunker hatch amidships, but sadly no attempt was made to improve her speed which even in pre-war years was considered slow. Also the traditional departure time of 5.25 p.m. from Waterford was changed to 7 p.m. which hardly improved matters. One of the more obvious changes imposed by the new owners, British Rail, was the altering of *Great Western's* funnel colours-from GWR's red with a black top-to the new buff with a black top. A few years later they freshened her appearance with a complete paint make-over: blue hull, white superstructure, a bright red funnel with black top and on the red section a white railway motif. Throughout the 1950s *Great Western* in her new vivid colours looked really well, and it came as a shock locally in 1958 to hear that the passenger service was to be abandoned. Despite many public protests the decision to discontinue the passenger service at Waterford was not reversed. It must have occurred to management that a continued passenger service at Waterford meant the provision of a new ship by the early 1960s, and with mounting losses in the nationalised British Rail, combined

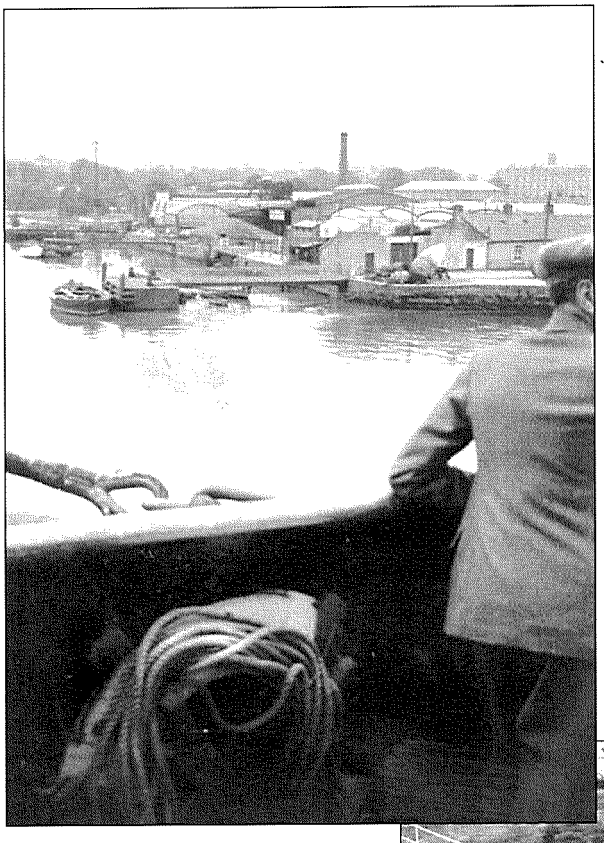


Plate 25 – View of Adelphi Quay from Great Western c.1947.
(Courtesy of N. Ellis)

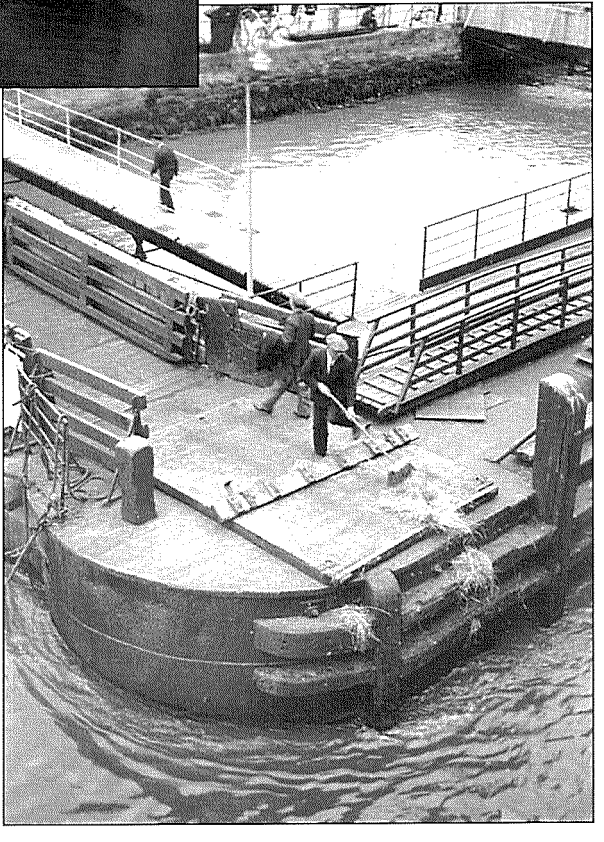


Plate 26 – View of Adelphi Quay from Great Western c.1947.
(Courtesy of N. Ellis)

with massive increases in shipbuilding prices and operating costs generally, this was one unpalatable option. Furthermore Waterford's loss would be Rosslare's gain, thus improving passenger service economics overall.

The *Great Western* underwent some alterations for her new role as a cargo container vessel in 1959. One of the most obvious being the removal of her original masts and their replacement by light tripod ones on the boat deck (Plate 24). As *Great Western* passed her thirtieth birthday the question of her replacement must have received a great deal of consideration and analysis. Unfortunately a decision emerged that no new vessel would replace her and it was announced that the *Great Western* would be withdrawn from service and retired. Thus in 1966 *Great Western* left Adelphi Quay for the last time to a well deserved send off. Despite her flaws she had served the port well for thirty-three years, and apart from the grounding at Snow Hill in the first month of her career, and some heavy damage to her forecastle in the early 1950s, she had carried out her crossings faithfully without injury or accident. The inconsistencies of her time-keeping were unfortunate, and damaging to the passenger side of the business, but within the limits imposed by her design and the demands of the service, she had done all that could be expected of her. *Great Western* went to Holyhead to lay-up, and was called on to make a few trips on the Heysham-Belfast service before her sale to Belgian shipbreakers for scrapping at Tamise. With her departure from Waterford the curtain was drawn on the era of mail packet steamers-the end of a legacy stretching back to pre-Victorian days.[17]

Relief Vessels

Since her introduction in 1934 *Great Western* was the only vessel in the GWR fleet capable of servicing the broad requirements of the Waterford-Fishguard route. When out of service for her annual survey, or if laid up for damage repairs *Great Western* had to be replaced by a vessel outside of the GWR fleet. Hardly had the new *Great Western* become familiar with the Suir navigation laneways, when a few weeks in service she touched ground at Snow Hill on an outward voyage in dense fog and damaged both her propeller and rudder. The City of Cork Steam Packet Company steamer *Ardmore* was immediately chartered to replace her. *Ardmore* subsequently replaced *Great Western* on several other occasions up to 1940. Built as the *Killiney* in 1919, *Ardmore* ended her career when she became a war casualty on a passage from Cork to Fishguard in 1940.

The *Lairdsmoor* also did a spell of duty on the route in 1937. *Lairdsmoor* was built as the *Moorfowl* and most of her service had been on the Dublin-Glasgow route. Soon after her return from the Waterford-Fishguard route she was sunk off the Mull of Galloway in April 1937, after a collision with the liner *Taranaki.*

S.S. Wicklow a much older vessel than the two mentioned above, also called at Adelphi Quay as a relief ship both before and during the Second World War. She was built in 1895, in Glasgow, for the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company, and by the time she visited Waterford she was close to retiring.

17 *Ibid.*

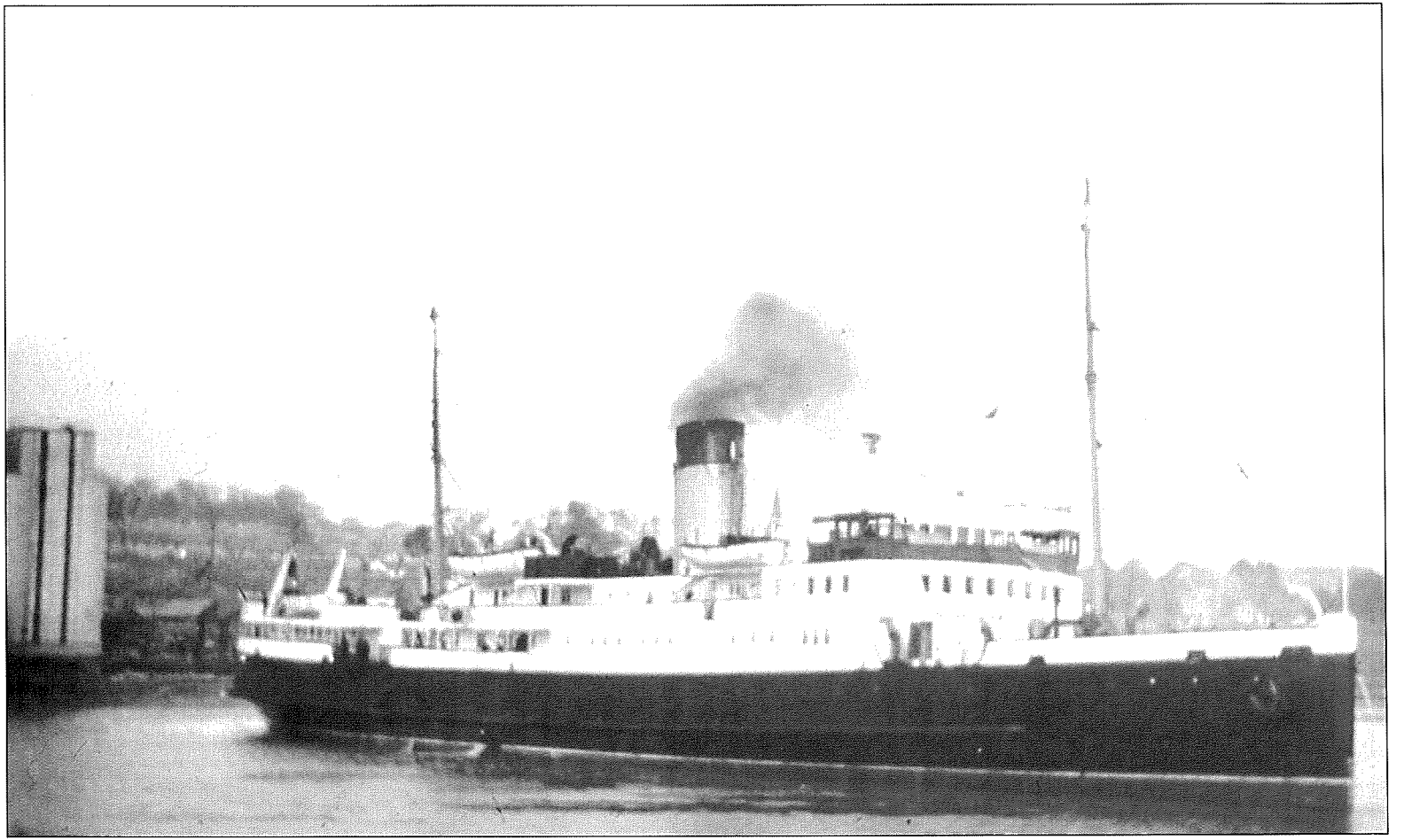


Plate 27 – Princess Maud at Waterford, 28th April 1955. (Courtesy of P. Shortall)

Two other ships-sisters of the *Lairdsmoor* called as relief vessels during and after the war. *Lairdsglen* called at Waterford in the war years and was the larger of the two ships. She was built at Ayr in 1914, had a speed of 15.5 knots, and spent most of her career on the Glasgow-Derry service. *Lairdsgrove* was an older ship; being built at Glasgow in 1898 but like *Lairdsglen* had a speed of 15.5 knots, which exceeded that of the *Great Western.* The Adelphi Quay saw the *Lairdsgrove* for the first time immediately after the war ended in 1945.[18]

Relief Vessels in Post-War Years

At peak holiday weekends after the war due to extensive passenger numbers the Weymouth passenger vessel *St Julien* supplemented the ordinary relief vessel *Lairdsgrove* at Waterford. *St Julien* came to Waterford in 1945 carrying passengers only, and berthed opposite Reginald's Tower at the Clyde Shipping Company's Bristol service berth. *St Helier* acted as relief vessel the following year, and *St Julien* returned again in 1947. As *St Julien* neared the end of her stint in that year, the *Great Western* returned from her annual survey and both ships worked out of Waterford for a brief period (Plate 23). This was the last time two GWR ships were to be seen together at Waterford.

After 1947 the Great Western's replacement was the large, fast, modern passenger ship *Princess Maud* - a relief steamer at Holyhead (Plates 27 & 28). *Princess Maud* was built at Denny's of Dumbarton in 1935, and had a top speed of 20 knots. She continued as the relief ship annually at Waterford, until the passenger service closed on the route in 1959. To cater for the cattle and cargo services during this spell, the B & I's *Meath* a purpose built coastal cargo vessel made some visits to Adelphi Quay.[19]

Captains

Little is known about the captains of the vessels, and for many of the ships their masters are not identified.[20] However we do know that a very generous salary of £300 per annum was paid to the captains of the Milford-Waterford mail steamers in the Admiralty era of 1837-1848.[21] For comparison, in the same era, captains of merchant sailing ships trading out of Waterford on deep sea voyages were paid £10 per month and commission on freight (usually 2.5%), which rarely brought their earnings anywhere near £300. Fortunately information on two of the commanders of the mail packet steamers is known. Captain William Lane Pearn (Plate 29), master of the *P.S. Great Western* (1867-1878), came from Cornwall, got married in Wales, and his daughter Charlotte Anne Pearn married Captain Todd also in Wales. Charlotte Anne and Captain Todd had a daughter Eliza, and when she was five years old (in 1881), her mother died (aged 31), and Eliza was sent from her home

18 *Ibid.*

19 *Ibid.*

20 That information is available in the Passage East Returns, Pilot Books, held at the National Archives in Bishop Street, Dublin - but its research is another day's work.

21 D.B. McNeill, *Irish Passenger Steamship Services (Vol. 2),* p. 94.

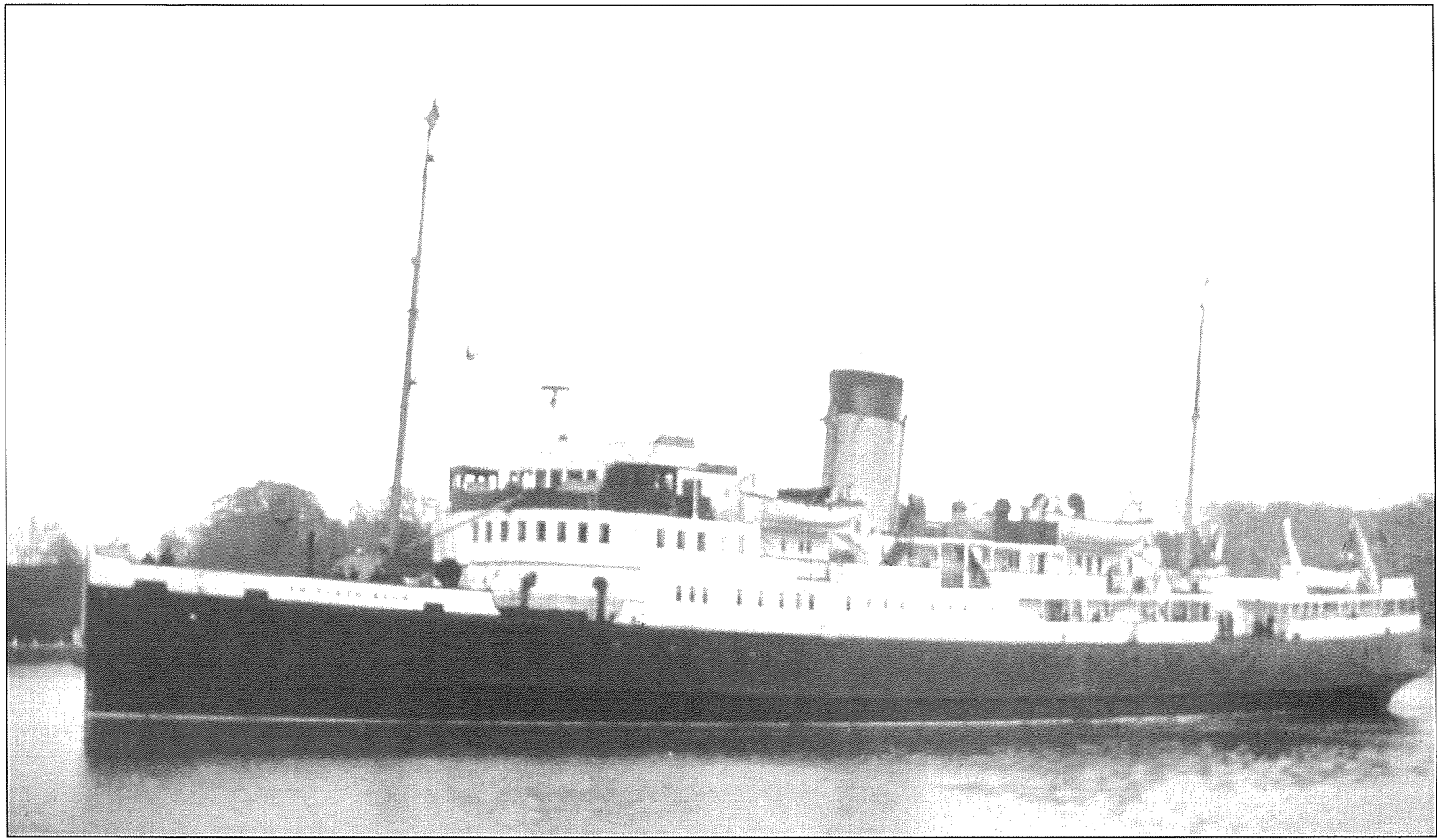


Plate 28 – Princess Maud at Waterford, 28th April 1955. (Courtesy of P. Shortall)

in Wales to London. Meanwhile her grandfather, Captain W.L. Pearn had retired in Waterford, bought a pub at the top of Exchange Street (on the right hand side), and lived at No.7 William Street. Eliza Todd came to Waterford and worked at Poole's Photographic shop on the Quay, before marrying John William Ellis in 1899. William (Bill) Ellis came from a shipowning and sea-faring family, but worked all his life at George White's stores, O'Connell Street, Waterford. Captain W.L. Pearn's son W.T. (Bill) Pearn followed in his father's footsteps becoming master of the *P.S./S.S. Pembroke* (1880-1915). Captain Bill Pearn lived in the corner house on the Manor at the end of Bunkers Hill.

Captain W.L. Pearn died on January 31st 1907 aged 93, and on his headstone in the Church of Ireland cemetery in John's Hill are inscriptions to the memory of his wife Eliza (died March 17th 1895, aged 84), and their daughter Charlotte Anne Todd (died April 8th 1881, aged 31) which suggests that Captain Pearn retired to Waterford when the *P.S. Great Western* was transferred to the Weymouth-Cherbourg route in 1878.[22]

Conclusion

The mail packets plied between Waterford and Pembrokeshire for over two centuries facilitating primarily a passenger and mail service, but developing also a lucrative livestock export trade from Waterford. Live cattle exports began in earnest in the second half of the nineteenth century, and contributed substantially to the mail steamer trade to beyond the middle of the twentieth century. Bringing livestock by steamer across St. George's Channel had its own problems as the cattle had to be tended to, and kept standing, as they would become sick if they lay down. But livestock exports played a crucial part in sustaining our local and regional economy especially in the depressed years between the two World Wars.

As passenger vessels they proved themselves to be efficient and reliable, and to the author's knowledge no human loss of life was recorded on any of the crossings. Perhaps their biggest advantage was their convenience to Waterford patrons, giving them direct passage from the city quayside to Wales.

The mail packet ships also reflected the changes and advances in ship design and technology of the era. Over the two centuries the vessels advanced from the small type sailing brigs and cutters to the early paddle steamers and ultimately to the large screw propelled steamers. The fleet over that time saw their hulls change from wood to iron and then steel. Generation of steam power progressed from the highly inefficient lever type engines in the early paddle steamers, to the compound, triple, and quadruple expansion engines of the later vessels, and it can be safely stated that all the boilers were coal-fired with the exception of the last *Great Western*-belatedly converted to oil firing.

When the fleet became screw propelled the lines, contours, and shape of hull and superstructure improved, giving a sleek and rather graceful appearance to the vessels.

22 Information given by Naomi Ellis, great granddaughter of Captain W.L. Pearn.

Plate 29 – Captain W.L. Pearn master of P.S Great Western (1867-1885?).
(Courtesy of N. Ellis).

Ownership of the mail packets went from private enterprise (twice) in the early stages, to state involvement (Post Office and Admiralty), back to private enterprise, again twice (Ford & Jackson, and GWR), before finally reverting to state ownership which was really the death knell of the service.

Not only did ownership of the mail packet service change several times, but the stations on both sides of the Irish sea, relocated: from Milford to Fishguard on the Pembrokeshire coast, and from Passage East to Dunmore East, and finally up the Suir to Adelphi Wharf in the heart of Waterford port.

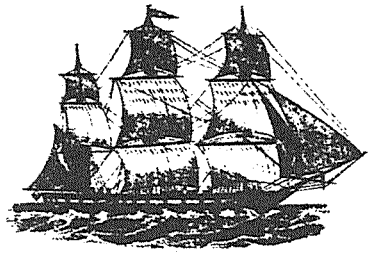
From a personal perspective growing up on the banks of the Suir at Ferrybank in the 1950s and 1960s was a natural maritime experience. Our playground backcloth changed daily with the coming and going of ships, and yet there were several strands in the fabric of the portal canvas that remained the same. *Great Western,* along with the Clyde ship *S.S. Rockabill,* and the dredger *S.S. Portlairge* seemed to be always with us, and added colour and character to the harbour with her imposing presence. John B. Keane captures the atmosphere and mood around a river quite beautifully, 'A man is blessed a thousand times over to be born near a river. It sings in him every day.' It is only now that I realise how blessed I was, in the rich environment of a majestic river, witnessing portal scenes that can never be repeated. *Great Western,* our prominent, constant visitor, was reassuring us daily that things would always be the same, that our lives would never change, but alas, they did - *Great Western* retired, we grew up-and the song of the river was never quite the same.

Acknowledgements

The following people kindly allowed me to copy old photographs from their collections for inclusion in this study: Anthony Brophy, Bridie Baldwin, Bernard Colclough, Sonny Condon, Paddy Shortall, Peter Carroll, Naomi Ellis, Nan Cherry, and Seamus Heffernan.

For access to valuable information included in the text I am grateful to: Anthony Brophy, Ernie Shepherd, Gerald Spencer, Naomi Ellis and Bridie Baldwin.

I am deeply indebted to Andrew Kelly for access to his book collection, but in particular for his time and expertise in scanning and printing the photographs contained in this study.



They that go down to the sea in ships,
that do business in great waters;

These see the works of the Lord, and
his wonders in the deep.

For he commandeth, and raiseth the
stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves thereof.

They mount up to the heaven; they go
down again to the depths: their Soul is melted
because of trouble.

They reel to and fro, and stagger like
a drunken man, and are at their wits end.

Then they cry unto the Lord in their
trouble, and he bringeth them out of their
distresses.

He maketh the storm a calm, so that
the waves thereof are still.

Then are they glad because they be
quiet; so he bringeth them unto their desired
haven.

Oh that men would praise the Lord
for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to
the children of men.

Presented by Capt W^m L Pearn. WATERFORD.

Plate 30 – Citation to Captain W.L. Pearn on his retirement c. 1878.

Port of Waterford: Extracts from the Records of the Waterford Harbour Commissioners from their Establishment in 1816 to the Report of the Ports and Harbours Tribunal, 1930

By Anthony J. Brophy

WATERFORD Harbour has been a prominent haven for shipping from the very beginning of habitation on this island. Its strategic location, sheltered up-river anchorages and trinity of rivers sustaining the south east of Ireland ensured that vital and continuing role. The earliest incursions into Ireland are associated with Waterford and these hardy mariners were original free traders and more than happy to leave official jurisdiction and administration of the port to, well, perhaps a millennium or two later.

Royal Charters are among the earliest references to shipping arrangements, customs charges and the perennial rivalry with New Ross. The Charter of Henry V (1413-22) issued shortly after his accession enhanced the role of Mayor, for example, adding the title Admiral of the Port of Waterford whose outer limits had been specified in a Charter of 1356 as a line linking Hook Head in county Wexford with Red Head, just west of what is now Dunmore East. Source for this data comes from *The Royal Charters of Waterford* (Julian Walton, published by Waterford Corporation, 1992). Mr. Walton goes on to note that the Henry V Charter granted the City the 'right to keep the tax known as the cocket, and this was confirmed in 1416.' Indeed, the Charter of 1472 from Edward IV (which is in the possession of Waterford City Council) is endorsed 'A Copy of the Record of the suit that was betwixt Waterford and New Ross about the Coket money and of the judgement against Ross Anno Edward IV 12, made at the request of James Sherlock.'

The Great or Governing Charter of Charles I (1625-49) made port administration a very clear issue and is in line with more recent developments and legislation. Indeed, it was quoted in the Report of the Ports and Harbours Tribunal, 1930, where it was stated in evidence before the Tribunal that a Charter of Charles I of 16th May 1626 granted the port to the 'Mayor, Sheriff and Citizens of Waterford.' Under Section 60 of this Charter the Corporation were empowered to appoint a Water Bailiff.

Thus the Corporation were on first watch in the overall management of the port. In time not everyone was satisfied with the discharge of their duties and the Tribunal's Report notes in paragraphs 850 and 851:

> It was stated in evidence on behalf of the Harbour Commissioners that about the year 1785 the trade of the port had increased and that the Corporation, through the Water Bailiff, had collected considerable Revenue but had not provided adequate accommodation for shipping or cargoes. Owing to this neglect of the port by the Corporation, the traders found it necessary to form themselves into a body of merchants who voluntarily taxed themselves by rates on goods and dues on ships, the Revenue so produced being devoted to improving, cleansing and lighting the quays.

In 1815 that body of merchants became the Chamber of Commerce and were established by Royal Charter. In the following year the Chamber of Commerce promoted and obtained a Bill constituting a separate Harbour Authority for Waterford and the Waterford Harbour Act 1816 was the result of this action.

First Meeting

The first meeting of the port authority was held in July 1816. The meeting took place in the Chamber of Commerce Building which stands at the head of Gladstone Street with a commanding presence over the street and a select view of the river. This imposing Georgian structure was designed and built by the celebrated Waterford architect John Roberts who also left his mark on the Catholic and Protestant Cathedrals as well as the City Hall: to boot, he was grandfather of Field Marshal Lord Roberts of Kandahar, Pretoria and Waterford.

The building was originally a town-house for William Morris of Rossduff and completed in 1795 for £10,000. The Chamber of Commerce acquired the building in 1814 for what appears to have been a bargain at £2,500.

The Harbour Commissioners were their first tenants and watched the tide of their fortunes from the same offices for 188 years until the end of April 2004. Shall we join the appointed members as they assemble for the very first meeting a few minutes before mid-day on Wednesday, 17th July, 1816. Around the long, oblong table sat thirteen men - Cornelius Bolton, Mayor, whom with James Wallace, represents the Common Council of the Corporation of Waterford. The Chamber of Commerce, constituted only a year earlier, is there in strength with John Harris, Richard Davis, Josiah Strangman, John Leonard, Robert Jacob, John Strangman, George Penrose Ridgway and Francis Davis. The third group required to nominate members, the Merchants and Inhabitants of the town of Clonmel are represented by Arthur Riall, David Malcomson, James Morton and Robert Grubb.

Peeping at the roll of attendance we note that twenty-four Commissioners had been appointed: the Chamber of Commerce authorised to appoint twelve persons, the Corporation seven and Clonmel interests five. There are two absentees from Clonmel, four from the Chamber of Commerce, and, bless us, no less than five missing from the Corporation - the previous masters of the port!

One notable absentee is Sir John Newport, no doubt active in his parliamentary duties for Waterford at Westminster. He has taken a leading part in forming the Harbour Board and although sixty years old remained on watch for Waterford (and Catholic Emancipation) until his death at his home in Newpark, near the City, in 1843.

James Wallace was appointed Chairman and Robert Jacob, Secretary. The very first resolution stated 'that it is expedient to collect until further notice the full rate of Tonnage Duties as stated in Schedule A of the Act.' Then a letter from Trinity House was read concerning the appointment of a Pilot Master and the meeting agreed that the salary for this post should be £200 per annum. A communication from the Navigation Board dated only two days before the meeting sought information on the establishment of the Harbour Board. It was agreed that the President of the Chamber of Commerce, the body propagating the Harbour Board in the first place, should furnish the details and submit them to Mr. Cornelius Bolton with whom the Navigation Board were in contact. Finally, the meeting appointed two sub-committees: one to carry the Act into effect and the other to deal with correspondence until the appointment of a full-time secretary.

Conninbeg Light

In April 1817 it was recorded that the Masters of the Milford Packets had suggested that 'a perch with a bell attached thereto be placed on the small Cunny Rocks near the Saltee Islands.' This request was passed on to the Ballast Board in Dublin with a recommendation from the Harbour Board that it be given due consideration as should the white-washing of the Hook Tower. The response was positive even if some seven years elapsed before the Coningbeg Lightship was placed in position on 1st September 1824. An automated vessel was placed on station on 24th January 1982 and two months later on 31st March 1982 the crew were withdrawn. It remained an unmanned lightship for a time until the vessel was designated as a Light Float. I am indebted to David Bedlow of the Commissioners of Irish Lights for these later details. In the same month the Pilot Committee was instructed to 'do without loss of time employ a qualified person to take a survey of the River, Harbour and adjacent Coast.'

The Coningbeg Light featured in March 1880 when the Commissioners appealed to the Commissioners of Irish Lights to alter the Light stating that 'it was being mistaken for the Tuskar and in consequence there had been numerous shipwrecks.' There was to be little relief in the response:

> In reply I am to acquaint you for the information of the Harbour Commissioners of the Port of Waterford that the Board is of the opinion (an opinion with which the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House concur) that the casualties alluded to were caused by the carelessness of those navigating the vessels.

Having laid waste the Port's argument there was some light, well additional light, in that the Commissioners of Irish Lights added that the Board of Trade and Trinity House 'sanctioned.... the establishment of a lightship off the Barrels Rock.' At the end of the day the case had been made.

Ford Channel

The first major scheme undertaken by the Board was the deepening of the Ford or Queen's Channel, a shallow reach between Little Island and the Kilkenny shore. In recent years the Captain of a visiting cruise ship aptly described this reach as a canal, or so it appeared to him as read from the chart. The contract provided that work should commence on 1st May 1817 and be completed within eighteen months at a cost of £17,708. 6s. 8d. There was a provision permitting the 'stuff excavated' to be dumped at the Maulus Rock - a nearby point in the King's Channel where spoil was dumped until the 1970s.

In October 1817 Sir John Newport presented the Board with certain documents referring to the Government Grant for Deepening the Ford Channel 'being letters from Mr. Secretary Peel - and the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, dated 30th January 1816.' Peel, the famous 'Bobby,' closed his letter with these words:

> Mr. Fitzgerald (Wm. Vesey Fitzgerald) and I had an interview with these gentlemen (members of the Waterford Chamber of Commerce) this morning and signified to them of our intention of acceding to the proposition which they have made - and of recommending to Parliament the grant of the funds required by them on certain conditions to which they acceded - indeed which they proposed. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your very obedient servant, Robert Peel.

A year later something less momentous was recorded when a 10s. fine was levied on Edmund Mullowney for 'buying and selling old ropes without being licensed.' The fine was passed on to the Treasurer of the Fever Hospital 'pursuant to the provisions of the Act.'

In February 1865 the Board arranged for a further deepening of the Ford Channel and sought a superintendent engineer for the work. The appointee would work under the Board's consulting engineer, John Coode of London, to whom the Board sent names of six applicants for his recommendation. The names were William Barr, John H. Brophy (writer's great grandfather), Matthew M. Graham, Charles Gifford Moore and Abraham Stephens. Coode recommended Stephens and there was a motion that he should be appointed followed by an amendment in favour of J. H. Brophy. It appears that Coode had suggested that the engineer should inspect the work daily and in his letter of acceptance Mr. Stephens said that he did not consider such attention necessary. Members of the Board interpreted this as a 'declination of the position' and consequently Brophy was called before the Board and apprised of the conditions of the situation. He is recorded as assenting to these points and thus the amendment arose. However, the amendment was defeated by twelve votes to eight.

Some controversy remained and a special meeting was called at the request of a number of members to re-consider the appointment of Stephens. No change resulted and J. H. Brophy received something of a consolation being charged with taking monthly measurements at the Ford which he undertook. Another note of domestic interest arose on 18th October 1866 when the Board resolved 'with pleasure to take Mr. Brophy CE's very handsome map of Waterford.'

As a point of interest the Ford Channel had been surveyed in 1860 by the celebrated shipbuilder, Mr. John Horn, of the Neptune Ironworks. He reported that the river bed was composed of yellow clay and shingle and that of the lower part there was soft blue clay, sand and mud with 'a comparatively small rock extending about 21 feet in length.'

Secretary

By this time the Board had appointed a Secretary, George Brownrigg, and in the final paragraph of a rather colourful if obsequious letter he made a well-known appeal:

> Memorialist would in conclusion beg to apologise for trespassing on the time of your Board by going into such detail but he thought it necessary to do so in order that your Board might be enabled to judge therefrom as to whether he has or has not a small claim to your consideration. He feels it however equally incumbent upon him to declare that be it your decision what it may he will forget that he owes all his present advantages to your kindness and liberality. George Brownrigg.

It was an appeal for an increase in salary and it worked. The Board's liberality was further enhanced by an award which brought the salary from £170 to £200 per annum. The letter was dated 11th March 1819 and the rise was retrospective to 1st January. An earlier quote from this lengthy letter notes 'that you will.... be solely influenced by those impartial considerations which induced you to appoint him your Secretary and Book-keeper at a time when persons of much greater rank and influence in society were candidates for the office.'

In 1821 Brownrigg was awarded £250 per annum and after twenty-one years service retired in 1838. He did not enjoy a long retirement as shortly afterwards we read that a committee of five was appointed 'to investigate the circumstances of his widow and child.' They were Ald. Harris, Henry Denny, Joshua W. Strangman, Thomas R. Cherry and Henry Ridgway. It was finally decided that a sum of £600 be paid from the Water Bailiff's fees to the widow. This was an handsome benefit in those days and we can take it that the Board were doing well and, doubtless, gave the cash where the credit was due.

Thomas Ross succeeded Brownrigg in February 1838 at £180 per annum.

In August 1818 it was noted that a contract had been agreed between the Government and the proprietors of the Bristol Packets for the conveyance of troops and such vessels were to be exempt from rates of Pilotage.

Another loss of revenue to the Board was a successful claim for £36. 14s. by Mr. Thomas Fogarty owner of the brig, *Friend(s),* under the command of Captain Hutchinson. Apparently, one hogshead of sugar was destroyed during handling operations 'in consequence of the insufficiency of the stage.' The Secretary noted that 'Mr. Fogarty having agreed to allow the discount for cash - he was accordingly paid £34. 16. 11d.'

This was noted in January 1819.

Pilotage

The relatively new Board was keen to assert its authority and eliminate illegal practices. This derives from a letter to the Board from Benjamin Conn, Deputy Pilot Master, stationed at Passage. He stated that 'William Doyle a pilot not employed by this Establishment refused to give him charge of the *Pilgrim* of London from Memel to Ross (Master James Andrews) when required to do so agreeable to the Provisions of the Act.'

The Secretary was instructed to direct the Law Agent to take immediate proceedings against Doyle and the ship's master 'pursuant to the Powers vested in this Board by the said Act.' There is a marginal note on the Minute Book, which reads: 'The Master of the *Pilgrim* paid his rates and a Warrant has been issued for the arrest of Doyle.'

This appears to be related to difficulties with New Ross. A short while later, in January 1820, it was noted that certain unspecified papers re vessels trading to New Ross were before the meeting. It was agreed that the Secretary should write to Mr. Tottenham and 'furnish him with a copy of the correspondence with Mr. Peel relating thereto and acquaint him, that this Board do not feel themselves authorised to exempt such vessels from the rates of Pilotage imposed by the Act for Improving the Port and Harbour of Waterford.'

Democracy and good procedure were honoured when on 20th January 1820 the Secretary was directed 'to procure a book to be kept by him in which any member of the Board may enter his dissent from any measure carried by a Majority of Voices'.

In those days the pilotage service was extremely difficult to operate and the job itself equally arduous and hazardous. Regular mention is made of the service and one of the earliest references in the Board's Minutes comes in May 1820 when it was recommended that boys in the service should be taken on the vessels negotiating the river 'in order that they may acquire a thorough knowledge of the Duties of Pilots to which they may be called and that the (Pilot) Boats Masters be also directed to furnish them with sufficient food for each trip so that there may be no additional expense on the vessels. And that the names of the boys be inserted in the daily Returns in order that this Board may judge what attention be paid to this Resolution.'

Non payment of pilotage fees was a frequent offence and in August 1820 the Board heard memorials from two sloops (James McCarthy, *Industry* of Kinsale; and Thomas Evans, *Race Horse* of Fishguard) appealing £10 fines for such non-payment. The Board decided that in consequence of 'the smallness of the vessels, the ignorance and poverty of the memorialists, said penalties be reduced to £5 each.'

Benjamin Conn, Deputy Pilot Master, was in the news again in February 1821. This was the substance of his letter to the Board:

> Gentlemen, I humbly beg leave to inform you that since I have been appointed to my present situation I have frequently been under the

painful necessity to summons and prosecute to conviction several Masters of wind-bound vessels and others from Ross for refusing or neglecting to pay their Rate of Pilotage in all of which cases I have had much trouble and contention and the whole blame of these punishments has rested on me which has been the cause of much loss and hindrance in my line as a shopkeeper and of which Fines I have never received any part although the Act provides that one half of such should be paid the Prosecutor but the bye-laws say it is for the use of the Commissioners and their Successors.

I now most humbly beg leave to submit to your consideration whether I am or am not to receive any or what part of these fines and whatever your decision may be I shall be satisfied.

The Board resolved that Benjamin Conn be allowed £20 as a remuneration for these services stating that 'though not as a matter of right under the Act.'

Tit Bits

A tit-bit from August 1821 notes that a letter was sent to Mr. Young, Packet Agent at Dunmore, requesting him to give directions to Packet Masters to hoist their Post Office flag when in sight of Dunmore. The Pilot Master was also asked to record the times the Milford mails were landed at the foot of his Day Notes and 'if any Packet is in sight at the time of forwarding said Day Notes.'

Peculation from ships was of concern in January 1822. Watchmen had been supplied with poles, lanterns and hooks but, as a result of this nefarious activity, the Board now deemed it necessary to enhance their status with an application to the Corporation that 'these Watchmen be sworn in as Special Constables for the better enabling them to discharge their duties.'

Navigational matters were addressed in April 1823 when consideration was given to placing an additional light at Duncannon marking the line of the channel for incoming vessels 'and obviate the necessity of using the compass in darkness where error is so easily arrived at from current etc.' The Board directed William Musgrave, Pilot Master and Engineer to report on the matter 'as may enable the Board to judge whether it could be advisable or not to lay the subject before the Ballast Office in Dublin.'

Mr. Musgrave had a busy year and in August was 'afforded £10 to remove a rock that lies nearly opposite the Quay of Richard Pope Esq.' He features again when Mr. William White obtains permission to erect a slip for hauling up vessels and such to cause no obstruction to shipping and the work to be done under the direction of Mr. Musgrave.

Pilotage and Fishing

Early in 1824 the Pilot Committee reported on the grounding of the *Aeolus.* The Pilot, James Murray, was found guilty of an error of judgement and not of wilful neglect. He was suspended for one month and reduced to the second class. Murray

was not to get out of the wood for in June of the same year he was aboard the smack *Thomas and Judith* when she foundered in the King's Channel. The Board wrote to the Corporation of Trinity House applying for Murray's dismissal on the grounds that the 'said vessel was lost through his misconduct.'

The first recorded detrimental effect of the Waterford Harbour Act came in 1842. On April 26th a meeting was held in the new Town Hall to seek the best means of increasing and protecting the fishing off Waterford. It appears that since 1816 the fisheries had been neglected. Prior to that pilot boats had worked in the dual capacity of pilotage and fishing but when the former service came under the control of the Harbour Board such boats ceased to fish.

The pilots were apparently worried about the agitation on the poor fish supply and the efforts being made to amend the Harbour Act in this respect. They wrote a memorial to the Board and pointed out that the number of ships using the port had trebled since 1816. In 1844 some 2,100 ships called against only 700 in the earlier year:

> Your Memorialists take credit to themselves for this important fact that less lives have been lost and more property saved at the Port of Waterford than any of the neighbouring ports and this with a bar to contend with, the ships principally belonging to Waterford and Ross, together with a number of strange ships who run for this port and who are certain to find your Memorialists at their station at the risk of danger to their lives.

The pilots went on to add that fishing was a business 'of which they have no knowledge and even if obliged to act as fishermen would not be able to pay that attention to their present duties which are so imperatively required at such a port as Waterford.' The Memorial was signed by John Murray, master of the Pilot Boat, *Scott,* and by James Hogan, master of the *Enterprise.* The names of all the pilots were listed and there were sixteen pilots and five assistants at Passage, fourteen at sea, including four assistants, with four pilots at Waterford and two at Dunmore: in all forty-three men.

In January 1846 the pilots' prayers were answered when in amendments to the Harbour Act it was declared that the pilot boats may not be used for fishing 'upon pain of instant dismissal.'

Dredging

In 1839 there is the first reference to the need for 'a dredging machine.' By the following February the Board had accepted a tender for such a 'machine' from Thomas Rosstree on behalf of the Neptune Foundry. The specification of the 'Iron Dredge Boat' was contained in a letter from Mr. Rosstree dated 26th April 1840. The vessel would be eighty-six feet in length, twenty feet beam and 6 ½ feet deep and dredging would be effected by a ladder with twenty-two buckets to work amidships and discharge over the stern. Payment was specified as follows: £1,000 when keel laid, £1,000 when machinery on board, £500 when ready to work and

£1,000 three months after delivery. It was stated that 'the whole (vessel) to be furnished in a workmanlike manner and delivered in complete working order in six months from the date hereof.'

Later that year iron barges were to be procured for use as tenders to the dredger and proposals were received from Messrs. Grantham & Page, Liverpool, Vernon & Co., Liverpool and the local Neptune Foundry. The local tenderer was successful and the barges were priced at £24 per ton weight and £6 per boat for pump and timber fittings.

Within a year dissatisfaction with the dredger was reported by Thomas Rhodes. The Minutes record that 'On motion being made Mr. Rosstree (the Contractor) was called in.' There was some conflict of opinion as to whether Mr. Rosstree or the Neptune Foundry were the contractors. The result of that conflict is not made clear but a later record states 'we decline taking her (dredger) or paying any further sum on said contract until she be delivered in full conformity therewith.' Then we learn that the 'dredge boat was completed by the Royal Phoenix Iron Works, Kingsbridge, Dublin.'

In 1844 Thomas G. Hardie was appointed Engineer to the Board to supervise dredging operations for three months at £50. Six months later tenders were opened for 'raising mud with new dredge boat and barges and keeping same in repair.' Amounts are quoted per ton and Thomas G. Hardie offered the lowest price at 6 1/2 d., followed by the out of favour Thomas Rosstree at 6 3/4 d. and then William Powell at 8d. Current costs were noted at 9 3/8 d. per ton. Interesting to note the closest of close shaves in the farthing difference between Hardie and Rosstree!

The importance and difficulties of dredging are highlighted again in December 1858 and with an unexpected twist. It is noted that Mr. Albert White, shipbuilder, and now a Commissioner 'whose Dredge boat of the 1840s was a dismal failure until its ultimate delivery as a hulk on the river' made a suggestion that 'Mr. Lecky the Engineer who so criticised the aforementioned Dredge Boat to submit to the Board his plans and specifications of a Dredge Boat suitable for the Waterford river.' It appears, therefore, that Albert White had had some connection with the Neptune Foundry or Mr. Rosstree or both.

Some time later Mr. Malcomson and Mr. Thomas W. Jacob were delegated to visit Cork to examine dredging operations there and 'were afforded every facility.' They saw two dredge boats - one built by Mr. R.J. Lecky and the other by Mr. George Robinson, Cork.

Around the same time the Pilot Master reported that the fog bells at the Hook were not good enough and should in 'favourable weather be heard five miles off.'

However, dredging was the subject of the moment and we learn that in the year ended 31st March 1860 some 12,007 tons of mud was manually raised at the quay at a cost of 9 1/2 d. per ton. The report went on to state that 'an efficient dredge boat would be capable of raising that mud in two/three weeks at one-third the cost.'

This report was taken to heart and in late 1860 we read that a dredge boat was being built at the Water Street Dockyard, Cork, by George Robinson. This may well have been the *Urbs Intacta* which was the subject of the Engineer's report

dated 11th October 1897, 'I beg to report that during the past month the Dredger *Urbs Intacta* has raised 12,000 tons of mud and sand from opposite the Steamboat berths and has deposited same at sea beyond the entrance to the Harbour. The cost of doing this, as regards wages, coals and stores, was 3 1/2 d. per ton.'

In October 1898 Mr. William Friel was appointed Harbour Engineer when aged twenty-five and went on in that position for over sixty-five years to become the doyen of harbour engineers, anywhere in the world. William Friel died in 1966 at the age of ninety-three.

Another new dredger was in the news in 1907 when it was reported that both the Secretary and Engineer attended the speed trials of the dredger *Portlairge* which took place on the Clyde. She had been built by the Dublin Dockyard Company and like Mr. Friel went on to record long service in the port eventually being withdrawn in 1983 and sold in 1984. The *Portlairge* commenced service in September 1907 and while practically all her life was spent on the Waterford river she was contracted out to New Ross (September 1908) and Liverpool in later years.

An unsolicited excursion was undertaken by the *Portlairge* in 1922 when Mr. Friel reported that she 'had been requisitioned on 12th October by two military officers of the Irish Provisional Government to take them to Youghal. The *Portlairge* left and returned the same day and the expenses were recorded at £56. 17. 2d.' It was agreed to send the account to the Government!

All the dredging at the time was concentrated at the city and mainly at the berths on the south or city side where silting was a natural feature of the river. The channels and bars (Cheekpoint and Duncannon) maintained themselves very well as did the Ford Channel. However, the depths on the bars soon became a limitation on port traffic with the proliferation of steamships, their enhanced reliability and therefrom the possibility and development of scheduled services. Also, larger ships could now be built and the word 'bar' took on another and challenging meaning.

At numerous times in the 1800s the deepening of the Outer or Duncannon Bar was suggested but no serious dredging or deepening of this obstacle took place until the 1980s. Until then the port survived on the natural regime of the access channels. Expert views in the 19th century per port records suggested that once dredged an improved channel through the Bar would be self-maintaining but this has not turned out to be so.

Thomas Meagher, Snr.

Having taken dredging matters up to date it is time to return to those early days. In November 1842 the Minutes note that the Right Worshipful Thomas Meagher, Mayor, (father of Thomas Francis), Ald. Sir Benjamin Morris, Owen Carroll and Patrick Kiely were appointed by the Town Council to serve as Harbour Commissioners. It is recorded that they 'attended and qualified agreeably to the conditions of the Harbour Act.'

As had become the custom, the Mayor, when present, took the chair and thus there were many Board meetings at which Thomas Meagher presided. His signature is quite a regular feature in the Minute Books for some time until his resignation in November 1846 when Alderman Sylvester Phelan was elected 'in his room and place.'

The 1845 accounts note a surplus of £66. 10s. and record the 'proportion of £195. 3s. 1 1/2d. for coals, stationery and candles.' Gross Revenue was just under £6,000 derived from Tonnage, Pilotage and Ballast Duties.

Incidentally, in that year the messenger to the Board was knocking down 10s. 6d. per week, 2s. 6d. better than the watchman. The messenger was also allowed a top coat - 'the cost not to exceed 40s.' However, heavier expenses lay elsewhere. In June 1846 Robert W. Cherry, Law Agent, received £300 on account for Parliamentary Expenses in connection with the new Harbour Bill. He didn't get a top coat but you can be sure there was a silver lining! At the same time a motion to increase the Assistant Secretary's salary to £140 per annum was defeated by eight votes to seven.

The legal expenses related to a new Harbours Act, the Waterford Harbour Act, 1846, which replaced the 1816 measure.

New Ross was on the mat again in 1847. That great Wexford port was pushing through its own Harbour Bill and in traditional fashion Waterford watched every move. The Waterford Board noted the New Ross Bill thus: 'We resolve and determine to give such Bill every opposition in the event of its containing any provision invading the rights of this Board.' There were two deputations to London during the course of this Bill. The Secretary, Thomas Ross (note coincidence in name) went to London with Josiah Williams and Mr. Elliott, solicitor. Later Mr. Ross returned to London with Joseph D. Lapham and Henry Denny.

When all was said and done it seems that the business of watchdog went well and the Board thanked Sir Henry Winston Barron MP for his work during the progress of the Ross Bill. Waterford's jurisdiction from the city to the sea was closely guarded and maintained. Although the city does not stand on the head-river of Waterford Harbour its pre-eminence in trade over New Ross ensured this permanent, though once susceptible, privilege.

Odds on post of Bookkeeper

In March 1849 Thomas Ross died and there was quite an exciting race for the post of Secretary and Bookkeeper. By this time the role of Bookkeeper in the title had been upgraded to 'Accountant.' Now that succession races are topical it will be in order to detail the fortunes of the applicants. There were nine applications and on election day four of them secured votes as follows: John Scott nine, John Farrell five, John Murphy four and George Davis one. Scott must have been money on but on the elimination of Murphy and Davis their five votes went to Farrell who then pipped Scott 10-9.

Pilotage Problems

Over the next few years there was constant trouble in the pilotage service and the Minutes record an unfortunate incident in 1849. It concerned the Russian ship *Solide* which went aground on Cromwell's Rock just below the city shortly after casting off from a berth opposite Grubb's Stores (Hanover Street). The pilot in charge, Thomas Baston, was suspended and in his appeal wrote 'the accident was owing to the winds being light and baffling and the vessel not attending to her helm as quickly as she ought to have done.' The petitioner stated 'that he was not intoxicated during the time the vessel was afloat but that in the evening when there was no chance of the ship being got off, he had one glass of grog which so acted on the anxiety of his mind as to cause stupor and sleep.'

The ship's captain said on enquiry that 'the decanter was near him in the cabin.' There was no further implication of intoxication and apparently having shaken off the stupor by 9 p.m. Baston left the ship unaided and walked to Passage. The Board lifted the suspension, fined him £4 and the Minutes record that he was 'reprimanded from the chair.'

The period was fraught with similar upsets and the Board grew increasingly angry with the Pilotage service. In January 1852 feelings came to a bitter head in the investigation into the loss of the 1,400-ton American ship *Columbus.* This vessel was *en route* from New Orleans to Liverpool with cotton when she was wrecked at the Hook Tower. The Board resolved that the 'Pilot Boats are in an inefficient state and that our officers are to blame for not having reported their deficiency.' The pilots, it appeared, had failed to meet the incoming ship and while repeatedly calling for their assistance she ran aground. At the Board's inquiry the Master of the *Columbus,* Capt. McCarren, levelled a further attack when he roundly accused the pilots and said 'elsewhere I shall be subject to severe enquiry. I do not fear it for I know I am able to answer it satisfactorily but I hope the chairman (Henry Denny) of this body will confine remarks to the single incident whether or not the pilot service of Waterford Harbour did its duty (hear, hear).' The assenting expressions were recorded in the Minutes and thereby indicated official feeling against the pilots.

Late in 1852 another such tragedy occurred when the *Glanville Bay* ran up at the Hook in excellent conditions. Again it was claimed that the ship could not get a pilot.

Bad Mood

In 1858 the Collector of Rates, Mr. Peter Cummins, expressed dissatisfaction with his salary. The Secretary was directed to advertise the position and in the light of this chastening exercise Cummins appealed for re-appointment. His letter was read at the meeting which reviewed applications from eleven persons but the Board decided to proceed with the competition. Only two received votes and poor, hasty Cummins was defeated by thirteen votes to eight by a Mr. Thomas Dalton Smith.

Another climax was reached when three years later Dalton Smith was found 'a defaulter' for £1,014. 17s. 7d. A firm of solicitors, Dobbyn and Tandy, 16 Colbeck

Street (still in business at that address as Dobbyn & McCoy) reported 'a warrant at the suit of the Commissioners was placed in the hands of the police to execute. The Defendant's premises were barricaded against the police from Friday until the following Monday... '

Eventually Smith's possessions were sold by public auction for £485. Dobbyn and Tandy's letter continues, 'The circumstances of the obtaining of such execution and the opening of Mr. Smith's premises to admit the Sheriff.... are not of a character at present judicious to refer to... '

Now back to Peter Cummins and three years the wiser he stepped into the fray once more. Although he still had good support on the Board he was defeated by Simon Newport Barron. Nevertheless, there was to be another chapter in his dauntless ambition to regain the post. In 1862 and after only one year in office Barron was forced to resign through ill health and with six candidates in the field there was one very familiar name, Peter Cummins.

On the first poll he did pretty well obtaining five votes against seven for Jacob Scroder, four for Thomas Fogarty Junior, one for James Waring and nothing for the other two applicants. Was Cummins poised for an avenging victory? There were five votes for distribution and he needed four for certain success. Alas, only one went his way, Scroder obtained two, the Chairman declined to vote and there was one blank.

Whatever happened Scroder I cannot tell but Peter Cummins never re-appeared and the moral of the story must surely be never rush the boss, it mightn't be one of his days.

An happier memory of the pilotage service exists in July 1862 when the Minutes record that 'this meeting and the Pilot Master examined Pilot Assistants Isaac Ryan, Patrick Rogers, Chris Cherry, and John Glody and found them possessed of sufficiency of the skill and knowledge in pilotage of this Port, Harbour and River.'

Hazards of the Day

The hazards of the day were recorded in grim detail when in May 1864 the Board's agent pursued a skipper who had refused to pay dues. It was the schooner *Oporto* which had arrived at Duncannon from Troon with coal and, the agent, Mr. Abraham Stephens, felt obliged to board the ship and secure payment. He records that the owner of the ship advised the master 'that if I went on board the vessel to knock my brains out.' Stephens boarded the ship and produced his sealed authority. Without deference to the legal document one of the crew struck out several times with a shovel. The police arrived quickly and the dues were paid. Two of the crew were arrested at Stephens' request but on hearing apologies he decided not to follow up the proceedings.

An unusual entry around this time authorises Mr. Blake MP and Ald. Richardson 'to request the acceptance by His Grace the Duke of Abercorn of the anchor which moored the French frigate in this harbour in which King James II and Claude 4th Earl of Abercorn, Kinsman and Aide de Camp of the King embarked for France in 1690.' Wonder what the Duke did with the anchor?

It was noted that Secretary John Farrell died in February 1869 and was succeeded by Hugh Nevin Nevins.

Also in 1869 the Board received applications from two local firms, George White and Henry Bell, for licences to import petroleum. The matter was referred to the Town Council but the point to note is that the firms mentioned were very much in being well over a century later but have since ceased trading.

Cromwell's Rock did it again in 1870 when the screw steamer, *Harvard,* of Grangemouth, struck the promontory and heeled over into deep water in the fairway. The *Harvard* had called to Waterford for coal *en route* from Spain to Glasgow with ore and oranges.

Some tit-bits from the 1870s indicate good trade, some affluence and a thoughtful touch about bedclothes. Business was so good at one stage that the Engineer reported 'that the dredging had been much retarded and the staff thrown idle... on account of the corn steamers landing cargoes over the new quay.'

Then we read that the Lord Lieutenant and Countess Spencer, accompanied by a large number of ladies and gentlemen went down the river in the steamers *Ida* and *Tintern,* kindly provided by the Waterford Steamship Company, as far as Cheekpoint. On their return the Lord Lieutenant cut the first sod for the Dry Dock (which was never completed even to the stage of a second sod) and in the afternoon 'the Harbour Commissioners entertained their Excellencies at a *déjeuner* at which there were over 300 present.'

Another report from the Engineer stated that 'the bedclothes of Light-keepers are such worn, I would recommend a fresh supply be given them before the winter.'

Then there was reference to a contract for the raising of the schooner, *Hannah,* of Waterford which had been run down near Gyles Quay. A diver from Liverpool had put chains around her and the salvage operation was successful.

In 1879 Mr. Nevins resigned as Secretary and was succeeded by W. C. Allingham who three years later retired in favour of his brother John. Also in that year Craig Gardner & Company, accountants, investigated the Board's accounts and tailed off their report with a genteel touch of euphemism, 'if these suggestions be adopted and an effective audit of your accounts be had yearly, we are of opinion that your book-keeping will be perfect.'

John A. Blake MP.

In July 1884 the Board paid tribute to John A. Blake MP, who was retiring from his duties at Westminster. Mr. Blake replied and wrote 'I am proud to receive such a recognition of my poor services from so important and intelligent a Body as the Harbour Commissioners of Waterford..... having in times long passed the distinction in my early days of public life of serving as a Commissioner.' Blake, despite his modesty, had earned Waterford's tribute and on his arrival home he was asked to accept addresses from a joint assembly of the Harbour Board and Corporation.

It should be recalled that Blake was largely responsible for obtaining £250,000 towards the improvement of the Irish fishing industry and not without difficulty. The Ministry initially refused to make the grant and when the matter came up in Parliament four Government messengers were employed to assemble the members adverse to the vote. W. E. Gladstone was one who sat on for the purpose of opposing but through Blake and Villiers Stuart (the Waterford members) the Irish representatives were there in great strength and the Government was defeated.

Waterford of old had a stern but dignified approach to national matters affecting local commerce. The city won its place without unnecessary outside tributes or debasement. Here is a typical example from the Minutes of 1901. A motion was passed 'that the Board learns with regret and astonishment that Government contracts have recently been given to firms outside Ireland for the supply of meat, forage, beer and porter for use of the troops stationed in Ireland and we desire to enter our most emphatic protest against such a gross injustice to the farmers, manufacturers and taxpayers of this country.'

Rosslare and All That

The carefree Nineties and the cornerstone of the century were reached but the port of Waterford was in apprehensive and defensive mood. As now the river-port was an important railway centre but, then, the railways were far more vital, being the principal form of internal transport. Consequently, prosperity depended on good water and rail transport and Waterford was blessed with both.

Nevertheless, Waterford's prime position and in particular its cross-Channel trades were not impregnable. The extension of the railway to Rosslare was proposed but more disturbing were the various Railway Amalgamation Bills intended to vest the two main companies serving Waterford in the Great Southern and Western Railway. This company was interested in the ports of Dublin and Cork and under recent legislation was pledged to use every effort to develop the port of Rosslare in conjunction with Britain's Great Western Railway.

The Bills, as deposited, contained vague clauses affording Waterford some measure of security and protection against discriminatory rates, rebates and the preferences and prejudices frequently employed by extensive combines to further their interests. In this context Waterford had a great deal to protect. Restrictions on existing trade through the port while serving the desires of monopolies would not benefit either Waterford, nor perhaps, the country at large.

During negotiations the Waterford deputation in London came across Mr. Nelson, Solicitor to the Great Western Railway. He saw fit to intervene on the Amalgamation Bills (affecting the Waterford, Limerick and Western Railway and the Waterford and Central Ireland Railway) as well as his prime interest - the new Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours Bill. Nelson proved a difficult adversary and with regard to the amalgamation objected strongly to provisional clauses agreed in Dublin, safeguarding Waterford's position. After exhaustive debates at Paddington Mr. Nelson produced a memorandum with new clauses 'which he stated would be far more valuable for Waterford than the settlement

which had been agreed to in Dublin.' The quotation comes from the report of the Harbour Board's legal adviser, Ernest Isaac Thornton, who was present at the discussions. Mr. Thornton added: 'The members of the deputation now felt themselves to be in an extremely difficult and perplexing situation.' Confusion had arisen on the worth of the Dublin agreement and, not unnaturally, on the clauses put forward by Mr. Nelson. With time at a premium and the 'deepest suspicion' entertained, the deputation withdrew and resorted to their Parliamentary Agents (Holmes and Grieg). Mr. Thornton continued: 'Mr. Grieg acted for us with great promptitude and within an hour we had the good fortune to be introduced by him to Sir Henry Oakley, General Manager of the Great Northern Railway, a gentleman of great experience and occupying the very highest position in the railway world.'

Sir Henry agreed to take home the Waterford papers and next morning conveyed his opinion that the clauses proposed by Mr. Nelson 'were worthless and could not be taken as intended *bona fide* to protect Waterford.' Sir Henry considered the Dublin agreement as being framed on the right lines and in the course of a later letter setting out his views in detail, he wrote: 'You must object as strenuously as possible to any attempt to limit the through booking to any particular route. The trade of the port must be free to go where it will and on fair terms. If these principles be steadily kept in view, the amalgamation will probably tend to the benefit and prosperity of the port.' As a final note Sir Henry added: 'I am personally much obliged for the clear and intelligent assistance you have rendered me and I am sure your clients have been thoughtfully and carefully protected by your professional skill and experience.' The letter was addressed to Mr. Thornton who must have been well pleased with the compliment.

Armed with Sir Henry's overnight advice the deputation returned to Paddington and both sides held firm. After some weeks of argument the GWR finally agreed to the insertion of the 'Dublin' clauses only when Waterford 'in friendly but decided terms' pointed out that unless the agreed conditions were inserted in the Bill without further delay 'Waterford would actively oppose the Bill.' This ultimatum, wrote Mr. Thornton, had the desired effect.

Secretary Allingham was suffering from over-work in mid 1914 and the Board decided that he 'be granted a month's leave of absence to travel and the expenses would be defrayed by the Board.' This was passed unanimously.

In March of the following year the Minutes record that Mr. Allingham had been suffering from a nervous breakdown and had 'disappeared on the 28th December last since which date no communication, official or otherwise, had been received from him, nor any trace of him been found.' The Secretaryship was declared vacant and the post filled by Austin Aaron Farrell.

It is believed that Mr. Allingham left the offices to catch the afternoon train to Dublin on the date mentioned and was never seen again. The Board added: 'No public board could have been more ably, faithfully and zealously served than they have been by Mr. Allingham during the period of nearly thirty-four years that he was their Secretary.'

In May 1915 H. B. Brandon & Company were elected auditors to the Board.

In July 1917 the Board passed a vote of sympathy to Mrs. W. Redmond (widow) and Mr. John E. Redmond (brother), leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party on the death of Major Willie Redmond MP 'who fought and died like a gallant Irish soldier in the great fight for human liberty.'

Good Job and the Farrell Dynasty

The Waterford Harbour Bill of 1919 meant further trips to London for members of the Board. The Bill overcame opposition from the Corporation, the Great Southern and Western Railway and various shipping companies with regard to the imposition of cargo dues. However, compliments went again to Mr. Thornton and Mr. Henry Forde (who did particularly well in submitting evidence before the House of Lords) and the Board preened itself on the 'happy and successful termination of the matter.'

Annual salary rates were recorded in the Minutes in 1919 with the Secretary and Manager (Austin A. Farrell) earning £850, Engineer (William Friel) at £300 rising to £500 in August 1920, Harbour Master (Captain Walter Farrell) £350, and Miss O'Gorman - a temporary typist - was recorded as receiving an increase from £52 to £78. Miss O'Gorman was hardly temporary as she was still in the job in the 1950s.

The Farrells were brothers and the family association with the port continued for the rest of the century and in some depth. Austin's son, Riocard, became the Legal Adviser to the Commissioners followed by his son, Iain, a partner in Nolan, Farrell & Goff, Solicitors. Austin had worked with his father in Farrell Shipbrokers, a business later taken over by Frank and Dick Cassin. Walter became Harbour Master in 1911 having sailed world-wide and latterly as Captain on steamers on cross-Channel services. He was father of Mrs. Maureen Grogan who resides in Marymount, Ferrybank. Walter was succeeded as Harbour Master in 1941 by his nephew, Dick, the son of a third brother, Richard. Dick's widow, Maeve, resides in Waterford.

Mr. Forde was the first elected Chairman of the Commissioners and that was in 1920, 'a power not in their possession until the passing of the present Act.' It had been the procedure to elect a chairman for each meeting and that duration only. First vice-Chairman was Mr. Matthew Cassin, whose son Mr. Frank Cassin, became a long serving Chairman in the 1960s-1970s.

Under Forde's chairmanship, later Sir Henry Forde, the port grew apace. Many development schemes were undertaken to improve the berth and deepen the river. Funds for the schemes were sought in many places and that they were obtained was due in no small measure to the work of Henry Forde. The Board recognised his efforts and one of the new deep-water berths in the port, opened in 1930, is known as the Sir Henry Forde Wharf.

Evidence of these efforts is found where the Board tried the Free State Government for money and failing them 'besought British insurance companies.' At this suggestion the then Secretary to the Minister for Industry and Commerce wrote: 'it would be a good thing for the country to see a London company investing £50,000 in an Irish Free State port,' and, he added, that he hoped it would materialise.

Off to London again and a series of interviews with the Actuary and Directors of the Atlas Assurance Company. After much consideration they were unable to make the loan as the 'Directors felt that the Free State is not yet stable.' Back to Dublin where a Government guaranteed loan for £50,000 was obtained and the work went ahead.

In September 1921 the US shipping company Moore McCormack were inclined to include Waterford in their services with New York and other US ports on condition of a 50% discount in dues which reductions they stated had been achieved elsewhere. The Commissioners refused to encourage trade through preferential treatment. Later, it appears this line was softened somewhat but there is no record of Moore McCormack instigating any service to or from Waterford.

Rail Ails

In November 1923 there was constant correspondence with the Great Western Railway Company (GWR) in connection with their commitment to the Waterford-Fishguard service. There were claims that it was not properly advertised. A member of the Board reported that he 'was refused a ticket for the Waterford service' when at Paddington, and when he arrived at Fishguard by the connecting train the Waterford boat had sailed. It was held that since the opening of Rosslare (1906) neither service was profitable although when Waterford had the route from the south east to itself it did pay. The Secretary was instructed to write to the GWR 'strong on the subject.'

Apparently matters were no better in 1924 and in June of that year the Secretary was in London and met Sir Felix Poole, General Manager of the GWR. It was detailed that there was a statutory obligation on the GWR to operate a daily service to Waterford which they were not doing. It was also inferred that no cattle would be shipped through Rosslare unless and until a daily service was restored on the Waterford berth.

There must have been some success in these endeavours as in September the Board awarded the Secretary 200 guineas for the extra work which devolved on him caused by the change 'in the constitution of the country, fresh legislation and other matters in connection with and affecting the port interests and particularly the agreement made with the GWR respecting the direct Waterford-Fishguard steamer service.'

In 1933 progress with the GWR was noted in that the Secretary 'by instruction of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman' had interviewed the railway company 're new vessel for Waterford-Fishguard service with result that the GWR promise a steamer of about 15 knots and with improved passenger accommodation. The steamer will be certified for 450 passengers and a capacity for 600 fat cattle.' This vessel went into service in 1934 as the *Great Western* and became a household name, as indeed had her predecessors and those ships serving the other regular line, the Clyde Shipping Company, until her withdrawal on 31st December 1966 after thirty-two years of distinguished service.

Ports Tribunal 1930

Finally, we return to the Ports and Harbours Tribunal of 1930. The Tribunal's Report eventually led to the Harbours Act, 1946, which confirmed State ownership and control of most Irish ports with considerable powers vested in the responsible Government Minister. This central control has been diluted in more recent legislation, Harbours Act 1996, and now no longer the Waterford Harbour Commissioners, the Port of Waterford Company enjoys more autonomy although still under State ownership but in the style of a semi-state company.

The following Waterford interests gave evidence to the Tribunal which sat in the Courthouse on 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th May, 1928, having inspected the port on 1st May:

Mr. Austin Aaron Farrell, Secretary and General Manager, Waterford Harbour Commissioner.
Mr. William Friel, Engineer, WHC.
Captain Walter Farrell, Harbour Master, WHC.
Mr. E. I. Thornton, Solicitor, WHC.
Sir Henry J. Forde, Chairman, WHC.
Mr. John F. O'Gorman, Member, Clonmel Chamber of Commerce.
Mr. James Reidy, Mayor, Clonmel.
Mr. James Minchin, Member, WHC.
Mr. William Smyth, Cattle Exporter.
Mr. W. E. Jacob, President, Waterford Chamber of Commerce.
Mr. Thomas Coppinger.
Alderman Wylie, Mayor of Waterford and Member, WHC.
Mr. Patrick Brazil, Town Clerk, Waterford.
Mr. William Raftis, Borough Treasurer, Waterford.

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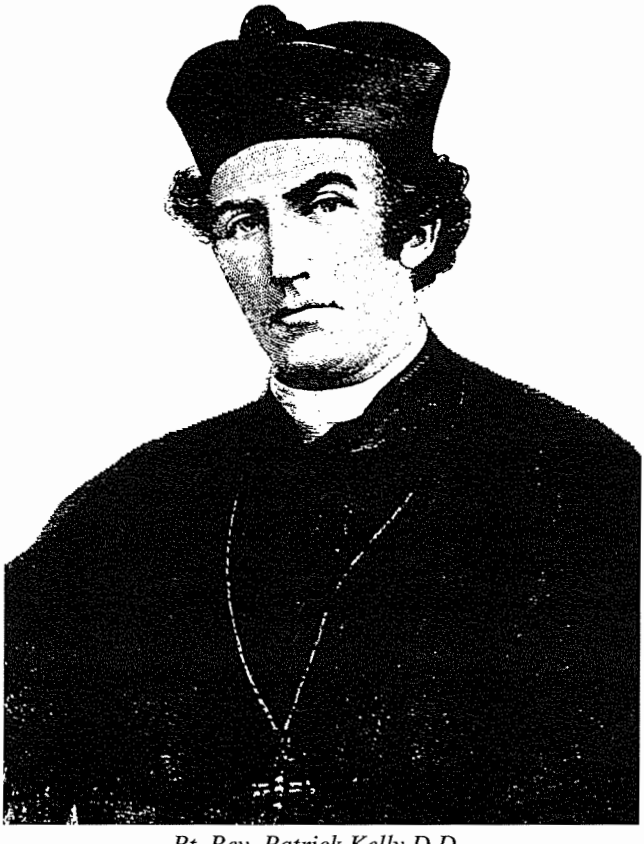

Rt. Rev. Patrick Kelly D.D.,
First Bishop of Richmond.

Patrick Kelly Bishop of Richmond

By Frank Keane CFC

IN 1606 James I, permitted the establishment of a British colony in Virginia. All the penal laws familiar to people in Ireland were imposed there. The Church of England was the established religion. People affected by the 'superstitions' of Rome were not even permitted entry to the colony. Catholics could not hold office, could not vote, or could not keep arms. Catholics could not own a horse valued at more than £5. According to the laws of the colony, Catholics, unlike black slaves, could not act as witnesses in court. However, like in Ireland, Catholics were able to circumvent some of these laws. Catholics did indeed reside in Virginia. Occasionally, and discretely, mass was heard and the sacraments administered. These penal enactments were repealed 'by implication' in 1785 by Thomas Jefferson's Act for Establishing Religious Freedom.[1] Legally the laws remained on the statute book until 1830, their removal coinciding with Catholic Emancipation.

While most of the penal laws were gradually rescinded, anti-Catholic suspicions remained in people's minds. Besides, in efforts to be seen to preserve the country from all religious influences, legislation was passed, guaranteeing secular over any religious influence. For example, the Virginia State Constitution prohibited any 'charter of incorporation ... to any church or religious denomination.'[2] Even disaffected Catholics appealed to these laws when such suited their purpose.

In 1814, in the parish of Norfolk, lay trustees adopted rules for church administration. While these regulations concerned financial, administrative and property concerns, they could be used to control priests in what could be termed exclusively sacerdotal prerogatives, even as far as rejecting a priest's appointment to a parish and controlling his tenure of office. Things went smoothly enough with some priests. However, even 'acceptable' priests were badly paid, and many had to supplement their income by teaching.

In 1816 James Lucas, a Frenchman, was appointed parish priest of Norfolk by Archbishop Neale of Baltimore. In no uncertain terms Lucas let the trustees know his feelings about their level of control. They rejected him. The trustees sent a printed forty-four-page pamphlet, with forty-eight pages of appendices, to the bishop. This document was published and available to anyone prepared to buy it. Entitled *Letter Addressed to the Most Reverend Leonard Neale, Archbishop of Baltimore by a Member of the Roman Catholic Congregation in Norfolk, Virginia,* it was written by Doctor J. F. Oliveira Fernandez, a Portuguese physician with a bizarre knowledge of Canon Law and of anti-Catholic writers. One of the principal arguments of the *Letter* was the 'indisputable right' of the lay trustees to appoint or

1 James Henry Baily, *A History of the Diocese of Richmond: The Formative Years,* (Baltimore Diocesan Archives, 1956), p. 21.

2 *Ibid.,* p. 31. See also Carl Frederick Gustav Zollman, *American Civil Church Law,* (Minnesota, West Publishing Co., 1917), p. 25.

to dismiss priests. One of the consequences was that Father Lucas found his church door and windows locked and barred, the gates padlocked. The trustees had secured a civil, legal injunction forbidding the priest from using his church. All public opinion, Catholic and otherwise, was canvassed against the bishop as his views were stated to be 'in full opposition and contrariety to our free Constitution and State laws.'

In June 1817 the trustees appealed to Rome. Two documents were prepared by none other than our Doctor Fernandez. One justified the right of the trustees to 'patronage', not an unknown situation in colonies. However, what the trustees really wanted was a diocese of their own in Virginia, with a bishop of Irish origin. At that time all the bishops in the USA, with one exception, were French. Most of the congregations were Irish who did not take too kindly to the doctrine as preached by the French. Anyway, the Irish people generously supported the Catholic religion in church building and with donations to clergy. Their expressed preference was for an Irish bishop, seeing it as a right.[3]

The trustees' representative sailed to Rome in June 1817. A fortnight later Archbishop Neale died and was succeeded by a French Sulpician, Ambrose Maréchal. In March 1818, accompanied by Father James Whitfield, Maréchal visited Norfolk. His presence there created tensions, including the publication of yet another inflammatory pamphlet by the ubiquitous Fernandez.

Father Lucas was still ministering to the faithful of the parish in private houses. In an effort to break the deadlock Neale had sent as assistant priest to Lucas, a young Irishman, Father Nicholas Kerney. This did not mollify the trustees. Instead, at their invitation, a fiercely nationalistic Irishman, Father Carbry OP, came to Norfolk. He informed Maréchal that he needed authority from no one to minister in Norfolk; the United States were independent, whereas in Europe the people were living under tyrants.

By 1820 Virginia had a population of 1,063,386 persons; 462,042 of these were black. One third of the white adult population was illiterate.

Seemingly, reports reaching Cardinal Fontana's desk in Rome convinced him that some action was necessary to remedy the situation. What did he do? On the 11 July 1820 Virginia was erected into a separate diocese, dividing the diocese of Baltimore, which consisted of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, in two. Maréchal felt this decision was wrong and let the authorities in Rome in no doubt as to their lack of understanding.

3 Dr. J.F. Oliveria Fernandez, *Address to the Members of the Roman Catholic Congregation at Norfolk, or a Short Exposition of the Rights, as well as of the Facts (which have taken place since the Last of December, 1815, to the Present Date), Aiming at the Total and Full Usurpation of the Same, by the Rev'd. F. Lucas, Appointed Pastor by the Most Rev'd. L. Neale, Archbishop of Baltimore, Presented and Approved by the Trustees, Lawfully Appointed by the Congregation,* (Norfolk, 1816); and *To the Members of the Roman Catholic Congregation of Norfolk, and the Public,* (Norfolk, 1818).

In his history of the diocese Bailey gives us a clear picture of the situation:

> The erection of Virginia into a diocese had been exceedingly premature, since what small Catholic population there was in the Commonwealth had been concentrated chiefly in the coastal cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth. Its formation was undoubtedly the result of the intrigues at Rome of a group of malcontents, mainly of Irish origin, in the city of Norfolk, who resented what they took to be the domination of the American church by clergy of French extraction. With complete justice and with considerable vehemence the move was opposed by Archbishop Ambrose Maréchal of Baltimore who, however, naturally deferred to the order of the Holy See.[4]

A priest from Kilkenny, Patrick Kelly was appointed its first bishop.

Patrick Kelly studied in Lisbon, and is said to have taught theology in Rome. A scholar of no mean repute and a forceful speaker, he was President of Birchfield College, Kilkenny. As a young curate he endeared himself to the poor by his solicitous attention.[5] His appointment as bishop was not necessarily a cause of great joy to him. As he said to a friend:

> ... this affair of my exaltation has been to me a source of more serious uneasiness than I recollect to have experienced since the night previous to my receiving the Subdiaconship. I am determined, however, to suffer the will of God to have its course and earnestly hope that, if my exaltation contribute not to the sanctification of God's name and the coming of His kingdom, He will by some means or other prevent its taking place.[6]

Little did he realise what 'serious uneasiness' lay in store for him.

He was consecrated bishop in St James's Church, James's Street, Dublin, on the 12 August 1820, by Archbishop Thomas Troy of Dublin, Kieran Marum bishop of Ossory, and Daniel Murray assistant bishop of Dublin. He said afterwards, 'I felt much satisfaction after the ceremony, because I went through it far better than I expected.'[7]

Father John Rice OSA, (brother of Edmund Rice, the founder of the Irish Christian Brothers), advised Kelly to bring three young priests with him. He replied that he would gladly bring four times that amount if he had the money. If finance was a consideration, he knew that ordinary human concerns also had to be taken into account. As he stated himself, 'Any young man proposing to go with me will be opposed by his relatives..., no help can be drawn from those quarters.' He

4 James Henry Baily, *A History of the Diocese of Richmond,* p. 173-4.

5 John Gilmary Shea, *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States from the Division of the Diocese of Baltimore, 1808, and the Death of Archbishop Carroll, 1815, to the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1843,* (New York, 1890), p. 79.

6 Peter Guilday, *The Catholic Church in Virginia, 1815-1822,* (New York, The United States Historical Society, 1924), xxiv.

7 *Ibid.,* p. 128.

continued, 'I am at present penniless and cannot reckon upon anything as my own to meet the expense of my voyage except what may result from the sale of my house and furniture. My friends, no doubt, are able to lend me what I'll want; but their aversion to my departure at all is such that I should like very much to be relieved from the necessity of applying to them.' The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, Rome, gave him a subsidy of £1OO.[8]

Patrick Kelly landed in New York on the 29 December 1820. He set foot in his diocese of Richmond on the 19 January 1821. Before his arrival he had formed a rather negative opinion of Archbishop Maréchal and how he handled matters. From his time living in Lisbon he had sympathy with the Portuguese position as expounded by Fernandez.

If Kelly felt apprehensive, the welcome accorded him by Archbishop Maréchal did little to encourage him. In essence he told him it would be best for everyone if he went home:

> Although it would be entirely lawful for us to oppose the erection of the said see [of Richmond], whether we consider the wicked means by which it was obtained, or the scandals and calamities of every kind, which will undoubtedly be the result; yet fearing that the said enemies of Christ will take occasion even from our most justly founded opposition, to inflict the most serious injury on the Catholic religion, your Lordship may, as you judge best, proceed or not to take possession of the new see and diocese of Virginia according to the tenor of the Bulls transmitted to you. But to assure the tranquillity of our conscience we hereby distinctly declare to your Lordship, that we in no way give or yield our assent positively to this most unfortunate action of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide. If you carry it out, we are to be held free before God and the Church now and hereafter from all the evils and scandals which the Catholic religion suffers or may suffer from it in these United States.[9]

With these ominous words resounding in his ears, Rt. Rev. Patrick Kelly departed for Norfolk on the 18 January 1821, and arrived at that port on the following day.[10]

One of Kelly's first actions was to dismiss Father Lucas and install Father Carbry as pastor in Norfolk. This caused bewilderment to the Catholics who remained faithful to the rightful pastor. Not unexpectedly the pro-Lucas group, eighty of them, sent a Memorial written by Mr. Magagnos to Kelly to reinstate Lucas, as he was a priest remarkable for 'piety, disinterestedness, and zeal.' They wanted him reinstated in the 'brick Church' as 'honorary assistant.' Kelly did not

8 *Ibid.*, p. 127-9.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 134. See also, James Henry Baily, *A History of the Diocese of Richmond,* p. 29-30, and John Gilmary Shea, *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* p. 80.

10 *Ibid.*

take too kindly to this interference. To him it looked like an attack on his jurisdiction as bishop. He replied to Magagnos, 'Now, Sir, however warmly I may admire your feelings of private friendship towards that Rev. Gentleman and how strong so ever his claims to them may be, I must ever regret that they have borne you such lengths as to interfere with the freedom and purity of the exercise of the Episcopal office.'[11]

Mr. Magagnos, seeming equally as determined as Fernandez, did not take no for an answer too lightly. He persevered in requesting that Lucas be restored to his 'spiritual powers'. He emphasised that in no way did his committee wish to interfere with the Bishop's authority, as they had too much respect for the canons of the Church to have recourse to an interference 'the least degree contrary to them.' In Kelly's eyes the entire dispute revolved around money. The reinstatement of Father Lucas was advocated as a matter of justice. Kelly's reply was unambiguous, 'Now, Sir, though God will, no doubt, suitably reward the Obedience and worth of the Rev. Mr. L., yet canonical approbation is no more the object of merit than it is of Simoniacal traffic. The powers of imparting it Ecclesiastical Superiors receive gratuitously and ought gratuitously exercise.' Father Lucas wrote to Archbishop Maréchal, 'Do not believe that this is not an exact copy of Dr. Kelly's letter. Walter Lacy copied it most attentively and I sent it again to be compared with the original. Every note of punctuation is strictly copied. I shall make no comment. Such writing speaks for itself. But the faithful can scarcely believe their eyes.'[12]

The final letter from the memorialists to Bishop Kelly, dated the 27 June 1821, was, as Monsignor Guilday has said, a 'gallant but fruitless attempt to save their pastor from expulsion.'[13]

Father Lucas eventually got an assignment in the District of Columbia, and later joined the Jesuits. Father Carbry and the board continued their dispute with Bishop Kelly. The church door was again closed against the bishop. Things became so violent that the civic authorities were called in to restore order and arrested twenty-one persons. In the midst of all this Father Carbry was trying to provide some religious services. In desperation he wrote to Maréchal, 'Ecclesiastical affairs are far from being in a prosperous situation. There is more dissatisfaction among the Catholics at present than have been at any period since I came hither.' Eventually Fr. Kerney left Norfolk and went to North Carolina.

In 1821 Bishop England of Charlestown visited Norfolk. In his opinion, the first priority was to organise a council, which would lead to 'the union and co-operation of the Bishops of these disturbed States.'[14]

11 Baltimore Cathedral Archives: Letter, Kelly to Maréchal, 7 June 1821. Henceforth abbreviated as BCA.

12 BCA: Letter, Kelly to Maréchal, 23 June 1821.

13 James Henry Baily, *A History of the Diocese of Richmond,* p. 40-1. See also Peter Guilday, *The Catholic Church in Virginia,* p. 152.

14 BCA: Letter, England to Maréchal, no date.

While our focus is on Norfolk, the situation in Portsmouth was little better. There, Commodore Castles, the Catholic commander of the Navy Yard stationed a protective squadron of marines around the local church.[15]

Before his arrival Kelly complained about his lack of money. In Virginia he could not afford to travel to Richmond, his 'cathedral' city. He certainly shared and experienced the poverty of the people.

While there was a church in Richmond, built by the generosity of a pious benefactor, it proved too large for the number of Catholics attending. As we have seen the poverty of the Catholic people, and their small number, did little to strengthen Bishop Kelly's hopes for a flourishing church.

Other towns in the diocese were experiencing similar difficulties. One of them was Petersburg, a thriving river port. In 1820 the sixty-five Catholics in the town asked for a resident priest. They specifically asked for a priest born in Limerick, but they were refused. That same year the fifty Catholic families in Martinsburg were also refused a resident priest. There was none available. Winchester succeeded in getting a resident priest in 1822, but he did not last too long. The church there was rarely used from 1822 to 1861. However, the faithful were prepared to make heroic sacrifices in order to attend Mass. We know that Winchester, 'the central point of the Church', was attended by people who walked twenty-one miles from Front Royal, twenty miles from Strasburg, eighteen miles from Cedar Creek, eleven miles from Berryville, and fourteen miles from Middletown.[16]

The diocesan historian, Bailey, tells us:

> Of all the pitiable congregations in Bishop Kelly's infant diocese, that of far-away Wheeling was the most flourishing. The work of the great Cumberland Road had brought many Irish Catholic labourers to that town, and Richmond's first Bishop [Kelly] authorised Father Maguire of Pittsburg to erect a place of worship there. This brick church in Gothic style was the most imposing Catholic edifice on the Old Dominion's soil, and it formed a point of attraction for settlers of the old Faith.
>
> During the time of Bishop Kelly the western towns of the diocese, with the exception of Wheeling and Martinsburg, where there were organised Catholic groups, were merely mission posts for priests sent from the archdiocese of Baltimore, and Petersburg also was but a mission post of its slightly younger sister city, Richmond.[17]

In October 1821 Maréchal sailed to Europe in order to straighten things out in Rome. However, before he even arrived in the Eternal City, Cardinal Fontana, who realised that establishing the diocese of Richmond was not exactly his most brilliant decision, decided to restore the district to the archdiocese of Baltimore, under Maréchal.

15 William A. Walsh, *Annals of the Catholic Church of Portsmouth, Virginia, from 1804 to 1875,* (Catholic Benevolent Union of Virginia, 1975).

16 James Henry Baily, *A History of the Diocese of Richmond,* p. 48-9.

17 *Ibid.,* p. 54.

Even though his period as bishop of Virginia was quite short, and he was forced to deal with deep divisions and tensions in the diocese, he nonetheless took his pastoral duties very seriously. A glimpse of Bishop Kelly in the role of the good shepherd may be found in this passage from one of his letters to Maréchal:

> The public prints will have already informed your Grace of the trial and conviction in this neighbourhood of two unhappy Spaniards for the wilful murder of an associate of theirs! Sentence of death to be carried into effect on the 1st of June having been passed on them Monday last, I deemed it my duty to wait on them the day following and to offer them those helps religion affords men in their awful situation.[18]

In the summer of 1821 Norfolk was plagued with yellow fever. The stature of Bishop Kelly had risen to a heroic degree. Bishop England records that Bishop Kelly, 'was constant in his attendance upon the sick, and during months, was every day among the afflicted, solacing, cheering, instructing, and administrating [sic] Sacraments to the diseased.'[19]

Just before his return to Ireland we are told:

> The final incident of his episcopate was the good bishop's calling together just prior to his departure all the Catholic children of Tidewater Virginia over eight or nine years of age in order to confer upon them the Sacrament of Confirmation.[20]

Bailey comments on Bishop Kelly's period in Virginia as follows:

> As might have been predicted, the short episcopate of Richmond's first bishop, Patrick Kelly, was beset with financial difficulties and with troubles caused by the chronically choleric Catholics of Norfolk. The diocese of Richmond reverted for administration to the Archbishops of Baltimore in July 1822.[21]

We have noted that Father James Whitfield was associated with Bishop Kelly in Norfolk. Later, when bishop of Baltimore in 1828, one of his first decisions was to invite Edmund Rice to send Brothers to open a school in Baltimore. As far as we know, he was the first American Bishop to issue such an invitation.

John England, first bishop of Charleston, who knew the scene well summed up the situation thus:

> It is not the intention of the writer to pass judgement upon others; but he thinks that amongst other mistakes, the opposition to the separate administration of the latter diocese (Richmond), by causing its Bishop

18 BCA: Letter, Kelly to Maréchal, 26 April 1821. See also James Henry Baily, *A History of the Diocese of Richmond,* p. 55.

19 James Henry Baily, *A History of the Diocese of Richmond,* quoting the *Miscellany* (Charlstown, South Carolina), 10 July 1822.

20 *Ibid.,* p. 56. See also Peter Guilday, *The Catholic Church in Virginia, 1812-1822,* p. 153, and John Gilmary Shea, *A History of the Catholic in the United States,* p. 83.

21 *Ibid.,* p. 174.

> to return to Ireland as soon as he could obtain permission from the Holy See, has been by no means favourable to the maintenance of religion in the State of Virginia.[22]

In June 1822 Patrick Kelly left the USA and sailed to Ireland where he was appointed Bishop of Waterford & Lismore.[23]

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22 Sebastian C. Massmer, *The Works of the Right Rev. John England,* (Cleveland, The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1808), p. 294.

23 James Henry Baily, *A History of the Diocese of Richmond,* p. 55. See also Peter Guilday, *The Catholic Church in Virginia, 1815-1822,* p. 153.

Villiers Stuart: A Landlord Voice on Farm Labourers in the 1880s

By Pádraig G. Lane

IN JULY 1881 labourers from Tipperary, Waterford and Kilkenny gathered at Mooncoin, as Labour Leagues sprouted throughout the south and south east of the country in a portended realisation of that quarrel between farmers and labourers that had simmered throughout the Land League struggle, and that Irish Party MPs were anxious to allay.[1] The meeting stressed the importance to labourers of houses, plots of ground and security of tenure in their employment and it was clear that the tensions arose from the seeming failure of Gladstone's Land Bill of that year to address the issue of the farm labourers' needs in tandem with those of the tenant farmers. While Parnell, Dillon and other national leaders made soothing references to the need for a material improvement in the labourers' wretched conditions in a bid to hold a unified rural front, it was acknowledged that tenant farmers had a poor record in terms of their treatment of the agricultural workers.[2]

Indeed as the Waterford newspaper proprietor and Parnellite figure Joseph Fisher argued on the occasion of the Mooncoin meeting, along with the attendant MP, Martin, the resolution lay in the State, rather than either landlords or tenant farmers, becoming the provider of social and economic care for the disadvantaged labourers, thus avoiding conflict between farmers and labourers. The nub of the crisis, in fact, lay in both the argument that farmers would be even less inclined now to sub-let ground to labourers and the realisation that landlords were now discharging labourers and laying the blame at the door of the rent-reducing farmers' Land League in an effort to create class war between the rural proletariat and those farmers.[3]

It was in this context, indeed, that Villiers Stuart emerged as the rather enigmatic champion of the labourers' rights, even as the Labour Leagues widened the dispute into a strike for higher wages.[4]

At a time, ironically, when his failure to provide employment for his impoverished farm workers on his estate at Enniskeane in County Cork was attracting unfavourable notice in the Bandon Poor Law Union, Villiers Stuart came to represent the traditional landlord view that the tenant farmers had long proven to be remiss in their employment and housing of the rural workers, in contrast to the record of the landowners themselves. Even as the Land Act of 1881's clause

1 *The Irishman,* 9 July 1881.
2 *Ibid.,* 8 January 1881; 16, 23, 30 April 1881; 14 May 1881.
3 *Ibid.,* 1, 8, 22 January 1881; 7, 21, 28 May 1881.
4 *Ibid.,* 23, 30 July 1881; 6 August 1881. See also, J.S. Donnelly Jnr., *The Land and People of Nineteenth Century Cork,* (London and Boston, 1975), pp. 238-40.

requiring the Land Court to make provision for labourers' needs in terms of allotments and cottages on every unit of £25 valuation was raising the tension levels between farmers and workers, the attendant effort to impose the allotments and cottages on landlords' properties was being resisted by the latter owners.[5]

Landlords feared, of course, the re-creation of a pauper population on their land and during the 1870 Land Bill debate had cavilled at any undue powers that might be given to tenants to sub-divide for labourers' needs. They had argued that their own scope under Improvement Loan Schemes answered the need better that any action tenants might take while the labourers' occupancy and rent were also better secured under landlord auspices.[6] That caution was given further support by the Poor Law Commissioners in 1873, the Shaw Lefevre Report in 1878, and the Bessborough Commission Report of 1881, while the Government, during debate on the 1881 Land Bill held to the view that the labour market should determine social provision and limited the degree to which Sanitary Authorities could impose such costs on private property.[7] Indeed, inside and outside Parliament, landlords sought to split labourers from the land movement by raising the threat to employment; checked the imposition of schemes of houses and allotments; placed legal and financial straitjackets on the powers of local authorities; raised the spectre of the State being embroiled in huge social costs; and reiterated the efficacy of the economy itself in caring for the labourers.

If landlords railed therefore against such poor law relief in disguise and supposed that labourers so settled would prove useless to the economy, Villiers Stuart's emergence in 1884 as the would-be champion of the labourers had as much to do with electoral politics as issues of social and economic concern, for by that year both the widening of the franchise and the emergence in parliament of a Labourers Bill had brought the issues unresolved by the 1881 Land Act to the fore again.[8] Parnell in fact had nailed his colours to the mast by telling the labourers that that the Committee on the Labourers Act might not produce immediate results due to landlord interests stonewalling progress but that it would in time, while the

5 *Ibid.*, 14, 21 May 1881; 16 July 1881.

6 Hansard, 3rd ser., H.C. 1870, clxxxiv, 1376-89, 1463, 1494-5, 1993-2011, March 7,8, April 8; cci, 285-9, 1418-23, May 5, 26; cciii, 120-9, July 12; H.L. 1870, ccii, 57-8, 209-58, 328, 868-72, 1054-6, 1436, June 14, 16, 17, 24, 28, July 5.

7 *Reports from Poor Law Inspectors on Labourers Dwellings,* H.C. 1873 (c. 764), xxii, p. 615; *Report from Select Committee of House of Lords on Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870,* H.L. 1878 (249), xv, 1, pp. 43-8, 54, 58-9, 67-8, 71-2, 76-8, 101-2, 113, 121; *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Working of the Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870,* H.C. 1881 (c. 2779), xviii, 1, pp. 20-61.
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Hansard, 3rd ser., H.C. 1883, cclxxix, 1240-62, May 30; cclxxii, 1772-87, August 6; H.L. 1883, cclxxxii, 925-40, August 17; cclxxxiii, 1320-1, August 20, 1481-6, August 21.

8 *United Ireland,* 25 November 1882, 2 December 1882; 12, 26 April 1884; 24 May 1884; 6 September 1884; 25 November 1884.

Kilkenny MP, Marum, advised them that even with the franchise in their fists the labourers would not find a better party for their interests than Parnell's. Both remarks were a reposte to some degree to bids by Villiers Stuart and Lord Muskerry to champion the labourers, bids that the farmers resolutely discountenanced.[9]

The opposition of Lord Cloncurry to labourers' cottages at Cellbridge, Co. Kildare, and of other landlords in Wicklow and Kilkenny, and the eviction of labourers by the same Lord Cloncurry in County Limerick, at that same juncture, weakened, of course, the prospects of any such championship by the landlords, but Villiers Stuart's effort nevertheless, merited vehement opposition from William O'Brien in *United Ireland* throughout the Autumn and Winter of 1884.[10] Villiers Stuart's supposed South of Ireland Labour League was made out by O'Brien, in fact, to have no foundation, and at one meeting in Dungarvan, was faced with a counter meeting chaired by William Garrow Fisher on behalf of the National League.[11] The rivalry went so far, apart from Villiers Stuart's independent approach in parliament to the question, that William O'Brien came out openly at Mallow to say that any Labourers Act could never in itself be anything but a temporary palliative for the labourers and that the final solution could only lie in an end to landlordism.[12]

Villiers Stuart's attempts were undoubtedly also the reason for the National League Executive Harrington's plea to the farmers in Munster not to give any excuse for landlord championship of the labourers. It might even reach the point, it was argued, that any potential labour MPs would have to be screened for their allegiance. The warning to sectional labour candidates implied in this logic was of considerable interest in itself, for it betokened a certain closed-shop approach by the parliamentary representative of the rural bourgeoisie.[13]

Villiers Stuart's parliamentary record on the labour question, in fact could compare favourably with that of any of the Irish Parliamentary Party, if not perhaps surpassing it in terms of practical work rather than verbal support, for he had been championing them in the Bessborough Commission; during the 1881 Land Act debate; and during the debates on the Labourers Allotments Act of 1882 and T.P. O'Connor's Labourers Bill of 1883.[14] His Southern Labour League does also seem to have had some measure of support in Counties Limerick, Clare, Tipperary, Cork and Waterford.[15] Farmer appeals not to have them crushed between the burdens of rack rents and bad prices on the one hand and labour agitation on the other, merely served as an expression of their real fears that the labourers would, indeed, rise up against them.

9 *Ibid.*, 9 February 1884; 9 August 1884.
10 *Ibid.*, 7, 20, 27 September 1884; 4 - 25 October 1884.
11 *Ibid.*, 20 September 1884; 4 - 25 October 1884.
12 *Ibid.*
13 *Ibid.*
14 *Ibid.*, 1 November 1884.
15 *Ibid.*, 1 - 15 November 1884.

Again, in 1885, an election year, it was Villiers Stuart who came under fire when the issue of labour hostility to farm machinery emerged.[16] It was made clear that the Irish Party would not countenance violence by the agricultural labourers towards either the farmers, or to agricultural machinery. If farmers were to hold their ground at all against foreign competition, machinery was a requisite, it was argued. Such episodes as the seemingly Villiers Stuart prompted attack on machine-owning farmer members of the Mitchelstown National League branch, by the Southern Labour League, accompanied by threats to burn the homes of the farmers, did nothing William O'Brien argued, to win the Irish Party to supporting the labourers' interests. If the Parnellite representatives of the labour sector were as half hearted about them, argued O'Brien, as the posturer Villiers Stuart, the labourers would be in dire straits. If the labourers, Edward Gray, argued further, had got the vote it would have to be remembered that the Parnellite Party had got it for them and they should reciprocate by voting for that party and for its policies. Sectional interests could not be allowed to jeopardise the national struggle.[17]

The labourers, however, 'established a fresh claim to gratitude' by their 'unselfish' support of the Irish Party during the general election, it was noted by *United Ireland* in January 1886, it being noted also how Villiers Stuart had failed to distract the labourers from the national cause.[18] So, if as had been noted in October 1882 at a meeting of labourers in Tramore, that the extension of the franchise to them would be their light at the end of the tunnel, and noted by T.C. Mansfield from Tallow Labour League, that farmers only subscribed to the Parnellite counsel to look to their labourers out of fear for their harvest, it appeared that the circle had been squared, so to speak, by 1886, in the sense that the agricultural labourers and the tenant farmers still kept a united agrarian front in the teeth of efforts to divide them.[19]

16 *Ibid.*, 18 July 1885.
17 *Ibid.*, 5 December 1885.
18 *Ibid.*, 2 January 1886.
19 *Ibid.*, 31 October 1882.

Railways and the Revolution in Irish Transport and Communications Between 1834 and the 1880s

By Andrew James Johnston

Introduction, Ireland before The Railway Network

Before 1834 Ireland could be characterised as developed along the coast with minor developments inland. Cities and rural communities were as self-sufficient as possible, so that internal transport was limited and attempted only when necessary. There existed a limited canal system, which had not emulated the success of its British counterpart. Cormac Ó Gráda notes 'Ireland had not had a canal revolution a *l'anglaise.*'[1] As a result the bulk of goods and public transport if any took place on the roads. However these roads did not penetrate the country as a whole and many isolated, rural areas were left out of the main network. Road travel was slow and often dangerous. Accounts of the day speak of men signing up to travel in a group for safety. An average trip from Dublin to Limerick took three to five days. Carts, drays, and horse drawn coaches and cars were the common means of transport on roads and rarely exceeded 10 mph.

Coastal transport through ports was vital to supplying remote areas and thus the importance of such ports as Dingle and Cliffden. Ports in general supplied a large amount of goods in Ireland.

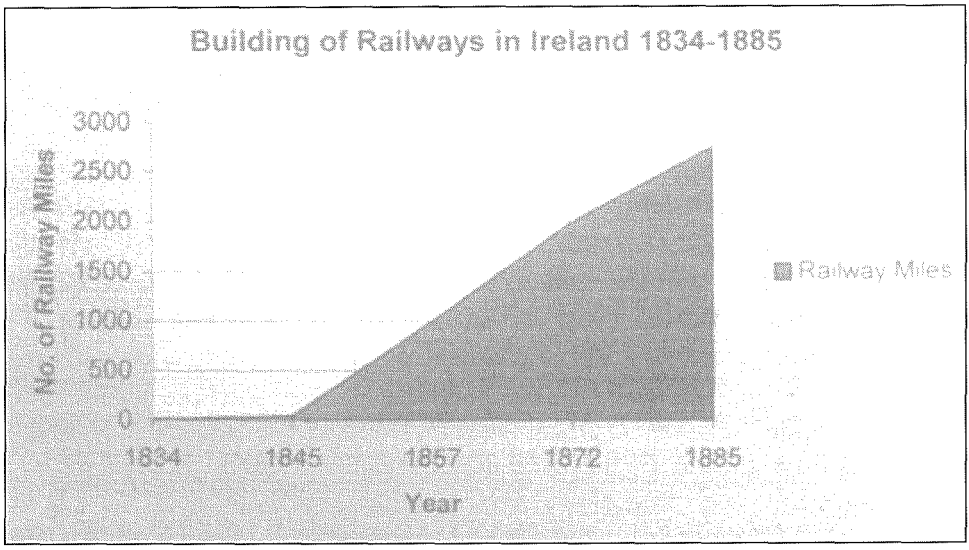
Both Lee and Ó Gráda are in agreement as to the backwardness of Irish communications before the arrival of rail. They both quote a railway inspector who claimed, that the interior of Ireland was more remote than either 'India or America'.[2] Therefore, as can be seen, before the arrival of railways Ireland's transport system was underdeveloped, reliant on cumbersome and uneconomic modes of transport and a contributing factor to the remoteness of areas of Ireland. All this would change due to the railway revolution.

1 Cormac Ó Gráda, 'Industry and Communications, 1801-45' in Vaughan (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume 5: Ireland Under the Union, I, 1801-70,* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 141.

2 Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland: A New Economic History, 1780-1939*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994).

The Railway Revolution

Fig 1: *Railway growth in Ireland 1834-1870.*



Source: Joseph Lee, *The Modernisation of Irish Society,* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1989), p. 13.

Ireland's first railway was the Dublin-Kingstown line, opened in 1834. This is important as it shows the future role of railways in Ireland. Whereas in England the first line was used for coal extraction and industry, Ireland's main use of railways would be public transport and communications. Having understood this vital idea we are better able to explain the growth of the lines in Ireland.

Railways were developed initially to link the rest of the country with Dublin. Also rail lines linked Waterford and Limerick and numerous lines intersected in the midlands and southeast. Lines were developed to the North also. Even more important was the growth of light rail. These smaller, narrower lines were developed in more remote areas, linking communities in the west such as around Killybegs or near Tralee. In comparison to its population, Ireland would soon have one of the densest railway networks in the world. This is reflected by Fig. 1, which shows the continuous growth in Irish rail throughout our period.

Investment in railways was initially begun by English and Scottish entrepreneurs. However, reluctant Irish investors soon began to enter the market and by the end of our period most lines were in the hands of Irish investors. Indeed, most of the investment capital for the Waterford and Limerick railway was Irish as was most investment in the Ulster railways.[3] However, there was no initial industrial boom in railways along an English model as Ireland had neither coal nor iron,

3 For a fuller discussion on investment in Irish railways see J.M. Hearne, 'Waterford: Economy, Society and Politics, 1780-1852', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, (University College Cork, 2001), pp. 221-25.

necessities for industrialisation. Rapid growth began during the famine and Lee feels this explains the relative belittling of the impact of railways. By the end of our period, railways had become the biggest investment project in the country's history. The massive development can be explained by the relatively cheap labour Ireland provided (roughly 1/3 of the price of that of England) and active encouragement and investment by the government from London. This took the form of the Board of Public Works and through loans. Government intervention seems quite unusual for its time. This went against all the principles of *laissez-faire,* which were cited as grounds for non-intervention in the famine, yet the government was willing to underwrite and subsidise railways, both before and after the famine.

Thus we can see, Ireland witnessed a huge and comprehensive development in railway lines throughout this period. Whole areas of Ireland were opened up, impacting dramatically on the development of transport and communications in the country.

Ireland After the Arrival of Railways: the Impact on Transport and Communications

Professor Joe Lee feels that the 'railways transformed this situation overnight'.[4] An immediate effect of the railways was that Dublin became more and more distinct as Ireland's capital city. As the hub of the railways it became the centre for much commerce and trade. Thus, by being within a day's travel from anywhere in the country, Dublin extended its influence throughout the country. Before the railways, a trip from Dublin to Galway took four days. By the time of the line's introduction rail made the journey possible in only ten hours. Quite simply trains were faster than any other method of transport in Ireland. Travelling at 20 mph (twice the speed of its rival) Ireland suddenly seemed smaller. Between 1850 and 1870 annual passenger figures doubled from seven to fourteen million.[5] However some commentators felt that the bulk of human cargo was simply emigrant related. Either way, railways were increasingly becoming a feature of Irish life.

Compared with road haulage, rail was also less affected by weather. Muddy roads were not a hindrance to trade. Couple this with more economic costs, and rail soon became the prime means of transport, post and communications, at the expense of both roads and the recently built canals. This led to fundamental changes in patterns of consumption amongst all classes of Irish people. Goods from Dublin reached new markets and English fashions and culture became more dispersed throughout the country. This illustrates the revolutionary impact of rail on transport and the communication of ideas.

4 Joseph Lee, 'The Railways in the Irish Economy' in L.M. Cullen (ed.), *The Formation of the Irish Economy,* (Cork, Mercier Press, 1969).

5 R.V. Comerford, 'Ireland 1850-70: Post Famine and Mid-Victorian' in Vaughan (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume 5, Ireland Under the Union, I, 1801-70,* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 375.

Railways also increased tourism and day trips. As mentioned above, the Dublin-Kingstown line opened up the seaside to Dublin's urban dwellers. Similar new tourist destinations were largely successful because of the arrival of rail. These include Killarney, Blarney, Tramore (built by William Dargan and unconnected to the rest of the country's rail network)[6] Howth, Passage, Portrush and Bray. All acted as 'get aways' from such major urban centres as Waterford, Limerick, Cork, Dublin and Belfast. This in turn led to the growth of hotels in such areas. Thus it can be said that railways revolutionised people's chances of leisure and transport to such venues.

Another massive area of improvement was communications. Newspapers became truly national. For example the arrival of the Waterford - Dublin line allowed the *Independent* to be delivered on the morning train from Dublin and be sold in Waterford that day. Newspapers in general expanded their coverage. This had the result of challenging the dominance of the English papers, which dominated sales outside the capital. By the time of the land war, the dominance of Irish papers was critical in raising mass support for the Land League. Cullen is quick to emphasise this:

> This gave Irish papers a revolutionary advantage... newspaper editors and journalists played a prominent role in rural Ireland and its politics. They reported meetings at inordinate length and they stimulated both new-fangled nationalism and local identity.[7]

This would not have been possible had it not been for the opening up of markets caused by the arrival of railways.

Even more important was the fact that allied with the telegraph, newspapers could report events the following day. This was a massive change as Cullen has observed, 'news from London in the 1790s was reported in the Dublin press three to five days later, continental news a week later still.'[8] This quicker and more up to date method meant that newspapers devoted more of their space to current affairs and less and less to advertisements and notices or socials. Thus as a result of telegraph and railway delivery, the number of dailies sold increased. This is reflected in Fig. 2. Weeklies were also sold to a wider market and in fact in one wholesaler, weeklies outsold dailies by 6:1.[9]

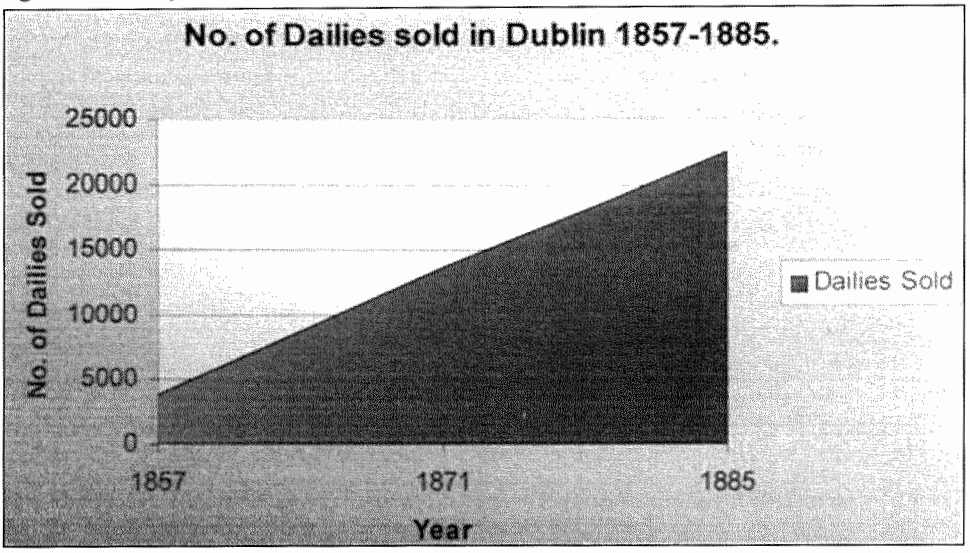
6 J.M. Hearne, 'Waterford: Economy, Society and Politics', p. 224.

7 L.M. Cullen, 'Establishing a Communications System: News, Post, and Transport' in Brian Farrell (ed.), *Communications and Community in Ireland,* (Dublin, Mercier Press, 1984), p. 25.

8 *Ibid.,* p. 19.

9 *Ibid.,* p. 26.

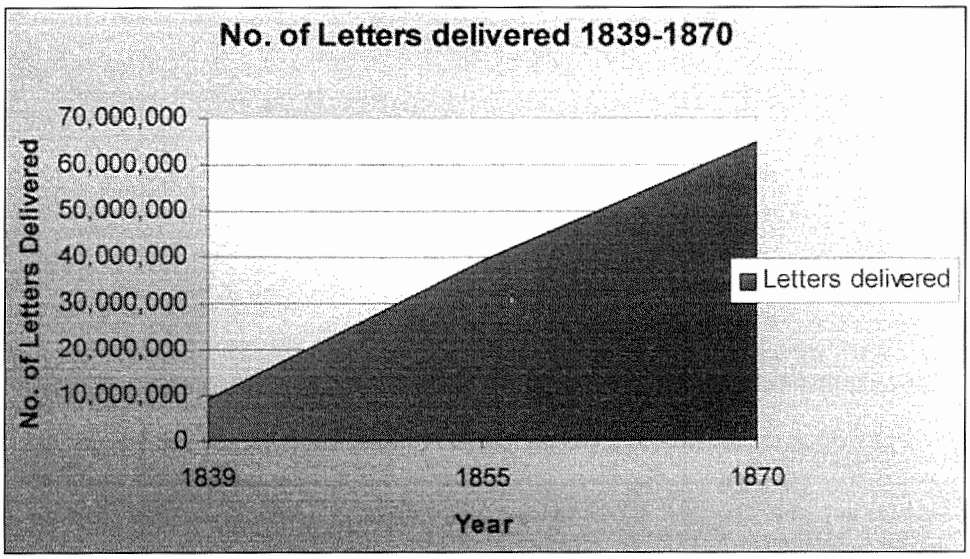
Fig 2: *Number of dailies sold in Dublin 1857-1885.*



Source: L.M. Cullen, 'Establishing a Communications System: News, Post, and Transport' in Brian Farrell (ed.), *Communications and Community in Ireland,* (Dublin, Mercier Press, 1984), p. 25.

A more obvious result was that personal post could be exchanged quicker. This served more as a convenience but it did quicken business correspondence and news spread even quicker.

Fig 3: *Number of letters delivered 1839-1870.*



Source: R.V. Comerford, 'Ireland 1850-70: Post Famine and Mid-Victorian' in Vaughan (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume 5, Ireland Under the Union, I, 1801-70,* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 375.

Telegraph

Simultaneously we see the introduction of the telegraph system. Telegraph systems were built along railway lines, which provided the most effective means of delivering direct and protected access to the required lines and posts. Built in Ireland for the first time in 1850, Ireland joined a much larger network when a submarine cable linked Dublin to Holyhead. The sudden increase in speed of communication was revolutionary; as Cullen has observed:

> ...The staccato ring of the electric impulses in Morse travelled from London to Dublin in seconds whereas in the fast coaches of 1830 the passengers and the mails for Dublin had careered along the 280 miles... at a speed of ten miles an hour.[10]

Any village that was linked to the telegraph system was in touch with the imperial telegraph system. This brought remote parts of Ireland in touch with telegraph offices throughout the world. In information terms, this was as revolutionary as the Internet was in the 1990s. Lee emphasises this when he says 'the railway permitted far greater diffusion of information through the tele-post and rapid distribution of ideas.'[11]

As Lee has pointed out, 'the railway integrated the west into the market economy.'[12] New markets were created by rail and products from rural Ireland were being sold farther and farther away. Better communications and transport, ushered in by the railway were responsible for this development.

Another important side effect was that statistical information compiled by the numerous railway commissions such as the Devon Commission, revealed the 'Hidden Ireland' for the first time. This is a theme that Turnock draws on in his historical geography of railways:

> The influence of railways was profound, even where trains were out of both sight and hearing...the railway reduced the isolation which had previously separated the country from the town, in the cultural as well as the occupational sense.[13]

Conclusion

Ó Gráda feels that the railway's impact was one of the few success stories of the nineteenth century.[14] I would agree. From the evidence above, railways did revolutionise transport and communications in Ireland. Despite not having the same industrial and economic impact as in Britain, Ireland was modernised and became

10 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

11 Joseph Lee, *The Modernisation of Irish Society,* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1989), p. 14.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

13 David Turnock, *A Historical Geography of Railways in Great Britain and Ireland,* (Aldershot, Ashgate Press, 1998), p. 247.

14 Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland: A New Economic History, 1780-1939,* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 138.

integrated into the wider Europe. As we can see this growing awareness of self and rising expectations, that were to be vital in the events of the early twentieth century, were just one of many legacies from the age of railway growth.

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Update on Early Waterford Quaker Burial Grounds at Wyse Park and Irish Quakers 350th Celebrations

By Joan Johnson

Background

In *Decies* **56** (2000) a study was published on 'Early Quaker Burial Grounds at Waterford City', situated at St. John's Lane and at Parliament Street now incorporated into Wyse Park. Approximately six hundred and fifty Quakers are buried in this area. Identification of those buried reveals Waterford Quaker family names, which were to prove a substantial influence in the development of the City of Waterford during the nineteenth century.

From the 1920s to the 1940s discussions between Waterford Corporation and Waterford Quakers were ongoing, with the aim that these burial ground properties might be given to the City. It is clear that it was the wish of Waterford Quakers to ensure that the sites would be used as an amenity for the city and to safeguard this, they wrote to Waterford Corporation as follows:

> The place to be kept in decent order and under supervision as an open space in perpetuity for the benefit of the city. No drains or other digging deeper than two feet. No buildings to be erected other than lightly constructed shelters, (WMM Guard Book, 1940, 265).

Both burial grounds were finally given over to Waterford Corporation, with certain conditions and safeguards, in 1950. It was recorded then that 'the Parliament Street burial ground (now part of Wyse Park) had been made into a pleasant playground and gardens', (WMM Guard Book, 1950, 668).

Former Quaker Burial Ground at John's Lane

Following a visit to John's Lane in January 2000 the study stated:

> ... while the historical geography of the area has changed over the 300 years, there is now no evidence that it was once a burial ground at John's Lane. The back wall seems very old and could possibly be the original. The property has not been built upon which indicates that the original conditions have been adhered to over the years, ensuring the Quakers' wish to preserve the integrity of the burial ground. However, the present use of this area is a car park, with approximately the same dimensions as in the 1689 lease, (Johnson 2000).

Former Quaker Burial Ground at Parliament Street

Again the study stated that in 2000 the historical geography of the Parliament Street site was little better than its predecessor and that this former burial ground was:

> ... contained within a large open space surrounded by some walls. The dimensions of a grass surface are similar to the measurements of the original burial ground site. Seen in January 2000, it was desolate, unmarked and situated in very poorly kept surroundings. Alongside it is an unkept park, Wyse Park ... today, while no building has taken place on either site, the land lies neglected. There is no evidence of the former characteristics of the burial grounds of 250 years ago, nor, as was the intention in 1950, any evidence of amenity value to the city of Waterford, (Johnson 2000).

Present Situation in the Wyse Park Area

Since 2000 Waterford Quakers and local residents have campaigned for the restoration of Wyse Park as an amenity for the public. They have also highlighted the current unsatisfactory condition of the park and urged that 'at a time of rapid development in Waterford City, alongside the current focus on its immense heritage, it was hoped that these sites of the two former burial grounds would be recognised, preserved and redeveloped as a useful amenity for future generations', (Johnson 2000). Continued representation to City Council finally resulted in 2004 with the start of a restoration plan for Wyse Park.

350th Anniversary of Quakers in Ireland

2004 marks the 350th anniversary of Quakers coming to Ireland. Throughout Ireland, at time of writing, events are being planned to celebrate the occasion. The Irish Government has commissioned a Quaker Commemorative Stamp, due out in October this year and Newtown School Old Scholar Nicky Mosse has produced a fine commemorative mug and a bowl. A book on Irish Quaker Meeting Houses is also being published during the year.

The first major event was held at Newtown School, Waterford from 13th- 18th April, when over 260 members and visitors attended the annual Yearly Meeting. It was a time to reflect on the early Quaker values and their particular relevance in 2004 and for the future. Among the special events held during this week were a Civic Reception accorded by the Waterford City Council and a historical tour of important Quaker sites in the city.

Waterford Civic Reception

On Thursday 15th April 2004 a special meeting of Waterford City Council was convened to commemorate the 350 years in Ireland of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). A motion was passed in recognition of their 350 years in Ireland and the contribution of Quakers, especially in Waterford. The motion was

proposed by Cllr. Oliver Clery and seconded by Cllr. Davey Walsh. A special illuminated scroll was presented to David Kingston, Clerk of Ireland Yearly Meeting, during this civic reception to mark the occasion. This event was attended by over 100 specially invited guests and members representing the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland (Quakers).

Mayor Tom Cunningham referred to the business and cultural contribution of Waterford Quakers to the life of the city over many generations. He also acknowledged the importance of the two early Quaker burial grounds where many of these early Quakers are buried, now incorporated into Wyse Park. He said that it was the desire of the City Council 'to maximise the usage of this public amenity... and that the Waterford City Council was currently carrying out extensive restoration works in an attempt to refurbish the park in order that this valuable amenity may be best used and enjoyed by local residents and visitors alike in the manner first envisaged by those making the bequest'.

On Saturday 16th April the Quaker historical tour visited Wyse Park to view the restorative work and to acknowledge the two plaques erected by Waterford City Council. These plaques now mark the sites of the John's Lane and Parliament St. former Quaker Burial grounds. It is hoped that the next phase of development and restoration will follow shortly.

The wording on these plaques is as follows:

> FIRST QUAKER BURIAL GROUND AT JOHN'S LANE, WATERFORD, 1689-1764.
>
> This area, formerly the first Burial ground of the Religious Society of Friends, (Quakers), in Waterford, was situated in a small garden plot at John's Lane in the parish of St. John. According to the Deed, dated 27th March 1689, the area measured 90 feet in length and 40 feet, tapering to 22 feet, in breadth.
>
> For seventy-five years this burial ground was used by Waterford Quakers, where an estimated 200 Quakers are buried. Some of the people buried here include the following well-known Waterford family names: Abell - Anderton - Annesley - Badcock - Balfour - Barnes - Blanch - Cantrell - Chandle - Chapman - Cherry - Constant - Courtenay - Davis - Dennis - Dickenson - Ellis - Fennell - Fossett - Harris - Howell - Hutchinson - Jacob - Keyes - Leathes - Moore - Neachallis - Strangman - Trapnell - White - Wickham.
>
> During 1944 Waterford Quakers agreed to offer this former burial ground, under certain conditions, to Waterford City. By March 1950 the John's Lane Quaker burial ground had been taken over by Waterford Corporation.

Waterford Quaker Burial Ground at Parliament Street, 1764 - c. 1869

Waterford Quakers gave this area to Waterford Corporation in 1950 for use as an amenity for the people of Waterford. The land for this burial ground was originally acquired in 1764. The property consisted of a rectangular walled site measuring approximately 130 feet in length and seventy-eight feet in width. There are approximately 450 people buried here, including 'a strangers lot'. Full details are recorded. The last burial record appears to be dated 1869.

Amongst the Quaker family names recorded are the following: Balfour - Barcroft - Barnes - Binns - Blain - Chandler - Cherry - Courtenay - Davis - Deaves - Fawcett - Fayle - Gatchell - Goff - Gouch - Harris - Hartland - Harvey - Hill - Howis - Hoyland - Jacob - Jones - Leathes - Moore - Morris - Newsom - Peet - Penrose - Phillips - Poole - Ridgeway - Roberts - Robinson - Russell - Sealey - Shannon - Stacey - Strangman - Usher - Wakefield - Walpole - Walsh - Waring - Watson - Webb - White - Wiley - Williams - Wilson - Wood - Wright.

A fully detailed map of all interments in the burial ground exists and is held in Waterford.

From these early Quaker families there was an unbroken involvement in trade (some involving travel to Newfoundland) and industry in the City of Waterford from the late seventeenth until the mid twentieth century. There was also direct Quaker involvement within the Waterford community through relief work, education (Newtown School) and the Waterford Chamber of Commerce. Amongst such families interred in Wyse Park are the following:

Penrose Family

At least fifteen Penroses are buried here including both George Penrose (1722-1796) and his nephew William (1745-1799) who established their Waterford glass manufacturing business in 1783. This early Waterford glass firm was the predecessor to the successful Waterford Crystal Company of the present time. Jonathan Gatchell, also of the same firm, is buried here as well as ten other members of the Gatchell family.

Strangman Family

Approximately twenty-four members of the Strangman family are buried here. The family established a brewery in Mary St. in 1772. In spite of various changes a similar business still continues on the same site to the present day.

Jacob Family

There are nineteen members of the Jacob family buried here. It is from the direct descendants of Joseph Jacob, buried in 1781, that the various Jacob family businesses of engineering, shipbuilding, exporting goods and biscuit making all developed in Waterford City during the nineteenth century.

2004 marks the 350th anniversary of Quakers' arrival in Ireland. Waterford Quakers wish to acknowledge the current restoration work of Waterford City Council at Wyse Park during this celebratory year.

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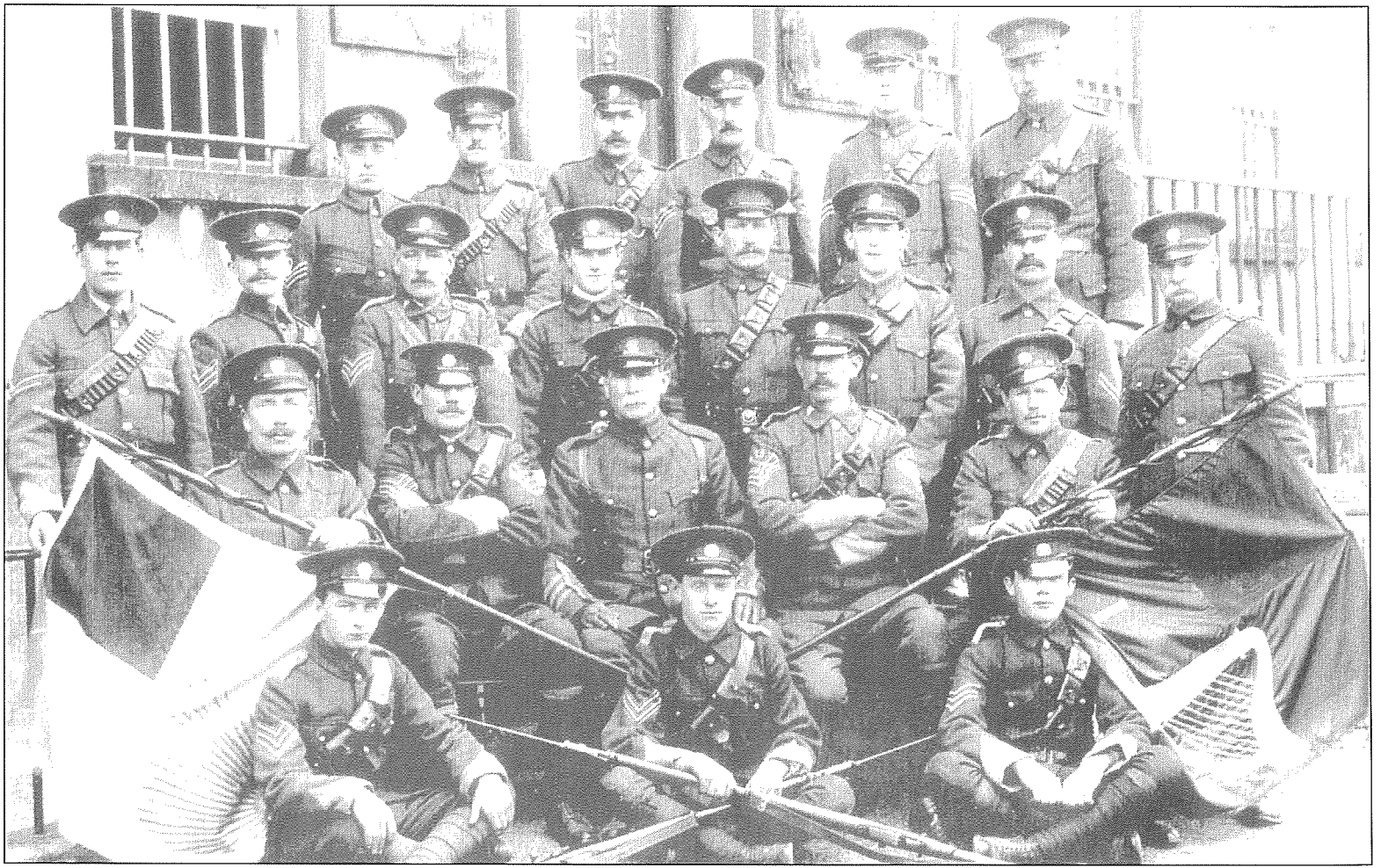


Plate 1 – National Volunteers, Waterford, 15th April, 1915, non-commisioned officers group.
(Poole Collection, WP2600, Courtesy of National Library of Ireland)

The Irish Volunteers in Waterford: Part 1, 1913-1916

By Pat McCarthy

IN 1913, it seemed to Irishmen everywhere that Home Rule, the holy grail of a century of Irish political leaders, had been attained and would be on the statute books by the summer of 1914 at the latest. Deprived of their last constitutional bulwark, the power of veto of the House of Lords, the Unionists turned to force to stop the final enactment of the Home Rule Bill. In 1913, the Ulster Volunteer Force was formed to 'resist Home Rule by all means possible'. In response, the Nationalists formed the Irish Volunteers. The latter movement spread throughout the country in 1914 but in September it split in response to John Redmond's call to the Volunteers to enlist in the British Army. A small but militant minority, retaining the title 'Irish Volunteers' planned and executed an armed rebellion in Dublin in 1916. Although the fighting was largely confined to the streets of the capital city, the original plan envisaged action throughout the country. This essay examines the foundation and spread of the Volunteers in Waterford city and county, the impact of the split there and the plans and events of 1916 as they affected Waterford.

Waiting in the wings - the IRB

By 1906, the IRB was virtually moribund.[1] The exclusively Dublin-based leadership, Fred Allan and P.T. Daly seemed to focus their attention on the internal politics of Dublin Corporation while the movement barely existed in the rest of the country. While some young recruits joined, they almost invariably drifted away after a year or two of fruitless theorising and no prospect of action. To all intents and purposes it had become a social club for former revolutionaries. The John O'Leary funeral in March 1907 was eloquent testimony to the IRB's reduced condition. Organisationally it was a shambles and the attendance modest. Nor were the annual Manchester Martyrs' Commemorations any better. For long the high point of the Nationalist year, they provided the most visible demonstration of support for militancy. In November 1905, the RIC Crime Special Branch reported on the demonstration in Waterford:

> On the night of 23rd November two local bands paraded the streets followed by 500 persons of the labouring class. No representative citizen was present.[2]

1 Leon O Broin, *Revolutionary Underground: The Story of The Irish Republican Brotherhood, 1858-1924,* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1976), pp. 97-108, 140-42. See also, Desmond Williams, *The Irish Republican Brotherhood in Secret Societies in Ireland,* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1973), pp. 138-50.

2 Public Record Office (henceforth abbreviated as PRO) CO/904/117, RIC Crime Special Branch Report, 1905. See Appendix 1 for a note on this source.

A few years later in 1909 the same source gave the reported attendance as only 300 and 'the crowd consisted principally of the artisan, labouring and corner-boy classes'. It seemed that republican Ireland, like romantic Ireland, was with O'Leary in the grave!

However, just when this last vestige of fenianism seemed about to expire, it received a transfusion of new blood.[3] From 1907, new men revitalised the organisation. Thomas Clarke returned from America and his idealism inspired men like Sean MacDiarmada, Diarmuid Lynch, Bulmer Hobson and Denis McCullough. With new dynamism they set about reorganising the movement. The old leadership was ruthlessly purged. A few key members were appointed as organisers, among them Michael Crowe of Limerick who would later become Divisional Centre for Munster, a post in which he was succeeded by Diarmuid Lynch. An employee of the Great Southern and Western Railway and prominent in the GAA, Crowe had the perfect cover for his clandestine activities. Acting discreetly, he set about recruiting like-minded individuals. Among those he targeted was Willie (Liam) Walsh of Waterford.[4] Born in the city in 1879, Walsh was the leading figure in Waterford GAA circles. In 1909, at a hurling match in Portlaoise, Crowe swore him into the Brotherhood and tasked him with establishing an IRB circle in Waterford. Over the next few years Walsh swore in thirty-one men in Waterford City, most of them in circumstances similar to his own (see Appendix 2 for a list of the thirty-one). One of them, Sean Matthews, was sworn in at a hurling match in the Sportsfield.[5] Matthews, born in Kilmacow in 1886 and employed by Egans of Barronstrand Street, would later take over from Walsh as Head Centre for Waterford. Meetings took place in the house of another member, J.D. Walsh in John Street, usually on a quarterly basis. To maintain more frequent contact, and also as a cover for their activities, Walsh established the John Mitchell Hurling Club, its members drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the IRB.

The other IRB circle in Waterford was in Dungarvan. This was established by Patrick O'Mahony, a Kerryman.[6] From 1910, O'Mahony was attached to the Survey Branch of the Post Office and his duties took him around the country - perfect cover for his work as an IRB organiser. From 1912 to 1914, he established a number of circles in Kerry and in Tipperary. In September 1914, he was posted to Dungarvan as supervising clerk in place of the postmaster who was ill. He immediately took an active part in the local company of the Irish Volunteers and in parallel set about establishing an IRB circle. Within a short time he had sworn in twenty men including such key figures in the War of Independence as Pax Whelan, Dan Fraher and George Lennon (see Appendix 2). He also established a secure line of communication with Sean Matthews in Waterford City, with Pierse McCann and Frank Drohan in Tipperary and with Peter deLoughrey of Kilkenny - all key IRB figures.

3 Leon O Broin, *Revolutionary Underground,* pp. 143-55. See also Diarmuid Lynch, *The IRB and the 1916 Rising,* (Cork, Mercier Press, 1957), pp. 21-38.

4 Bureau of Military History (henceforth abbreviated as BMH), Witness Statement, (henceforth abbreviated as WS), 1005, W. Walsh - See Appendix 1 for a note on this source.

5 BMH WS 1022, S. Matthews.

6 BMH WS 745, P.C. O'Mahony.

A parallel, though open, organisation was 'Fianna Eireann'. Formed in 1909 by Countess Markievicz, assisted by Bulmer Hobson, it was an avowedly nationalist boy-scout movement, controlled by the IRB. Two years later, Liam Mellowes was appointed full-time organiser and instructor. Travelling the country on his bicycle to organise the 'slua', as each branch was known, it was also a perfect cover for his other task - IRB organiser. In 1912, he visited Waterford, staying in Walsh's house. At a meeting in the Gaelic League Hall in William Street, he inaugurated the 'Thomas Francis Meagher Slua' in Waterford.[7] The first officers were:

Captain:	Thomas Barry
2nd in Command:	Paddy Hearne
Adjutant:	James Nolan.

The latter was a nephew of Willie Walsh. Though never numbering more than fifty, the Slua went on to fulfil its main purpose, to provide a steady stream of volunteers for the IRA in the period 1919-1922.

It was part of IRB strategy to infiltrate any public nationalist movement that could be used in the ultimate objective - the establishment of an Irish Republic. In the meantime they continued their secret preparations. Unlike IRB circles in other parts of the country, Walsh and Egan managed to keep their activities secret from the prying eyes of the RIC Crime Special Branch. As late as 1914, the latter declared in a confidential report, 'there are no secret societies in Waterford City and County'.[8] Though not very successful on the playing pitch, the cover of the John Mitchell hurling club evidently worked!

The Founding of the Irish Volunteers

Throughout 1913, nationalist Ireland watched with growing alarm as the Unionists founded, organised and armed the Ulster Volunteer Force. They were able to achieve in a few months what the IRB had dreamed about for years; they had set up a public armed mass-movement dedicated to the use of force if their demands were not met. The Supreme Council of the IRB watched these developments with great interest and in July 1913 decided to establish a similar movement. It would not, however, be publicly led by the Brotherhood since they wanted to attract as broad a spectrum as possible of nationalist Ireland. The spark came from outside the movement in October 1913. The distinguished historian and Gaelic scholar, Eoin MacNeill, wrote an article in the journal of the Gaelic League suggesting that the south should follow the northern lead. A group of prominent nationalists led by Bulmer Hobson approached Eoin MacNeill and his friend Michael O'Rahilly (The 'O'Rahilly' as he became known) and together they convened a public meeting in the Rotunda in Dublin on 25 November 1913. Some 7,000 enthusiastic nationalists attended and the Irish Volunteers were established. Over 4,000 enrolled that first night.[9]

7 BMH WS 1742, P. Hearne; BMH WS 1369, J. Nolan.

8 PRO CO/904/117, RIC Crime Special Branch Report.

9 F.X. Martin, *The Irish Volunteers 1913-1915,* (Dublin, 1963), pp. 69-83.

From the beginning, the IRB infiltrated the new movement and occupied many key positions but were content to let Eoin MacNeill lead the new force. A more open approach by the IRB might have alarmed moderate nationalists. This policy was recalled by O'Mahony:

> I had frequent consultations with Sean MacDermott and before the formation of the Volunteers discussed the project with him on several occasions. The general line of policy in regard to it was that IRB men would not take too prominent a part or show their hands completely in the formation of the organisation. It was desirable that the Volunteer movement should be fully representative of Irishmen of all political creeds, and it was felt that IRB men on their own merits would secure sufficient voice in the affairs of the organisation to enable them to keep its national policy on the right lines.[10]

December 1913 was taken up by the organisation of the new force in Dublin. After Christmas, the volunteer executive took up the task of spreading the movement throughout the country. A 'Country Sub-Committee' was set up in January 1914 to deal with organisation generally outside the Dublin District, comprising:

Col. Maurice Moore
M.J. Judge
Sean MacDermott
Bulmer Hobson
Peadar Macken
Padraic O'Riain[11]

With the exception of Judge and Moore, all were IRB men, determined to use their existing network. The same month the first steps were taken to start the Volunteers in Waterford. A local committee was set up to organise the launch meeting, the membership of which included Walsh, Matthews and Brazil, all IRB men. The meeting itself took place early in March.[12] Five hundred men marched to the City Hall, led by the Barrack Street Brass Band and the Erin's Hope Fife and Drum Band. A large number of local dignitaries and priests were on the platform as Eoin MacNeill and The O'Rahilly addressed a huge crowd in the Mall. Discretely in the background on the platform were Brazil and Matthews. The meeting concluded with the announcement that a Waterford City Battalion of the Irish Volunteers would be established with drilling to take place on Tuesday and Thursday evenings and on Sunday mornings at the Butter Market, High Street. Enrolment forms were distributed and hundreds signed up immediately. Mr. Robert A. Kelly was appointed chairman and Mr. W.A. Jacob secretary.[13] British army reservists were engaged as instructors - Toomey, Kiely, Flynn and Fitzgerald.

10 BMH WS 745, P. C. O'Mahony.
11 National Library of Ireland (henceforth abbreviated as NLI) MS 9239, Maurice Moore Papers.
12 *Munster Express,* 31 January 1914.
13 *Ibid.,* 14 March 1914.

Before the end of April, the City Battalion numbered over 1,000 men organised in eight companies. IRB men such as Matthews, J.D. Walsh, P. Woods and P. Brazil were content to be officers at company level. R.A. Kelly was subsequently elected commanding officer of the battalion with the rank of Colonel. Such was the growth of the movement in the city that the Butter Market was too small and drilling was transferred, first to the Market House on the Quay then to the grounds of the courthouse. Route marches on Sundays became a regular feature and proposals were drawn up for weekend camps in Tramore.

Once the city was organised, attention turned towards the hinterland. For villages and towns adjacent to the city, there was a simple but effective method. The City Battalion would parade to the village or town, speeches would follow and then a local company would be set up. In this way, Tramore was organised on 24 May, Kilmacow on 6 June.[14] In the west of the county, Dungarvan was the scene of a mass meeting on 22 April with The O'Rahilly as the main speaker; similarly Lismore in early June.[15] While some local units marked their establishment by field days, Kilrossanty chose to do so in verse. Entitled the 'Comeragh Volunteers', it began:

> Kilrossanty had joined the ranks of Erin's army bold
> Amongst those gallant heroes her sons are now enrolled.
> To make our land a national and to wipe out past arrears
> And help guard our hard-won rights - The Comeragh Volunteers.[16]

It continued in a similar vein for nine more verses.

Although a number of women had attended the inaugural meeting of the Irish Volunteers, they had been shepherded to a small gallery to the side and their active participation in the movement was not encouraged. However, the women were not content with a passive role and they set about establishing their own militant organisation, Cumann na mBan. The inaugural meeting of the new body with the declared aim 'to advance the cause of Irish Liberty' was held in Wynn's Hotel, Dublin on 5 April 1914. Branches were established throughout the country, including one in Waterford City in July 1914. The first officers were:

President:	Miss A. Colfer
Vice-president:	Miss Hyland
Treasurer:	Miss Hannigan
Secretary:	Miss R. Jacob[17]

Rosamond Jacob, Quaker and activist in many nationalist organisations in Waterford, seems to have been the heart and soul of the branch. Membership varied between thirty and sixty in the following years.

14 *Ibid.*, 26 July 1914.
15 *Ibid.*, 11 July 1914.
16 *Ibid.*, 15 August 1914.
17 *Ibid.*, 22 August 1914.

Meanwhile, John Redmond and the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party had watched the growth of the Volunteers with some dismay since it seemed to threaten their hegemony of Nationalist Ireland. In May 1914, he issued the Volunteers with an ultimatum: either accept twenty-five nominees of his to the executive, thus giving him control, or he would publicly and vigorously oppose them.[18] Anxious not to split the movement, the Volunteer Executive reluctantly accepted. Among those whom Redmond nominated was a solicitor from Waterford, Mr. P. Murphy. Neither before nor after his nomination does he appear to have been particularly active in the Volunteers.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1914, the constitutional crisis heightened. Several compromise proposals, all involving some form of partition, were rejected by the Unionists whose resolve was strengthened by the support of the Conservative Party in England led by Bonar Law. The country appeared to be heading towards civil war and nationalist fervour intensified. More and more, moderate Nationalists gave their open support to the Volunteer movement. Armed action now appeared to be acceptable to many people who would have recoiled from the prospect with horror a few short months previously. Support came from some unlikely sources. Mr. Gerard Purcell Fitzgerald of the Island gave his support to the movement while a Colonel J.C.F. Gordon of Lismore, a distinguished veteran of the Indian Army, wrote on 8 August offering his services as 'Inspecting Officer of the Volunteers in Waterford'. By August 1914, it was conservatively estimated that there were more than 180,000 men enrolled in the Volunteers. Such numbers required a more formal military structure and the returns for Waterford to Volunteer Headquarters on 28 July show for the first time a Brigade structure: two brigades in Waterford, each, as was standard in the British Army, with four battalions.[19]

Table 1 - Volunteer Strength in Waterford - 28/07/1914

East Waterford Brigade	City Battalion	544 officers and men
	Gaultier Battalion	655 officers and men
	1st Comeragh Battalion	730 officers and men
	2nd Comeragh Battalion	420 officers and men
West Waterford Brigade	1st Deise Battalion	580 officers and men
	2nd Deise Battalion	240 officers and men
	Avonmore Battalion	465 officers and men
	Sliabh Gua Battalion	100 officers and men

A note on the return mentions that the city battalion had an enrolled strength of over 1,000 men but that approximately 50% 'do not attend drills regularly and so were not included'. Thus, the active strength of the combined brigades was 3,734. The secret RIC estimate of the strength of the Volunteers in Waterford city and

18 F.X. Martin, *The Irish Volunteers 1913-1915,* pp. 43-57.

19 NLI MS 10551, Maurice Moore Papers.

county was 3,994, a remarkably accurate estimate.[20] In comparison with its neighbouring counties, volunteer density (number of volunteers per 1,000 of the Catholic population) Waterford was below Kilkenny and Tipperary, similar to Wexford and substantially ahead of Cork, reflecting perhaps the localism of Cork nationalist politics.

Table 2 - Volunteer Strength by County - July 1914[21]

	Branches	*Membership*	*Catholic Population (1911 Census)*	*Volunteer Density (Vols/1,000 Cath.)*
Waterford	37	3,994	79,391	50.3
Wexford	54	5,043	94,413	53.4
Kilkenny	53	4,479	71,193	62.9
Tipperary	99	10,485	144,156	72.7
Cork	84	10,443	356,269	29.3

There was no shortage of willing manpower. There was, however, a critical shortage of arms. Each volunteer was required to pay two pence a week to an arms fund while from June onwards regular 'collections for arms' were taken up throughout the city and county, and were well supported. Some wealthy members purchased their own rifles but generally what arms the Waterford volunteers had came via Headquarters and slowly at that. It is estimated that by August 1914 there were 275 rifles plus an unknown number of revolvers and shotguns in the hands of the Waterford Volunteers. The City Battalion had over 200 of the rifles. An elaborate diversion focussed the attention of the authorities on the Waterford coast on the weekend of 26 July. That day, Erskine Childers and his friends landed 1,500 Mauser rifles at Howth, Co. Dublin and at Kilcoole, Co. Wicklow. Only about two or three of the famous 'Howth' rifles found their way into the hands of the volunteers in Waterford.

The killing of innocent bystanders at Bachelor's Walk in Dublin by British troops as they returned from a futile attempt to seize the rifles led to an outcry throughout nationalist Ireland. On the following Tuesday, 28 July, the Volunteers paraded through Waterford City to a mass meeting on Ballybricken hill. P.A. Murphy delivered a rousing address to the thousands of bystanders and ended with a call for more men to enrol in the Volunteers, 'After Sunday's business any Irishman not in the ranks of the Volunteers was not for but against Ireland'. He also contrasted the treatment of the Irish Volunteers with that of their Ulster counterparts, 'Any attempt made to take from the city of Waterford Volunteers, any rifle or ammunition while the Ulster Volunteers were allowed to retain their arms would be resisted to the bitter end'.[22] Similar meetings took place that week throughout the country and the political temperature was raised even further.

20 PRO CO/904/94, RIC Crime Special Branch Report.

21 Calculated from data in Breandán Mac Giolla Choille MA (ed.), *Intelligence Notes 1913-1916,* (Dublin, Oifig an tSoláthair, 1966), pp. 120-31.

22 *Munster Express,* 1 August 1914.

So, in the early days of August 1914, like the rest of nationalist Ireland, the Volunteers of Waterford, enthusiastic but largely untrained and badly equipped, prepared for what seemed to be inevitable civil war when the Home Rule Bill would be finally enacted.

The Split in the Volunteers

The gathering crisis in Ireland had distracted attention from the greater confrontation gathering pace in Europe. Throughout July, diplomats had tried and failed to avert the war that threatened after the assassination of Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne by Serb nationalists. On 31 July, Austrian guns opened fire on the Serb capital, Belgrade. Drawn by a web of alliances, Germany, Russia and France declared war on the following day. On the 4 August, having received no answer to its ultimatum to Germany, Great Britain found itself at war. Overnight the political situation was transformed.

The pervious day, the Foreign Secretary had spoken at length to the House of Commons outlining the developing crisis. John Redmond rose to respond and in the course of his speech said:

> I say to the Government that they may tomorrow withdraw every one of their troops from Ireland. I say that the coast of Ireland will be defended from foreign invasion by her armed sons, and for this purpose armed Nationalist Catholics in the South will be only too glad to join arms with the armed Protestant Ulstermen in the North.[23]

This speech took Ireland and the Volunteer executive by surprise, yet it could not be criticised. The response throughout Ireland was amazingly positive and the sentiment was endorsed by Volunteer committees throughout the country. Although made without any consultation with the Volunteer Executive, the latter body had no option but to support the offer, which in any case had little chance of being accepted by the British Government. Redmond's next public utterance on the subject of the role of the Volunteers was a different matter, however.

After a week-long sitting of the House of Commons, Redmond returned to Ireland on Sunday 20 September. As he travelled to his home in Aughavannagh, Co. Wicklow he heard of a Volunteer parade taking place at nearby Woodenbridge. He interrupted his journey and in an unscripted but widely reported address to the Volunteers he called on them:

> Go on drilling and make yourselves efficient for the work, and then account yourselves as men, not only in Ireland itself, but wherever the firing line extends, in defence of right, of freedom, and of religion in this war.[24]

Typically, Redmond had not consulted anybody about this speech and, predictably, it caused consternation. A special meeting of the original committee, i.e.

23 Denis Gwynn, *The Life of John Redmond,* (London, Harrap and Co., 1932), p. 356.
24 *Ibid.,* pp. 391-2.

without Redmond's nominees, was held on 24 September and twenty of its twenty-seven members issued a statement repudiating Redmond's policy. They declared that 'Mr. Redmond was no longer entitled through his nominees to any place in the administration and guidance of the Irish Volunteers'. Among the signatories were Eoin MacNeill, Patrick Pearse and The O'Rahilly.

The split at national level reflected that at local level. The Waterford Volunteer Committee met and appealed for calm:

> ... realising that some difference of opinion has arisen amongst members, we the local committee of the Irish Volunteers appeal to all individuals and sections of the local corps to take no action that would in any way increase the present differences... [25]

Such appeals were useless. Companies and battalions paraded and decided which side to take. In most places the majority voted confidence in Redmond and joined his movement now called the 'Irish National Volunteers' or, as they soon were called, 'the National Volunteers'. Throughout the country only small numbers withdrew and gave their allegiance to MacNeill. While his group retained the title 'Irish Volunteers', Redmond's force kept the arms, the drill halls, the funds and the support of the public. There are different estimates of the relative strengths of the two forces - the RIC estimated 156,500 (with 10,117 rifles) to the National Volunteers, 9,700 (with 1,435 rifles) to the Irish Volunteers. Bulmer Hobson estimated the strength of the Irish Volunteer at a low of 3,000 in November 1914 but growing to about 10,000 by the end of 1915. The RIC estimates for Waterford and its neighbouring counties are:

Table 3 - Strength at December 1914 [26]

	National Volunteers	*Irish Volunteers*	*% Irish Volunteers*
Waterford	3,420	173	4.8
Wexford	4,442	187	4.0
Kilkenny	3,684	194	5.0
Tipperary	9,408	388	4.0
Cork	6,712	822	10.9

Cork was again anomalous, but overall about 5% of the men in the South and South East joined the Irish Volunteers. Needless to say, the cadre of IRB men, Matthews, Walsh, O'Mahony, Brazil, Woods, etc. were among them, but they had very few followers. According to Thomas O'Cleary of Ballinakill Lodge, only about twenty-five left the city branch of the Volunteers while Michael Mansfield had only six companions when he left his local Volunteer company.

25 *Munster Express,* 3 October 1914.

26 Calculated from Breandán Mac Giolla Choille MA (ed.), *Intelligence Notes 1913-1916,* pp. 120-31.

The National Volunteers, 1915-1916, Terminal Decline

The secession of the extremist minority left John Redmond's leadership of the Volunteers more secure than ever. Laurence Kettle was appointed Secretary and Colonel Maurice Moore was given the post of Inspector General with full control over all military aspects of the National Volunteers. The press, fully supportive of Redmond, welcomed the departure of the minority. *The Munster Express* noted:

> The Irish Volunteer movement has now been placed on a satisfactory footing and can proceed uninterruptedly with the work before it. Having rid itself of the small and insignificant element which all along had been seeking to create trouble and ferment strife.[27]

The following day, John Redmond visited the city to present a regimental colour to the local Volunteers. Augmented by contingents from Kilkenny and Wexford, in excess of 5,000 men paraded through the city to a meeting at Ballybricken. There Redmond made the formal presentation of the colours and listened as various motions supporting his policy were passed with acclamation.

The 12 October meeting was undoubtedly the apogee of the National Volunteers in Waterford. The seeds of decline were already in place. The call-up in August of 150 British Army reservists who were members of the Volunteers had removed a core of instructors and trained men. Further recruitment from the ranks of the Volunteers had a debilitating effect on the Waterford City Corps. The enthusiastic, the committed were going to the front and not being replaced. Parades were not being held and at times it seemed that the only activity of the local Volunteer units was to escort some of their comrades to the railway station and to give them a good send-off when they joined the army. This tended to associate the National Volunteers with the war effort and was not conducive to encouraging others to join the movement.

By the spring of 1915, the decline in membership was being commented upon in the local papers. Public parades, such as the St. Patrick's Day parade, and appeals for recruits had little effect. At this stage the local officers were:

Colonel:	R.A. Kelly
Lt. Colonel:	W.J. Smith
Major:	J.F. McGuire
Treasurer:	Dr. Vincent White
Adjutant:	Capt. D.P. O'Brien

The reports to Colonel Moore speak volumes:[28]

> 30/4/1915: Attendances at present at drills, etc. are wretched.
> Capt. D.P. O'Brien.
>
> 7/6/1915: In spite of the breaking away of large numbers of Sinn Feiners, the withdrawing of our instructors by the Army and taking away of 160 reservists from our ranks, we had

27 *Munster Express,* 10 October 1914.

28 NLI MS 9714, Maurice Moore Papers.

> some 300-400 men drilling constantly up to Easter - we sent over 300 to the review in Dublin (Easter 1915). Since the review we can muster only 60 from the whole city. We have now got actual figures and names showing that over 450 members of the City Regiment have joined the Regular Army. Col. W.J. Smith.

That summer, all Volunteer activity was suspended. A general muster was called for 5 October after the '6-week furlough' but the response was poor. R.A. Kelly resigned his position as Colonel and OC to be replaced by Smith. Various schemes to reorganise the Corps were considered and discarded and the decline continued. An updated return in the Maurice Moore papers (possibly early 1916) gives the following strength for Waterford:[29]

Waterford City Battalion	320
Tramore	60
A Company, Co. Waterford	Nil
B Company, Co. Waterford	20
Kilrossanty	15
Dunhill	Nil
Kilmacthomas	80
Lismore	60
Kinsalebeg	10

This was a far cry from the 5,000 men who had paraded through Waterford less than eighteen months before.

The Irish Volunteers, 1915-1916, Keeping the Faith

For Sean Matthews and Padraig O'Mahony, November 1914 must have seemed like starting all over again. With just a few like-minded individuals in isolated groups and without premises, funds, arms or public support, the first priority was to maintain the organisation intact. Public drilling was not possible in Redmond's stronghold and, for the moment at least, meetings could only take place in private houses. The situation in Waterford mirrored that in the rest of the country. In November 1914, J.J. ('Ginger') O'Connell joined the Irish Volunteers. A veteran of the American army, MacNeill appointed him as organiser and he was to play a major part in rebuilding the movement. Close personally to MacNeill, and in their views of the role of the Volunteers, he wrote an unpublished history of the Volunteers which gives a unique insight into the task of rebuilding. He describes the immediate aftermath of the split:

> At the "split" as it was called a great number of the Dublin Volunteers stood by the original committee including practically all the officers. But through the country only handfuls of men here and there stood by them. The remainder followed John Redmond or else went into

29 *Ibid.*

> abeyance entirely. By greater enthusiasm or activity those who remained Irish Volunteers occupied a bigger place in public view than they were entitled to by virtue of their numbers. It was only later when travelling through the country that I realised that the vastly greater number of corps existed only in name. In short the organisation of the Volunteer movement began absolutely de novo from the Split. And at that stage of rebirth or re-construction the Dublin Volunteers were already much ahead of the country generally in cohesion and knowledge. The discrepancy of standard between Dublin and the rest of Ireland must never be lost sight of. Instead of diminishing it accentuated as time went on, until finally it proved a very serious factor in the Insurrection in which the Volunteer Force perished.[30]

In January 1915, he visited Cork and Kerry on an organising tour. February saw him in the south-east where after a few weeks in Wexford, Enniscorthy and New Ross, he visited Waterford for the first time:

> In Waterford there was a small, isolated band of men of an excellent stamp blest with an excellent officer in Capt. Woods who nursed them along and moulded them gradually into a very efficient company. They were poorly armed at this time. It was unfortunate that later events have left me no longer on as friendly a footing as before with some of the Waterford Volunteers.[31]

He returned in April:

> Waterford I found much as it had been in February - without any increase in respect of numbers, but pegging away steadily. A drawback under which the Waterford men laboured was isolation. They were fifteen miles from New Ross the nearest corps - and there were not in the Waterford company more than a half-dozen cyclists so that co-operation was practically impossible with any regularity. A few days later in company with a Ross Despatch-Rider I cycled to Waterford, and although there is no other town in Ireland so easy to watch the approaches to, and although there were half-a-dozen plain-clothes police, got away again without being seen. We had naturally no object whatever for secrecy - other than to satisfy ourselves that it could be done if we wished. Our plain-clothes people never dreamt of a cyclist entering the city across the ferry near Reynold's tower.[32]

August saw the first national public display by the revitalised Irish Volunteers. The death of veteran fenian, O'Donovan Rossa provided the opportunity. His remains were brought home from America for interment in Glasnevin. The Irish

30 NLI MS 13, J.J. O'Connell, Typescript History of the Irish Volunteers, p. 168, in the Bulmer Hobson Papers.

31 *Ibid.*

32 *Ibid.*

Volunteers took control of the proceedings. The hearse was escorted to the cemetery by contingents of Irish Volunteers from all the country - among them a group of fifty from Waterford.[33] They were present at the graveside when Pearse made his famous oration. Two weeks later the city company organised a solemn requiem Mass for Rossa in Waterford Cathedral. The Mayor and some members of the Corporation attended while the Volunteers paraded in uniform to the Cathedral. These public displays reflected growing confidence.

The next such occasion was the Manchester Martyrs' commemoration in November. J.J. O'Connell again:

> It chanced that I was able to be present at the Manchester Martyrs' celebrations in both Kilkenny and Waterford on successive evenings. These took the form of meetings addressed in the former city by Sean MacDermott and in the latter by Herbert Pim.
>
> The following evening there was an open-air meeting in Waterford in front of the Imperial Hotel. This was following on a meeting in the City Hall the night before. It was significant of the change coming over the feeling of the country that an Irish Volunteer meeting could be held in public in Waterford - John Redmond's own constituency. And it was a complete success, too. On this occasion I took command of the Volunteers separating the sheep, - or the compact, well formed Volunteers - from the goats, or the more numerous body of recruits that flocked in the enthusiasm of the moment.[34]

Easter 1916 - Command, Countermand, Confusion

The 1916 Rising was planned, organised and executed by the Military Council of the IRB. A majority of the Volunteer executive, in particular Eoin MacNeill, Chief-of-Staff and J.J. O'Connell, Assistant Chief-of-Staff, neither of whom were members of the IRB, favoured defensive fighting only. The Volunteers would fight only if the British Government introduced conscription, attempted to disarm the Volunteers or tried to arrest the leadership. This defensive approach was also favoured by some key IRB figures such as Bulmer Hobson. However, Tom Clarke and Sean MacDiarmada manipulated the IRB Supreme Council and delegated decision-making to a Military Council effectively controlled by themselves. This body, which soon included Joseph Plunkett and Patrick Pearse, decided that the Volunteers would not wait to be attacked but would take the offensive and start a Rising before the end of the war. Initially they seem to have decided on a Rising in the autumn of 1915 but then changed the date to Easter 1916. Eamonn Ceannt and James Connolly were also co-opted onto the Military Council.[35]

33 *Munster Express,* 7 August 1915.

34 NLI MS 13, O'Connell Typescript.

35 For an outline and discussion of the plans for the 1916 Rising, see Maureen Wall, 'The Plans and the Countermand, the Country and Dublin' in Kevin B. Nowlan (ed.), *The Making of 1916: Studies in the History of the Rising,* (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1969), pp. 201-53 and Michael Foy, and Brian Barton, *The Easter Rising,* (UK, Sutton Publishing, 1999), pp. 1-51.

The Military Council kept a rigid secrecy about their plans. Ignoring the courier system set up by O'Connell, they relied solely on the limited number of IRB members and clearly expected that the approximately 2,000 rank and file of the IRB would answer the call to rise. These would then lead the bulk of the Volunteers into action. They also opened negotiations for German aid. Meanwhile, the members of the Military Council continued to make discreet contacts with IRB centres throughout the country.

Patrick Pearse had also been present at the Manchester Martyrs' Commemoration in November. He had spoken briefly to the attendance but he had another purpose in visiting the city. After the meeting, Pearse had a private meeting with Sean Matthews and J.D. Walsh. When he asked the Waterford leaders about their strength and arms, he was told that there were approximately thirty sworn men in the city with two Howth rifles, a couple of revolvers and a few shotguns. Pearse then confided in them that there would be a Rising in the spring of 1916 and gave them a code word. According to Matthews:

> He then said to me 'ye have nothing; ye can put up no fight. The best thing ye can do is to go to the GPO (Waterford) when you get word of the Rising, break up everything you can especially the telegraph and telephone installations and then go into Wexford, join up with the Wexford Volunteers, but only bring with you such men as are armed.'[36]

This was the first inkling that Matthews got of a rising and the part that the Waterford Volunteers would be expected to play in it.

In January 1916, Patrick O'Mahony received a similar visit from Liam Mellows. His company of twenty-one men was relatively well armed - six rifles, twelve revolvers and eighteen shotguns. Again he was briefed that there would be a rising and that the role of the Dungarvan Company was to move to Passage East, cut the telegraph cable and then proceed to Waterford City to assist Matthews' men. The combined force would move to Carrick-on-Suir to join up with the Volunteers from Kilkenny and Tipperary. After operating as a guerrilla column in the Clonmel, Carrick-on-Suir and Cashel triangle, the whole force under the command of J.J. O'Connell would retreat west to the line of the Shannon where they would also receive some of the German arms. Two months later, O'Mahony was ordered to transfer the six rifles to the Waterford city contingent who were deemed to have the more difficult role.[37]

As Easter 1916 approached, preparations for the rising gathered pace. On Saturday 9 April 1916, Pearse who, as well as being a member of the Military Council, was also Director of Organisation of the Volunteers, issued an order for general manoeuvres of the Volunteers on Easter Sunday 23 April. MacNeill, unaware of the true purpose of the manoeuvres - a cover for a general mobilisation prior to a rising - countersigned the order. Even at this late stage, Brigade and

36 BMH WS 1022, S. Matthews.

37 BMH WS 745, P. O'Mahony.

Battalion Commandants were unaware of the true purpose of the manoeuvres. After completing a day's exercise, the secret plans for the rising would be put into effect at 7 p.m. on Easter Sunday. By the beginning of Holy Week, MacNeill and Hobson were getting suspicious. At a meeting of the Volunteer Executive on Tuesday 19 April, Pearse showed MacNeill a document purporting to show that Dublin Castle was preparing to suppress the volunteers. In line with his ideas of the defensive role of the volunteers, MacNeill now issued a general order to the volunteers ordering them to resist any such attempt by the authorities.

Unknown to MacNeill, parallel orders were being issued via trusted Cumann na mBan or Irish Citizen Army couriers like Marie Perolz and Maeve Cavanagh McDowell. The latter recorded:

> During Holy Week, probably Wednesday, Connolly told me that he wanted me to go to Waterford and seek out the leader of the Volunteers. Yes, I think Sean Matthews was his name. On Thursday I travelled by the early train, I think the 6.45. I met Marie Perolz at the station. She said there were 'G' men around. Mrs. O'Doherty was there too travelling by the same train. We all went into the same carriage although we did not pretend to know each other at the station. When we reached Waterford Marie Perolz and I made contact with Sean Matthews. He came out of the shop with us and talked with us in a lonely place. He was very nervous. Connolly had told me that the message was that we were coming out on Easter Sunday. Sean Matthews said to me when he had read the note 'Tell Connolly that we have a few rifles but we'll do what we can'. I came home that night and went to Liberty Hall. I gave Connolly back what change I had and he said 'good'.[38]

This account is confirmed by Marie Perolz who was also bringing a despatch to Dungarvan:

> Sean McDermott sent for me on Thursday - it might have been Wednesday - of Holy Week to go on a message. I did not know what was written but I knew it was important. I had a verbal message which said 'Dublin is rising on Sunday evening at 6.30.' I was very proud to be sent on this message and went to Waterford to Sean Matthews who took the news indifferently, then to Paddy O'Mahony in Dungarvan when I told him, 'Thank God, at last' said he.[39]

Both men now prepared for the Rising and their part in it. Instructions were issued to all Volunteers. On Good Friday, O'Mahony called his men together, issued orders for general mobilisation at 6.30 p.m. on Sunday with arms and rations. He then prepared a message for Matthews, confirming details of the link-up after Passage, before proceeding to Carrick-on-Suir. The next morning, his wife took the despatch to Waterford on the early train. Arriving in Waterford at 9 a.m.,

38 BMH WS 258, Maeve Cavanagh-McDowell.

39 BMH WS 246, Marie Perolz.

she met Matthews in the Metropole Hotel and gave him the message. Matthews read it and then said: 'Tell P.C. it is all off. Ginger (J.J.) O'Connell is in town and he has come from a meeting in Dublin where it was decided'. Aghast at the news, Mrs. O'Mahony rushed back to the railway station where she met O'Connell who was about to board the train to Wexford. O'Connell confirmed the order to her: 'All this is off, go back and tell your husband to disregard any notes. I am on my way to Wexford with the same message for Bob Brennan'. With that, O'Connell boarded the train for Wexford.[40]

Meanwhile, Sean Matthews had called a meeting of the officers of the City Volunteers - J.D. Walsh, P. Woods, W. Walsh and P. Brazil and with Mrs. O'Mahony they discussed the situation. They were now in a terrible dilemma. As sworn members of the IRB, should they obey the orders from the Military Council and continue their preparations for a hopeless fight or as Volunteers should they obey the orders they had just received from J.J. O'Connell in person? In the end, they agreed that W. Walsh, who was due to attend the Annual GAA Congress in Dublin the next day would try and establish the true situation while he was in Dublin and would communicate with the Volunteers by a series of simple telegrams:

To P. Woods:	'Going to Fairyhouse races' - the rising is off, 'Going to Waterford' - the rising goes ahead.
To P. O'Mahony:	'The Convention is off' - the rising is off, 'The Convention is on' - the rising is on.

Walsh then got ready to travel to Dublin on the evening train while Mrs. O'Mahony returned to Dungarvan.

The key to the confusion lay in the events that happened in Dublin over the preceding few days. On Wednesday evening, Bulmer Hobson and Eoin MacNeill realised that the Military Council were preparing a rising under the guise of the manoeuvres planned for Easter Sunday. Horrified, and accompanied by J.J. O'Connell, they went to St. Enda's on Thursday to confront Pearse. Pearse confirmed their fears but told them that it was too late for them to stop the plans and that the IRB men in the key positions would obey his orders. MacNeill declared that he would do all in his power to stop the rising. He immediately wrote out orders for his two trusted associates and despatched them to the provinces - Hobson to Limerick, Clare and Kerry and O'Connell to Cork and thence to Waterford, Wexford and Kilkenny. O'Connell spent Good Friday in Cork before travelling to Waterford and his meeting with Sean Matthews. Meanwhile, there was a further turn to events in Dublin. On Good Friday, Pearse, MacDonagh and MacDiarmada called on MacNeill and informed him that a German arms ship was on its way and that the landing of the arms would inevitably lead to confrontation with the British authorities. MacNeill, it seems, reluctantly accepted that logic but took no steps to contact Hobson and O'Connell. However, on Saturday morning, he learned that the arms ship, the *Aud*, had been captured by the Royal Navy. In

40 BMH WS 1022, S. Matthews.

conjunction with The O'Rahilly and Sean Fitzgibbon, he immediately drafted a further set of orders restating the countermand. He also arranged for the publication of the following notice in the *Sunday Independent* of 23 April:

> April 22, 1916.
>
> Owing to the very critical situation, all orders given to Irish Volunteers for tomorrow, Easter Sunday, are hereby rescinded and no parades, marches, or other movements will take place. Each individual Volunteer will obey this order strictly in every particular.
>
> Eoin MacNeill,
> Chief-of-Staff,
> Irish Volunteers.

Relying on his trusted aides and on the notice which he arranged to be printed in bold type on the front page, MacNeill retired for the night confident that there would not be a rising.[41]

Meanwhile, Walsh was travelling to Dublin. Remarkably, even though he himself was a member of the IRB, he did not seek out Pearse or MacDiarmada. Instead, early on Sunday morning, he took a taxi to MacNeill's house in Rathfarnham.[42] According to Walsh:

> I went to MacNeill's house in Rathfarnham and saw MacNeill. He was alone when I got there and I told him about the two dispatches which I had received and asked what was the meaning of it all - was the Rising on or off? MacNeill told me that, in his view, the Rising would be a holocaust and that was why he had called it off. We had not enough arms or ammunition to put up any sort of fight at that time, he said. (That Afternoon) I met Harry Boland at the GAA Convention and asked him if he had any definite news about the Rising. He told me he was not sure as to what was going to happen. He could not give me any definite information. We waited until 2 a.m. on Easter Monday in Croke House, the residence of Luke O'Toole, at that time the Secretary to the GAA for any further information, but none came. On Easter Monday, I thought that all operations were off so I wired Peadar Woods about 10.30 a.m. saying 'Going to the Fairyhouse races today'.[43]

To his comrades in Waterford, this would have confirmed the newspaper notice and the orders from O'Connell - there would be no Rising. Walsh could not have been more wrong. While he was attending the GAA Convention, the Military

41 See Kevin B. Nowlan (ed.), *Studies in the History of the Rising,* and Michael Foy, and Brian Barton, *The Easter Rising,* for a discussion of the confusing events of that week. For MacNeill's account, see F.X. Martin, 'Eoin MacNeill on the Easter Rising', in *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. XII, No. 47, pp. 226-70.

42 F.X. Martin, 'Eoin MacNeill on the Easter Rising', p. 268, footnote 54. Walsh may have been one of the three GAA delegates who visited MacNeill in his home in Woodtown, Rathfarnham.

43 BMH WS 1005, W. Walsh.

Council of the IRB was in session in Liberty Hall and decided to proceed with the Rising in Dublin. They also decided to try and contact the provinces via the tried and trusted network of female couriers. Once again, Maeve Cavanagh McDowell would be given the task of carrying the vital message to Waterford. As she recalled:

> I was at home preparing for bed on Easter Sunday night when I heard a knock at the door, and when I opened a man gave me two messages in sealed envelopes, one for my brother for D. McCartan and one for me to bring to Waterford... Willie and I got up early and took our messages. I went to Power's Hotel in Waterford [the Metropole Hotel was often referred to as 'Power's since it was managed at this time by a Ms. Power] and somebody sent for Sean Matthews. When he came he was very upset. He told me that J.J. O'Connell had been there and had demobilised them. I asked 'Where is he now? I would like to see him.' 'He has gone on to Kilkenny to demobilise the men there' said he. Matthews then said that he had to go and consult with his men. [44]

While Matthews left to gather his men, Maeve Cavanagh rushed back to the railway station, anxious to get the 12 noon train back to Dublin to join in the Rising. To her disgust she had missed the train, so she went back to the Metropole Hotel to wait for Matthews.

Meanwhile, Matthews pondered the content of the despatch. It read simply: 'Carry out orders. Dublin strikes at noon. Signed P.H. Pearse'. Having destroyed the despatch, Matthews called together a few of his trusted IRB colleagues and then, armed with a few revolvers, they approached the GPO (Waterford). As they made their way along the Quay, they found that the Post Office had been occupied by a force of RIC and British troops - who had obviously got word of the Rising in Dublin. It was now about 3 o'clock in the afternoon and it was clear to Matthews that with their very limited supply of arms and ammunition any action was out of the question. Instead they returned to the Metropole where Maeve Cavanagh was waiting. After much discussion, Matthews suggested that they contact the Kilkenny Volunteers and see if joint action would be possible.[45] Maeve Cavanagh offered to bring a message to Kilkenny but she found that all trains were cancelled that evening and also on the next day, Tuesday. On Wednesday she finally got a train to Kilkenny. There she met J.J. O'Connell who was staying with DeLoughrey. O'Connell was clearly under terrible strain:

> 'They should have waited till there was conscription. Look at that - it is all over already' he said showing me an English newspaper. I gave him my despatch from Matthews. He told me to tell them in Waterford that nothing could be done, the thing was practically over. I said I would not take a verbal statement. He wrote it down without

44 BMH WS 258, M. Cavanagh-McDowell.

45 BMH WS 1022, S. Matthews.

> demur. I then returned to Waterford. Sean Matthews was waiting for me in Power's Hotel. I gave him the despatch and when he read it he was disgusted.[46]

With that, any possibility of armed action in Waterford City that Easter vanished. Maeve Cavanagh got the first available train to Dublin - on Saturday morning - and returned to find the city centre in ruins and the Rising over.

For some reason, there appears to have been no attempt to send a despatch to O'Mahony in Dungarvan. He had meanwhile received Walsh's telegram 'Convention off' and had spent the day peacefully. At 8 p.m. on Easter Monday, he went on duty at the Post Office in Dungarvan. There he found a note 'All communication with Dublin broken down'. He also saw a coded RIC telegram from the County Inspector in Waterford to the District Inspector, Dungarvan. O'Mahony knew the police cipher and decoded the message to the effect that an ammunition train with a small military guard would be passing through Dungarvan that night en-route to Cork. O'Mahony immediately mobilised the twelve men of his IRB circle and set up an ambush about two miles outside Dungarvan. They blocked the line and, armed only with revolvers, they waited for the train. The only train to pass was the ordinary goods train which was stopped, searched and then allowed to pass. After waiting all night, O'Mahony dispersed his men.[47] On Wednesday, along with Dan Fraher, Phil Walsh and Peter Raftis, he was arrested by the RIC. It was not until 1 May that O'Mahony's wife managed to make contact with Matthews. She asked him why he had not got in touch during the previous week, to which Matthews replied 'I got Pearse's message on Monday that Dublin was rising at noon, but all my men were out of town and there was nothing I could do about it'.

Meanwhile what of Walsh in Dublin? After he had sent the telegrams to Waterford, in his own words:

> I met J.J. Nowlan who was President of the GAA and a Kilkennyman and went for a walk. We decided to go home on an afternoon train. When we came back to town (Dublin) after our walk about 1.30 p.m. we heard shooting down around the Four Courts. We had dinner in a house on the quays in the neighbourhood of Usher's quay and then we went up to Kingsbridge station with a view to getting a train home as we didn't know what might be happening there. At Kingsbridge there was a big crowd of passengers. After waiting a long time we were all informed that there would be no trains going out that day so we went off to a house of a friend nearby and slept there on Easter Monday night. The following morning we made our way across to Phibsboro on the Northwest side of the city, and went to the house of Harry Kenny in Connaught St., Phibsboro. Harry was a Kilkenny man and a great GAA man. He put us up for Tuesday night and for the rest of the week until the rising finished. During Easter Week I made several

46 BMH WS 258, M. Cavanagh-McDowell.

47 BMH WS 745, P. O'Mahony.

> attempts to get in to the city but was stopped by cordons of British military who would not allow me to pass through. I returned to Waterford by train on Monday, May 1 and immediately on my arrival in Waterford I was arrested at the railway by a detective named Organ and handed over to the British military. I was then brought to the military barracks at Ballybricken, questioned, searched and kept in Ballybricken for about three weeks when I was released unconditionally.[48]

Like Walsh, O'Mahony and the other Dungarvan men were released without charge. No Waterfordmen were interned for their activities in Waterford during Easter week.

The firing that Walsh and Nowlan heard was that of the Four Courts garrison engaging about fifty Lancers who were escorting five lorry-loads of ammunition along the quays from the docks to the Magazine Fort in the Phoenix Park. As they dined on Usher's Quay they were alongside the Mendicity Institute, one of the key outposts of the Four Courts garrison and which had already been occupied by Sean Houston and a dozen men. For two sworn and prominent IRB men, it must be said that Walsh and Nowlan showed remarkable little curiosity.

For most of the Volunteers in Waterford, and indeed in many other parts of the country, Easter 1916 could be summed up in the words of Deaglan O'Reagan of Ring, an ordinary volunteer and not a member of the IRB:

> We took no part in the Easter Rising. For one thing, we knew nothing about it until it was well on and in any case there were no arms worth talking about in the company at that time; in fact the Company was in existence in name only, previous to the Rising.[49]

The Redmondite National Volunteers heard the news of the Rising with alarm, seeing it as a pro-German plot that would undermine all that Redmond had achieved. Col. Smith, OC Waterford Battalion contacted the military and the police in Waterford and offered them the services of 180 armed men to help maintain order in the city. The authorities declined his offer of armed men but when Smith offered them the 'loan' of arms they gratefully accepted. On Wednesday, Smith delivered 198 rifles, 193 bayonets and 10,000 rounds of .303 ammunition to the Military barracks. Despite repeated requests from Smith and from other officers of the National Volunteers, the arms were never returned.[50] A month later the publication of a letter from a Lt. Col. Buckley on behalf of the (British) GOC, South of Ireland, thanking Smith for 'his offer of assistance made by him to the officer commanding troops, Waterford, during the recent crisis as well as the loan of arms and ammunition' surely sounded the death knell of the National Volunteers in Waterford.

48 BMH WS 1005, W. Walsh.

49 BMH WS 1233, D. Regan.

50 PRO CO/904/100, RIC Crime Special Branch Report; NLI MS 10551, Maurice Moore Papers.

The small number of committed volunteers, the confusion surrounding the orders and counterorders and the indecision shown by the leadership, all contributed to the lack of insurrectionary activity in Waterford in 1916. In this, Waterford was no different from most of the country. Well might the RIC record in their confidential review of the year:

> The general condition of the county was very peaceable and orderly during the year. There was some excitement during the period of the rebellion, but with the exception of an attempt to wreck a goods train in which ammunition was being conveyed on Easter Monday night near Dungarvan, no overt acts were committed or attempted.[51]

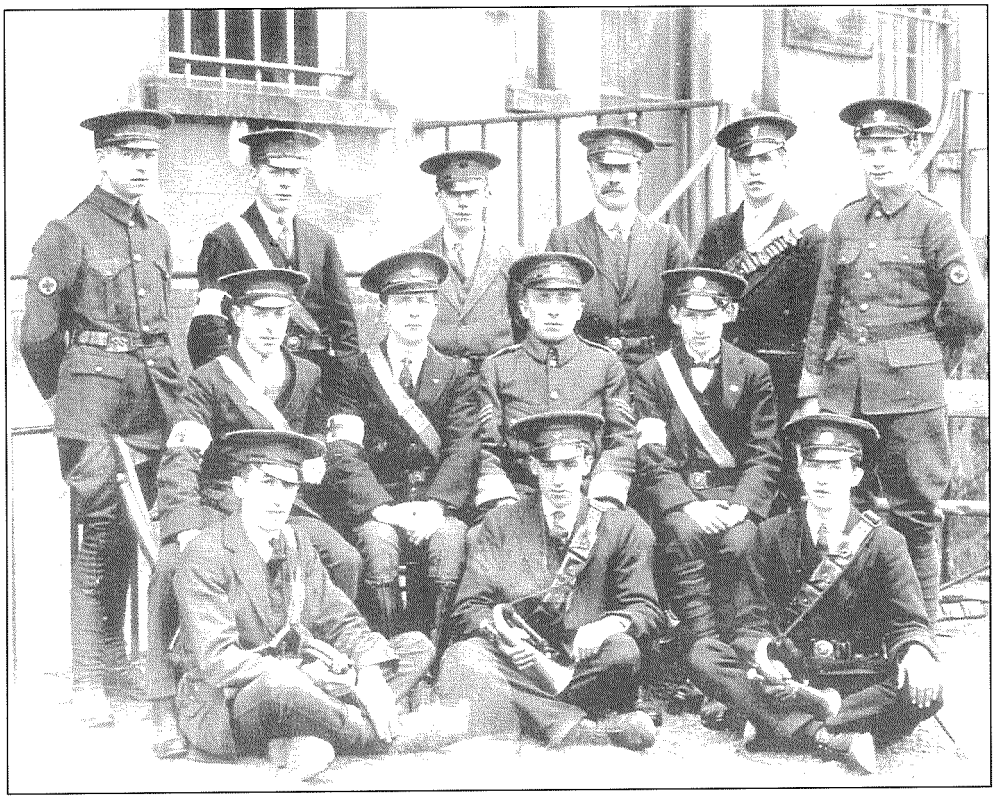


Plate 2 – National Volunteers, Waterford, 15th April, 1915, Ambulance Corps.
(Poole Collection, WP2601, Courtesy of National Library of Ireland)

51 PRO CO/904/99, RIC Crime Special Branch Report.

Appendix 1 - Note on Sources

In preparing this article, two primary sources for the history of this period were used:

1. **RIC Crime Special Branch Monthly Reports**

Each month every RIC County Inspector was required to prepare a report on crime and political activity within his area of responsibility. They form a comprehensive, if biased, account of the development of Irish Nationalism throughout this period. They are available for consultation in the Public Record Office, Kew, London, filed as CO/904/74 - CO/904/116.

2. **Bureau of Military History Papers**

The Bureau of Military History was established by Oscar Traynor, TD, Minister for Defence on 1 January 1947. Its objective was to 'assemble and co-ordinate material to form the basis for the compilation of the history of the movement for Independence from the formation of the Irish Volunteers on 25 November 1913 to the signing of the Truce on 11 July 1921'. Over the next ten years, the bureau assembled a vast amount of material including 1,773 witness statements (WS). These statements form the core of the collection and are a unique contribution to the history of the period from the active participants. Among those who contributed were thirty-eigth participants from Waterford City and County. The Bureau of Military History papers are kept in Military Archives, Dublin and have only recently been made available to researchers.

Appendix 2

IRB men sworn in by Liam Walsh

Sean Matthews
J.D. Walsh
Thomas O'Neill
P. Brazil
Michael Ryan
T. Casey
M. Dillon
Jim Morrissey
Thomas McElroy
Thomas McCarthy
W. McCarthy
Michael Cooper
Tom O'Gorman
Michael O'Gorman
Peter Walsh
Michael Quinn
Thomas McDonnell
John Power
M. Noonan
L. Colfer
D. Colfer
George Gyles
Michael O'Neill
Frank Drohan
A. Kirwan
E. Fitzgerald
Pax Whelan (Dungarvan)
M. Fraher (Dungarvan)
J. Ginnelli (Cappoquin)
J. Harpur
Peter Raftis

IRB men sworn in by P.C. O'Mahony

Pax Whelan
G. Lennon
P. Lynch
P. Cullinane
Philip O'Donnell
Paddy Whelan
William Meehan
Dan Fraher
Phil Walsh
Eddie Dee
Michael Hassett
P. Mulcahy
Tom Power
Oscar Beaumont (Swiss National)
P.J. Broderick
Michael Brennock
Lar Condon
Paddy Condon
Thomas Walsh
Michael Maloney

Dungarvan Museum

By Willie Fraher

The Museum is run by a voluntary group, the Dungarvan Museum Society founded in 1984.
The aims of the Society are:

- To preserve the history of Dungarvan and County of Waterford.
- To acquire and preserve individual items and collections of interest.
- To encourage public interest in local history.
- To publish original research in book form or on the Museum website.

In 1999 the museum moved to a new premises at the Old Town Hall, St. Augustine Street, Dungarvan. The building was formerly the office of Dungarvan UDC. The Museum displays cover various aspects of the town's history with a strong emphasis on maritime objects. Items in the maritime section include photographs, ship models, original documents, paintings, account books, ship parts etc.

Other displays cover photography, the Famine, the 1798 Rebellion, religion, archaeology, decorative arts, business records and sport. Special temporary exhibitions are mounted during the year. A series of public lectures are held during the winter season. Visits to places of historical interest are arranged for members of the Museum Society during the summer season.

The Museum Society has published a number of books including: *Dungarvan: An Architectural Inventory,* (1983); *Desperate Haven: The Poor Law, Famine & Aftermath in Dungarvan Union,* (1998); *A Guide to Historic Dungarvan,* (1999); and *Dungarvan Historic Guide & Town Trail,* (2004).

In recent years the museum has been at the forefront of technological innovation in the Irish museum sector. In 2002 the Dungarvan Museum Website was short-listed among the top five museum websites in the world at the Sixth Annual Museum and Web Conference in Boston. We followed up this success by being awarded Best Publication at the Irish Museum of the Year Awards 2002. More recently the museum has re-built and revamped the website (with grant aid from the Heritage Council) to include a version of the site for the visually impaired. Other enhancements include accessibility and navigation on the website for visitors with addition of a 'related article' feature and the ability to select articles by time period.

E-mail: history@dungarvanmuseum.org
Website: www.dungarvanmuseum.org

Museum Opening Hours
Monday to Friday 9.45 a.m. - 4.45 p.m.
Saturday (June to September) 10a.m. to 5 p.m.
Closed for lunch 1p.m. to 2p.m.

Waterford County Archive Service

By Joanne Rothwell

Waterford County Archive Service was first opened to the public in July 1999. The aim of the County Archive is to collect and preserve archives, public and private, relating to County Waterford and to make these archives available to members of the public. Waterford County Archive Service is funded by Waterford County Council.

The collections that are currently available to researchers are:

- Waterford Grand Jury.
- Board of Guardians - Dungarvan, Kilmacthomas, Lismore and Waterford Poor Law Unions.
- Waterford County Council - Minute Books, general files, valuation books, maps and plans.
- Rural District Councils - Dungarvan, Kilmacthomas, Lismore and Waterford.
- Dungarvan Town Council - Minute Books, valuation books and maps and plans.
- Musgrave/Chearnley Papers.
- Hugh Ryan Papers.

Further collections due for release before the end of 2004 include the Waterford County Planning files 1933-1963.

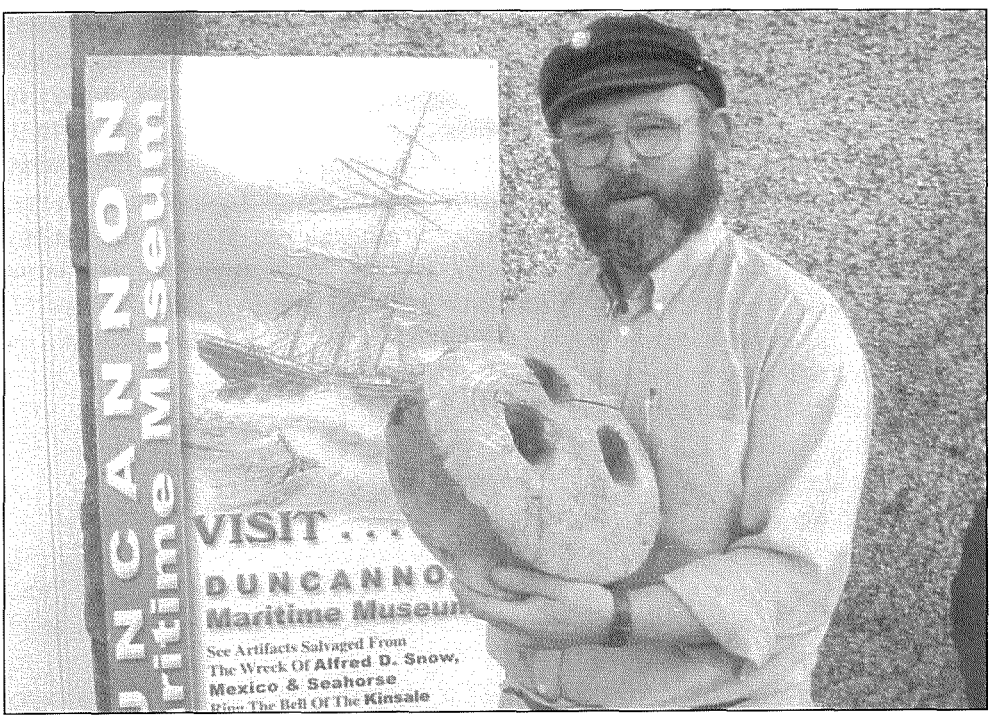
Archives have not been widely available to researchers until recent years and many researchers may be unfamiliar with the use of archive sources. The County Archive has worked with the Local Studies Library in Dungarvan to provide a course Researching and Writing Local History to introduce researchers to newly available source material and the protocol for using archive records. This is a free 8-week course run at least once a year. The County Archive also provides occasional exhibitions, lectures and other events throughout the year. For details of the course and any upcoming events check the Waterford County Council website www.waterfordcoco.ie

Duncannon Maritime Museum

By Brian Clear

The Maritime Museum was officially opened in May 2003. The driving force behind the museum is Kevin Downes of Duncannon. On display we have artefacts from many of the numerous shipwrecks in and around the Waterford Estuary, and off the Waterford and Wexford coasts. Amongst the many documents on display are the Masters' Logs from the *Portlairge* and shipping bills from the mid 1800s from the port of New Ross. Other items of interest include a bronze cannon dated 1626, and the builder's model of the Wexford Steam Ship Company's *Kerlogue.* Amongst the large collection of photographs and pictures on display are a collection of Clyde Shipping Company ships at Waterford, ships wrecked around the coast, Irish Naval ships, Irish schooners, Titanic pictures, and vessels of Irish Shipping.

The Museum is open on Saturday and Sunday afternoons from 2.00 p.m. to 5.30 p.m., during the winter months. During the summer, it is hoped to be open every afternoon, subject to voluntary staff being available.



A 17th century dead eye trawled up off Creadon Head.

Waterford Museum of Treasures: Celebrating Transatlantic Waterford

By Eamonn McEneaney

On 3rd June 2004, the President of Ireland, Mary McAleese, opened a new permanent exhibition on Newfoundland at Waterford Museum of Treasures. The exhibition celebrates the connection between the south-east of Ireland and Newfoundland. The links with Newfoundland were forged from the 18th century to the first two decades of the 19th century when large numbers of people emigrated from the south-east, the majority from within a 30-mile radius of Waterford. In Newfoundland today over half the population is of Irish origin.

Those who migrated came from confined areas in Ireland and settled in isolated coves and harbours in Newfoundland, and continued to have contact with their home port and parish. This ensured that their accent, language and culture remained intact. Indeed some elements of south-east culture persisted in Newfoundland long after they had gone out of fashion in Ireland. The Newfoundland experience was not a scattering, a Diaspora, but a concentration of people from the south-east.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century Newfoundland was referred to as 'merely Waterford parted from the sea' while in another comment Newfoundland was called 'Transatlantic Waterford'. So many Waterfordians went to Newfoundland and in particular to St. John's that it was said in 1859 'Friars from Waterford hold the Irish Bishopric of St. John's as a baronial fief ... all the leaders of Parliament are Waterfordians, and all the placeholders'.

The exhibition consists of a very dynamic interactive display, very visual, along with artefacts - some sourced in Newfoundland - and a photographic display. There are five themes:

- Migration and Settlement
- The Fishery and the Provisions Trade
- Politics and Religion
- Women
- Culture

Research was done in Newfoundland and the resulting exhibition is unparalleled outside Canada. The Ireland Newfoundland Partnership provided assistance with the exhibition.

The opening by the President of Ireland was a very pleasant event. It was very fitting that she would open the exhibition and the Museum staff felt very honoured to meet her. Mrs McAleese was fulsome in her praise of Waterford City Council for their foresight in seeing a new use for the Granary and for their unparalleled

promotion and protection of the city's heritage. She also referred to the great work at the cutting edge of museology in Ireland being done by Waterford Museum of Treasures, as it celebrates its 5th anniversary this year.

The Premier of Newfoundland, Mr Danny Williams, QC, sent a letter with warm wishes and congratulations to the President, the people of Waterford and Waterford Museum of Treasures on the opening of the exhibition. Mr Williams made a visit to the Museum on 4th July.

Waterford City Archives

By Donal Moore

One of the great ironies of Irish history is that, while we as a nation often seem to be obsessed with the minutiae of our history, we have not actually taken proper care of the records that are essential for a true and complete reading of that history. Even if we deliberately exclude such major catastrophes as the burning of the Customs House or the destruction of the Public Records Office much material has been lost over the years through accident, negligence, ignorance and stupidity! More has been lost because it did not appear that there was anywhere suitable to deposit it. As a very concrete example of this, a National Archives was not established until 1986 with the amalgamation of the State Paper Office and the Public Records Office.

Waterford is luckier than most cities with regard to the volume and quantity of its records that have survived. Although it was not until the Local Government Act 1994 that the situation improved *legally* for local archives, Waterford Corporation (as it then was) had employed an archivist for a year in the mid-1980s to put its older records in order. The Corporation was also the first local authority to appoint an archivist on an ongoing basis under the 1994 Act. A premises was designated as suitable for use as an archival repository and has been upgraded to provide suitable storage.

The intention is, and always has been, that the facility will not just be a *City Council* Archives but rather that it will reflect as many different aspects of the city's long history as possible. The Archives has an active acquisitions policy and is willing to accept records from any organisation, group, family or individual in the city.

What Records are in the City Archives?

In a piece this short it is not possible to give a detailed description of all the material in the Archives, however the following are some of the main collections held:

Council Minute Books, 1670s-1990s.

Waterford Corporation estate material from the seventeenth century onwards, including *circa* 1200 expired leases of Corporation property. This material is accessible *via* a searchable database.

Registers of Freemen, 1700-2002.

Other Corporation material including rate books, wages books, burial records, 1850s onwards.

Original maps of the city and its environs dating back to the mid-eighteenth century. This includes Ordnance Survey maps and town maps from 1840 onwards as well as charts of the Harbour dating back to the mid-eighteenth century.

Plans and drawings from the nineteenth century onwards. Included in this category are drawings for proposed 'second bridges' dating back to the mid-nineteenth century!

Mount Sion Primary School records, 1909-1974.

Waterford Lying-In Hospital records, 1830s-1950s.

Photographs of the city, its buildings and its people. At present the Archives holds over 5,000 photographic prints but this number is continually increasing.

Business and institutional collections from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The material held by the Archives is of use both to the specialist historian AND to any person with a general interest in the city's long and colourful past. So if you are a postgraduate history student looking for a 'meaty' thesis topic or if you would just like to know when your street was built, we may be able to help.

The City Archives is situated in High Street (opposite The Wine Vault restaurant). The Archives are open to the public but access is by appointment, Monday-Friday 9.00-13.00 & 14.00-17.00. To make an appointment to visit the Archives or for further information please contact us on (051) 843123 or archives@waterfordcity.ie.
See website at www.waterfordcity.ie/archives.htm.

Book Reviews

Waterford Treasures: A Guide to the Historical and Archaeological Treasures of Waterford City, Eamonn McEneaney with Rosemary Ryan (eds.), Photography by Terry Murphy. Waterford Museum of Treasures, 2004, pp. 224. Hardback, ISBN 0-9547335-0-9, E30.

Waterford Treasures, is not only a companion to the Waterford Museum of Treasures, which displays fine examples of artefacts ranging from the Viking period right through to the nineteenth century, it is also a wonderful volume illustrating the colourful history of Waterford city. The artefacts, which are beautifully photographed, are categorised into various chapters in accordance with their age and place in history. Each chapter is preceded with a clear and concise description of the periods from which the artefacts come. The history of Waterford is also explained in relation to the politics of England and Europe, as is its importance as a major trade route linking Ireland with the rest of Europe. Each artefact is described in great detail: its origin, how and where it was found or donated to the museum, what it was used for and the type of people who owned it. Of particular interest and importance is the Great Charter Roll, which is described and illustrated from pages 58 to 79. This fascinating document is of particular importance to the history of Waterford. Created as a 'book of evidence' this Charter Roll includes a map of Waterford from 1373 and illustrations of the mayors of Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Limerick as well as five kings of England. Each illustration of the Charter Roll is included in this book, along with a brief description. The reason for the creation of the Charter is also explained in conjunction with the political situation of the time. This is just one example of the wealth of information on artefacts conserved at the Waterford Museum of Treasures, which include various items from combs to silver and from Viking gaming pieces to nineteenth century paintings. The book builds up a fascinating history of Waterford, its people and its built heritage, including Reginald's Tower and the city walls. *Waterford Treasures* is a perfect companion book to the fine museum that houses these artefacts which chart the history of Waterford. Every bookshelf in Waterford should have a copy of this significant book to remind them of the rich and vast history of the oldest living city in Ireland.

Sylvaine Ní Cheallacháin

Ordnance Survey Letters Kilkenny, Michael Herity (ed.), (Dublin, Four Masters Press, 2003). Hardback, E60.

This is an attractive hard-back volume, with an eye-catching dust jacket featuring Kilkenny's county colours. It is the sixth volume in the Four Masters Press series edited by Michael Herity, which follows volumes for Donegal (2000), Meath, Dublin and Down (2001), and Kildare (2002). These publications have made it possible, for the first time, for individuals to buy their own copies of letters written by Irish scholars during Ordnance Survey fieldwork in the 1830s and early 1840s.[1]

Irish scholars were employed by the Ordnance Survey to establish the correct forms of place names for six-inch county maps then being prepared. Initially, they examined manuscripts and printed works for place names before going to the countryside to record local spellings and pronunciations, and traditions about the origins of place names. They were required, in addition to collect information on local history and antiquities for the county memoirs that were to accompany the maps. The historical topographical department as it was known, was headed by George Petrie, artist and antiquarian and included such brilliant Irish language scholars as John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry. The department included up to eleven men but most of the fieldwork, and consequently the letter writing, was by John O'Donovan, Slievenue-born and raised.

The letters comprise a cornucopia of information about almost every aspect of Irish life in pre-famine Ireland. O'Donovan and his colleagues wrote them whilst they were undertaking fieldwork, describing in vivid detail social and economic conditions, local customs and traditions, religious beliefs and as well as their own experiences as travellers on the road. Correspondence was addressed principally to Captain Thomas Larcom, Superintendent of the Ordnance Survey in Ireland, but was also intended for Petrie and his staff, based in Petrie's house in Great Charles Street, Dublin. As such, the letters were meant to be read aloud, and enjoyed, for entertainment as much as gleaned for information's sake. O'Donovan's style, in particular reflects this awareness of audience, which he responded to with the wit and hilarity that delighted his readers and listeners, then and now. O'Donovan was also keenly conscious of the value of his letters for posterity and insisted to Larcom that they be bound and carefully preserved for future generations. Such prescience has been amply rewarded in this handsome volume of letters for O'Donovan's native County Kilkenny.

The three quotations used on the inside flap of the front dust jacket were an excellent choice employed to good effect in celebrating the authors of the letters and assigning them their national and historical significance. Feargus Ó Fearghail's short preface to the volume provides useful background information on John O'Donovan's fieldwork, and gives examples of the stories of wild exploits and

1 The letters were hitherto available for consultation in manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy or in typescript volumes edited by Fr Michael O'Flanagan in the 1920s, copies of which are held by the National Library, most Irish universities and other private libraries.

encounters the scholar recounted with such gusto. Ó Fearghail discusses, in addition, the contribution, made by Kilkenny scholar clerics Fr William Carrigan and Fr Richard Aylward, to our knowledge of O'Donovan's early years in counties Kilkenny and Waterford. He concludes with an eloquent appeal for a comprehensive scholarly biography of O'Donovan that would build on the strenuous efforts of Canon Aylward, whose 500-page manuscript 'life' remains unpublished. Diarmuid Ó Catháin contributes an engaging essay on the cultural context in County Kilkenny in the early nineteenth century, wherein he discusses Irish language usage; the state of education; scribes, scribal families and networks, and patronage. Ó Catháin illustrates the continuity and vibrancy of Irish-language tradition in County Kilkenny which influenced critically ODonovan's early intellectual and cultural formation.

Michael Herity's *Introduction* examines the work of O' Donovan and O'Curry in Kilkenny, which discussion would be greatly enhanced by a more detailed look at the background to Ordnance Survey work in general. Herity describes the activities of surveyors and scholars in Kilkenny from August to September 1839 (their *modus operandi,* the purpose and course of letters etc.), and offers an insightful commentary on the actual form and peculiarities of the manuscript reports and letters. This latter comprises the most engaging aspect of the *Introduction* because it provides readers with a sense of the letters as artefacts, and contains fascinating detail about the editing and revision of the letters by O'Donovan, O'Curry, Larcom and other field officers. Few people, apart from dedicated scholars have the opportunity of examining the manuscript letters, which makes Herity's description so interesting to the lay reader.

An Index provides a list of letters written in and about Kilkenny; the writer, place of writing (sometimes begun in one place; continued somewhere else, and finished in yet another place), date sent and date received. Of the thirty-seven letters in this volume in total, two are by Patrick O'Keeffe, fourteen by O'Donovan; and twenty-one by O'Curry. The Kilkenny volume is unusual in this respect, however, because O'Curry wrote more letters than O'Donovan, the only county (excepting Dublin) where this occurred. One minor criticism regarding this Index is that it is not accompanied by a map that would illustrate, graphically, the course of the scholars' progress through Kilkenny. Another desideratum is a discussion of how the scholars travelled, where they stayed their rates of pay and how these corresponded to rates for lodgings, fare and travel etc.

In my opinion, the volume would have also benefited immensely from historical introductions to the letters, and glossaries to explain terms within. The former would provide the immediate context in which letters were written, as well as historical commentary on aspects of the letters worth elucidating or analysing. A general editor could also identify recurring themes that appear in other county volumes such as references to spellings and meanings of place names; identification of ancient historical sites, monuments and artefacts; historical memory and genealogy; dispossession and decline of old nobility; destruction of historical ruins and ancient sites for building or cultivation; Anglicisation of personal names and place

names, and so on. Glossaries are an equally necessary part of an edition of documents, the omission of which leaves the reader at a distinct disadvantage. They are needed to explain particular historical references, words or terms no longer in use, and that may not be familiar to the modern reader, but that tell us much about life in pre-famine Ireland. The volume would also benefit from a general bibliography to refer readers to secondary and supplementary texts about the Ordnance Survey.

In spite of these minor criticisms, the book is a beautifully produced publication of which the editor and publishers can be deservedly proud. Although expensive for the ordinary reader - selling at E60 - the book is still a welcome addition to the existing corpus of historical and archaeological works on Kilkenny.

Dr. Gillian M. Doherty

CONSTITUTION OF THE WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1. ***Name:***
The Society shall be called - "The Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society" (formerly The Old Waterford Society).

2. ***Objects:***
The objects of the Society shall be:
(a)to encourage interest in history and archaeology in general but with particular reference to Waterford and adjoining Counties;
(b) to promote research into same;
(c) to arrange for the further informing of members of the Society by way of lectures on appropriate subjects and visits to places of historical and archaeological association;
(d) to issue a periodical publication; and
(e) to engage in such other activities as the Committee may consider desirable.

3. ***Membership:***
The Society shall be composed of all persons who are members at the date of the adoption of these Rules together with those who may subsequently be admitted to membership by the Committee. Honorary Members may be elected at any Annual General Meeting.

4. ***Government:***
The Society shall be governed by a Committee, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-chairman, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor and Hon. Press Officer together with not less than six nor more than eight other members, one of whom may be elected as Hon. Outings Organiser. In addition to those members elected as provided above each officer, on relinquishing office, shall become an ex-officio member of the Committee and shall remain such for one year.

5. ***Election of Officers and Committee:***
The election of the Officers and Committee of the Society shall take place each year at the Annual General Meeting. The Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor and Hon. Press Officer shall first be elected individually and in that order, following which the additional members shall be elected beginning with the Hon. Outings Organiser.
In the event of there being more than one nomination for any office or more nominations for the Committee than there are vacancies, as provided by these Rules, then the election shall be carried out by secret ballot.

No member of the Society who is absent from the General Meeting shall be eligible for nomination as a prospective member of the Committee unless he or she shall have previously intimated in writing to the Honorary Secretary his or her willingness to accept nomination.

The Committee shall have the power to co-opt additional members. Such co-options shall be effective only up to the date of the next ensuing Annual General Meeting.

A Chairman or Vice-Chairman who has held office for three consecutive years shall not be eligible to seek re-election until a period of two years have elapsed after his relinquishing office. For the purpose of this Rule the word "year" shall mean the period elapsing between successive Annual General Meetings.

6. ***Provision for Trustees:***

If it should become desirable at any time to register the Society with the Registrar of Friendly Societies, or to appoint Trustees, such registration and such appointment may be authorised at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special General Meeting called for that purpose. Such Trustees as may be appointed shall be ex-officio members of the Committee.

7. ***Duties of the Chairman:***

The primary duty of the Chairman shall be to preside at all Committee and other meetings of the Society. It shall also be *his* duty to represent the Society at any gatherings where representation shall appear to be desirable.

8. ***Duties of the Honorary Secretary:***

The Honorary Secretary shall:

(a) record the minutes of Committee meetings and of the Annual General Meeting of the Society;

(b) maintain files of the correspondence relating to the Society;

(c) arrange for such meetings, lectures and outings as the Committee shall direct, and notify members accordingly;

(d) arrange for notice of Annual General Meeting of the Society to be sent to all members; and

(e) submit a report to the Annual General Meeting on the activities of the Society since the date of the last such Meeting.

9. ***Duties of Honorary Treasurer:***

The Honorary Treasurer shall:

(a) receive and disburse monies on behalf of the Society, as directed by the Committee, and shall keep accounts of all receipts and expenditure, together with supporting vouchers;

(b) prepare an annual statement of accounts recording the financial transactions of the Society up to and including the 31st December of each year, which statement shall, as soon as may be after said date be submitted to the Society's Auditors for certification;
(c) present the audited statement of accounts to the next Annual General Meeting; and
(d) maintain an up-to-date list of subscribing members.

10. ***Annual General Meeting:***
The Annual General Meeting shall be held, not later than the 30th April, at such venue, on such date and at such time as the Committee shall decide. Each member shall be given at least seven days notice of the date, time and place of the Annual General Meeting.
The quorum for an Annual General Meeting shall *be* fifteen members.

11. ***Special General Meeting:***
A Special General Meeting of the Society shall be convened if:
(a) any fifteen members of the Society request the Honorary Secretary in writing to do so, stating at the time of such request the reason why they wish to have the meeting convened; or
(b) it shall appear to the Committee to be expedient that such a meeting should be convened.
In convening a Special General Meeting, the Honorary Secretary shall give at least seven days notice to each member of the Society, stating in such notice the intended date, time and place at which such meeting is to be held and the purpose of same.
The quorum for a Special General Meeting shall be fifteen members.

12. ***Quorum for Committee Meetings:***
The quorum for a Committee Meeting shall be five members.

13. ***Annual Subscription:***
The annual subscription shall be such amount as shall be decided from year to year at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special General Meeting held for the purpose of fixing the amount to become due as from the first day of January next following the date of such meeting. The subscription year shall coincide with the calendar year. *Any* member, other than a new member who has not paid his or her subscription before the 31st December in any year shall be deemed to have resigned.
Subscriptions of new members accepted between 1st September and 31st December shall be deemed to be in respect of the ensuing year and shall be at the amount applicable to that year.

14. ***Rules not to be altered:***
These Rules shall not be altered except by resolution passed by a single majority of those present at an Annual General Meeting or a Special General Meeting.

15. ***Rules to be printed:***
The Rules of the Society shall be printed and re-printed as often as may be necessary. A supply of copies shall be held by the Honorary Secretary who shall make them available to all applicants subject to a charge based on the cost of producing them. Each new member shall be provided with a free copy of the Rules.

16. ***Earlier Rules repealed:***
These Rules supercede all previous Rules or Constitution of the Society.

The adoption of these Rules was resolved at the AGM of the Society, held on March 23rd 1979, such resolution having been proposed, seconded and passed by a majority of the members present.

Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society Membership 2004

(Up to September 30th 2004)

Abbeyside Reference Archives, Parish Office, Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Allen Public County Library, P.O. Box 2270, 900 Webster Street, IN 46801-2270, USA.
Aylward, Mr J., Wander Inn, Johnstown, Waterford.

Balding, Mr O., Kilmacomb, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Barrett, Right Rev. P. F., Bishop's House, Wellbrook, Freshford, Co. Kilkenny.
Brazil, Mr D., 'Killard', John's Hill, Waterford.
Brennan, Mr D., 11 The Brambles, Ballinakill Downs, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Brennan, Mrs E., 11 The Brambles, Ballinakill Downs, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Brennan, Mr J., 25 Daisy Terrace, Waterford.
Broderick, Dr. E., 1 Pheasant Walk, Collins Avenue, Waterford.
Brophy, Mr A., Bushe Lodge, Catherine Street, Waterford.
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Butler, Ms B., 22 Decies Avenue, Lismore Lawn, Waterford.
Byrne, Dr. N., 'Auburn', John's Hill, Waterford.

Carpendale, Mr S., Dublin Road, Dunkitt, via Waterford.
Carroll, Mr P., Greenmount House, Crooke, Passage East, Co. Waterford.
Caulfield, Mr S., Robinstown, Glenmore, Co. Kilkenny.
Coady, Mr M., 29 Clairin, Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary.
Collopy, Mr M., 75 Doyle Street, Waterford.
Condon, Mr S., 52 The Moorings, Ballinakill, Waterford.
Condon, Very Rev. E., PP, Killea, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Cooke, Mr D. W., 5486 Wellington Drive, Trappe, Maryland, 21673-8911, USA.
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Cowman, Mr D. Knockane, Annestown, Co. Waterford.
Croke, Prof. David, 89 Monkstown Avenue, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
Crowley, Mrs M., Fernhill, Ballyvooney, Stradbally, Co. Waterford.
Crowley, Ms N., 45 Orchard Drive, Ursuline Court, Waterford.
Curham, Mr L., 19 The Folly, Waterford.

Deegan, Mr P., 2 Fairfield Park, Belvedere Manor, Waterford.
Deevy, Mr J., 'Landscape', Passage Road, Waterford.
Delahunty, Mrs M., Rocksprings, Newtown, Waterford.
Dillon, Mr F., 'Trespan', The Folly, Waterford.

Doyle, Mr N., 21 Glendown Grove, Templeogue, Dublin 6.
Duggan, Ms M., 13 Tyrconnell Close, Comeragh Heights, Waterford.
Dunne, Mrs B., Faithlegge, Co. Waterford.
Dunphy, Mr J., Lissahane, Kill, Co. Waterford.

East Tennessee Historical Society, Dr., M. Toomey, P.O. Box 1629, 600 Market Street, Knoxville, TN 37901, USA.

Fanning, Miss P., 1 Railway Square, Waterford.
Farrell, Mr I., 'Summerville House', Newtown, Waterford.
Fay, Miss E., 3 St Margaret's Avenue, Waterford.
Fay, Mr G., 43 Pinewood Drive, Hillview, Waterford.
Fewer, Mr T., 'Chestnut Lodge', Callaghane, Woodstown, Co. Waterford.
Forristal, Mr B., 7 Glen Terrace, Waterford.
Fraher, Mr W., 10 Ringnasillogue Ave., Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Freyne-Kearney, Mrs O., Savagetown, Kill, Co. Waterford.

Gallagher, Mr Kevin, 'The Cottage' Piltown Cross, Kinsalebeg, Co. Waterford via Youghal.
Gallagher, Mr L., 42 Dunluce Road, Clontarf, Dublin 3.
Gallagher, Mr M., 54 The Moorings, Ballinakill, Waterford.
Garbett, Mrs R., Benvoy, Annestown, Co. Waterford.
Gaule, Mr Barry, 31 Ferndale, Waterford.
Goff, Mr J., Marlfield, Newtown, Waterford.
Gordon, Mr J. P., 12 The Burgery, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
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Grant, Mrs E., 9 St. John's Villas, Waterford.
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Grogan, Mr D., Boherduff, Fethard Road, Clonmel.
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Grogan, Mrs V., 41 Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
Gunning, Mr A., 7 Ballinakill Vale, Ballinakill Park, Waterford.

Halley, Mr G., M. M., Halley Solicitors, George's Street, Waterford.
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Hegarty, Mr J. J., Salem, Newtown-Geneva, Passage East, Co. Waterford.

Heine, Miss B., 5 The Elms, John's Hill, Waterford.
Hennessy, Mr J., P.O. Box 58, Riddells Creek, Victoria, Australia.
Heritage Council, (Mr C. Mount), Rothe House, Kilkenny.
Hickey, Mr T., Carrigahilla, Stradbally, Co. Waterford.
Hodge, Mr D., Ballynare, Kilcloone, Co. Meath.
Hogan, Mrs P., Slieverue, via Waterford.
Holland, Mr P., Killeigh, Clonmel Road, Cahir, Co. Tipperary.
Holman, Mr D., Ballygunnermore, Waterford.
Hopkins, Miss S., Lower Newtown, Waterford.

Irish, Mr B., Sporthouse Road, Knockeen, Waterford.

Jackman, Mr F., 1 Wasdale Park, Terenure, Dublin 6.
Jephson, Mr K., 99 Viewmount Park, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Jephson, Mr R. C.,'Prospect House', Granstown, Waterford.
Johnston, Mrs E., 210 Lismore Park, Waterford.

Kane, Mrs R., 'Spring Hill', Halfwayhouse, Waterford.
Kavanagh, Mrs A., 'Mansewood', Newtown, Waterford.
Kavanagh, Mr G., 'Sion Hill House', Ferrybank, Waterford.
Keane, Mr J., 'Sonas', Fahafeelagh, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.
Kenneally, Mr A., 24 The Brambles, Ballinakill Downs, Waterford.
Kenneally, Mr P., 16 Cork Road, Waterford.
Kennedy, Ms I., 'Kincora', Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Kennedy, Mr P., Clonea Lower, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Kennedy, Ms S., 4 Brookwood Grove, Artane, Dublin 5.
Kiely, Mr J., 14 The Brook, Granstown Park, Waterford.
Kilkenny County Library, 6 John's Quay, Kilkenny.
Kimber, Mr D., 39 Faiche an Ghraig·in, Portl·irge.
Kirwan Mrs B., 112 Cannon Street, Waterford.

Laffan, Mrs K., Greenville, Kilmacow, via Waterford.
Laffan, Mr W., Apartment 6, S Garrett Street, London, EC1Y 0LH, United Kingdom.
Lambert, Mr N., Glenpipe, Mullinavat, Co. Kilkenny.
Leamy, Mr P., 11 Oakley Drive, Earls Court, Waterford.
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Lincoln, Mrs S., Ardmore, Co. Waterford.
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Lumley, Mrs R., Formby, Daisy Terrace, Waterford.

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Malthouse, Mrs M., 10 Leoville, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Matthews, Miss M., Ardeevin, Summerville, Avenue, Waterford.
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McCarthy, Mr R., 'Benildus', Bernard Place, Waterford.
McEneaney, Mr E., Waterford Treasures Museum, Hanover Street, Waterford.
McKillops, Mrs H., 60 Cannon Street, Waterford.
McNeill, Mrs B., 4 Birch Terrace, Lisduggan, Waterford.
McShane, Ms Fiona, 4 Millennium Court, Bennettsbridge, Co. Kilkenny.
McShea, Mr M., Sacre Coeur, Killea Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Mercer, Mrs B., 6 Highfield Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Moloney, Ms T., Greenville, Fenor, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Mount Melleray Abbey, The Librarian, Cappoquin, Co. Waterford.
Mullane, Sr. Virginia, Box 36370, Lusaka, Zambia.
Murphy, Mr D. A., Tyrone, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.
Murphy Mr J. P., Shin-Shin, 45 Blenheim Heights, Waterford.
Murphy, Mr P., Ballyquin House, Carrickbeg, Carrick-on-Suir.
Murphy, Mr S., Millfield, Furraleigh, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.
Murphy, Mrs S., Millfield, Furraleigh, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.
Murray, Mr S., An Rinn, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Murtagh, Mr B., Primrose Hill, Threecastles, Co. Kilkenny.

National Museum of Ireland, Ref: Enda Lowry, Collins Barracks, Benburb Street, Dublin 7.
Newberry Library, 60 Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610, USA.
Nolan, Mr T., Greenville, Fenor, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Nolan Farrell & Goff, Solicitors, Newtown, Waterford.
Nunan, Mr M., Mullinabro, via Waterford, Co. Kilkenny.

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O'Callaghan, Mr E., 17 Dunmore Avenue, Riverview, Waterford.
Ó Ceallacháin, Mr D., 22 Barker Street, Waterford.
O'Connor, Mrs E., St Mary's, The Vinery, Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
O'Connor, Ms E., St Mary's, The Vinery, Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
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O'Doherty, Rev. S., PP, Durrow, Co. Laois.
O'Donoghue, Mr A., 4 Ballinakill Close, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
O'Floinn, Mr T., 1 Blackrock Court, Youghal Road, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Ó Griofain, An t-Uasal N., Radharc na Farraige, An Rinn, Dungarbhan, Co. Phortlairge.

Ó Mathuna, Mr S. N., 8 Fawcett House, Stockwell Gardens, West Stockwell Road, London, SW9 9HD, England.
O'Neill, Sr. Assumpta, Presentation Convent, Youghal Road, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Ontario Genealogical Society, 40 Orchard View Blvd., Suite 102, M4R 1B9, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
O'Reilly, Miss E., 5 Railway Square, Waterford.
Ormond, Mr G., Gainstown, Navan, Co. Meath.
O'Sullivan, Mrs D., Juverna, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

Patrick Power Library, St Mary's University, B3H 3C3, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada.
Payet, Ms B., 22 Barker Street, Waterford.
Peacocke, Mr Alan, Dysert, Ardmore, Co. Waterford.
Peacocke, Mrs Gloria, Dysert, Ardmore, Co. Waterford.
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Periodical Division Main Library, Memorial University of Newfoundland, PO-4144, AIB 3YI, St John's, New Foundland, Canada.
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