DECIES

JOURNAL OF THE WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NO. 63
2007

Irisleabhar Cumann Seandálaíochta agus Staire Phort Láirge

COMHAIRLE CATHRACH PHORT LAIRGE WATERFORD CITY COUNCIL

The Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society and the editor of **DECIES** gratefully acknowledge the generous sponsorship of Waterford City Council towards the publication costs of this journal.

COMHAIRLE CONTAE PHORT LAIRGE WATERFORD COUNTY COUNCIL

The Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society and the editor of **DECIES** gratefully acknowledge the generous sponsorship of Waterford County Council towards the publication costs of this journal.

Cover Illustrations

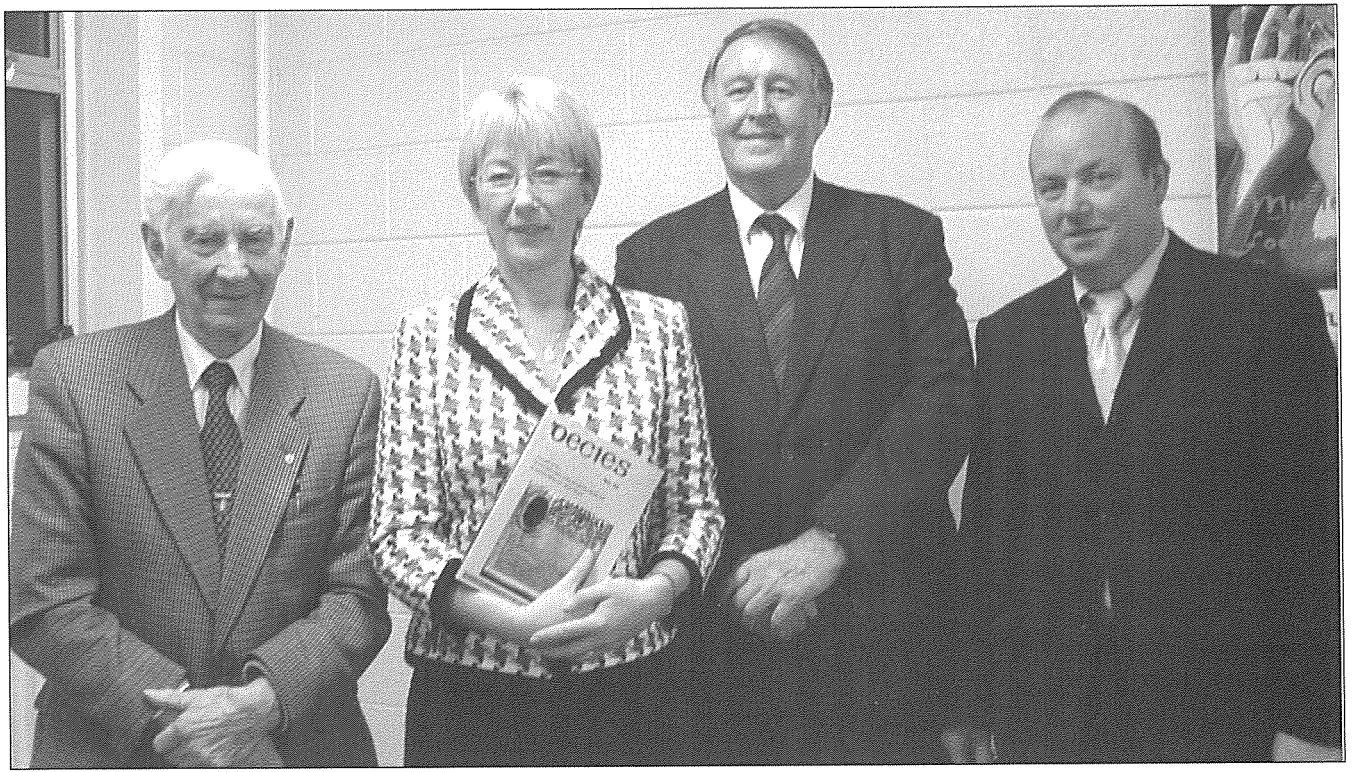
Front Cover: A View of Waterford, Ireland, from The Detroit Publishing Co., Catalogue J - foreign section, Detroit, Mich.: Detroit Photographic Company, 1905, print Number 12050, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington D.C., 20540 USA.

Back Cover: Ardmore Cathedral: Interior north wall of nave and Romanesque window with pointed bowtell moulding. Courtesy of Dónal O'Connor

ISSN 1393-3116
Published by The Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society
Printed by G.K. Print, Grannagh, Waterford.

Decies 63

Contents



Presentation of a copy of Decies *62 (2006) to the Minister for Education and Science, Mary Hanafin TD. Left to right, Paddy Kenneally, Committee Member, Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society, Mary Hanafin TD, Minister for Education and Science, Ollie Wilkenson TD, Eddie Synnott, Editorial Committee, Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society.*
Photograph courtesy of Celtic Media.

WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE MEMBERS
2007/2008

OFFICERS

Chairman:	Dr. Eugene Broderick, 1 Pheasant Walk, Collins Avenue, Waterford.
Vice-chairman:	Ben Murtagh, Primrose Hill, Threecastles, Co. Kilkenny.
Hon. Secretary:	Béatrice Payet, 5 Doyle Street, Waterford.
Hon. Treasurer:	Tony Gunning, 7 Ballinakill Vale, Waterford.
Hon. Editor:	Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin, 5 Doyle Street, Waterford.
P.R.O.:	Partick Grogan, 41 Summerville Avenue, Waterford.

COMMITTEE

Dr. Niall Byrne
William Condon
Fergus Dillon
George Kavanagh
Paddy Kenneally
Eileen O'Connor
Dr. Jim Stacey
Eddie Synnott
James Walsh

Hon. Editor: Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin
Editorial Committee: Eugene Broderick (*ex-officio*), Ben Murtagh, Béatrice Payet, Eddie Synnott.

EDITORIAL

IN 1987 the *SS Portlairge,* last working steam ship in Ireland sailed out of Waterford harbour on her final voyage. As Sonny Condon points out in the current issue of *Decies,* the *Portlairge* could have been an ideal museum, serving as a fitting symbol of Waterford's proud maritime history. This did not happen, and the ship now lies rotting on the Wexford coast.

Hopefully, we are learning from the mistakes of our recent past as plans are being drawn up to refurbish Waterford city's historic quarter in order to create a world-class heritage site. This proposed development, part of Waterford City Council's Project 2014 showcasing 1,000 years of the city's history, is a brave initiative and deserves the support of our society.

The ongoing success of heritage sites in Waterford county such as the Copper Coast Geopark is testimony to the importance of preserving our past and making it accessible.

Another positive development in the field of local studies is the establishment of the South Kilkenny Historical Society, with Eddie Synnott, committee member of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society elected as its first Chairman. Congratulations are due to all involved in this new exciting venture, which will do much to highlight the rich history and traditions of south Kilkenny.

Heritage and conservation issues remain however, with concern over the graveyard of the Abbey Church at Kilcullaheen in particular.

Ba bhreá liom mo bhuíochas a ghabháil le gach éinne a chabhraigh liom iris na bliana seo a fhoilsiú – coiste an chumainn, an coiste eagarthóireachta agus go háirithe údair na n-alt. Eddie Synnott who typeset the journal and scanned the images once again deserves the gratitude of the society.

I would like to point out to intending contributors that the final deadline for the submission of articles for *Decies* 64 (2008) is 1 May 2008. Articles received after that date will be held over for publication in the following year's journal.

List of Contributors

Anna Brindley, MA PhD, is an expert in the study of prehistoric pottery.

Eugene Broderick is Chairman of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society. He has MA and PhD degrees in Modern History from University College, Cork. He teaches in the Mercy Secondary School in Waterford city.

Niall Byrne was reared in Tramore, Co. Waterford and was educated at CBS Tramore, and at Waterpark College, Waterford. He graduated from University College, Dublin with an MVB degree, also qualifying as an MRCVS at the Veterinary College, Ballsbridge, Dublin. Thereafter he engaged in post-graduate work at the Royal Dick Veterinary College, Edinburgh. On his return to Ireland, he commenced the practice of Veterinary Medicine in Waterford, spending most of his career as a general practitioner. He currently holds the position of Veterinary Officer in Waterford City Council. In 1996 he obtained a BD (Hons) in Divinity and Theology from Heythrop College, University of London. He gained his MA with First Class Honours, in 1998, and was awarded his PhD in 2002, both courses being completed in University College, Cork. His edition of *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford* was published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission in 2007. His forthcoming book, *The Irish Crusade: A History of the Knights Hospitaller, The Knights Templar, and The Knights of Malta in the South-east of Ireland,* is currently in the process of publication. A regular contributor to *Decies,* his articles have also been published in other regional history journals. In a unique family contribution to Waterford historiography Dr. Niall J. Byrne and his son Dr. Michael V. Byrne, have both lectured to the Waterford Historical and Archaeological Society.

Mark Chapman is a self-employed decorating contractor with a special interest in the geology and archaeology of the Comeragh Mountains. This is his second contribution to *Decies*.

Sonny Condon has a life-long interest in maritime and military history. He is retired from Waterford Harbour Commissioners, and has lectured frequently on Waterford's proud maritime tradition.

Penny Johnston, BA MSc is a post-excavation manager and archaeobotanist for Eachtra Archaeological Projects.

Pádraig G. Lane is a retired teacher, and taught 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.

Conor O'Brien attended University College, Dublin and holds a PhD in Chemistry and the Fellowship of the Royal Society of Chemistry. He retired from a career in the pharmaceutical industry in his native County Wicklow in 1998. Over the years he has devoted much of his free time to researching old Irish silver, and has written widely on the subject in specialist publications.

Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin has a degree in Irish and Folklore from University College, Cork. He was a contributor to *The Famine in Waterford: Teacht na bPrátaí Dubha,* edited by Des Cowman and Donald Brady, and has also contributed articles to *Decies*.

Dónal O'Connor was Professor of Old Testament at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth until 1985 when he was appointed parish priest of Ardmore Co. Waterford. His articles in *Decies* explore the importance of the Déise in twelfth-century Ireland: Lismore under the guidance of Bishop Malchus, as the foremost centre of Church Reform; Ardmore's achievement in architecture and figure sculpture, coinciding with its brief period of diocesan status under Bishop Eugene.

Áine Richardson, BA has excavated numerous archaeological sites and she directed excavations at Knockhouse Lower in 2003 while working for Eachtra Archaeological Projects.

Excavation of a Middle Bronze Age settlement site at Knockhouse Lower, Co. Waterford (03E1033)

Áine Richardson and Penny Johnston, with specialist contributions by Anna Brindley and Penny Johnston.

Introduction

The prehistoric archaeology of County Waterford is rich and varied. From the times of the earliest known human settlement in Ireland (the Early Mesolithic) there are traces of human occupation in the county, with lithic (flint) scatters found along the southern stretch of the River Barrow; Late Mesolithic and Neolithic lithics were also recovered (Zvelebil *et al.* 1996). Moving further forward in time, the evidence for human occupation of the landscape becomes more tangible with megalithic tombs, reflecting Neolithic (and later) ceremonial and burial practices at Harristown (passage tomb) and at Gaulstown, Knockeen and Ballinadud (portal tombs) (Moore 1999). Later sites that continue the megalithic tradition include standing stones, an example is found at Gibbethill (RMP WA009:015), 3km north-west of the site at Knockhouse Lower. Burnt mounds (*fulachtaí fia*), the ubiquitous monuments of the Irish Bronze Age are found throughout the county, with one located just to the north of the site at Knockhouse Lower. Combined with this is the evidence from settlement sites that have been discovered in the county over recent years: there are Neolithic, Beaker and Bronze Age settlement sites at Ahanaglogh (Tierney 2005; Tierney *et al.* 2002), *c.*18km to the southwest of Knockhouse Lower. Closer by, there is evidence for more Neolithic, Beaker and Bronze Age settlement in the adjoining townland of Carrickpherish as well as in Knockhouse Lower itself (McQuade 2006). When the land in this area, owned by the Industrial Development Authority Ireland, was zoned for industrial development it provided an opportunity to excavate a site that emerged as a relatively rare example of an enclosed Middle Bronze Age settlement.

The Site

The site was low-lying and situated on undulating ground approximately 3 km west of Waterford City (Figure 1). It was *c.*10.5km north of the sea and was situated within a bend in the River Suir, located roughly 1.25km to the northwest. The river defined the surrounding landscape and may have formed a territorial boundary during the prehistoric period. The site comprised a sub-circular enclosure (with an approximate diameter of 36m) which surrounded a post and stake-built round house (Figure 2). The radiocarbon and pottery dates from the site indicate a period of relatively short-lived occupation in the Middle Bronze Age (1500-1000 BC),

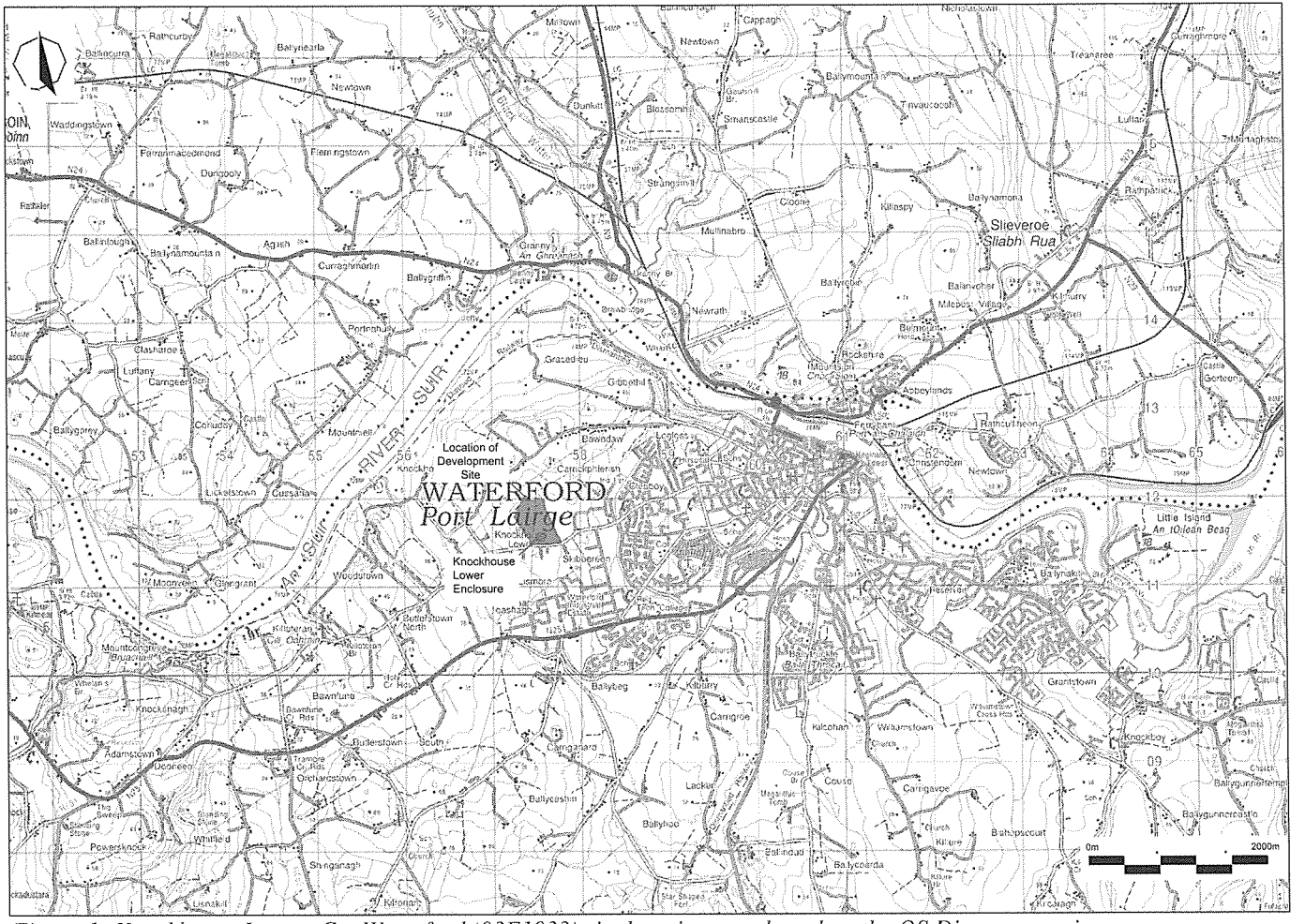


Figure 1: Knockhouse Lower, Co. Waterford (03E1033) site location map based on the OS Discovery series.

with radiocarbon dates that cover the period 1400-1133 BC. The results of excavations can be broken down into context complexes, starting at the centre of the site and working outwards: the house, other internal features, the enclosure and external features.

The House

Towards the centre of the enclosure there was a series of stakeholes and postholes arranged around a central area of fire reddened clay (Figure 3). This structure measured *c*.9 m in length (northeast-southwest) and 8m in width (northwest-southeast) and it was roughly sub-circular, with the southeastern wall of the structure composed of four large stakeholes/driven posts running in a straight line. The rest of the house was round, and was defined by eight postholes (with postpipes) and a series of pits. The probable entrance to the house was located in the stakebuilt part of the wall, facing southeast. Radiocarbon dates from a burnt structural post returned a Middle Bronze Age radiocarbon date of cal BC 1450-1303 (UB-6936).

Many of the postholes with postpipes were well preserved, probably due to partial destruction by fire, and one burnt post was preserved *in situ*. Oak was identified as a building material from the charcoal taken from this post. As one of the hardest and most common wood types available in prehistoric Ireland this has several parallels and oak was also identified as structural material from a Bronze Age structure (Structure 12) at Chancellorsland, Co. Tipperary (Doody 2000).

The outline of this structure has been plotted incorporating most of the postholes and pits (Figure 3). As well as the postholes, five pits that lined the arc of the structure may originally have had a structural function; they were all roughly the same size as the postholes that formed the house, but they were not burnt *in situ* and it is possible that they represented earlier structural posts that were removed or dismantled during repair or remodelling. Several cut features do not fit into the arc and these may represent support features, such as piecemeal repair for walls and roofs or a row of external posts for roof support that was not possible to trace for the entire circumference of the building.

An *in situ* burnt post and three postpipes from the house were rectangular in plan and it was evident that these structural posts had been squared-off. These were all situated to the south, southwest and west of the arc of posts. In contrast, the northwestern, northern and eastern posts of the arc (represented by three postpipes) were all oval or sub-circular in plan. Both the sub-circular and the squared-off posts were of similar dimensions, (approximately 0.3m x 0.2m). These were relatively substantial posts and their size, combined with the identification of oak as a building material, suggests a sizeable building, one with a superstructure sturdy enough to support a heavy roof such as a thatch. However, there was no evidence for internal supports or for subdivision of the internal space, a relatively common occurrence in excavated examples (Doody 2000).

The absence of posts at the southeastern part of the structure indicates that the wall was less substantial there, possibly of wattle screens, and the entrance to the structure may also have been placed at this part of the building. There are two

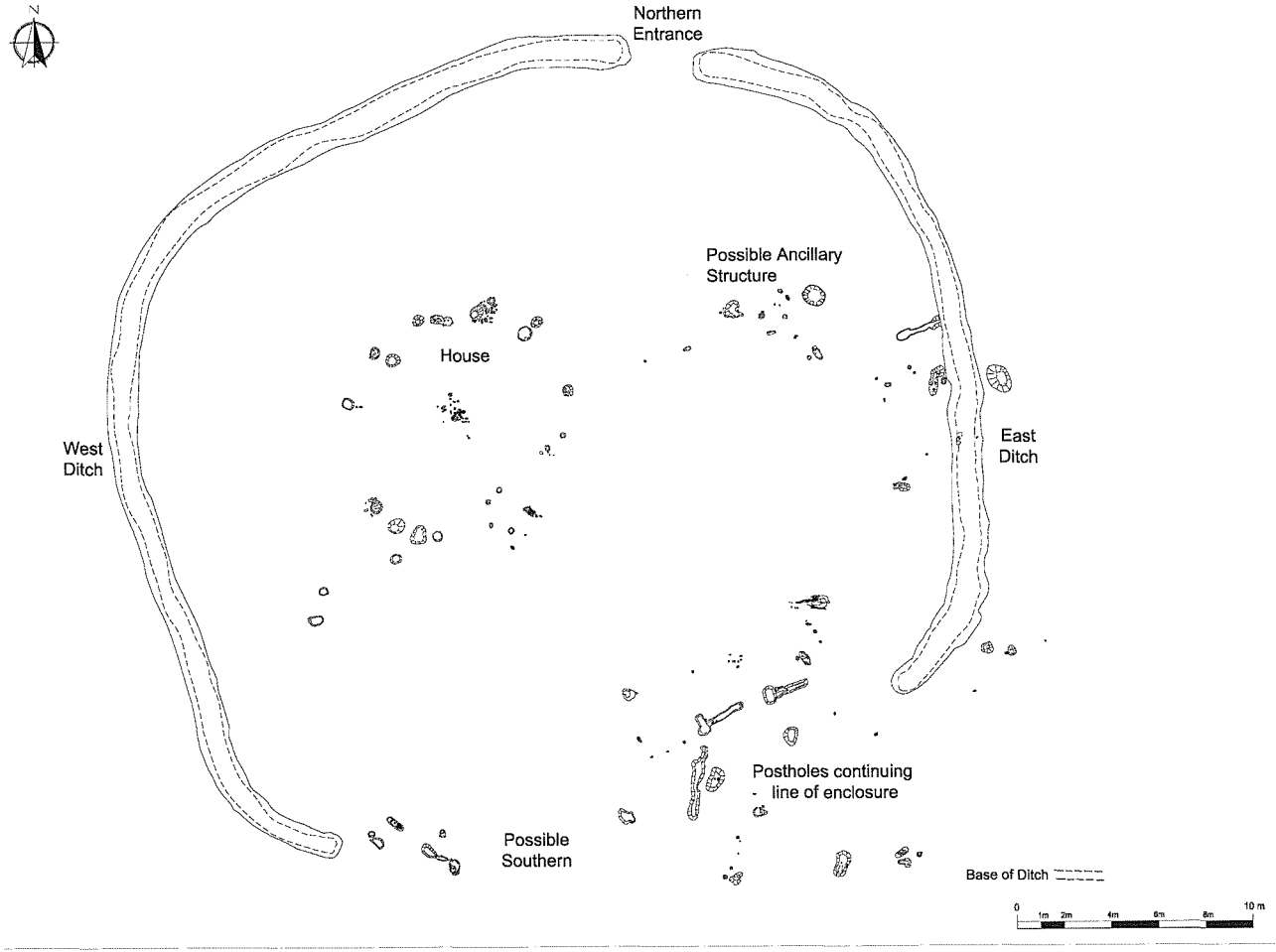


Figure 2: Site plan of Knockhouse Lower showing enclosure with possible entrances, round house, possible ancillary structure and associated features.

stakeholes on either side of the likely entrance, which was approximately 2m wide. This may have been covered by hide or textile, with several small stakeholes immediately outside the building perhaps representing temporary pegging of the doorway when it was kept open.

There are several parallels for house/settlement sites that date to the Middle Bronze Age; Doody (2000) lists eighteen excavated houses, of which thirteen were circular, and notes a large range in the structural dimensions of the excavated examples. Since the publication of Doody's work several more house sites with Middle Bronze Age dates have been excavated; e.g. Kilmurry North, Co. Wicklow (Ó Néill 2003), Cultragh, Co. Sligo (MacDonagh 2005), Knockdomny Co. Westmeath (Hull, in preparation) and Mitchelstown 1 (Cotter 2006) in Co. Cork. The Knockhouse Lower house site, measuring 9m by 8m, is roughly an average dimension for circular Middle Bronze Age houses. Houses built to approximately the same scale as this include Knockdomny, Co. Westmeath, which had an internal diameter of 8.5m (Hull 2007), Mitchelstown 1 Structure A, Co. Cork, 9.7m x 8.5m (Cotter 2006) and Kiloran 8 Structure A, Co. Tipperary, which was 9m diameter (Cross May *et al.* 2005). There are much smaller examples of houses known; the nearest contemporary house site was located *c.*100m to the southeast of the Knockhouse Lower enclosure (McQuade 2006) and it was classified as a hut due to its small size, just 3.2m in diameter, and the absence of an internal hearth.

The Hearth

The structure at Knockhouse Lower contained a central hearth, which consisted of intensely burned subsoil covering an area that measured 0.32m in diameter, surrounded by eleven small stakeholes. They were not arranged in any pattern and probably represent haphazard insertion of stakes, as they were required, around a central hearth.

Other Activity Within the Enclosure

Aside from the house and the features associated with it, there were other indications of activity within the enclosure, where pits, slot trenches postholes and stakeholes were clustered together, but in many cases these did not form a coherent pattern. The most notable was a small group of features approximately 4 metres to the west of the round house, where an 'L'-shaped group of stake, post and an upright plank possibly indicated the partial remains of a rectilinear timber structure. These were cut into and surrounded the perimeter of a spread of light grey clay, perhaps representing an occupation surface. A post and an upright plank were burnt *in situ*. They were found in close proximity to a small pit, which contained a deposit of cereal grains, in particular naked barley and glume wheats (such as emmer). This may suggest that the archaeological remains represent an ancillary structure, enclosing an area where various domestic/agricultural activities including crop storage were carried out.

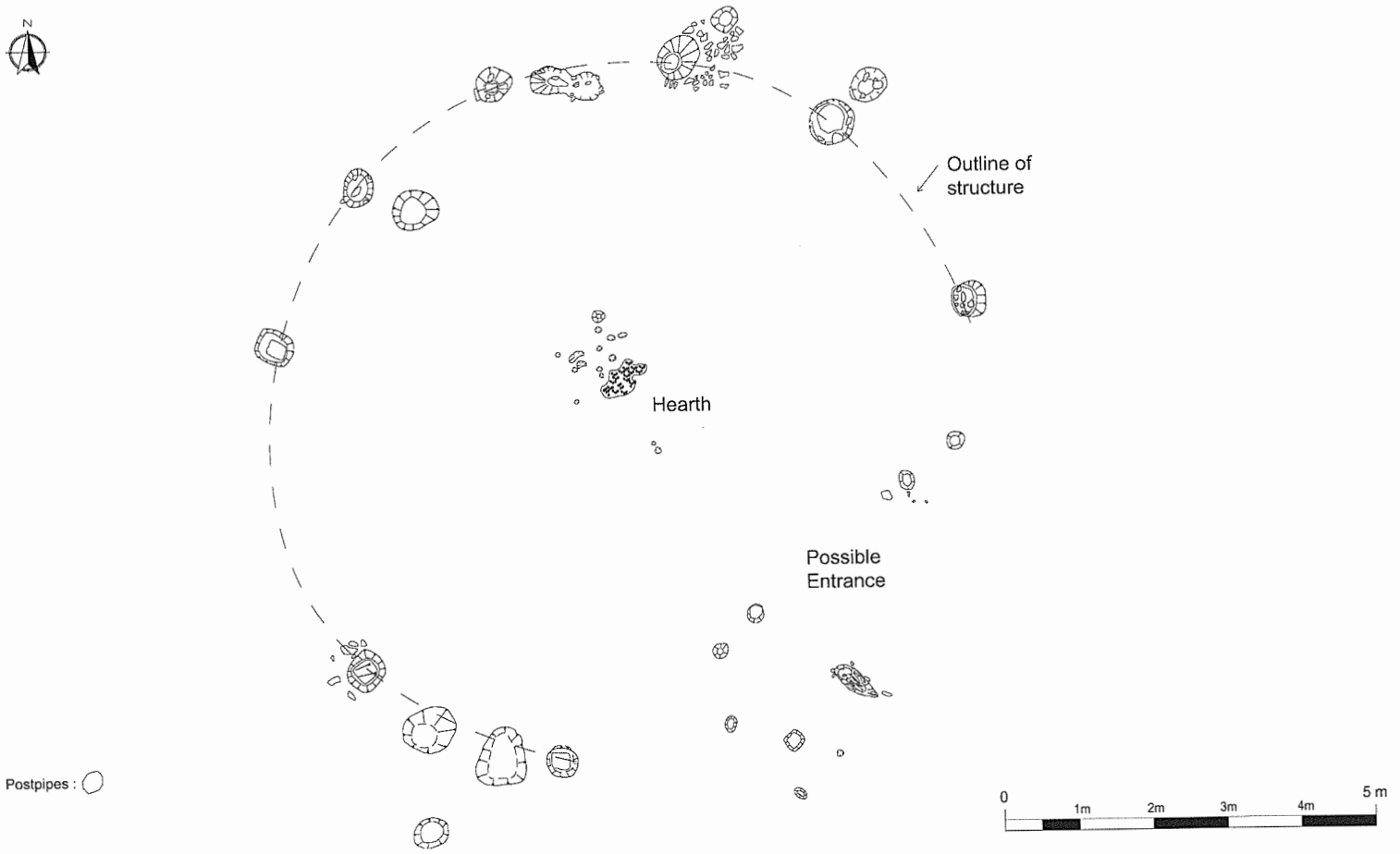


Figure 3: The round house at Knockhouse Lower.

The Enclosure

The house and ancillary activity was surrounded by a sub-circular enclosure with a diameter of approximately 36m and a total circumference of roughly 120m (Plate 1). Three sides of the enclosure were formed by two ditches (the 'east ditch' and the 'west ditch'). The fourth side was characterised by large pits/postholes and slot trenches, which probably continued the line of the enclosure, despite the absence of a ditch. There were two possible entrances to the enclosure, one to the north and one to the south.

The East Ditch

The east ditch was curvilinear and extended for a total length of 40m. It was on average 1.4m wide, with an average depth of 0.6m. It curved at the northeast and extended towards the west to form a small part of the northern side of the enclosure. It also curved slightly at the southeast before terminating. The fills included episodes of natural silting, deliberate dumping, re-deposited subsoil and collapsed bank material. The east ditch was partially recut at least once by a shallow ditch (ranging in depth from 0.39m to 0.55m) and charcoal from one of the recut ditch fills returned a Middle Bronze Age radiocarbon date of cal BC 1400-1133 (UB 6935), a date that corresponds closely to the radiocarbon date returned from the round house.

The West Ditch

The second 'west' ditch formed the majority of the northern side of the enclosure, and all of the western side. The fills included episodes of natural silting as well as slump and backfill. Like the eastern ditch, the west ditch was recut, with clear evidence for two phases of recutting which extended for nearly the entire circumference of the ditch. The basal fill of the first recut contained frequent large stones, possibly part of a stone revetment from a dismantled bank. This was apparent along the inside (eastern edge) of the ditch for most of its length. However, there was no evidence of bank material at the northern part of the enclosure (orientated east-west), perhaps because it was destroyed by the later (second) recutting of the ditch which was in evidence for part of the west ditch. Close to the northern terminal of the ditch a hollow-based arrowhead was recovered from the fill of this late recut.

Remaining enclosing elements

Close to the southeastern terminus of the eastern ditch there were several postholes that continued the line of the ditch, partially filling the gap between the southern terminals of the east and west ditches. These probably extended the enclosure in the absence of a ditch and they were supplemented by a series of linear features and postholes that suggested a second, internal, arc of posts and stakes to reinforce the enclosure.

Postholes and pits were also found close to the southern terminal of the west ditch and as these continued the line of the ditch it is likely that they acted as

additional enclosing elements, although they did not extend much more than 5m beyond the limit of the ditch terminal. The area between these extensions to the east and west ditches had few additional signs of structural remains, perhaps because the bedrock was high at this point and prevented a more substantial structure from being built; it may also be that this area was left open and acted as an entranceway into the enclosure.

The bank

Along the inside edges of both the east and west ditches there were substantial layers of re-deposited subsoil that were interpreted as the remains of a low internal bank that collapsed into the ditch. These layers contained many large stones which may have been used as a revetment to help keep the bank in place.

Possible entrances to the enclosure

There were two possible entrances to the enclosure; one to the northeast and the other to the southwest. The possible entrance at the northeast was marked by an absence of archaeological features in the gap between the terminals of the east and west ditches; this gap was *c.*2.7m wide. There was also a gap in the enclosure to the southwest; it was considerably larger than the northeastern entrance, being 7.1m wide. The bedrock was very high at the southern part of the site and this may partially explain why no archaeological features were found in the area. That there was an entranceway at this point, as well as at the north, is also a possibility. The collection of features around the southern part of the enclosure, both internal and external, indicates general activity in the area, perhaps the kind to be expected in the area of an entrance. By contrast there is no suggestion of this type of activity near the northeastern entrance.

Two entrances at Bronze Age enclosure sites is an unusual occurrence, but it is a known feature at some sites: a recently excavated example occurred at Enclosure 1, Ballybrowney 1, Co. Cork, where there was an entrance at the northeast and another at the southeast, both were *c.*1m wide (Cotter 2005).

External features

The area outside the enclosure was also characterised by intermittent traces of archaeological activity. The most intensive traces were excavated at the southern end of the enclosure and they included pits and stakeholes that did not conform to any coherent structural pattern. Their existence nonetheless indicates that the area outside the enclosure was occupied on an ad hoc basis.

Artefacts and Ecofacts

Artefacts from the site were only retrieved from the fills within the ditch, both from the primary and the recut ditches. A small hollow-based arrowhead (Plate 3) was recovered from a deposit within the recut ditch, near its northern terminal. This find-spot is in a typical location for 'odd' deposits (often interpreted as ritual) from Middle Bronze Age settlement, at the entranceway through a boundary (see Brück 1999).

A large assemblage of pottery was retrieved from the fills of the ditch, hundreds of sherds that could be reassembled to produce eighteen vessels, some of which were almost complete (Brindley 2005). All of the pottery was identified as Domestic Cordoned Urn. Cordoned Urns are usually found in burial contexts and are rare from domestic contexts: most noted examples are from the north of the country, with records from sandhill sites in counties Antrim, Derry and Down, and at Ballyrenan, Downpatrick, and Sheepland, all in Co. Down and at Moynagh Lough in Co. Meath (Waddell 1998). There are more recently excavated examples from secondary contexts at settlement sites in Rathmullan Site 10, Co. Meath (Bolger 2003) and Kilbride, Co. Wicklow (Breen 1998). The closet parallel to Knockhouse Lower is perhaps at Colp West, Co. Meath, a D-shaped enclosure where cordoned urn fragments were found; although there was no structure within the enclosure, there was a Middle Bronze Age structure located outside it (Clarke & Murphy 2003). Despite the northerly distribution pattern for this pottery type there are scattered clusters identified in Counties Galway, Limerick and Waterford (Waddell 1998) and the Knockhouse Lower examples fall into the Waterford cluster.

The pottery assemblage represented a range of vessel-shapes: open straight-sided pots, barrel-shaped vessels, a tall waisted vessel, bowls, scoops and drinking vessels or beakers (Brindley 2005). Several of these were vessels for cooking and storage. Analysis of charred plant material from deposits associated with the house suggest that some of the food that was being stored in these vessels were perhaps grains of naked barley and glume wheats (emmer). The vessels may also have been used to cook porridges or gruels made from these grains. No animal bone was recovered during the excavation as preservation conditions were unsuitable, and there is therefore no other evidence of the diet at the site. Some pottery sherds had charred deposits which occurred on either the inner or the outer surface and very occasionally on the broken edges, indicating that the pottery had been in contact with fire after breakage, while still retaining traces of the original contents. Brindley (2005) suggests that this indicates a calamitous event such as the burning down of a house. This interpretation agrees with the evidence of burnt postholes found during excavation of the house.

The sherds from most of the vessels were found within discrete spatial areas. Although now broken into many sherds the fact that they have a limited distribution suggests that the pots may have originally been complete, or almost complete, when originally deposited. In many cases the ceramic sherds from individual vessels were found within both the original ditch fills and within the recut fills. This suggests that they were originally deposited in the early ditch and were disturbed by recutting, perhaps cast up against the bank, and gradually re-deposited within the fills of the recut ditch, slumping into the ditch again with bank material.

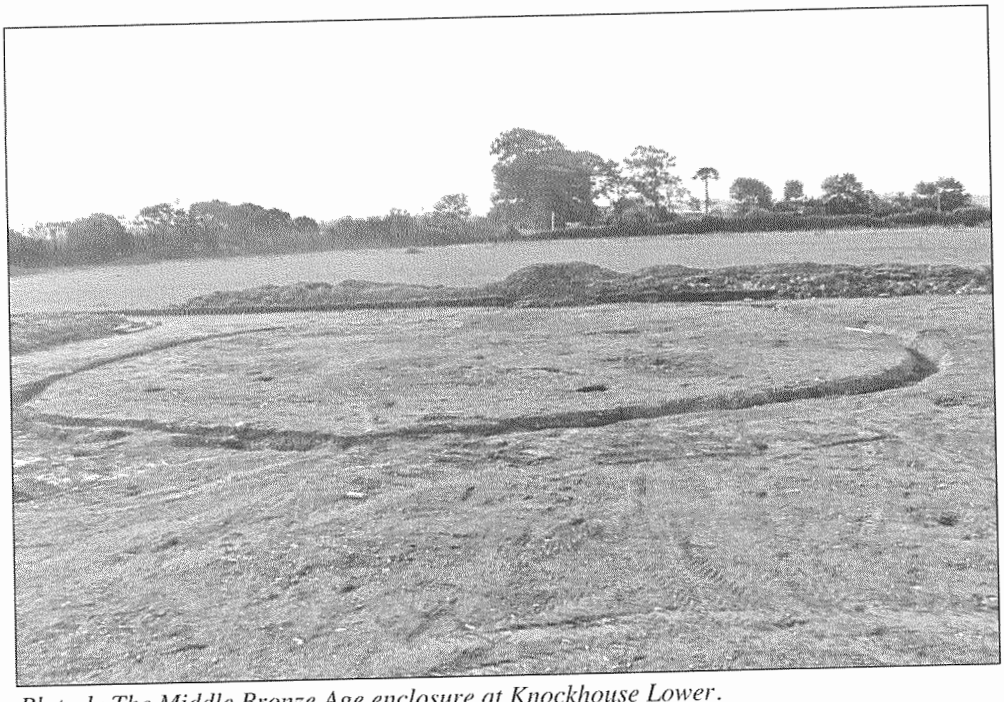


Plate 1: The Middle Bronze Age enclosure at Knockhouse Lower.

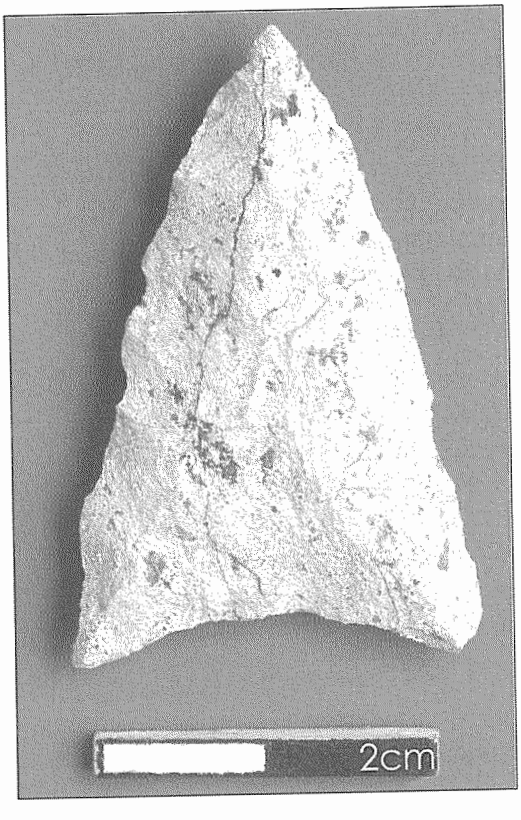


Plate 2: A hollow based arrowhead found within a deposit in the recut ditch at Knockhouse Lower.

Discussion

The condition of the pottery and the archaeology of the house indicate a calamitous event, such as the structure burning down. The retrieval of pottery from some original ditch fills suggests that the ceramics were initially deposited in the early ditch and were disturbed by later recutting of the ditch. The fact that both ditches were recut, perhaps several times, indicates maintenance of the enclosure during occupation of the site.

It is possible that the enclosure of the settlement at Knockhouse Lower set its occupants apart and may, in part, have reflected social status. The rich assemblage of pottery from this site (*c.*1000 ceramic sherds) also suggests a certain amount of surplus wealth (see Cleary 2000). In addition, the widespread retrieval of naked barley from Knockhouse Lower is somewhat unusual; barley is often the most common cereal type from Bronze Age settlement sites, but it is frequently hulled varieties rather than naked grains that are retrieved. Therefore these results may again suggest a 'special' aspect to the diet or the economy at the site.

However, several archaeological features were also excavated outside the enclosure, indicating that occupation went beyond the enclosure and included the area immediately outside the ditches. Combined with the evidence for Middle Bronze Age settlement at other sites nearby (McQuade 2006), this suggests that the settlement site was not necessarily socially isolated, even though it was set slightly apart. Similarly, at Ballybrowney Co. Cork the enclosures were associated with four unenclosed houses that were near contemporary (Cotter 2005), indicating that enclosed settlements did not merely operate as isolated units.

Summary

The site at Knockhouse Lower, Co. Waterford comprised a sub-circular enclosure with a diameter of approximately 36m; three sides of the enclosure were formed by two ditches (the 'east ditch' and the 'west ditch'). There was no evidence for a ditch at the south of the site, but there were indications that an enclosing structure continued beyond the line of the ditch; slot trenches, postholes and stakeholes were excavated. Within the enclosure a Middle Bronze Age structure was excavated; it was stake and post- built and these were arranged in a subcircular pattern around a central hearth. Other features excavated within the enclosure included pits, stakeholes and slot trenches, but these did not follow any discernible pattern and were therefore interpreted as being related to the general occupation of the site rather than being structural in nature.

The enclosure of the settlement site, the rich artefact assemblage and the unusual nature of the plant remains assemblage combine to suggest a site where the occupants were set apart, perhaps due to social status. However, there is also evidence for roughly contemporary settlement in the immediate area of the site, indicating that the settlement was not necessarily isolated.

Prehistoric pottery from Knockhouse Lower, Co. Waterford (03E1033)

A.L. Brindley, M.A.

The pottery from Knockhouse Lower belonged to the Cordoned Urn Tradition, identified on the basis of the presence of cordons, large bucket- and barrel- shaped vessels, and the general characteristics of manufacture and fabric. It was discovered in the fills of a Middle Bronze Age enclosure ditch which had evidence for at least two phases of use in the ditch, an original cut and a recut. Pottery was retrieved from the fills of both ditches. Eighteen vessels were identified on the basis of multiple rim sherds or large portions of the rims and many of the sherds of individual vessels were isolated within the ditch fills and were not mixed with other vessels. Although the individual pots were not necessarily complete at the time of being discarded many of the vessels were almost complete and the pottery has good potential for reconstruction. In this sense, the assemblage was unusually well-preserved and has few parallels: it was difficult to point to a comparable domestic assemblage from an Irish prehistoric site, and the better preserved funeral pottery of the period generally consists of individual vessels made for a single, limited function (burial) rather than suites of vessels that were used together.

The vessels were coil-built with simple, un-enlarged and un-augmented rims. Some of the pots had cordons, which consisted of a fillet of clay applied to the surface of the pot and pressed against it, then pinched into shape: in several instances, fingernail impressions were visible on the lower side of the cordon. The pastes were tempered with frequent deliberately crushed pieces of stone, some of which occurred as very large pieces. The original surface is missing from both inside and outside faces of many sherds and because of this the temper is exposed and the pottery has a very coarse appearance. This is a condition of preservation and is *not* an original characteristic. In fact, traces of a thin layer of fine clay are preserved on a small number of sherds from this assemblage and indicate that the surface of the pottery would originally have had a slip-like finish: there was evidence of wet finishing (wiping the vessel with a wet hand, wet rag or with water and a piece of soft leather) which resulted in a thin, fragile layer of fine clay, often not thicker than a layer of paint, being deposited on the surface of the pottery. It was also clear that several of the vessel walls were carefully smoothed, probably by scraping, resulting in smooth walls of regular width.

The salient characteristics of the assemblage were straight-sided bucket and slightly curved barrel shapes, simple flat and rounded rim tops which are not expanded in any way, applied cordons, incipient shoulder features, flat bases and an absence of decoration. Several of these features, notably the large size and proportions of some of the vessels and the presence of cordons, indicate a connection with the Cordoned Urn Tradition. The complete absence of decoration and the occurrence of the incipient shoulders are features which do not occur on the classical cordoned urns series as represented by the funerary pottery of the period, which probably dated to shortly before 1700 BC to around 1500 BC (Brindley 2007) and

the domestic settlements as represented by the pottery from Downpatrick, Co. Down (Pollock & Waterman 1964) and Lough Gur, Co. Limerick, Site C (Ó Ríordáin 1954). This is therefore probably a late variant of the Cordoned Urn Tradition. The shapes of vessels represented were open straight-sided pots, barrel-shaped vessels, a tall waisted vessel, bowls, scoops and drinking vessels or beakers. These pottery vessels, used in domestic contexts, would have been required to fulfil functions such as storage, cooking and food preparation and serving food.

Almost all, if not all, the pottery had been in contact with fire: some sherds included a charred deposit, which occurred on either the inner or the outer surface and very occasionally on the broken edges, indicating that the pottery had been in contact with fire after breakage and while still retaining traces of the original contents. This suggests that a calamitous event had occurred, such as the burning down of a house with its contents. Later the debris from this event was pushed into the ditch.

Summary and Conclusions

Eighteen pots, of various types, can be identified and largely reconstructed. These vessels represent the domestic assemblage of a Middle Bronze Age domestic site, and can be identified as storage, cooking and serving vessels. The vessels were hand-made and coil-built, with a wet finish. Several vessels were scraped to give them smooth and regular surface before wet finishing. The rims of all the pots are simple and unaccentuated in any way. Incipient shoulders and small applied cordons occur on several vessels. The profiles and sizes of the vessels can also be reconstructed; the main forms are tall barrel shapes with slightly closed mouth, straight-sided open mouthed bowls and shorter bowls. The pottery is probably a very late variant of the cordoned urn and can probably be placed at the end of the Cordoned Urn Tradition, which coincides with the Middle Bronze Age radiocarbon dates that were obtained from the site. This pottery can be considered as an assemblage of single date and cultural identity on the basis of the context (the fills of the ditch of an enclosure) in which it was found, and the range of pastes, methods of construction and finishing of the pots and the shapes of the pots themselves.

Charred seeds from Knockhouse Lower, Co. Waterford (03E1033)

Penny Johnston

Charred seeds were recovered from twelve of the nineteen samples examined from the enclosure site at Knockhouse Lower. Cereals (including barley and primitive glume wheats) were abundant in three of the deposits, and this material was interpreted as cache deposits of grain that were burnt in storage. The three rich samples were taken from a posthole and a stakehole of the round house and from a pit associated with the ancillary structure. In all the samples the predominant cereal type was identified as naked barley. The plant assemblage was richer than many obtained from other Bronze Age settlement sites because the buildings at the site probably burnt down. While fire may have destroyed the settlement, it preserved many plant remains, converting them from organic material to inert carbon.

The richest sample was taken from a posthole of the round house found near the centre of the enclosure, with a burnt *in situ* post still in place (Middle Bronze Age radiocarbon date of cal BC 1450-1303). The deposit was rich in charred plant remains, in particular grains of naked barley, more than one thousand seven hundred were found. There were comparatively few weed seeds; this part of the assemblage consisted mainly of members of the Knotgrass (Dock) and Grass families, common plants found growing amongst grain crops.

Another feature from the house that contained large quantities of charred seeds was taken from the main fill of a stakehole that lined the entrance to the house. Once again, charred grains were predominantly from barley and where identifiable these were naked barley. There were also a few grains of wheat in this deposit, in particular emmer wheat, and there were very few weed seeds present.

The final rich sample was taken from the fill of a pit associated with the ancillary building and located approximately 6m to the east of the round house. The plant remains assemblage consisted primarily of grains of naked barley, but there were also several wheat grains in this sample (where identifiable most of these were classified as emmer wheat).

Wheat was present in the Knockhouse Lower plant remains assemblage in small quantities. This repeats a trend noted in many Bronze Age plant remains assemblages where barley is often the most common cereal type found, but where wheat is present in much smaller amounts, for example at Curaghatoor (Monk 1987), Lough Gur (Tierney and Hannon 2003) and Charlesland (Johnston 2004). The fact that barley is often numerically predominant means that it is often emphasised over consideration of the wheat crop, but as both crop types are found consistently, both evidently played a role in crop husbandry practices in the Irish Bronze Age. At Knockhouse Lower the cereal grains were in good condition and it was frequently possible to identify the wheat type as emmer, a primitive glume wheat. Middle Bronze Age sites where emmer wheat grains have been identified in significant quantities include an occupation site at Ballycullen, Co. Limerick (Johnston 2007) and a round house at Killydonoghoe, Co. Cork (Johnston 2003).

Barley was the main crop type recovered in all of the samples at Knockhouse Lower. This is a common feature of many Irish Bronze Age sites, e.g. at Lough Gur, Co. Limerick (Tierney & Hannon 2003) and at Charlesland, Co. Wicklow (Johnston 2004). The evidence from Knockhouse Lower is unusual because, in general, hulled barley rather than naked barley tends to be the norm. The remains from Knockhouse Lower bear closer parallels to the evidence from pottery imprint studies, where, of thirty-four grain imprints from twenty sherds of Bronze Age pottery, all but three of the imprints as naked barley (Jessen & Helbaek 1944). The association of naked barley with pottery artefacts that were primarily recovered from funerary contexts may indicate that it had 'special' connotations, particularly as it is quite rare in Bronze Age deposits. Therefore, the evidence from plant remains studies combines with other aspects of the archaeological record (the enclosure of the settlement, the recovery of especially large quantities of pottery artefacts) to suggest that Knockhouse Lower was an unusual settlement site.

Summary

The samples from Knockhouse Lower contained both barley and wheat grains, with naked barley the most common crop type. In this respect, the plant assemblage from Knockhouse Lower is very unusual in terms of Irish Middle and Late Bronze Age settlement sites. However, the results correlate well to the evidence that we have from pottery imprint studies dating to the this period.

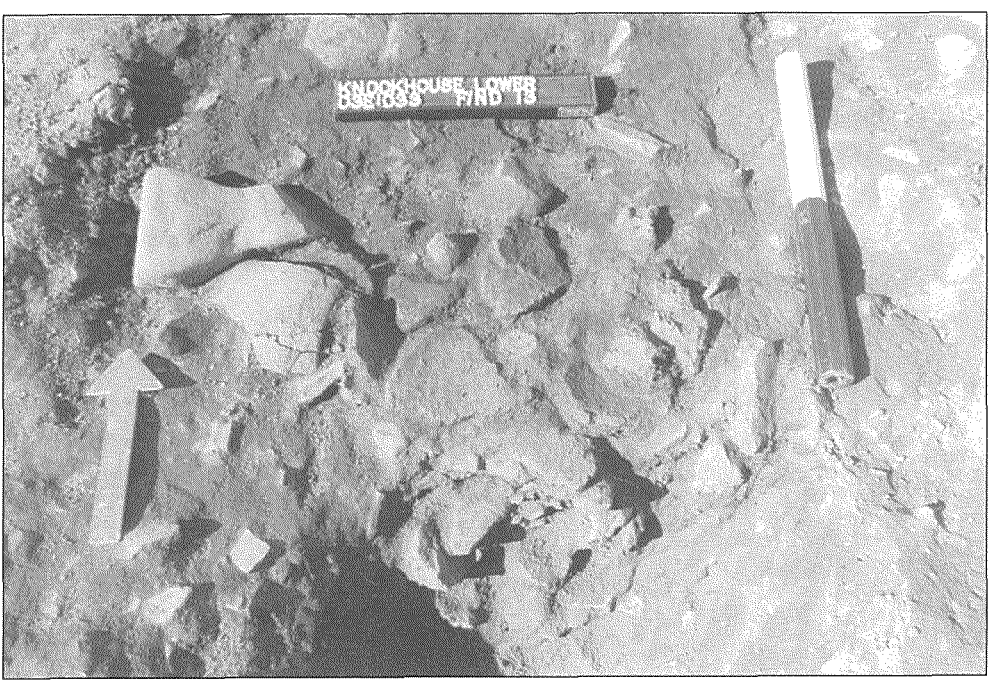


Plate 3: Middle Bronze Age domestic Cordoned urn within the ditch fill at Knockhouse Lower.

Bibliography

Bolger, T. (2003), 'Rathmullan Site 10, Co. Meath', in Bennet, I. (ed.), *Excavations 2001* (Wordwell, Bray).

Breen, T. (1998), 'Kilbride, Co. Wicklow', in Bennet, I. (ed.), *Excavations 1997* (Wordwell, Bray).

Brindley, A.L. (2007), *The Dating of Food Vessels and Urns in Ireland* (Bronze Age Studies, Galway).

Brindley, A. L. (2005), Report on the Prehistoric Pottery from an Excavation at Knockhouse Lower, Co. Waterford (03E1033), unpublished specialist report for Eachtra Archaeological Projects (Appendix 4 this report).

Brück, J. (1999), 'Houses, Lifecycles and Deposition on Middle Bronze Age Settlements in Southern England', in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 65: 145-166.

Clarke, L. & Murphy, D. (2003), 'Colp West, Co. Meath', in Bennet, I. (ed.), *Excavations 2001* (Wordwell, Bray).

Cleary, R. (2000), 'The Potter's Craft in Prehistoric Ireland', in Desmond, A., Johnson, G., McCarthy, M., Sheehan, J. & Shee Twohig, E., *New Agendas in Irish Prehistory:* 119-134 (Wordwell, Bray).

Cotter, E. (2006), Mitchelstown 1, Co. Cork 04E1072, unpublished excavation report for Eachtra Archaeological Projects.

Cotter, E. (2005), 'Bronze Age Ballybrowney, County Cork', in O'Sullivan, J. & Stanley, M. (eds.), *Recent Archaeological Discoveries on National Road Schemes 2004:* 37-44 (NRA, Dublin).

Cross May, S., Murray, C., Ó Néill, J. & Stevens, P. (2005), 'Catalogue of Dryland sites', in Gowen, M. (ed.), *The Lisheen Mine Archaeological Project 1996-8* (Wordwell, Bray).

Doody, M. (2000), 'Bronze Age Houses in Ireland', in Desmond, A., Johnson, G., McCarthy, M., Sheehan, J. & Shee Twohig, E., *New Agendas in Irish Prehistory* (Wordwell, Bray).

Hull, G. (2007), 'Excavation of a Bronze Age Round House at Knockdomny, Co. Westmeath', submitted to *The Journal of Irish Archaeology.*

Jessen, K. & Helbaek, H. (1994), 'Cereals in Great Britain and Ireland in Prehistoric Times', *in det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Biologiske Skrifter* III, Nr. 2: 1-68.

Johnston, P. (2007), 'Analysis of Plant Remains', in Grogan, E., O'Donnell, L. and Johnston P., *The Bronze Age Landscapes of the Pipeline to the West: An Integrated Archaeological and Environmental Assessment,* (Wordwell, Bray).

Johnston, P. (2004), Analysis of Plant Remains from Site G, Charlesland, Co. Wicklow, unpublished technical report for Margaret Gowen & Co. Ltd.

Johnston, P. (2003), Analysis of Plant Remains, Glanmire-Watergrasshill Road Scheme Co. Cork, unpublished technical report for Sheila Lane & Associates.

MacDonagh, M. (2005), 'Valley Bottom and Hilltop: 6,000 Years of Settlement along the Route of the N4 Sligo Inner Relief Road', in O'Sullivan, J. & Stanley, M. (eds.), *Recent Archaeological Discoveries on National Road Schemes 2004:* 9-23 (NRA, Dublin).

McQuade, M. (2006), 'Archaeological Excavation of Pre-historic Settlement Sites at Knockhouse Lower and Carrickpherish, Co. Waterford', *Decies* 62: 21-48.

Monk, M.A. (1987), 'Appendix I: The charred plant remains', in Doody, M., 'Late Bronze Age Huts at Curraghatoor, Co. Tipperary', in Cleary, R.M., Hurley, M.F. & Twohig, E.A. (eds.), *Archaeological Excavations of the Cork-Dublin Gas Pipeline (1981-82)* (Department of Archaeology, University College, Cork).

Moore, M. J. (1999), *Archaeological Inventory of County Waterford* (The Stationary Office, Dublin).

Ó Ríordáin, S.P. (1954), 'Lough Gur Excavations: Neolithic and Bronze Age houses on Knockadoon', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 56c: 297-459.

Pollock, A.J. & Waterman, D.M. (1964), 'A Bronze Age Habitation Site at Downpatrick', in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 27: 31-58.

Ó Néill, J. (2003), 'Kilmurry North, Co. Wicklow (01E0572)', in Bennet, I. (ed.), *Excavations 2001* (Wordwell, Bray).

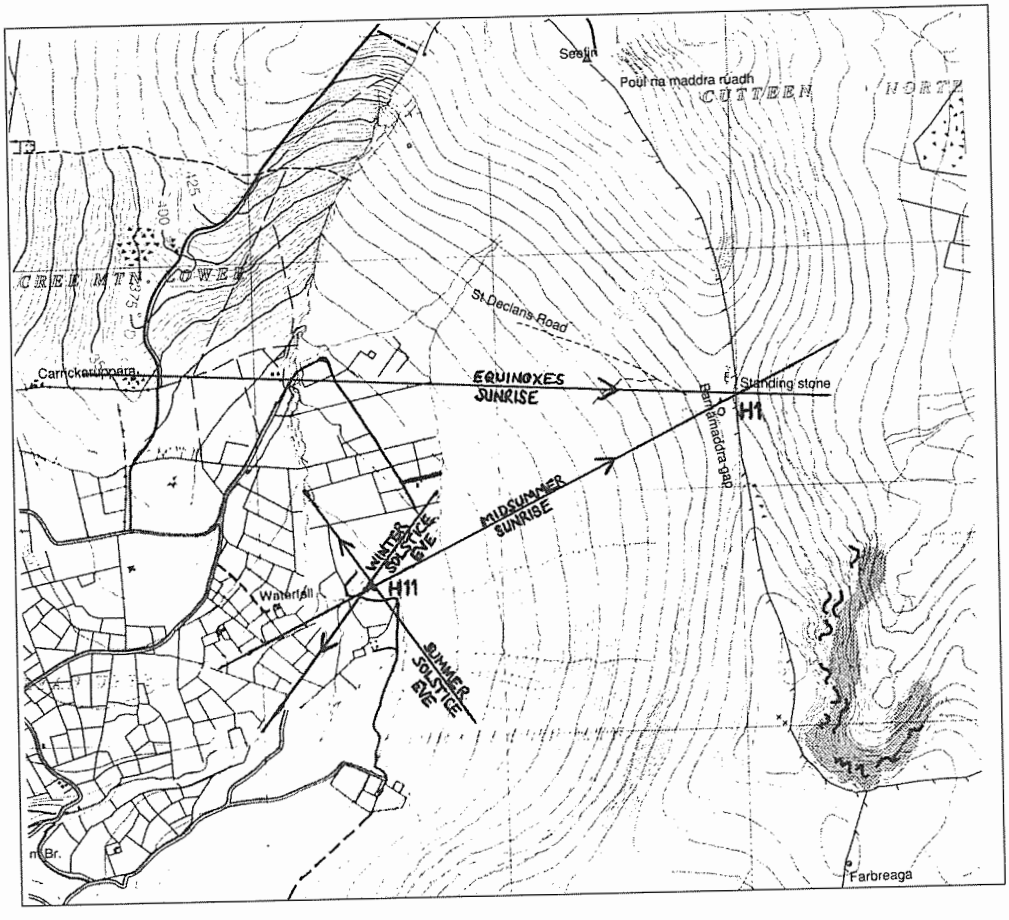
Tierney, J. (2005), Final Report on Excavation of Sites under Licence 98E575, unpublished report for Eachtra Archaeological Projects.

Tierney, J. & Hannon, M. (2003), 'Appendix II Charred plant remains', in R.M. Cleary, 'Enclosed Late Bronze Age Habitation Site and Boundary Wall at Lough Gur, Co. Limerick', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 103C (4): 152-157.

Tierney, J., Richardson, A. & Frazer, B. (2002), 'Ahanaglogh-Graigueshoneen Prehistoric', in Bennet, I. (ed.), *Excavations 2000:* 328-31 (Wordwell, Bray).

Waddell, J. (1998), *The Prehistoric Archaeology of Ireland* (Wordwell, Bray).

Zvelebil, M., Macklin, M.G., Passmore, D.G. & Ramsden, P. (1996), 'Alluvial Archaeology in the Barrow Valley, Southeast Ireland: The 'Riverford' Culture Revisited', in *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* 7: 13-40.


Seefin
Poul na maddra ruadh
CUTTEEN
HORTE
CREE MTN. LOWER
St.Declans Road
Carrickarumpera
EQUINOXES SUNRISE
Standing stone
H11
Bealnamaddra gap
MIDSUMMER SUNRISE
WINTER SOLSTICE EVE
H11
Waterfall
SUMMER SOLSTICE EVE
Farbreaga

Observations on Archaeological Features in the Comeragh Mountains

Mark Chapman.

Stone Circles and Standing Stones

The area described is concentrated around Coumaraglin, first documented by Michael Moore (1995) and further in the *Archaeological Inventory of County Waterford* (1999). Both describe standing stones and stone circles in the valley, and the following attempts to interpret the reasons for the erection of some of these.

The first monument discussed is that listed as H 11 in the inventory, described by Moore as two possible stone rows. This site consists of three standing stones, in a triangular formation, around 8m apart.

On the 23 December 2001, the sun was seen to set behind two of the stones, two days after the winter solstice. These stones are orientated north-east to south-west, and as the sun moves little across the horizon at this time of year, the discrepancy from the actual solstice was minimal. Intriguingly, the profile of one of the stones closely replicates the distant horizon.

Six months later, on 19 June 2002, the sun was seen to set behind the stones orientated south-east to north-west in the triangle, suggesting that the three stones were erected to mark the mid-summer and mid-winter sunsets. This would make the triangle one of the oldest known calendars in the country.

During the summer of 2002, Michael Power calculated that another stone in the inventory, that described as H1, situated in the Barnamadra Pass, would align with sunrise on the spring and autumn equinoxes when viewed from the natural high point of Carrigaruppera 2.5km due west.

The stone, H1, which is over 2m in height, does not occupy the lowest part of the pass. Rather, it is situated around 30m north, and slightly upslope of this point. If this orthostat was a marker stone for the pass, then it would be expected to occupy this low point. Instead the stone was positioned so that when viewed from Carrigaruppera, the sun rises with pinpoint accuracy behind it on the spring and autumn equinoxes. This event was recorded by Chapman and Power on 22 September 2002, at 7.05a.m., half an hour after the 'true' equinox which occurred at approximately 6.30a.m. on that day.

The stone H1, if it was a directional marker for the pass, was also a highly accurate indicator of the precise date for the equinoxes when viewed from Carrigarruppera. This would have facilitated the division of the year into two halves, crucially indicating the times for the sowing and harvesting of crops.

Further fieldwork by Chapman saw the possibility of an alignment between H11 and H1 at sunrise on the summer solstice. This was observed on 21 June 2003, at 6.30a.m., when the sun rose around 1^{0} to the left of H1. This would be consistent with the change in declination of the sun over the last 4,000 years,

which has slightly changed the sun's position at the solstices but left the equinoxes unaltered. It is unlikely that the H1-H11-Carrigaruppera alignments are coincidental, as they indicate the most important points of the year. The sequence of erection would appear to be H1 predating H11, with H1 first put up to align with Carrigaruppera, then H11 erected to align with H1. These findings, along with the adjacent drainage diversion, (Chapman *et al.* 2005) suggest a settlement of far greater importance in Coumaraglin than previously thought.

Iron

The geology of Coumaraglin is dominated by the presence of sandstones and conglomerates in roughly equal measure. As a result of natural erosion and glacial activity, these rocks can be found scattered randomly across the valley, although both outcrop in different locations. There is little or no mineralisation within the sandstone, although the conglomerates have both quartz and iron concentrations. Some of the quartz clasts within the conglomerates have diameters in excess of 15cm, and consist of river washed cobbles of rose quartz, (these distinctive pink or red cobbles occur frequently throughout the Comeraghs, and are referred to later.)

Other conglomerates have high concentrations of iron, which has in some cases caused the rocks to rust a distinctive orange colour. Such rocks are easily identifiable, and contain unusually high levels of iron.

In autumn 2001, heavy rains washed debris off ancient trackways in the area, revealing in one location small lumps of iron. Following analysis in Trinity College, Dublin, this was found to be the product of a smelting process. The lumps had been washed downhill by the heavy rain, with the source being found some 30m away. Here raw pig iron, slag, and semi molten material were found on the surface, the semi molten material being the high iron content conglomerate found locally. As no written or oral records exist of iron smelting in the area, it would suggest that the site is of considerable antiquity.

If the smelting site is of Iron Age origin, then it would extend the known occupation span of Coumaraglin considerably. The site was previously thought to have been deserted in the Late Bronze Age, although this no longer seems likely.

Clay

In the Upper Araglin Valley there are several areas where the soil is now gone. All are next to watercourses, and on close inspection, this does not appear to be the result of natural erosion. In some cases there is evidence for the diversion of existing watercourses to assist in the erosion of these areas.

During spring of 2003, flash flooding revealed a 1m thick band of red marl in the Upper Araglin Valley, which extended into one of the unnaturally eroded areas. A sample of this clay was refined, and then fired at Youghal Pottery, where it was described as good pottery clay with a high iron content.

The amount of material missing from the areas adjacent to these marl deposits is considerable, and represents the removal of many tons of clay. As this distinctive red clay can be found embedded within samples of iron from the smelting site

2km away, it is possible that it was used to make moulds into which the molten iron was poured.

Chemical analysis of both the iron and clay from Coumaraglin could prove revealing. If they were to match hoards and artefacts discovered elsewhere in Ireland, then a source for these will have been identified.

Stone Formations

On the mountain slopes surrounding Coumaraglin, patches of stones are exposed. Some of these cover large areas, although most are smaller than a few square metres. Detailed examination over the last five years has revealed the deliberate alteration and structuring of the stones in many of the patches. Small bowl-shaped depressions have been created in which stones are stood on end, or where quartz has been placed.

Sometimes featured within these bowls are pink or mauve cobbles of rose quartz. These distinctive stones were first formed as rough lumps of quartz, which were then washed along an ancient riverbed. Smoothed by the process, they were then fused into the conglomerate that exists today, which in turn is now breaking down, releasing the pebbles once more. They range in colour from light pink to dark mauve, and are found in small formations throughout the Comeraghs, although they can be difficult to recognise. Time has coated many of them with grey lichen, which makes them indistinguishable from the more common Old Red Sandstone. There are several examples of these quartz cobbles having been placed in natural crevices, whilst others have been deliberately encased within larger stones, being visible but irretrievable.

The use of quartz was common in many ancient monuments, most notably in the abutment wall of Newgrange. This quartz was often transported long distances, so it would be interesting to see if Comeragh quartz occurs elsewhere in Ireland.

The stone formations described here, whatever their function, have also been found recently in the Knockmealdown, Galty, and to a lesser extent, Slieve Felim Mountains. The highest concentration however, appears to be in the Comeraghs.

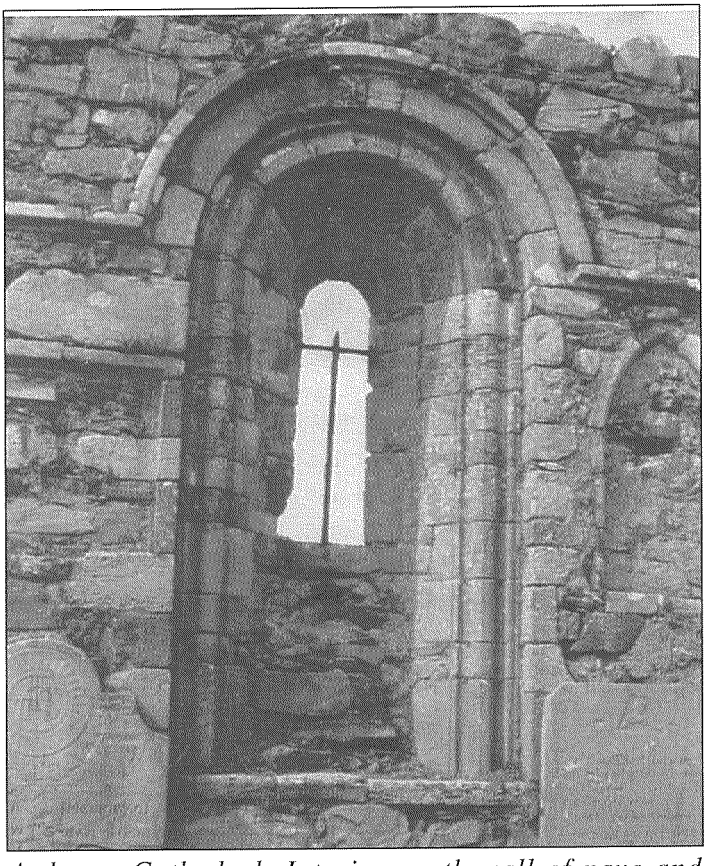
Much now rests on other researchers to determine if this enigmatic practice was confined to the South East of the country, or can be found elsewhere.

Bibliography

Chapman, M., Graham, J., Goodhue, R., & Coxon, P. (2005), 'Prehistoric Drainage Diversion in the Monavullagh Mountains, Co. Waterford', in *Decies* 61: 1-12.

Moore, M. (1995), 'A Bronze Age Settlement and Ritual Centre in the Monavullagh Mountains, County Waterford, Ireland', in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 61: 191-243.

Moore, M. (1999), *Archaeological Inventory of County Waterford* (Dúchas, The Heritage Service, Dublin).



Ardmore Cathedral: Interior north wall of nave and Romanesque window with pointed bowtell moulding
Courtesy of Dónal O'Connor

Bishop Eugene of Ardmore Revisited*

Dónal O'Connor

* A sequel to 'Eugenius, Bishop of Ardmore and Suffragan at Lichfield (1184-5)', in *Decies* 60 (2004), pp. 71-90.

1. Ardmore's Brief Splendour 1153-1210

Ardmore's brief period of splendour came in the second half of the twelfth century, in which its magnificent round tower was built, and also its cathedral, which was completed by the year 1203 according to *Annals of Inisfallen,* which records the death of Mael Etáin Ua Duib-Ratha in 1203 after he had completed the building of the church of Ardmore.

The cathedral was constructed in three phases: the earliest phase in the ninth/tenth century (Phase I) was a small single-cell church. In the second half of the twelfth century a nave was added to the Phase I church extending it westwards. The second church (Phase II) was a building of considerable distinction, in which the Romanesque door, now in the north wall, was in the west wall. Another notable feature was the elegant pointed bowtell moulding still surviving on the windows.

A further extension of the nave westwards by 7 metres, but of inferior workmanship, was later added (Phase III), thus resulting in the church whose ruins still stand today. Some scholars have identified this Phase III church with that recorded in the Annals in 1203.[1]

S.L. McNab, however, regards the 1203 date as referring to the Phase II church, which has the pointed bowtell mouldings mentioned above, a feature which is not found in Ireland before the 1186-1200 period:

> The pointed bowtell reached Ireland in the choir and transepts of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, *circa* 1186-1200. It cannot be far therefore before 1203 that the Phase II nave of Ardmore was completed,[2]

Therefore, the entry in the *Annals of Inisfallen* for 1203 may refer not to the Phase III church whose ruins still survive, but to the Phase II church whose nave was just short of the present north door.

If McNab is correct the Phase II church is that whose construction Bishop Eugene of Ardmore oversaw in the 1180s, a period in which he enjoyed the favour

1 J.T. Smith, 'Ardmore Cathedral', in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries in Ireland* 102 (1972), pp. 1-13, at p. 12, (henceforth abbreviated as *JRSAI*); P. Harbison, 'Architectural Sculpture from Twelfth-Century Ardmore', in *Irish Arts Review* 11 (1995), pp. 96-102, at p. 100-1.

2 S.L. McNab, 'The Romanesque Sculpture of Ardmore Cathedral, Co. Waterford', in *JRSAI* 117 (1987), pp. 50-68, at p. 55.

of the Norman administration at the highest level during his official visit to England in 1184/85 (see below).

Apart altogether from MacNab's thesis, and purely on aesthetic grounds, it is almost unthinkable that a man of Bishop Eugene's distinction and his community, whose high standards are reflected in the splendid round tower, would contemplate the destruction of the west wall of the recently constructed Phase II church,[3] and the removal of its central Romanesque doorway,[4] in order to add an extension of comparatively inferior workmanship.

The Phase III addition most likely belongs to the period after 1203, which saw the decline of the O'Faolain leadership in the Déise, and the loss of diocesan status for Ardmore. The O'Faolain had ruled the Déise for half a century, beginning in 1153 after the execution of Gerr na gCuinneóg O'Bric – king of the Déise – by Diarmait McCarthy in 1153. The O'Faolain enjoyed a better relationship with Diarmait McCarthy, King of Desmod (1151-87) than the O'Bric, who had been rulers of the Déise when Ardmore's request for diocesan status was not accepted at the Synod of Kells in 1152. The hostility of King Diarmait towards Gerr, whom he was then holding in prison prior to execution, would have been sufficient to block Ardmore's request. Finally, this period also saw Ardmore achieve diocesan status as first evident in the mention of an unnamed Bishop of Ardmore in the list of Gaelic dignitaries who pledged fealty to Henry II in 1172.

The O'Faolain kingship of the Déise in the second half of the twelfth century had two very different phases. The first began in 1153 after the death of the last O'Bric royals – the great rivals of the O'Faolain. This lasted almost twenty years and saw Ardmore achieve the high point of its splendour with its gaining diocesan status and getting its bishop.

But from 1172 until the death of Donal O'Faolain in 1206, the decline of the Déise kings was swift and terminal, as the Normans extended their control of the Déise. After Donal's death his heirs inherited only one of the three cantreds that formerly were his. And after 1210 we hear no more of a diocese or bishop of Ardmore. It seems reasonable to assume that the O'Faolain as kings of the Déise, gave their patronage to the church of St. Declan, patron of the Déise, whose shrine was venerated at Ardmore. Ardmore, rather than Lismore, was the spiritual centre of the Déise, and the people of the Déise saw Lismore as the preserve of the Munster royals, the McCarthys and their rivals, the O'Briens, with many of its abbots coming from west Kerry.[5]

3 P. Harbison, 'Architectural Sculpture from Twelfth-Century Ardmore', in *Irish Arts Review* 11 (1995), p. 101, considers 1171/79 as the likely date for the construction of the Phase II church.

4 C. Manning, 'A Note on the Building History of Ardmore Cathedral', in Helen Roche (ed.), *From Megaliths to Metal: Essays in Honour of George Eogan,* (Oxford, 2004), p. 32, 'the one thing we can be certain about is that the original west façade of the present nave stood immediately east of the north and south doorways and had a central doorway'.

5 F.J. Byrne, 'The Trembling Sod: Ireland in 1169', in Art Cosgrave (ed.), *A New History of Ireland,* Vol. 2, (Oxford, 1987), p. 32.

Another likely example of O'Faolain patronage was the Cistercian monastery of Inis Lounacht on the north bank of the river Suir a mile west of Clonmel, which was part of the Déise and was close to the ancient fortress of the O'Faolain (Dún Uí Fhaoláin) according to Geoffrey Keating.[6] The monastery, founded in 1148 from Mellifont, received an endowment from the O'Faolain around 1159 according to Father Colmcille O Conbhuidhe.[7] Fortunately, there is preserved inside Marfield Church one surviving doorway from Inis Lounacht abbey, which according to Tadhg O'Keeffe,[8] is of the same basic tradition as the Ardmore doorway mentioned above. Inis Lounacht was fortunate in receiving a large endowment in 1187 from Dónal Mór O Brian, King of Thomond, who was generous to several Cistercian foundations. But Ardmore did not benefit from his kindness, and the fortunes of the O Faolain were in decline since Henry II granted the whole of the present County Waterford, as far as Lismore, to Robert le Poer. And so also the fragile diocese of Ardmore, now without political patronage, soon faded out of existence shortly after 1210.

2. Eugene of Ardmore in the McCarthy Charter

Apart from the unnamed bishop of Ardmore (1172) already mentioned, we have notice of a Eugene of Ardmore in a charter of Diarmait McCarthy, King of Desmond, issued between 1172 and 1179. This is the only document of Irish provenance which mentions Eugene of Ardmore. Diarmait McCarthy decided 'for the health of our soul, and 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, bishop of Lismore and legate of the Apostolic See, followed by Donat archbishop of Cashel, the bishops of Cork, Limerick, Ross, Cloyne, the abbots of Maig and Cong, and finally 'Eugenius Ardmorensis episcopus'. The abbots were Donat of Maig and Gregory of Cong, neither of whom was a bishop.

Diarmait's father, Cormac McCarthy, 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. Finbarr in Cork was a place of pilgrimage because that saint had been born near Galway.

Two transcripts of the charter survive: one in the hand of Sir James Ware (1594-1666) now in the British Library,[9] the other from Archbishop William King's (1650-1729) *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis,* transcribed by Walter Harris (1686-1761).[10] The list of witnesses given by Ware is as follows:

6 Geoffrey Keating, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn,* P. Dineen (ed.), (London. 1914), p. 316. Archaeologists have so far failed to locate the fortress.

7 C. O Conbhuidhe, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary,* (Dublin, 1999), p. 106.

8 T. O'Keeffe, *Romanesque Ireland,* (Dublin, 2003), p. 219.

9 British Library, Add. MS 4793, Folio 70.

10 National Library of Ireland, MS 13,337, (henceforth abbreviated as NLI); Bolton Library, Cashel Co. Tipperary, MSS 25 & 26,1030.

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 Conga;
Eugenius Ardmorensis Episcopus.

Translation

Christian, Bishop of Lismore and legate of the Apostolic See;
Donat, Archbishop of Cashel;
Gregory, Bishop of Cork;
Bricius, Bishop of Limerick;
Benedict, Bishop of Ross;
Matthew, Bishop of Cloyne;
Donat, Abbot of Maig;
Gregory, Abbot of Cong;
Eugene, Bishop of Ardmore.

There is something unusual about Eugene's signature. Bishop Eugene is listed not with the other bishops but *after* the two abbots. I am presuming, of course, that Ware's order of signatories corresponds to the original charter.

This abnormality 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 McCarthys of Desmond, as well as the papal legate, 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.

There is one peculiar feature of Eugene's 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 Eugene's case we find the reverse of this: his diocese comes *before* epus, 'Eugenius Ardmorensis epus'.

In a charter of such exalted pretensions as McCarthy's the likelihood is that if Eugene were a bishop at the time of the charter, his signature would probably have observed the same word-order as the other episcopal dignitaries, viz. 'Eugenius epus Ardmorensis' and would have been entered with those of the other bishops prior to the signatures of the two abbots.

There is another entry, however, concerning the McCarthy Charter: Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum* 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:

> AD 1174 about this time Dermot, King of Munster, who is 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.[11]

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 McCarthy Charter, and the full list of the signatories, with Eugenius coming last. Here is how King's charter concludes in Harris's transcript, 'Donatus, abbas de Majio, Gregorius ab de cunuga, Eug. admorensis'.[12]

The text omitted the first 'r' in *Ardmorensis* and also abbreviated Eugene's name. 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'.[13] This would explain how Eugene's 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, and not a bishop. But one glance at the Harris transcript below shows how easy it would have been to write 'abbot', either as *abbas* or *ab* after 'Eug.'

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 *Eug[enius] A[r]dmorensis,* which Archdall translates as Eugene of Ardmore. There is no reason to doubt that Eugene signed the McCarthy Charter, but his status at the time of signing remains unclear.

There was, however, one important person present at the signing of the charter, who knew exactly what Eugene's status was. This person was Christian, bishop of Lismore, who had been present as papal legate, along with Cardinal Paparo at the Synod of Kells (1152) and would have known why Ardmore's request for a bishop was not granted. Christian, still papal legate in all the intervening years would certainly have known Eugene in neighbouring Ardmore. If Eugene happened to be bishop of Ardmore then, but if any irregularity had taken place in Eugene's episcopal ordination e.g. being consecrated by only one bishop instead of the three consecrating bishops required by Canon Law, then the legate, while accepting the validity of the ordination, may have shown his displeasure by assigning Eugene's signature to the end of the list, and allowing only *Ardmorensis,* as in the Harris transcript, which would cover a variety of titles, including 'bishop', 'abbot', and

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

12 NLI, MS 13,337.

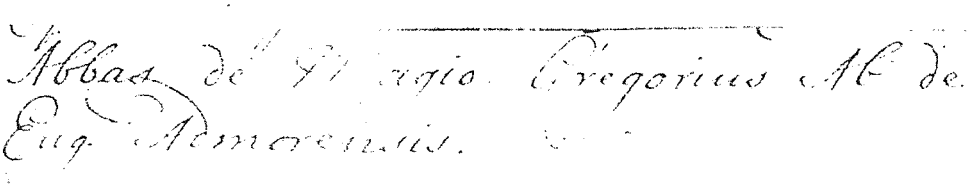
13 Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum,* edited with extensive notes by P.F. Moran, Vol. I (Dublin, 1873), p. 684.

'uasalshagart'. On the other hand this legate may have agreed that Eugene enter his full title 'Bishop of Ardmore', but with the proviso that it came at the end of the list.

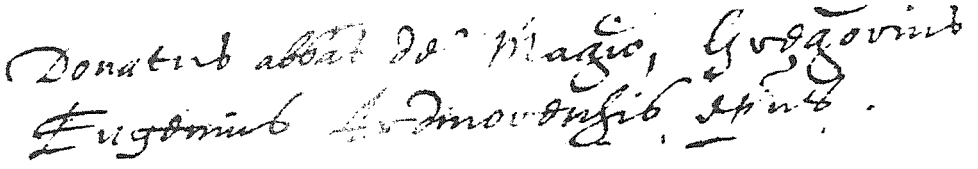
That there was a Eugene who was bishop of Ardmore *in the 1180s* is testified by two sources which will be treated in the next section. Ware (or his source) may have been aware of this and so felt justified in adding just the one word viz. *epus* (bishop) for which there was abundant room at the end of the list. In this hypothesis, the Eugene who signed the McCarthy Charter may be the same person who later became bishop of Ardmore.

We may compare the final entry in the two transcripts:

(a) King's *Collectanea* (Bolton Library) in Harris's transcript:[14]



(b) Ware (British Library):[15]



That Ware did make small additions to this charter is noted by Charles Webster, although Webster did not indicate that *epus* was one such.[16]

Furthermore, Diarmaid Ó Murchadha has shown 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'.[17]

If the word *epus* (bishop) in the Ware transcript was added by Ware himself (or an earlier transcriber), then no evidence for Eugene as bishop would exist in any known Irish source.

14 Bolton Library, Cashel Co. Tipperary, MSS 25 & 26, Folio 1030, by kind permission of Bolton Library.

15 The British Library, Add. Mss 4793, Folio 70v, by kind permission of the British Library.

16 Charles Webster, *The Diocese of Cork*, (Cork, 1920), p. 375.

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

3. Bishop Eugene of Ardmore in England 1184-5

The McCarthy Charter which relates to the 1170s, is the only surviving Irish source to mention Eugene. But British documents of the 1180s refer to Bishop Eugene of Ardmore who was active in 1184-5 as caretaker (or suffragan) bishop in Lichfield. Evidence for this are three entries in the Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of King Henry II of England, relating to payments made to Eugene for his episcopal services in the period from September 1184 to March 1185. The first was for twenty-six days, from the Monday after the Feast of St. Giles to the Feast of St. Michael, i.e. from 3 to 29 September 1184 at the rate of 5s. per day, amounting to £6. 10s. This payment was by royal mandate 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 revenue of Chester.[18] The second payment is for a period of fifty-nine days until 28 December 1184 again at 5s. per day, £14. 15s. in all. Both payments were made from the income of the vacant see.[19] But the third payment (£25. 5s.) for his longest period, 101 days, ending 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.[20]

With regard to all three entries, Eugene's title, 'Bishop of Ardmore' stands out unambiguously, even if the spelling of Ardmore is 'ad sonum': *alcmorensis* and *armorensis* (twice).

In another twelfth-century British document, a Libellus on St. Cuthbert, written in Latin, the scribe found Eugene's title puzzling, as far as the spelling of Ardmore was concerned: 'Harundinonensis' (p. 63), 'Hardionensis' (p. 72), 'Hardmonia' (p. 87). There is something peculiar about these three words, viz. the initial 'h' which suggests that the Latin here reflects the Irish language orthographical practice of prefixing 'h' to an initial stressed vowel in certain circumstances, e.g. where the previous word ended in a vowel. One further detail: the word 'Hardmoniae' (p. 87) is the only example of the noun; all the others use the adjectival forms.

'Eugenius Hardmoniae ep[iscopu]s':

Libellus, Folio 84v, with permission of the Dean and Chapter of York.

18 *Pipe Roll Society* xxxiv (London, 1913), 'Pipe Roll 30 Henry II', p. 24: 'de EPISCOPATU CESTRIE post mortem Geradi episcopi. Et in liberatione Eugenii Alcmorensis episcopi. Vj. I 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.' The Feast of St. Giles is on the 1st September, and the Feast of St. Michael on the 29th September.

19 *Ibid.* 'Pipe Roll 31 Henry II', p. 142, 'Armorensis Episcopi'.

20 *Ibid.*, 'Abbatia de Cestrea. In Liberetione Armorensis episcopi'.

This document entitled 'Libellus de Ortu Sti Cuthberti' (A Little Book on the Birth of St. Cuthbert), written by a Northumbrian hagiographer, claimed that St. Cuthbert, famous bishop of Lindisfarne (died 687), was born in Ireland, and that Bishop Eugene of Ardmore, whom the author had met, agreed with this. A fine compliment is paid to Eugene as 'a man of sanctity in thought and conduct', and well informed on ecclesiastical history.[21]

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 style themselves bishops of Coventry, but the links with Chester and with Lichfield in Staffordshire were maintained. The diocese was tri-cephalous.

This is the first example of a bishop of an Irish diocese serving as a caretaker (or suffragan) bishop in an English diocese in the Norman period. In all, seventy-seven Irish bishops served as suffragans in England and Wales from the beginning of the Norman period until the Reformation,[22] but Eugene is the first and only one in the twelfth century, thus opening a new phase in the history of the Irish Church.

4. Giraldus Cambrensis in Waterford 1183-4

How Eugene came to be appointed in Lichfield is not known. But one person who was uniquely placed to know was Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald of Wales), and it is even possible that he played a part in the appointment. His first visit to Ireland took place in 1183 and lasted almost a year in which he got to know 'only the neighbourhood of Cork and Waterford'.[23] As a shrewd observer of church affairs – he was an archdeacon himself- he would have had occasion to make contact with the clergy of Lismore and Ardmore, where he could have met Eugene, and of course Waterford where he was based for the duration of his stay, and where he had a great host of kinsmen, sprung from the first conquerors of that nation,[24] from whom he gathered much information on the Déise. For example, after writing about the defeat of the Irish by the Normans in his famous *Expugnatio* he remarks on the leader of the O'Faolain, Maelsechlain O'Faolain who had submitted to King Henry II in 1172, and on Domhnall of Osraige who,

21 York Minster Library, MS XVI 1 12, 'Libellus de Ortu Sancti Cuthberti', in James Raine (ed.), *Libellus de nativatae 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. See, my article, 'Eugenius, Bishop of Ardmore and Suffragan at Lichfield (1184-5)', in *Decies* 60 (2004), pp. 71-90, at 79-81.

22 Powicke and Fryde (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology,* 2nd edition, (London), pp. 269-71.

23 John O'Meara, *Gerard of Wales: The History and Topography of Ireland,* (London, 1982), p. 14.

24 H.E. Butler (ed. and trans.), *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis (De Rebus a se Gestis),* (London, 1937), p. 86.

> though not of such great importance as Diarmaid McCarthy, King of Desmond, and Domhnall O'Brien, King of Thomond, were however great men with authority among their own people (magnis et autenticis tamen in gente suo), and each of them returned with honour to his own territory, taking with them the presents given to them by the king.[25]

But in spite of this seemingly happy conclusion to hostilities, Giraldus has to report that after only one year, Raymond Le Gros plundered the territory of O'Faolain (*Ophelanos*), and also took huge booty from Lismore.[26]

When Giraldus' friend, Gerard Pucelle of Coventry died in January 1184, the see of Coventry (with which Lichfield and Chester were joined) was not filled until mid-1185, when the king's friend, Hugh de Nonant, was nominated bishop-elect. It was during this interval of eighteen months that Bishop Eugene of Ardmore was invited to serve as caretaker bishop in Lichfield, his period of service being from September 1184 to March 1185. Eugene's appointment was by royal approval, as were his terms of remuneration.

Giraldus Cambrensis, in 1184, just back in England from his year in Ireland, was highly regarded by the king, and his expertise on Irish affairs was so appreciated by Henry that the king entrusted him to accompany his young son, Prince John, on the latter's visit to Ireland. Giraldus, never shy about his own importance, tells the story: 'the King dispatched John with a great array into Ireland, sending with him Master Giraldus because he has a great host of kinsmen there and because he has shown himself an honest and prudent man'.[27]

Thus Giraldus Cambrensis during his first visit to Ireland became familiar with the religious and political condition of the Déise. And he also was familiar with the British scene. He had a great ambition to be appointed to the see of St. David in Wales and in this context he was helped by Gerard Pucelle, who was a distinguished canonist, and had been present at the Lateran Council (1179). As Giraldus Cambrensis tells it: 'when Master Gerard, surnamed *la Pucelle* returned to Paris from the council, to which he had been sent by Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, he reported to Master Giraldus how Bishop Peter of Mynyw, who was present, failed to press for the metropolitan rights of that church'. This was information which strengthened Cambressis' hostility towards that bishop who had been preferred before him for that bishopric in 1176.[28]

25 A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (eds.), *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis,* (Dublin, 1978), pp. 94, 95.

26 F.X. Martin, 'Overlord Becomes Feudal Lord', in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *New History of Ireland,* Vol. II (Dublin, 1987), p. 102. See footnote 2, in which Professor Martin corrects his earlier interpretation in his edition of the *Expurgatio,* where he had identified Giraldus' *Ophelanos* as the Uí Faoláin of East Kildare.

27 H.E. Butler (ed. and trans.), *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis (De Rebus a se Gestis)*, (London, 1937), p. 86.

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 63.

The bishop died in January 1184 and Bishop Eugene's appointment was effective from September the same year. The fact that a bishop from the Déise was chosen for this assignment may well have been due to influence of Giraldus Canbrensis who had just completed his first visit to Waterford, and returned to England to find himself in the employ of King Henry and set for this second visit to Ireland with Prince John in 1185.

The date of Eugene's death is not known, as Fr. Aubrey Gwynn says in his informative notes in his history of Ardmore: 'the Annals of Inisfallen, which are our main source for the history of Munster of that period, are defective owing to a gap in the text from 1180-9. If Bishop Eugene died in one of these years the *obit.* recording of his death would be lost owing to this gap'.[29]

But we can narrow the gap further by taking into account Eugene's period in Lichfield (a period not mentioned in Gwynn's notes) and which ended in March 1185. So the years between 1185 and 1189 may well be when Eugene's death took place.

Conclusion

a) In the 1180s Eugene was bishop of Ardmore, at least during 1184-5, according to the British sources quoted above.

b) In the 1170s the McCarthy Charter lists the name of Eugene among the nine witnessing signatories of the charter. In the two surviving transcripts of the charter his name comes last in the list of signatories. In one transcript (King – Harris) he is given no title, he is simply 'Eugenius Admorensis' (Eugene of Ardmore); in the other (Ware) he is 'Eugenius Ardmorensis epus' (Eugene bishop of Ardmore) – thus according him the title 'bishop'. But the fact that in both transcripts his name is not included with the other bishops but after the abbots, may indicate that the word epus (bishop) was not in the original charter but was added later on.

c) Using the King transcript Archdall states that the Euegene of the charter was abbot of Ardmore, but he does not support this with any evidence. Indeed there are no documentary records of Ardmore ever having an abbot, or having a monastic community between the tenth and the thirteenth century. Prior to the tenth century there is only one surviving record of a religious community or monastery (*muinditiri*) at Ardmore. It was under the direction of the ascetic Siadal Mac Testa, who was associated with the *Céilí Dé* spiritulity.[30] Ardmore, after 1210, when it no longer had diocesan status, is listed as a simple church with no reference to a monastic site, in the taxation of Irish dioceses 1302-06, nor do the surviving records of the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII mention Ardmore.[31]

29 A. Gwynn, 'Some Notes on the History of Ardmore', in *Ardmore Journal* (1993), pp. 13-16, at p. 13.

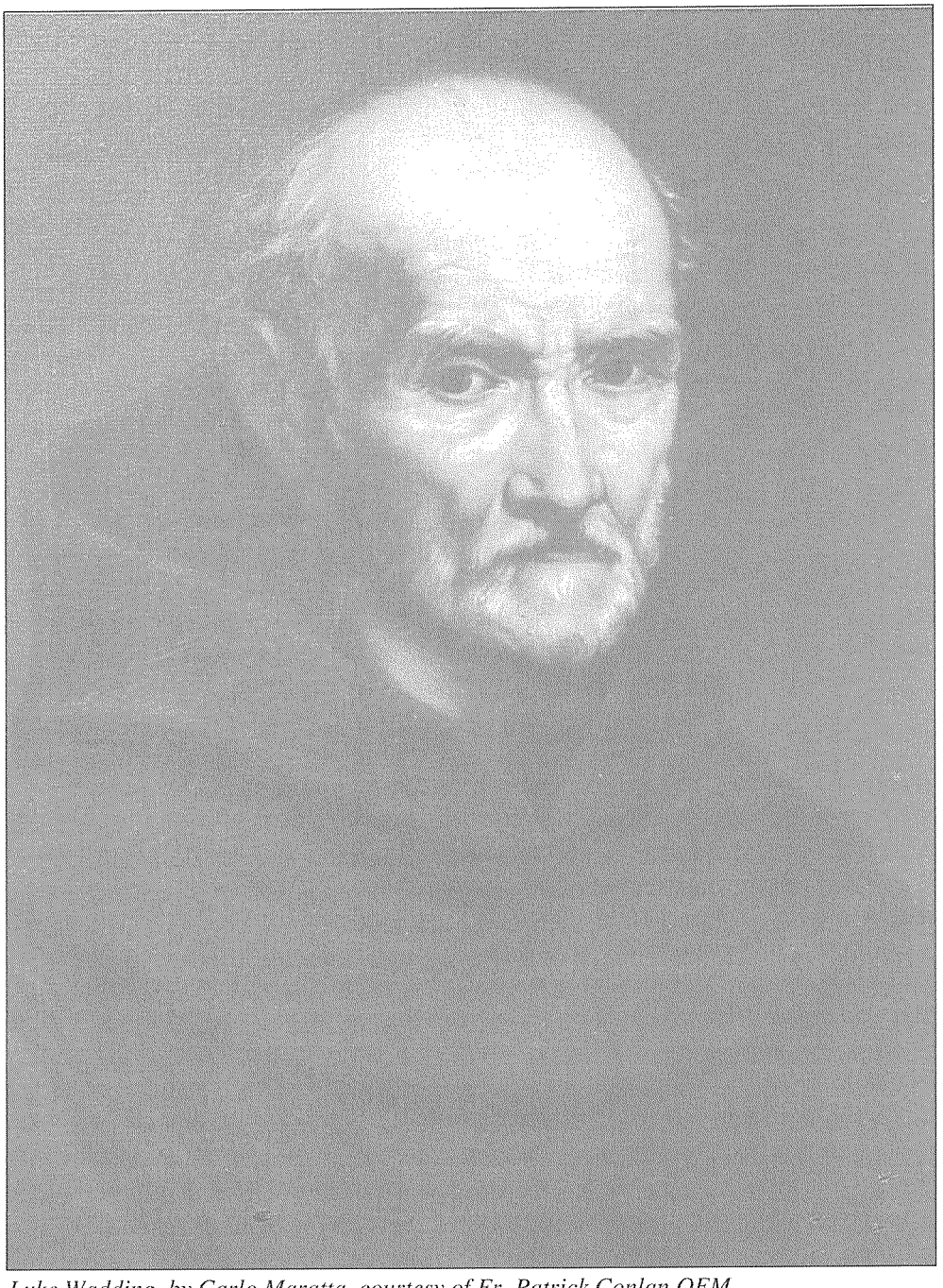
30 E. J. Gwynn and W. J. Purton, 'The Monastery of Tallagh, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 29 C (1911), 142f.

31 A. Gwynn, 'Some Notes on the History of Ardmore', in *Ardmore Journal* (1993), pp. 13-16, at p. 13.

Ardmore's chief claim to importance was that it was the church of St. Declan, patron of the Déise, and the guardian of his tomb, which was a great place of pilgrimage. The maintenance and supervising of the patronal church did not require a bishop nor an abbot. We have the name and title of the leading priest, the *Uasalshagart,* who completed the cathedral of Ardmore, viz. Mael Etáin Ua Duibh-Rathe whose *obit.* is recorded in the *Annals of Inisfallen* at 1203. The Eugene who signed the charter may have been one of the leading priests of Ardmore in the 1170s, and referred to simply as Eugene of Ardmore.

d) If the unnamed bishop of Ardmore who swore allegiance to Henry II in 1172 died in the early 1180s, his *obit.* would not have been recorded in the *Annals of Inisfallen* because of the gap already mentioned. Perhaps our Eugene succeeded him as bishop in Ardmore.

Eugene remains somewhat of an enigma right to the end.



Luke Wadding, by Carlo Maratta, courtesy of Fr. Patrick Conlan OFM.

Luke Wadding's Waterford

Niall J. Byrne

Introduction

In Waterford city on 16 October 1588, approximately one month after twenty-four ships of the Spanish Armada had been pounded to destruction on the craggy western seaboard of Ireland by extended and consecutive gales,[1] Anastasia Wadding, née Lombard, gave birth to her eleventh child. Anastasia, and her husband Walter, named this child Luke, unaware at that time that his name would eventually reverberate throughout the great basilicas of Christendom, and would echo and re-echo with increasing resonance in the acclaimed centres of learning of continental Europe, particularly in the famed theological universities and seminaries of the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, in Waterford, was born the child who would mature into the greatest ecclesiastical scholar that Ireland has ever produced. Since a child's character is moulded both by nature and by nurture, it is of considerable interest to briefly describe some details of the family and of the environment which influenced this child during his formative years.

Luke Wadding was born into a successful, highly respected and relatively affluent Waterford family. His ancestors had originally come to Ireland as English colonists, who settled in Waterford and Wexford. In the medieval and early modern eras, the walled city of Waterford was governed by a mayor, two bailiffs, and a corporation of aldermen and councillors, each of these officials being elected to office annually. The city owed its recognition as Ireland's second most important port and city to the industry of its merchants, who traded continuously with England, France, Spain and Portugal. The most influential of its merchants were those who had been admitted to the prestigious coterie of the freemen of Waterford, these privileged traders enjoying preferential tax and customs concessions. The earliest extant record of a member of the Wadding family in Waterford is the listing of a Maurice Wadding as a corporation tenant of Waterford in St. Olave's Parish in 1407.[2] The Wadding family provided three mayors of Waterford, four bailiffs, and ten freemen. However, it should be noted that all three Wadding mayors served their terms of office after Luke Wadding's birth, Thomas serving in 1596-7, Richard in 1611-12, and Paul in 1646-7, which indicates that the paternal side of his family were very active in local politics during Luke's lifetime. Luke's father, the merchant Walter Wadding, was admitted as a freeman of Waterford in 1566,[3] and his elder brother Matthew achieved the same status in 1601.[4] It has been claimed that Luke's father, and his uncle, Thomas, had originally lived in Wexford, prior to coming to Waterford to join members of their extended family already resident in the city.

1 Niall Fallon, *The Armada in Ireland,* (London, Stanford Maritime, 1978), p. 212.
2 Niall J. Byrne (ed.), *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford,* (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2007), p. 159.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 148.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 216.

Thomas Wadding was a barrister by profession, who initially married Mary Walshe and, on her death, married Anastasia Devereux. He was highly successful in his profession, being known to have been granted a lease of about 150 acres of land at Ballycally alias Knockanispick, now situated on Myles Halley's farm in Castletown, by Patrick Walshe, Catholic Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, on 20 January 1578, for a term of eighty-one years, at an annual rent of 8d. Irish, in return for his professional counsel.[5] He is also known to have been the impropriator of the full rectories of Kilbarry and of Killotteran. His son, Richard, followed in his father's footsteps, and was equally successful and distinguished in his chosen field, representing Waterford city as its member of parliament in the assembly held at Dublin in 1613.[6] A Paul Wadding served as mayor of Waterford in 1646-7. Thomas Wadding was also the father of four other very notable sons, the Jesuits Ambrose, Michael, Luke and Peter. Ambrose Wadding is recorded as studying at the Irish College in Salamanca in 1602; Michael Wadding studied there in 1607; Luke attended in 1609, while a Thomas Wadding is recorded as a pupil there in 1609 also.[7] All later established considerable reputations for themselves in ecclesiastical circles.

Walter Wadding married Anastasia Lombard, their union producing a family of fourteen children, ten sons and four daughters, Luke Wadding being the eleventh child of this family. The first Lombards had come to Waterford in the late thirteenth century, as representatives of Italian merchant bankers who had been granted the custom on wool as repayment of a loan given to the king. Having settled in Waterford, these Italians were named Lombard in deference to the Lombardy region whence they came. The first of the family recorded in Waterford is William Lombard, who was pardoned in 1350 for slaying Thomas Wodelok in self-defence.[8] This William Lombard served as mayor of Waterford on five occasions in the period from 1371 to 1385. In total, the Lombard family provided a mayor of Waterford city on thirteen occasions, a bailiff of the city on twenty occasions, and twenty Lombards are registered as freemen of the city. The last of the family to serve as mayor was Robert Lombard, who held office in 1639-40, a full 269 years after William Lombard first attained this honour.

On 15 July 1598 John Lombard, then sheriff of the city, (a title previous referred to as bailiff), died in office, his untimely death not only necessitating the election of a replacement, but also causing the event to be recorded in the official records of the Corporation of Waterford. John Lombard's eulogy referred to 'his funeral ending to the greate sorrowing and lamentation of all the inhabitants for the

5 W.H. Rennisson (ed.), 'Joshua Boyle's Accompt of the Temporalities of the Bishopricks of Waterford', in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Vol. xxxii (1927), (henceforth abbreviated as *JCHAS*).

6 *The Journals of the Irish Houses of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland*, (Dublin, Grierson, 1796), Vol. i, p, 10.

7 Patrick Power, *Waterford and Lismore: A Compendious History of the United Diocese*, (Cork University Press, 1937), p. 353. See Appendix A.

8 Eamonn McEneaney, *A History of Waterford and its Mayors, from the 12th to the 20th Century*, (Waterford Corporation, 1995), p. 63.

losse of an officer of so greate care and discrete assistance to the government of this citie.'[9] The Lombard family lived in the centre of the walled city, the Corporation Rentaile showing that Dominick Lombard had built a new house near Colepeck's Gate in 1596,[10] that Christopher Lombard lived in St Olav's parish in 1599,[11] while Patrick Lombard 'had of late dwelled in boatestreete,'[12] the latter being the commercial heart of the city at that time, corresponding to the present High Street. The Wadding family lived in the same central area, Thomas Wadding's widow, Anne Devereux, being recorded as living 'in the house of her son Nicholas, in boatestreete,' in 1599.[13]

Consequently, it can be seen that both the paternal and maternal sides of Luke Wadding's family were held in very high esteem in Waterford, where the distaff side provided civic officials for in excess of a quarter of a millennium. The Waddings were equally highly regarded in ecclesiastical circles, since members of both sides of the family were prominent in religious life, particularly in the very prestigious and highly educated Society of Jesus, which Jesuit Order had been founded by Ignatius of Loyola as recently as 1534 for the express purpose of defending the papacy and Catholicism against the Protestant Reformation, and to undertake missionary work amongst the heathen.

Luke Wadding was born and raised in an era during which the citizens of Waterford were experiencing the greatest social upheaval to have occurred since the Norman invasion of Ireland, over four centuries previously. In 1533 King Henry VIII had proclaimed himself to be Supreme Head of the Church.[14] Three years later, the 1536 Act of Absentees caused the entire estates of Waterford's Priory of St John the Evangelist to be forfeited to the crown, Sir William Wyse, a member of the local gentry, then being granted these vast lands.[15] On 2 April 1539, the Waterford Franciscan Friary of the Holy Ghost, in Greyfriars, was suppressed although, being a mendicant order, its land holdings were negligible. The Lord Deputy of Ireland, Lord Leonard Grey, was given a twenty-one-year lease of the Franciscan possessions.[16] On 6 October 1539, the very large, extra-mural, Augustinian foundation of St Catherine's Abbey was dissolved, its very considerable estates in Counties Waterford, Kilkenny, Tipperary and Cork being forfeited to the crown, and then being granted to the local Sherlock family.[17] In early May

9 Niall J. Byrne (ed.), *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford,* p. 255.
10 *Ibid.*, p. 246.
11 *Ibid.*, p 263.
12 *Ibid.*
13 *Ibid.*, p. 266.
14 Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation,* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 282.
15 Patrick Power, *Waterford and Lismore: A Compendious History of the United Diocese,* p. 308.
16 Patrick Power, 'The Holy Ghost Friary', in *Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society* Vol. i, p. 202, (henceforth abbreviated as *JWSEIAS*).
17 Newport B. White (ed.), *The Extents of the Irish Monastic Possessions, 1540-1,* (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1943), pp. 341-6.

1540, the Bill for the Dissolution of the Order of St John of Jerusalem was enacted, which resulted in Sir William Wyse gaining possession of the three Knights Hospitaller preceptories of Kilbarry, Killure and Crooke. Excluding Crooke, the lands of Kilbarry and Killure extended in a vast arc from the southern boundary of Waterford city southwards to the present-day Tramore, and then turned westwards to extend as far as the now defunct boundary between the old Diocese of Waterford and the old Diocese of Lismore.[18] On 2 April 1541, the possessions and estates of the Dominican Order of Preachers, based at Blackfriars, were forfeited to the crown, the mayor of Waterford, James White, later gaining possession of these properties for Waterford Corporation.[19] Thus, within the space of five years, the feudal system of land tenure, which had pertained in Waterford and elsewhere for over four centuries, had been fractured. Since most of these lands were rented on long leases from the various religious orders by local farmers, the produce of which was traded through Waterford, the consequences of this irreversible change would be felt for generations to come.

Only one protester is recorded as objecting in Waterford to these changes, a Franciscan named Friar Sall being arrested for publicly criticising Henry VIII's announcement that he was Supreme Head of the Church. Sall was taken to Dublin and was imprisoned there. Later, when Archbishop Browne of Dublin proclaimed the Reformation in Waterford, a friar, thought to be Friar Sall, arrayed in his Franciscan habit and bound with chains, was publicly hanged in the city, his body remaining dangling from the gibbet 'as a mirror to all other his brethren to live trulie.'[20]

The Protestant Reformation, which had struggled to survive in Ireland throughout the reigns of King Edward VI and of Queen Mary, began to assert itself in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. The Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity, enacted at the Dublin parliament of 1560, proclaimed Queen Elizabeth I as Supreme Governor of the Church in Ireland, and ordered that only that liturgy prescribed in the 1552 second *Book of Common Prayer* could be performed, that attendance at Divine Service was mandatory, and that non-attendance was subject to an extortionate fine of 12d. Despite its general unpopularity, serious efforts were made to enforce this legislation, which is confirmed by Luke Wadding's first cousin, the Jesuit Michael Wadding, who later wrote in his *Theologica Mystica,* 'I well remember, in my boyhood, seeing a band of soldiers going around the streets [of Waterford] trying with gleaming pikes to force the Catholics to Protestant worship.'[21]

The Council of Trent (1545-63), which had originally been convened to counteract Protestant gains and successes, responded to the religious crisis by ordering

18 Niall J. Byrne, *The Irish Crusade,* (forthcoming, 2007), pp. 82-3.

19 Newport B. White (ed.), *The Extents of the Irish Monastic Possessions, 1540-1,* pp. 351-2.

20 *Letters & Papers, Henry VIII,* Vol. ii, Part 1, p. 562.

21 Patrick Power, *Waterford Saints and Scholars, 17th Century,* (Waterford, 1920), p. 37.

that all new candidates for the priesthood should undergo an unprecedentedly comprehensive educational regime prior to ordination, and introduced a completely revised liturgical celebration of the Mass, known as the Tridentine Rite. With the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth I in 1570, and the gradual arrival of highly trained, newly ordained Catholic clergy, who began to introduce the innovative and totally unfamiliar Tridentine Mass to the citizens of Waterford, a new era of confrontation between opposing ideologies began. Utterly antagonistic to the implementation of the government's religious reforms, the Anglo-Irish Catholics of Ireland nonetheless proclaimed their total loyalty to the English crown, identifying themselves as 'Her Majesty's old faithful English subjects in Ireland,' a title which was soon abbreviated simply to 'Old English.' The opposing ideologists, those recently arrived from England, all of whom were Protestant, became identified as the 'New English.' This latter group aspired to social, political and financial advancement in Ireland which meant that, since the economy of the country was pastoral, the Protestant New English sought to gain control of the massive tracts of land which had recently been dislodged from the ownership of the religious orders, and which were currently in the possession of the Old English gentry. Opposed to both factions was the indigenous population of Ireland, categorised as the 'Gaelic Irish,' who were not only Catholic by persuasion, but who also wanted to re-possess the lands recently forfeited by the religious orders which, they claimed, had been taken from their ancestors during the Norman Conquest. It is therefore apparent that religious persuasion and control of land were the two principal elements in the confrontation between opposing ideologies in Ireland, and that the Wadding family in Waterford was intimately involved in, and deeply concerned with, both issues.

Throughout the decade of the 1580s, the successive Fitzgerald, Desmond, Baltinglass and Nugent rebellions, all of which claimed a religious motivation, were brutally suppressed by crown forces. In 1580, the newly appointed Church of Ireland Bishop of Waterford, Marmaduke Middleton, enforced the 1560 Act of Uniformity by forbidding the public celebration of Mass, which lead to the closure of all the Catholic churches in the city. Thereafter, the new Tridentine Mass was celebrated in private houses, the Catholic clergy quickly exploiting the prohibition of the public celebration of Mass by manipulating the response to ensure that it became a signal honour for Catholic householders to have the liturgy celebrated in their homes. Richard Wadding, Anastasia Devereux (widow of Thomas Wadding), Dominic Lombard, Beale Lombard, and the apothecary James Lombard are amongst thirty such housesholders,[22] who are named by the Protestant authorities as facilitating the private celebration of the liturgy in Waterford. It is obvious that the Catholic clergy were highly organised in their confrontation of the New English authorities, even though there was no bishop of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore, the previous bishop, Patrick Walshe, having died in 1578. Nor was a new episcopal appointment likely since, on 20 June 1584, the Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, Dermot O' Hurley, recently arrived from Rome, was hanged at Hoggin

22 See Appendix B.

Green (near the present St Stephen's Green), outside the walls of Dublin, by the order of the Protestant authorities.[23]

Despite its best efforts, the government could not enforce religious reform, the refusal of Irish Catholics to take the Oath of Supremacy leading to a new name, that of Recusants,[24] being applied to intransigent Catholics. Being difficult to control on account of its distance from Dublin and London, Waterford became the centre of the Irish Recusancy struggle, to such an extent that Lord Justice Pelham described the citizens as 'the most arrogant papists that live within this state.' Although manifestly loyal to the crown, the Wadding family played a leading role in the efforts to frustrate the government's attempts to enforce the Act of Uniformity, Luke's uncle, the barrister Thomas Wadding being singled out by name in official reports. On 6 July 1596, the Protestant Bishop Lyon of Cork complained in a letter to Lord Hudson that 'the Mayor of Waterford, who is a great lawyer, one Wadding [Thomas Wadding, mayor 1596-7], carries the sword and rod for her majesty, but neither he nor his Sheriffs [John Lombard, sheriff 1595-6, 1597-8], ever come to church since he was Mayor, nor ever since her majesty's reign, nor any of the citizens, men or women, nor in any other town or city throughout Munster, which is lamentable to hear, but most lamentable to see.'[25]

During the Ulster rebellion, which became known as the Nine Years War, its leader, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, nominated Luke Wadding's maternal uncle, Peter Lombard, a long-time resident in Rome, as his personal envoy to Pope Clement VIII. Born in Waterford city in 1554, and educated there until he was eighteen years of age, Peter Lombard entered the University of Louvain where, following a distinguished academic career, he earned his doctorate in 1578. In 1594 he was appointed Provost of Cambrai, being sent to Rome in 1598 by the University of Louvain to represent his *alma mater* in the controversy between the Jesuits and the Dominicans which was active at that time. He remained in Rome for the remainder of his life.[26] The unprecedented action by the Gaelic Irish leader, in selecting a member of the Old English to represent him in Rome, was compounded a year later when, on 9 July 1600, largely influenced by O'Neill, Peter Lombard was appointed Catholic Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland.

Despite his exalted status, or perhaps because of it, Peter Lombard never afterwards returned to Ireland, but his elevation to high ecclesiastical rank meant that Luke Wadding now had serious family influence in the Roman Curia.

In 1602, plague once again made its deadly appearance in Waterford and became so virulent that the corporation records list the number of citizens who died from the infection in one year at 2,256.[27] One of the early victims of this pestilence was Luke Wadding's mother, Anastasia Lombard who, in common with all

23 Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth-Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest*, (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1994), p. 317.

24 From the Latin verb, *Recusare* (to refuse).

25 *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1596-7*, p. 19, (henceforth abbreviated as *CSPI*).

26 Matthew J. Byrne, *The Irish War of Defence, 1598-1600*, (Cork University Press, 1930), p. ix.

27 Niall J. Byrne (ed.), *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford*, f 164r.

plague victims, was buried outside the city walls, in the graveyard of the then abandoned St Catherine's Abbey. Luke's Wadding's father, Walter, also died about this time, but not from the plague, since his body is interred in the family burial plot in the Franciscan Friary of the Holy Ghost at Greyfriars. Matthew Wadding, Luke's elder brother, who had been admitted as a freeman of Waterford on 1601, then took over the running of the family business.

When Queen Elizabeth I died on 24 March 1603, and was succeeded by her cousin, James Stuart, who was thought to have Catholic sympathies, the citizens of Waterford joyfully reclaimed and re-opened the long neglected Catholic churches, and once again publicly celebrated Mass. This initiative provoked an armed response from the Dublin Protestant authorities, Lord Deputy Mountjoy marching with a large army to besiege Waterford. Forced to capitulate in order to prevent the threatened destruction of the city, both the civic and religious officials of Waterford were ordered to personally submit to the Lord Deputy in his camp outside St Patrick's Gate. Both the Catholic Vicar Apostolic of Waterford, the Dominican Fr James White, accompanied by his kinsman, Fr Lombard of the Order of St Bernard, were humiliated in Mountjoy's camp, and were thereafter forced to abandon the recently re-possessed Catholic churches, and to return to the private celebration of Catholic liturgies in selected citizen's homes.[28]

A year later, the Treaty of London was signed in August 1604, ending the war with Spain, which had been on going since before Luke Wadding's birth. Trade and commerce with Spain recommenced, allowing the Waterford merchant, Matthew Wadding, to travel to the Iberian Peninsula where, having married a Spanish lady, he remained for his lifetime. Matthew brought his sixteen-year old, scholarly brother Luke with him to Portugal. Luke Wadding was destined never to see Ireland again.

As Wadding emigrated to Portugal one of his schoolmates, Patrick Comerford, began a similar journey, first to Bordeaux and eventually to Lisbon where the two former school friends would renew their friendship. In 1629 this Patrick Comerford would be consecrated Catholic Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, the first Catholic Bishop of the diocese for fifty-one years.[29]

28 *Report of Dr James White to the Pope,* (written 1604 in Rome, published in *Hibernian Magazine,* 1848, republished in P.M. Egan, *A Waterford Guide,* (Kilkenny, 1894), pp. 114-42.

29 Patrick Hurley, 'Memoir of Dr Patrick Comerford, OSA, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, 1629-52', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 3rd Series, Vol. viii (1887), p. 1083.

The academic and literary career of Luke Wadding

On his arrival in Portugal, Luke Wadding entered the Irish College in Lisbon, this seminary being under Jesuit control at that time. Shortly thereafter he was received into the Franciscan Province of Portugal at Matozinhos, near the city of Oporto in northwestern Portugal, a friary which was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception.[30] The transfer of his allegiance to the Franciscan Order of the Friars Minor, and the dedication of his *alma mater* to the Immaculate Conception were to have major consequences for the young seminarian. Wadding had absolutely no difficulty with the educational standard required for admission to a continental seminary because of the exceptional teaching skills of his Waterford schoolmaster, John Flahy. This schoolmaster enjoyed a very considerable local reputation, not simply for his teaching expertise, but particularly for his dedication to Catholicism. Instructing his general students in the basic subjects, he also taught the Latin and Greek classics to his most promising pupils. The consequent proficiency of these students in classical languages ensured a ready admission to continental seminaries. It is a remarkable fact that of the twenty-one students from the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore attending the Irish College at Salamanca between 1595 and 1619, almost all acknowledged Flahy's guidance and involvement in their education. The Jesuit Michael Wadding, better known on the continent as Miguel Godinez, who achieved literary fame by writing his then world-renowned *Theologica Mystica,* and who spent his life on the Mexican mission, recorded 'operam dedi humanioribus litteris 4 annis sub praeceptoribus Johanne Flacco.'[31]

Although it is no surprise that Luke Wadding became a Catholic priest, the fact that he became a Franciscan priest is indicative of the increasing significance and of the exalted reputation for academic erudition which the Order of Friars Minor was currently achieving in Ireland, particularly among the Old English population of the towns. While the cultural orientation of the Franciscan Order was projected principally towards the *Ecclesia inter Hibernicos* of the Gaelic Irish, it was not exclusively so, the Grey Friars having maintained the monastery of the Holy Ghost House in Waterford since 1240. Nonetheless, although his enrolment as a Franciscan would previously have been considered atypical, it would have major beneficial consequences for Waterford. A friend of Wadding's, who found it difficult to appreciate how such a scholastically gifted young man had entered a religious order which he believed was not renowned for its scholars, expressed these sentiments to his friend by letter. Extremely annoyed, Wadding devoted his subsequent literary labours to discrediting this obviously inaccurate prejudice.[32]

In 1607 Luke Wadding moved to Leiria, in central Portugal, to study philosophy for two years. In that year, an Irish Franciscan, Florence Conroy, founded the Irish College at Louvain, dedicating this college to St Anthony of Padua. On 4

30 Patrick Conlon, 'Luke Wadding, OFM,' transcript of a paper delivered at St Isidore's, Rome, and at St John's College, Waterford, in 2004, p. 4.

31 Denis J. O'Doherty, 'Students of the Irish College, Salamanca, 1595-1619', in *Archivium Hibernicum,* 5th series, (1913), Vol. ii, pp. 1-36.

32 Patrick Conlon, 'Luke Wadding, OFM', p. 4.

September of that same year, broken in spirit by harassment and religious intolerance, the Earl of Tyrone, Hugh O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrconnell, Rory O'Donnell, and their entourage, sailed from Lough Swilly, abandoning Ireland forever, this Flight of the Earls being recognised by posterity as heralding the final eclipse of the old Gaelic Irish culture. Amongst their entourage on the early part of the journey of the Irish Earls was to be found O'Neill's personal chaplain, Fr Patrick O'Loughran, who shortly thereafter sought to further his education in a continental seminary. A Franciscan priest, Thomas Strange, who would later serve as Franciscan Guardian in Waterford, accompanied the Earls at a later stage of their progress across Europe. Both Florence Conroy and Thomas Strange would subsequently develop personal friendships with Luke Wadding.

Having completed his philosophy studies, Wadding moved back to Lisbon to pursue a course in theology. Some months later he was moved to the College of St Bonaventure at Coimbra, a noted theological centre, where he remained for four years, one of his professors being the famed Jesuit academic, Francis Suarez. His old Waterford schoolmate, Patrick Comerford, who had joined the Augustinian Order, had also studied at Coimbra. Comerford, who was highly regarded intellectually, spent four years in Terceira, the capital of the Azores, before being ordained priest in 1610. He then served as Professor of Theology at Brussels, but the similarity between his career and that of Wadding ended when Comerford returned to Waterford. However, Wadding's progress in the hallowed halls of academia did not isolate him from the practical aspects of daily living because, throughout his entire life he remained in close contact with his friends in Waterford, thereby maintaining a keen interest in events occurring in Ireland, particularly those relevant to the Irish Franciscan Order.

Consequently, the executions at Dublin of the octogenarian Franciscan Bishop Connor O'Devaney and of Fr Patrick O'Loughlin, on 1 February 1612, would have been as shocking for Wadding as they were for the general population of Ireland. Both of these men, Gaelic Irish members of the *Ecclesia inter Hibernicos,* were regarded as martyrs for their faith by their co-religionists, their deaths later being said to have turned the tide of Irish public opinion completely against the Reformation. Evocative of the execution of Archbishop Dermot O'Hurley of Cashel in 1584, these latter executions, regarded by Gaelic Irish and Old English Catholics alike as a brutal and public display of contempt for Catholicism, provoked such a reaction of horror and disgust that a truly prophetic fear of eventual retaliation began to be noticed in government officials. In far-off Portugal, the reports of the executions had a traumatic effect on all Irish Catholic seminarians, including Luke Wadding. These recent atrocities in Ireland, the continuing religious persecution in his homeland, and the orientation of the Franciscan Order, had all reinforced his instincts to treat all his co-religionists simply as Catholics, irrespective of race or ethnicity.

Following a short period at Vizeu in north-central Portugal, where he was ordained a Franciscan priest in 1613, Luke Wadding returned to Leiria.[33] Others might have regarded ordination as the close of the studying phase of life, but for Wadding it was only the beginning. He regarded his present scholarly accomplishments simply as the *entrée* to further study, the introduction to a literary world beyond the normal aspiration of an Irish cleric, the admission to a realm of erudition in which he would excel, in which he would gain world-wide acclaim for himself, for his religious order, and for Waterford. His entry into the domain of literature was modest in the extreme. His first publication consisted of two volumes of quotations from Scripture and from Patrology, which were intended to be of benefit to preachers. His first real impact was made when he spoke at a Provincial Chapter of the Portuguese Franciscans, where his extensive scholarship so impressed the Vicar-General, Antonio de Trejo, that he sent Wadding to the University of Salamanca in western Spain, for further study. Wadding studied at Salamanca and at Alma de Tromes for a further five years, honing his skills as a communicator in the best of all didactic disciplines, by lecturing both at Salamanca and at Leon. Here, in Spain, he considered himself a member of the Franciscan Observant Province of Santiago de Compostella, the oldest Franciscan Province in Spain, and of almost unquantifiable significance for a Waterford born recusant, where the tradition of the Pilgrimage to St James had been of paramount prestige for centuries. It was in Spain that he met members of the entourage of the exiled Irish Earls,[34] his fraternising with them increasing his perception of Gaelic Irish Catholics as being simply his brothers in religious persuasion. The seeds of nationalism were germinating in his psyche.[35]

While at Salamanca, Wadding became immersed in the study of Scotism, the doctrines of the renowned Franciscan theologian, John Duns Scotus (?1265-1308), who had opposed some of the Thomist theology of St Thomas Aquinas. Duns Scotus had elaborated on the teaching on the Immaculate Conception which had originally been propounded by St Augustine of Hippo (AD 354-430), those views expressed by Duns Scotus stimulating Wadding's interest in this topic which was still an actively burning issue in Spain. Antonio de Trejo, who had sent Wadding to Salamanca, was appointed Bishop of Cartagena in southeastern Spain and, on attending his consecration, Wadding met the Donegal Franciscan, Florence Conroy, who had founded the Irish College in Louvain in 1607. Conroy shared Wadding's interest in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, both Franciscans then debating the issue, each collaborating with the other in developing their theological views on this subject. Shortly afterwards, King Philip III of Spain appointed Bishop de Trejo as royal envoy to Pope Paul V, his mission being to petition the Pope to define the abstruse dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Thirty years old Luke Wadding was chosen as Bishop de Trejo's principal theologian on this commission, which arrived in Rome in December 1618.

33 Patrick Conlon, 'Luke Wadding, OFM', p. 4.

34 Francis Harold, *Vita Wadding,* Vol. i, p. lxxv.

35 Patrick J. Corish, 'Luke Wadding and the Irish Nation', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* 5th series Vol. lxxxviii (1957), p. 380.

During his early time in Rome Wadding usually lived at the Franciscan house of San Pietro in Montorio, where the Earl of Tyrone, Hugh O'Neill, had been buried in 1616, although he occasionally stayed at Ara Coeli, the general curia of the Franciscan Order. Immersed in his duties, Wadding wrote twelve memorials on the Immaculate Conception, all of which were presented to Pope Paul V. In 1622 Pope Paul issued a decree imposing silence on those who opposed the doctrine, but making no further decision. Thereafter the matter remained in abeyance for 232 years, until 1854, when Pope Pius IX affirmed the dogma. Four years later, in 1858, a peasant girl named Bernadette Soubirous had a vision of a beautiful lady in a grotto at Massabiele in Lourdes. When Bernadette asked her identity, the lady replied, *Je suis l'Immaculée Conception*.[36]

When the members of the Spanish commission returned to Spain, Wadding remained in Rome, his erudition and theological brilliance having been recognised by his confreres as being indispensable to the members of the Franciscan curia. When a Roman Franciscan, Marius Callasius, who was working on a book on Hebrew, died before his project was completed, Wadding undertook to finish the specialised task, editing and expanding the manuscript to bring it to publication standard. Inserting a prefix entitled 'De Hebraicae Linguae Origine, Praestantia et Utilitate,' in 1621 Wadding had the book published in four volumes by the Minorite Press of Ara Coeli, which possessed a rare font of Hebrew type.[37]

In the spring of 1619 Luke Wadding visited Assisi, the extraordinary beauty of the hill-top town and the tranquil ambience of both basilicas, where the bodies of St Francis and St Clare are publicly displayed under the main altars, stimulating his already active interest in the story of the Franciscans to such an extent as to cause him to consider writing the history of the order. Two years later, this inspiration from Assisi resulted in his publication at Antwerp of the first printed edition of the works of St Francis. The Franciscan Minister-General, Benignus of Genoa, was so impressed by this work that he ordered every Franciscan provincial to gather all available manuscripts and records of the order from their local sources, and to forward them to Wadding. These complemented the results of Wadding's personal research in the papal and Assisi archives, resulting in the first volume of the *Annales Minorum* being printed at Lyons in 1625, with the second volume being published in 1628, both of which recorded the activities of the order in the first century of its life. This became his *magnum opus,* a further six volumes, all published by 1654, bringing his history of the order up to the events of the Reformation in 1540. Over the course of his career, Wadding's literary output was as prodigious as the subject matters were diverse, his personal bibliography listing twenty-eight major literary works, many of these being multi-volume publications. When the numerous papers and articles attributed to him are included, it is apparent that it would be tedious to continue to list all his writings in detail.

36 Eamonn Duffy, *Saints & Sinners,* (Yale, 2002), p. 292.

37 Patrick Power, *Waterford Saints and Scholars, 17th Century,* (Waterford, 1920), p. 22.

Luke Wadding, the administrator

Equally as significant as his literary career was Wadding's involvement in the provision of educational facilities for Irish seminarians. In 1621 a group of Spanish Discalced Friars had commenced the building of a friary in Rome, which they dedicated to St Isidore. Born in Seville *circa* AD 560 to a noble Hispanic-Roman family from Catagena, Isidore became Archbishop of Seville *circa* AD 600. During the following thirty-six years of his archiepiscopacy, his efforts to convert the Arian Visigoths to orthodox Christianity earned him the title of 'Schoolmaster of the Middle Ages.' Isidore died in AD 636, but was not canonised until as late as 1598, by Pope Clement VIII. When the Discalced Friars were forced by lack of funding and support to abandon their construction, the then Definator-General and later Archbishop of Armagh, Hugh McCaughwell, influenced the Franciscan Minister-General to hand the unfinished project to Luke Wadding. Aware that he could successfully approach wealthy and influential friends for financial aid to clear the debt and to finish the construction, Wadding accepted the project. Engaging architects, builders and artistic decorators, and financed by his friends and acquaintances, Wadding finished the construction, retaining the name of the original patron. Acting as its first guardian and drawing up a series of articles under which the college was to be run, Wadding took up residence at St Isidore's on 12 October 1625.[38] The office of guardian was elective every five years, Wadding enjoying it five times.[39] The papal bull of foundation, issued on 20 October 1625 by Pope Urban VIII, specified that only Irish friars could form the community. In the late nineteenth century, when the Irish friars were undergoing reform by members of the Province of Saxony based at St Isidore's, some non-reform friars in Ireland became concerned that the German friars were attempting a take-over of the college. Waterford Corporation supported the Irish friars by issuing a stern reminder that Wadding had founded St Isidore's for Irish friars and that it must remain in Irish control. The early professors at St Isidore's were all Irish, Anthony Hickey (the author of the *Nitela*), Patrick Fleming, John Ponce and Martin Walsh all teaching in the new seminary.

In addition to completing the construction, engaging the tutors, devising the curriculum and enrolling the first students at St Isidore's, Luke Wadding equipped the library of the college, procuring 5,000 select works and a collection of manuscripts bound in 800 volumes. This aspect of Wadding's competence, in assimilating and preserving valuable manuscript records, eventually provided an extraordinary legacy for the historiography of Ireland and its Catholic Church, with a particular benefit accruing to the ecclesiastical history of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore. Many manuscripts from St Isidore's, some of which originally came from Louvain, were returned to Ireland in 1872, and were eventually retained in the archives of the Franciscan House of Studies, at Dún Mhuire, Killiney, Co Dublin, where latterly they have been in the exemplary and utterly dedicated stewardship of the Tramore-born and Waterford-reared Franciscan, Fr Ignatius

38 Patrick Conlon, 'Luke Wadding, OFM', p. 8.

39 Walter Harris, *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland*, (Dublin, 1739), Vol. ii, p. 136.

Fennessey. Through the largesse of the Franciscan Order, these manuscripts have recently been transferred to the curatorship of the Archives of University College Dublin.[40] There are twenty bound volumes in what has become known as the D category, those records retained in volume D ii having a particular relevance to the history of Waterford in the years from *c.*1628 to 1633, and will form the basis for that portion of this treatise. Another Waterford man, the contemporary government minister Martin Cullen, has recently been instrumental in providing government funding to finance the conservation of those records which are still retained at St Isidore's.

Because St Isidore's was so efficiently run, it was soon full of Franciscan seminarians. In an attempt to increase the capacity for Irish students, Luke Wadding, with his friend and collaborator John Roche, who was later appointed Bishop of Ferns, petitioned the newly nominated Protector of Ireland, Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, for an Irish seminary in Rome. Under Cardinal Ludovisi's patronage, on 27 November 1627 Wadding rented a house across the street from St Isidore's. This became the Irish College in Rome, which opened officially on 1 January 1628, accepting six Irish youths as students for the priesthood. While lodging at the Irish College, students attended lectures in the halls of St Isidore's, this arrangement continuing until Cardinal Ludovisi's death in 1635 when, under the terms of the cardinal's will, the administration of the Irish College passed to the Jesuit Order.[41]

In a further attempt to ensure a full, comprehensive and Tridentine regulated Catholic education for Irish seminarians, Wadding provided the organisational, administrative and legal expertise which led to the Irish College of the Immaculate Conception opening in Prague in 1630. A full twenty-six years later, when he was quite elderly, by a Rescript of Pope Alexander VII given at Castle Gondolfo in 1656, Wadding took over the deserted Convent of the Madonna at Capranica, a town located some thirty miles north of Rome, to serve as a novitiate to St Isidore's. This convent remained in the possession of the Irish Franciscans until 1995.[42]

The religious history of Waterford city following the departure of Luke Wadding

Although the citizens of Waterford persisted in their refusal to accept Protestantism, and continued to profess total loyalty to the crown, changes in the religious persuasion of some of the local elite were becoming apparent. While the number of Protestant sympathisers was extremely small, it was, nonetheless, evident, and a government sponsored Protestant hierarchy was also present in the city. Following the death of the ambivalent Catholic Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, Patrick Walshe, in 1578, the see remained vacant, no Catholic replacement being

40 Edel Breathnach, 'Louvain 400 and the Flight of the Earls', a paper presented to the Irish Society for Archives, 6 February 2007, pp. 2-3.

41 Patrick Conlon, 'Luke Wadding, OFM', p. 8.

42 *Ibid.*

appointed because of the clearly expressed opposition of the Protestant authorities to such an appointment. The execution of the Bishop of Mayo, Patrick O'Healy, who was hanged at Kilmallock in August 1579,[43] coupled with the execution of the Archbishop of Cashel, Dermot O'Hurley, who was hanged at Dublin in 1584,[44] clearly confirmed the official opposition to the renewal of a Catholic hierarchy at this time. However, the Protestant Church of Ireland availed of the vacancy caused by Bishop Patrick Walshe's death, to appoint Marmaduke Middleton as the first Protestant Bishop of Waterford and Lismore on 31 January 1579. On account of the total animosity of most of the citizens of Waterford to Bishop Middleton, the prelate sought and received a translation to the See of St David in Wales. On 7 January 1583, the vacant See of Waterford and Lismore was granted to the notorious Protestant Archbishop of Cashel, Miler Magrath.

A native of Co Fermanagh and reputedly the son of an Irish chieftain, Miler Magrath was born a Catholic in 1522. He became a Franciscan priest and, in October 1565, he was appointed Catholic Bishop of Down and Connor.[45] Having embraced Protestantism, he was deposed from the papal See of Down and Connor but was installed as Protestant Bishop of Clogher by Queen Elizabeth I in 1570, and became Protestant Archbishop of Cashel in 1571. In 1586, when Sir Walter Raleigh began to reap the benefits of his services to Queen Elizabeth I by acquiring massive land grants from the confiscated estates of the Earl of Desmond, Bishop Miler Magrath added to Raleigh's good fortune by granting him the manor and see-lands of Lismore, and the castle of Lismore, for the nominal annual rent of £13. 6s. 8d., thus alienating forever this most valuable church possession.[46] Three years later, Queen Elizabeth sought Magrath's resignation to allow the appointment, on 20 July 1589, of Thomas Weatherhead as Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. On 15 January 1591, Bishop Weatherhead leased the manor of Ardmore, with the town lands of Balinamona and Crobally, to Sir Walter Raleigh for 101 years, at the derisory annual rent of £6 Irish.[47] When Bishop Weatherhead died in 1592 after a brief episcopate of three years, Queen Elizabeth re-appointed Miler Magrath to the bishopric. Magrath remained as Bishop of Waterford and Lismore until his enforced resignation of the see in 1607, whereupon he was appointed to the See of Killala and Achonry. He died in December 1622 in the hundredth year of his age, and was buried in the wall of his church at Cashel.

Consequently, Miler Magrath was Protestant Bishop of Waterford and Lismore at the time of the death of Queen Elizabeth I on 26 March 1603. In the inter-regnum before the coronation of King James I, because of their hope and belief that

43 Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth-Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest,* p. 316.

44 Patrick J. Corish, *The Catholic Community in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,* (Dublin, Helicon, 1981), p. 30.

45 W.D. Killen, *The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland,* (London, Macmillan, 1875), Vol. i.

46 Harris, Walter, *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland,* Vol. ii, p. 538.

47 William H. Grattan-Flood, 'Lismore During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth', in *JWSEIAS* Vol. ix (1907), p. 59.

King James would grant them religious toleration, the Catholic citizens of Waterford seized possession of the long-confiscated churches in the city. Having cleaned and refurbished the churches, the Catholic clergy, led by the vicar apostolic Dr James White, publicly celebrated Mass in Christ Church Cathedral. Within days their action and leadership caused the citizens of the neighbouring towns to similarly flout the law of the land in a reaction to years of religious oppression which has been termed the Recusancy Revolt. In retaliation, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Lord Mountjoy, assembled a large army, marched to Waterford, besieged the city, threatened to destroy it and 'to sow salt upon the soil of their destroyed city.'[48] Forced to capitulate, the citizens surrendered the city, which was placed and maintained under the military control of a large garrison which was billeted at St Patrick's Gate.

When King James VI of Scotland was on his way to London to be crowned King James I of England, the English Puritan faction presented him with a document now known as the Millenary Petition, which sought religious toleration for their beliefs and liturgical practices. Also seeking freedom of conscience, Irish and English Catholics presented a similar petition to the monarch. The Hampton Court Conference, promised by the king in response to these petitions, opened on 14 January 1604 when, following three days of discussion, the king announced his religious policy. He totally rejected the Puritan petition for permission to practice their concept of pure religion. Seriously influenced by his experiences in Scotland, the monarch denied any possibility of the Presbyterian form of church government by an oligarchy of presbyters, voicing his catch phrase 'No Bishop, No King.' He objected to Presbyterianism, claiming that if bishops were forced from church authority and were replaced by presbyters, 'I know not what will become of my supremacy.' He denounced Catholicism by fully agreeing with the previous pronouncement that 'the Bishop of Rome hath no authority in this land.' He then detailed his dissatisfaction with Irish Catholicism by announcing, 'In Ireland I am but half a king, being lord of their bodies, but their souls are seduced by popery.'[49] In September 1604 King James I gave his full support to the Ecclesiastical Canons passed by Convocation. Nine months later, the Proclamation against Toleration in Ireland, dated 4 July 1605, ordered all Catholic clergy to depart from Ireland.[50] Clearly there would be no improvement in the treatment of the Catholic population of Waterford.

Consequently, in the immediate aftermath of Luke Wadding's departure from Waterford, religious intolerance had increased dramatically, and the persecution of Catholicism would continue to intensify. In 1606 the Lord President of the Council of Munster, Sir Henry Brouncker, introduced a new repressive measure which involved the serving of mandates on selected recusant dignitaries, which ordered them to accompany Brouncker to church on a stipulated day. On their refusal to be

48 Graham Kew, *The Irish Sections of Fynes Moryson's Unpublished Itinerary*, (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1998), p. 53.

49 Hugh Pope, 'A Stuart Pontiff: Pope James I', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* Vol. lxii, (1943), p. 370.

50 *Calendar of the Carew MSS, 1603-24*, p. 74.

coerced into attending Protestant church services, these abjuring dignitaries were imprisoned. Brouncker further demanded that the mayor-elect of the city should take the Oath of Supremacy before being sworn into office. Four mayors-elect of Waterford city refused to swear this oath. Paul Sherlock, Stephen Leonard, Nicholas Wyse and Thomas White were each deposed, were imprisoned in Cork gaol, and were heavily fined. A petition from recusants in Cork for some official curtailment of Brouncker's activities alerted the English Privy Council to the extent of the religious persecution in Ireland. Expressing their opinion that it was extremely fortunate that the Munster towns had not revolted,[51] the Privy Council ordered Brouncker to cease his persecution, and to release his recusant prisoners. Freed from gaol in Cork, Waterford's four mayors-elect were allowed to return home. Brouncker's death in June 1607 brought this repressive initiative to a close.

In response to numerous complaints, a visitation of all Bishop Miler Magrath's jurisdictions was ordered. This inspection brought such an unfavourable report that, on 20 February 1607, Lord Deputy Sir Arthur Chichester persuaded Magrath to resign the See of Waterford and Lismore and 'to accept of other two bishoprics in the remotest part of Connacht, called Killala and Achonry, which have long been void as no one will accept them by reason of their small value.[52] On 26 February 1607, John Lancaster, chaplain to King James I, was appointed Protestant Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. He was to enjoy twelve years tenure of this office.

The Flight of the Earls occurred on 4 September 1607, the Earl of Tyrone, the Earl of Tyrconnell and an entourage of ninety-nine people abandoning Ireland forever.[53] The presence of the exiled earls in Spain provoked such a fear of a Spanish invasion of Ireland that Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, ordered a slackening of the enforcement of the anti-recusancy legislation in Ireland. Throughout the next several years the intensity of the persecution of Catholicism varied in accordance with local circumstances, but never disappeared entirely. In this period of the reduced enforcement of religious reform Catholic priests began to return to Ireland from exile on the continent. The New English officials maintained a close surveillance of the location and activities of Catholic clergy, and of active recusants.

Early in 1611, the arrival of the newly appointed Protestant Bishop of Raphoe, Andrew Knox, signalled the recommencement of religious oppression. Bishop Knox carried a letter from King James I, dated 26 April 1611, which ordered Lord Deputy Chichester to immediately convene an assembly of the four Protestant archbishops and their suffragans. Within ten days of Knox's arrival the assembly had taken place. Both Archbishop Miler Magrath of Cashel and Bishop John Lancaster of Waterford and Lismore attended. In a letter to Bishop William Laud, Bishop Knox gave his impression of these Church of Ireland dignitaries. He described Miler Magrath as the 'Archbishop of Cashel, old and unable, whose wife

51 *CPSI, James I, 1606-8*, pp. 46-7.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

53 Brendan Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth Century Ireland: The War of Religions*, (Dublin, 1988), p. 26.

and children will not accompany him to church.' He categorised Bishop Lancaster as having no credit.[54] This assembly pledged 'to observe a uniform order for the suppression of papistry and for the plantation of religion.' The Protestant bishops promised to tender the Oath of Allegiance to all officials of the corporate towns, to refuse to appoint any cleric who had failed to take the Oath of Supremacy, to keep a register of all trafficking priests and of the names of the householders who sheltered such priests, and to report these details to the Lord Deputy. This was the basis for the Proclamation against Priests and Jesuits, dated 13 July 1611, which reactivated the censures of the Proclamation against Toleration in Ireland, which had first been issued on 4 July 1605.[55] It is likely, therefore, that Bishop Lancaster was the compiler of the still extant list of the names of thirty Catholic priests who were resident in Waterford in 1610, and of the names and addresses of the householders where they lodged. Since it is also likely that these priests celebrated Mass where they lived, this document inadvertently lists the houses where private Masses were celebrated in Waterford city. The Proclamation against Priests and Jesuits quickly bore fruit since it was used to prosecute and condemn the recently arrested Catholic Bishop Connor O'Devaney of Down and Connor, and the newly returned Fr Patrick O'Loughran.

Born in Raphoe, Co Donegal, in *c.*1533, his family being hereditary erenaghs (hereditary tenants of church lands) in that parish, O'Devaney entered the Franciscan Order in Donegal. In Rome in 1582, he was appointed Bishop of Down and Connor by Pope Gregory XIII, being consecrated in the Church of Santa Maria dell'Anima on 13 May. He then returned to Ireland to spend the following thirty years ministering in his diocese. He was arrested in June 1611, was charged with treason, and was imprisoned in Dublin Castle. Patrick O'Loughran, whose family were hereditary erenaghs in the parish of Donoghmore, Co Tyrone, had served as chaplain to the Earl of Tyrone, and had accompanied his leader into exile in the Flight of the Earls. He then entered the Irish College at Douai in the Spanish Netherlands, to complete a course in theology. He returned to Ireland in 1611, was arrested almost immediately, was charged with treason, and was imprisoned in Dublin. Both clerics were tried in the Court of King's Bench, Dublin, on 28 January 1612, before Judge Dominic Sarsfield and, on conviction, both were sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered. The eighty-year-old Bishop O'Devaney, attired in his Franciscan habit, was executed first, Fr O'Loughran following in his turn, both being executed on a small hill outside the city walls, on the north side of the river Liffey, on 1 February 1612.[56]

54 *CSPI, James I, 1611-14*, p. 80.

55 Reginald Walsh, 'The State of Ireland, 1611', in *Archivium Hibernicum* Vol. ii (1913), p. 160.

56 Desmond Forristal, *Seventeen Martyrs*, (Dublin, Columba Press, 1990), pp. 55-64.

Richard Wadding, the recusant Waterford Member of Parliament

Elections were held in 1613 to provide members for the parliament which Lord Deputy Chichester was about to convene. Paul Sherlock and Richard Wadding were elected to represent Waterford city in what would prove to be a most fractious parliament. Thus, in the same year in which Luke Wadding was ordained a Franciscan priest at Vizeu, his first cousin was elected MP for Waterford city. Richard Wadding, who had been mayor of Waterford in 1611-12[57], was the son of Thomas Wadding and Anastasia Devereux, and was therefore the scion of one of the most respected families in Waterford. Educated at the Middle Temple in London, and a member of King's Inns, he was a distinguished lawyer of considerable repute. Reflecting both the ecclesiastical and juridicial traditions of his family, he was categorised by an official parliamentary amenuensis as 'a known malicious Papist, and one of the principal disturbers of the Parliament.'[58]

When the parliament opened there was an immediate confrontation between the New English and the Old English members concerning the nomination of the Speaker of the House. There was also a considerable recusant protest at the gerrymandering which had contrived a Protestant majority. A melee developed which resulted in the withdrawal of the recusants from the legislature, which forced Lord Deputy Chichester to adjourn the parliament. On 28 May two government officials were sent to court to acquaint the king and the English Privy Council of the unmanageable state of affairs in Ireland. A small recusant delegation was sent to England to counteract this Irish government initiative, being followed by a fifty-one strong group of recusant parliamentarians, Richard Wadding being a member of this group. These Irish delegates presented a petition to the king, Richard Wadding being one of the eighty signatories of this document.

Prompted by the recusants, the king authorised the sending of a commission to Ireland to investigate their complaints, and to defuse the very threatening situation. The confrontation throughout Ireland was now so tense and so close to rebellion that the authorities had cannon mounted on the parapets of churches in Dublin, while in the citadel of Waterford such armament was turned to face the interior of the city rather than the countryside beyond the city walls. The fear of a repetition of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in France in 1572, whereby the majority Catholic populace might murder the minority Protestant government officials, was a real possibility at this time. The recusant delegation returned from London in late 1613, reporting that the monarch had looked very favourably on their petitions, and exhibiting triumphalist behaviour towards the officials of both the government and of the established church. Chichester voiced his concern at the behaviour of the recusants in general, informing the London government of his disquiet, and questioning the veracity of the recusant's reports.

57 Niall J. Byrne (ed.), *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford*, p. 302.

58 *CSPI, James I, 1611-14*, p. 405.

In response to Chichester's queries, the king denied that he had agreed to toleration of religion, but confirmed that because of the recusant's humble appeal he had overlooked 'their insolent bearing at the Parliament'.[59] On 27 January 1614, the English authorities responded to Chichester's complaints by issuing a list of eighteen names of prominent Irish recusants who were summoned to attend the king at a judicial hearing. Richard Wadding, MP for Waterford city, was one of this selected band of recusant leaders, who were ordered to travel to London within a month. A further royal proclamation was sent to Chichester, instructing him to travel to court also.[61]

On 20 April, with Chichester in attendance, the king delivered his judgement on the report of the 1613 commissioners, severely censuring the recusants and totally vindicating the Lord Deputy.[62] King James expressed his intense displeasure that his conciliatory attitude in 1613 had been completely misconstrued by the Irish recusants, and he was equally as vehement in condemning their misrepresentation of his views when they had returned home the previous year. The eighteen Irish recusants were appalled at what they perceived as a change of attitude by the monarch. Feeling that their attendance at court was unproductive, they prepared to return to Ireland, but their intentions were forestalled by a summons to attend a further audience at a later date.

The second audience was granted on 8 May. On this occasion, the king informed the Irish delegation that he wanted Sir John Davies to be elected as Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. In unprecedented antagonism to a royal request, the recusants refused to comply, creating a stir of disbelief amongst the courtiers in the audience chamber.[63] The Irish recusants then advised the monarch that they believed his assessment had been superficial, in that he had not considered all the issues pertaining to the dispute. In this regard, they presented the king with a 'humble petition' which outlined their position and their grievances. Once again, the name of Waterford's Richard Wadding was prominent amongst the fifteen signatures on this petition.[64] The recusant delegation, almost all of whom were of considerable legal standing, declined to continue unproductive attacks on Dublin officials, switching their focus in this petition to what they considered to be illegal measures taken by the Irish functionaries. This new approach would prove to be considerably more successful. The recusants initially petitioned that MPs from those boroughs, which had been incorporated after the elections had been called, should be excluded from parliament. The Irish delegates then asked the king to reassess 'falsities' in the election returns.[65] They further petitioned for the disqualification of MPs from the new 'Protestant boroughs'. These petitions would gain some measure of response in the near future.

59 *Ibid.*, pp. 462-3.

60 *Ibid.*, pp. 463-4.

61 John McCavitt, *Sir Arthur Chichester: Lord Deputy of Ireland, 1605-1616,* (Queen's University, Belfast, 1998), p. 191.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 192.

63 A.B. Grossart (ed.), *Lismore Papers,* 2nd Series, Vol. i, pp. 213-4.

64 *CSPI, James I, 1611-14,* pp. 476-7.

65 *Ibid.*

On the following day, 9 May, the king reassembled the delegates and the Irish government officials to discuss these issues. Undaunted, the recusants pressed their petitions, taking such a bold stance that King James objected to their argumentative tones and truculent bearing. Calling the guard, the king had the troublemakers arrested. This royal confrontation with the Irish recusants, and the resulting imprisonments, caused an immediate military alert in England. The perceived aggression in the audience chamber resulted in orders being issued for English troops to ready themselves for action in Ireland. The possibility of this very serious rift being used by O'Neill and Spain to foment rebellion, which might culminate in an invasion of Ireland, was seen as a very real threat by English officials. In mid-May conciliatory talks began in London, aimed at defusing the situation. Some of those imprisoned were released temporarily to pursue this objective, but the principal emphasis was on parliamentary procedures.

Those members of the recusant delegations who had been imprisoned in London were allowed to purge their affront to the monarch, and gradually throughout the summer they returned home. The banishment of priests from Ireland, and the enforcement of other repressive measures, resulted in an unwillingness of the recusant MPs to participate in parliament. The king was loath to dissolve the Irish Parliament, since he required the members to authorise a benevolence to ease his straightened financial circumstances. In August 1614, the king agreed to exclude MPs from eight named boroughs for the duration of this parliament only.[66] Consequently the four New English members for county Waterford, Sir Richard Boyle, Francis Annesley, Gerard Lother and Laurence Parsons forfeited their seats, allegedly giving the recusants total representation for both city and county. Following this conciliatory gesture from the King the recusants agreed to participate when parliament reconvened on 14 October.

The reorganisation of the Church of Ireland

A Convocation of the Church of Ireland, that is an assembly of its archbishops, bishops and proctors, met concurrently with the Irish Parliament of 1613-15, its stated purpose being to consider a subsidy for the monarch. The deliberations of this ecclesiastical body bore fruit in 1615 in the framing of the 104 Irish Articles, which elaborated a clearly defined, new confession of faith, this innovative manifesto of Irish Protestantism being an amalgam of orthodox and non-conformist interpretations of Scripture. This codified *raison d'être,* moulded by experiences gained in a hostile Irish environment, would motivate the Church of Ireland throughout the succeeding generations. The Articles did not emphasise episcopalian views, nor were any components of the adiaphora controversy, such as the wearing of the surplice, allowed to become an issue. Consequently, those pastors, who for scruples of conscience had fled England to settle in Ireland, could now be completely integrated into the Church of Ireland. Protestant ministers were not compelled to subscribe to these Articles, thereby allowing this accommodation of

66 *Journals of the House of Commons of Ireland,* Vol. i p. 10.

divergent religious opinions. Thus, this Irish Convocation defined views, incorporating Puritan and Calvinist influences, to circumvent the via media of Elizabethan Protestantism, and to counteract the anti-Puritan sentiments of the 1604 English Articles. It developed and ratified eschatological and apocalyptic dogmata hitherto only tentatively implemented, and to do so, it redefined the contentious principle of Predestination, which was a corollary of these doctrines. It also emphasised and re-expressed its abhorrence of Roman Catholicism, demonising Irish Catholics in the process.

Since Predestination would shortly play a major theological role in both the Protestant and the Catholic churches, and would also provoke drastic consequences for the citizens of Waterford, it needs to be briefly defined. Predestination, the belief that a sovereign God chose those who were to be saved, was a commonplace of medieval thought. Those predestined for salvation, who were also known as 'the elect,' were known only to God but, in due course, a belief in Predestination was to lead some Protestant groups to see themselves as 'the elect people, the saints, or the godly.[67] While the dogma of Predestination was unquestionably biblical in origin, it had been propounded simply as Single Predestination by Martin Luther.[68] It was John Calvin who introduced the concept of Double Predestination, which added the damnation of the reprobate clause to the original salvation of the chosen elect, yet, it is fair to say that Calvin had concentrated on the salvation of the elect rather than on the fate of the reprobate. Calvin's successor, Theodore Beza, and the Heidelberg theologians, had upheld the centrality of Double Predestination in the divine plan of salvation, espousing the doctrine of supralapsarianism,[69] but particularly focussing attention on the fate of the reprobate. Beza was also responsible for the doctrine of limited atonement, the opinion that Christ had died for the elect only.[70] While all these were recondite, esoteric theologies, seemingly far removed from everyday living, their practical implementation in early seventeenth-century Ireland had very significant implications. It has been maintained that only radicals like Barnaby Rich were crude enough to equate the reprobate of Double Predestination with Irish Catholics, yet the inclination to treat the Catholics in this fashion was always apparent. The 1615 Irish Articles committed the Church of Ireland to a Predestinarian system, which was ultimately derived from the Heidelberg theologians.[71]

Catholics criticised Predestinarian theology defined in this manner, holding that this doctrine led to abuses such as the rejection of the spiritual benefits gained by the performance of good works. Furthermore, in authenticating the hierarchical structure of the church, and in acknowledging the power of the Pope to depose

67 Cameron, *European Reformation,* p. 128.

68 *Ibid.,* p. 130.

69 Supralapsarianism was a principally Calvinist doctrine which maintained that God decreed the election or the non-election of individuals to salvation even before the Fall.

70 Louis B. Weeks, ' Theodore Beza', in *Microsoft Encarta Encyclopaedia*, (1998).

71 Alan Ford, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590-1641,* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1997), p. 166.

unworthy monarchs, Roman Catholicism antagonised Protestants who disagreed completely with these views. Consequently, it was a relatively simple progression for Protestants to identify the Pope with 'the man of sin' of the Book of Revelation. The 1615 Irish Articles reinforced such opinions, identifying the Pope as Antichrist. Since Antichrist was known to be active at the end of time, this pejorative equating of the Pope with Antichrist further emphasised the apocalyptic vision of the last days. This demonisation of the Pope was transferred to Catholic clergy generally, and to Irish Catholic dignitaries particularly.

The Government confrontation with Waterford Corporation

The constant government refusal to ratify the appointment of elected representatives to public office because of their refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy, created total chaos amongst Waterford's municipal officers. There had been no recorder in Waterford city since the death of Sir Nicholas Walshe in April 1615. A gaol delivery was held in the city on 23 April 1616, by the acting mayor and sheriffs, with the assistance of Richard Wadding, who temporarily assumed the office of recorder.[72] In a continuation of the confrontation of the citizens with the authorities on the question of religion, on 27 May the aldermen of Waterford elected Alexander Cuffe as mayor of the city. On 8 July, the Lord Chancellor Archbishop Jones tendered the Oath of Supremacy to the mayor-elect. Cuffe refused to acknowledge King James I as Head of the Church, and was deposed by the prelate. John Browne was then elected mayor, while William Lincoll and Paul Sherlock were elected sheriffs. All three refused the oath and were deposed. An elderly Scot named John Joy, who had been born 'before the King's coming to the crown of Ireland', was then elected mayor. Sent to Dublin to take the oath, and to ensure his acceptability to the authorities before being sworn into office, Joy was refused by the state, 'because he was an alien'. The Commons of Waterford then elected the staunch Protestant Sir Richard Aylward to office on 28 October, but he was rejected by the authorities 'by reason of his old age and impotencie'. On 3 December, Maurice Power of Adamstown was elected Mayor of Waterford, the fifth such incumbent of the office of first citizen within one year. Power 'whom likewise the state misliked, and therefore rejected' was equally unacceptable to the authorities.[73]

While Waterford's insistence on electing mayors who would undoubtedly refuse to take the Oath of Supremacy was unquestionably confrontational, it is also pertinent that the Dublin authorities were equally as intransigent, since Joy, Aylward and Power were deposed from office on what appears to be spurious grounds. There is no doubt whatever that, while the Corporation of Waterford was totally obdurate in its public recusancy, the Dublin authorities were equally determined to force a confrontation at this time with Waterford city, using religion as their vehicle.

The new lord deputy St John had assessed the general situation of Ireland as being acceptable to the crown, with only one major deficiency, since 'His Majesty's

72 *CSPI, James I, 1615-25*, p. 197.

73 Patrick Comerford, *The Inquisition of a Sermon*, (Waterford, 1644), pp. 21-2.

general affairs here prosper in all things, saving in that strong combination of recusancy wherein the well or ill doing of this state does much depend.' Directing that the administration should make an example of Waterford, on 31 December 1616 St John ventured an opinion 'concerning Waterford, that late contained divers monsters, without mayor, or recorder, or any form of government. The speedy proceeding against that corporation by seizure of their liberties will make the rest of the corporations to be better advised.'[74] Obviously it was now official policy to make Waterford a scapegoat because of its religion. Waterford Corporation, completely aware of the antagonism which it had aroused in both Dublin and London, belatedly decided on a more placatory policy, electing Walter Cleare as mayor on 1 April 1617. Not simply an urban houseowner, but the owner also of almost £50 worth of land within the city, Cleare was a perfect choice for the office, since not only was he a freeman both by birth and by admission, but most importantly he 'was a gentleman conformable to the king's religion'. On his election, the corporation swore Cleare into office and then despatched him to Dublin, where, being found acceptable by the authorities, Cleare swore to the King's Supremacy on 3 April 1617.[75]

With the government's intentions now clearly defined, the Lord President of Munster and other major judicial and governmental dignitaries assembled in Waterford to implement the newly formed strategy to discipline Waterford by means of an Assize Court. At a religious service held in Christ Church Cathedral on the day preceding the court, the Protestant Dean of Waterford, Robert Daborne, delivered a sermon exhorting the assembled New English officials to ruin Waterford city while attempting to justify their religious intolerance which had precipitated this crisis. Daborne preached to a distinguished congregation, headed by the Right Honourable, the Lord President of Munster, Donogh O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, who was attended by his retinue of officials, and by officers of the state. The assize judiciary also attended, led by Sir William Jones Knight, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, and his assistant Gerrard Loder Esquire, Justice of the Common Pleas.[76] On the following day the court dissolved Waterford Corporation, confiscating the city's royal charters, thereafter ruling the city through a military governor, with the support of a strong garrison billeted in the city.[77]

When Patrick Comerford returned to Waterford from his studies and religious duties on the continent, he served as titular prior of the long dissolved Augustinian Priory of Kells, Co Kilkenny, but often made his abode in Waterford city. On examining a copy of Daborne's sermon, Comerford was incensed at its contents and, in 1619, he wrote an extremely pungent tract, entitled *Inquisition on a Sermon,* which was hyper-critical of Daborne personally, of the intolerant views he expressed, and of the untenable theological criteria he used to try to justify the actions of the New English officials. Comerford's book could not be published in

74 *CSPI, James I, 1615-25,* pp. 142-3.

75 *Ibid.,* pp. 197-8.

76 Robert Daborne, *A Sermon Preached in the Cathedrall Church of the Cittie of Waterford,* (London, H. Gosson, 1618), title page.

77 Niall J. Byrne, 'Jacobean Waterford, 1603-25', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, (UCC, 2002), p. 167.

the hostile religious climate pertaining at that time, but was circulated privately, in manuscript form, among the Catholic Old English intelligentsia of Waterford and its environs.[78] It was published in Waterford in 1644 when the Catholic Confederation was in power, probably being the earliest book to be printed in the city, and was received with great respect and acclaim. It is the primary source for the history of Waterford city in this era, an extremely rare copy, one of only three still extant, being retained among the priceless records preserved in the Franciscan library at Dún Mhuire, Killiney, Co Dublin. The victimisation of the city persisted throughout the final seven years of the reign of King James I, the threat of insurrection among the citizens during this period being considered so great that a large, fortified, hill-top Citadel was re-constructed close to St Patrick's Gate, the guns mounted on the ramparts of this fortification being positioned to fire inwards on the city, rather than outwards into the countryside from which, hitherto, Irish rebels might have been expected to attack.[79]

As the reign of James I was drawing to its close, the king's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, wielded enormous power, acting as chief minister of the government. The grand design of King James, to marry his daughter to the Protestant Elector Palatine, and to have his son and heir, the Prince of Wales, wed a Catholic princess, thereby giving the English monarch enormous prestige and diverse influence on the continent, paved the way for the proposed marriage of Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta. In 1624 Prince Charles and Buckingham rode to Madrid on horseback in a bid to woo the Spanish princess. On their arrival in the Spanish capital, they were welcomed by a Waterford-born priest, Fr Martin Walsh, then resident in Madrid, who delivered the traditional Latin address of welcome in a poetical oration entitled *Parnaseis poetica in adventu Caroli Walliae Principis*.[80] A copy of this Latin oration is preserved in the Gilbert Library, Dublin. Although compelled to agree to the Spanish monarch's demand for a relaxation of the Penal Laws against Catholicism as part of the marriage contract, Prince Charles's mission failed, and he was forced to return in abject humiliation to England. The threat of a retaliatory war with Spain then caused the temporary suspension of anti-Catholic policies in Ireland.[81]

The history of Waterford, taken from the Wadding/Franciscan Manuscripts

On 27 March 1625, King James I died at the Theobalds in Herefordshire, the Prince of Wales succeeding to the throne as King Charles I. In late summer, an English fleet, bearing an army of 10,000 men, sailed from Plymouth to attack the Spanish fleet. Ineptly commanded, it utterly failed to achieve its objective, failing to capture even the poorly defended port of Cadiz, and was compelled to retire

78 *Ibid.*, pp. 183-191.

79 Edmond Downey, *The Story of Waterford,* (Waterford, 1914), p. 104.

80 Thomas Wall, 'Parnassus in Waterford', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* Vol. lxix (1947), p. 54.

81 Brendan Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth Century Ireland: The War of Religions,* (Dublin, 1998), p. 35.

ignominiously.[82] Regiments of demoralised soldiers from this Cadiz fleet were then disembarked in Ireland.[83] Smarting from years of oppression and victimisation, with its trade ruined and its recusant merchants almost penniless, Waterford was cessed at £200 per month to maintain these soldiers. The first of a series of references from the Franciscan D ii manuscripts details the situation initially of the citizens and latterly of the soldiers:

> Waterford being charged with four companies, and no payment of money for them these many weeks past, the citizens are driven to bear the burden of them, and to cess themselves with their diet which amounteth by the month above 200 li besides their bedding, fire and candle-light...and so, for their recreation in fair weather they [the soldiers] go a-nutting and hunting of blackberries like michers that run from school when they should be better occupied. And for the waste which they commit breaking down hedges and haws no better redress that to cry *peccavi* (I have sinned), as some of them do *flexis genibus* (on bended knees).[94]

One of these disillusioned and abandoned English soldiers, named John Felton, was the assassin who stabbed Buckingham to death on 23 August 1628.

In 1625 the Irish Church suffered a double loss when death claimed Archbishop David Kearney of Cashel and, shortly afterwards, the Primate, Archbishop Peter Lombard of Armagh died at Rome. Archbishop Kearney was replaced by Thomas Walshe, who was born in Waterford city in 1580, his father Robert Walshe being in prison for his religious beliefs at the time of his birth. The new archbishop's mother was Anastasia Strong (alias Strange), while his aunt Mary was the wife of Luke Wadding's uncle, the barrister Thomas Wadding. This Walshe family was very well endowed financially, and had founded and maintained the city's oldest and most important charity, the Holy Ghost Hospital. Thomas Walshe was engaged in the family business for two years before leaving Waterford in 1598 to commence his ecclesiastical studies at Lisbon. On 15 September 1602 he enrolled at the Irish College in Salamanca, later being ordained priest there. Following his ordination he made a tour of Europe,[85] and may have visited Malta at this time. The new Archbishop of Cashel was unique in that he is recorded as being an Old English priest of the Order of St John of Jerusalem,[86] which meant that he was, in fact, a priest of the Order of Malta. Since the Irish Knights of Malta had been disbanded

82 Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age: England 1603-1714,* (London, Longman, 1997), pp. 160-1.

83 Victor Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland, 1616-28,* (Dublin, 1998), p. 294.

84 UCD Archives, Franciscan MSS, Vol. D ii, ff 421-3, Letter of 17 September 1625, from David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, to Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, at Rome.

85 Patrick Power, *Waterford Saints and Scholars,* 17th Century, p. 40.

86 UCD Archives, Franciscan MSS, Vol. D ii, Appendix of miscellaneous and undated documents, pp. 535-6, *Report on the Franciscan Manuscripts preserved at the Convent, Merchant's Quay, Dublin,* (Irish Manuscripts Commission), p. 87.

in 1540, and their enormously extensive Co Waterford lands forfeited initially to the crown, passing then to the local gentry in the person of Sir William Wyse, this is the first record found of a member of this chivalric military order being active in Ireland in eighty-five years since the Dissolution of the Monasteries.

The Primate, Archbishop Peter Lombard, died in Rome without ever visiting his archdiocese. Lombard was the author of a large manuscript, 'De Hibernia Insula Commentarius Stromaticus', dated 1600, which is preserved in the Berberini Archives, in Rome. Published in Louvain in 1632, some seven years after Lombard's death, under the title *De Regno Hiberniae Sanctorum Insula, Commentarius,*[87] this book contains a fascinating although somewhat partisan account of the Earl of Tyrone's spectacular successes in the latter part of the Nine Years War.[88] It is quite obvious from the contents of Lombard's book that Luke Wadding's championing of all Irish Catholics, whether of Gaelic Irish or Old English ethnicity, derived from his Waterford family up-bringing, since his uncle by marriage had clearly enunciated such views long before Wadding had even left Ireland. Since Wadding's prominence as the leading Franciscan theologian of his era was responsible for his appointment as a member of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda and as a member of the Inquisition, all communications from Ireland to the Pope and to the Curia were routed through Wadding. Consequently, while most of Luke Wadding's letters to his co-religionists in Ireland have not survived, numerous letters from Irish Catholic dignitaries to Wadding are extant, and can now be researched in the Archives of University College, Dublin.

There were ten nominations to replace Archbishop Lombard, Luke Wadding and his first cousin, Richard Wadding, an Augustinian eremite, being among the names mentioned, although it is well known that Luke Wadding had always spurned, and would continue to eschew ecclesiastical promotion. Wadding supported his old friend and co-adjutor in the edition of Duns Scotus, the Gaelic Irish Franciscan Hugh MacCaughwell, previously Professor of Theology at Louvain and currently Reader in Theology in the Convent of Ara Coeli in Rome, MacCaughwell being duly appointed. Since seven of those nominated for the primacy were Old English, the three others being Gaelic Irish,[90] it can readily be seen that Wadding's support of all Irish Catholics as equals was no mere lip-service. Unfortunately, Archbishop MacCaughwell died at Rome on 22 September 1626, leaving the Irish primacy vacant for another two years, until the translation of the Bishop of Kilmore, Hugh O'Reilly, in 1628. The appointment of the Franciscan Hugh MacCaughwell to the Archdiocese of Armagh, the elevation of the Franciscan founder of the Irish College at Louvain, Florence Conroy, as Archbishop of Tuam, and the consecration of the Franciscan Thomas Fleming as Archbishop of Dublin quite clearly indicates the extremely high regard in which

87 Patrick Power, *Waterford Saints and Scholars,* 17th Century, p. 23.

88 Matthew J. Byrne, *The Irish War of Defence, 1598-1600,* (Cork University Press, 1930), pp. 3-92.

89 UCD Archives, Franciscan MSS, D ii, Appendix, pp. 536-7 in *Report on Franciscan MSS,* p. 87.

90 *Ibid.*

members of the Order of St Francis were now held, and the prestigious offices of ecclesiastical authority which they currently administered since, for a period, three of the four Irish archbishoprics had concurrently been in Franciscan control.

The Franciscan Thomas Strange, who would prove to be a major player in the ecclesiastical history of Waterford city, landed in Waterford in May 1626. A colourful character who had accompanied the Irish Earls on part of their journey across Europe in 1607, who had lectured in the Spanish seminaries at both Santander and Medina de Pomar, who had survived incarceration by Muslim Turks who had captured a ship on which he was travelling to Segovia,[91] Strange ended his days as guardian of the Waterford Franciscan Friary. His correspondence with Wadding has survived, the extant letters providing details of life in Waterford in the seven years following his arrival.

In March 1627 Archbishop Thomas Walshe of Cashel wrote from Madrid to Bishop John Roche of Ferns concerning the political manoeuvring, by various clerics and their supporters, for appointment to the vacant Catholic bishoprics in Ireland. This letter is distinguished by the fact that, in praising Luke Wadding for shunning such promotion, the Archbishop mentioned Wadding as a possible future Pope.[92] In the following April the Archbishop of Cashel wrote from Madrid to Wadding. He complained that the Lords of the Inquisition, of which Wadding was a member, were nominating candidates to bishoprics in the Province of Cashel without consulting the Archbishop. Walshe then nominated the Franciscan Guardian of Waterford, Thomas Strange, for the See of Waterford and Lismore. Four months later Archbishop Florence Conroy of Tuam wrote to Wadding, again from Madrid, advising him that because of the very strong influence of Old English clergy in the cities, the new Earls of Tyrone and of Tyrconnell wanted only clerics who were supportive of the Gaelic Irish cause to be appointed to Irish bishoprics. Florence Conroy recalled that most Old English clerics had preached against the Nine Years War which the previous Earls of Tyrone and of Tyrconnell had waged, until Pope Clement and Primate Peter Lombard had silenced them. He reminded Wadding that now, almost thirty years after the Nine Years War, the Old English clergy still sought to exclude Gaelic Irish clerics from all offices of dignity in the realm. Conroy warned Wadding that the Earls knew of his strategic importance in the Inquisition, and were very aware of his huge influence with Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi who had recently been appointed Cardinal Protector of Ireland. He further warned Wadding to be careful that the Earls should have no grounds for thinking that Wadding might promote Old English interests at the expense of the Gaelic Irish.[93]

91 Canice Mooney, 'The Franciscans in Waterford', in *JCAHS* (1964), p. 89.

92 UCD Archives, Franciscan MSS, D ii, Letter of Archbishop Thomas Walshe of Cashel to Bishop John Roche of Ferns, 14 March 1626, Appendix of miscellaneous and undated documents, pp. 839-40.

93 *Ibid.*, Letter of Archbishop Florence Conroy of Tuam to Luke Wadding, 3 August 1627, Appendix, pp. 857-9.

By 1628 the news that Luke Wadding was contemplating the writing of a work, tentatively titled the *Sacred History of Ireland,* delighted not alone Irish Catholic dignitaries but evoked very considerable interest among Irish Protestant historians. It is a remarkable fact that such was the international and inter-faith recognition of Wadding's scholarship that high-ranking New English Protestant dignitaries of church and state, who were engaged in similar historical projects, sought contact with Wadding for the purpose of examining his work-in-progress, and for obtaining Wadding's views on what they themselves were writing. While each of these historians sought to promote his own agenda, which generally centred on gaining approval for his church, all the bitter opposition to rival religions which was fracturing Irish life, was put aside as these historians explored their shared obsession.

In August 1628 the Franciscan Guardian, Thomas Strange, wrote to advise Wadding that Strange's Protestant friend, the Master of the Rolls Baron Aungier of Longford, had written a history of the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, using original documents as his sources, and enclosing copies of Aungier's writings for Wadding's perusal.[94] A month later, the Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, Thomas Walshe, wrote to Wadding to offer to collect whatever tractates he could find which dealt with the history of the ancient kings of Ireland. Even though Wadding was an established author of prodigious repute, the archbishop had little compunction in expressing his opinion that Wadding should dedicate his proposed history to the Pope as feudal lord of Ireland, and that he should use the name Waterford instead of the older, classical name of the city, Menapia.[95] One of the principal reasons for this upsurge of interest in Irish history at this time was due to the availability of large numbers of manuscript sources which had previously been closely guarded treasures in Irish monastic houses, but were now in open circulation because of the Dissolution of the Monasteries.

Some six weeks after his original letter, Guardian Thomas Strange wrote to Wadding again to inform him that the vaunted Protestant historian, Archbishop James Ussher, had offered his assistance. Ussher was of the opinion that Wadding should begin to write his history from the time of Pope Gregory VII (1073-87), the instigator of the Hildebrandian Reform, because the Roman Registers, which Ussher considered a primary source, had been recorded since the time of Pope Gregory, and were readily available to Wadding in the Vatican Archives. Ussher suggested that the best historical source for the era before the Hildebrandian Reform was to be found in the manuscripts of Ireland and, since Ussher had a renowned library of such manuscripts, he promised to make these available for Strange to research on Wadding's behalf. In exchange, Strange enclosed 'a copy of some diligence,' which Ussher wanted Wadding to research for him in the Vatican Archives.[96]

94 *Ibid.,* D ii f 11, Letter of Guardian Strange to Wadding, 6 August 1628.

95 *Ibid.,* ff 12-3, Letter of Archbishop Thomas Walshe to Wadding, 1 September 1628.

96 Letter of Strange to Wadding, 27 November 1628, in Brendan Jennings, *Wadding Papers 1614-38,* (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1953), pp. 280-1.

Guardian Strange wrote several other letters to Wadding on this topic. He informed Wadding that Primate Ussher possessed 'the very original Registers of the Church of Armagh,' which he had bound into six large tomes, and that he was prepared to lend these to Strange for research purposes on Wadding's behalf . He also told Wadding that Ussher was lavish in his praise 'of what Your Paternity has written at the close of the Hebraic Concordances in commendation of the holy tongue.' It is obvious from Strange's letter[97] that Ussher desired Wadding's recognition and approbation of his work. Strange sent Wadding a note from Ussher, and asked that Wadding should reply to Strange, who would pass the answer to the Protestant primate. In this letter Strange also mentioned the beginning of the enormous confrontation between the regular and the secular clergy, which was about to cause such serious dissension in the Irish Catholic Church.

Throughout the previous half century of religious intolerance and persecution, during which several Catholic bishops had been executed and those who had died of old age had not been replaced, when large numbers of secular Catholic priests had been expelled from Ireland, forcing those who remained to maintain an extremely low profile, it was the ordained members of the religious orders, particularly the Franciscans, with the Cistercians and the Augustinians to a lesser degree, who had kept the Catholic faith alive by saying Mass for the laity, and by administering the sacraments. Now, in the late 1620s, a temporary relaxation of religious persecution allowed the implementation of the decrees of the Council of Trent, permitted the limited celebration of the Tridentine Mass and the introduction of the parochial system of church government. This involved the appointment of new bishops to the various vacant dioceses, these bishops in turn appointing new parish priests to run the different parishes. However, these new bishops exercised complete authority in their dioceses, even having control of the regular clergy of the religious orders. The only location where the members of the religious orders were exempt from the power of the bishop was within the confines of the houses of the order, and there were few religious houses remaining in Ireland. In exercising their authority through the new parish priests, the bishops sought to curtail the faculties of the regulars to hear the Confessions of the laity, to preach, or to administer the sacraments. The regulars flouted the authority of the bishops and of the parish priests, refusing to revert to the celebration of the sacraments only for members of their orders, as had been the practice prior to the Reformation.

In addition to the internal problems of the city of Waterford, its port was also suffering serious difficulties. The seas around the south coast of Ireland teemed with pirates, Islamic Turkish corsairs making their threatening appearance in Irish waters for the first time in 1625.[98] Other brigands were equally active since Waterford merchants suffered serious losses when six of their ships were taken as prizes by French privateers in 1627.[99] In an attack by Algerine corsairs on

97 UCD Archives, Franciscan MSS, ff 78-80, Letter of Strange to Wadding, 4 August 1629.

98 Letter of Bishop David Rothe of Ossory to Primate Peter Lombard, 17 September 1625, in Brendan Jennings, *Wadding Papers 1614-38*, p. 101.

99 Letter of Bishop John Roche of Ferns to Wadding, 20 October 1628, in Brendan Jennings, *Wadding Papers 1614-38*, p. 273.

Waterford shipping, Fr Patrick Comerford's brother was captured and held to ransom. Having previously been recommended by the citizens of Waterford as their choice for bishop of the diocese,[100] intending on this account to visit Rome, Comerford gathered all the family finances that he could muster and travelled to north Africa to secure his brother's freedom by paying a ransom of £500.[101] Unfortunately, the newly liberated captive died when he reached Gibraltar, the disconsolate Fr Comerford then proceeding to Rome. On 18 March 1629, in the Church of St Sylvester on the Quirinale in Rome, Cardinal Bentivoglio consecrated Patrick Comerford as Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, the first incumbent of this Catholic bishopric for fifty-one years. Amid the massive celebrations of this event, which were orchestrated by Luke Wadding, a Latin address in booklet form, titled *Coronatae Virtuti,* was presented to Bishop Comerford. Three of the six students at the Irish College in Rome contributed Latin verses to this booklet, as did many of the distinguished Irish priests who served as professors in the various Irish Colleges on the continent. Two copies of this booklet survive, one being in the National Library, the other being in the Franciscan House of Studies at Dún Mhuire, in Killiney.

An Augustinian eremite and a cousin of Luke Wadding, Bishop Comerford had known Wadding since boyhood when both had attended John Flahy's school in Waterford, and both had later studied at the Irish College in Lisbon. The two men shared an identical background, the new bishop's father, Robert Comerford, having been a merchant of Waterford, while his mother, Anastasia White, was a descendant of the Walshe family which had provided the previous Catholic Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, Patrick Walshe, who had died in 1578. As Bishop Comerford travelled homewards from Rome, he wrote to Wadding from Antwerp to inform him that he intended to travel to Calais where he hoped 'to meet some Mossieur that will let me go to London in his company.' He reported that there was a great scarcity of corn and a serious mortality of cattle in Ireland, which had caused numerous Irish to travel to England to beg and, on being expelled from England, they had travelled to France and to the Netherlands where Comerford obviously met some of them, much to his chagrin.[102]

When Bishop Patrick Comerford did eventually arrive in Waterford, he found that the prospect for peace and religious toleration had been rendered more implausible than previously by the recall of Lord Deputy Falkland to London, the country being ruled in his absence by the two Lords Justice, Richard Boyle Earl of Cork, and Adam Viscount Loftus. When he had assessed the situation in his new diocese, a disheartened Bishop Comerford wrote a report of his findings to Luke Wadding, this being one of a number of such letters which give authentic and detailed descriptions of Waterford in the first third of the seventeenth century. Comerford's

100 UCD Archives, Franciscan MSS, D ii, f 3, Letter of Archbishop Walshe of Cashel to Wadding, 20 February 1628.

101 Letter of Patrick Comerford to Wadding, 19 July 1629, in Brendan Jennings, *Wadding Papers 1614-38,* pp. 297-300.

102 Letter of Patrick Comerford to Wadding, 19 July 1629, in Brendan Jennings, *Wadding Papers 1614-38,* pp. 297-300.

travels through sunnier climes to North Africa, thence to Gibraltar and eventually to Rome, where he had remained for many months, living in the comfort and beautiful balmy weather of the Eternal City, caused him to suffer serious disillusionment when he returned to Waterford, since he wrote:

> This is the moistest, the stormiest, the poorest and most oppressed country that I saw since I left it until I returned... As for trading, or stirring in mercantile affairs, which is *nervus hujus regni,* it is so much forgotten that scarce a man doth know of what colour is the coin in this miserable island; the dearth of the last two years, the universal sickness, the oppression of soldiers, beside other encumbrances, have made Ireland to seem to be in very deed the land of ire: at sea a merchant can not navigate two days when he is taken either by a Hollander, or a Dunkerk, or a French pirate, or a hungry Biscayner. The weather is so rainy and drowsy continually, that it doth imprint, and indent in a man's heart a certain saturnine quality of heaviness, sloughishness, lasiness and perpetual sloth.[103]

In informing Wadding that rumours of his death were rampant, Comerford suggested that these rumours were being intentionally spread by people who wished Wadding dead but that, since Wadding's well being was so essential for his compatriots, God would not deprive the distressed Irish nation of its patron. Comerford reported that although he was living amongst his kinsmen in Waterford, their attitude towards him seemed to have changed, those from whom he had expected the most friendship being particularly unfriendly. Comerford attributed this to jealousy 'for being preferred afore themselves,' in his appointment as bishop, which suggests that he is referring to his kinsman, Guardian Thomas Strange, who had been recommended as a candidate for the bishopric by the Archbishop of Cashel. He commented that he was aware that his unpopularity was due to his attempts to enforce the decrees of the Council of Trent by re-establishing parishes in the diocese.

He detailed the confrontation he had had with the Cistercian Fr John Maddan, who had seized control of the Abbey of Mothel, despite Comerford's proving to him that Mothel had always been an Augustinian foundation. The bishop then recorded a serious confrontation which had occurred recently, asking Wadding to use his authority as a member of the Congregation of the Inquisition and of the Congregation of the Propaganda to rectify the situation. Some time previously, Comerford had installed a parish priest in St John's Grange, which was located between Clonmel and Fethard. Edmond Everard, a man who had been married in Waterford but who had left his wife and later became a priest, had threatened the parish priest, forbidding him to say Mass or to administer the sacraments in that church over which he, Everard, claimed sole jurisdiction since he claimed to be the only representative in Ireland of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, to which the church had previously belonged. Comerford had checked with the Archbishop of

103 UCD Archives, Franciscan MSS, Vol. D ii ff 99-100, Comerford to Wadding, 22 November 1629.

Cashel, Thomas Walshe, a member of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, who had since gone to Spain on a visit, the Archbishop advising Comerford 'to keep the right and jurisdiction of the diocese.' However, when the parish priest began to celebrate Mass in the church in the presence of a large congregation of parishioners, Edmond Everard jumped up to the altar, seized the chalice, the paten, the host and the vellum, and gave them to his horse-boy who then galloped away with them to Fethard. Comerford urged Wadding to involve the Roman cardinals in remedying this affair, 'otherwise our church will be brought to a most miserable state, the authority of the pastors despised, the laity scandalised, the Protestants encouraged and sacrileges many committed.'

On the following 8 January, Comerford wrote to Wadding again, voicing the same complaints as in his previous letter.[104] Such a duplication of letters was quite common, since these communications were intended to be delivered by hand, by people who were travelling to continental destinations, a method of communication which was not always effective. Six weeks later, Comerford wrote to Wadding, mainly in Spanish, congratulating him on the favour recently shown him by the Pope. 'Estoy muy ufano con los favores que el padre santo haze a vuestra paternidad, y en esto mismo se ve que es padro santo, pues save honrar a un hijo tan santo como vuestra paternidad,'[105] Comerford urged Wadding to use his new appointment in the Congregation of the Breviary to ensure that the feastday of the Patron Saint of Ireland, St Patrick, be given adequate dignity by being recorded in the new Roman Breviary. He then mentioned to Wadding that the Franciscan oratory in Dublin had been raided by the Dublin authorities on St Stephen's Day, and many of the congregation arrested. This was 'the Protestants encouraged' of which he had warned Wadding in a previous letter. The religious persecution had recommenced under the shared government authority of the Earl of Cork and of Viscount Loftus, to such a severe extent that the bishops of Ireland had sent Thomas White of Dublin, and the regular clergy had sent Guardian Thomas Strange of Waterford, as envoys to the London court to try to gain some relaxation of the religious intolerance.

It is apparent that Comerford's appeal to Wadding to use his official position of influence with the Roman cardinals to gain action on the controversy between the various Catholic clergy in Waterford, had proved effective. The bishop reported that Edmond Everard had returned the altar equipment which he had stolen, had apologised, and was unlikely to offend again. Similarly, Fr John Maddan had recalled his monk from Mothel and had promised not to interfere there again, while Guardian Thomas Strange had apologised for his actions and had promised that the Franciscans 'would err no more by speaking ill of me.' Despite these improvements, which were directly attributable to Wadding's intervention, Comerford still lived a solitary existence, isolated from and snubbed by the regular clergy. This separation from his colleagues caused him to record his miserable loneliness in the hauntingly plaintive eloquence of his *cri-de-couer,* 'I live more

104 *Ibid.*, D ii ff 28-9, Comerford to Wadding, 8 January 1630.

105 *Ibid.*, D ii, ff 44-45, Comerford to Wadding, 6 March 1630.

like a prisoner than a free man... and I protest to you that unless I could get a bed and my table in my poor brother Philip's house, I know not where to blow my nose.'[106]

The religious persecution, which had recommenced at the Franciscan oratory in Dublin, increased both in extent and in degree, causing the Franciscan Provincial, Valentine Brown, to inform Wadding that the persecution was such as was not known since the first suppression of the Catholic religion in the kingdom.[107] The first reports then came from Guardian Strange, who wrote from London to acquaint Wadding of the lack of progress in the attempts being made at court to gain some improvement in the treatment of Irish Catholics. He described how he and Thomas White had sought to persuade the Catholic Queen of England, Henrietta Maria, to influence her husband, King Charles I, to grant freedom of conscience to Irish Catholics, but to no avail, and with no prospect of success in the future. Aware that peace negotiations between England and Spain were about to be successfully concluded, Strange suggested that Wadding should petition the Pope to write to the King of Spain seeking the insertion into the peace treaty of a clause demanding that King Charles I should allow that 'his Catholic subjects in Ireland, England and Scotland may enjoy the same liberty of conscience as the heretics or Protestants enjoy in France' and, if this was too much to ask, then 'let him pray that it be granted at least for Ireland.' Strange urged Wadding to force this issue, because he claimed that God himself had elevated Wadding to a position of such prominence as to be able to effect a result of this magnitude.[108]

A month later it was realised that there was no hope of Queen Henrietta Maria influencing King Charles to grant toleration to Irish Catholics, which caused the disconsolate Guardian Strange to return to Waterford. When Bishop Comerford next wrote to Wadding, he thanked him for his letter dated 25 April which had reached Waterford on 24 August. Unfortunately this letter from Luke Wadding has not survived, but some passing references in the bishop's reply to it give some intimation that Wadding was announcing improvements recently made at St Isidore's. A new altar had obviously been installed, probably of marble since Comerford expressed his pleasure at the news that it had polished up very well. Wadding had also discussed the vegetable garden, since Comerford congratulated him on its produce, jokingly asking Wadding to send him 'a dish of your *belle scarole* or your tender broccoli' in return for which Comerford would send 'a dish of our sweet shamrocks.'

Instancing that all public oratories had been forfeited to the crown, with 'all sermons, communialities and publicity of functions' prohibited, Comerford blamed this heavy-handed reaction on the fact that some Catholic clergy had been too forward. He described Waterford as poverty-stricken and desolate. 'near half the town ruinous, not able to make eight hundred men, whereas we saw the year before the plague eighteen hundred men march on Whitsun Tuesday.' This suggests that a

106 *Ibid.*, D ii ff 44-45, Comerford to Wadding, 6 March 1630.

107 *Ibid.*, D ii f 129, Valentine Brown to Wadding, 28 April 1630.

108 *Ibid.*, D ii, f 133, Strange to Wadding, 10 May 1630.

thousand men of the city had perished due to a recent epidemic of plague. The port had also suffered grievously, since he reported that only two small barks survived on the river. Comerford attributed all this misfortune to the fact that the citizens of Waterford were notorious for misappropriating the church lands and the benefices which previously had provided a living for the clergy, a situation which he quaintly described as 'our townsmen only do eat the church livings of most parts of this county.' Comerford then asked Wadding to obtain for him the monastery of Cahir, in the diocese of Lismore, which had belonged to the old Order of Canons Regular of St Augustine, but was now vacant through the death of Fr Patrick de St Nicholas.[109]

In one of the very few letters from Rome to Waterford to have survived, an Augustinian, Maurice Connell, wrote to Bishop Comerford to inform him that he had attended the recent chapter of the Augustinian Order in Rome where, despite serious opposition from two vicars-general, he had succeeded in gaining for Comerford the vicariate of the Canons Regular for the following five years. Connell acknowledged that Comerford's appointment had only been possible because of the very significant help of Luke Wadding.[110] Connell also reported that there were about thirty Irish Franciscan seminarians at St Isidore's, and two students in the Irish College under the guidance of the rector, Fr John Ponce, from Cork.

Although Guardian Strange had apologised to Bishop Comerford and had promised not to confront him further, he continued to air his grievances. He complained bitterly that his sister had recently been delivered of a child, but that he had been refused permission to christen the infant. He reported that all the Irish Franciscan houses had been forfeited to the king, and that the friars could not even rent a house in which to live in community because such a rented house would be liable to forfeiture also. Consequently, the Franciscans now lived in their kinsmen's houses and, since their accustomed mode of living on alms was also forbidden, they were utterly dependent on the charity of their relatives. Now that they were elderly, bearing the weight of many years of toil, seeking neither rents, revenue, benefices nor wealth, they only wished to have enough food and clothing to enable them to serve God and his people. Many of his brethren were so disillusioned that they were threatening to become parish priests, or to quit the country.[111] The controversy heightened when the Archbishop of Dublin became embroiled with a Dublin cleric named Patrick Cahill. Travelling to Rome to progress his cause, Cahill levelled spurious charges against the Franciscans to some doctors of theology attached to the Sorbonne University in Paris, which led to some unsubstantiated accusations of non-conformity being levelled against the friars.

In May 1631 Guardian Strange wrote to excuse himself for not having communicated with Luke Wadding for six months. He blamed this lapse on an accident which had befallen him before Christmas, when a flint splinter had hit him in the

109 *Ibid.*, D ii ff 163-4, Comerford to Wadding, 26 August 1630.

110 *Ibid.*, D ii, ff 191-2, Maurice Connell to Bishop Comerford, 1 November 1630.

111 *Ibid.*, D ii, f 210, Strange to Francis Matthews OFM, 24 November 1630.

eye, blinding him. Following prolonged treatment he had now recovered. Strange informed Wadding that Sir James Ware had sent him some material which should be of assistance for Wadding's History of Ireland, asking Wadding to acknowledge this kindness in writing, and to include an acknowledgement in the preface of the forth-coming book. Strange confirmed that Patrick Cahill's accusations had caused enormous damage, which would not easily be overcome. Commenting bitterly on Bishop Comerford's intractability with respect to the regulars, he complained that, having spent so many years serving the Church in Ireland, it was shameful that they should now be rewarded by being censured as heretics and schismatics.'[112] There follows in Codex D ii of the Franciscan MSS twenty-one different letters from various Irish church dignitaries condemning Cahill's spurious charges against the regulars, all of which letters supported the regulars and sought punishment for Cahill, who was now *in vinculis Inquisitionis* (in the chains of the Inquisition).

Strange laid the blame for the entire debacle on the Bishop of Ossory, the Bishop of Cork and on Matthew Roche, blaming these three prelates for causing Bishop Comerford of Waterford 'to dance to their tune.' He claimed that Comerford's actions had so antagonised the Catholic community of Waterford that not even two households in the city would offer the bishop a meal. Strange confirmed that he only wrote these criticisms because Luke Wadding had asked in his previous letter that the Franciscan Guardian should 'write with sincerity of the said Patrick.'[113]

In the last of the letters of Bishop Comerford to Luke Wadding preserved in Volume D ii of the Franciscan MSS, the bishop reported that all the authors of the malicious charges laid at the Sorbonne and elsewhere had been discovered, and that corrective action was being taken against them. While he denied that he had ever participated in promoting these charges against the regulars, he nonetheless could not refrain from criticising them. He confided in Wadding that the main fault with the regulars was their lack of discipline, complaining that if a person of integrity reported a regular to his superior for misconduct, the superior would 'hold it a point of honour' to defend the transgressor, no matter what the charge. Aware that their superiors did not dare to correct them, many regulars felt they could behave as they pleased, and their unrestrained conduct had resulted in a total loss of respect for the clergy by the laity. Comerford asserted that there were now so many clergymen in the country that there was almost one for every house. He reported that most of these clergy were idlers, who said Mass in the morning but then spent the remainder of the day playing, or drinking, or vagabonding until midnight. Although mainly poorly educated, he reported that they traded on the respect they considered to be their due as ecclesiastics,

> to live idle, sit among the best, go well clad and, if I would say it swagger: a man can not sit at table to a raffe of tripes, but presently one or two clergymen will come in; a man can not visit a friend in

112 *Ibid.*, D ii f 210, Strange to Francis Matthews OFM, 24 November 1630.

113 *Ibid.*, D ii f 427-30, Strange to Wadding, 10 September 1631.

> town or abroad, but there he shall meet two or three clergymen, and alas, very few spend one hour in a twelvemonth to teach the Christian doctrine or instruct young childer.[114]

The situation was little better at the hierarchical level, since the Archbishop of Cashel, Thomas Walshe, also wrote Wadding a tale of woe. He complained that the bishops of the various dioceses resented his authority over them, to such an extent that they wanted the archbishop to obey the constraints which the Council of Trent placed on his authority, while they themselves refused to obey the decrees of the council. The primary cause of the disagreement was that the bishops resented the archbishop's visitations of the various dioceses, which caused Walshe to seek clarification from Wadding as to his authority and jurisdiction in this regard. Archbishop Walshe attributed the hostility to his Old English provenance, recording 'I am opposed by all my suffragans, repining that any, and specially a Waterford man, should have that eminency over them.' He failed to mention that he was a member of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, the earliest lay members of which order had been the Knights Hospitaller who, with the Knights Templar, for four and a half centuries had been the enforcement agents of the Anglo-Norman control of Ireland. In tandem with Comerford's assessment of too many clergy in Co Waterford, Archbishop Walshe ventured the opinion 'This Province is now as full as it can hold of bishops.'[115]

Alternative seventeenth-century Catholic histories of Ireland

It is evident that Luke Wadding's Sacred History of Ireland, which had evoked such interest from both Catholic and Protestant dignitaries in Ireland, was never completed. However, two major histories of Ireland by Catholic writers were published at this time, which may have influenced Wadding not to proceed to publication with his work. The first of these histories was *Foras Feasa ar Éireann,* a two volumed work, written in Irish by the Old English priest, Geoffrey Keating, which was not completed until after 1633, but before 1638. Geoffrey Keating was born in New Burgess, in the present parish of Ballylooby, in the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore, in *c.*1570. His Irish language style suggests that he was educated in one of the bardic schools, that run by the MacGrath family near Cahir being suggested as the most likely. Recognised to be a Doctor of Theology who was continentally trained, the location of his ordination is unknown, although he is recorded as being at the Irish College in Bordeaux in 1600. He is also known to have had links with the University of Rheims. Having returned to Ireland, he was pastor at Outragh, near Cahir, in *c.*1610, and was also associated with Tullaghortan (Castlegrace), in the same district, both parishes being in the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore.[116] He was eventually forced to flee from these parishes, having fallen foul of the Earl

114 *Ibid.,* D ii ff 460-1, Comerford to Wadding, 30 October 1631.

115 *Ibid.,* D ii, f 465, Thomas Walshe, Archbishop of Cashel, to Wadding, 17 November 1631.

116 Patrick Power, *Waterford and Lismore: A Compendious History of the United Diocese,* pp. 22-4.

of Thomond. Possessed of private means, and now free from his parochial obligations, Keating began the research for his history by searching for the manuscripts which formerly had been preserved in the Irish monasteries prior to their dissolution. Following his return from the continent, Keating spent the remainder of his adult life in the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore.[117]

Keating's motivation in writing his history was to contradict contemporary New English writers who were deliberately portraying Irish culture in derogatory terms. In refuting authors such as Edmund Spenser, Meredith Hanmer (a previous Dean of Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford), Fynnes Morryson, Sir John Davies and many others, Keating claimed that, since they were unable to read or to speak Irish, they could not consult the primary sources of the Gaelic manuscripts which were then readily available, and consequently their compositions were invalid. Keating's *raison d'étre* was to record the contents of the Gaelic manuscripts before they were all destroyed. His *Foras Feasa ar Éireann* was acclaimed by all Irish Catholics; the Gaelic Irish made it their own, and it also vindicated the Old English assertion that their faith could be traced back to St Patrick.[118] In addition to his various, mainly elagic poems, Keating also wrote *Eochair Sgíath an Aifrinn* (A key to the Shield of the Mass), and *Trí Bhiorgaoithe an Bhás* (The Three-forked Shafts of Death). Dr Keating is thought to have died in 1650 and to be buried in the now roofless mortuary chapel at Tubrid.[119]

Although Keating worked in isolation, scarcely aware of the similar work being done contemporaneously in Co Donegal, in Rome Luke Wadding was aware of the Old English, Gaelic scholar's endeavours. The Bishop of Ferns wrote to Wadding to inform him of the fact that Keating had a work-in-progress, using somewhat disparaging language, almost as if to dismiss Keating's efforts as being bound to fall short of Wadding's standards,

> One Doctor Keating laboureth much, as I hear say, in compiling Irish notes towards a history in Irish. Ye man is very studious, and yet I fear that if his work come ever to light it will need an amendment of illwarranted narrations; he could help you to many curiosities of which you can make better use than himself. I have no interest in ye man, for I never saw him, for he dwelleth in Munster.[120]

The second Irish history of the early seventeenth century was *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann*, now popularly known as the *Annals of the Four Masters*. This history survives as the most extraordinary testament to the enlightenment of the Irish Franciscan dignitaries who resided at the Irish College of St Anthony, in Louvain, in the Spanish Netherlands, at that time, and to the superb scholarship,

117 *CSPI, 1615-25,* p. 318.

118 Bernadette Cunningham , 'Seventeenth-Century Interpretations of the Past: The Case of Geoffrey Keating', in *Irish Historical Studies* xxv No. 98 (1986), pp. 116-28.

119 Patrick Power, *Waterford and Lismore: A Compendious History of the United Diocese,* p. 23.

120 UCD Archives, *Franciscan MSS,* D ii ff 393-4, John Roche, Bishop of Ferns, to Wadding, 19 July 1631.

total commitment and sheer physical endurance of its principal author, Mícheál Ó Cléirigh. Little is known about Ó Cléirigh's early life, except that he was born *c.*1590, at Kilbarron, in Co Donegal. He first attracted attention when he became a lay-brother at St Anthony's College, Louvain, in 1623. Concerned by the pejorative tones and the disparaging content of those histories of Ireland being written by New English authors, the Franciscans of Louvain decided to counteract the decreasing reputation of Irish culture which these New English writers were fostering on the continent. For this purpose, in 1625 they dispatched Mícheál Ó Cléirigh back to Ireland, his mission being to collect all the historical material still available on the lives of the Irish saints, particularly of those who were responsible for the scores of missionaries who had re-kindled the Christian faith in Europe during the Dark Ages.

Having returned to Ireland, Ó Cléirigh lived in the Franciscan oratory near Ballyshannon, Co Donegal, from where he traversed the length and breadth of the country, seeking manuscripts, copying their contents when he could not obtain possession of the originals, assembling the resource material from which to achieve his purpose. Each winter he returned to Ballyshannon where, sheltered from the inclement weather, he recopied and embellished the notes he had compiled during the more amiable seasons of the year. As he sought material from which to write the lives of the Irish saints, he also assimilated all the historical data, local and provincial, which came to his attention. Mícheál Ó Cléirigh is said to have spent eleven years on this project, the principal benefit of which proved to be, not the intended hagiographies, but the accumulated historical lore, the details of significant local occurrences and the records of the fast disappearing Gaelic Irish culture.

Ó Cléirigh recruited three laymen who participated in all these endeavours, sharing the hardship of travelling to search out manuscript sources, dealing with all classes of people who might further their endeavours, sharing the dangers from hostility, from wind and from weather. These gifted, persistent men were Fear Feasa Ó Maol Chonaire, Cú Choigcríche Ó Cléirigh, and Cú Choigcríche Ó Duighgeannáin, all of whom, in conjunction with their leader, Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, have been dubbed the Four Masters, from which title the English name of their famed literary work eponymously derives.[121] *The Annals of the Four Masters* was first published sometime between 1632 and 1636.

Over two centuries later, the same methodology was employed by John O'Donovan and his assistant, A. Currie, who walked the length and breadth of Ireland, examining fields, boundary ditches and ruins, in preparation for the Ordnance Survey of Ireland. O'Donovan's *Ordnance Survey Letters,* written from his lodgings scattered throughout the country, are masterpieces of their genre. However, O'Donovan's linguistic genius as a scholar of medieval and of early modern Irish was recognised when he translated *Annála Ríoghtána Éireann* into English, which was then republished as the *Annals of the Four Masters*. Bred, born

121 John McCafferty, *Irish Franciscans,* (Mícheál Ó Cléirigh Institute for the Study of Irish History and Civilisation, 2007), p. 6.

and reared at Attymore, near the south Co Kilkenny village of Slieverue, as a schoolboy O'Donovan daily walked five miles from his home to his school in St Stephen's Street in Waterford city, retracing that tedious physical journey each evening.[122]

Laudianism in Waterford

It was the arrival of Sir Thomas Wentworth as Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1633, removing the Earl of Cork and Viscount Ely from joint control of the government, which caused a readjustment in the direction of the thrust of religious intolerance. Lord Deputy Wentworth was a firm supporter of the recently appointed Archbishop William Laud of Canterbury, whose policies demanded a permanent episcopal hierarchy, the renewal of a sacramental liturgy in the Established Church, and a reduction in the Calvinist emphasis on Double Predestination. Archbishop Laud and his followers questioned the widely held doctrine of Double Predestination, which totally denied the possibility that a sinless lifestyle of prayer and devotion, of performing good works and of charitable endeavour could have beneficial effect on the salvation of a person's soul. By claiming that an individual had no control over his destiny, since God had predestined the salvation of the Elect and the damnation of the Reprobate, with the members of each category already chosen by God, the doctrine of Double Predestination denied the availability of God's Grace, and the benefit of acquiring God's Grace. Laud's theology not only challenged the doctrine of Predestination, but it also changed the emphasis of the current Protestant liturgy away from its concentration on the preaching of the Word of God towards the celebration of a sacramental liturgy in which, by the ceremonial actions of the vicar, God's Grace could readily be obtained. This liturgical innovation involved the removal of the communion table from its customary position in the nave to a new site in the eastern end of a church, where it was to be separated from the congregation by altar rails. Laud's insistence that only those clergy who wore the surplice and hood while reading the Prayer Book were permitted to deliver the sermon, introduced his concern that, while conducting sacramental services, the vicar should be properly vested. He further demanded that bishops should live in their diocese, and should not alienate episcopal estates. The increasing involvement of ecclesiastical courts in investigating the ownership of impropriations and tithes presaged the growing influence of clerics in secular affairs.[123] To many Protestant people, these innovations were collectively seen as 'a plain device to usher in the Mass.'

William Laud's tenure as Archbishop of Canterbury, from 1633 onwards, witnessed his development into the most hated archbishop in English history, while the unqualified support of King Charles I for Laudianism gradually united most Protestants against the monarch. Totally committed to abolishing non-conformity, Laud was determined to bring the Church of Ireland into conformity with the Church of England, this objective consequently necessitating the disciplining of

122 James Walsh, 'John O'Donovan', paper delivered to Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society in 2006.

123 Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age: England 1603-1714,* (Longman, 1997), pp. 172-5.

those who regarded bishops as 'the spawn of Papists.' As a direct result of this policy, which was implemented on the arrival of the new Lord Deputy, Sir Thomas Wentworth, the splitting of the Protestants of Ireland into the two groups of Establishment and Dissent can be traced to 1633, when Laudianism supplanted the wide Puritanism of Archbishop James Ussher.[124] The main clerical proponent of Laudianism in Ireland was the Lord Deputy's chaplain, John Bramhall, who accompanied Wentworth to Ireland in 1633. In the following year, John Bramhall was appointed Lord Bishop of Derry, as such representing the Lord Deputy in the Upper House in the 1634 Irish Parliament, and thereafter gradually taking effective control of the Church of Ireland when Archbishop Ussher, who disapproved of most aspects of Wentworth's religious policy, retired from the political arena.

Lord Deputy Wentworth, Archbishop Laud and Bishop Bramhall agreed that the principal problem for the Protestant Church in Ireland was not the Catholic threat, or recusancy, but lay with the non-conformity, the theological extremism, the abuses and the poverty of the Established Church itself.[125] Their efforts to counter these difficulties would provide the religious history of Waterford for the following seven years. The report compiled by Bishop John Bramhall of Derry, particularly the item that 'the alienation of Church possessions by long leases and deeds are infinite - the Earl of Cork holds the whole Bishopric of Lismore at a rent of 40s or 5 marks by the year,' incensed Wentworth.[126] In the quest for the renewal of a sacramental liturgy, which involved the erection of an altar in the eastern end of a church, the Lord Deputy humiliated the Earl of Cork by forcing him to remove a family vault which he had erected in this location in the interior of Dublin's St Patrick's Cathedral, also forcing him to reposition an ostentatious monument to the peer's late wife in a more obscure location within the same cathedral.[127] Prompted by Cork's humiliation, the Earl's kinsman, the Protestant Bishop Michael Boyle of Waterford then wrote to Archbishop Laud early in 1634, claiming to be an old college acquaintance of the archbishop, and supplying a detailed list of all the lands now held by Cork, which had previously been the property of the See of Waterford and Lismore. Bishop Boyle complained that, because of Cork's land acquisitions, 'out of my two united Bishoprics of Waterford and Lismore, the temporalities whereof are about £1,600 a year, there is not above £50 rent a year reserved, that, with £100 a year which I hold in commendam, is all I have to maintain me and my family.'[128] These precise details were then forwarded

124 Hugh F. Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland, 1633-41,* (Manchester University Press, 1959), p. 119.

125 Alan Ford, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590-1641,* p. 215.

126 James Coleman, 'The Earl of Cork's Appropriation of the Ecclesiastical Revenues of the See of Lismore and St Mary's Collegiate Church, Youghal', in *JWSEIAS* Vol. xi (1908), pp. 226-8.

127 Mark Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603-1714,* (London, 1996), p. 125.

128 Letter of Bishop Boyle of Waterford to Archbishop Laud of Canterbury, dated 7 March 1633, in James Coleman, 'The Earl of Cork's Appropriation of the Ecclesiastical Revenues of the See of Lismore and St Mary's Collegiate Church, Youghal', in *JWSEIAS* Vol. xi (1908), pp. 226-8.

to Wentworth by Laud, and became the basis for the protracted litigation between the Lord Deputy and the Earl of Cork, which continued while the new Irish Parliament sat in Dublin. William Dobbin and Richard Strange represented Waterford city in the parliament which opened on 14 July 1634, while James Walsh and John Power represented county Waterford.[129] A later session of this parliament legislated for the payment of a royal subsidy totalling £120,000 sterling, to be collected in three annual instalments. The yearly contribution stipulated for Munster was £11,200, of which Waterford city paid £606, while the county paid £756 per annum.[130]

Convocation met in conjunction with Parliament to arrange ecclesiastical legislation, and to review clerical taxation. The Laudian ambition for this legislature was the containment of the strident implications of the 1615 Irish Articles by curbing the Antichrist theology, by refusing to support Double Predestination, by emphasising the doctrine of free will and the efficacy of good works, and by supporting the sacraments as a source of grace. This agenda was to be accomplished by imposing the Thirty-nine English Articles and the 1604 English Canons on the Church of Ireland.[131] While these objectives were achieved by Wentworth through the combined endeavours of Bishop John Bramhall of Derry and of a recently arrived English cleric, John Atherton, they were perceived by radicals as inferring a truce with Roman Catholicism, and as tantamount to a declaration of war on nonconformity in the Church of Ireland. The Primate, Archbishop Ussher, objected vehemently to the suppression of the Irish Articles, declaring 'I stand fully convicted in my conscience that the Pope is Antichrist, and so, if I should be so mad as to worship the beast, or to receive the mark of his name, I must be αυτοκατακριτος (self-condemned), and justly expect the Vengeance threatened against such.'[132]

The Earl of Cork had enjoyed an income of £700 per annum from the College of the Blessed Lady the Virgin of Youghal, resisting all Church or government attempts to redress this situation. An aggravated Lord Deputy Wentworth eventually forced Cork to compromise, by threatening a public hearing and a £30,000 fine. Cork reluctantly agreed to pay a £15,000 fine, in three annual installments of £5,000, the last of which was paid on Midsummer Day 1638.[133] Encouraged by this settlement, and by John Atherton's success in recovering church lands in the Diocese of Leighlin, Wentworth appointed Atherton as Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, to succeed Bishop Michael Boyle, who had died on 27 December 1635. Although Laud had some misgivings, Wentworth appointed Atherton specifically

129 *Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland,* Vol. i, p. 66.

130 *Ibid.,* p. 107.

131 John McCafferty, 'John Bramhall and the Church of Ireland in the 1630s', in Ford, McGuire & Milne (eds.), *As by Law Established,* (Dublin, Lilliput Press, 1995), pp. 100-111.

132 Ussher to Laud, 4 January 1635, in Alan Ford (ed.), 'Correspondence Between Archbishops Ussher and Laud', in *Archivium Hibernicum* Vol. xlvi 1991-2, pp. 5-21.

133 A.B., Grosart (ed.), *The Lismore Papers,* 1st series, 5 Vols., (London, 1888), Vol. iv, p 182.

to confront the Earl of Cork, and to regain some of the vast acreage of land previously owned by the See of Waterford and Lismore. King Charles ratified this appointment on 5 April 1636.[134]

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, particularly when Patrick Walshe (1551-78), Marmaduke Middleton (1579-83), and Miler Magrath (1583-1607) had, each in turn, served as Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, large scale alienation of Church lands had occurred. The proposed regaining of these Church lands by the newly installed Bishop Atherton was a New English attempt to address the question of the Old English ownership of these lands, and also to overcome the Old English control of massive estates as a result of the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1540, all of which acquisitions had placed the control of impropriate rectories in the hands of laymen. An impropriate rectory was one in which the rector was either a monastic corporation, or a layman, such as the king. The rector drew the income from the rectory, but granted a portion of it to a vicar. In Ireland, the crown itself held large numbers of impropriations, although most of these were farmed out to the local gentry. Archbishop Laud developed what appeared to be a simple but long-term stratagem, which stipulated that as soon as a lease expired, it was to be granted to the vicar concerned, who would continue to pay the old rent to the crown, but would also lease the land to tenants for a much shorter term, and at an increased rent.[135]

The implementation by Bishop Atherton of the royal edict demanding 'the proper and decorous performance of Divine Service,' which authorised a Laudian inspired High Church liturgy, caused additional problems for Waterford. This Laudian rite required the wearing of ceremonial robes by the officiating clergy, and the utilisation of long-discarded, ornate altar furnishings, such as chalices, candlesticks, and other addenda. Since the very valuable altar plate of Christ Church had been deposited for safe keeping with Waterford Corporation in June 1577, Bishop Atherton instigated legal proceedings to have these treasures returned, or their value to be paid to the cathedral by the Corporation, also demanding the return of the vestments. The Corporation resisted, but was eventually forced to acquiesce, the vestments being returned by the mayor in 1637. One of these copes is currently on display in Waterford Treasures Museum, the remainder being in the National Museum of Ireland. These are the only vestments extant in Ireland, which can be attributed to the pre-Reformation Irish church, and as such, they are both unique and priceless.[136] When a receipt was produced showing that the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church had given the church plate, totalling 784 ounces of silver, to the Mayor and Corporation of Waterford on 10 June 1577 for safe keeping, Wentworth ordered the present mayor, Richard Butler, and the corporation 'to buy for the church 784 ounces of silver as Bishop Atherton and the Dean and Chapter think fit, and pay the plaintiff £50 costs.'[137] The Corporation was also forced to refurbish

134 *Ibid.*

135 Hugh F. Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland, 1633-41*, pp. 120-2.

136 Catriona MacLeod, 'Fifteenth Century Vestments in Waterford', in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (1952), pp. 85-98.

137 Waterford City Council Library, Item 30/12, Julian Walton (ed.), 'Calendar of Christchurch Cathedral Manuscripts', (unpublished), p. 35.

the body of the cathedral, but was granted burial concessions within the cathedral in return.[138]

Bishop Atherton further imposed his authority in Waterford by instigating changes in the interior of Christ Church Cathedral to facilitate the reintroduction of a sacramental liturgy, but a more appreciable impact resulted from his efforts to recover the revenues of his diocese. He quickly sought to question the validity of church leases, since 'some of these were forged at such times as our Chapter Seal was fraudulently kept out of the hands of our predecessors.' Endorsed later, on 16 June 1638, this petition caused Wentworth to authorise Atherton to 'summon persons and inspect leases.'[139] Following scrutiny, and by obtaining an Order of Council, Bishop Atherton then sought the surrender of contentious leases, which, in most cases, he immediately re-granted, but for considerably shorter tenures and for increased rents. Those leases which were clearly fraudulent, or were suspected of being counterfeit, were seized, and were not re-issued to the previous tenants.

The bishop seized four houses, situated close to the cathedral, for non-payment of rent. In Ardfinnan manor, fraudulent leases, made by a previous bishop, Miler Magrath, in favour of his daughter Shelagh, were discovered. Richard Butler, an illegitimate offspring of the Ormond Butler family and son of Shelagh Magrath, was dispossessed of lands at Neddans in this manor, as was Walter Prendergast, the re-assessed rents from Ardfinnan eventually realising £270. 12s. per annum.[140]

In the manor of Bishopscourt, which lay some three miles to the southeast of the city in the Barony of Gaultier, Bishop Atherton made most significant gains, some of which have a very particular relevance to this treatise. He obtained an order of the Irish Council, which demanded the immediate surrender by John and Peter Sherlock of half a ploughland in Ballygarron, which had last been leased by Bishop John Weatherhead to John Quoane on 4 October 1591. On its surrender, Atherton leased it back to the Sherlock brothers for a much shorter term, and at an increased rent. On 8 July 1638, by an Order of Council, he forced Peter Archdeacon to surrender three ploughlands in Kyleogue, which had last been leased on 2 October 1623 by Bishop Michael Boyle to Richard Archdeacon, whose son Peter had then inherited the lease. Bishop Atherton leased this very large estate back to Peter Archdeacon for a reduced term but at an increased rent.[141]

In the adjoining townland of Kilcarragh, Richard Butler owned the lease on half a ploughland. This Richard Butler appears to be the same person who had served as Mayor of Waterford in 1636,[142] and who had unsuccessfully resisted Bishop Atherton's lawsuit to recover the ornate vestments and the church plate of Christ Church Cathedral. Furthermore, it is also likely that he was the same son of Shelagh Magrath, who had been forced to surrender the lands of Neddans in Ardfinnan manor. Richard Butler contested Bishop Atherton's application to the

138 Niall J. Byrne (ed.), *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford,* f 215 r.

139 A.B., Grosart (ed.), *The Lismore Papers,* Vol. iv, p. 185.

140 William H. Rennison, (ed.), 'Joshua Boyle's Accompt of the Temporalities of the Bishoprics of Waterford', in *JCAHS* Vol. xxxii (1927), p. 81 ff.

141 *Ibid.*, pp. 43-6.

142 Niall J. Byrne (ed.), *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford,* p. 358.

Council, but to little avail since, although Atherton was ordered to pay Butler £100 for the improvements he had made to the property, the bishop regained the property but leased it to Henry Hall, clerk, in trust for Richard Butler, for a reduced term of 101/2 years at a rent of £15 sterling per annum.[143]

The real surprise came when Bishop Atherton called in for inspection the lease made by Bishop Patrick Walshe on 20 January 1578, granting a half ploughland in Ballycally alias Knockanispick to Thomas Wadding, Gentleman, for a term of eighty-one years at the derisory rent of 8d. per annum, in return for Wadding's legal counsel. In 1637, this lease still had twenty-two years to run. It is apparent that the Wadding family challenged Atherton in the courts, the case still continuing at the time of Atherton's death. While it is evident that this Wadding family, which had practised law in Waterford for at least three generations, which had supplied at least four members to the Jesuit Order, which had supplied a recusant mayor of Waterford and a recusant MP for the city who had suffered imprisonment in England for his religious beliefs, whose uncle Luke Wadding had such a high profile at Rome, would not readily submit to a Church of Ireland bishop, a Protestant Church dignitary. Joshua Boyle, Register of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore prior to 1641 and reinstated after Cromwell's scourge, wrote in 1663 'this lease is counterfeit, as appears by the dorse thereof. Their deeds, John late Bishop, had voided if he had lived.'[144] While the legality or illegality of the lease will never now be known, it is apparent that, in common with most affluent Waterford families of this era, this branch of the Wadding family did engage in land dealings. A bond, dated 26 November 1637, is preserved in the Archives of the University of Southampton, by which Matthew Allen of Palmerston and Laurence Dowdall of Athlomny, Co Meath, bound themselves to Thomas Wadding of Waterford. Wadding was to receive an annuity of £40 sterling per annum from the lands in Palmerston, and a clause was included whereby failure to pay him his money would entitle Wadding to distrain the entire estate.[145] It is further recorded that, at that time, Thomas Wadding Esquire, was the impropriator of the entire rectory of Kilbarry, valued at £20 per annum, which rectory, prior to the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1540, had belonged to the Knights Hospitaller.

It was estimated that Atherton's actions with respect to the manor of Bishopscourt alone had produced a revenue of £170 sterling,[146] which was a marked improvement on the £50 total income claimed by Bishop Michael Boyle for his entire diocese. In the manor of Kilbarmeaden, Atherton achieved similar results, new rents from lands being estimated at £79. 16s. 4d., with the Chiefries realising £37. 6s. 4d., to bring in a total income from this area of £117. 2s. 8d.

143 William H. Rennison, (ed.), 'Joshua Boyle's Accompt of the Temporalities of the Bishoprics of Waterford', in *JCAHS* Vol. xxxii (1927), pp. 43-6.

144 *Ibid.*

145 University of Southampton Archives, Broadlands Estate Papers, 173/Bundle 5, as recorded in Donovan and Edwards, *British Sources for Irish History, 1485-1641*, (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1997), p. 83.

146 William H Rennison, (ed.), 'Joshua Boyle's Accompt of the Temporalities of the Bishoprics of Waterford', in *JCAHS* Vol. xxxii (1927), pp. 43-6.

Bishop Atherton gained spectacular successes against the Earl of Cork, forcing a settlement in Lismore manor amounting to £115. 16s. 8d. However, his greatest achievement was in the manor of Ardmore. Holding nine ploughlands and 1/4 of a demesne, (i.e. at least 1,480 acres of prime land), with forty-four years left to run on its lease at the derisory rent of £4. 10s. per annum, the Earl of Cork was forced, by an Order of Council dated 19 July 1637, to surrender this entire manor, worth £500, and to pay £500 to the bishop to build a new bishop's palace. The house called Bishopscourt, which was located north of Waterford's Christ Church Cathedral, and which almost certainly is the present-day Deanery in Cathedral Square, was then almost entirely rebuilt by Bishop Atherton, using this £500.[147] Within two years Bishop Atherton had leased this huge expanse of land to various tenants at a rent of £453, while the Chiefries of Ardmore came to £48. 15s. 9d., bringing the total income from this manor to £501. 15s. 9d.[148] Consequently, the total increase in revenue for the Diocese, following a little over a year of Atherton's endeavours, and with minimal litigation, amounted to £1,175. 7s. 1d. per annum, and more was yet to come.

By now, Bishop Atherton had antagonised not only the mayor and aldermen of Waterford city, but had also alienated many of the leading citizens, notably members of the Wadding, Butler, Wyse, Sherlock and Power families. Additionally he had outraged many New English landowners, the most prominent being the Earl of Cork, although the latter was now resident in England. Since the prelate's endeavours to regain Church lands were continuing, it came as no surprise that an attempt was made to undermine his position. On 17 June 1640 an ecclesiastical scandal, which was to reverberate throughout the three kingdoms, broke with the announcement in the Irish House of Commons of 'a Petition preferred by Jo Child against the Bishop of Waterford.'[149] The charge against Atherton, of sodomy with his steward John Child, was prosecuted under the Act against Buggery, which had only been enacted in the previous parliament. Atherton's proctor, John Child, and an unnamed menial servant of the bishop, were the main accusers. An embittered defendant from one of the bishop's Episcopal Courts, named Howell Powell, was a major prosecution witness. The Catholic Sheriff of Waterford, Luke White, who arrested the bishop, and the recorder of the city, Pierce Butler, who was the chief prosecutor, were also implicated in the case.[150]

Although he strenuously denied the charge of sodomy, Atherton admitted to various other indiscretions. Found guilty of buggery on 28 November, and sentenced to death, Bishop Atherton was hanged in Dublin on 5 December 1640. At his own request, he was buried on the same day in a rubbish pit located in a corner of the cemetery of the Church of St John the Evangelist in Fishamble Street, a foundation where he had served as Prebendary in 1630. John Child was later

147 *Ibid.*

148 *Ibid.*, p. 81ff.

149 *The Journals of the Irish Houses of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland,* Vol. i, p. 151.

150 Robert Winnett, 'The Strange Case of Bishop John Atherton', in *Decies* xxxix (1988), p. 6.

arraigned on an uncertain charge, thought to be of perjury, and being 'convicted thereto at the Assizes holden in Cork,' was hanged at Bandon Bridge in March 1641.[151] While there were some who were convinced that justice had been done, the vast majority of observers inclined to the view that the whole affair had been contrived. There has been considerable speculation as to the identity of Atherton's nemesis. The bishop himself ruled out inter-confessional strife between Catholics and Protestants, recording 'none of the Romish church, though differing from me in points of religion, had a hand in this complaint against me.'[152] Consequently, the attack must have been by reformers, Laudianism itself being the target of either a direct assault on episcopacy, or a retaliation for confiscation of property, or both.

The climate of antagonism towards episcopacy, which was reaching serious proportions in Ireland and in England, was rampant in Scotland. When King Charles attempted to force the use of the new Prayer Book in a liturgy being celebrated in St Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, on 23 July, a pre-arranged furious tumult, involving formidable Edinburgh matrons, completely disrupted the liturgy. When the king refused to withdraw his demands, a group of petitioners elected a representative body, which drew up a National Covenant in February 1638, denouncing the Canons and the Prayer Book. As the situation deteriorated, and in defence of their Kirk the Scots Covenanters invaded England in 1639, overran the border counties, captured Newcastle, and threatened the north of England. Promoted as Earl of Strafford, and recalled by the king to take charge of the deteriorating situation, Lord Deputy Wentworth left Ireland on Good Friday, 3 April 1640, never to return.[153] Due to being forced to compromise with the Scots in the north of England, Wentworth was later imprisoned in the Tower of London pending an impeachment trial.[154] The Puritans then presented a monster petition for the abolition of episcopacy, root and branch, which led to the imprisonment of Archbishop Laud on a charge of treason, on 18 December.[155] Following an inconclusive trial, and by now totally abandoned by the king, the House of Lords passed a Bill of Attainder against Wentworth on 8 May, condemning him to death. Archbishop James Ussher, who also had left Ireland permanently, attended Wentworth in the Tower prior to his execution, walking with him up Tower Hill to the execution site. The Earl of Cork, who gave evidence against Wentworth, recorded in his diary, 'The oppressing Earl of Strafford...the twelfth of this month, was beheaded on the Tower Hill of London, as he well deserved.'[156]

151 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
152 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
153 Roy F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972*, (Penguin, London, 1989), p. 82.
154 Mark Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603-1714*, p. 143.
155 Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age: England 1603-1714*, p. 191.
156 C.V. Wedgewood, *Thomas Wentworth, First Earl of Strafford, 1593-1641*, (London, Phoenix Press, 2000), p. 390, quoting *Lismore Papers*, 2nd Series, Vol. v, p. 106.

The Insurrection of 1641

Now, with Laudianism in decline, with Catholicism rejected, Puritan Calvinism would reign supreme. King Charles ratified the elevation of Archibald Adair as Church of Ireland Bishop of Waterford and Lismore on 13 July 1641[157]. Their rejection by the New English and the threat of severe anti-Catholic repression led the Old English to reluctantly consider a union with the Gaelic Irish. The predictions of Lord Carew, of Sir Patrick Barnwall, and of Archbishop Ussher, that a Catholic union of the Old English and the Gaelic Irish would foment a war, became a reality. On 22 October 1641, Sir Phelim O'Neill led a well-planned attack on those Protestant settlers in Ulster who held the estates of Catholic families. The Ulster rebels declared that their revolt was in defence of their liberties, and that they were not in arms against the king. As reports of Catholic atrocities became commonplace, eschatologically minded Protestants considered that Armageddon was now in progress, that the island of Ireland had become the plain of Megiddo, that the four horsemen of the Apocalypse were about to wreak their terrible havoc of war, famine, plague and vengeance. The Rebellion of 1641 was in being.

Although they failed in their objective of capturing Dublin Castle because the authorities had been forewarned, the rebels nevertheless achieved considerable success countrywide. Under the control of the staunchly Protestant mayor, Francis Briver, Waterford city opposed the rebellion, acting as a haven for refugees as New English settlers in county Tipperary and in county Kilkenny were forced from their lands. Stripped by the insurgents, scantly clad settlers gathered at Carrick-on-Suir and in Waterford, seeking to be ferried downriver to Passage East to take ship for England. Despite the best efforts of Mayor Briver in confiscating boats to impede their passage, 600 to 700 rebels crossed the river Suir, landing at Faithlegge, and marauding then through the Barony of Gaultier, they plundered farms and seized cattle.[158] They audaciously rampaged to within a musket shot of the city, only the sight of the municipal ordnance and the armed citizens on the walls deterring them from attacking.

Isolated from the city by three miles of open country, the principal land-owner in the area, the Catholic Sir Thomas Sherlock, also defied the rebels from the safety of his securely fortified Butlerstown Castle. As the insurgents moved westwards in county Waterford, they encountered spirited resistance from tenants of the Earl of Cork. Shortly thereafter Lord President St Leger checked their progress, slaughtering some 200 rebels, and hanging those captured alive. Sir Thomas Sherlock actively supported St Leger, being prominent in conducting executions, an involvement which would not quickly be forgotten.[159]

157 Walter Harris, *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland,* p. 541.

158 Letter of Mayor Francis Briver to Ormond, 2 December 1641, in P.M. Egan, *A Waterford Guide,* p. 60.

159 H.D. Gallwey, 'Sherlock of Butlerstown Castle', in *Irish Genealogist* (1969), pp. 131-41.

Mayor Briver maintained control with some difficulty in Waterford city, since many of the citizens now sympathised with the rebels. On Christmas Eve, 300 barely clothed New English refugees from Kilkenny city and county assembled on the northern bank of the Suir, opposite Waterford city, seeking to be ferried to safety in the city, there to await transport to England. Mayor Briver ordered that £60 worth of broadcloth should be given to clothe these half-naked New English refugees, but some citizens objected to this charity being granted from the municipal purse. When the leader of the protesting citizens, Alexander Leonard, a previous mayor-elect who had suffered imprisonment in Cork for his recusancy, was summoned to Mayor Briver's house, a fracas developed during which Leonard was overpowered by superior numbers but not before he had badly bitten the Mayor's hand in the mêlée. An Irish spy, William Fennel, was active in the city throughout the festive season, investigating public opinion, and hopeful that the municipality would join the revolt, but the mayor held firm. Twice in the period from Christmas Day to Twelfth Day the city's alarm was sounded to alert the citizens to danger at the walls, while the sentinel drum was struck at 2 a.m. on one occasion, to call the guard to arms to prevent Irish raiders from stealing a ship moored in the river.[160]

Despite the declaration by Bishop Patrick Comerford that the war, which the Catholics were about to wage, was not only just in the sight of Heaven, but was necessary for the welfare of Irish Catholics,[161] the Protestant Mayor Briver continued to oppose the rebels. When, in early March 1642, the Irish army of Lord Mountgarret appeared before the walls demanding admission, Briver once again refused, but the two Catholic sheriffs, John Power of Castletown and William Woodlock, opened the gates to admit the insurgents. The municipal constables were then ordered to arrest English Protestants living in the city or in the hinterland, to seize their goods, and to imprison them. These prisoners were sent to Passage East, to join the 350, mainly Co Kilkenny, refugees who were already there under the control of Captain Strange. Due to scarcity of rations, and overcrowding, forty-eight of these refugees died at Passage, before they could be shipped to England.[162]

Exactly as Dr White had done in 1603, Bishop Comerford repossessed Christ Church Cathedral, purified it from alleged Protestant taint, and commenced the public performance of Catholic liturgies there.[163] The Franciscan Guardian, Thomas Strange, repossessed the Holy Ghost Friary, publicly celebrating Mass and preaching in the old church, and commenced the building of a new dormitory for fifteen named friars who would live in community there, as of old.[164] The lay

160 Undated letter of Mrs Briver to Captain Evelings (Commander of Duncannon Fort), in P.M. Egan, *A Waterford Guide,* p. 66.

161 Patrick Hurley, 'Memoir of Dr Patrick Comerford, OSA, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, 1629-52', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 3rd Series Vol. viii (1887), p. 1088.

162 Patrick C. Power, *History of Waterford City and County,* (Mercier Press, 1990), p. 75.

163 Patrick Hurley, 'Memoir of Dr Patrick Comerford, OSA, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, 1629-52', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 3rd Series Vol. viii (1887), p. 1088.

164 Canice Mooney, 'The Franciscans in Waterford', in *JCAS* (1964), p. 82, See Appendix C.

impropriator of the Priory of St John, Francis Wyse, took the keys of this long vacant church from the vicar, and allowed the Cistercians to re-inhabit the buildings which they had forfeited 106 years previously. Bishop Comerford condemned this unauthorised intrusion of regular clergy and obtained a preliminary judgement against the Cistercians. Supported by Wyse, the monks refused to vacate the premises, resulting in the bishop placing the church under interdict. Undeterred by this sanction the monks continued in residence. Bishop Comerford then imposed a second interdict, local and personal, excommunicating the Cistercian community, the monastic buildings, and the grounds. A later judgement by the Supreme Council of the Confederacy in favour of the prelate eventually forced the Cistercians to once again abandon St John's Priory.[165]

Retribution for his involvement in hanging rebels was then exacted from Sir Thomas Sherlock, his stronghold at Butlerstown Castle being captured by Lord Mountgarret's forces. Sherlock was stripped, 'and turned out of doors in his slippers, without stockings, leaving him only a red cap and a green mantle, so that himself, his lady and children had not so much as their wearing clothes left, nor any relief, but dependent solely on their friends.'[166] Sherlock and his family travelled to Dublin, and eventually sought refuge in England.

Although Waterford had joined the rebels the efforts of Mayor Briver, in resisting from October to March, had paid handsome dividends for the New English cause. Briver's control of the port of Waterford had prevented continental Catholics from supplying essential arms, munitions and money to the insurgents, and had given time for the English navy to reinforce the fleet which patrolled the approaches to the estuary. Briver's resistance had allowed the authorities sufficient time not only to prevent supplies reaching the rebels, but to ensure that the port would never realise its strategic importance throughout this conflict. The long-predicted fusion of Old English and Gaelic Irish Catholic interests was officially realised on 24 October 1642, when twenty-five peers (eleven spiritual and fourteen temporal) and 226 commoners convened in the Confederation of Kilkenny. The newly formed Supreme Council of the Confederation then appointed Luke Wadding as their agent in Rome.[167] Active since the beginning of the revolt in trying to influence the Pope, and known as 'the beggarman of Europe' because of his continually seeking arms and finance, Luke Wadding was foiled by Briver's stance from using Waterford as the supply port of the rebellion in this critical early period.

As Archbishop Laud of Canterbury, whose policies had achieved such dramatic results in Waterford, came to trial on charges of treason and popery which lead to his execution,[168] an entirely new, Catholic, ecclesiastical regime was coming to prominence in Ireland. At Luke Wadding's request for a papal representative to liaise directly with the Confederacy, Pope Urban VIII, whose diplomatic liaison

165 Patrick Power, *Waterford and Lismore: A Compendious History of the United Diocese,* p. 308.

166 J.P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland,* (Dublin, Mellifont Press, 1922), p. 274.

167 Patrick Corish, 'Luke Wadding', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (1978), p. 384.

168 C.V. Wedgewood, *Thomas Wentworth, First Earl of Strafford, 1593-1641,* p. 384.

with the French born Queen of England was of such value to King Charles, appointed the Oratorian priest Fr Pier Francesco Scarampi as papal envoy to Ireland. When he arrived at Wexford in July 1643, Scarampi delivered 30,000 Roman crowns to the Confederacy, and significant military supplies, all of which had been collected by Luke Wadding.[169] Negotiating through the Earl of Ormond, King Charles offered toleration of religion in Ireland in return for military support to confront the parliamentarian army, as civil war had broken out in England in 1643 Thus, religious unrest had spiralled into military confrontation in the three kingdoms, the Scottish Presbyterians having rebelled against the crown in 1639, the Irish Catholics having revolted in 1641, and the English Puritans' confrontation with Laudianism in 1642, having resulted in the English Civil War. Aware that the Gaelic Irish were opposed to such an offer, but that the Old English were likely to accept, Scarampi voiced his concerns that the Old English might agree without obtaining adequate guarantees for Catholicism. Desperate for military assistance, King Charles sought help from a previous High Sheriff of Co Waterford, Sir Robert Walsh, commissioning Walsh as Colonel to enlist and equip a regiment of 1,000 foot, and to bring them to England to support the monarch.[170] Clearly the city's history of militant royal support, and its continuing allegiance to the crown, were well known to the king.

Meeting in Kilkenny in conjunction with the General Assembly of the Confederation, Convocation issued a decree on 1 June 1645, declaring that any intended treaty with the English crown would not be considered unless it unequivocally guaranteed that all churches, monasteries, and ecclesiastical lands, which were currently in Catholic possession, would be retained in Catholic hands.[171] Immediately afterwards, the significant defeat of King Charles at Naseby in Northamptonshire, proved to be not only a major reversal for the royalist cause, but also brought Oliver Cromwell to prominence, not simply as the driving force behind the New Model Army, but particularly as a successful strategist who could combine military success with Puritan zeal. Documents captured at Naseby confirmed the involvement of the monarch with papists, and revealed his plans to utilise an army of Irish Catholics to reinforce his troops. The King commissioned the Catholic Earl of Glamorgan to negotiate at Kilkenny with the Confederate Catholics, and to offer significant concessions in return for such reinforcements.[172] However, the death of Pope Urban VIII on 29 July 1644 and the consequent vacancy in the Vatican, introduced an urgency into Glamorgan's mission to achieve success before a new Supreme Pontiff might disturb the *status quo*. In the interim, Glamorgan reached agreement with the Confederate Catholics on 25 August,[173] conceding complete toleration for Catholics, who also were to be permitted to assume public office, and to be exempt from Protestant clerical jurisdiction. The

169 Patrick Corish, 'Ireland's 1st Papal Nuncio', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (1954), p. 176.

170 Niall J. Byrne (ed.), *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford*, f 222.

171 Brendan Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth Century Ireland: The War of Religions*, pp. 189-90.

172 *Ibid.*, p. 192.

173 Roy F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972*, p. 97.

confirmation of Catholic ownership of all churches and lands currently in Catholic hands was also acknowledged, in return for which, 10,000 fully equipped Irish troops were to be shipped to England, under Glamorgan's command.

When Pope Innocent X came to the papal throne on 15 September 1644, the Confederate Catholics sent Richard Bellings to Rome to congratulate the new Supreme Pontiff on his election, and to seek further papal support for the Irish Catholic cause. Bellings was informed that Pope Innocent X had decided to recall the previous Pontiff's representative, Scarampi, and to appoint a fully accredited Papal Nuncio to Ireland, in the person of the Archbishop of Fermo, Giovanni Baptiste Rinuccini.[174] While there are unconfirmed reports that Wadding received some votes in the Consistory which elected Pope Innocent X, it is confirmed that the members of the Confederate Council were so appreciative of the massive contribution which Wadding had made to their cause as to seek his elevation by the Holy See to the rank of cardinal. Three archbishops, and Lords Castlehaven, Mountgarret, Netterville and Fermoy all signed a memorial seeking such an ecclesiastical honour, but Wadding is said to have declined the elevation, and to have prevented the Council's design in his regard.[175]

The Spanish sympathies of the new papal regime shifted the ecclesiastical emphasis in Ireland, elevating the regular clergy, as exemplified by the Franciscan friars, to prominence, at the expense of the diocesan orientated Old English clergy. John Brenan, a future Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and Oliver Plunkett, a future Archbishop of Armagh and latterly a saint of the Roman Catholic Church, accompanied Scarampi on his return to Rome. Prior to his embarkation, Papal Nuncio Rinuccini was thoroughly and comprehensively briefed on Irish affairs by Luke Wadding, and by the reports of Pier Francesco Scarampi. *En route* to Ireland, Rinuccini set sail from France, bound for Duncannon Fort, but was lucky to escape capture by one of the frigates patrolling the approaches to Waterford Estuary. Rinuccini made landfall in Kenmare Bay on 21 October 1645, receiving a tumultuous reception everywhere as he progressed towards Kilkenny, bringing money and arms to the Confederates.[176] Despite the fact that Glamorgan's agreement had already been negotiated with representatives of the General Assembly, Rinuccini revoked this treaty because the agreement was secret and verbal only, the law of the land still being anti-Catholic. On 21 December, the nuncio dictated an expanded treaty, demanding that the next Lord Lieutenant of Ireland should be a Catholic, that Catholic bishops should sit in the next Parliament, and that the Supreme Council should not be dissolved until the king had formally ratified these religious concessions.[177] Obviously the Vatican had now taken control of the Confederacy, and bowing to papal authority, the Catholic Glamorgan tamely agreed to the nuncio's demands. Since the king could not be seen to agree to such proposals,

174 Patrick Corish, 'Ireland's 1st Papal Nuncio', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (1954), p. 176.

175 Patrick Power, *Waterford Saints and Scholars, 17th Century*, p. 18.

176 M.H. Gaffney, 'Rinuccini comes to Ireland', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (1940), pp. 50-7.

177 Brendan Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth Century Ireland: The War of Religions*, p. 194.

Glamorgan's mission collapsed, and to save face for the monarch Ormond arrested Glamorgan. Royalist forces, which had been holding out at Chester awaiting the arrival of 10,000 men from Ireland, were now overcome, Chester falling to parliamentary forces on 3 February 1646. Three months later, on 5 May, King Charles surrendered to the Scots near Newark.

Following the collapse of Glamorgan's mission, and the surrender of the king, the Supreme Council and Ormond were obliged to come to terms as quickly as possible. In spite of opposition from Rinuccini, the Confederates agreed to a peace with Ormond, which was proclaimed in Dublin on 30 July. Within days, heralds were dispatched from Dublin to proclaim this peace in Waterford first, since Waterford was recognised as the second city of Ireland, before then proclaiming it nationwide. The heralds arrived on 8 August, but the strong influence of Nuncio Rinuccini and of Bishop Comerford can be seen in the refusal of the citizens to direct the heralds to the mayor's quarters, and the reluctance of the mayor to receive them. Discomfitted and unable to fulfill their mission, the heralds retired from Waterford to proclaim Ormond's Peace in Kilkenny.[178]

Encouraged by Owen Roe O' Neill's defeat of General Munroe at Benburb on 5 June, and incensed by Ormond's Peace being declared in the seat of the Confederacy, Rinuccini determined to remove the official ecclesiastical government from Kilkenny, and called for an 'Assembly General of the Superior and Inferior Irish Clergy' to convene immediately at Waterford. Bishop Patrick Comerford and Guardian Thomas Strange were pleased to welcome a considerable number of senior Catholic clergy to Waterford, but the location of the synod in the refurbished Franciscan Holy Ghost Church, attests the increasing prominence now being given to the regular clergy, as typified by the Friars Minor. The motion for debate was 'Whether they are to be declared as Perjured who do receive the Peace contained in the Thirty Articles admitted to us by the Supreme Council, and if they be to be Excommunicated as Perjured Persons?'[179] Disregarding the five major religious concessions, and the twenty-five civil concessions which had been conceded in Glamorgan's aborted treaty but which currently could scarcely be realised since the king was in captivity, and focussing on Ormond's Peace, the Synod of Waterford decreed,

> *Nemine Contradicente,* That all and every one of the Confederate Catholics, who shall adhere to the like Peace, or shall consent to the Maintainers thereof, or otherwise embrace the same, be held Absolutely Perjured, especially for this Cause, That in these Articles, there is no mention made of the Catholic Religion, and the security thereof, nor any care had for the Conservation of the Privileges of the Country, as is found promised in the Oath; but rather all things are referred to the Pleasure of the Most Renowned King...[180]

178 Charles Smith, *Antient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford,* (1746), p. 149.

179 Richard Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana,* (Dublin, Watts, 1689), Vol. ii, Appendix xxx, p. 122.

180 *Ibid.*

It was ordered that this decree should be written in both English and Irish, and should be published in all places, but that the question of excommunication was to be referred to the next session. Issued following debate 'for many days', this decree was 'dated at Waterford the 12th of August 1646', and was signed firstly by the nuncio, then by two archbishops, then by ten bishops, and lastly by various abbots, priors and vicars apostolic. In all, excluding the nuncio, thirty-four dignitaries of the Irish Church signed this decree, the signature of Bishop Patrick Comerford coming fifth on the completed list.[187] This Ecclesiastical Council of Waterford is of prime significance since it ratified the rift between Rinuccini and the Supreme Council, and indicated the direction which future events would follow, and further confirmed that the nuncio had the support of the majority of the Irish Catholic hierarchy at this time.

Nuncio Rinuccini and most of the Catholic hierarchy remained at Waterford, monitoring developments, while the Supreme Council of the Confederacy defied the decree of the Waterford assembly by continuing to proclaim Ormond's Peace. On 18 August, 'in detestation of this heinous and scandalous disobedience of the Supreme Council,' Bishop David Rothe of Ossory issued an Edict of Excommunication, declaring 'by these Presents, according to the prescriptions of the Sacred Canons, pronounce and command henceforth a General Cessation of Divine Offices throughout all the city and suburbs of Kilkenny, in all churches, monasteries, and houses in them whatsoever.'[182]

With the seat of the Confederacy now interdicted, the Ecclesiastical Assembly reconvened in Waterford on 24 August, on this occasion in Christ Church Cathedral, and issued a Declaration to the Supreme Council enunciating several propositions.[183] They demanded that the concessions which had been contained in Glamorgan's treaty should be incorporated in Ormond's Peace, and should be insisted on by the Confederacy, intimating that Ormond had always had the authority to repeal the Penal Laws and to suspend Poynings Act, but that he had refrained from doing so. Insisting on promotion for O'Neill and Preston, they further demanded freedom to exercise the Catholic religion, Catholic involvement in the university, restoration to estates, and immunity from increased taxation or from being garrisoned. The Supreme Council replied on 10 September, agreeing to all the demands emanating from Waterford.[184] Nevertheless, backed by O' Neill's army, the Papal Nuncio vacated Waterford, marched to Kilkenny, there deposed and imprisoned most of the members of the Council, and shortly thereafter a new and compliant Supreme Council was nominated. Ten days later, on 5 October 1646, Rinuccini issued 'a Decree of Excommunication against such as adhere to the late Peace, and do bear arms for the Heretics of Ireland, and do aid or assist them.'[185] Fully supportive of the nuncio, Waterford city was totally unaffected by these censures.

181 *Ibid.*, p.123. See Appendix D.

182 *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 169.

183 *Ibid.*

184 Richard Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, pp. 170-1.

185 *Ibid.*

The new, clergy dominated General Assembly re-affirmed its stance by issuing a declaration against Ormond's Peace on 2 February, indicating that, even after four months of interdict, there was to be no relaxation of its strictures. However, the clerical majority on the General Assembly, and an incident which originated in Rome, began to make supporters of Ormond's Peace suspicious of Luke Wadding's total loyalty to the Old English cause. When Dean Massari of Fermo was on the point of returning from Rome to rejoin Archbishop Rinuccini of Fermo in Ireland, Luke Wadding made contact with the intending traveller. The most treasured Irish possession retained at St Isidore's was the sword of the long-dead Hugh O' Neill, late Earl of Tyrone. Appreciating its enormously emotional significance, on 8 May 1647 Luke Wadding gave the sword to Massari to deliver it as Wadding's gift to the Gaelic Irish general, Owen Roe O' Neill, a kinsman of the late earl. Massari had the sword blessed by the Pope and then, on delivering the weapon to Owen Roe O' Neill, he declared that it was a personal gift from Pope Innocent X to the Gaelic Irish general. The Old English saw the gift, which they termed 'the Papal Sword of State,' as a token of the Pope's and the Franciscan's favouring of the Gaelic Irish. The simmering resentment of the Old English reactivated the generations-old controversy concerning the church lands which the Dissolution of the Monasteries had delivered into the possession of the Old English gentry, but which the Gaelic Irish claimed justly belonged to them. Ill-tempered mutterings on this topic were soon clearly heard and, since Luke Wadding was known to have been the custodian of the sword which had sparked this agitation, his name was included in the strongly-voiced complaints. The timing of this episode was unfortunate, since it occurred as the feud between the Old English and Rinuccini was just beginning.[186]

Of the estimated 400 Franciscans then present in Ireland, as many as 370 are thought to have been opposed to Ormond's Peace, but feelings ran so high that some friars demanded the setting up of two separate Franciscan Provinces, one for the Gaelic Irish and one for the Old English friars. When this controversy became so heated as to become almost unmanageable, with Luke Wadding's agreement a French Franciscan, Fr Raymond Carron, was sent to Ireland to try to secure unity in the order. On his arrival, Carron attacked the Gaelic Irish friars who supported Rinuccini. Luke Wadding called for Carron's immediate recall, but the episode clearly demonstrated that, since the election of Pope Innocent X had caused a temporary loss of influence by the Berberini Cardinals who were Wadding's patrons, Wadding no longer commanded the singular papal influence on Irish affairs which he had previously enjoyed.[187]

Rinuccini's continuing pressure forced Ormond to open negotiations with the English parliamentarians. A combined Confederate army, under the joint command of O' Neill and Preston, now threatened Dublin, causing Ormond to authorise Lord Clanricard to negotiate. While Rinuccini and O' Neill dismissed Clanricard's overtures, Preston gave them serious consideration since, if the Confederates turned

186 Patrick J. Corish, 'Father Luke Wadding and the Irish Nation', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 5th series Vol. iixc (1957), pp. 390-1.

187 *Ibid.*, p. 391.

their backs on the king, they would undoubtedly face a parliamentary army without any royalist support. Being seen to vacillate, Preston was ordered, under pain of excommunication, to withdraw. In reality it was here, at this stage, that the king was officially abandoned in Ireland, by the buckling of Preston and the Old English under the power of the nuncio. The Confederate cause collapsed, never to recover. On 7 June an English parliamentary army, under the command of Colonel Michael Jones, landed at Dublin. Ormond surrendered Dublin to the Commissioners for the English parliament on 19 June.[188]

As Lord Inchiquin took control of Munster, his troops were soon threatening Waterford. On 31 May 1647, Mayor Paul Wadding reported to Preston that the enemy cavalry was scouting within a mile of the city's walls, and, since a siege of the city seemed imminent, he asked Preston to march with 500 men to their aid. Three weeks later, Mayor Wadding could report that the arrival of Captain Edward Geoghan and Captain Anthony Hore, with their respective companies, all of whom were billeted in the city, had relieved the threat to Waterford.[189] Finding himself unable to assemble a constitutional government, the Papal Nuncio was forced to agree that those leaders of the Confederacy, whom he had overthrown in 1646, should now be restored to office. The alarm at Waterford signified to the citizens and to the Confederacy that their only option was to negotiate with Lord Inchiquin, in an attempt to unite against the coming English parliamentary threat. Rinuccini vetoed a draft treaty with Inchiquin in April 1648, and withdrew from Kilkenny to O' Neill's camp at Jamestown. Undeterred, the Supreme Council proclaimed the truce with Inchiquin, and made preparations to mount a military campaign under Preston, which caused Rinuccini to issue an edict of excommunication against all those who supported the Inchiquin treaty.[190] This was a disastrous development, because the Old English were now convinced that the nuncio was acting for purely political rather than religious reasons.

At that time a Confederacy commission, comprised of Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns and Nichols Plunkett, aided by Luke Wadding, was engaged in negotiations with Pope Innocent X. Because the Irish question was so tangled, the Pope had expressed his reticence to undertake further commitment in the affairs of Ireland. Then news arrived in Rome that the Irish Catholics were once again seriously divided, and that Rinuccini had excommunicated those, principally the New English Catholics, who sought agreement with King Charles. In support of his nuncio, Pope Innocent immediately suspended negotiations with the commission, refusing to receive Wadding, French or Plunkett again. Wadding arranged an interview with Cardinal Roma for the Irish envoys, who persuaded the cardinal to write to Rinuccini expressing his doubt of the wisdom of the excommunication. Forced to abandon their mission to the Pope, the Irish envoys left a petition for Wadding to present to Pope Innocent, seeking the suspension of Rinuccini's excommunication or the granting of a general absolution from it. On 7 September, Pope Innocent rejected this petition, publicly supporting Rinuccini by declining to interfere with

188 Roy F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972*, p. 98.

189 *CSPI, Charles I, 1633-47*, p. 683.

190 Roy F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972*, p. 97.

the nuncio's actions in Ireland. Wadding's attempts to mediate in this particular dispute earned him double condemnation. Since they suspected that Wadding had always been a supporter of Ormond, the Gaelic Irish declared that 'you can't trust a Waterfordman to be an Irishman.'[191] Rinuccini would later claim that Wadding had refused to support him at this time, when the nuncio most needed such support.

Perdition

Bishop Rothe of Ossory affixed Rinuccini's edict of excommunication to the door of St Canice's Cathedral, and Bishop Comerford acted similarly at Waterford's Christ Church. This '*latae sententiae* edict enjoined all ecclesiastical and secular persons not to cherish or defend... the cessation made with the Lord Baron Inchiquin. All cities and towns that should receive that cessation were interdicted.'[192] Now, for the first time, Waterford city suffered the extreme sanctions of this ecclesiastical punishment. All the churches were closed, and the clergy was forbidden to officiate at any liturgy, so that 'Mass was not said, bells were not rung, and sacraments were administered only to the dying.'[193] Now, a regime far more draconian than any implemented by committed reformers had been imposed by a prince of the Catholic Church on the citizens of a city who, in support of Rome, had forfeited every one of their privileges hard-earned throughout the preceding four and a half centuries. What England had failed to accomplish in three quarters of a century of religious persecution had been achieved now in one fell swoop. Although it is apparent that Bishop Comerford disagreed with this edict, nevertheless, as a dutiful Catholic prelate, he fully enforced the censures. The cathedral deanery convened in Christ Church Cathedral on 12 November 1648 to formulate a petition to the nuncio asking for a withdrawal of the interdict. Bishop Comerford, with seven Waterford and seven Clonmel ecclesiastical dignitaries, signed this resolution, which sought in vain for a canonical remission.[194] A Remonstrance was forwarded to Bishop Comerford by the Supreme Council of the Confederacy, asking him to ignore the edict, and thereby seeking his support for the Inchiquin treaty, but to no avail since, although threatened with the confiscation of the temporalities of his see, Comerford refused to comply. When 'an attempt was made to seize his person,' Bishop Comerford was forced to flee Waterford, to seek refuge in the neighbouring Diocese of Ferns, in the fortified security of Duncannon Fort,[195] surely an ineffable ignominy for the author of the acclaimed *Inquisition of a Sermon,* which had finally been published only four years previously.

Yet this immediate crisis passed, simply because more desperate dangers threatened. A peace was signed between the Supreme Council of the Confederacy and Ormond as representative of the executed King Charles, which caused Rinuccini to

191 Patrick J. Corish, 'Father Luke Wadding and the Irish Nation', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 5th series Vol. iixc (1957), p. 390.

192 J.T. Gilbert, *History of the Confederation and War in Ireland 1641-9*, 7 Vols., (Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1892-8), Vol. vii, p. 79.

193 See Appendix E.

194 *Ibid.*

195 Patrick Power, *Waterford Saints and Scholars, 17th Century,* p. 60.

abandon his Irish mission, and to sail from Galway to the safety of the Vatican in February 1649. Oliver Cromwell, later to become Lord Protector of England and to be recognised as Ireland's Nemesis, landed at Dublin in mid August 1649. Cromwell combined a determination to subdue Ireland as quickly as possible with an expressed intention to avenge the massacres of 1641. Unopposed in the field, Cromwell wreaked havoc at Drogheda and at Wexford, slaughtering some 4,600 people in these two towns. The famed Gaelic Irish general, Owen Roe O'Neill, died on 6 November 1649, rumours suggesting that he had been poisoned by 'wearing a pair of russet boots.' Cromwell's progress through New Ross and Carrick-on-Suir is attested by lists of dead, so that his appearance before the walls of Waterford on 24 November filled the citizens with dread and gloom, which coincided with a prolonged period of very severe weather. Ormond sent Lord Castlehaven with 1,000 men to reinforce the city, but this force, and a later Ormond force, were refused entry by the citizens, probably because these were excommunicated troops.[196] Later, soldiers from the army of the deceased Owen Roe O'Neill, under the command of Lieutenant-General Farrel, were sent by Ormond, and these, not being excommunicated troops, were admitted to the city by the citizens. While Waterford withstood Cromwell's siege, an estimated 1,000 soldiers of the attacking parliamentary force died before the walls of the city, mainly from plague and exposure to the dreadful weather. Although he had captured both Passage East and Faithlegge, Cromwell raised the siege of Waterford on 2 December, marching westwards to winter quarters at Youghal.

When Cromwell's military campaign re-opened in the following spring, Kilkenny was attacked on 22 March 1650, and was overwhelmed after vicious fighting.[197] On 9 May, Clonmel suffered its first attack, eventually falling after a truly heroic resistance.[198] Following the siege of Clonmel, Cromwell sailed for England from Youghal on 29 May. General Henry Ireton led Cromwell's army back to besiege both Waterford and Duncannon in early June 1650. Riven by plague, short of rations, and with munitions all but exhausted, the citizens could mount only token resistance. Two brothers, Lieutenant Croker and his sibling Sergeant Croker, scaled the walls with a force of thirty men, and, fighting their way through the streets, they opened St Patrick's Gate to allow the main body of their army to enter Waterford. It is ironic that the immediate commander of the inrushing force was Lord Broghill, a son of the now deceased Earl of Cork.[199] The Citadel held out for a further few days, but capitulated on 10 August. Four days later Duncannon surrendered.

Now, as survivors straggled from the burning city, as Ormond's army disappeared from sight on the northern bank of the river Suir, Waterford was finally reformed, but in a manner never, ever, envisaged by New English functionaries of the late Tudor or early Stuart dynasties. As cavalry chargers were stabled in the

196 *Ibid.*, p. 60.

197 James Scott Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland,* (Gill and Macmillan, 1999), p. 138.

198 *Ibid.*, p. 157.

199 Charles Smith, *Antient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford,* p. 153.

chantry chapels and in the aisles of Christ Church Cathedral, as a field-kitchen, sited on the altar, prepared food for hungry Roundheads or for a starving small boy named Mason, the fanatical Puritan, Captain Bolton, thumped his heavy, be-spurred jackboots on the floor of the venerable pulpit, as he expounded his version of the Word of God to his fellow soldiers. On 27 October 1650, following a siege which had begun four months earlier, Limerick was forced to surrender, Ireton then exacting an awful revenge on the Irish leaders of the defence of the city. Ireton himself died from plague on 26 November 1650.[200]

Epilogue

Cromwell's campaign wreaked a terrible revenge in Ireland, decimating the principal characters of this narrative. Geoffrey Barron of Clonmel, Luke Wadding's nephew, being the son of his sister Mary, and a member of the Council of the Confederacy, was captured in Limerick and was sentenced to death. When brought to the scaffold for his execution, he had dressed himself in his best clothing, wearing a festive suit of white taffeta as he celebrated his impending martyrdom for his religion. A second son of this family, Bonaventure Barron, was a Franciscan who lived at St Isidore's for many years.[201]

Sick, infirm, and advanced in years, Bishop David Rothe of Ossory died as Cromwell's forces overwhelmed Kilkenny. Archbishop Thomas Walshe of Cashel escaped capture at Limerick, concealing himself in the village of Ballygriffin, half way between Mallow and Fermoy, where he was captured by Cromwellians in January 1652. Imprisoned in Clonmel for six months, he suffered appalling ill-treatment before being transferred to Waterford in July. His incarceration continued there until October 1652 when, at seventy three years of age, he was shipped to exile on the Continent. He eventually made his way to the Shrine of St James at Santiago de Compostella, where he died on 4 May 1654.[202]

In Waterford, Thomas Wadding fell foul of the Puritan conquerors of the city. His estates were confiscated and, refusing to 'go to Hell or to Connacht,' he suffered a penniless exile in France, dying there in penury.[203] The Franciscan Guardian, Thomas Strange, presumed dead at this time, had been succeeded by Fr Anthony Purcell, an alumnus of the Irish College of St Anthony of Padua in Louvain. Arrested at the house of John Power at Castletown, Purcell was transported to Spain.[204] There is some doubt as to the exact location of Bishop Patrick Comerford at the time of the capture of Waterford. He is known to have been living in Duncannon Fort prior to the second siege of Waterford, and may have escaped from here to France before Duncannon surrendered, since he is known to

200 James Scott Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland,* p. 220.

201 Patrick Power, *Waterford and Lismore: A Compendious History of the United Diocese,* p. 25.

202 Patrick Power, *Waterford Saints and Scholars, 17th Century,* p. 46.

203 Patrick J. Corish, 'Father Luke Wadding and the Irish Nation', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 5th series Vol. iixc (1957), p. 394.

204 Canice Mooney, 'The Franciscans in Waterford', in *JCAHS* (1964), p. 83.

have been in France in August 1650.[205] An alternative account maintains that he was captured at Waterford, and was ordered to quit the city within three months, which caused him to take ship for Brittany, but that *en route* he was twice seized by pirates who robbed him of all his possessions. He died at Nantes in 1652, and is buried in front of the altar of St Charles in Nantes Cathedral.[206]

Papal Nuncio Rinuccini returned to Fermo in June 1650, but his health had been ruined by the hardship he had suffered in Ireland. He died in December 1653. On his return to Rome, Dean Massari of Fermo was promoted as Secretary of the Propaganda but, still hostile to Luke Wadding, he was dismissed from this office in April 1657.[207] Pope Innocent X died on 1 January 1655.

Luke Wadding outlived them all, continuing to reside at St Isidore's. His nephew, the Limerick-born Franciscan, Francis Harold, was recalled from his duties at Graz to act as Wadding's amanuensis, eventually becoming his uncle's biographer. Wadding continued his work on the *Annales Minorum,* the first volume of which had been published in 1625, and the second in 1628. By 1654 he had completed six more volumes, which brought this history of the Friars Minor up to 1540, in which year major Reformation changes occurred in Ireland. In Volume III, he wrote with nostalgic passion of his place of birth, the city of Waterford.

> My native city, which is called *Port-Lairge* by the inhabitants, and Waterford by the English, while Ptolomy knew it by the name of *Menapia,* was founded, according to Camden, by Norwegian pirates, others say by an Ostman named Sitricus, about the year CMV. It is on the banks of the Suir, and is celebrated for its commodious port, but it is more illustrious still for the constancy with which its inhabitants have clung to Christian piety and the Roman Catholic religion. For this reason, also, it is dearer to me, and held in greater honour, than on account of its having been the place of my birth. In the many sufferings and grievous persecutions to which its people have been subject, it has always remained firm in its attachment to the true religion, and, therefore, it deserves its motto, '*Urbs intacta manens,*' [*sic.*] from its fidelity to God, much more than its loyalty to its temporal rulers. It is also most worthy of praise for the intense devotion of its inhabitants to spiritual things, for the all-embracing charity with which they receive pious strangers and sufferers for the faith, and also because, living up to the maxim of Tertullian, 'Be more solicitous for the faith when it is in danger,' they watch over the purity of the faith with unceasing vigilance, and take the utmost pains to hand it down without taint to their children. Hence the city has been known, far and

205 Patrick Francis Moran, *Historical Sketch of the Persecutions Suffered by the Catholics of Ireland under the rule of Cromwell and the Puritans,* (Dublin, 1884), p. 169.

206 Patrick Power, *Waterford Saints and Scholars, 17th Century,* p. 60.

207 Patrick J. Corish, 'Father Luke Wadding and the Irish Nation', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 5th series Vol. iixc (1957), p. 394.

> wide, by the name 'Little Rome.' This tribute of praise I owe to the place of my birth, and much more of eulogy could I add were it permitted.[208]

Wadding's last major appointment came in 1652 when he was placed on the Commission set up to investigate the five propositions of the late Bishop of Ypres, Cornelius Jansenius, whose theology matured into the controversial movement knows as Jansenism. Although Jansenists rejected Protestantism, and stressed the importance of the sacraments, they sought to accentuate the New Testament's teaching about Grace and to emphasise the doctrine of Predestination. Jansenists were ardent supporters of the papacy, but they detested the Jesuits. Although Pope Innocent X issued a bull, *Cum Occasione,* in 1653, which condemned the Five Propositions of Jansenism, it was not until 1754 that the Jansenist controversy was finally overcome.[209] In almost the last notable act of an illustrious career, in 1656 Luke Wadding gained possession of the deserted Convent of the Madonna, at Capranica, north of Rome, as a novitiate for student Franciscans. The Irish friars retained possession of this building until 1995.

Falling ill in October, Luke Wadding died on Sunday, 18 November 1657, bringing to a close the life of the greatest member of that august pantheon of ecclesiastical figures which Waterford city produced in the latter part of the sixteenth century. On 20 November, his body was laid to rest in the crypt of St Isidore's. His month's mind was celebrated at Capranica. On his feastday in 1890, his remains were exhumed, and were placed in a special funerary urn, as consideration was given to his cause for beatification. In October 1925, on the three hundredth anniversary of the foundation of St Isidore's, Wadding's singular place in Irish history was recognised and celebrated. Pope Pius XII paid tribute to Wadding's immeasurable role in Irish Catholic history by composing a commendatory letter, *Hiberniae Gentis Immortalis Gloriae,* (Immortal Glory of the People of Ireland), in the Wadding Year of 1957-8. The Irish government paid due homage to his memory by issuing a commemorative stamp in his honour. His native city erected a monumental statue to Luke Wadding, the first such statue of any citizen of the *Urbs Intacta* to be raised in the city of Waterford. This statue has recently been repositioned, from its original position outside the walls of the medieval city, to its present location in front of the ruins of the Holy Ghost Church, where his forebears are buried, and where Wadding himself worshipped in his youth.

In this Year of Our Lord, 2007, the 350th anniversary of Wadding's death, it is fitting that the memory of this exceptional Waterfordman should share the honour and glory which the scholars of today willingly and respectfully grant, not alone to Wadding's genius, but to the wonderful Franciscan achievement in founding the Irish College at Louvain 400 years ago, and to the nostalgic remembrance of the exile of the Gaelic Irish nobility of Ulster.

208 Patrick Power, *Waterford Saints and Scholars, 17th Century,* p. 13.

209 Eamonn Duffy, *Saints & Sinners,* pp. 238-240.

APPENDIX A
Waterford and Lismore student priests in Salamanca : 1602-9[210]

Thomas Comerford	Waterford	1602
Thomas Brown	do	1602
Thomas Walsh (Valoise)	do	1602 (afterwards archbishop)
Ambrose Wadding	do	1602 (became a Jesuit)
William White	do	1602
John Lombard	do	1602
John White	do	1602
Thomas Brickley	Youghal	1603
Laurence Lea	Lismore	1603
John Brown	do	1603
Richard Walsh	do	1604 (became a Jesuit)
John Sherlock	Waterford	1604
Francis Grant	do	1605
Thomas Power	do	1605
Richard Strong	do	1605
John Comerton (Comerford)	Lismore	1606
Michael Wadding	Waterford	1607 (became a Jesuit)
Luke Wadding	do	1608 (became a Jesuit)
Thomas Wadding	do	1609
Thomas White (born Spain of Irish parents)	do	1609
Robert Walsh	do	1609
John Cormugus (Cormas)	do	1609
Francis Bray	Clonmel	1609

210 Patrick Power, *Waterford and Lismore: A Compendious History of the United Diocese*, Appendix VIII.

APPENDIX B

June 1610: The names of such priests as are resident in Waterford and the houses they lodge in[211]

1. Doctor White, bishop of Waterford	Lieth at Anstace Strong's Widdowes.
2. Nicholas Fagan	Lieth at Nicholas Madane's.
3. Willin Fagan	Lieth at Katherin Sherlocks.
4. Richard Lincoll	Lieth at Dominike Lumbards.
5. Edward Archer	Lieth at Michael Brownes.
6. Dennisse Pucell;	at Anstace Devons (?).
7. Thomas Woodlocke;	at Mary Toures (?)
8. Peris Fitzwilliam	at Dominike Linche's.
9. Richard Walsh,	at the poore howse.
10. Marrisse Wise	at John Wises.
11. David John,	at Paul Stronges.
12.Thomas Rarter (?),	at Richard Waddings.
13. Edmond Molan,	at Richard Comerforts.
14. John Copperinger,	at James Goughes.
15. John Murphy,	at James Walshes.
16. Patrick Woodlock,	at Jasper Woodlocks.
17. James Dalton,	at Ellin Sherlocks.
18. Willin Readan,	at Thomas Shones (?).
19. Peeter Strong,	at Thomas Stranges.
20. Peeter FitzJames,	at James Whites.
21. Willm Morrin,	at Water Sherlocks.
22. Thomas Walsh,	at Thomas Harrolls.
23. (?) Eines Willin,	at Sisley Walshes.
24. John O'Killei,	at Anne Walshes.
25. Willin Beale,	at Beale Lumbards.
26. David Launder,	at Anne Walshes.
27. Willin David,	at Michael Shones (?).
28. Willin Donoghe,	at John Barrons.
29. Peter Drowham,	at James Lumbards, Apothicary.
30. James Walshe,	at Sisley Walshes, Widdowe.

211 Patrick Power, 'Sundrie Priests and Religious in Waterford 1610', in *JWSEIAS* 16 (1913), p. 123.

APPENDIX C
Members of the Franciscan community in the Holy Ghost Friary on 25 Dec 1642[212]

Thomas Strange	Guardian.
James Maddan	Definitor.
Peter Brennan	Vicar.
Nicholas Strange	Priest.
Anthony Purcell	Priest.
Matthew Sharpe	Priest.
Augustine Gall	Priest.
John Everard	Priest.
James Gibbe	Priest.
Francis Woodlock	Priest.
Peter Strange	Priest.
Nicholas Ledwich	Priest.
Peter Canal	Cleric.
Francis Motal	Cleric.
Thomas Phelan	Lay Brother.

212 Canice Mooney 'The Franciscans in Waterford', in *JCAHS* (1964), p. 82. This is the earliest complete list of members of an Irish Franciscan community extant.

Appendix D.
Signatories of the Decree issued by the Synod of Waterford on 12 August 1646[213]

Jo Baptista Firmanus Nuncius Apostolicus.
Fr Tho Dublin.
Tho Cassiliensis.
Fr Boetius Elphin.
Fr Patricius Waterford & Lismore.
Jo Laonensis.
Jo Clonfertensis.
Fr Edm Laghlensis.
Rich Ardfertensis & Accadens.
Franciscus Aladensis.
Edm Limiricensis.
Emerus Cloghorensis.
Nicholaus Fernensis.
Fr Jacob Conaldus Abbas Benchonan.
Fr Patr Plunket Abbas B M Dublin.
Fr Lan Fitzharris Abbas de Sur.
Fr Jo Cantwell Abbas de S Cruce.
Fr Jacobus Tobin Abbas de Kilcool.
Rob Barry Vic Apost Rossen.
Donaldus O Gripha Funiburiensis.
Fr Geo Farrell Prior Provinc Ordin Predicator.
Fr Dionisius O Driscol Prior Provincial Eremit S Aug.
Edm O Teig Procurator Illustrissimi Armachani.
Gaulter Linch Vicar Apost Tuam.
Gulielmus Burgat Vic Apost Imalciensis.
Jacob Dempsy Vic General Kildariensis.
Cornelius Gafneus Ardensis Vic General.
Ol Dese Vic General Midensis.
Dominicus RochVic General Corcag.
Simon O Connory Vic General Cluanensis.
Edm Giraldinus Vic General Cluanmacnoise.
Carolus CoghlanVic General L-.
Robertus Nugent Superior Societatis Jesu.
Fr Anthonius Macgohigan Procurator Provincialis Fratrum Minorum.
Fr Barnabas Barnwell Commissarius General Capucinorum.

213 Richard Cox, *Hibernica Anglicana,* (1689), Appendix xxx, p 123.

APPENDIX E
Waterford signatories of the Petition to Papal Nuncio Rinuccini[214]

Dr Patrick Comerford	Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.
Fr Peter Stronge	Superior of the Dominicans.
Fr Joseph Everard	Guardian of the Franciscans.
Fr John Hartry	Cistercian and Notary Apostolic.
Fr Edward Clere	Rector of the Jesuit house.
Fr Michael Barron	Prior of the Augustinians.
Fr Robert Power	Dean of Waterford.
Fr Michael Hackett	Precentor of Waterford.

Clonmel signatories of the Petition to Papal Nuncio Rinuccini.

Fr Thomas White	Pastor of Clonmel.
Fr Edward Bray	Franciscan.
Fr Thomas Prendergast	STD
Fr Edmund Brayns	Franciscan.
Fr John Gough	Jesuit.
Fr William McGrath	Jesuit.
Fr Andrew Sall	Jesuit.

214 Patrick Power, *Waterford Saints and Scholars, 17th Century*, p. 59.

Bishop Foy's School Waterford, 1707-1967

Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin

Introduction: The End of an Era

In the week leading up to Christmas 1966, reports appeared in the Waterford local newspapers that Bishop Foy's School in the city was to close. The previous Saturday, the last Prize Night of the school had taken place, and the headmaster, Mr. George Langley, had the sad duty of informing those present that the school would definitely close the following June.

Less than ten years previously the future of Bishop Foy's School seemed more than secure. In November 1957, the 250th anniversary was celebrated, and according to a report in the *Church of Ireland Gazette,* the celebrations were 'on a scale worthy of such a coming of age'. There was a dinner in the Grand Hotel in Tramore, and guests included the bishop of the diocese and Jack Lynch TD, the then Minister for Education, as well as many old scholars. The President of the Old Foyonian Association announced at the dinner that the scholarship fund had reached £1,000 with a further pledge from Mr. Charles Orr Stanley, (an old scholar and Chairman of Pye Radio who was present), of an annual subscription of £100 for the next seven years. On the Sunday following the dinner, the old scholars erected a plaque adjoining Foy's tomb in Christchurch Cathedral in the city, 'in grateful remembrance of the founder, the Right Rev. Nathaniel Foy, DD'. Perhaps more than anything else during those celebrations, this plaque seemed to symbolise a celebration of the past achievements of the school as well as a firm belief in its future.

The reality of the situation was very different however. The Protestant population of the country as a whole had been declining since the early nineteenth century, and following the foundation of the state in 1922, the rate of decline had increased considerably. This trend was of course to be seen in Waterford also, and there was no prospect that this decline would be reversed at any stage in the future.

In June the following year, exactly 260 years after the death of Nathaniel Foy, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, the school he founded closed his doors for the last time.

Foy's Early Life

Nathaniel Foy was born in the city of York in 1648, son of Dr. John Foy. The family moved to Dublin around 1656, where John Foy established a medical practice in a house he leased from Trinity College. He died in 1660, and was buried in St. Bride's churchyard. Little is known of other members of the family. Nathaniel's brother Moore died in 1691. His mother moved to Waterford and resided with her son Nathaniel when he was appointed bishop there. When she died she was buried

in Christchurch Cathedral. There were also two sisters, Elizabeth and Cassandra, both of whom lived until the 1720s.

The young Nathaniel probably received his early education while still in England. Following the move to Dublin, he attended the Dublin Corporation Free School, of which Dr. William Hill the eminent Greek scholar was master. Dr. Hill had been a strong supporter of the Commonwealth during the English Civil War, and as a result lost his position in the school in 1664 following the Restoration, when Charles II returned from exile.

Foy entered Trinity College, Dublin in 1663, at the age of fifteen, and went on to obtain the degrees of MA and DD. In 1669, he was ordained a deacon by the Bishop of Kildare, and on the 29 May of the following year, he was ordained a minister in the church,[1] and also on that same day he was appointed a cannon of Kildare.[2] In 1678 when a vacancy arose in the parish of St. Bride in Dublin he petitioned the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral for the position, and a week later he was nominated. He remained in St. Bride's until he was appointed Bishop of Waterford and Lismore in 1691. In 1684, when he became a Fellow of Trinity College he was given one of the college livings in the Diocese of Raphoe.

At this stage in his career, Foy, in his early forties, was in a very comfortable position – a 'pluralist' enjoying the income from three livings; one in Kildare, another in Raphoe and as minister in St. Bride's. It is interesting to note that while as a young clergyman Foy was quite happy to accept these various livings, he would in later years bitterly denounce this practice of one clergyman holding several preferments at the same time.

However while minister at St. Bride's, Foy did not neglect his parish. According to William King, Bishop of Derry, later to become Archbishop of Dublin, Nathaniel Foy carried out his duties as minister 'with the greatest love and highest approbation of his parishioners'. During his time at St. Bride's he re-built the parish church at a cost of £1,300 as well as building an almshouse for widows.[3] The church was built in 1684, and was described as 'an oblong building with two long round-headed windows in the east-end'. The parish was eventually united with the nearby St. Werburgh's, and St. Bride's church fell into disuse, although a sum of £300 was spent on repairing it in 1827.[4]

However as Nathaniel Foy continued to minister to his parishioners in St. Bride's, a series of events were unfolding which would soon propel him to the forefront of church and political affairs, ultimately leading to his elevation to the episcopate as Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.

1 Henry Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae,* (Dublin, Hodges Smith & Co., 1860), Vol. V, p. 19.

2 *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 250.

3 Declan Grogan, 'Bishop Foy and the Cause of Reform: Part 1', in *Decies* 50 (Autumn 1994), pp. 72 - 84.

4 Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland,* Vol. I, (London, Lewis & Co., 1837), p. 554.

James II: The Catholic King

When Charles II died in 1685, he was succeeded by his brother James, the Duke of York. While it had been rumoured that Charles died a Catholic, the succession of his brother who was well known to be a committed Catholic sent shock waves through Protestant circles in Britain and Ireland. However, as James had no son, it was expected that he would be succeeded by his eldest daughter Mary, a Protestant and married to William, Prince of Orange. Therefore in spite of the fact that James began to replace Protestants with Catholics in government in England and Ireland, it was expected that the Protestant succession and the position of the established church would ultimately be secure. The birth of a male heir in June 1688 changed the political scene completely. A Catholic monarchy in Britain and Ireland now seemed certain, and William of Orange and Mary were invited to assume the throne as joint monarchs. William landed in the south of England in November 1688, and James fled to France to the court of Louis XIV.

The French king was of the opinion that James in Ireland would divert William of Orange's military resources away from mainland Europe. French military assistance was offered to James if he returned to Ireland, and he saw this as an opportunity to recover his throne, using Ireland as a springboard. In March 1689, accompanied by a French force, he landed in Kinsale, and marched to Dublin where he summoned a parliament to raise funds for the coming campaign against his son-in-law. This parliament was mainly composed of Catholics, although four Church of Ireland bishops were present. Even though religious freedom was granted to all, Protestants were in the main deeply suspicious of James' parliament, and regarded its deliberations as little short of the start of an anti-Protestant campaign of persecution. An Act of Settlement reversed the terms of the Cromwellian confiscations. Even more worrying for Protestant interests was an Act of Attainder, identifying over 2,000 individual Protestants who were considered disloyal to James. Most of the country reverted to Catholic control, with the exception of a few strongholds in Ulster. Derry was under siege, and it was expected to fall.

It seemed to many Protestants that the massacres of 1641 would be repeated, and many of them fled to England, including Archbishop Marsh of Dublin. Control of the Protestant clergy in the city passed to William King, then the Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral and a close friend of Foy, both of whom remained in the city in spite of the danger. While Dublin was under Jacobite control (as the followers of James were called), the Catholic Mass was celebrated in Christ Church Cathedral. Foy used his position as minister at St. Bride's to bitterly attack the sermons being delivered by James' chaplain in the cathedral. One of Foy's parishioners was in the habit of attending Mass and taking notes of the sermons in shorthand. He passed these notes on to Foy, who then bitterly denounced Catholicism the following Sunday in his own church. Because of this, Foy had to put up with disruption of his services from Jacobite supporters, and on one occasion he was assaulted by James' soldiers as he was conducting a funeral service in the churchyard of St. Bride's.

Eventually, he was imprisoned in Dublin Castle because of his continued opposition to James. Although his period of imprisonment was short and he was released in December of the same year, he was described by Bishop Richard Mant as, 'conspicuous for his opposition to Popish corruptions and for his advocacy of the pure doctrines of the National Church to the great risk and peril of his life'.

Following the victory of William in Ireland, Foy's reward for his staunch opposition to James came in 1691 when he was appointed Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. He was consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin, Narcissus March in August 1691. The following year, he was made a freeman of Waterford by Waterford Corporation.[5]

Thus, at the age of forty-three, Nathaniel Foy, in spite of his relatively humble background, had achieved high office with the Church of Ireland. He was a member of the Irish House of Lords. He could have enjoyed a life of luxury and comfort, enjoying the revenues from his diocese, and indulging in the hectic social life in Dublin revolving around the Irish Parliament. He could also have become an absentee like many other bishops of the time, and retire to London secure in the knowledge that his episcopal revenues would support him.

Instead, Bishop Foy devoted the remaining sixteen years of his life to his new diocese, and to the twin causes of reform and education.

Bishop of Waterford and Lismore

The Ascendancy Church and the Need for Reform

From the beginning of the eighteenth century Catholics were excluded from power by a series of penal laws. The result was that the established church, became the 'fountain of privilege', giving its members exclusive rights to political control and influence. The disadvantage for the church was that the state now exercised a much tighter control over ecclesiastical matters than ever before, a situation which led to abuses and laxity.[6]

Many within the church, including Foy and William King while fully supporting the penal laws, felt that the church had become too much of an instrument of the civil power, relying on government and the powerful Protestant land-owning class to maintain its position. As Foy wrote to King in 1691, 'We have but a shadow of discipline left which cannot be exercised without the concurrence of the state'.[7]

Foy identified two main abuses in the Church of Ireland; pluralities and non-residence, and devoted much of his time as a bishop in endeavouring to combat them.

5 Michael Quane, 'Bishop Foy School, Waterford', in *Journal of the Cork Archaeological and Historical Society* (1967), pp. 103-122. (Henceforth abbreviated as *JCAHS*).

6 Kenneth Milne, *The Church of Ireland: A History,* (Dublin, APCK, n.d.), pp. 35-8.

7 J.C. Beckett, 'The Government and the Church under William III and Anne', in *Irish Historical Studies* Vol. II No. 7 (March 1941), pp. 280-302.

Foy's first concern was the problem of pluralities, that is the holding of more than one benefice by a clergyman. Although Foy himself was guilty of this 'abuse' as a young minister, as a bishop he would devote much time and effort in trying to combat it. The problem of pluralities tended to be more common in Ireland then in England, mainly on account of the poverty of many Irish parishes and livings. The problem of pluralities naturally led to the non-residence of ministers.[8]

At first Foy and others looked to the government to initiate a campaign of reform in the church, although as early as 1692 the reforming bishops realised that their chances of actually achieving any real reforms were slim. In spite of this, Foy was keen to continue with his campaign, writing to William King in March 1692, 'I would rather with a few engaged to promote the interests of men's souls than run along with the multitude who have little or no regard to it'.

The 1695 Parliament: Foy in jail again!

When Parliament was convened in Dublin in 1695, and Foy had high hopes of seeing at least one measure of reform passed, as it was planned to introduce a Bill for the Union and Division of Parishes. It was proposed in this bill that some of the large wealthy parishes should be divided, thus providing for more clergymen. It was also proposed that some of the smaller poorer parishes should be united, with one clergyman. All clergymen would be obliged to reside in their parishes.

Another consequence of the measure was that it would lead to a reduction in the income of bishops. When bishops made their annual visitations to parishes their expenses for the visitations were partly covered by payments from the parishes themselves. Under the provisions of the proposed legislation, where parishes were united, the payments to the bishops would naturally be reduced. As a result, all the bishops in the country rejected the bill, with the exception of Archbishop Marsh of Dublin, and Bishops Dopping of Meath, King of Derry and of course Foy of Waterford and Lismore. Naturally the bill was defeated. King and Foy were not satisfied, and protested in the House of Lords at this rejection of the bill. This protest was considered an insult to the honour of the House, and both bishops were urged to withdraw their protests. King did so, but Foy, true to his character, refused, and as a result he was 'imprisoned' in Dublin Castle for two days. This imprisonment was not too harsh however, and he was lodged in considerable luxury!

Having made his protest, Foy considered that he had done his duty and remained true to his principles, writing to King; 'whatever I have suffered as to my liberty, reputation and fortune, 'tis for the discharge of a good conscience and my tender regard to the Church of God and my brethren the inferior clergy'. Therefore, after his two days confinement he asked the House for pardon and was of course released.[9]

8 Declan Grogan, 'Bishop Foy and the Cause of Reform, Part 1', in *Decies* 50 (Autumn 1994), pp. 72-9.

9 Michael Quane, 'Bishop Foy School, Waterford', in *JCAHS* (1967), pp. 103-122.

Failure of Reform

Again during the parliamentary session of 1697, Foy hoped that a bill might be introduced to bring about some changes in the church but nothing came of it.

The main reason for this failure was that the majority of the members of the Irish Parliament represented a class that benefited directly from the impropriation of tithes, and were closely allied to those clergymen who benefited from pluralities, 'slugs of seven or eight hundred pounds a year', as Foy called them. The Irish MPs were prepared to pass Penal Laws and uphold the privileged position of the Church, but not reform it!

The Clergy

Foy and a number of other like-minded bishops felt that internal church reform as well as a committed, pious, and learned clergy, would be the best safeguard against defections to Dissenters, and would ultimately prepare the way for converts from Catholicism. He disagreed with his friend William King in one important matter however, in the use of the Irish language. King was an enthusiastic supporter of the use of Irish to effect conversions among the native Catholic population. In fact Foy, in 1697, attempted to have a bill passed in the Irish House of Lords outlawing its use. Needless to say he did not succeed![10]

One of Foy's principal concerns was the quality of entrants to the ministry. In a series of letters to William King, he outlined in meticulous detail his plans for the education of clergymen. A clergyman should have a basic knowledge of the Bible, the Thirty-nine Articles, the Cannons of the Church of Ireland, and the *Book of Common Prayer.* According to Foy, many clergymen had only a very vague knowledge of these works, and he stated that he knew of some members of the clergy who possessed neither a Bible nor a prayer book. He devised a scheme whereby clergymen would gradually build up a personal library – after leaving university a newly ordained minister would in theory have a collection of books worth £15. Following his appointment as a curate he would purchase another £15 worth of books, and if appointed vicar of a parish would spend a further £7 every year on his growing library. Foy suggested to King that each of them should draw up a list of suitable books, and then agree on a final selection.[11]

Nathaniel Foy in Waterford

As Foy was very keen to advance a programme of reform in the church on a national level it is not surprising that he also enthusiastically advanced a number of changes in his own diocese. He was very keen to promote the practice of daily prayer in churches. In the cathedral church in the city, prayers were held four times daily. He used his diocesan visitations as a means of enforcing clerical discipline.

10 David Dickson, *New Foundations: Ireland 1660-1800,* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2000), p. 47.

11 Declan Grogan, 'Bishop Foy and the Cause of Reform, Part 1', in *Decies* 50 (Autumn 1994), pp. 72-9.

He would draw up a list of questions to ascertain the level of commitment of individual ministers, followed by admonishments where necessary. He initiated monthly Communion services, instead of three times per year, as was the custom at the time. He even took the unusual step for a bishop by teaching the people himself, asking the questions from the catechism over and over until, 'they were able to repeat the answers I put in their mouths and appeared to have some competent understanding of them'.[12]

He persuaded the mayor of the city to co-operate in the strict enforcement of the keeping of the Sabbath. As a result, in June1692, Waterford Corporation ordered all within the liberties,

> to apply themselves and intend the due observation of the Lord's day, forebearing all manner of manuall labours, gamings, playes, revellings, swearing, cursing, unnecessary walkings abroad or to publick places except the church, and all other undue and prophane practices on said day.[13]

Constables and churchwardens were under orders to patrol the city on Sundays, and report to the mayor every Monday with a list of 'all delinquents, upon paine of being prosecuted and punished themselves with the greatest severity for neglect of their duty'. This notice was to be put up in various parts of the city.[14] As a result, Foy was able to report to William King, 'no mills grind, nor barbers shave, nor the natives buy and sell on a Sunday morning'.[15]

Because of his strict views on clerical discipline, Foy did manage to alienate some members of his own clergy. On one occasion during one of his annual visitations, Foy was horrified when one clergyman appeared before him, drunk. He was even more horrified when the man's colleagues were opposed to Foy imposing any discipline on him. Even though he managed to persuade the four cathedral clergymen to preach sermons on each Friday during Lent, when he also tried to have them preach on Church Holidays, they refused. A major thorn in Foy's side was the Dean of Lismore, William Jephson. As dean, Jephson had broad powers in the west of the county. According to Foy, Jephson refused to submit to his planned visitation 'in a most abusive and insulting manner'. The dispute between the two men became very bitter, and was never resolved, with Foy accusing Jephson of excessive drinking, non-residence, and 'a long contracted habit of debauchery'. In spite of all Foy's efforts to remove him, Jephson continued as dean until his death in 1720.[16]

12 *Ibid.*

13 Séamus Pender (ed.), *Council Books of the City of Waterford,* (Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1964), p. 296.

14 *Ibid.*

15 Declan Grogan, 'Bishop Foy and the Cause of Reform, Part 1', in *Decies* 50 (Autumn 1994), pp. 72-9.

16 *Ibid.*

While bishop, Nathaniel Foy also lent his support to the settling of Huguenots or French Protestant refugees in the city. In March 1693, it was ordered by Waterford Corporation that,

> this citty and liberties may provide habitacions at reasonable rents for fifty families of the French Protestants... and that the freedom of this citty be given them *gratis*, and that Mr. Mayor and the Recorder be desired to acquaint the Lord Bishop of this diocese therewith.[17]

It is interesting to note that at least one 'French Protestant' attended Bishop Foy's School in the early eighteenth century.

Foy also oversaw the building of the Widows' Apartments in Cathedral Square in Waterford city in 1702. His predecessor, Bishop William Gore had left £1,200 in his will for the building apartments for the housing of the widows of clergymen, and purchasing lands for their maintenance, each of whom was to be granted £10 per annum. Following Gore's death however, the will was disputed, and it was not until after a long and expensive lawsuit that the original wishes of Bishop Gore were carried out. A site was granted in Cathedral Close, opposite Christchurch Cathedral for the purpose of building the apartments. Gore had stipulated in his will that the bishop and dean were to be responsible for the admission of ten widows into the apartments, and for the regulation of the institution. Foy set about fulfilling the provisions of Gore's will with meticulous attention to detail, even deciding on the rules for admission:

> They will not be received unless they come very well apparelled, I mean not gaudily but decently... if they be not well rigged out at first they will be but a constant disgrace on the place, their husbands' order, and the clergy here.[18]

Final Years

By 1697 Foy was beginning to realise that there was no realistic prospect of reforming the church. In a letter to King in September of that year he wrote;

> I should be glad to hear if anything be likely to be done to support our sinking church, the ruin of which I have prospect of, and have of a long while thought nothing but a persecution can preserve us.[19]

His health also seemed to be in decline. Perhaps disillusioned by the lack of success of his campaigns for reform, he wrote to William King, in 1704 'for my own part I am wearied out and know not what to do'. In another letter to King in 1706, he stated that he had decided to burn his personal papers, another indication

17 Séamus Pender (ed.), *Council Books of the City of Waterford,* (Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1964), p. 301.

18 Declan Grogan, 'Bishop Foy and the Cause of Reform, Part II', in *Decies* 51 (1995), pp. 67-74.

19 J.C. Beckett, 'The Government and the Church under William III and Anne', in *Irish Historical Studies* Vol. II No. 7 (March 1941), pp. 280-302.

perhaps that he felt that the end of his life was near.[20] He also drew up his will, leaving precise instructions concerning his funeral service. A sum of £5 was left to the Rev. Thomas France, 'for preaching his funeral sermon, on condition he spoke nothing of his person, good or ill, only signifying to the auditory that it was his express will it should be so'. He ordered that the cost of his funeral should not exceed £30.

In spite of his apparent lack of progress in the field of reform of the Church of Ireland, Foy embarked on his most ambitious scheme in the years just before his death. From his earliest years he had been interested in education, and he now began to plan the foundation of a charity school for the poor Protestants of Waterford city and surrounding districts. This would be Foy's lasting contribution to his adopted city, and would continue to serve the community until it finally closed in 1967.

When Foy died in 1706, he was buried in the cathedral. In 1711, four years after his death, William Kidwell, the famous monumental sculptor came to Waterford to erect a monument in the cathedral to Bishop Foy.[21] It is interesting to note that while in Waterford working on the memorial to that staunch defender of Protestantism, he was also commissioned to carve tombstones for two leading members of the Catholic community in Waterford, William Dobbyn, and Peter Synnott![22]

Bishop Foy's School, The Early Years

The Protestant Charity Schools

The Rev. Henry Maule, ordained in 1702, and later Bishop of Cloyne, 1726-31, is credited as the originator of the Protestant charity school movement in Munster. He founded the Green Coat School in Cork in 1716 when he was Rector of the Parish of St. Mary's, Shandon. According to the historian David Dickson, the purpose of these charity schools was not to bring about the conversion of the Catholic population, but to serve the Protestant community and to instil in them 'exemplary piety and religion in a profane age'.[23] This fear that the faith of Protestants was in danger at the beginning of the eighteenth century was very real. As William King wrote to Foy in 1700, 'the faith is very weak amongst all, and the sense of it almost lost'.[24]

20 Declan Grogan, 'Bishop Foy and the Cause of Reform, Part II', in *Decies* 51 (1995), pp. 67-74.

21 Homan Potterton, 'William Kidwell, Sculptor, *c.*1664-1736 and some Contemporary Mason-Sculptors in Ireland', in *Bulletin of the Georgian Society* Vol. 15 (1972), pp. 80-124.

22 Julian C. Walton, 'Pictorial Decoration on East Waterford Tombstones', in *Decies* 14 (May 1980), pp. 67-83.

23 David Dickson, *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster1630-1830,* (Cork, Cork University Press, 2005), pp. 211-12.

24 J.T. Ball, *The Reformed Church of Ireland, (1537-1886),* (London, Longmans Green & Co., 1886), p. 179.

Twelve years before Maule established his charity school in Cork, Nathaniel Foy set in motion his scheme for establishing such a school in Waterford that would survive long after the demise of the charity school movement in other parts of the country. In 1704 he approached Waterford Corporation for a grant of land,

> to found and erect within this City a free schoole and to build a house and to provide a competent maintenance for a School master to instruct poore children and scholars in reading and writeing.[25]

The corporation decided to grant a plot of ground for the school on the east side of Barronstrand Street. While awaiting the building of the school, Foy went ahead in temporary premises, with Rev. George Lackey as schoolmaster. Thus when Foy died in December 1706, his school was in operation, and provisions made for it in his will.

He directed that fifty boys be given a basic education, 'to read, write and cast accounts, and to say their catechism'. His main concern however was the religious instruction of the pupils, which he set out in minute detail;

> to examine the children whether they retain their catechism on memory, and afterwards to instruct them in the meaning and sense thereof... the whole catechism must be gone through twice every year, causing the said children to give their sense and meaning of each question and answer in their own words.[26]

On leaving the school pupils would be either apprenticed to Protestant tradesmen or sent on the Waterford Corporation Free School.[27] They were to be presented with a Bible, a copy of the *Book of Common Prayer,* and a copy of the *Whole Duty of Man.*

It is not surprising that Foy would have chosen *The Whole Duty of Man* to be presented to boys on leaving the school and taking up apprenticeships. The probable author of this work was Richard Allestree, and this work became a bestseller during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Between 1660 and 1700 it went through fifty-six known editions, in all about 200,000 copies. The book stressed the patriarchal nature of the servant-master relationship. A great emphasis was placed on humility, and the acceptance of one's lot in life, with pride and too much ambition being regarded as grave sins.

Interestingly, an entry in the register of the school for the year 1754 mentions payments made to a Mr. Ramsey, between 1750 and 1753 of £4. 16s. 2d. for 'Bibles, Prayer books, Complete Duties of Man given to the boys apprenticed'.[28]

25 Michael Quane, 'Bishop Foy School, Waterford' in *JCAHS,* (1967), pp. 103-122.

26 *Ibid.*

27 Michael Quane, 'Waterford Corporation Free School', in *JCAHS* LXIV (1959), pp. 83-114.

28 Bishop Foy School Register, p. 47. The Mr. Ramsey in question was in all probability, Hugh Ramsey, printers and booksellers, the Quay, who published the *Waterford Chronicle* newspaper. I am grateful to Julian Walton for providing me with a copy of the register.

The salary of the schoolmaster was set at £40 per annum, with £10 to be paid to a catechist. The appointment and removal of the schoolmaster and catechist were vested in the bishop. The boys for the school were to be nominated by the mayor, three of the aldermen and the sheriffs, with the approval of the bishop.

The executors of Foy's will, the Rev. Thomas France and James Medlicott, had a school house built on the corner of Barronstrand Street and Arundel Lane, on the site granted by the corporation. This was completed in 1707. In 1746, Charles Smith, the Waterford historian described the building as follows:

> a neat building of rustick and plain ashlar work of hewen stone, adorned with an octogon tower, over which is an handsome spire, with a clock and bell. Before the building is a neat court, enclosed with iron palisades, and hewen stone. On the inside, the W. half is the school-room, divided into regular classes, and forms for the boys, the upper end is adorned with the founder's picture the late Dr. Foy. The E. end of the building is the School-master's apartment.[29]

Following the death of Nathaniel Foy, Dr. Thomas Mills was appointed bishop. According to the provisions of Foy's will, the new bishop would have considerable powers in the running of the school. He alone had the power to nominate and remove the master, and was to accept scholars on the recommendation of the corporation. Almost immediately however, tensions arose between Dr. Mills, the executors of Bishop Foy's will and the Rev. Lackey who had been appointed as schoolmaster by Foy before his death. Matters were further complicated because of a number of disputes between the bishop and Waterford Corporation.

In September 1712, Mills appointed the Rev. Simon Wells to the position of schoolmaster, and the Rev. William Denis as catechist. However it appears that in spite of the nomination of Wells and Denis, they were prevented from taking over the school by George Lackey and by the executors of Foy's will. The matter was eventually decided in the courts, and it was not until the 9 June 1714 that Wells was able to take possession of the school. On the 14 June that year, a total of fifty boys were admitted.[30]

However, it appears that the Rev. Wells did not survive very long in the position of schoolmaster. A few short weeks later, on the 20 July, it was noted in the register of the school, that Wells has 'resigned and was displaced from the office of schoolmaster by the Right Revd. Father in God, Thomas, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore', to be replaced by no other than the Rev. George Lackey, the original schoolmaster![31] Rev. Lackey continued in the position until at least 1721, although the Rev. Denis continued as catechist until 1738.

29 Charles Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford,* (Dublin, 1746), pp. 189-91.

30 Bishop Foy School Register, p. 77-8.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 88.

Once the school was built, the executors of Foy's will bought land with the remaining funds in the townlands of Ballyquin, Mothel and Kinsalebeg from Reynolds Carthorpe and Samuel Battley. The rents from this estate was then used to finance the running of the school. When James Medlicott died, Thomas France was the sole executor of Bishop Foy's will, and he went on to buy more land for the school, at Hacketstown and Ballyowen (Ballywade) from the estate of Sir Thomas Prendergast. By this stage, the annual rent from the lands purchased amounted to £191. 2s. 2d.

When Thomas France died, his son, Nathaniel France took over the trust, and by 1727 he had a sum of over £700 in his possession. In the meantime, the income from the endowment had increased considerably. In his will, Bishop Foy had provided annuities for his two married sisters, Elizabeth Moore, and Cassandra Gibbon. When they died, the income from these annuities returned to the trust.

The 1728 Act

Therefore, Nathaniel France, decided to obtain an act of the Irish Parliament to regulate the charity, and to guarantee its survival after his own death.[32] This was opposed by Bishop Mills, but had the support of the corporation. At a meeting of Waterford Corporation on the 23 October 1727 it was resolved to issue 'a certificate from the Mayor and Council of Waterford approving of the said Mr. France's designe in obtaining said Act'.

Consequently, the following year, France succeeded in obtaining the passing of an *Act to Better Perpetuate and Better Regulate the Charitable Foundation of Dr. Nathaniel Foy.* Under the provisions of the Act, the ground granted by Waterford Corporation, together with the lands purchased, and the sum of money which then amounted to £774. 15s. 3d. were to be vested in the Rev. France during his lifetime. After his death, the property was to be held in trust by the mayor, the bishop and the dean. Out of the yearly income, the school was to be kept in good repair, and the salaries were to be paid; £5 to the receiver, £15 to the catechist, and £60 to the schoolmaster. The master would be required to teach up to seventy-five boys in the school, and was not allowed to hold any other office. Any money remaining was to be used to clothe the boys, and if a surplus still remained, it was to be used in paying the apprenticeship fees for the boys on leaving the school.[33]

According to Charles Smith, the cost of clothing the boys was approximately £86 per annum. By 1745, a total of 110 boys were apprenticed to tradesmen, £5 being paid as an apprenticeship fee. Smith went on to state that 'the school has already produced many eminent tradesmen to the city, who by this means are become useful members to the publick'.[34]

32 Waterford City Council Library, (Henceforth abbreviated as WCCL), Item 30/12, Julian C. Walton, Calendar of Christchurch Cathedral Manuscripts.

33 Michael Quane, 'Bishop Foy School, Waterford', in *JCAHS* (1967), pp. 103-22.

34 Charles Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford,* (Dublin, 1746), pp 189-91.

Of the first fifty boys entered in the register in June 1714, the majority, forty out of the fifty came from families where both parents were members of the Church of Ireland. In two cases, no religion is entered for the parents, and there was one case of the parents returned as 'Presbyterian Dissenters'. The parents of one boy were entered as 'Papists', and there were six cases of boys from mixed marriages. In five out of the six cases, the father a member of the Church of Ireland, with the mother entered as 'a Papist'. An interesting reference to the Huguenot community in the city appears in an entry two years later, in April 1716 when Alexander Demsey, 'aged about thirteen years', entered the school. He was the son of Alexander and Anne Demsey, 'both of the French Congregation, Waterford'.

By the latter half of the eighteenth century, the teething problems of the school seemed to have been ironed out. When the school was inspected in 1788 by the Commissioners appointed by the Irish Parliament, the school was described as 'a well-regulated charity, and of great benefit to the City of Waterford'. The master of the school was Pat Flanagan, and seventy-five boys were being educated there. The income of the school had also improved greatly over the years, and at this stage was producing £523. 11s., and a sum of £1,400 was lodged in securities. The annual income of the school was expected to increase substantially when the current leases expired, and the lands belonging to the charity could be rented out again at increased rents.[35] The standing the school was no doubt also improved by a bequest from Bishop Chenevix. In his will he left the yearly interest on £600 to be paid to three young men educated at the school, who had served their apprenticeships and who married between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-six. If this was not taken up any year the money was to be used instead to release debtors from prison![36]

Between 1714 (the date of the earliest available register for the school) and 1816, (when the school ceased to be a day school and moved to Grantstown), a total of 1,852 boys were educated in the institution. Because of the fact that the registers for the school before 1714 are missing, and that there is a gap in the register between 1721 and 1729, this figure should be higher.

During this period, sixty-three pupils were expelled from the school. In a number of cases the reason for their expulsion is recorded, mostly for what was described as 'idleness'. A number were described as 'a bad boy', a 'very wicked idle boy', a 'wicked and reprobate boy', one was described as a 'very wicked idle boy'. In the case of one pupil, it was stated that he was 'turned out of school for being a wicked profligate boy'. It is also interesting that during this period also, a total of fifty-one boys either 'deserted', 'eloped' or simply 'ran away', with a surprising number of them having the following entry inserted in the school register - 'ran away with his parents'.

35 *Evidence Taken Before Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of the Endowed Schools in Ireland,* (Dublin, Thom & Sons, 1857), Appendix.

36 WCCL, Item 30/12, Julian C. Walton, Calendar of Christchurch Cathedral Manuscripts.

The Move to Grantstown

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, nearly 100 years after the death of Bishop Foy, the future of the institution he had founded seemed secure. An estate of 1,400 acres was producing more than enough income to maintain the school, pay the master and catechist, clothe the boys, and pay apprenticeship fees.

Over the years also, considerable savings had been made from the annual income, and by this stage, this amounted to almost £5,000. The trustees were now in a position to increase the number of pupils being taught in the school. However, the schoolhouse in Barronstrand Street was full, and was not capable of taking extra scholars. There was no space available to extend the building, as part of the original grant of land from the corporation in 1703 had been leased to a William Carr. The schoolhouse itself was also in a bad state of repair at this stage, it was not considered feasible to have it repaired.

It was also becoming increasingly difficult to attract pupils to the school. It was not as popular with parents as it had when it had been first established. Pupils were offered free education and were clothed, with the possibility of being apprenticed to a tradesman on leaving the school. Apart from this however, no other financial inducement was offered to the boys or their families. According the *Waterford Mirror* 'the inducements held out to parents were of too limited a nature to excite a general desire to take advantage of the plan, as little support was granted during the course of education'. It was also felt that one master was not sufficient for conducting the school.[37]

The school was also stated to have been damp, as it was 'situate in the middle of the marketplace of the city of Waterford, with the common sewer passing underneath it'.

Another problem mentioned in the *Waterford Mirror* were 'evils of a more serious nature'. The boys were only in school for a number of hours each day and were then 'left at liberty to saunter the streets and to contract those habits of vice and idleness to which the temptations are never want, and which uniformly lay the sure foundation of guilt and depravity'.[38] It was reported that the boys in the school, 'being under no sort of control, except during certain hours of the day, are liable to contract the most vicious and immoral habits in so extensive and populous a sea port as the city of Waterford.'[39]

For these reasons, the trustees, as well as some of the prominent citizens of the city, including William Newport, Samuel King and James Ramsey were in favour of transforming the institution into a boarding school, and moving it to the country.[40] However the trustees were not in a position to make any major changes to the conduct of the school as they were bound by the original provisions of Foy's

37 *Waterford Mirror,* 16 November 1808.

38 *Ibid.*

39 *An Act to perpetuate and better regulate the Charitable Foundation of Doctor Nathaniel Foy,* (1808).

40 R.H. Ryland, *The History, Topography and Antiquities of the City and County of Waterford,* (London, John Murray, 1824), p. 184.

will and the 1728 Act of the Irish Parliament. For any changes to take place, new legislation would be necessary.

In 1808, an *Act to perpetuate and better regulate the Charitable Foundation of Dr. Nathaniel Foy* was passed by the House of Commons. Under the provisions of this act, the trustees of the charity remained the same, the bishop, the dean and the mayor. They were granted powers to sell the schoolhouse in Barronstrand Street, and to 'erect in a more convenient situation a new schoolhouse in or near the city of Waterford'. This would now be a boarding school, as the trustees were permitted 'to maintain, board and lodge the School Master, Ushers, Servants and Children in the School-house'.[41]

The master's salary was fixed at £100 per annum, with £50 paid to each of the ushers, and salaries for servants not to exceed £100 in total. The servants, ushers, and master were also to be lodged in the school, and the trustees were also directed to provide medical care for the staff and pupils.

In 1809 the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland published an estimate of the cost of conducting the new boarding school as follows:

Board for seventy-five boys, at £12 each	£900
Board for Master, two Ushers and Servants	£200
Master's salary	£100
Two Ushers	£100
Clothing Children at £4. 1s. 4d. each	£350
Apprenticing twenty boys annually, at premiums of 5 guineas each per annum	£227 10s.
Catechist	£15
Rent	£50
	£2,042. 10s.

As can be seen from the estimates above, the annual cost of running the school was estimated at over £2,000. According to the commissioners, the annual income of the charity in 1809 was £466. 11s., which left quite a considerable shortfall in revenue! However, the report went on to state that the leases on a sizable proportion the lands owned by the school dated from 1741 and were to expire shortly. When these leases would be renewed, and when the income from the rest of the estate was taken into account, it was expected that the annual income of the charity would amount to £2,547. 3s. 3d., which would be more than enough to finance the institution.

The new school was established at Grantstown, where a house and 16 Irish acres of land was leased from William Hughes, at an annual rent of just over £5, and 'by numerous and rather unsightly additions to the original building', the school 'was rendered large and commodious'.[42]

41 Michael Quane, 'Bishop Foy School, Waterford', in *JCAHS* (1967), pp. 103-22.

42 R.H. Ryland, *The History, Topography and Antiquities of the City and County of Waterford,* (London, John Murray, 1824), p. 184.

The establishment of the new school took time, and it wasn't until the 7 December 1816 that an advertisement appeared in the local press offering for sale 'the school-house... and outbuildings commonly called the Blue School House in the Market Place of the City of Waterford'.[43]

The new establishment at Grantstown finally come into operation on the 1 January 1817. The master was the Rev. Frances Reynett, member of the distinguished Waterford Huguenot family. His father James Henry Reynett was mayor of the city in 1775-6. In 1821 two of his adult sons and his sister-in-law were also living in the school, and all were described as 'assistants'.[44]

There were fifty-three pupils on the register of the school when it moved out to Grantstown in 1817. Of these, nine were enrolled on the day the new school opened. There was one Catholic boy, the rest were Protestants. Of the first fifty-three boys in the new school, a total of forty-seven were eventually apprenticed to tradesmen in the city. One emigrated to America with his father, two 'eloped', one was expelled, and no information is recorded concerning one of the boys. Sadly, one of the pupils is recorded as having 'died in the hospital at Grantstown'.

Another consequence of the move to Grantstown was that the school was now situated in the parish of Ballinakill, and the boys attended service in the local church. In 1819 when the church in Ballinakill was broken into and the stained glass windows broken, a reward for information was offered by the trustees of the school.[45]

According to the *Second Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry* in 1826, the number of pupils in the school was reduced to thirty. All the boys were Protestants. The master was still Frances Reynett, and an assistant master, Edward Francis, was also employed, at a salary of £40 per annum. According to James Glassford, one of the commissioners who visited the school, the premises was 'extensive and in good state, with large outhouses and a garden'. He examined some of the boys in arithmetic, and he stated that they acquitted themselves very well, their answers 'of the very first order, both to quickness and accuracy'.[46]

Municipal Corporations Inquiry

In 1833, a commission of inquiry was established to examine the state of municipal corporations in Ireland. While the main purpose of the commission was to investigate why Catholics were excluded from power in local government, it also looked into all of the institutions that corporations were involved with. In Waterford, this included the Bishop Foy School, as the mayor of the city was one of the trustees, and the aldermen had the power to nominate pupils for entry. When the Commission on Municipal Corporations produced their report in 1835, they therefore included a section on the school.

43 *Waterford Mirror,* 7 December 1816.

44 H. F. Morris, 'The Reynett Family of Waterford', in *Decies* 48 (1993), pp. 40-63.

45 *Waterford Mirror,* 2 June 1819

46 T.N. Fewer (ed.), *I was a Day in Waterford: An Anthology of Writing about Waterford from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century,* (Waterford, Ballylough Books, 2001), p. 107.

According to the report, 'considerable additions' were made to the school since the move to Grantstown, at a cost of over £3,000. The boys were 'well instructed in reading, writing and casting accounts', as well as in the Catechism of the Church of Ireland. The secular teaching of the boys was carried by the usher, with the master concerning himself with the management of the school, and with the instruction of the boys 'in the catechism and the knowledge of the scriptures'. The boys were fed by contract with the master at a cost of 5¼d. each per day, and their diet was described as 'good and sufficient'. Their clothing was 'decent and comfortable', and the commissioners went on to state that the master and mistress of the school 'give every attention to their care and management'. Each year between twelve and twenty boys were apprenticed out with an apprentice fee of £8 paid. The secretary of the school was a Mr. Roberts, and he prepared the accounts for the trustees. The commissioners did not see a full set of the accounts of the school however. The dean stated that as the bishop of the diocese was not present at the inquiry, he felt that he was not in a position to produce the accounts.

However, the some information was given on the financial state of the institution for the year 1830. The income of the school was £1,200 per annum. It had been higher a number of years previously, but the trustees had to reduce the rents because of a general fall in agricultural prices. The salaries paid that year were as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
The Protestant Minister	13	16	11
The Master	92	6	2
The Usher	36	18	5
The Housekeeper	23	1	8
The Receiver and Secretary	32	5	1
The Physician	18	9	2¼
Servants, 4, paid in total	8	9	2
Gardener, had been paid £25 now reduced to	15	0	0

The commissioners began their investigation in the City Hall in the city on the 11 December 1833, and sat for a total of fourteen days.[47] The proceedings were held in public, and reported on fully in the local press, with far more information given than appeared in the final report. Evidence on the state of the school was heard over three of those days.

Mr. Hughes the solicitor to the school gave some additional information on the financial situation. Each year, a sum of £19. 13s. 10¼d. was paid by Waterford Corporation to the school as apprenticeship fees for boys leaving, as well as £9. 4s. 7½d. for stationary and books for the school. This money was the interest on over £500, which had been left in trust with the corporation from Foy's will in 1707. He

47 *Report from the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Ireland,* (London, HMSO, 1835), pp. 605-6.

also stated that the boys were fed three meals a day, with meat twice a week, at a daily cost of 5¾d. It was planned to reduce this to 5¼d. from the following January! The boys were supplied with 'every article of clothing which they get new every year'. The trustees visited the school occasionally, and Mr. Hughes was of the opinion that the boys were 'as well fed, clothed and taken care of as any boys of their class in the kingdom'.

The hours of the school were from 7 a.m. to 9 a.m., and from 10 a.m. until 4 p.m. The boys attended church at Ballinakill each Sunday, and the clergyman of the parish visited the school as catechist. There had been only one death among the boys in the school during the course of the previous twenty years.

The land attached to the school, about 17 Irish acres, was leased to the master, the Rev. Reynett, but Mr. Hughes did not know the rent paid. Although the master himself did not teach in the school, 'he attends every day and sees that the boys are instructed'. The master also held a curacy about 3 miles from the school. His wife Mrs. Reynett held the position of housekeeper.

In response to a question put to him, Mr. Hughes did refer to complaints that had been made against the school. These complaints had been investigated by the trustees who found that there were 'no fairs grounds for making the charges'. At least some of the commissioners seemed to be aware of the nature of these complaints, as Mr. Hughes was then asked about 'menial tasks' undertaken by the boys in the school. Mr. Hughes refuted the allegations that the boys were employed in 'menial tasks', although he did admit that he was aware of the boys 'once or twice making hay for the master'.[48]

The following week, the full substance of the complaints against the master and the management of the school were revealed when the former usher, William Haughton was called to give evidence on the school. He stated that he had been employed in the school as usher until two years previously when he 'resigned'. He had sent a letter to the mayor at the time, Henry Alcock, alleging irregularities in the 'internal management' of the school. He alleged that many of the boys were not allowed to attend class, but instead were forced to work for the master on 'his farm', stating that Mr. Reynett regularly came to the school to take the boys out of class for this purpose. The work (presumably the 'menial tasks' that Mr. Hughes had been questioned about the previous week) included 'picking stones, stacking corn, churning butter'. Boys were also made to 'clean the shoes of Mr. Reynett's family'. He went on to state that the diet of the scholars was 'insufficient in quantity and sometimes bad in quality'. The clothes of the boys were worn out and not replaced. The bedding was not kept clean. He was not allowed books for teaching.[49]

After Christmas, the saga concerning the management of the school continued, when the dean, the Rev. Ussher Lee was called to comment on the allegations. He refuted all of them. According to the dean, the trustees visited the school 'frequently'. About two years previously, the allegations surfaced during a routine meeting

48 *Waterford Mirror,* 21 December 1833.

49 *Ibid.*, 23 December 1833.

of the trustees held in the Bishop's Palace to audit the accounts of the school. The mayor informed the other trustees that Mr. Haughton had sent him a letter outlining his allegations. Some time later the trustees held a full investigation in the school, and all the allegations were found to be without foundation. Following this investigation, Mr. Haughton was dismissed, although the master had asked that he merely be reprimanded.

The dean went on to state that he was in the habit of visiting the school at dinner time, and always found the food 'was as good as it probably should be'. The dormitories were clean, and 'the general appearance of the boys indicated health'. Their clothing was 'decent and comfortable', and there were never any complaints from the boys when they left the school. The Commissioners of the Board of Education had visited the school ten years previously and were 'much pleased' with it.

Dr. Mackesy, the physician to the school denied that there were cases of 'itch' and other infections among the boys. He stated that he had been the physician to the school for seventeen years, and was of the habit of visiting the school frequently at meal times. He described the diet as 'good, wholesome and abundant'. The dormitories were 'clean and orderly'.[50]

The commissioners did not seem to come to any firm conclusions as regards the allegations made against the school. It is interesting to note that no reference was made to them in the final report.

Following the publication of the report, all of the corporations in the country were reformed, and power now passed to the Catholic middle class. Thomas Meagher, the first Catholic Mayor of Waterford since the sixteenth century was elected in October 1842.[51] This had a direct and rather unfortunate bearing on the fortunes of the school as the mayor was in fact the only lay trustee. In practice from 1842, Catholic mayors were reluctant to involve themselves in what they regarded as a purely Protestant institution. Control of the school was now in the hands of two clergymen, the dean and bishop of the diocese, and the management of the school would remain exclusively clerical until the early twentieth century.

In spite of the criticisms of the running of the school in 1833, it continued to receive the support of Protestant parents of limited means. In 1835, according to the *Second Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction (Ireland),* the number of pupils in the school was forty-seven, and enrolment was stated to be stationary.[52]

The problems which surfaced concerning Bishop Foy's in the 1830s did not go away however. When the school was next inspected during the 1850s matters seemed to have deteriorated dramatically.

50 *Waterford Mirror,* 28 December 1833.

51 *Ibid.,* 2 November 1842.

52 Michael Quane, 'Bishop Foy School, Waterford', in *JCAHS* (1967), pp. 103-122.

From Bad to Worse: Problems in the 1850s

Robert Daly was appointed bishop in 1843. He was a strong supporter of the evangelical movement within the Church of Ireland, which emphasised the use of the Bible in teaching the principles of Christian faith. He also firmly believed in the use of the Irish language in an attempt to convert the majority Catholic population, which did little to endear him to the Catholic Hierarchy. In 1832 he edited an edition of Bishop O'Brien's Irish-English dictionary, *Focaloir Gaoidhilge- Sax-Bhéarla.*

On becoming bishop, he was automatically a trustee of Bishop Foy's School. The only other trustee was the dean. The problems of the school were compounded by the fact that for many years the bishop and the dean, the Rev. Newenham Hoare, were locked in a bitter dispute and barely on speaking terms. This was over the question of the National Schools. Throughout his time as bishop of Waterford Daly remained a staunch opponent of the national school system, denouncing the system as 'the worst error of the Catholic Church',[53] and Daly's view was shared by many Protestants in Waterford.[54] By 1850 only 100 children of Anglican parents attended National Schools in the entire diocese.[55] In 1864 for example, nearly thirty years after the establishment of these schools, the staunchly Protestant *Waterford Standard* was still describing the system as a 'failure', because of the anxiety of the government 'to serve and propitiate the priests of Rome'.[56] In the case of Bishop Foy's, it would not be until 1902 that it finally came into the state system of education.

Dean Hoare had opposed the National Schools when they were first introduced, but soon changed his mind. He saw how the Catholic Church had made use of the schools and was of the belief that the Church of Ireland should do the same.

The Inquiry of 1855

In August 1855, notices were placed in the local newspapers in Waterford informing the public that the Commissioners for Endowed Schools would be holding a public enquiry in the Courthouse in Waterford, beginning on the 16th of that month, and inviting submissions from the public. Unlike the 1833 enquiry, very little information appeared in the local papers, as reporters were excluded for much of the time.[57]

The commissioners conducted a very thorough enquiry into the running of the school, and a number of witnesses were examined, including some of the parents of the boys. The master at this time was James O'Donoghue, and he had been appointed to the school in May 1844. His salary was £100 per annum. In 1855, there were thirty-eight boys in the school, 'generally of the very lowest of the

53 Eugene Broderick, 'Waterford's Anglicans: Religion and Politics 1819-1871', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University College, Cork, 2000, p. 328.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 399.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 330.

56 *Waterford Standard,* 23 January 1864.

57 *Waterford Mail,* 21 August 1855.

Protestant community in Waterford', according to the master. On average they spent three years in the school before being apprenticed.

One of the parents examined was Mrs. Penelope Commins, a widow. She was the mother of two boys who had been in the school, and a third who was still a pupil there. Her eldest son was never satisfied with the food provided, especially in quantity. She described the meat as very bad, stating that 'it gets only the name of meat', but 'they might be able to eat it if they got enough'. In her opinion, her son was 'falling away in his education and everything', describing him as 'the colour of hunger'. She had to send food every week to her son, and claimed that other parents had to do the same. This food was not as treats for the boys, but because they complained that they were hungry. She stated that the boys kept the food brought by their parents in the trunks provided by the school. However, when asked if her son kept food in his own trunk, she admitted that he had sold the trunk for 4d.!

Mrs. Commins received little support from other parents. In general, people seemed satisfied with the food served, although there were some minor complaints.

Samuel Butts, a shoemaker and the sextant at St. Olave's Church stated that his son complained about the food in the school. According to his son, it was 'bad and insufficient'. He admitted however that some of the boys were probably fed better in the school than at home, and in spite of the food, he was happy to send his son to the school 'for his health's preservation, and for the sake of the country air'.

According to John Palmer, a tailor, none of his three sons who attended the school ever complained about the food. He would bring bread, cakes or apples to his sons in the school as a treat, 'as other parents do'. He had seen the food being served to the boys, 'but for being so ashamed' he would have 'asked for some as it looked so nice'. He believed that the children were thriving on the food they were being served.

Ellen Pattison had a grandson at the school and never heard him complain about the food. William Roche, a draper, was a past-pupil of the school. He used to complain that the quantity of food at the school was insufficient, but 'not bad in quality'. On one occasion the 'stirabout was not done enough', and when he had complained he was given more by the housekeeper. He had never complained to his parents, and they used to bring him bread and cakes as a treat. He thought that the parsnips were of good quality, but did not seem to like the way they were cooked, stating, 'who could eat parsnips steamed in a boiler?'

The master, James O'Donnoghue thought that the food of the boys was 'fully sufficient'. He mentioned that one boy did complain to the catechist about the food, but was told 'that he would eat it if he was hungry'. The bread especially was very good, and at one stage the boys were in the habit of taking bread away after dinner and bartering it for apples, and as a result he was forced to 'drive away the apple woman'. The school physician Dr. Mackesy also testified that the diet of the boys was approved by him, and that the quality was 'generally satisfactory'. The dean also was of the opinion that the food provided was good and wholesome, and had never heard any complaints about it. In fact he stated that the boys on holidays were sometimes sent back to the school for their meals!

The housekeeper, Elizabeth Hammond explained the arrangements for feeding the boys. The food was supplied to the school by contractors chosen by the bishop. The food itself was often inspected by the bishop himself. The meat was from 'the best butcher in Waterford', the meal and milk were 'the best', and the bread was 'very good'.

If there appeared to be some disagreement concerning the food served in the school, there was none whatsoever concerning the dirt of the institution. The master, mentioned 'an accumulation of dirt' in the school. He also maintained that he had no responsibility over such matters, and had no authority over any of the servants employed at the school. He also stated that the building was badly in need of repairs, and that the schoolroom was badly ventilated. Dr. Mackesey admitted that the school 'was not at all as clean as I would wish to have it'. He had complained to the bishop 'fifty times over', but apparently no action was taken to improve the state of the school. He stated that in his opinion the boys and their clothes were dirty. However, according to the housekeeper, the schoolroom was washed out every three months, and the other rooms once a week. She complained however that the pupils themselves were very dirty, stating that they never bathed, and 'had not washed all over for the last two years'. The dean was aware that the school was dirty, and in his opinion, this was due to a 'want of appliances for cleaning'. The building was also in need of repairs, but these had not been carried out because of a lack of funds.

In spite of the dirt of the school, the health of the boys seemed good. According to the master, there had been no deaths in the school during the eleven years he had been employed. There was only one case of fever, although there had been cases of ringworm for eight to twelve months. Dr. Mackesy also testified that the health of the boys was generally good. However, there seemed to have been no provision in the school for sports or recreation. There were 'few holidays', and the master admitted that he never took the boys out of the school for exercise or for a walk. The dean was critical of the fact that no provision was made for the recreation of the boys, there being neither a ball alley nor cricket pitch.

When the commissioners visited the school themselves they were so appalled by the dirt they saw that they decided to return some months later to see if any improvements had been carried out.

As well as inspecting the internal housekeeping of the school they also examined the level of secular education on offer to the pupils. In general they were not impressed. The subjects taught in the school were reading, writing, spelling, grammar, geography and mathematics, as well as book keeping 'to some extent'. The boys also received instruction in the Church Catechism and in the Scriptures. According to the master, the school was inspected by the bishop and the dean from time to time, and their reports were entered 'in a book'. However, it seems that this 'book' was not available to the commissioners.

The commissioners were particularly critical of spelling mistakes in the dictation of the pupils. To make matters worse, examples of spelling mistakes in the master's own handwriting were pointed out to him, and he was asked to explain why he had written 'foreman' and 'foundry' as 'forman' and foundery'!

The commissioners were concerned about the fact that there was no record of punishments kept in the school, although the master seemed to have been opposed to corporal punishment. In fact on one occasion a disagreement arose between the master and Bishop Daly over the use of corporal punishment. On one of his visits to the school, the bishop had ordered him to 'flog two or three boys for running away', and the master had no option but to carry out the bishop' orders.

The bishop was in the habit of riding out to Grantstown to visit the school. In was perhaps on one of these visits that the flogging episode took place. However, at least one of the past-pupils of the school held Bishop Daly in high regard, as evidenced by a ten-verse poem he wrote when the bishop died, beginning with;[58]

> Old warrior brave! Thou'rt gone to rest,
> Gone from earth's strife and sadness,
> To the land where the upright and the blest
> Abide in peace and gladness.

and ending,

> Let slander do what slander can –
> Impotently assail thee
> Whate'r they say no truer man
> Ne'er lived than Robert Daly.

In order to have some idea of the general level of education of the boys on leaving the school, the commissioners heard evidence from two of the employers in the city who took apprentices from Bishop Foy's. Thomas Smith Harvey, a bookseller, printer and stationer had several apprentices from the school. While their 'moral conduct was very satisfactory', their general education was 'greatly neglected'. The proprietor of the *Waterford Mail* newspaper, Joseph Fisher, disagreed with Harvey's views on the level of education in the school. He believed that the education of the boys was not neglected, but that it was 'fully up to the average of the others'. One of the boys from Foy's was the best compositor he ever had, and had recently been promoted to reporter for the newspaper. He did admit however that the school suffered from a lack of inspection and supervision from a local committee. He was also opposed to the idea of the school operating as a boarding school, stating that it was not Bishop Foy's original intention.

In the opinion of the dean, the reputation of the boys leaving the school was very good. He stated however that he objected to a boarding school system for 'children of a humbler class', feeling that it would be more in accordance with Bishop Foy's original wishes if the school was re-established as a day school in the city. He believed that the endowment was sufficient to establish a classical and commercial day school, and in this way, some of the pupils could be prepared for university entrance and for the professions, with good apprenticeship fees paid for those who wished to learn trades. He also thought that those parents who could afford fees should pay for their children's education, with the income from the endowment being used to provide scholarships for those in need.

58 Mrs. Hamilton Madden, *Memoir of the Late Right Rev. Robert Daly DD, Lord Bishop of Cashel,* (London, James Nisbet & Co., 1875), p. 246.

He believed that the number of trustees for the school should be increased, with four laymen appointed to act as trustees, with the bishop, the dean and the archdeacon as *ex officio* trustees. As the mayor of the city was no longer a trustee of the school, the management of the school was in the hands of the bishop and the dean. He described this system as 'inconvenient', stating that when there was a difference of opinion between himself and the bishop, 'the dean has no voice'. Perhaps he was hinting at the strong antipathy that existed between himself and his strong-willed bishop, Robert Daly!

The dean also had other criticisms of the school. The clothes provided for the boys were not adequate, and he was not in favour of the 'blue coat' uniform. He also complained about too few Bibles in the school. Although there were annual examinations, he regretted the fact that prizes were not awarded.

Bishop Daly also gave evidence, but not in great detail. He agreed with the dean that the school should be turned into a day school, and moved back into the city. Although there was an annual examination at the school, parents were not invited. He was not in favour of prizes however, believing that their 'advantage was doubtful'.[59]

When the final report was published, the commissioners stated that they had found 'many of the defects common in charitable boarding schools for the poor'. They found that the schoolhouse was dirty, the children neglected, and regarding the food, it was 'deficient in quantity and bad in quality'. Overall they found that the school was 'unsatisfactory... both as to the care of the children and the state of instruction'. However, they did admit that some improvement had been made when the school was inspected for the second time. The cleanliness of the establishment had improved somewhat, 'the house was in good order and kept clean'.

They were of the opinion that the state of secular instruction in the school was poor. Even though the pupils answered well in mental arithmetic, 'in History as in most departments in English education, but little progress appeared to have been made, the deficiency was greatest in English dictation'.

The commissioners stated that the school needed regular inspection, and this was not being carried out under the regime in force at the time. Since the reform of the municipal corporations, there was no lay trustee at all. The remaining trustees, the dean and the bishop were not sufficient, especially 'as they do not reside constantly in the immediate neighbourhood', and were 'frequently absent from Waterford'. They came to the conclusion that Bishop Foy's School had failed as a boarding school. They went on to recommend that the school should be moved back into the city, and converted into a day school, and that the management of the school entrusted to the Incorporated Society. The funds of the school should be then used to provide scholarships for orphans and poor children.[60]

59 *Evidence Taken Before Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of the Endowed Schools in Ireland,* (Dublin, Thom & Sons, 1857), pp. 583-92.

60 *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to the Endowments, Funds and Actual Conditions of all Schools Endowed for the Purpose of Education in Ireland,* (Dublin, Thom & Sons, 1858), pp. 162-3.

Bishop Foy's School was not the only school to be criticised in such a way in the 1855 report. In general such charity schools were found to be very badly conducted, 'very few at all give an education at all proportional to the enlightenment of the times'. In many of the schools there were no forms, clocks, or timetables. Pupils were often using different books, 'picked up anywhere or brought from home'.[61]

The Foy Estate

As well as inspecting the school the commissioners in 1855 also inspected in great detail the accounts of the institution. The income of the school in 1855 was £1,400 per annum, mainly derived from the lands bought in the eighteenth century. The agent was a Mr. Roberts. One of the commissioners actually visited these lands, and reported back on their condition.

The estate in 1855 consisted of just over 1,339 Irish acres, (2,170 statute acres). It consisted of five townlands; Kinsalebeg, Ballyquin, Mothel, Ballyvad and Hacketstown.

The townlands of Ballyvad and Hacketstown had both been let on a very long lease in 1786. The tenant then apparently set himself up as a middleman, and sublet the land as smaller farms, 'at an extravagant rent'. To make matters worse, even though the middleman was charging greatly inflated rents to his under tenants, he defaulted in paying his own rent to the Bishop Foy charity, building up arrears of over £1,000. He was eventually evicted in 1852. However, according to the commissioners, 'the evil effects which usually attend such subletting occurred in this case', and the two townlands were occupied by 'numerous and poor tenantry', who had neglect the land over the years. In 1852 there were twenty-seven families occupying the land, but by 1855 this had been reduced to twelve. It was not stated in the report how this reduction was achieved. Each tenant now had a moderate sized farm, and was slowly improving the land by clearing furze, levelling ditches and draining fields.

Ballyquin was adjoining the demesne of the Marquis of Waterford, and a few acres were let to the Marquis, which he had fenced in and greatly improved. The rest of that townland was held by six tenants. One rented ninety-nine acres. All the tenants were industrious, and were making improvements to the land.

Mothel and Kinsalebeg were situated ½ mile south of Ballyquin, Some of the tenants were evicted a number of years previously. The remaining tenants were improving their farms.

Although it was reported that the agent kept regular accounts and managed the estate 'judiciously', the commissioners came up with a number of recommendations concerning the land. It was noted that some relief had been given to the tenants between 1848 and 1852, corresponding no doubt to the difficult years of the Great Famine and its aftermath. By 1855, all the leases on the estate had fallen in, and the lands were let to the tenants from year to year. This tended to make the

61 Harriet Martineau, *Endowed Schools in Ireland,* (London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1859), p. 30, 53.

tenants feel insecure, and the commissioners advised that leases should be offered to them. It was also recommended that the tenants should be encouraged to build better houses in place of the thatched cottages many lived in, with slates and timber supplied free of charge. Apparently only £19 had been spent by the trustees on any improvements to the estate over the previous number of years. The houses of the labourers employed on the estate were also described as in 'very bad order'. Most of the improvements were being carried out by the tenants themselves, and the commissioners believed that the trustees should encourage them by investing capital in improvements also.

They were concerned by the fact that there was no overall valuation of the estate, and as a result the rents were uneven. The last valuation that anyone was aware of was carried out in 1808, by a Valentine Gill, and this was on a single sheet of paper! The commissioners were also concerned about the fact that there were no proper maps of the estate. One old map existed from 1721, but measurements were out by over 50 acres. A map of Hacketstown and Ballyquin was drawn up in 1808. The commissioners recommended that the entire lands of the estate be mapped, and valued correctly in order to maximise the rental.[62]

A Slow Improvement

Following the publication of the *Report of the Endowed Schools Commission* in 1858, the school began a slow improvement. This was in spite of the fact that the main recommendations of the commission were not implemented. The school remained at Grantstown under the control of the trustees, and without any formal system of government inspection.

However after the publication of the report, the inspection of the school by the trustees appeared to be on a more formal basis, and included laymen and clergymen. From contemporary accounts it appears that the bishop was regularly involved in the annual inspection.

In December 1863 an account appeared in one local newspaper, describing the Christmas inspection by the dean. The school was described as 'an admirable and well-managed educational institution'. James O'Donnohue, the master who had been much criticised in the 1858 report was still in charge, and was now described as the 'Headmaster'. An assistant teacher, John Mason was also employed, and there were thirty-seven pupils enrolled. The boys looked 'exceedingly healthy, and evidenced the care and attention which is paid to their creature comforts'.

The subjects now being taught were the Holy Scriptures, reading, writing, spelling, dictation, grammar and derivations, history, geography, arithmetic, Euclid, and Hullah's system of vocal music. The introduction of music in the curriculum seemed to have been a recent innovation, and it was taught by the assistant. Great attention was paid to the examination of Scriptures, in accordance with the wishes of the founder Bishop Foy. On this occasion the boys were examined

62 *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to the Endowments, Funds and Actual Conditions of all Schools Endowed for the Purpose of Education in Ireland,* (Dublin, Thom & Sons, 1858), Appendix, p. 49.

on the Book of Genesis and on the Gospel of St. Matthew, and in the opinion of the dean their answers were 'exceedingly good'. The dean was also very satisfied with all other aspects of their education, especially with regard to dictation. He was especially pleased with their knowledge of Latin roots, as it appeared that he himself had just published a schoolbook on the subject, and had sent a copy to the headmaster![63]

The following year the reputation of the school continued to improve. In May 1864 the annual entrance examinations were held at the Protestant Hall in Catherine Street in the city, and it was reported that there were twenty-eight candidates for only six places.[64] In December, the school was again inspected, this time by the bishop, five other clergymen and a total of six laymen. Religious knowledge was of course still a priority, and the answering in Scripture on this occasion was described as 'remarkably good, and gave abundant proof of the manner in which the great truths of our holy religion are impressed upon the hearts and minds of the children'. The main subjects examined were Scripture, the Articles of the Church of England, catechism, geography, grammar, writing, dictation, composition, bookkeeping, mathematics, arithmetic, mental calculation, ethnology, the history of England and vocal music. The bishop was described as being 'perfectly satisfied with the answering in different departments'. James O'Donnohue was still he headmaster, and was praised by the bishop for his 'his pains-taking labours.' The boys were described as 'happy and contented'.[65]

The fortunes of the school continued to improve through the 1860s. In 1866 during the annual inspection, the institution got another glowing report. The inspection on this occasion was conducted by the Rev. Charles Fry. The bishop, the dean and a number of clergymen were also present. The boys were examined in Scriptures, as well as in the secular subjects. It was noted that several specimens of the handwriting of the pupils were 'really perfect'. The boys were described as 'pictures of health and happiness', and the wife of the headmaster, Mrs. O'Donnoghue, was described as being 'indefatigable in her sphere of duty'. She was the matron.

In 1868, there were thirty pupils in the school, and it was reported that James O'Donnohue had 'taken much care with the pupils, and that his efforts have been crowned with much success'. According to the examiner, Rev. Charles Fry, 'Scripture was good', and he was very pleased how the boys were able to quote from the Bible. The improvement in penmanship was 'noteworthy', while arithmetic was 'progressing satisfactorily'. There was also an improvement in geography and in a knowledge and understanding of Euclid. The bishop found a very great improvement in handwriting.[66] The following year, matters still seemed to be improving, according to the examiners. The inspection was described as 'very satisfactory', with penmanship and dictation showing a 'marked improvement'.[67]

63 *Waterford Standard*, 26 December 1863.
64 *Ibid.*, 7 May 1864.
65 *Ibid.*, 24 December 1864.
66 *Ibid.*, 30 December 1868.
67 *Ibid.*, 29 December 1869.

A New Headmaster

In 1873 James O'Donnohue finally retired, and was replaced by William Henry Smith, a graduate of the Church of Ireland Teacher Training College. He was a native of Dublin, and when he was appointed to the position in Waterford he was thirty-two years of age. When he took over as headmaster he was not impressed with the state of the building, describing it as 'scarcely habitable', and he stated that 'the whole place was tumbling down, master's residence, school and all'.[68] There were so many holes in the roof of the building that he had to use an umbrella indoors! He also discovered that the boys had the 'habit of absenting themselves for days, and returning when they pleased'![69] Over the next number of years over £2,000 had to be spent by the trustees on repairing the school.[70]

The new headmaster also made a rather strange discovery at the school. In a deep well on the grounds he found the school bell. It was cast in bronze, and bore the initials, 'C.C.'. This was the trademark of Charles Clarke, a brass founder in Barronstrand Street in Waterford. His premises was situated on the site of the present-day Penny's shop. He had originally opened his foundry off Bachelor's Walk, and early in the nineteenth century moved to the Barronstrand Street premises, and continued in business there until his death in 1830, when his business was taken over by Samuel Woods.[71] The headmaster brought the bell to Graham's foundry to have it repaired, and apparently forgot to collect it. According to Francis Graham, the last surviving member of the family in Waterford, 'it was thought the bell had offended a schoolboy or schoolboys of the period, and so found for a time, a rather watery grave'. In 1946, the old school bell formed part of an exhibition in the window of William Fitzgerald, Ironmonger at 34 the Quay in the city.[72]

Another major innovation following the appointment of William Smith to the school was the introduction of fees, at £20 per annum, for the parents of children who could afford to pay them. Although the majority of the boys did not pay fees, this departure from the provisions of Foy's original bequest would in time attract a great deal of criticism. At this stage also strict regulations for the admission of free pupils were laid down,

> He must belong to the city of Waterford; he must be between the ages of ten and fourteen years; he must lodge beforehand a certificate of the marriage of his parents, a certificate of his baptism, and a certificate of the good character of his family; he must pass an examination in reading, writing and arithmetic, and in the Holy Scripture, and in the Church Catechism, and after the examination he must be certified as in good health by the physician of the school, and must spend a month on trial at the school before he is finally received.[73]

68 Michael Quane, 'Bishop Foy School, Waterford', in *JCAHS* (1967), pp. 103-122.
69 *Munster Express,* 30 December 1966.
70 *Waterford Standard,* 5 February 1879.
71 *Waterford Mirror,* 27 May 1839.
72 *Waterford News,* 5 December 1946.
73 Michael Quane, 'Bishop Foy School, Waterford', in *JCAHS* (1967), pp. 103-122.

In December 1878 the examination of candidates for admission to the school took place in the Protestant Hall in Catherine Street, in the presence of the bishop, the dean, and the clergymen of the city. The examination lasted from 10 a.m. until 4.p.m., and was conducted by the headmaster.[74]

Another innovation introduced into the school in the late 1870s was the annual prize night. The first of these appears to have taken place in January 1879. On that occasion, the school was decorated with flags and banners. As well as the bishop, a number of prominent lay people were in attendance, including Abraham Denny, one of the leading employers of the city, who also presented the prizes. At this stage also a school band was in operation, and among the airs played by the band were 'See the Conquering hero Comes' and the National Anthem.[75]

The following week a letter appeared in the *Waterford Standard* from the headmaster, William Smith, in relation to the prize night at the school. He wrote that his 'heart was lifted up by the events of that day'. He was especially grateful that so many of the 'best people in the neighbourhood' were present. He mentioned that Mrs. Bolton of Brook Lodge had presented a book to the Captain of the school, and a further sixty books had been donated to the school library which was being built. As well as presenting the prizes to the deserving pupils in the school, Abraham Denny had donated £50 towards fitting out a workshop. Smith also mentioned in his letter that a sum of £2,000 had been spent by the trustees on improving the school in recent years.[76]

In 1879 also a new Commission on Endowed Schools in Ireland was set up, and Bishop Foy's School again came under investigation. There were now forty-five pupils on the roll. The headmaster was paid a salary of £100 per annum, with an assistant master receiving £40, with both of them receiving free board and lodging. The subjects taught were reading, spelling, writing, dictation, arithmetic, English history, geography, grammar, Euclid, algebra, book-keeping and vocal music. The boys were still clothed by the school – the 'blue coat' that Dean Hoare had objected so strongly to in 1855! The grounds surrounding the school were now used as a school farm, and according to the master, produced milk and butter, thus saving £100 a year.

The boys rose at 7 a.m. and attended school until 5 p.m. There was only a fifteen-minute break for lunch. There were no organised school sports as such. In the evenings the boys played chess or draughts. The diet in the school was as follows:

Breakfast:	Bread and cocoa
Lunch:	Bread only
Dinner:	Soup, vegetables and bread, with beef on Sundays
Supper:	Bread and milk.

74 *Waterford Standard,* 11 December 1878.
75 *Ibid.,* 1 February 1879.
76 *Ibid.,* 5 February 1879.

The school itself was inspected, and on this occasion the standard of teaching was found to be excellent. The boys were examined in reading, spelling, grammar, geography and arithmetic. The master was described as a highly qualified music teacher, and had brought the singing of the boys 'to almost the highest degree of perfection'. The boys also formed the choir at the nearby Ballinakill church. Mention was made in the report also of the school band, 'an excellent fife band'. The master informed the commissioners that one of the boys hoped to train to become a regimental bandmaster. The school was described as 'in every particular suitable', and the commissioners were very impressed with the carpenter's workshop, in all probability the one which was sponsored by Abraham Denny.

The commissioners were critical of some aspects of the institution however. They were not impressed with the introduction of fees, 'entirely unjustified under the terms of the original bequest'. The free pupils were described as the 'poor Protestant boys of the city', sons of tradesmen, servants and 'that class of people'. They were chosen following an examination each year, and there were a large number of applicants. The previous year there had been twenty-two candidates for four places in the school. The examination was described as very simple, 'on a par with the head class of an ordinary infant school'.

The commissioners were particularly concerned with the financial management of the estate of the school. The estates of the school were producing an annual income of £1,412. 19s. 9½d., almost exactly the same income as in 1855. The agent of the trustees, Henry V. Mackesy was questioned at length, and in the opinion of the commissioners 'displayed conspicuous ignorance as to the letting value of the land, and other circumstances of the estate'. The bishop had no idea of how the estate was managed. The estate had not been valued 'within living memory', and the rents were too low according to the trustees. As well as that, the shooting rights on the estate were given to the Congreve family, and for this no rent at all was paid. By 1879 the tenants were described as 'discontented', and the estate had received no direct supervision from the agent. Very long leases had been granted which contravened the provisions of the 1808 Act governing the operation of the estate of the charity.

The school continued its improvement into the 1880s. In July 1881, it was reported that 'it has been put into a condition of efficiency which conforms to the intentions of the founder'.[77]

From the late 1850s the nature of employment secured for the pupils leaving the school began to change. Up to the mid-nineteenth century, those who were lucky enough would be apprenticed to tradesmen in the city and surrounding areas. While instances of apprenticeships to manual trades continued on well into the century, the number of boys receiving 'clerkships' began to increase. It is no wonder therefore, that such emphasis was placed on subjects such as penmanship, book keeping and dictation in the annual inspections. In fact Abraham Denny referred to this new trend in 1879 when he cautioned the boys against abandoning manual trades in favour of more prestigious careers. He remarked that boys who

77 *Waterford Standard,* 30 July 1881.

became carpenters would always be confident of finding work, even during times of economic depression, referring to 'the difficulty which clerks out of employment sometimes experienced'.

Therefore, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it can be argued that Bishop Foy's School had overcome many of the difficulties that had been identified in the earlier part of the century.

The appointment of William Henry Smith marked a turning point in the fortunes of the school. He was the first professionally trained teacher appointed and he would continue in his position up to1902. During his nearly thirty years in the school the standard of teaching improved with new subjects introduced. The much-needed repairs to the school building were carried out. Even though the trustees of the school remained members of the clergy, contacts were made with businessmen in the wider Protestant community, and this marked the beginning of lay involvement with the school.

However, as these developments were taking place, Ireland was entering another turbulent period in its history. The near famine of 1879, and twenty years of land agitation which followed would almost spell the death knell of the school.

Near Famine and Land War: The School on the Verge of Closure

When the potatoes failed again

It can be argued to a certain extent, that up to the last twenty years of the nineteenth century the fortunes of Bishop Foy's School remained isolated from events in Waterford and in the country as a whole. However, even as the Commissioners on Endowed Education were beginning their public sittings in Waterford in 1879, a series of events were unfolding in Ireland which would end this period of isolation, and force the school to transform itself once more to meet changing circumstances.

One of the main concerns of the Commissioners on Endowed Schools when examining the financial state of the school was the fact that rents on the estate should have been increased, especially during the years of economic boom in agriculture during the 1860s and 1870s when Irish farmers enjoying a relatively good standard of living.[78] No attempt was made by the trustees of the school to take advantage of this economic boom and increase rents on the estate.

By 1879 it was already too late, as agriculture in Ireland had entered a period of depression due to a combination of bad weather and competition from American exports to Britain. By the 1870s as the American mid-west was opened up to agriculture, Europe and especially Britain was flooded by cheap imported food. As well as that, as the summer of 1879 progressed, disturbing reports began to appear in the press from different parts of the country on the state of the potato crop, with cases of potato blight being reported. On the 3 October, the very day that the commissioners began their public session in Waterford, it was reported;

78 Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland Before and After the Famine: Explorations in Economic History, 1800-1925,* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 137; Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin, 'Land Agitation in County Waterford, 1879-1882, Part 1, From Farmers' Club to Land League: The Politicisation of the Framers', in *Decies* 53 (1996), pp. 91-133.

> The potatoes may be said to be gone. The few that are in it are like marbles. A fellow would be hungry before he could dig his dinner.[79]

It must have seemed that the Great Famine of 1845 was repeating itself. For the second time within thirty years, the threat of a countrywide famine and widespread starvation loomed.

Land Agitation

By late 1879 farmers realised that they would face ruin if the situation was not improved in some way, and they saw rent reductions as an instant solution to their immediate problems.[80] It is interesting to note that the first direct contact between the bishop and the tenants on the Foy estate was when they wrote to him seeking a reduction in rent.[81]

By the early 1880s, farmers were organized in a national agrarian mass movement, the Land League, under the leadership of Michael Davitt. This movement attracted the support of nationalist politicians such as Charles Stuart Parnell, and the revolutionary republican physical-force movement, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, thus uniting agrarian and nationalist demands in one united movement, the so-called 'New Departure' in Irish politics.[82]

The Land League had branches all over the country including Waterford, and was campaigning for further rent reductions on behalf of farmers. In November 1880 a branch of the Land League was established in Waterford City at a meeting held in Shannahan's public house in Ballybricken. Joseph Fisher, the owner of the *Munster Express* and *Waterford Mail* newspapers was elected chairman of the branch. In some respects, Fisher might be regarded as an unlikely candidate to lead the Land League in Waterford. Born in Youghal, County Cork in 1816, he was a member of a prominent Quaker family and was educated at Newtown School in Waterford. He moved to Waterford city in 1853, bought the staunchly Protestant *Waterford Mail* newspaper, and in 1860 founded the *Munster Express*. As an employer in the city, he regularly took apprentices from Bishop Foy's, and in fact gave evidence on the state of the school to the Endowed Schools Commission in 1855. In later years, two of his own grandsons would attend the school, and tragically loose their lives in the British army during World War I, (see Appendix).

By the early 1880s it became increasingly difficult to collect rents on the Foy estate. This put the trustees of the school in a difficult position as they depended on the rent from their lands to support the operation of the school. In July 1881 the agent Charles Langley, attempted to sell the interest in one of the farms on the estate, and in Fisher's *Munster Express* newspaper this was described as an 'act of

79 *Waterford News,* 3 October 1879.

80 Samuel Clark; *Social Origins of the Irish Land War,* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 235.

81 Michael Quane, 'Bishop Foy School, Waterford', in *JCAHS,* (1967), pp. 103-22.

82 Philip Bull; *Land Politics and Nationalism, a Study of the Irish Land Question,* (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1996), p. 96 - 97.

oppression'. However, the sale was withdrawn at the last minute due to fears of violence and intimidation.[83]

In many cases, because of the threat of boycotting, intimidation and violence, landowners preferred to seize farm animals on farms *in lieu* of un-paid rent. In August 1881, the agent went to a farm on the estate with bailiffs and a strong escort of police and seized seven head of cattle, five calves and one horse. These were then auctioned off. On this occasion there was no violence, apart from the seventy or eighty onlookers who 'uttered some shouts'![84]

The Plan of Campaign

Following the death of Joseph Fisher in 1882, the Waterford newspapers were taken over by his son Harry David Fisher. Both Harry and his brother William Garrow continued to be active on the extreme wing of nationalist politics in Waterford over the next twenty years, especially during the second more militant phase of the Land War - the Plan of Campaign.

In 1886 a new tactic was adopted by the Land League to increase the pressure on landlords. This was known as the Plan of Campaign. Tenants on an estate would decide among themselves what constituted a 'fair rent', and then offer to pay this to the landlord. If this were refused, they would refuse to pay any rent at all.

The Plan of Campaign was implemented on the lands of Bishop Foy's School, and the immediate result was that the income of the estate began to dry up very fast, forcing the trustees to send boys home. The Plan of Campaign introduced a new note of bitterness into the land agitation. During the years of the plan, both Harry Fisher and his brother William served periods in prison. In 1886 for example Harry was sentenced to eleven months in Ballybricken Jail under the Coercion Act on charges which included intimidation, organising and promoting boycotting and organising resistance to evictions.

As the dispute dragged on, the school came to closer closing completely. The agent attempted to negotiate with the tenants, offering a 15% reduction in the rent, hoping to weaken the resolve of the tenants. This offer was rejected, even though the local Catholic priest tried to get them to accept. By 1889, the trustees decided to evict the tenants. One of the first farmers evicted was Edmond Fitzgerald, a prominent member of the Mothel branch of the Land League. At the end of March the agent, accompanied by the sheriff and a force of police went to his farm to repossess it. The farmhouse was barricaded, and it was reported that Mrs. Fitzgerald and the children 'held the place till the defences gave way'.[85] The eviction of the other tenants followed. When the trustees attempted to sell grazing rights on the farms, there were no bidders. Instead, the agent used the land to graze cattle. The dispute, which was described as 'long and bitter' was not finally resolved until 1892, when the evicted tenants were re-instated.[86]

83 *Munster Express*, 16 July 1881.
84 *Waterford Standard*, 17 August 1881.
85 *Waterford Mail*, 6 April 1889.
86 *Waterford News*, 16 April 1892.

The 1887 Report

It was during the height of this crisis that another set of commissioners investigated the running of the school once again. The Commissioners on Endowed Education 1887 sat in Waterford in October of that year. The bishop was called to give evidence, and he outlined the provisions of Bishop Foy's original bequest. After doing this, he was reluctant to answer any more questions, claiming that this commission had no authority to enquire into the operation of the school.

Eventually after some discussion the bishop did agree to answer further questions. He stated that the school was for the children of parents who were members of the Church of Ireland. Some Dissenters were accepted in to the school, as long as their parents agreed that they be educated as Anglicans. According to the bishop the parents of the boys were 'usually trades people', members of 'the respectable middle class, some servants, and army and constabulary pensioners'. One of the commissioners remarked that the boys seemed very well brought up for 'those positions in life', with the bishop replying that that they 'get wonderfully polished in the school' under the guidance of the headmaster. The bishop was asked about the fall in numbers, and he explained that it was because of the difficulties in getting the tenants on the estate to pay their rents.

The agent, Charles Langley was also questioned. He explained that before the period of land agitation, £1,400 taken in rents every year. However, in 1886, this was reduced to only £500. The usher, assistant master and many of the servants were dismissed, and the headmaster was forced to continue conduct the school single-handed. In spite of these difficulties, the headmaster endeavoured to instruct the boys 'in all aspects of a good commercial education'.

On reaching the age of sixteen, employment was found for the boys in the city, 'in warehouse, sometimes as counter-hands, in drapery and grocery shops in Waterford, and as assistants of that kind; they get clerkships in merchants' offices'. Some of the boys were still being apprenticed to tradesmen. According to the headmaster, there were no difficulties in placing the boys in employment when they left the school. It was also his policy to keep contact with the boys when they left.

The commissioners visited the school, and in spite of the current difficulties seemed to be very impressed with how it was conducted, and expressed,

> the very great pleasure they felt in visiting an institution which was so admirably managed, beautifully situated, and in every way a lasting benefit to the pupils, and a credit to Mr. Smith.

The commissioners admitted that in reality they had no authority whatsoever over the school. However, as in previous reports they did express concerns with regard to some aspects of its management, in spite of their glowing praise of the headmaster. They were concerned with the fact that parents of some of the boys were paying fees, at £20 per annum, although at this stage the meagre income of the school was probably in dire need of these fees! The headmaster was questioned closely regarding the fee-paying pupils, described as 'the children of land stewards

and other people of that class'. The commissioners were particularly interested in finding out whether their treatment and education differed in any way from that of the free pupils. The headmaster was able to state that all the boys in the school were treated equally. In his evidence he stated that there was not 'a shadow of a shade of difference' between free pupils and fee-paying pupils, 'they are all dressed and fed alike and they sleep in the same dormitories'.

The commissioners recommended however that the trustees of the school should consider placing the school under some form of government control, 'to submit a draft scheme for the consideration of the Commissioners'. In this way 'a lay element' could be introduced into the management, and the accounts could be audited by the Local Government Board.

They were also worried by the fact that the curriculum of the school was very narrow. The only prospects for the boys was to be placed in employment with firms in the city of Waterford, and as they were not prepared for state examinations, there was no prospect of any of them going on to further education.[87]

The school survives – just!

In the course of his evidence to the commissioners in 1887, the headmaster stated how he tried to keep in touch with boys after they left the school. Later that year, on the 26 December he organised the first school reunion, when a large number of 'old boys' from all over the country 'found a genuine welcome within the walls of the fine old mansion where they spent many happy days'. The report on the day's activities also give an insight into the personality of Smith himself, explaining his success as a teacher and the genuine regard he was held in by all who came into contact with him. On the day of the reunion; 'he entered in all the fullness of his generosity and geniality into the boys' amusements; was, in fact one of themselves in their festivities and sports'. The highlight of the day was a rugby match, played on the school lawn, and this seems to be the first occasion when sport of any kind is mentioned in the school. The headmaster acted as referee, but at times his enthusiasm seemed to get the better of him, and he freely joined the game as he saw fit; and he is credited as scoring the first try of the game, 'when the ball got loose he took it in hand and by a splendid run got the first touchdown'![88]

In general however, the late 1880s were a very difficult time for the school, and in spite of the efforts of William Smith, it probably came very close to closing altogether. The enthusiasm of the headmaster was probably the one thing that actually kept the school functioning at all. Numbers certainly were declining. In 1879 there were forty-five boys in the school. By 1886, this was reduced to twenty-eight. Once the Plan of Campaign got underway, this number was reduced further, and by 1887 when the school was inspected by the Commissioners on Endowed Schools there were only fourteen pupils enrolled.

87 *Waterford Standard,* 2 November 1887.

88 *Ibid.,* 31 December 1887.

In 1885, there were six new boys taken at the school, which was about average for these years. In 1886, this dropped to two, and for the following three years there were no new pupils admitted at all. Matters began to improve slightly in the 1890s. In July 1891, one boy was taken, one more in September 1892, two in 1893, four in 1894, and in 1894 the number was back up to six again, following the settling of the dispute on the estate and the re-instatement of the tenants.[89]

According to the Census of Ireland in 1901, there were thirty-two boys in the school. William Henry Smith was the only master, and he lived at Grantstown with his wife Jane Elizabeth and his one son, Charles. At this stage the land surrounding the school seemed to have been farmed to a certain extent, and the produce probably used as part of the diet of the boys. As well as the main school building, in that year there were also two cow houses, a calf house, a dairy, a fowl house, and a barn. There were two stables, a coach house, a boiling house, a laundry, two sheds and a workshop, perhaps the one which Abraham Denny sponsored in 1879. There were three servants employed in the house, a cook, a laundress and a housemaid, all Catholics.

In 1901 William Smith had been headmaster for nearly thirty years. During these years he was responsible for transforming the school from what was essentially an eighteenth-century charity institution into a modern nineteenth-century school, offering 'an English education'. Through his enthusiasm and love of teaching he had managed to keep the school in existence during the difficult years of the Land War.

At the dawn of the new century however, it was recognised that in spite of his efforts, further major changes would be needed to ensure the continuation of Foy's into the future.

Conclusion: Back to the City: Bishop Foy's in the New Century

Although the school survived the crises of the 1880s and 1890s, it is certainly true to state that if the land agitation had continued for much longer it would have been forced to close, and these difficult years must have finally convinced the trustees that changes were necessary for the school to survive in the twentieth century.

The trustees also recognised the fact that the school had remained isolated from developments in education, and by 1900 was a rather quaint anachronism. It could not really be described as either a primary school or a secondary school. As an educational institution it seemed to straddle both levels, with boys entering after a few years spent in primary education and remaining for four years or so. In advertisements it was described as offering 'a solid English education'. The school was also still very much vocational in character, and while the number of pupils placed as apprentices had declined; most of them were placed in employment with the main Protestant firms in the city. The main disadvantage for parents and pupils was that boys were not prepared for state examinations, which had been established under the Intermediate Education Act of 1878. Thus, the boys attending Bishop Foy's were effectively ruled out from going on to university, or of furthering their education in any way.

89 Bishop Foy School Register.

As far back as 1855 the various commissions that had visited the school were anxious to have the terms of the trust that governed the running of the school altered. These recommendations included moving the school back into the city of Waterford, transforming it into a day-school, introducing a lay element into the management of the school and placing the school under some for of regular state inspection.

There were also a number of other Protestant schools both for boys and girls in operation in and around the city, funded by a number of separate endowments. By 1900, these various institutions were either in financial difficulty, faced with closure due to falling numbers, or already closed. The Mason Blue School for Girls, the Lady Lane Infant School and the Diocesan School were still in existence. The Protestant Ragged School had closed, although the last teacher of that school, Martha Gloster, was being paid a salary out of the endowment and was still living in the school. With a declining Protestant population in the region, it was felt that if the different endowments could be combined, they would be able to support one larger school. It was therefore considered desirable to amalgamate all these schools together with their various endowments and to establish one primary school and one secondary school for the education of Protestant boys and girls of all denominations in Waterford city.

However for any such amalgamation to take place, a new act of Parliament would be necessary. The operation of Bishop Foy's School at Grantstown, and its endowment was regulated by the provisions of Bishop Foy's original will, and the 1808 Act of Parliament.

The 1902 Act

Therefore in 1902, the *Waterford and Bishop Foy Endowed Schools Act* was passed. On the passing of this act, the various Protestant endowed schools were amalgamated into one new institution.

It was envisaged that two new schools would be established, although they would both under the management of the same Board of Governors. A primary school, known as the Mason and Lady Lane Incorporated School, and a secondary school to be known as the Bishop Foy High School were to be set up. These schools were to be co-educational, and subject to the rules and regulations of the Board of Education, the forerunner of the modern Department of Education. Pupils would now be entered for state and matriculation examinations for the first time, and thus would be in a position to go on to further education, especially at university level.

Under the new act the newly established school would be empowered to provide religious instruction for all Protestant denominations. A Board of Governors was to be established. All members of the board were to be Protestants, representing the various denominations, with the Church of Ireland Bishop acting as chairman.

The new schools established would be fee-paying, and provision was made in the new act for scholarships, and for a certain number of children to be educated

free of charge. The destitute children of deceased clergymen were to be educated without having to pay fees for example. The governors were also empowered to operate evening classes.

The move from Grantstown

When the 1808 Act was passed in Westminster establishing the boarding school at Grantstown it took a total of nine years for the school to move from the city. In 1902 however, things moved much faster. The following January, the Grantstown premises was advertised for sale in the local press. The school was described as

> a sound, handsome, well-constructed building, with cut limestone facings and chimneys, two stories over a basement, situate on an elevation. It is approached through a lodge, gardener's house and long avenue, sheltered and ornamented by trees and plants, garden and pleasure grounds.[90]

In spite of this however, the Grantstown premises was not disposed of for a number of years, and continued to be used as accommodation of boarders, as well as the residence of the headmaster. Sports, a new development following the passing of the Act of 1902, were held on the lands at Grantstown.

Thus, by the first decade of the new century the schools under the banner of Bishop Foy were up and running.

Plans were also drawn up for building a new school on the Mall in the city, where a site was acquired for £2,000.

In 1906, the primary school, now known as the Mason and Lady Lane Incorporated School was described as 'one of the largest and most important Protestant schools in the south of Ireland'. The governors offered four scholarships to the pupils of the primary school to the secondary schools under their care.[91]

Despite the fact that the new act envisaged a co-educational secondary school it seems that in the early years at least, two separate establishments were in operation, a High School for girls and a separate High School for boys. The boys' school was situated in Cathedral Square, with Dr. W. G. Connolly as headmaster. He was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, with almost twenty years experience as a teacher in Coleraine, at Foyle College, Derry, and as headmaster of Bangor Grammar School. Another new innovation of the twentieth century was the teaching of scientific subjects, and a science laboratory established in the boys' school. Funding for the laboratory was provided by the local Technical Education Committee, which had been established in 1900.[92]

Boys were prepared for Matriculation, entrance scholarships to the universities, and the state Intermediate Examinations.

90 *Waterford News,* 23 January 1903.

91 Edward V. Drea, *Waterford Ancient and Modern: An Illustrated Guide to the National Teachers' Conference, 1906,* (Waterford, INTO, 1906), p. 71.

92 John M. Hearne, 'Waterford Technical Institute and the Development of Technical Education in Waterford City 1906 – 1930', in *Decies* 62 (2006), pp. 209-33.

The Girls' High School at this stage was at 14 William Street. The headmistress Miss Marguerite R. Burton. Prior to her appointment in Waterford, she had been headmistress at Bootle PT Centre and Preparatory School.

The High Schools

Following the return to the city and the establishment of the new regime, school sports were organised for the first time. On the 6 July 1904, the first Sports Day was held by the Bishop Foy High Schools. The events took place on the lands at Grantstown, which continued to be used as a sports ground for many years. The attendance was described as 'large and fashionable', and the crowd was entertained by the band of the Royal Irish Regiment.

At the annual prize night for the schools in June 1906, four years after the passing of the 1902 Act, the principals of both schools presented their reports for the year to a distinguished number of guests, including the bishop and dean, the Marquis and Marchioness of Waterford, Sir William and Lady Goff, Captain Carew, and of course the parents of the students.

Dr. Connolly, the headmaster of the boys' school outlined in his report the progress of the school over the previous twelve months. There were fifty-six boys enrolled in the school, and all the boys who were presented for the Intermediate Examination had passed, some with honours. He was also happy to announce that for the first time since the foundation o the school, boys educated at Foy's were attending university. According to the headmaster, the academic success of the students in the high school was a credit to the 'capabilities of the staff'. One of the boys, C.G. White had won a Mathematical Prize worth £10, coming while another boy, Owsald Garrow Fisher, was awarded a £2 prize for his efforts.[93]

Dr. Connelly mentioned the importance of the various scholarships available to help 'clever children attending primary school to obtain a good secondary education'.

During the course of his address, Dr. Connolly had some strong words of wisdom for the parents. He regretted the growing tendency among parents to be overindulgent with their children, especially when boys wished to drop out of subjects they did not like or thought too difficult. Instead of giving into the wishes of their children, the headmaster advised the use of 'a little timely household firmness and discipline'. As he pointed out,

> In the days of our fathers and grandfathers, boys were not asked what they would like to do. They had to do certain things because it was right to do them, or simply because they were told to do them.

93 It is interesting to note that the Oswald Garrow Fisher here was a grandson of Joseph Fisher, and son of Harry Fisher, proprietors of the *Waterford Mail* and *Munster Express,* newspapers, both of whom were involved with nationalist and agrarian politics in the region. Oswald Garrow would have the distinction of being one of the first Old Foyonians to be ordained as a Church of Ireland Minister. He was killed serving as a Chaplin in World War I. (see Appendix 2).

Dr. Connelly also stressed the importance of school games in furthering the ethos of the school. Games promoted courage, self-reliance, and 'a sense of honour and moral obligation.' Participation in sports was compulsory for boarders. Some parents of day pupils however did not 'attach the proper value to them', or insist that their sons participated fully in them.

The principal of the girls' high school, Miss Russell, also presented her report. There were sixty girls attending the school, and Miss Russell also stressed the importance of sports in the education of the girls in the school, stating that 'it is the girls of today who will be called upon to bring up the generation of tomorrow, and a healthy girl, morally and physically, was what the world wanted'![94]

The 1910 Report

Both the boys' and girls' high schools were visited by inspectors from the Intermediate Board of Education in January 1910. It was noted that classes were small in each of the schools. In the boys' school there were fifty-two pupils, with three of them under the age of ten, and one over nineteen. There were twenty-four day-pupils, and twenty-eight boarders.

The report of the inspectors on the boys' school was excellent. Latin was taught by the headmaster, who 'had a distinguished career in Trinity College'. The boys were receiving 'good instruction of a vigorous old-fashioned kind, which seemed likely to produce the very best results'. Although there was 'nothing brilliant' in the work of the boys, they had a sound knowledge of Latin grammar, and the two upper grades were able to scan Virgil.

The headmaster also taught English, and according to the inspector, the knowledge of the boys of English grammar was excellent, and they 'were able to parse anything on a word of command'. A lesson on tenses was described as 'a model of its kind'.

In French, the boys seemed to know their grammar well, but were weak on pronunciation, although the master was doing his best to correct this. The inspectors were of the opinion that much of the translation work being done in French was very artificial 'constructed to introduce and illustrate points of grammar'. In general however, the teaching was good, and the boys answered the questions put to them well, showing a 'sound knowledge of the work'

With regard to mathematics, the teaching was described as 'clear and logical', and the teacher followed the boys' work closely.

When the girls' school was inspected, there were twenty-four students in the school, four boarders and nineteen day-pupils. In English, the manner of the teacher was excellent, although the lesson on the day of the visit did not seem to be part of the curriculum. It consisted of a lecture on early religious drama, and although the girls had notebooks and were supposed to be taking notes, very few of them appeared to be doing so. The girls seemed to have found mathematics difficult. The teacher was described as 'inexperienced', and her work on the blackboard was 'not well arranged'.

94 *Waterford News*, 29 June 1906.

In French class, the grammatical knowledge of the girls was weak. Although the accent of the French teacher was excellent, the reading of French texts by the girls was described as 'moderate', and in translation, 'many words were missed'. On the other hand the inspector was impressed with German class, and the knowledge of the teacher was 'excellent'. Her questioning was rapid, pronunciation good, and her treatment of grammatical questions was 'brisk and interesting'. The girls answered questions well, and they 'evidently knew the elementary grammar thoroughly'.[95]

Thus the school, initially established as a charity institution for poor boys by Nathaniel Foy in the eighteenth century, was totally transformed by the early years of the twentieth century, and passed its first major inspection with flying colours. As well as that a new purpose-built school was erected on the Mall, on the site of the present but soon to be demolished, ESB Headquarters. This fine school, with its limestone façade was built by the local firm of Patrick Costen, who had also built the Waterford Central Technical Institute in Parnell Street in 1906.[96] In 1920, the elegant eighteenth-century Bishop's Palace on the mall was acquired by the school as accommodation for boarders.[97]

Although twenty Old Foyonians were killed in action during the Great War, the school itself survived the troubled years of the War of Independence and Civil War without any ill effects. In fact the school was in a position to provide accommodation for pupils and staff of the Erasmus Smith School in Tipperary who found themselves temporarily homeless when their own school was occupied by Free Stare soldiers during the Civil War.[98]

Following the establishment of the Free State in 1922 Bishop Foy's adapted well to the new political reality. It is interesting to note that the Marquis of Waterford in addressing the pupils, staff and parents on the first post-independence prize night urged his audience to look to the future and to give their trust and allegiance to the new state. He was particularly pleased to learn that the school had already been praised for its high standards in the teaching of Irish.[99] This emphasis on the teaching of Irish continued into the 1920s and 1930s. Séamus Ó Maoileoin, the author of *B'fhiú an Braon Fola,* who was dismissed from a number of teaching positions in Catholic-managed schools because of his extreme republicanism taught in Bishop Foy's as well as at Newtown.

Over the following forty years the school continued to serve Waterford city and surrounding areas. An Act of the Oireachtas was passed in 1930 to bring the management of the endowment up-to date, and a succession of committed headmasters – Edwin Simpson, the Rev. F.W. Seymour, J.E. Lloyd Lewis, the Rev. J.R.W. Fleming, and L.N. Horan, who retired in 1958 - ensured the smooth running of the school itself. It is interesting to note that for a period in the 1930s the famous artist Oisin Kelly taught art there.

95 Michael Quane, 'Bishop Foy School, Waterford', in *JCAHS,* (1967), pp. 103-22.
96 John M. Hearne, 'Waterford Central Technical Institute and the Development of Technical Education in Waterford City 1906-1930', in *Decies* 62 (2006), pp. 209-33.
97 *Munster Express,* 20 July 1920.
98 Michael Quane, 'Bishop Foy School, Waterford', in *JCAHS,* (1967), pp. 103-22.
99 *Munster Express,* 9 September 1922.

In 1958, George Langley, the last headmaster of Bishop Foy's was appointed. On taking up the position, he was told by the governors that the school was secure financially, and as it had lasted for 250 years, and there was no reason why it should not go on for another 250.

Sadly, this was not the case, and 300 years after it first opened in Barronstrand Street, Bishop Foy's School closed its doors for the last time.

At some stage, probably soon after the move from Grantstown into the city, a school flag was made. On the last prize night held at the school in 1967, the then president of the Old Foyonian Association, Mr. C.L. Fudger, spoke emotionally about the flag, 'which had fluttered in the wind at Grantstown on the occasion of cricket matches and on sports days.' This flag bore the date 1707, the year of the foundation of the school, and he hoped that when the school finally closed a suitable resting place would be found for it close to Bishop Foy's tomb in Christchurch Cathedral in Waterford.

Even though the old school flag was never placed on Foy's tomb, the contribution he made to education in Waterford city and county will not be forgotten.

Acknowledgements
Neill Darbey, Library, Waterford Institute of Technology.
Julian C. Walton.
Gordon Watson.
The staff at Waterford City Council Library.

APPENDIX

Old Foyonians in World War I, 1914-18

It is estimated that in excess of 400,000 Irishmen fought in the Great War. This figure includes those already serving in the regular British army in 1914, those who volunteered for service in the three new Irish divisions formed following the outbreak of the war, the 10th, 16th and 36th, and also Irishmen serving with British and other Commonwealth forces.[100] Of those who served, approximately 50,000 were casualties of war.

Roughly 4,800 men from Waterford city and county served during the war, and over 700 were killed.

Among the dead were twenty past pupils of Bishop Foy's School. Of these, eighteen were young officers, with the rank of 2nd Lieutenant, although one was an Acting Captain. In the British Army in general, one officer out of five was killed during the war. Portora Royal School in Armagh for example, sent 235 of its past pupils to the war, of whom forty-three were killed. Therefore, in all probability, about 100 young men from Bishop Foy's enlisted.

Sadly, two brothers were amongst those killed, Oswald Garrow and Hubert Patrick Fisher, sons of local newspaper proprietor and radical nationalist leader Harry Fisher. It was Harry Fisher, together with his brother William who successfully directed the campaign of land agitation in Waterford and south Tipperary in the 1880s, a campaign which nearly brought about the closure of Bishop Foy's!

On leaving school, Oswald entered Trinity College, Dublin, where he had a distinguished academic career, and was awarded the Bedell Scholarship. He was ordained as a minister in the Church of Ireland, and served as a curate in St. George's parish in Dublin for three years. He was a noted Irish scholar, and frequently preached in Irish at St. Patrick's Cathedral. On the outbreak of the war, he volunteered for service as a Chaplin, and served on the Western Front, and later in Mesopotamia (Iraq). Fighting continued in this region after the defeat of Turkey and the Rev. Fisher was killed in Baghdad on the 4 November 1920.[101]

Hubert Patrick Fisher also attended Foy's, as well as Chesterfirld College, Birr, County Offaly. He later qualified as a radio officer, and was working on board a liner bound for Brazil when the war broke out. He returned to England as soon as he could, and was commissioned into the Shropshire Light Infantry. He arrived in France in June 1916, and was transferred to the Gloucester Regiment. He was killed in the opening days of the Battle of the Somme in July 1916, leading his platoon. He had been in France for three weeks, and was just twenty years of age.

100 Jim Stacey, Ann Allridge, Richard Power, 'List of County Waterford Soldiers who Died in World War I', in *Decies*, 55, (1999), pp. 79-115.

101 *Galway Express*, 13 November 1920.

102 *Ibid.*, 15 July 1916.

Old Foyonians Killed in the Great War

Francis Warren Coffee, 2nd Lieut., Royal Irish Regiment.
Percy Alexander Crone, 2nd Lieut., Royal Munster Fusiliers.
Gerald Somerville Yeats Cullen, 2nd Lieut., Royal Irish Fusiliers.
William Augustus Nelson Dobbyn, 2nd Lieut., Royal Lancaster Fusiliers.
William Leonard Price Dobbyn, MC, Lieut.,
Acting Captain, Royal Irish Regiment.
Oswald Garrow Fisher, Chaplin.
Hubert Patrick Fisher, 2nd Lieut., Shropshire Light Infantry.
Henry Robert Taylor Hackett, 2nd Lieut., Royal Dublin Fusiliers.
John Caleb Haigh, 2nd Lieut., Royal Dublin Fusiliers.
Eric Colpoys Godges, 2nd Lieut., Royal Irish Regiment.
Eric Aldred Thistleton Line, 2nd Lieut., Royal Army Service Corps.
James Robert Love, 2nd Lieut., Royal Munster Fusiliers.
Arthur Russell Morris, Canadian Light Infantry.
Richard Alfred Aylmer Newell, Canadian Light Infantry.
Charles Edward Newell, 2nd Lieut., Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers.
William Albert Neville Oakshott, 2nd Lieut., Royal Irish Regiment.
Edward Willington Shelton, private, Canadian Expeditionary Force.
Ernest Frederick William Smith, 2nd Lieut., Leinster Regiment, attached Royal Flying Corps.
Thomas Emanuel Smith, 2nd Lieut., Royal Garrison Artillery.
William White.

The Goldsmiths of Waterford[1]

(This article first appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 133 (2003), pp. 111-129)

Conor O'Brien

The paucity of information on Waterford's goldsmiths in the standard reference works on old Irish silver[2] tends to create the impression that goldsmiths were virtually non-existent there. This image of the city, which might be considered unflattering, was somewhat ameliorated by two papers dealing with Waterford's ecclesiastical plate which were published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* in 1955 and 1967.[3] Neither of the writers, however, firmly identified the local makers of any of the church plate. The aim of this paper is to redress the situation and to shed some further light on the goldsmiths' craft in Waterford over the centuries.

The discovery during excavations in Waterford of crucibles for melting precious metals, and bone motifs used by goldsmiths, attests to the long history of the craft in Waterford. The high quality of workmanship is demonstrated by the remarkable late eleventh-century kite brooch, most likely made in the city, unearthed in the excavations.[4] It is possible that Neachtain, the craftsman who made the famous crosier *c.*1110, for Nial mac meic Aeducain, one time abbot and later bishop of Lismore, worked in Waterford, at least in the county. However, the earliest certain record we have of a named goldsmith in Waterford is of 'Roger the goldsmith'. He is mentioned in the State Papers on various occasions between 1287 and 1291 as paying the farm of the city of Waterford to the exchequer.[5] Being entrusted with such fiscal responsibilities, normally the preserve of the mayor or the bailiffs, indicates that Roger was one of the leading citizens of the time, a testament to his successful business as a goldsmith. He may well have had some link to the mint that was re-established in the city in 1281 and again in 1294 since the minting of coins required goldsmithing skills such as the ability to assay gold and silver and to cut dies. It is likely that Friar Stephen de Fulbourne, who was

1 In the present context the terms 'goldsmith' and 'silversmith' may be regarded as synonymous.

2 I. Pickford (ed.), *Jackson's Silver & Gold Marks of England, Scotland & Ireland,* (Suffolk, 1989); D. Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver,* (London, 1972); *idem, Collecting Irish Silver,* (London, 1984); R. Wyse Jackson, *Irish Silver,* (Cork and Dublin, 1972).

3 R. Wyse Jackson, 'Old Church Plate of Lismore Diocese', in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 85 (1955), pp. 51-61, (henceforth abbreviated as *JRSAI*); C. B. Warren, 'Notes on the Church Plate of Waterford Diocese', in *JRSAI* 97 (1967), pp. 119-127.

4 E. McEneaney with R. Ryan (eds.), *Waterford Treasures,* (Waterford, 2004), pp. 21-2.

5 H.S. Sweetman (ed.), *Calendar State Documents, Ireland, 1285-1292,* (London, 1879), Vol. 3, pp. 136, 151, 166, 186, 220, 223, 354 & 432.

consecrated bishop of Waterford in 1273, became an important patron of Roger.[6] The bishop was appointed Treasurer of Ireland in 1274 and was twice constituted Justiciar, in 1279 and again in 1282 until his death, and used both offices for his considerable personal aggrandizement. He was advanced to the archbishopric of Tuam in 1286. When he died there two years later the king, Edward I, claimed that Stephen had owed huge sums to the Crown and sought an inventory of the deceased archbishop's residual possessions. This revealed that the former friar had amassed an astonishing treasure trove.[7] In his wardrobe at Tuam were found a large silver ewer, a silver-gilt cup and cover, along with luxurious clothes and exotic fruits and foodstuffs. In one chest were found two silver cups and in another £100 of silver. The pantry or buttery yielded a silver-gilt salt, three gold spoons, twelve large and twelve smaller silver spoons, five silver plates, one silver dish for alms, two large and two smaller silver ewers, nine silver pots with covers, one gold plate and cover, and three silver-gilt cups with feet. In the kitchen two large silver dishes, fifteen smaller ones and eighteen silver saltcellars were found. The collection was seized and given to the Exchequer in Dublin. What was discovered was probably only part of the prelate's store of gold and silver. But it does give an idea of the kind of commissions a goldsmith of this period might be required to execute. It also provides an unusual window on the luxurious lifestyle of a late thirteenth-century clerical administrator. In all probability much of the prelate's treasure was made in Waterford during Stephen's occupancy of that see.

In medieval times Waterford was the second largest city in the country and was well favoured with royal patronage. As with comparable towns and cities throughout Europe, it is most likely that goldsmiths played a very prominent part in the financial and commercial life of the city. Possibly indicative of what may have been the contemporary situation in Waterford, though on a smaller scale, the admission of twenty-four goldsmiths to Dublin's Guild of Merchants between *c.*1190 and 1259 is recorded in the guild's uniquely surviving roll.[8] However, apart from the references to Roger in the 1280s, Waterford's surviving records provide virtually no information about the city's goldsmiths at that early period.

Guild of Hammermen

The right 'to have their reasonable guilds as the mayor, burgesses and commonality of Bristol had' was granted to Waterford by letters patent of King John dated 3 June 1215.[9] In the wake of that privilege it is likely that a guild of hammermen was

6 Walter Harris, *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland,* (Dublin, 1764), i, p. 531.

7 H.S. Sweetman (ed.), *Calendar State Documents, Ireland, 1285-1292*, (London, 1879), Vol. 3, pp. 180-1.

8 P. Connolly and G. Martin (eds.), *The Dublin Guild Merchant Roll, c.1190-1265,* (Dublin, 1992).

9 P. Higgins, 'Ancient Guilds or Fraternities of the City of Waterford, AD 1663', in *Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society* vii (1901), p. 161, (Henceforth abbreviated as *JWSEIAS*). In this article the date of King John's letters patent was mistakenly taken to be the 7th (1205), rather than the 17th year of his reign (1215); see E. McEneaney, 'King John and the City of Waterford', in *Decies* 26 (1984), pp. 9,10.

soon established. A long existence of such a guild is implied in a decision of the corporation assembly on 10 October 1577 to dissolve the Guild of Hammermen and to replace it with two guilds, a newly constituted Guild of Hammermen and another one to be named the Guild of Timbermen.[10] In recording the decision in Waterford's *Liber Antiquissimus* it was noted that the artificers living within the city and its suburbs had heretofore been served by a Guild of Hammermen governed by a master and two wardens chosen annually, and additionally had had assigned to them annually an alderman to deal with minor complaints 'not meete or worthy to trouble the Mayor withall'. Over time the artificers embraced by the guild had become very varied in their calling and were listed as 'goldsmiths, silversmiths, copper smiths, plumbers, pewterers, glaziers, sadlers, cutlers, armorers, shipwrights, carpenters, sawyers, tilers, joiners, coopers, millers and calkers'. However, acrimonious relations tended to arise between the workers in metal and those in timber, depending on which craft held the mastership. After due consideration by the Dern Hundred and with the agreement of the various artificers, the City Assembly decided to split the old guild into two.

Where the crafts embraced by both the original guild of hammermen and the new one established in 1577 are enumerated in the *Liber Antiquissimus,* it is perhaps significant that first to be mentioned in both lists are the goldsmiths. Precedence of this nature given to the goldsmiths would suggest that they played a rather more prominent role in the commercial life of the city at the time than did the other guild members.

Elizabethan goldsmiths

Two centuries pass from the time of Roger before we encounter the actual name of another Waterford goldsmith, though clearly this does not mean that none worked in Waterford in the meantime. The *Fiants* of Elizabeth I record that a pardon was granted in 1578 to William Moldony of Waterford, goldsmith, though no indication is given of the nature of his offence.[11] A James Wyse, described as a goldsmith, is mentioned in the *Fiants* shortly afterwards when on 18 March 1580 he was named as the tenant of a house in Waterford granted to Thomas, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, being part of the lands of the attainted James FitzGerald.[12] A further two years on another goldsmith's name crops up, surprisingly not in official documents, but on a tombstone in the ruins of the Holy Ghost Friary, commonly called the French Church, in Waterford. This impressively carved memorial now stands at the corner of the nave to the left just inside the entrance gate. The Latin inscription acknowledges that it marks the grave of Conor or Cornelius Hurley, goldsmith, who died on the fourth of the Ides (i.e. 10th) of January, AD 1582. It seems to have been erected by the goldsmith's wife Joan Naish, space having been provided, though left blank, for the date of her own death to be inscribed. It is

10 *Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae* (aka *The Great Parchment Book*), f 117, (Waterford Museum of Treasures), translated and edited by Niall Byrne, forthcoming, Irish Manuscripts Commission.

11 *The Irish Fiants of Tudor Sovereigns,* (Dublin, 1994), Vol. I, No.3496.

12 *Ibid.,* Vol. II, No.3693.

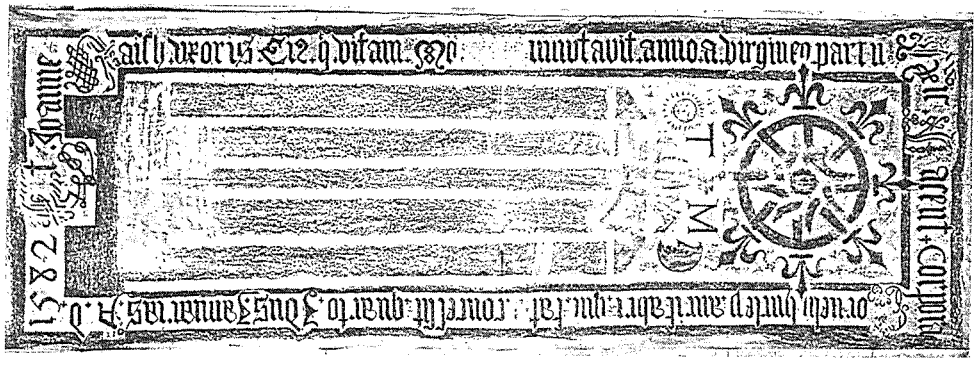


Figure 1: The Hurley Grave Slab in the ruins of the French Church, Waterford.

unexpected to find a goldsmith with such a Gaelic-Irish name, possibly emanating from West Cork, apparently successfully established in such an anglicised city as Waterford. But in the wake of the spoliation of the monasteries from 1539 onwards it is to be presumed that the traditional Gaelic-Irish goldsmiths lost their former major patrons and were forced to find accommodation with the new order in the land. That the craft was also practised in rural Waterford at the time is shown by a grant of pardon in 1583 to John Conil, a goldsmith of Dungarvan.[13]

Two further goldsmiths working in Waterford are encountered under bizarre circumstances in the last days of Queen Elizabeth. They were caught up in a naïve scheme devised in January 1602 by Sir John Brockett, Constable of Duncannon Fort, to mint counterfeit coin.[14] For this purpose Brockett had procured goldsmiths' tools and materials and had taken a lease on the Tower of Hook where he planned to build a workshop, strategically located close to the deep water where incriminating evidence could be easily got rid of in the event of an emergency. Lacking minting know-how, he had endeavoured to recruit a young Scottish goldsmith working in Waterford, one Henry Milne, to provide technical assistance. His approach to Milne was rather heavy-handed, arranging that Milne and a companion, Jasper Ronan, another goldsmith, be apprehended in Ballyhack and conveyed as prisoners to Duncannon, alleging that they had feloniously robbed a man of Kilkenny. Next day Brockett released Ronan but invited Milne to remain at the fort for discussions when he attempted to inveigle him into his counterfeiting scheme. Returning to Waterford Milne thought better of it and, encountering a Mr. Kenney, the Crown Escheator, on the way, informed him of Brockett's criminal intentions. The outcome for Brockett is not recorded but since counterfeiting coin was deemed a crime so serious as to be excluded from Royal pardon, it may be presumed he paid the ultimate penalty.

13 *Ibid.*, No. 4115

14 P.H. Hore, *History of the Town and County of Wexford*, (London, 1904), Vol. iv, pp. 35-43.

It seems unlikely that the six goldsmiths' names occurring randomly in such incidental records as those mentioned account for all members of the craft in Waterford at the period in question. Probably there were many others, and if so it suggests that in the latter decades of Elizabeth's reign Waterford was a major goldsmithing centre. Sadly, no examples of plate that can be indisputably attributed to any of these craftsmen are known.

Quality assurance

Before discussing the quality of the metal used by Waterford's goldsmiths, it may be helpful at this point to give a brief account of the evolution of hallmarking systems.

In former times the intrinsic value of plate was related to the coin of the realm, that is to say that the weight of an object of gold or silver was a direct measure of its monetary value. In turn this required that the purity of the precious metal employed by goldsmiths in their wares corresponded to that of the official coinage. Silver, and more rarely gold, was the principal metal used when minting coin. Both of these metals are too soft to use in their pure state in articles that have to withstand constant wear. This drawback is overcome by fusing the precious metal with an inexpensive base metal, normally copper, to produce an alloy of more suitable hardness and durability. To protect the consumer from inferior wares wrought from low-grade alloys it became necessary to adopt minimum standards of fineness (purity) for the alloys involved and, following from that, systems to police the craft.

A minimum content of 925 parts of pure silver in one thousand parts of alloy was established in 1300 by Edward I in England for silver wares; this is generally known as sterling silver. Adopting the French norm, the standard for gold was set at 19$^{1}/_{5}$ carats, pure gold being 24 carats; this is equivalent in modern terminology to 800 parts per thousand. Over subsequent centuries variations in the permitted standards for gold were adopted but the sterling standard for silver remained the preferred one in Britain (and later in Ireland) until recent times. A further statute ordained that no silver wares could enter the marketplace until they had been tested (assayed) by the 'guardians of the craft' for compliance with the official standard of fineness and duly marked or 'touched' to that effect. In England the initial mark of approval consisted of a leopard's head. While it had been introduced in France a few decades earlier, it was thus that the system of hallmarking came into being in England and, with various modifications, continues to this day.[15]

The ancient method by which gold and silver wares were tested for compliance with the official standard involved rubbing the article on a smooth black stone, producing a narrow streak of the metal and comparing the colour of this with similar streaks produced by a graded range of needles (known as touch needles) of alloys of known purity. Since it depended on subjective judgments the test was not wholly reliable and, though retained for quick testing in goldsmiths' shops and

15 J.S. Forbes, Hallmark: *A History of the London Assay Office,* (London, 1999), p. 15 *et seq.*

such locations, it was generally superseded by a procedure known as the cupellation assay. This involved wrapping carefully weighed scrapings from the test article in lead foil, transferring to a bone ash cup (termed a cupel) and heating in a high-temperature muffle furnace until the lead and base metals are fully converted into their molten oxides and absorbed into the cupel. When cooled down, the residual bead of pure gold or silver, now free of base metals, is weighed and fineness calculated by comparing the weight of the bead with that of the original test sample. Accurate results depended on the reliability of the weighing equipment and the skill of the assayer in determining when cupellation was complete. Such competence was only acquired by experience and was not widely available.

While these early Tudor controls over the fineness of gold and silver wares were initially confined to London, they were soon extended to provincial Britain, resulting in a number of small centres of goldsmithing in the provinces setting up their own assay offices. As well as the fineness mark these provincial centres usually stamped goods with a mark identifying the city or town concerned. For example, the ordinances adopted in 1462 for the goldsmiths of Bristol, a city which was the model for Waterford's guild system, appointed a bull's head as the town mark.[16]

Dublin Assay Office established

Little is known about how the fineness of plate was controlled in Ireland before 1638 when an official, national centre for assaying and hallmarking gold and silver wares was established. Contemporary valuations would suggest that unmarked Irish plate was considered of inferior fineness to London hallmarked or 'touched' plate. For example, a valuation in August 1639 of the plate left by the recently deceased fifth earl of Thomond of Bunratty Castle assessed his plate of 'London Touch' at 4s. 10d. per ounce whereas 'Plate Made at Dublin Not Touch' was valued at only 3s. 10d. per ounce.[17] The need for an official assay office in Ireland was frequently alluded to in the early seventeenth century. Writing from Dublin in January 1600 and sending him a piece of Spanish money to be 'touched and tried to see whether it be counterfeit or right', Sir Geffrey Fenton explained to Sir Robert Cecil of the Privy Council in London that 'in this land there is no means to do it'.[18] A few years later, in October 1605, in an effort to end the city's goldsmiths' dealings over many years in goods of 'base and corrupt silver' Dublin Corporation enacted a by-law requiring goldsmiths' wares to be assayed at the 'Staple' and stamped with the figures of a lion, harp and castle.[19] As no example of such a marked piece is

16 G.E.P. How, 'The Goldsmiths of Bristol', in *The Connoisseur* 186 (August, 1974), pp. 252-5. Despite its less turbulent history, it is interesting to note that, in common with Waterford, no example of a Bristol piece bearing this town mark has yet been discovered.

17 B. Ó Dálaigh, 'An Inventory of the Contents of Bunratty Castle ...', in *North Munster Antiquities Journal* xxxvi (1995), p. 147.

18 *Calendar State Documents, Ireland, 1 November 1600 - 31 July 1601,* p. 157.

19 J.T. Glbert (ed.), *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin,* (Dublin, 1891), Vol. ii, pp. 451-2.

known, it may be that the by-law was never implemented. In 1623 another writer on conditions in Ireland referred to the practice at the time of some goldsmiths uttering base plate stamped with spurious London hallmarks, for which crime some had been convicted.[20] Following concerns expressed in parliament in Dublin in 1634 about the lack of an effective system, a Royal Charter was issued in December 1637 establishing the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin along the lines of the Goldsmiths' Company in London.[21] The Dublin Company was given authority to control the craft in Ireland. The same fineness standards for gold and silver wares as applied in London were laid down. It became mandatory for wares wrought within three miles of Dublin city to be submitted to Goldsmiths' Hall to be assayed, and if found in compliance to be set with 'the King's Majesty Stamp called the Harp Crowned'. Additionally, a mark identifying the maker of the piece was also to be applied. Following the London practice, the newly established Dublin Assay Office commenced also identifying pieces with the year of assay by applying a date-letter stamp, commencing with the roman letter A in a shaped shield for 1638-39.

Dealing with goldsmithing centres outside Dublin, the charter required observance of the same ordinances as applied in Dublin and that one or two representatives of the craft in these centres should come to Dublin to learn the science of assaying and obtain the harp crowned punch 'as of old it was accustomed and ordained within our city of London'. The charter, while otherwise remarkable for its prolixity, was vague as to how this should be carried out in practice, and it does not appear that any of the provincial towns or cities took immediate steps to implement the requirement. While the surviving records of the Assay Office in Dublin are not complete and continuous for the period concerned, they do show that occasionally from 1708 to about 1755 parcels of plate were submitted by Waterford goldsmiths using Dublin goldsmiths as agents, though only in the case of Thomas Miles (of whom later) was the name of the actual Waterford worker recorded by the Assay Master. It may well be that for a short period after 1638 some provincial goldsmiths had occasionally submitted their wares to the newly established Dublin Assay Office, abandoning the practice after the outbreak of the upheavals in the country in 1641. There survives a chalice bearing the harp crowned and date-letter B for 1639-40 and an inscription acknowledging its presentation in 1639 by Nicholas Loftus of Kilcloggan to the parish church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Templetown, county Wexford. An accompanying paten bears the hallmarks for 1640-41. Both pieces bear a maker's mark comprising the initials IT.[22] The records of the Dublin Goldsmiths Company for the years mentioned are quite

20 G. O'Brien (ed.), *Advertisements for Ireland,* (RSAI, 1923), p. 45.

21 For a comprehensive account of the provisions of the charter and its operation over subsequent centuries, see C.J. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and Their Marks,* (London, 2nd edition, 1921), p. 559 *et seq.*

22 Tony Sweeney, *Irish Stuart Silver,* (Dublin, 1995), pp. 29-33. It may be noted that a pair of flagons belonging to St. Fin Barre's Cathedral in Cork bear the same IT maker's mark and are also hallmarked 1639-40.

comprehensive but do not list any goldsmith with these initials. Since Loftus's abode and parish church were quite close to the shore of Waterford harbour it is tempting to suggest that for logistical reasons Loftus placed the commission for these items locally rather than with a metropolitan goldsmith. However, a contemporary Waterford (or other South of Ireland) goldsmith answering to the initials IT has not as yet been identified.

There were security risks attached to sending valuable plate to Dublin to be tested and even when a degree of normality returned to the country with the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 it would seem that provincial goldsmiths seldom took the risk. Thus we find goldsmiths in several centres, e.g. Clonmel, Cork, Galway, Limerick and Youghal, when not submitting their work to be assayed in Dublin, stamping wares with devices adapted from their municipalities' arms, seemingly intended to confer the semblance of official approval on the objects. This practice lasted until about 1710 when it became more usual for provincial goldsmiths to replace 'town marks' with the stamp STERLING.

Position in Waterford pre-1638

The unregulated market for gold and silver wares that obtained in Ireland prior to 1637, as outlined above, was the context in which the city fathers of Waterford responded in 1564 to complaints about the corrupt practices of the city's goldsmiths. Their decision is recorded in the Liber Antiquissimus as follows:[23]

> Where the Mayor and Balivis of the said Cittie being infourmed of corrupcion and deceytfull dealing in the goldsmithes of this Cittie, and that they abuse dyverse thinhabitantes and others that occupie with them in uttring unto them base sylver in stede of fyne, It is concluded for remedy therof there shalbe one of the brethern or aldermen of the said Cittie associat with one of that occupacion appointed yerly to se the oversight and controllement of the said occupacion of Goldsmythes in fyninge their workkis.

Unfortunately no information was given that might assist us in elucidating how the appointed brother or alderman would ensure that the city's goldsmiths now worked to acceptable standards. Given that the city was an Anglo-Irish enclave, it is to be presumed that sterling, as in England, was the standard of fineness expected for silver wares. But unless there was a skilled assayer to hand in the city capable of testing wares for compliance it is difficult to see what measures could be taken to ensure that the appointed controller could 'oversee' that goldsmiths produced work of correct fineness. Moral persuasion would hardly suffice. This suggests that the city may have resorted to the practices in English towns such as Bristol and set up some form of assay office, and perhaps even adopted a town mark. However, there is no further information known that would enlighten us on the point. Should items of plate be at some time discovered that appear to have a fifteenth or sixteenth century Waterford provenance, it is possible that they might

23 *Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterforiae*, f. 113 (Waterford Museum of Treasures).

bear marks that could be attributed to a Waterford assay office. However, the chances of survival of any such plate are remote. For example, in 1577 a great deal of the ancient cathedral plate, surely wrought in the city, was deemed superfluous in the light of the Reformation and sold to the Corporation for its bullion value, while in 1651 what survived in the churches was seized by the Cromwellian commissioners and sold to fund repairs to the quay and other works.[24]

Waterford goldsmiths in the post-Restoration era

No records survive which would indicate there was much demand for goldsmiths' wares in Waterford during the turbulent half-century or so preceding the restoration of Charles II in 1660. In 1602 Waterford was hit with a plague which had devastating effects. Deaths from this amounted to 2,256 in the year ending 28 September 1604 with a weekly figure of 116 deaths during the previous August.[25] While recovering from this the city had to endure the uncertainties and trauma of religious conflicts which lasted until the fall to Cromwellian forces in 1650 and the subsequent clearance of Catholics from positions of wealth and influence. This situation was hardly conducive to a lively trade in luxury goods. Census returns show that the population of Waterford city and Liberties in the year 1659 was a mere 1,647 of whom 637 were returned as English and 1,010 as Irish.[26] The Cromwellian planters appear to have been extremely zealous in attempting to revive trade and commerce in their adopted colony. A new charter of incorporation was granted to the Guild of Hammermen by the city council in 1657. It is interesting to note in this document how, in the enumeration of the more than thirty-two crafts embraced by the guild, the goldsmiths had slipped to fourth place in the order of recital, being preceded by hammermen, blacksmiths and jewellers, where in earlier times they occupied prime position.[27] We may deduce from this that the craft now figured less in the commercial life of the city than in earlier centuries. Unfortunately, because of the mayoral bonfires of the late eighteenth century, virtually no records of the guild survive and we are limited to the council books of the second half of the seventeenth century for information covering that time.[28]

On 30 December 1662 the payment of 4s. 6d. to Peter Madden for mending one of the maces was minuted.[29] Since maces are invariably made of silver, we may presume that Madden was a goldsmith working in the city. However, the first post-Restoration artificer to be described as a goldsmith in the Council Books was Edward Russell. Entered as *Edmandus Russell faber argentarius,* his admission to

24 J. Graves, 'The Ancient Fabric, Plate and Furniture of the Cathedral of Christ Church, Waterford', in *JRSAI* ii (1852-3), pp. 75-83.

25 N. Byrne, 'An Introduction to the *Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterforiae*', in *Decies* 60 (2004), p. 112.

26 Séamus Pender, 'Cromwellian Waterford', in *Journal of the Cork Historical & Archaeological Society* xliv (1939), p. 82. Henceforth abbreviated as *JCHAS*.

27 *idem,* 'Studies in Waterford History – XI' in *JCHAS* lix (1954), p. 15.

28 *idem,* 'Studies in Waterford History – III' in *JCHAS* lii (1947), p. 21.

29 *idem, The Council Books of the Corporation of Waterford 1662-1700,* (Dublin, 1961), p. 32.

Maker's mark of Edward Russell, Waterford

the freedom of Waterford was recorded on 1 September 1674.[30] Some years earlier, in 1667, in response to a severe shortage of specie in Waterford, Russell had been appointed by the mayor and council to cut dies for copper token coins. A surviving specimen dated 1668 shows that for the obverse Russell adopted a version of the city arms with the words CORPORATION OF in the surround, the legend continued on the reverse as WATERFORD 1668 surrounding a castle with three flags flying and a tree on either side.[31] We can only speculate as to why Russell adopted this motif for the reverse of the token. An intention to depict Reginald's Tower, which once housed a mint, comes to mind. However, as it appears on the tokens, the representation of a triple towered castle with flags flying is much closer to a similar motif which was common on some Spanish and Portuguese coins. Given that there was much trade between Waterford and the Iberian countries it is likely that these coins were in circulation in the city; hence the intention to identify the tokens with them.[32]

Russell appears to have adopted a version of the triple towered castle as a 'town mark' for his Waterford wares. There are several surviving items of plate that can be confidently regarded as his work. They are stamped with a shield bearing his initials ER and another stamp depicting a triple-towered castle flying flags. As an example we may mention a chalice and paten formerly attached to Carrick-on-Suir parish.[33] Each is inscribed 'The Gift of the Duke of Ormonds Troop to ye parish of Carrick, Anno Domini 1673'. Another Russell chalice that belonged to the Abbey Church, Kilculliheen, is now on display in the Waterford Museum of Treasures while Russell's domestic plate is represented by a tankard in the National Museum. It is engraved with the arms of Porter, a prominent county Waterford family.

For a long time plate bearing these marks has been attributed to an Edmund Rothe of Kilkenny. The rationale for that attribution, as offered by Sir Charles Jackson in reference to a chalice at Fethard, Co. Tipperary, and stamped with the ER mark and triple-towered castle, was that a similar castle 'is found on Kilkenny tokens of *c.*1657, and as a goldsmith named Edward Rothe is said to have lived in Kilkenny, 1609-24 (*Collectania de Diebus Hibernia*), this chalice may have been wrought by a goldsmith of that name'.[34] Subsequent writers have accepted that attribution. It is not, however, sustainable. It is correct that tradesmen's tokens were issued in Kilkenny around the time stated, stamped with a device of a triple towered castle, seemingly borrowed from the city arms.[35] However, this emblem is

30 *Ibid.*, p. 123.

31 'The Tradesmen's Coinage of Waterford in the 17th Century', in *JWSEIAS* viii (1902), pp. 1-8.

32 I am grateful to Michael Kenny, Keeper, National Museum of Ireland, for this suggestion.

33 These items are now on display in the Carrick-on-Suir Heritage Centre.

34 I. Pickford (ed.), *Jackson's Silver & Gold Marks of England, Scotland & Ireland,* (Suffolk, 1989), p. 737.

35 A. Smith and J.G.A. Prim, 'Kilkenny Tradesmen's Tokens' in *JRSAI* ii (1852-3), pp. 155-76.

not exclusive to Kilkenny. Moreover, a work of the precise title cited by Jackson does not seem to exist and what was apparently intended is Charles Vallancey's *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* which contains an essay by Edward Ledwich entitled 'History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny'.[36] In this, Ledwich lists an Edward Rothe as an alderman of Kilkenny in 1609 and a person of the same name as a tenant of city property in 1628. However, in neither case is the occupation 'goldsmith' mentioned. Even on chronological grounds alone the attribution of the piece to the alleged Kilkenny goldsmith rather than Waterford's Russell seems untenable.

A goldsmith who emerges some years later was William Smith. On 29 September 1676 he was admitted to the freedom of Waterford by right of birth and he features frequently in the corporation records from then until 1715.[37] He held various civic offices; he was a sheriff of Waterford 1680-1, master of the guild of hammermen 1684, and mayor of the city 1698-9. He was succeeded as mayor by his brother Thomas, of whom later. A notable commission executed by Smith was a gold freedom box presented to the lord lieutenant, Earl Clarendon, on the occasion of his visit to Waterford on 10 September 1686. Smith was paid the quite considerable sum of £15. 10s. for this. By comparison, the gold freedom box presented to Clarendon a week later by Cork Corporation cost only £11. 11s. 9d. No example of surviving plate that can be confidently attributed to William Smith has yet been identified. He was one of three aldermen, along with the sheriffs, appointed at a City Assembly meeting on 30 June 1701 to implement a decision that 'two new maces be made in the stead and place of the two smallest maces now in being and that a Tipstaffe and silver oar made for the mayor and water bailiff to carry before the mayor. Allsoe the town clerk, Serjeants and Marshall to have new gowns'. Presumably the commission for making these new pieces of civic plate would have been given to Alderman William Smith. However, neither the tipstaff nor a water bailiff's oar of that date is known, while the surviving four maces are thought to date from the fifteenth century.[38] Writing in 1746 regarding the government of Waterford, Charles Smith refers to the four Serjeants-at-mace who are 'to bear gilded or silver maces, adorned with the King's Arms, before the Mayor'. Beyond these and a sword of state, he adds nothing that would suggest other civic regalia such as the silver oar was in use then.[39] In 1894 P.M. Egan, writing on the four corporation maces, stated that they were all of the small class of the type carried by serjeants-at-mace, adding that they were not very ornamental, and generally in a poor condition.[40] He gave their lengths as 12½, 13½, 14, and 17 inches. One

36 C. Vallancey (ed.), *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, (Dublin, 1781), Vol. 2, pp. 349-562.

37 Séamus Pender, 'Studies in Waterford History – III' in *JCHAS* lii (1947), p.160 & *passim*.

38 E. McEneaney and R. Ryan (eds.), *Waterford Treasures,* (Waterford, 2004), p. 138.

39 Charles Smith, *The Antient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford,* (Dublin, 1746), p. 200.

40 P.M. Egan, History, *Guide & Directory of Waterford,* (Kilkenny, 1895), p. 379.

would expect that the two new maces decided upon in 1701 to replace the existing smaller ones would have been identical. That the surviving four maces are all of different lengths and bear no indication that they were wrought in Queen Anne's reign suggests that for some unrecorded reason the corporation had second thoughts about the cost implications of the new civic regalia.

William Smith's will, dated 18 December 1714, shows that he had accumulated a very considerable estate. One of its provisions, which is of interest to relate, was his order that the sum of £41 sterling 'be laid out for fortyone black enameld Gold rings with this inscription Memento W:S: month and year and to be given to the severall persons mentioned in a Paper in the s'd Will enclosed.'[41] Though the list of persons is not extant, it is not impossible that some of the memorial rings have survived, though not at present identified with their originator.

There is a gap of some decades before we find mention of another goldsmith in the city council minutes. This does not necessarily mean that there were none operating in the city at the time but rather that none had been elected freemen of the city as opposed to freemen of their guild of hammermen, and as noted earlier, surviving records for the latter guild are few.

A William West, described as a goldsmith, was admitted to the freedom of Waterford on 29 September 1732. He is almost certainly the same William West, a son of Robert West of Waterford, who was enrolled in 1726 as an apprentice to the prominent Dublin goldsmith, John Hamilton.[42] His mother, Ann West, was a daughter of Alderman Thomas Smith mentioned earlier, and under the terms of Smith's will dated 24 June 1727, William became the eventual principal beneficiary of his grandfather's considerable estate.[43] It is unclear whether he worked in Dublin or Waterford as a goldsmith. Property deeds dated August 1740, January 1754 and March 1756 to which he was a party describe him as a goldsmith of Dublin, while others, dated July 1746, January 1753, April 1753 and March 1756, describe him as of Waterford.[44] The Dublin Assay Office records show a William West paying quarterage in 1754-5, which may have been the Waterford man. However, given his considerable inheritance, it is unlikely that working at the trade was a financial imperative for him. At any rate, plate with a maker's mark that can be reliably attributed to him remains to be identified.

Thomas Miles was another of the more successful goldsmiths in the city. He was admitted a freeman of Waterford on 14 June 1737 during the mayoralty of Ambrose Congreve. He subsequently held various civic offices, becoming mayor in 1755-6 and again in 1762-3. He died in 1768. In his will, dated 19 June 1766, he made provision for the poor of Waterford by way of an investment of £1,200 at 6%. While they don't survive for every year of Miles's working life, the records of the Assay Office in Dublin show that on occasions in 1746-47 and in 1754 parcels were submitted for assay on behalf of Miles. Since he was only person with the

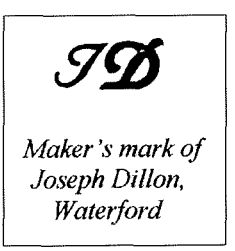
41 Registry of Deeds, Memorial No. 14.138.5922.

43 Registry of Deeds, Memorial No. 56.187.37536

44 *Ibid.*, Memorial No. 101.75.69943; 122.304.84123; 161.326.108818; 163.135.108009; 163.231.108814; 163.575.112729; 182.288.120839.

initials TM submitting plate at this time we are enabled to attribute Dublin hallmarked plate of those years to Miles if stamped with a maker's mark TM. Known examples include a fine basting spoon, Dublin 1754-56, (presently on temporary exhibition in the Waterford Museum of Treasures) and a pair of hook-handle serving spoons, Dublin 1757, bearing the contemporary crest of Congreve, a family established in Waterford for several centuries. These pieces are struck with the maker's mark TM in roman capitals in an oblong frame. However, earlier in his long career Miles may have used slightly different maker's punches, but these remain to be identified.

A contemporary of Thomas Miles was Samuel Clayton, a goldsmith admitted to the freedom of Waterford on 15 January 1744. In April 1749 he obtained a 99-year lease on a house in Peter Street from Lord Ranelagh at a yearly rent of £4. 10s.[45] He was elected an Assistant to the Board of Waterford Corporation in 1761. His most unusual commission would appear to have been the water bailiff's silver oar. This was made on foot of a decision by the corporation on 22 April 1773 that the 'Waterbailiff ... be provided at the expence of this Board with a Hatchet and Silver Oar, which he is always to carry with Him as Ensign of his Office while on duty ...'.[46] Clayton's maker's mark consists of the initials SC surmounted by a crown, all within a shield of conforming outline. Items of domestic plate struck with this mark have been noted on the Dublin antiques market on a few occasions. Clayton died at a very advanced age in 1794, though his years may have been somewhat exaggerated in a contemporary newspaper reporting the death 'in Waterford at the very advanced age of 110 years, Mr. Samuel Clayton, formerly an eminent silversmith of this city. He exhibited no apparent diminution of his strength and faculties until a few months previous to his decease, nor has there been any perceptive change in his features or person in the memory of the oldest inhabitant of Waterford'.[47] Amongst Clayton's remunerated civic duties was caretaker of the city's public clocks, a position to which he was appointed by the corporation on 12 June 1770 at a yearly salary of £16. 10s, and holding the position until his death.



Maker's mark of Joseph Dillon, Waterford

The Corporation minutes recorded on 30 June 1794 that 'Joseph Robbins Dillon appointed to attend and keep in repair the City Clocks in the room of Samuel Clayton deceased at the usual salary'. On 12 October 1802 Dillon was removed from the job, 'said Dillon having gone to reside in the country'. Described as a silversmith, he had been made a freeman of the city on 11 November 1791. His departure to the country in 1802 probably signifies his retirement, for according to family tradition Dillon had been established as a goldsmith in Waterford since 1750.[48] Both he and Samuel Clayton were witnesses to

45 *Ibid.*, Memorial No. 174.195.115797.

46 For a fuller account and illustration, see *JRSAI* 125 (1995), pp. 135-7.

47 *Faulkner's Dublin Journal,* 6 May 1794.

48 I. Delamer, 'The Claddagh Ring', in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 12 (1996), p. 185, fn 20-22. It is interesting that descendants of the Dillons survived as jewellers in Waterford until 2005.

Figure 2: The monstrance made by Robert Fleming in 1776. Inset - makers mark.
Photograph courtesy of Mr Michael Lynch

the will of a William Dobbyn of Waterford in 1764.[49] He obtained a marriage licence on 3 September 1774.[50] Giving his address as 'Baron Strand Street, Waterford', in 1784 he registered as a goldsmith in accordance with legislation enacted in 1783. This Act required that from 29 September 1784 merchants, manufacturers and dealers in gold and silver wares should register their names and addresses with the Goldsmiths Company in Dublin. Dillon is also listed in *Lucas's Directory* in 1788 at the same address. He was almost certainly the maker of a silver freedom box presented by Waterford Corporation to George De La Poer Beresford, Earl Tyrone, on 8 January 1772. This was sold at Sotheby's in 1996.[51] The maker's mark on it consists of the initials I (or J) and D in script and struck incuse. An identical mark is found on a silver watchcase on exhibition in the National Museum. Joseph Dillon's son John (aka Jonathan) was described as a goldsmith in the deed covering the disposal of his father's dwelling house in Great Barronstrand Street on 28 January 1809. It had been assigned to John by his father on 1 July 1802.[52] Described as a watchmaker, Jonathan was admitted to the freedom of Waterford on 23 December 1841, virtually a half century after his father. Thomas Dillon, a son of Jonathan, moved to Galway in 1850 and established a jewellery business that was particularly well known for its Claddagh rings.

The Flemings were another Waterford family who worked at the goldsmiths' craft over three generations. The corporation minutes of 29 June 1749 record that 'Ignatius Fleming, silversmith, was admitted to his freedom of this city as other Roman Catholics are on his petition now read'. It would have been unusual for Catholics to be admitted to any guild in Ireland at this time and it is unclear why such a qualified admission was allowed in Waterford. Ignatius died in 1755 and was survived by his wife Rose Murphy and three children, Robert, Patrick and Elizabeth, all minors.[53] His eldest son Robert followed in his father's footsteps as a silversmith. Described as a 'Papist', Robert's admission to the city's freedom was registered on 3 April 1769. He took the Test Oath of Allegiance on 15 December 1775.[54] In the Cathedral of the Most Holy Trinity in Waterford there is a large silver-gilt monstrance with a Latin presentation inscription dated 1776. It is not hallmarked but bears the maker's mark R·F in roman capitals within an oblong, stamped twice. All circumstances considered, this would appear to be the mark of Robert Fleming.

Robert Fleming died sometime in the late 1770s. His widow appears to have carried on the business under her own name, stamping wares with her own mark. On 15 January 1779 Waterford Corporation voted that Henry Alcock (mayor in the previous year) be given 200 guineas to be laid out on plate with the City arms engraved thereon. This gesture was intended to acknowledge his benevolence in

49 I. Jennings, 'Old Wills', in *JWSEIAS* xvii (1914), p. 85.

50 National Archives, Betham's Records.

51 Sotheby's, London, 1996, Lot 329, 'The Irish Sale'.

52 Registry of Deeds, Memorial No. 607.95.414772.

53 St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny, Carrigan MSS, Vol. 10, p.153, (National Library of Ireland Microfilm, p. 901).

54 *59th Report, Deputy Keeper of the Public Record Office,* Ireland.

supplying the poor at his own expense with provisions during the time of great scarcity. A large salver engraved with an inscription corresponding to this, and also bearing the arms of Waterford, was sold at auction in 1978.[55] It bore the Dublin hallmarks for 1778-9 and the maker's mark of the Dublin silversmith Thomas Jones. In addition it was stamped with the mark A·F within a rectangle, presumably applied by Mrs. Fleming. This suggests that Alcock had given the commission to Anastasia Fleming and that since fashioning salvers was specialised work, possibly beyond the skills in her own workshop, she had sub-contracted the work to a Dublin maker. In 1784 Anastasia (named as Ann Fleming) registered under the Act of 1783, giving an address at the 'Corner of Broad Street and The Square, Waterford'. She is listed as 'Anastasia Fleming, goldsmith, Broad Street, Waterford', in 1788.[56]

Robert and Anastasia had a son Ignatius who was baptised on 2 January 1766.[57] He was admitted to the freedom of Waterford on 1 November 1796 and he registered under the 1783 Act on 24 July 1802. It may be presumed that his mother had already handed over the business to Ignatius by then. Items occur in collections that are struck with the maker's mark I·F within an oblong with serrated borders and in addition a mark \·FLEMING, framed in a serrated edged oblong. This latter mark has the appearance of having had the initial forward stroke of the letter A erased as if to convert the name on the punch from A. Fleming to I. Fleming. A christening cup of *c.*1800, on exhibition in Waterford Museum of Treasures, displays both marks. A similarly defaced Fleming name stamp was on a silver-mounted cowrie shell snuffbox, *c.*1800, sold at auction in London in 1995.[58]

Jonas (aka Jones) Bull was a Waterford silversmith of Limerick origins. He was baptised in St Mary's, Limerick, in 1727, son of John and Catherine Bull.[59] Described as a silversmith, he was admitted a freeman of Limerick on 1 October 1750.[60] At some stage in the middle of the eighteenth century he appears to have removed to Waterford, possibly along with a member of his family named Edward, who may have been his brother, and both built up substantial property portfolios in Waterford. His first wife having died in March 1768,[61] nine months later he married Elinor Bennis, daughter of Mitchel Bennis, a Limerick saddler. The marriage articles, to which Edward Bull of Waterford city, esquire, was a trustee, recited numerous properties that had been acquired by Jonas in the district, the earliest listed acquisitions dating to 1752, as well as having accumulated a 'personal fortune of £900'. In March 1770, in association with Gamaliel Jervis, a watchmaker,

55 Sotheby's, Slane Castle, 20 November 1978, Lot 316.

56 R. Lucas, *A General Directory of the Kingdom of Ireland,* (1788), Vol. ii.

57 St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny, Carrigan MSS, Vol. 10, p.153, (National Library of Ireland Microfilm, p. 901).

58 Phillips, London, 17 November 1995, Lot 57.

59 D. Bennett and R. ffolliott, 'The Silvermakers of Limerick', in *The Irish Ancestor,* X (1978), p. 102.

60 R. Herbert, 'The Antiquities of the Corporation of Limerick', in *North Munster Antiquities Journal* 4 (1945), p. 104.

61 *Finn's Leinster Journal,* March 1768.

he advertised the opening of a 'watch warehouse' at The Eagle and Watch in Barronstrand Street.[62] In property deeds to which he was a party the appellation 'gent' and 'merchant' as opposed to silversmith was applied to him in the late 1770s, suggesting that property interests occupied him principally. He appears to have retired to County Wexford in the 1780s and a deed of 12 September 1797 refers to his estate in the townlands of Creacan and Knockmullen near New Ross. By then he was married for the third time, as was his wife, Mary Ann Bull, otherwise Dyer, otherwise Malone.[63] Items of plate that can be attributed to Jonas Bull have yet to come to light.

Other Waterford goldsmiths documented as freemen or registered under the 1783 Act, but of whom we as yet know little, include the following.

Maker's mark of Bartholomew Bull, Waterford

Bartholomew Bull, silversmith, admitted free on 21 January 1802. The mark B B within an oblong frame, in conjunction with the incuse stamp STERLING, seen on fiddle pattern flatware is most probably Bull's.[64] It is also stamped on a pewter plate occasionally used in the Dublin Assay Office from 1765 to *c.*1812 for recording makers' marks, many of them provincial, though unfortunately their corresponding names were not inscribed on the plate.[65]

Hercules Morgan, goldsmith, Clonmel, was admitted free of Waterford on 19 April 1750. A son of Jeremiah Morgan, an eminent goldsmith who had been mayor of Clonmel on three occasions, Hercules Morgan practised his craft in Clonmel and presumably sought the freedom of Waterford to secure some political or commercial advantages. He had died by October 1768.[66]

Jonathan Morgan, goldsmith, residing in Co. Wexford, was admitted free on 29 June 1763. He died at his lodgings in Waterford on 9 August 1777.[67] Further information about him has proved elusive.

William O'Brien, silversmith, was admitted to the freedom of the city on 29 June 1802. He registered under the 1783 Act in 1807 with an address at Baronstrand Street, Waterford. Fiddle-pattern spoons are occasionally encountered in the antiques marketplace stamped O BRIEN and STERLING. They are usually attributed to Francis O'Brien of Cork. But since Francis was a watchmaker, it is more probable that the O'Brien mark belongs to William, the Waterford silversmith. Others registering were Stephen Bohan (1811), the Quay, Waterford, a watchmaker who later emigrated to Canada; Edmond Byrne (1792), Dungarvan; Richard Cutler (1784), Dungarvan; William Geary (1784), Tallagh; Joshua Jacob

62 *Ibid.*, 17 March 1770. In this connection it may be mentioned that a longcase clock with brass dial inscribed 'Bull and Jervis, Waterford' was recently sold at auction in Dublin (Adam's, 15 Mar 2005, Lot 350).

63 Registry of Deeds, Memorial No. 547.402.361200.

64 For an illustration of this mark see Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, (London, 1972), p. 193.

65 *Ibid.*, pp. 290-1.

66 Registry of Deeds, Memorial No. 262.421.173079.

67 *Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle*, 8-12 August 1777.

(1809), Waterford; William McCannon (1785), the Quay, Waterford; William Maddock (1784), the Quay, Waterford; Thomas Pearson (1793), 45 the Quay, Waterford; George Power (1784), Baronstrand Street; Robert Tegart & John O'Neill (1784), Baronstrand Street; Francis Walsh (1784), Broad Street; Anthony Welch (1784), Baronstrand Street. There is no evidence that any of these were working goldsmiths; it may therefore be presumed they were retailing establishments.

There was little if any plate made in Irish provincial centres after the first quarter of the nineteenth century, a decline in the trade that was also reflected in Dublin. The Famine and consequent economic depression was not the sole cause; the availability of cheap machine-made wares from Britain also contributed. Exacerbating the problems for home-based plateworkers was that it was permissible for wares manufactured in British workshops to be submitted to the Dublin Assay Office to be stamped with Irish hallmarks and then placed on the Irish market as if they were Irish made.

A general movement in the 1880s against inferior, mass-produced artefacts seems likely to have encouraged the revival of small traditional craft centres. In Waterford this trend may have encouraged two firms to extend their businesses. Thus we find Richard Dillon of 76 Meagher Quay registering his maker's mark as a goldsmith, R·D within an oblong, in Goldsmiths' Hall in Dublin in 1894. He was a son of Jonathan Dillon and grandson of Joseph Robbins Dillon who have been mentioned earlier. The other was James Mosley who entered his mark, MOSLEY enclosed in an oblong, in 1892. Founded in 1832, the firm traded as James Mosley & Sons, Watchmakers, Jewellers, Silversmiths and Electroplaters, and occupied commodious premises at 97 & 98 the Quay and Exchange Street, and by 1892 these had been 'lighted by electricity throughout, generated by the firm's own engine'. Additional workshops had been provided around this time which they advertised as being 'fully equipped with the newest and most improved plant for gilding and electroplating; the shafting, dynamos, and other machinery deriving motive power from a powerful Crossley's gas engine'. The firm's publicity also claimed that they were 'extensively engaged in the manufacture to order of plate for presentation, etc., a staff of experienced workmen being retained on the premises for this branch of the business'. Presumably it was for this purpose that they registered their maker's mark at the time. A most unusual boast, which may perhaps partially explain the eventual demise of the business, was 'an important feature ... is the total exclusion of apprentice labour in the establishment, none but experienced and practical workmen being employed, in order to ensure that the valuable watches and clocks entrusted to the firm for repairs, etc., shall not be placed in the hands of incompetent youths for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of their art. In this respect we believe this house to be an exception to any other establishment in the kingdom'.[68]

68 *Dublin, Cork and South of Ireland,* (London, Stratten & Stratten, 1892), p. 264.

The close proximity, in several senses, of Carrick-on-Suir to Waterford suggests we should include mention of Francis Smith, described as an eminent jeweller, whose death in Carrick was reported in December 1785.[69] There is in the Waterford Museum of Treasures a gold-headed cane stamped thrice with the maker's mark F·S within an oblong. It is inscribed 'Dan'l Ivie Esq'r Sheriff Waterford, 29 Sept 1778'. On the occasion already mentioned when Henry Alcock was honoured in January 1779, it was also agreed 'that 20 guineas be given to each of the late sheriffs (Daniel Ivie and Thomas Alcock) by this Board to purchase such piece of plate as they shall think proper as a testimony of the Sense of this City of their good conduct during their Sheriffalty'. The only Irish goldsmith or jeweller of this period having the initials FS known to us is Francis Smith of Carrick and it would therefore seem that Ivie spent his honorarium locally, as might be expected. It seems not inappropriate therefore to include Francis Smith of Carrick within the Waterford fold.

The end of the nineteenth century concludes the period of our survey of Waterford's goldsmiths.

Acknowledgements

For assistance in various ways I offer my thanks to: Claude Blair, Niall Byrne, Ida Delamer, Edward Law, Michael and Clodagh Lynch, Eamonn McEneaney, Rosemary Ryan and Julian Walton.

69 *Finn's Leinster Journal,* 7-10 December 1785.

Privilege and Exclusiveness: The Unreformed Corporation of Waterford, 1818-1840

Eugene Broderick

Introduction

In 1835 a royal commission established to inquire into Ireland's municipal corporations described them as being 'in many instances of no service to the community; in all, insufficient and inadequate to the proper purposes and ends of such institutions'.[1] Furthermore, the commissioners concluded that 'the unpopular character of municipal bodies is, in too many cases, aggravated by their being considered inimical, on the ground of sectarian feelings, to a great majority of the resident population'.[2] These descriptions are certainly apposite in relation to the Corporation of Waterford in years 1818-1840. During this period two factors determined the council's character. The corporation was a bastion of Anglican privilege and exclusiveness. Thus for most of the city's predominantly Catholic population it was a symbol of the political and social order Daniel O'Connell was seeking to supplant in favour of a system of governance more representative of the concerns of the majority faith. Moreover, between 1818 and 1830 the management of its affairs was governed by a secret compact entered into by two Anglican factions headed by Sir John Newport and Henry Alcock, respectively.

Political rivalries

In the aftermath of the Act of Union there was a fierce contest for Waterford City's sole seat in the imperial parliament between the Bolton and Alcock families on one side, and the Newport family on the other. John Newport, a supporter of Catholic rights, won the 1802 election on petition, defeating William Alcock, an opponent of Catholic emancipation,[3] a fact which appeared to appease both Catholics and liberal Protestants.[4] In 1806 Newport was appointed chancellor of the Irish exchequer in Grenville's 'ministry of all the talents'. The Waterford MP lost office in 1807 and in the general election of the same year the Catholic question played a

1 *First Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Municipal Corporations in Ireland,* H.C. (23), xxvii, Appendix 1, p. 39.

2 *Ibid.,* p.23.

3 For details of this election see T. Power, 'Electoral Politics in Waterford City, 1692-1832', in W. Nolan and T. Power (eds.), *Waterford: History and Society*, (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1992), pp. 250-2.

4 Peter Jupp, 'Urban Politics in Ireland 1801-31', in David Harkness and Mary O'Dowd (eds.), *The Town in Ireland: Historical Studies* xiii, (Belfast, Appletree Press, 1981), pp. 113-4.

central role. The Duke of Portland's government opposed relief and was determined to unseat Newport. To that end it gave his opponent, Cornelius Bolton, £2,000 to assist his campaign. Newport was again victorious and the Catholic vote proved to be a pivotal factor. His political position was consolidated further by means of a compact between the Newport family and its erstwhile opponents, the Alcocks, in 1818. This astounding political volte face heralded the break up of the Alcock-Bolton alliance. The most significant element of the agreement involved Henry Alcock giving his support to Newport in the matter of the city's parliamentary representation during Newport's lifetime or for as long as he felt able to act as a member of the House of Commons. As a consequence of this arrangement, Newport was re-elected, unchallenged, in 1818, 1820, 1826, 1830 and 1831. Furthermore, both families secured control of the city's corporation.

The compact

The 1818 compact made John Newport and Henry Alcock the effective leaders of Waterford Corporation. They divided up the offices and patronage of the council. Vacancies among the aldermen were filled alternately. The parties to the compact elected alternately to the office of mayor, and each nominated one of the city's two sheriffs annually. Other municipal offices in the gift of the Newport and Alcock faction included

> the recorder, the town clerk, the chamberlain, the president of the court of conscience, the coroner, the water baliff, the sword bearer, four sergeants at mace, the high constable, the second constable, ten petty constables, four market constables, a potato weigher, a fish house porter, a beadle, an assay master, an inspector of markets, a porter of the town hall, a session's crier, a mayor's clerk and a butter taster.[5]

In 1833 the government established a commission to inquire into the state of municipal corporations in Ireland. Evidence given to the commissioners when they visited Waterford in December 1833, together with their final report of 1835, reveals the extent to which the compact influenced the affairs of the city's corporation. In his evidence to the official commission, the mayor stated that the members of the city council knew about the compact[6] and were 'mere puppets', just doing the will of the corporation's leaders.[7] The report of the commissioners was more diplomatic in its assessment:

> It appears that the affairs of the corporation were regulated in pursuance of that compact for several years, and that the members of the council always sanctioned whatever was directed by the two leaders.[8]

5 E. Broderick, 'An Era of Elegance and Splendour: Sir Simon Newport, Mayor, 1792, 1824', in E. McEneaney (ed.), *A History of Waterford and its Mayors from the 12th Century to the 20th Century*, (Waterford Corporation, 1995), p. 176.

6 *Waterford Mirror*, 18 December 1833.

7 *Ibid.*, 11 December 1833.

8 *First Report of the Commissioners*, p. 593.

They decided on all appointments to corporate offices. Most of these were arranged into four distinct classes, according to their value or annual income. The first nomination in each class was determined by lot, all future ones by rotation, the parties to the compact filling the positions alternately[9]. According to the commissioners' report,

> the entire government of the corporation was assumed by these gentlemen and they had complete and unquestioned power of filling up the several corporate offices, according to their will and pleasure.[10]

For example, the appointment of Richard Cooke as town clerk in 1827 was on the proposal of Sir John Newport;[11] while that of William Edwards as chamberlain three years previous had been in the gift of the Alcocks.[12]

The 1835 report exposed Waterford Corporation as a bastion of Anglican privilege. It revealed that the city council was a self-perpetuating clique composed of forty members - a mayor, two sheriffs, eighteen aldermen, and nineteen assistants or common councilmen. The mayor was elected annually by the council from among the aldermen, who in turn were elected by the council from among the assistants. This latter group was elected by the council from among the freemen. Aldermen and assistants held office for life. The city council was overwhelmingly Anglican - only two Catholics had been elected to that body, Thomas Wyse[13] and John Archbold.[14]

The commissioners' report found that no office under the corporation was held by a Catholic, except some of the petty and market constables. A Catholic had served as sheriff since emancipation and another had been offered the office.[15] Offices of emolument in the gift of the council were being used as forms of economic and political patronage, to the advantage of the city's Anglican population. Some of the offices were quite lucrative, others less so[16] - but there were ones to suit Protestants of every social class. Political considerations frequently predominated in the matter of appointments. The Newport-Alcock compact witnessed the dismissal of some officials and their replacement by others more favourably disposed to the corporation's leaders.[17] The mayor was reported as saying to the commissioners:

---

9 *Ibid.*, p. 594.
10 *Ibid.*, p. 593.
11 *Waterford Mirror,* 14 December 1833.
12 *Ibid.*, 16 December 1833.
13 Waterford Municipal Archives, Corporation Minutes, 24 June 1829, (henceforth abbreviated as WMA).
14 WMA, Corporation Minutes, 3 Nov. 1829.
15 *First Report of the Commissioners,* p. 617.
16 For example, the offices of recorder and town clerk attracted salaries of £200 and £120 respectively; while the mayor's clerk and the porter of the town hall earned £40 and £30 respectively. *Ibid.*, pp. 588-91 for full list of officers' duties and salaries.
17 *Waterford Mirror,* 18 December 1833.

> He supposes that the appointment of constables has been sometimes turned to a source of patronage under the family compact... Witness believes that the circumstances of being a freeman, or being able to get votes, would be a help to being appointed a constable... Supposes that the appointment of constables has frequently been made with a view to political power.[18]

Freedom of the city

Admission to the freedom of the city was in the gift of the corporation. This freedom was sought because it conferred on the recipient the right to vote in parliamentary elections. There is evidence that the corporation adopted a very restrictive approach to freedoms for the duration of the compact. An examination of an official corporation document, 'Applications for Freedoms 1824 -', reveals this.[19] On 14 April 1824 thirty-seven applications were considered by the relevant corporation committee. Only three persons were admitted to freedom; twenty-three were rejected; and the other applications were postponed[20]. On 20 April 1824, of the thirty-seven applications, only six were granted; twenty-six were rejected; and the remainder postponed. On 14 May of the same year only nine of the sixty-three applicants were successful; the others failed to appear in support of their claims, were rejected, or consideration of applications was postponed. On 1 September 1829 applications numbered forty-six, of which twenty were not considered due to the non-appearance of applicants. Of the remaining twenty-six, fifteen were admitted; eight were rejected; and three had their applications postponed. In accordance with the intention of the compact, it would appear that only such persons as were likely to be well disposed politically to Newport obtained their freedom.

Moreover, the right of admission was confined, for the most part to Anglicans. Indeed, this right had been long used by the corporation to reinforce the privileges enjoyed by membership of the Established Church. In spite of Catholics forming the majority of the city's population, only 305 had been admitted as freemen between 1790 and 1826, as against 1,009 Protestants.[21] In evidence to the municipal commissioners in 1833 the mayor stated that many respectable Catholics had applied in vain to the council for freedom[22], though he later modified his evidence to the effect that rather than excluding persons on account of their religion, the council threw difficulties in their way[23]. Alderman Michael Evelyn observed that prior to 1830 some respectable citizens had been refused freedom that ought to have been admitted.[24] Thus it was difficult for Waterford Corporation not to appear as a citadel of Anglicanism and an anachronism in an age of reform and greater

18 *Ibid.*, 11 December 1833.

19 WMA, TNC 1/3.

20 One of the most frequent causes of postponement was the claimant's inability to pay the relevant fees.

21 *First Report of the Commissioners*, p. 617.

22 *Waterford Mirror*, 14 December 1833.

23 *Ibid.*, 18 December 1833.

24 *Ibid.*

democracy. The words of a witness before the commissioners serves to highlight the degree to which the council alienated the majority of the city's population: 'Did not the custom of excluding persons differing from them in religion diffuse doubt and suspicion over all their acts, even when they might have been right'.

End of compact

In 1830 the compact ended. On 9 June the local press reported that the practice of leadership of the corporation 'is about to be given up'. One month later it carried a report on 'a falling out' among the leaders.[25] On 29 June a meeting of the council adopted a series of twenty-three resolutions which effectively negated the compact.[26] Two of them were of particular importance. The first one stated

> That the council utterly disavow any right or claim as a body to interfere with, or influence the citizens in the election of a member to represent the city of Waterford in parliament.

The second resolution referred to the claims of persons for freedom and that they were to be inquired into with 'as little delay as possible', and when a person's right was established 'the freedom was to be granted without any impediment being thrown in the way by the council'.

Waterford Corporation and repeal

The end of the compact, however, made no significant difference to Waterford Corporation as a body dedicated to the maintenance of the position and privilege of Anglicanism. In fact, during the 1830s it became a shrill voice, defying the political causes espoused by most Catholics. As the adherents of the majority faith became more assertive in their political demands, Waterford's Anglicans, increasingly fearful of the emerging Catholic democracy, retreated behind the entrenched and exclusive bastion that was the city's system of municipal governance.

The prospect of repeal of the Act of Union appalled Protestant opinion in Ireland, and those in Waterford articulated their concerns and attitudes by means of the Corporation's deliberations. On 18 February 1831 the council resolved to address the lord lieutenant, Lord Anglesey, on the matter. The language used was very strong in its denunciation of the agitation, which was

> exciting the worst passions of the lower orders of the people, fomenting commotion, engendering animosity against Great Britain and endangering the very foundation of civil society.

Repeal, the address stated, would lead to the separation of Ireland and Great Britain, a consequence which would mean 'desolation and utter ruin' for the country.[27] In February 1834 the corporation addressed the king to express its gratitude for his determination to support the union.[28] A year later the same council was

25 *Waterford Mail,* 7 July 1830.
26 WMA, Corporation Minutes, 29 June 1830.
27 WMA, Corporation Minutes, 18 February 1831.
28 *Ibid.*, Corporation Minutes, 12 February 1834.

petitioning parliament to adopt measures to prevent intimidation at elections because of alleged events during the 1835 general election in the city. Voters, according to the petition, were forced to support agitators for repeal. Moreover,

> a considerable number of electors were by threats of personal violence, as well as by the interference and intimidation of several of the Roman Catholic clergy, compelled to withhold their votes altogether.

The priests had threatened that 'they would visit with severe spiritual penalties the opposers of their commands'.[29] The occasion of a visit by Lord Mulgrave, the lord lieutenant, to the city in 1836 was used to express 'unalterable determination to preserve the integrity of the united British empire'.[30] An address, three years later, to his successor, Lord Elrington, had strong Protestant overtones in its reference to the determination to help in the preservation of a constitution which 'has proved the best safeguard of our Civil and Religious liberties'.[31]

Waterford Corporation and municipal reform

In 1835 the Whig government introduced a municipal reform bill; it was not until 1840 that the measure was enacted. Six times the House of Commons passed a bill, only to have it amended out of all recognition by ultra-Tory House of Lords. Finally, a compromise emerged. This compromise restricted the powers of corporations and confined the municipal franchise to £10 householders.[32] Daniel O'Connell had a deep belief in the importance of reforming the corporations, and that was why he was willing to accept a greatly watered down version of the legislation, with a much higher franchise qualification than his preferred £5 one. To him this reform was a crucial step in completing the process begun by Catholic emancipation and he welcomed the bill as

> the commencement of the reign of Justice. There remains this corporate monopoly and it is the only thing that prevents justice being done to the people.[33]

Waterford Corporation itself was not, hardly surprisingly, enthusiastic about reform. The impending visit of the municipal commissioners in 1833 prompted it into some acts of self-reformation in the form of a reduction in the salaries of a number of officials.[34] It co-operated fully with the commissioners.[35] However, in 1835 it petitioned the House of Lords to postpone the bill, offering various

29 *Ibid.*, Corporation Minutes, 13 April 1835.
30 *Ibid.*, Corporation Minutes, 29 June 1836.
31 *Ibid.*, Corporation Minutes, 10 April 1839.
32 For a brief overview of the bill see D. G. Boyce, *Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (London and New York, Routledge, 1991), pp. 68-9.
33 Virginia Crossman, *Local Government in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, 1994), p. 78.
34 WMA, Corporation Minutes, 8 January 1833; 27 February. 1833. For a brief discussion of this matter see E. Broderick, 'An Era of Elegance and Splendour', p. 178.
35 *Ibid.*, Corporation Minutes, 1 October 1833.

technical reasons for doing so.[36] A motion proposing a petition to the legislature praying for municipal reform failed at a meeting in 1839, for want of a seconder.[37] Another petition was sent to the Lords in 1840 seeking the omission of the clause extending the municipal franchise,[38] a feature of the bill which alarmed conservatives because of its democratic tendencies. This action reflected a common view that every increase in the rating qualification automatically meant fewer Catholics being entitled to vote.

The *Waterford Mail,* an organ of Waterford Protestant opinion, in its opposition to municipal reform articulated views which were essentially consonant with those of members of the city's corporation. The *Mail* conducted its debate on the issue in sectarian terms, with no real concern being shown for the efficiency or otherwise of corporate institutions.[39] It defined the purpose of corporations as 'the maintenance and promotion of the English or what is more properly termed the Protestant interest in Ireland'.[40] Reform threatened to subvert this purpose, having the effect of handing corporations over to Catholics, who would use them to promote repeal. Municipal reform was held to have a constitutional aspect in that the weakening of the 'Protestant interest' would weaken the union itself.

The *Waterford Mail* rejected any reform initiatives which impaired the 'essential Protestantism' of municipal institutions.[41] It was better to abolish corporations altogether than have them fall under Catholic control. Under the reformed regime, the town hall would become a school of agitation:

> Better suppress them than suffer them to be so remodelled as to afford Papists and an anti-British spirit the protection and encouragement which may enable the new possessors to cope with and conquer the religion and interest which they were originally created to protect.[42]

In the *Mail's* opinion, since corporations were given to Protestants for the express purpose of giving them the 'upper hand', it was vital not to transfer this advantage to Catholics:

> Since we cannot, without danger, raise the Roman Catholics to our privileges, we will lower ourselves to theirs; we will part with corporate privileges altogether, but not transfer them; we will extinguish them as the strongholds of Protestant ascendancy - but we will not perpetuate them as the bulwarks of a popish supremacy.[43]

36 *Ibid.,* Corporation Minutes, 24 August 1835.
37 *Waterford Mail,* 5 January 1839.
38 WMA, Corporation Minutes, 13 May 1840.
39 D. G. Boyce, *Nineteenth-Century Ireland,* p. 69. Professor Boyce is describing the debate at national level; his comments apply equally to the debate at local level in Waterford.
40 *Waterford Mail,* 25 October 1828.
41 *Ibid.,* 2 March 1839.
42 *Ibid.,* 3 August 1839.
43 *Ibid.,* 15 February 1840.

Epilogue

The restricted franchise adopted in the 1840 act ensured that corporations were not handed over completely to the Catholic and liberal interests; but they were nearly handed over.[44] In the new forty member Corporation of Waterford elected in November 1842, there were only four Protestants. A Catholic mayor, Thomas Meagher,[45] was elected, the profound significance of which was recognised by his contemporaries:

> The council were summoned to attend at the Town Hall at half past eleven; some time previous to which large crowds of the working classes assembled round the Town Hall in groups, all engaged in conversation on one topic, namely, the extraordinary change about to take place, in having a Roman Catholic mayor placed over them.[46]

One of Meagher's first official duties was to attend mass the Sunday following his election, an occasion resonant with symbolism.[47] It was a public expression of the transformation of Waterford's corporate life and the transfer of municipal government from an Anglican ascendancy to the Catholic middle class. When O'Connell visited Waterford in November 1842 to promote repeal, the nationalist *Waterford Chronicle* described how

> the cortege moved onwards to the Town Hall, thus consecrating to purposes of national independence a spot hitherto sacred to public rapine, plundering monopoly, and the withering influence of a foul, corrupt, and bigoted ascendancy.[48]

Thus were realised the fears of Anglican opponents of municipal reform.

Conclusion

The Corporation of Waterford between 1818 and 1840 was unrepresentative of the people of the city. It was a bastion of exclusive Anglican privilege. Moreover, for much of this period the council was nothing more than a puppet of two powerful Protestant factions by virtue of the compact between the Newport and Alcock families . When this agreement ended in 1830 it did nor herald a more democratic and open corporation. On the contrary, it became an institution determined to resist the tide of reform because it was inimical to the Anglican interest. Accordingly, the corporation resisted repeal and municipal reform. The two issues were regarded as linked: the successful achievement of municipal reform would consign the council to the control of the Catholic majority which would use its new found political

44 D. G. Boyce, *Nineteenth-Century Ireland,* p. 69.

45 For an account of his life see E. Broderick, 'A Decade of Agitation and Strife: Thomas Meagher, Mayor, 1843-1844 ', in E. McEneaney (ed.), *A History of Waterford and its Mayors from the 12th Century to the 20th Century,* (Waterford Corporation, 1995), pp. 182-200.

46 *Waterford Chronicle,* 3 November 1842. Quoted in Broderick, *ibid.,* p. 185.

47 *Ibid.,* 8 November 1842. See Broderick, *ibid.,* pp. 185-7.

48 *Ibid.,* 12 November 1842.

power to promote repeal. The members of the corporation were correct in their assessment – when municipal reform was enacted the council became an advocate of repeal. That they were proven right was small consolation to the Anglican minority now shorn of the privileges they once enjoyed as the masters of the exclusive institution that was the Corporation of Waterford.

APPENDIX
Text of the compact between the Newport and Alcock families, 1818

Articles of agreement between the Right Honble. Sir John Newport Esq. and William Newport Esq. on the one part and Henry Alcock and James Wallace Esquires on the other part, made, concluded and agreed upon this tenth day of January, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighteen.

In the first place Mr. Alcock and his Friends pledge themselves to support Sir John Newport for the representation of the City of Waterford during the lifetime of the said Sir John Newport or for such time as Sir John shall consider himself capable of efficiently discharging the duties of that situation; At the expiration of either event Mr. Alcock to be supported by every exertion of the Newport Family and their Friends in the future Representation of said City during the life of the said Mr. Alcock and in the promotion of which Mr. William Newport pledges himself, and his sons shall concur. And if it should happen, that Mr. Alcock shall die before he shall be enabled to represent the said City or to become a Candidate according to the tenor and spirit of this agreement, then the said James Wallace shall nominate the Candidate who shall be supported for the Representation of said City for life, on the joint interest of both parties. And after the death of said Henry Alcock or such other Representative, the Newport Family to nominate the next Candidate for a period of five years - then the other contracting parties and their successors to nominate for the next five years and so on alternately for years.

Second It is agreed that the present vacancy, occasioned by the death of the late Simon Newport Esq., in the Council shall be filled by recommendation of said Henry Alcock; and on all future occasions the Alcock party to fill their own vacancies of councilmen and the Newport party to fill their own and Bolton's. Also the first vacancy in Bolton's aldermen to be filled by lot; the second to be filled by the unsuccessful party on that occasion, and the third to be determined by lot. And it being the intention of the contracting parties that the number of aldermen on either side shall be as equal as possible on all future occasions, the odd number shall be filled alternately.

Third The contracting parties to elect alternately to the office of Mayor, the next election being in the Newport party and each party to nominate one of the Sheriffs annually.

Fourth The present salary attached to the office of Master of the Leper House to be abolished and the ancient salary of six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence only to be annexed to it. All the offices held by the Bolton party during the pleasure of the Corporation, or of which they can be legally deprived, to be withdrawn from them and the salary reduced where the places cannot be withdrawn and to be placed in their respective classes and filled up according thereto.

Fifth The Newport party to fill up the present vacancy of Master of the Holy Ghost Hospital on its present salary of six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence. The Alcock party to nominate to the mastership of the Leper Hospital (on the removal of the present Master) on the salary of six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence.

Sixth The church livings to be disposed of in a separate class. And the first appointment, which may occur, to be disposed of by lot, it being also understood that whenever a vacancy shall occur in the Union, now held by the Revd. Mr. Waller, the Vicarage of Rathpatrick shall be separated from them and united to that of Kilculiheen.

Seventh The Newport party to nominate Saml. King to the situation of Chamberlain when it shall become vacant by the death of Mr. Murphy. Mr. Wallace, Mr. Alcock and their representatives to nominate to that office on Mr. King's death.

Eighth The office of Weighmaster to be held by a member of each family, and the vacancies to be filled by the family to which the deceased Weighmaster belonged.

Ninth On the death of Mr. Robert Cooke, the office of Salt and Coal Measurer to be separated from the office of Town Clerk and Clerk of the Peace and each to be placed in their respective classes. Each party to nominate one of the Water Bailiffs, it being the intention that this office be divided.

Tenth All offices under the Corporation, except those already named, and the Recordership which is reserved for further consideration, to be arranged under four distinct superheads or classes, according to their respective value or annual income. The first nomination in each class to be determined by lot and the vacancies to be separately filled in each class by rotation, on all future occasions. The entire arrangement above specified to be applicable to all places that may at any future time be created.

Eleventh It being absolutely necessary that the Corporation expenditure shall be reduced within its income - the contracting parties pledge themselves to use their utmost exertions to accomplish that object as speedily as possible; and also to concur in rendering the Leper Hospital as far as practicable efficient for the general accommodation of the maimed and diseased of the City of Waterford and its liberties under the inspection of a committee to be mutually named, but to act under the authority of the Master.

Twelfth No Corporation property to be let or otherwise disposed of save by public auction except in cases where the contracting parties may find it eligible for public purposes alone to deviate from this rule.

Thirteenth All acts relating to the making of Freemen or in any way touching the Government of the Corporation and the City to be done by mutual consent of the contracting parties, so far as the same is not herein provided for.

Fourteenth All matters of difference, if any should arise at any future period between the contracting parties or their successors, to be at all times hereafter adjusted by two friends to be appointed on each side and those four to have the power of calling in an umpire to their assistance, and the decision to be final. And if either party should refuse to abide by such decision or shall without previously submitting his case to such decision depart from this agreement, that party shall be considered to have forfeited their honour, and thereby to have absolved their friends in council from all future support of that interest or party. The parties have hereunto annexed lists of their respective friends in Council; to the due

performance of this agreement have mutually pledged their Faith and Honour in the most solemn manner as gentlemen the day and year first herein written.

Signed in the
Presence of:
Samuel King
Michael Evelyn

Signed:
John Newport
William Newport
Harry Alcock
James Wallace

First class: Water bailiff, two officers; Weighmaster, two officers; one in each family, to fill their own vacancies as they may occur. Hospitals already provided for, but on future occasions vacancies to be filled alternately.
Second class: Church livings and master of the school to be filled alternately.
Third class: All other officers not provided for in this general agreement, and exceeding £30 annually, to be filled alternately.
Fourth class: All other officers of £30 annually and under, to be filled in like manner. The first vacancy in each class by lot, the second by the party who was unsuccessful.

7 February 1818

(Signed) John Newport
Harry Alcock
William Newport
James Wallace

Some Early Rural Labour Organisations in Waterford

Pádraig G. Lane

The legislative, organisational and socio-economic background to the subject of the rural labourers in the 1880s lay in the year 1881 when Gladstone's Land Act of that year drew up weak proposals for farmers to provide for their labourers in tandem with their own judicial rent reductions and when a Labour League was founded in Limerick to address the need of these same labourers. That there was, in the summer of that same year, a spontaneous outbreak of rural labour unrest at their treatment by the tenant farmers, who were oblivious, it seemed, to their workers' low wages, poor employment, and wretched housing, added to the immediacy of the issue.[1]

The festering sore of the agricultural labourers' conditions and the degree to which it had been spoken about *ad nauseam* by both the government and by tenant farmer movements, but unattended to in any effective manner, lay at the root of the farm workers' unrest and their uneasy relationship with the farmers. Impatient with the farmers' unwillingness to include their workers in the benefits of legislation, and with the economic realities of the day, the Land War having accentuated the depression of the agricultural economy, the labourers saw in Gladstone's Land Act, and in its portent of better times, the moment to press their own case.[2]

If the outbreak of unrest, in Waterford as elsewhere, had focussed on farm machinery, rates of pay, the casual nature of employment, the rent charged for conacre potato ground, and the wretched nature of their housing, had a *force majeure* short term effect at harvest-time of extracting some concessions from the recalcitrant farmer, the attendant tensions in the countryside continued to manifest themselves, indeed, in the motions carried at labour gatherings thereafter, when the Labour League subsumed the unrest.[3]

The fact that the Knockanore to Ardmore area of Waterford, stretching across to Youghal, contained the highest concentration of agricultural labourers in the county, accounted, no doubt for the creation of a labour organisation in that

1 *Irishman*, 23, 30 July 1881; 6-28 August 1881; J.S. Donnelly, Jnr., *The Land and the People of Nineteenth-century Cork*, (London/Boston, 1975), pp. 238-41; Pádraig G. Lane, 'The Organisation of Rural Labourers 1870-1890', in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 100 (1995), pp. 149-60.

2 Pádraig G. Lane, 'Agricultural Labourers and the Land Question', in C. King (ed.), *Famine, Land and Culture in Ireland*, (Dublin, 2000), pp. 201-15; Pádraig G. Lane, 'Perceptions of Agricultural Labourers after the Famine', in *Saothar* 19 (1994), pp. 14-25.

3 *Irishman*, 23, 30 July 1881; 6-28 August 1881; J.S. Donnelly, Jnr., *The Land and the People of Nineteenth-century Cork*, pp. 238-41.

quarter.[4] It was at Knockanore, at any rate, in September 1881, that a new tenor of the labourers' movement became apparent. It had its origins moreover, in an *entente* established between the Labour League and Parnell's Land League earlier that month, an *entente* born in the shock administered by the summer's unrest.

Parnell, at the Land League convention in September,[5] had expressed disappointment that the 1881 Land Act had failed to properly address the labourers' needs but counselled that labourers should be housed on the land independently of either landlord or farmer control, taking the workers out of the unsanitary hovels of the towns and putting them closer to their work on the farms. Farmers should use their borrowing power under the 1881 Act, he further advised, to engage in employment-giving improvements on their farms. It was wise, he added, for farmers to pay, feed and house their workers well, or else the labourers would be won over to the landlords, noting that employment-giving tillage was a more preferable use of land than pasture.

Earlier, of course, motions for the Land League convention had held out, not just the prospect of one half-acre per thirty acres of farm land, at a rent not exceeding that paid by the farmer to the landlord for it, but also the messianic prospect that land would be compulsorily bought for the purpose and that the labourers would, in time become owners of the land, like the tenant farmers themselves.[6]

Parnell, at any rate acknowledged that he had met with a deputation from the Labour League, and that they had hammered out an understanding,[7] appealed to the farmers of Ireland to avail of the facilities of the Land Act, in the short term, to build labourers' cottages for their workers. It was an appeal supported on the day by P.F. Johnson of Kanturk, the organiser of the Labour League, and again, early in October, by the Labour League Executive,[8] on the premise that if, admittedly, farmers couldn't afford higher wages at that point in time, they could give plots of ground. The Executive supported the basic tenets of Parnell's land policy and that leader's counsel on better dwellings, plots for vegetables and fair wages for their labourers. It was that basic policy, indeed that lay at the heart of the resolution passed at the Knockanore Labour League meeting, in September, already referred to above, and which demanded that Parnell's recommendations to the Land League be implemented.[9]

The contrast between rhetoric and reality, however, was somewhat underlined by the observation in December of that same year, by Thomas C. Mansfield, the Hon. Secretary of the Knockanore Labour Club, from an address at Strancally Castle, Tallow, that recent gales had knocked down labourers' houses in the

4 M.B. Kiely and W. Nolan, 'Politics, Land and Rural Conflict in County Waterford, *c*.1830-1845', in W. Nolan and T.P. Power (eds.), *Waterford History and Society,* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1992), pp. 459-94.

5 *United Ireland,* 24 September 1881.

6 *Ibid.,* 9 September 1881.

7 *Ibid.,* 24 September 1881; National Archives (henceforth abbreviated as NA) B 90 Files, B. 268.

8 *Ibid.,* 15 October 1881.

9 *Ibid.,* 1 October 1881.

district. As the worst-treated class in Ireland, he noted of the labourers, it was to be wondered, he queried, what the farmers were going to do for those labourers.[10]

With a lull in activity in the early months of the following year, *United Ireland* scarcely reporting on labour meetings in any quarter, due either to a wait-and-see approach to the Land Act, or to a general cessation of agitation, there was little to record in the county regarding the farm workers. In March, at Dungarvan Petty Sessions, a number of labourers were charged with intimidation of others to prevent them working for a farmer, Patrick Lynch of Cloneen, although a character witness, Sir Nugent Humble, spoke for the respectability of the men.[11]Another intimidation case, moreover, spoke of two men, Patrick Hunt Senior and Junior, before Patrick Hall Sessions, having attempted to prevent a labourer, John Bryan, from working on a supposed boycotted farm.[12] The only other item of interest, indeed, arose from the reported bankruptcy of Dungarvan Board of Guardians, in the spring of 1882, to the tune of £6,500, leaving to destitution numbers on outdoor relief among the farm labourers.[13]

It was not to say that in more general terms the labour issue was left to one side. Davitt spoke in Waterford on the issue of land nationalisation, opening up the prospect of labourers gaining access to the land, alongside the tenant farmers, while Archbishop Croke spoke of the labourers working from six in the morning to six in the evening for very low wages.[14] At the same time, the further consolidation of the Labour League, including in Waterford, but without detail, was reported.[15]

Whatever of consolidation, a meeting of the Knockanore, Tallow, branch in July 1882 attracted attention.[16] Among the speakers, Fr. Queally urged unity and co-operation between farmers and the farm labourers in addressing the vexed question of the wretched conditions, both social and economic, of the farm workers. As a short-term measure, Fr. Queally suggested that the provision by the tenant farmers of half-acre allotments for the farm labourers of the district would go far to settling the acrimony that existed between them, as such plots would provide that food needed for the workers' sustenance.

It was a proposition wholly in keeping with the mood of a meeting otherwise addressed by Mr. Pyne of Lisfanny Castle, and by a representative of the farmers, Thomas Hurley, that, in other respects, agreed that it was entirely impossible for the tenant farmers to also build cottages for their workers at that juncture, as the government afforded them no facilities for carrying out such schemes. It was also urged upon the labourers that strikes were ruinous to them as they had no resources to fall back on other than the wages that they earned in agricultural employment.

10 *Ibid.*, 1 December 1881.
11 *Ibid.*, 6 May 1881.
12 *Ibid.*, 3 June 1881.
13 *Ibid.*, 22 April 1881.
14 *Ibid.*, 10 June 1882; 5 August 1882.
15 *Ibid.*, 27 May 1882.
16 *Ibid.*, 22 July 1882.

A further meeting, at Inch, near Youghal, in early September 1882,[17] also addressed by T.C. Mansfield, reiterated the indifference of the farmers to the Labour League and the need to have the undertaking of the 1881 Land League Convention honoured in terms of housing, employment and wages. At that Inch Meeting, attended by labourers from Killeagh, Inch, Knockanore and surrounding areas, a motion that Archbishop Croke's plea for peace between the two classes be headed was passed on the premise that farmers would pass on the benefits of land legislation and on the grounds of the inhuman conditions under which the labourers lived. It was also the substance of W.G. Fisher's address, also that month, at Carrigbeg, although Fisher stood in grave danger of arrest[18] arising from that same meeting for urging a labour boycott of unjust employers, a charge that the authorities opted to leave go with an internal advice that he be watched in the future.

A further remonstration came from the labourers in Inch against the indifference of the farmers and at Tramore, in October, there was little from the MPs Power and Leamy, to comfort them other than a review of the of the purported benefits that were to be gained from unity and patience.[19] By that stage, of course, Parnell had established the new organisation, the National League, and had incorporated into it the Labour League, effectively bringing the latter under control.[20]

If Parnell impressed on the Central Executive Committee of the National League, in December 1882, with the need for an enlightened outdoor relief policy among Boards of Guardians, provision for the labourers in an amendment to the 1881 Land Act, and the obtainment by farmers of loans for improvement purposes from the Board of Works, on the same terms as landlords got similar loans, it was to cement the belief that the new organisation was attending to the labourers' needs.[21]

Indeed there had been some unease expressed at the new relationship between Parnell and the labourers, not least from T.C. Mansfield of Knockanore. A trenchant reproach was issued by him in October of that year, in a letter to *United Ireland,* in which he argued that the Labour League had been fooled when, in the in the previous year it had rowed in behind the labour clauses of the 1881 Land League Convention. The labourers, he argued had been forced into accepting the good faith of the farmers on the issues of plot, fair wages and proper employment.[22]

At a labour meeting in Tramore, moreover, Fr. Quinn CC, also drew upon the issue of the farmers' failure to extend the benefits of the 1881 Land Act, in not providing land and cottages, at a rent commensurate to the reductions gained in the Land Court, or in not providing labour-giving improvements at increased wages. Whether conscious of this remissness, or of the threat of a division between the labourers and farmers, Power and Leamy, the MPs, held out the chimera that

17 *Ibid.,* 2 September 1882.

18 NA CSO Registered Papers, Ctn.2819/1882, No. 32412.

19 *United Ireland,* 21 October 1882; 9 September 1882..

20 F. Lane, 'P.F. Johnson: Nationalism and Irish Rural Labourers, 1860-1882', in *Irish Historical Studies* xxxiii 130 (November 2002), pp. 191-208.

21 *United Ireland,* 23 December 1882.

22 *Ibid.,* 21 October 1882.

obtaining the franchise would strengthen the labourers' voice and urged the need for unity between the classes.[23]

That said, by December 1882, at a labourers' meeting at Fenor the new ties between the National League and the labourers had become a reality,[24] although it was at Fenor again, in February of 1883, that the labourers there were complaining of the difficulty in getting plots of ground at all from the farmers of the National League,[25] while at Knockanore too there was a demand that the 'usual dairy ground' be made available to the farm workers.[26]

It was an issue, however, that was subsumed in great measure that same year by the Provision of a Labourers Act that obliged Boards of Guardians to impose schemes for houses and plots of land for the labourers of every district.[27]

It was this that engaged the Waterford meeting, in September 1883, at which Power, the MP. argued that the Labourers Act was a step finally in the right direction, although Davitt reserved the right to believe that land ownership, by both labourers and farmers, was the ultimate resolution of rural problems.[28] That said, even as Daniel Hishon, the Labour League spokesman co-opted by Parnell onto the National League Executive, toured the rural areas explaining the benefits of the Labourers Act, for all its defects, and spoke at Youghal in October,[29] the conundrum of pressure by farmers on Boards of Guardians not to impose schemes on their lands arose at Kilrossanty.[30]

By December of that year, the lack of correspondence, indeed, between schemes proposed and the number of labourers in the several districts requiring cottages and half-acre allotments, began to become apparent, not least in Waterford, Lismore, Dungarvan and Youghal.[31] Such was the frustration that the MP, Leamy, in February 1884, at Kilmacthomas, spoke of making the implementation of such schemes compulsory in any new legislation, for otherwise, he argued the sense of unity between labourers and farmers would be wasted. At Kilmacthomas, therefore, a resolution on the defects of the Labourers Act was passed.[32]

Even as at Youghal, in March of 1884, support for the labourers' cause was forthcoming,[33] and, at Waterford, in the same month the labourers' conditions, and the need for a bearable rent for cottages and plots of ground was passed as an

23 *Ibid.*
24 *Ibid.*, 9 December 1882.
25 *Ibid.*, 3 February 1883.
26 *Ibid.*, 13 January 1883.
27 E. McKay, 'The Housing of the Rural Labourer, 1893-1916', in *Saothar* 17 (1992), pp. 27-38; C.F.E. Johnston, 'Irish agricultural Labourers and the Labourers Acts', unpublished Moderatorship thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1954.
28 *United Ireland,* 15 September 1883.
29 *Ibid.*, 6 October 1883.
30 *Ibid.*
31 *Ibid.*, 1 December 1883.
32 *Ibid.*, 2 February 1883.
33 *Ibid.*, 8, 15 March 1884.

issue,[34] the aggravating matter of landlords' opposition to schemes and farmers' reservation about the sting of cottages and plots on their best land was being threshed out up and down the country.

At Fenor, in May, indeed, the need for an element of compulsion in the Labourers Act, to oblige Boards of Guardians to see schemes through was again raised, or else, it was said, farmers would find that the best labourers would have vanished to America.[35] That the labourers of Knockanore and Glendyne should at the same time have the matter raised of their families being supplied with milk, and the Youghal Guardians pressed on the issue, also spoke of course, of the general sense of need under which they laboured and the impulse on them to emigrate.[36]

Nevertheless, in this survey of rural labour in County Waterford in the early 1880s, it becomes apparent, through the remainder of 1884, that labour organisation, for all the social and economic realities of their existence, had little more than an appendage to the farmers' movement. The National League, indeed, was reduced in many instances to downplaying the role of Villiers Stuart in purporting to be their landlord white knight against the farmers' neglect of them, the farmers, reportedly being afraid of labourers' power.[37]

That was not to say, of course, that some of the staples of the farm labourers' experience didn't continue to manifest themselves. In November 1884, therefore, while there was an appearance at Cappoquin of a symbolic harvest bond between farmers and labourers in defiance of Villiers Stuart,[38] the prosecution of farmers at Waterford Court for not building cottages for their workers did much to qualify that semblance of unity,[39] a issue of discord that also arose at Abbyside, Dungarvan in November of that same year.[40]

To move somewhat forward, indeed, to 1886, on the other hand, it was the issue of employment that surfaced at Knockanore, in June of that year,[41] as the labourers there entreated the farmers to give them work, 'during this trying time', with preference to be given to labourers who were members of the local League. It was an appeal repeated later in the month when the farmers were asked to tide the labourers over until the harvest set in and created a demand for labour.[42]

34 *Ibid.*, 15 March 1884.
35 *Ibid.*, 10 May 1884.
36 *Ibid.*, 17 May 1884.
37 NA National League Proceedings, Cnt. 6, July-December 1884; Pádraig G. Lane, 'Villiers Stuart: A landlord Voice on Farm Labourers', in *Decies* 60 (2004), pp. 179-82; *United Ireland,* 9 August 1884; September – December 1884.
38 *United Ireland,* 15 November 1884.
39 *Ibid.*, 8 November 1884.
40 *Ibid.*, 22 November 1884.
41 *Ibid.*, 19 June 1886.
42 *Ibid.*, 3 July 1886.

A large meeting of labourers at Ballyduff, Tallow, at Lyons Cross, at the end of June,[43] were, on the other hand, there to protest against the apparent inaction of the Lismore Board of Guardians in respect of providing cottages in the surrounding district. Pyne, the MP, was called upon to act on the matter and, later in July, Pyne duly gave an explanation for the delay, adding the strictures that the labourers should stick by the organisation, the National League, that saw to their needs.[44]

That theme of loyalty, moreover, was taken up at Carrigbeg, in August, when the action of 'some traitor', in posting up notices on the chapel gate at Mothel, asking labourers to turn over their loyalty o the enemy, the landlords, presumably with Villiers Stuart in mind, if farmers didn't give up on the use of machinery, was criticised for splitting the ranks.[45] Such ranks, however, appeared, from a constabulary report of 1887, to be of little substance, because it was averred that labourers and farmers alike were heartily sick of the League, even if they were afraid to voice that disenchantment.[46] We do know, of course, that by 1889, the labourers were once again being enticed into joining a new organisation of their own, which in January 1890 became the Democratic Labour Federation.[47]

43 *Ibid.*, 10 July 1886.
44 *Ibid.*, 31 July 1886.
45 *Ibid.*, 14 August 1886.
46 NA National League Proceedings, S/W Div., 18 July 1887.
47 NA Div. Comms. Reports, S/E, Ctrs. 3, 5.

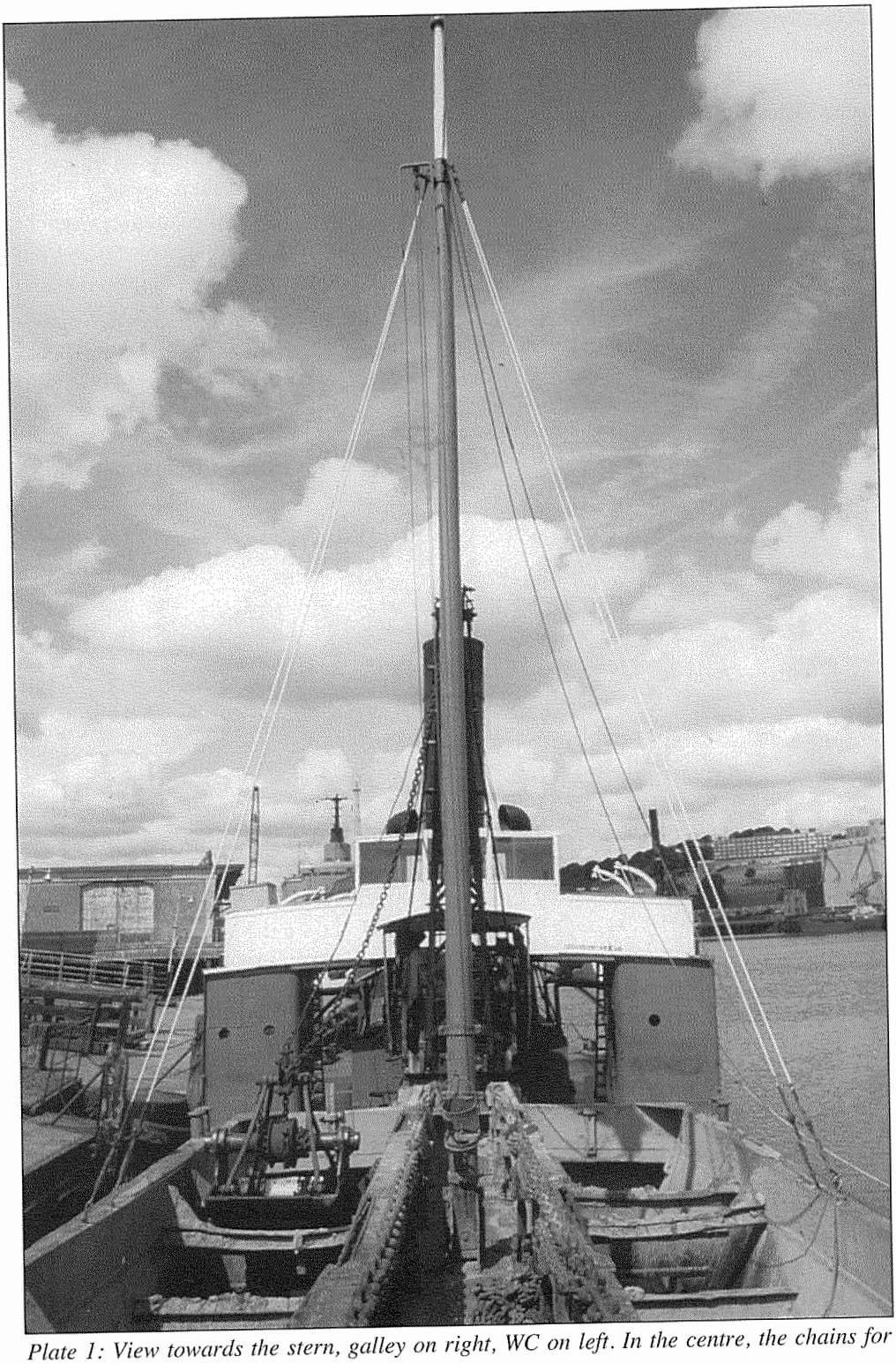


Plate 1: View towards the stern, galley on right, WC on left. In the centre, the chains for opening the hopper doors.

The *SS Portlairge*

Sonny Condon

THE *SS Portlairge,* affectionately known as the 'Mudboat' worked up and down the quays of Waterford for seventy-five years, keeping the berths free of mud and silt for the various types of ships using the port.

The *Portlairge* was the last working steamship of her type in these islands, and possibly in the world, powered by coal and steam from her first working day until her last. The 'Mudboat' replaced another steam dredger, the *Urbs Intacta*. The final days of this dredger was chronicled in the *Waterford News* as follows,

> We understand that the powerful dredger *Urbs Intacta* has been disposed of by the Waterford Harbour Commissioners at a big and remunerative figure, the exact amount of which has not yet been disclosed. The dredger, it will be remembered, was until recently in commission by the Mersey Port and Docks Board, and did dome excellent work for that body. Mr. John Allingham, the worthy Secretary to the Board, has gone to London to organise the arrangements for the sale, and as a result there will be no meeting of the Harbour Board on Monday.

The replacement for the *Urbs Intacta,* was a specially-designed hopper grab dredger to meet the particular requirements of the Waterford Harbour Commissioners. Aptly named the *Portlairge,* she was built at the Dublin Dockyard Co. On the 10 September 1907, the *Portlairge* left Dublin for Waterford.

This new dredger was 140 feet long between perpendiculars, with a beam of 29 feet, and a depth of 12 feet 6 inches, and was capable of carrying 500 tons of spoil when floating at her load draught of 11 feet.

The following description of the *Portlairge* appeared in the *Syren and Shipping* of the 18 September 1907, in an article entitled, 'Off and on the Ways',

> She is built of steel to the highest class... Of the flush deck type, she is well sub-divided, having no less than ten watertight compartments, and is practically unsinkable. The propelling machinery is placed aft, and, in order that the vessel may steam well when light in bad weather, a large trimming tank with a capacity of 50 tons is fitted forward. The tank is capable of being emptied by the engine room pumps in about 30 minutes. The hopper, which has a capacity of 11,320 cubic feet, is surrounded by deep coamings, and is so situated that when fully loaded, the vessel floats at a level draught. The hopper doors are of specially strong build... and are so designed as to be readily repaired when afloat. Accommodation is fitted forward for the crew, and in the watertight compartment immediately abaft of this is a neat saloon tastefully done up in polished hardwoods, with comfortable accommodation for the captain and officers in adjoining cabins.

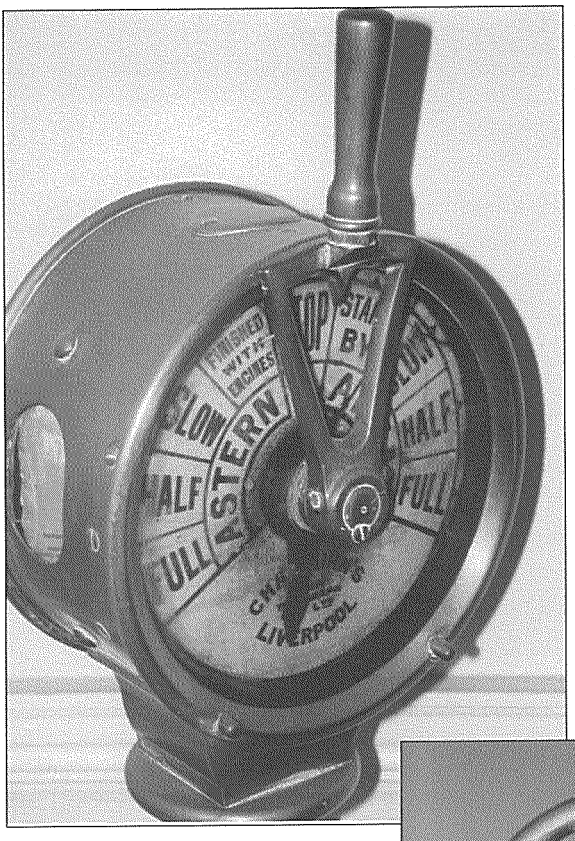


Plate 2: Telegraph, there was one in the wheelhouse, and one in the engine room.

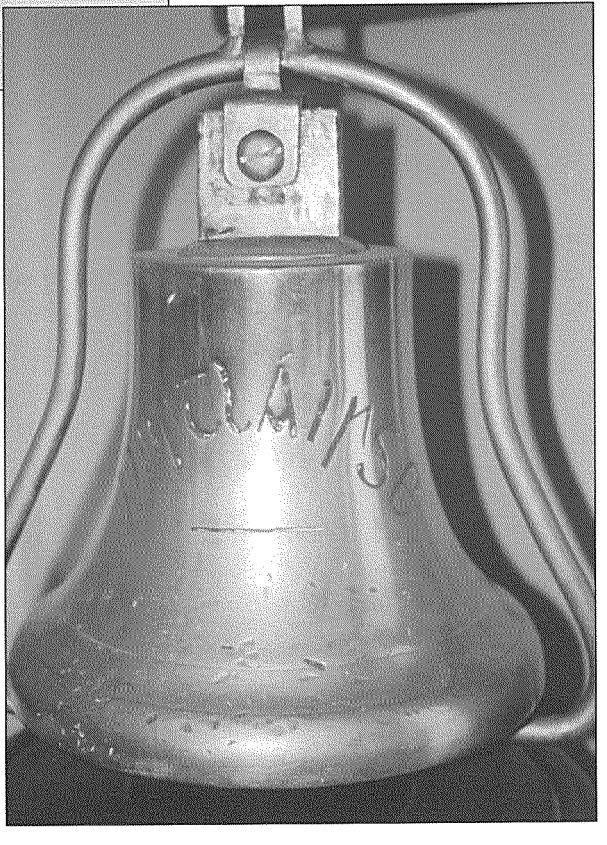


Plate 3: The bell.

Following the completion of the *Portlairge,* sea trials were conducted, and a mean speed of 8.6 knots was achieved. The dredging trials were also very successful.

In her day she was the most modern vessel afloat, not only was she a hopper dredger, she was also equipped to operate as a tugboat, She had a crew of eight, master, mate, engineer, fireman, two crane drivers, and two deckhands. She burned one ton of coal per day.

The *Portlairge* would begin her day at 6 a.m. when a member of the crew would arrive to light up one of her two furnaces in order to have a sufficient build-up of steam for an 8 a.m. start, when the remainder of her crew would board her.

The dredger would cast off, and proceed to whatever berth was to be dredged, and by 12.30 p.m. the hoppers would be full of spoil, the water having drained off through the circular holes in the coamings, leaving only the mud. The anchor would then be raised, the wire ropes let go, as she steamed either to the Clyde Wharf or to her berth at the London Hulk, which was opposite Reginald's Tower, as her crew went to lunch at 1 p.m.

After lunch, the *Portlairge* would cast off and proceed downriver to where her cargo would be discharged. As soon as the anchor was dropped, the hopper doors were opened by steam winch, and as the mud left the ship she would rise rather suddenly in the water. Having closed her doors which were underneath her hull, the anchor was raised and she would steam up river to her berth. As soon as she tied up, an electric cable was plugged in. This was her only electric illumination at night. The boiler and furnace were shut down, and the other furnace was prepared for firing the next day, as the furnaces alternated on a daily basis.

In keeping with her steam-powered origins, she did not carry any wireless, radar, or any sophisticated equipment. She broke down in December 1982, after seventy-five years continuous working. On the 21 December 1982 she was sold to the Scottish Steam preservation Co. for her scrap value of £3,000 sterling. Because of local objections, the sale was cancelled and she ended up dormant on the Scotch Quay. In 1987 she was sold again, and on the 26 August that year, the *SS Portlairge* steamed down the Suir, and out of Waterford Harbour for the very last time.

She now lies at Saltmills in Co. Wexford, a complete ruin.

It would have made a lot of sense if the *Portlairge* had been kept as a maritime museum. By sealing up the hoppers and adding a suitable roof or canopy, many items relating to Waterford's maritime history could have been put on display. The engines could have been placed on the quayside, covered in clear perspex. By inserting coins, the engine could have been made to turn slowly, with the money being used for maintenance. The removal of the engines and boiler would have left room for a café on board, and Waterford would have a unique tourist attraction.

Alas it was not to be, and the remains of Ireland's last working steamship lies rotting on the Wexford coast.

Plate 4: Wheelhouse.

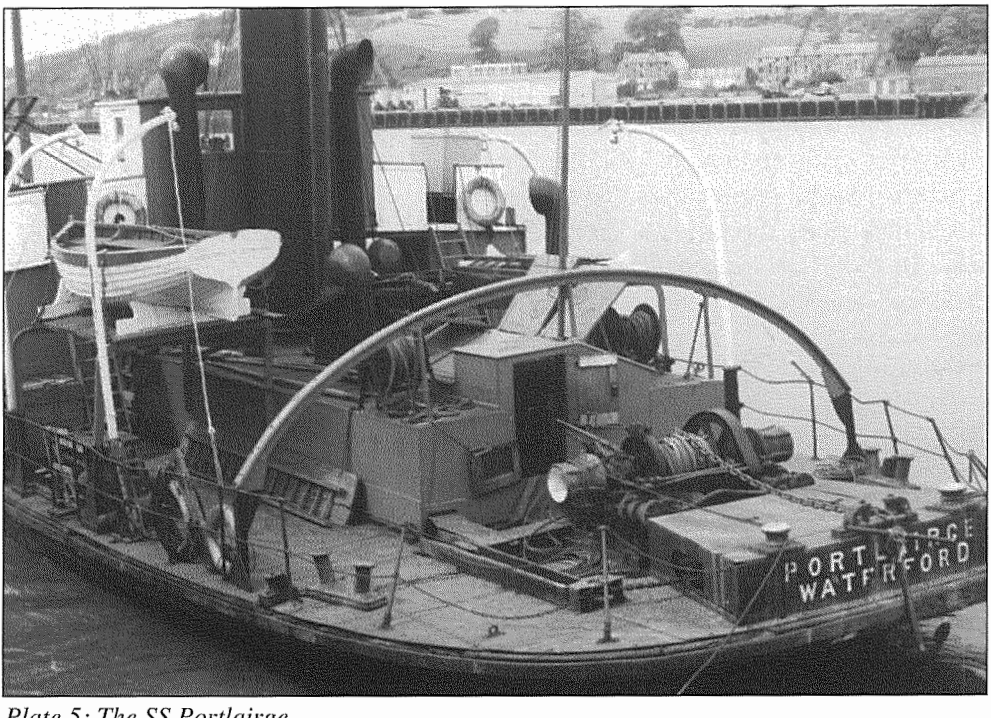


Plate 5: The SS Portlairge.

Plate 6: Compass with oil lamps at each end.

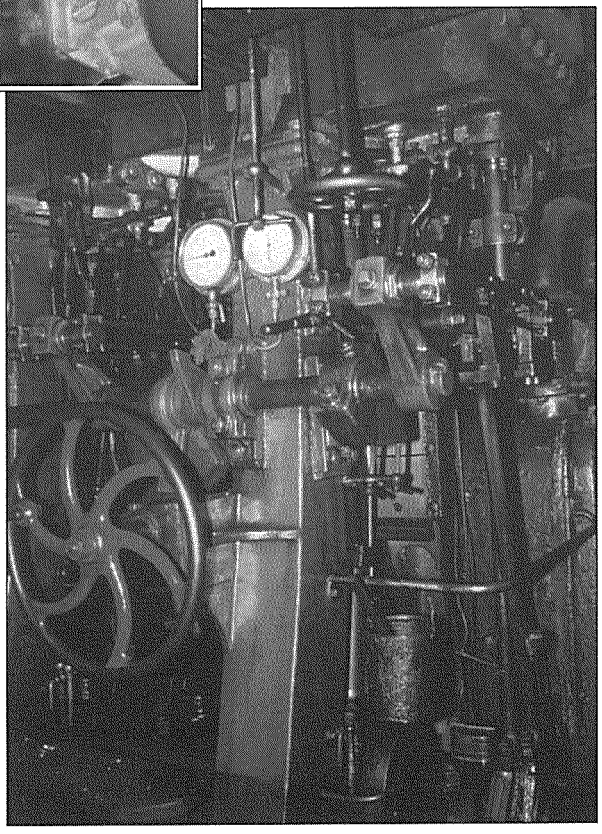


Plate 7: Main engine.

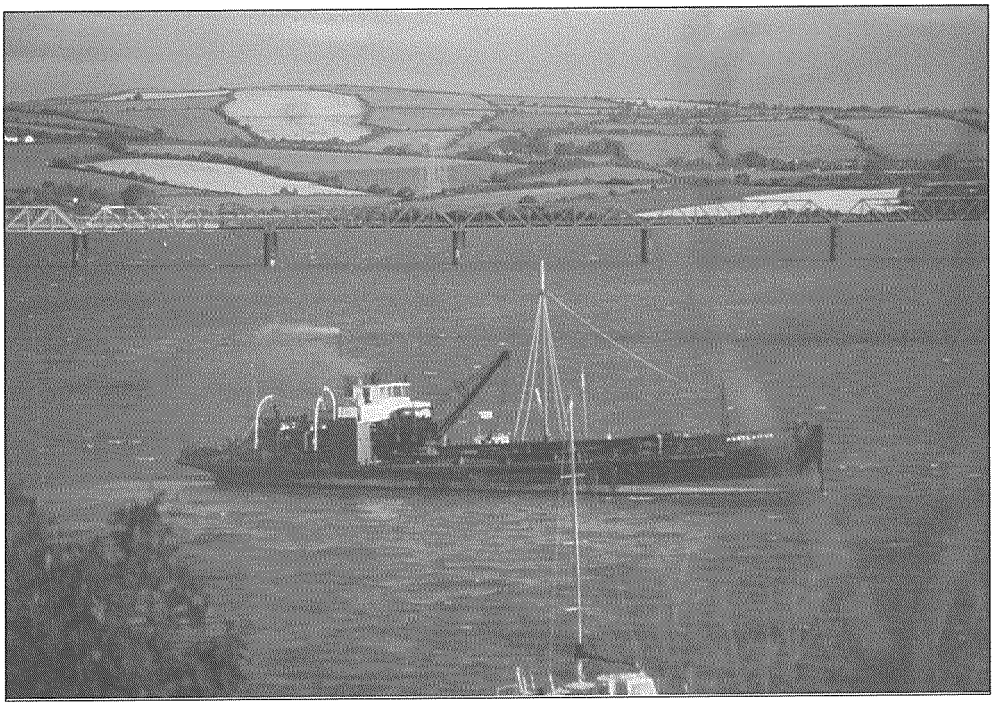


Plate 8: The SS Portlairge leaving Waterford for the last time.

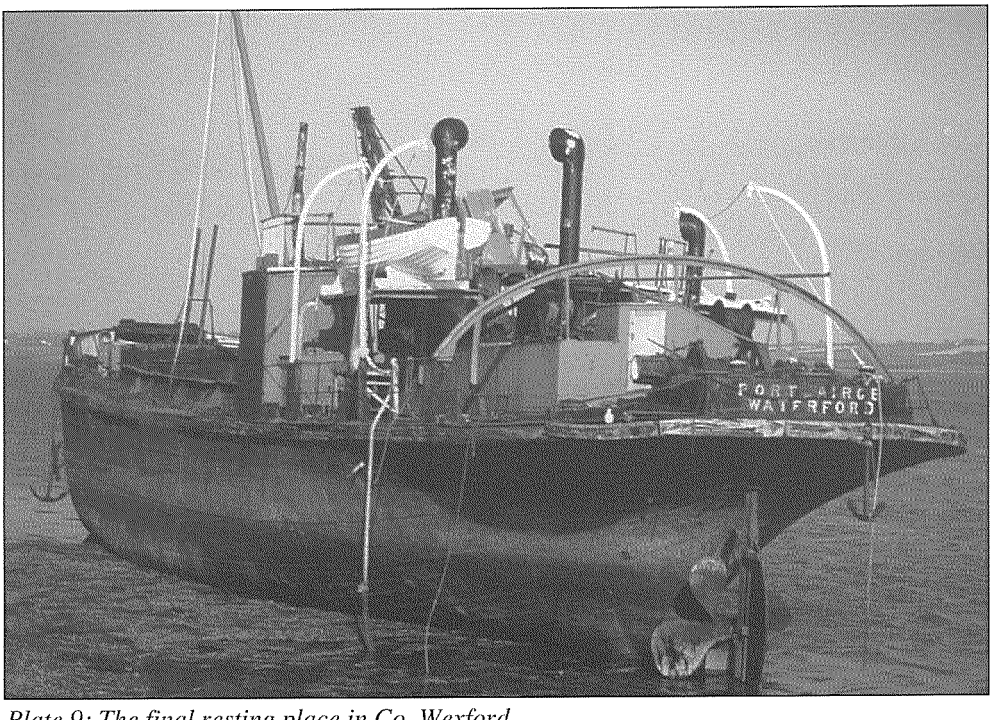


Plate 9: The final resting place in Co. Wexford.

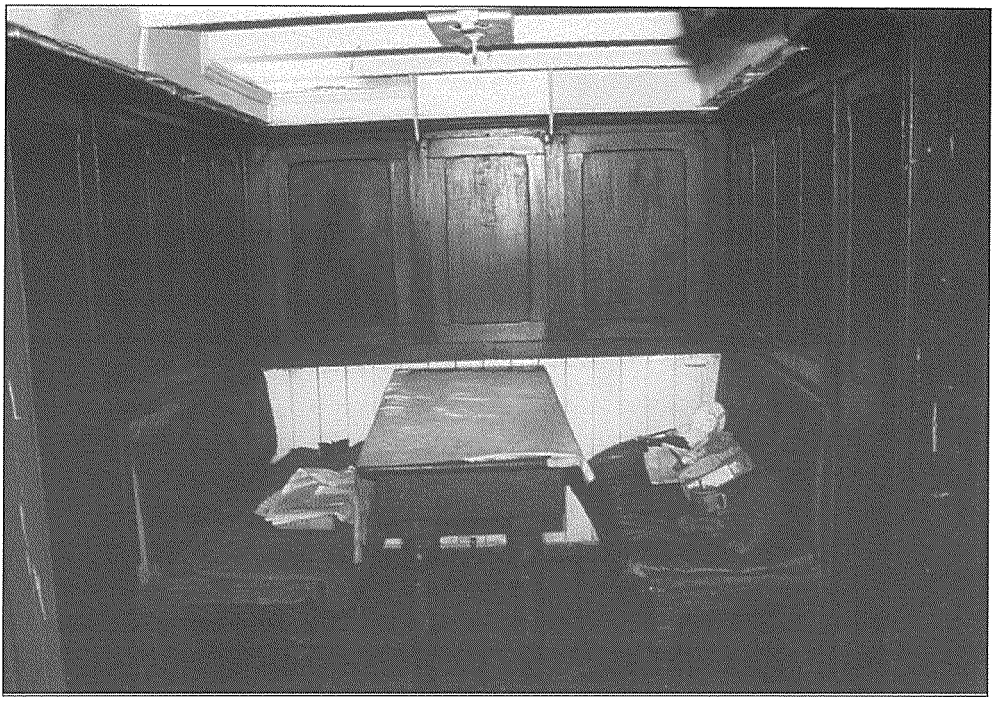


Plate 10: Oak panelling in the officers' quarters.

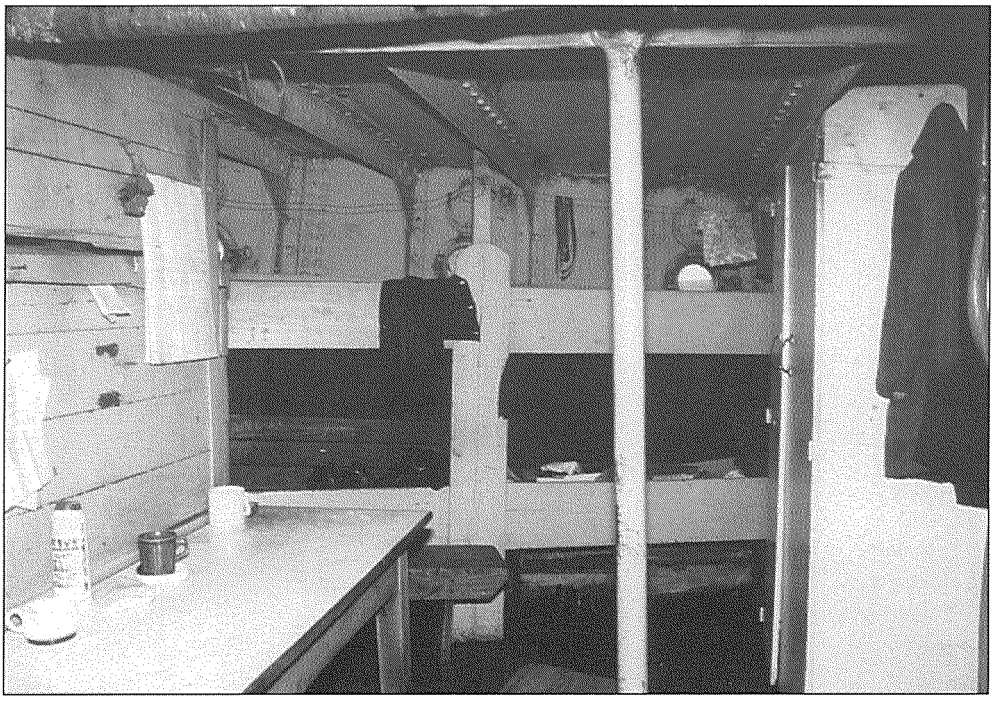


Plate 11: Crew quarters, four bunks on each side.

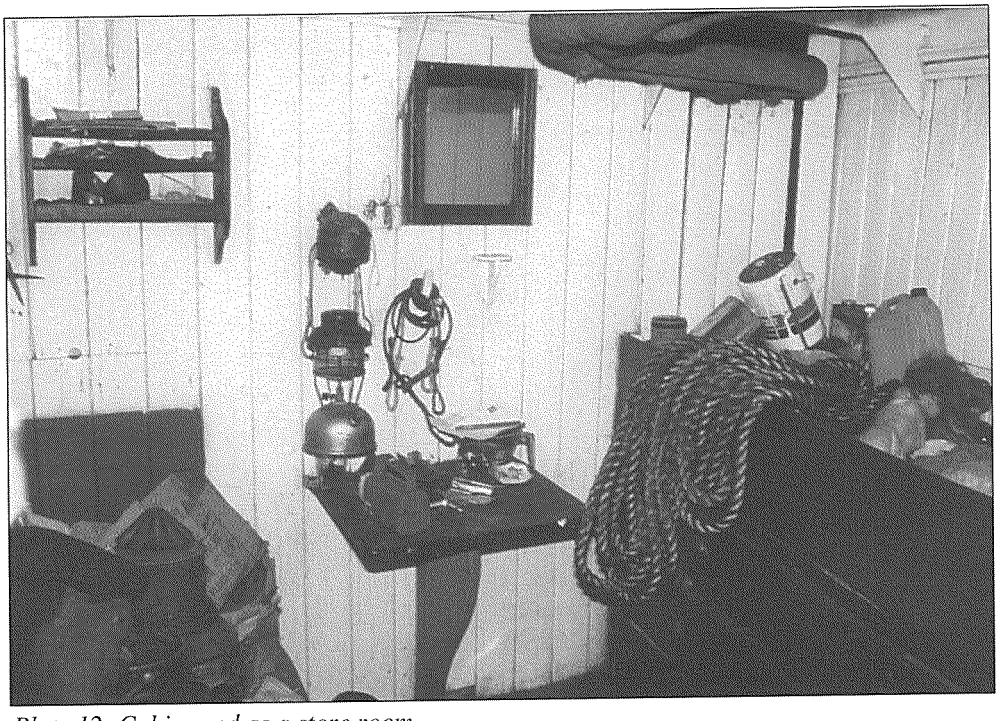


Plate 12: Cabin used as a store room.

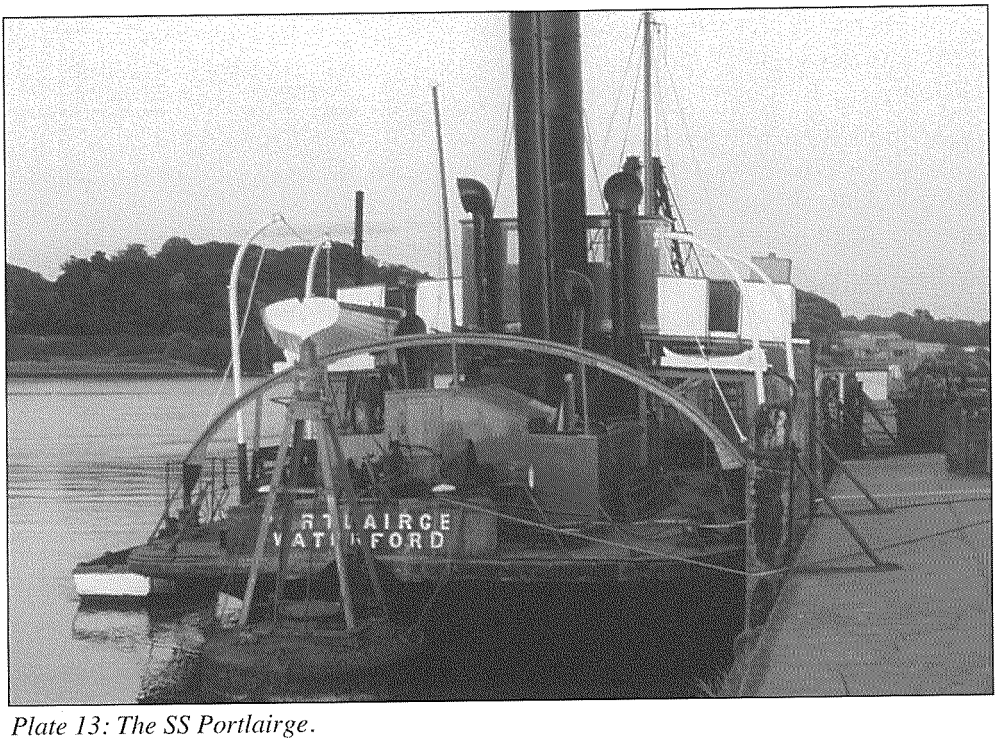


Plate 13: The SS Portlairge.

Book Review

Figures in a Clonmel Landscape, by Michael Ahern: Ardo Books, Melview, Clonmel, 2006, Hardback, pp. 345. ISBN 0-9554477-0-4, €35.

Whereas Waterford's history has been well recorded over the centuries by Smith, Hansard, Ryland, Egan etc, I know of only one history of Clonmel—that of Canon Burke's, published in 1907, while James White's *My Clonmel Scrapbook* of 1923 is of an anecdotal nature. Michael Ahern's *Figures in a Clonmel Landscape,* consisting of thirty essays on prominent families and individuals with Clonmel connections, to a greater or lesser extent, is in effect a history of that place.

There is no doubt but that there was habitation in that beautiful location on the banks of the Suir from earliest times, but the author's first essay is on the recorded advent of the Anglo-Normans to the area and in particular William De Burgo, who was granted lands around Clonmel late in the twelfth century by Prince John, son of Henry II. A largely chronological order is followed in the chosen characters, with names familiar to many in this region—the famous White family—mainly of ecclesiastical fame, the siege of Clonmel by Oliver Cromwell, the Baron Brothers, Moore of Barne, Malcomson, Bagwell, Tinsley, Hackett, Bianconi, and finishing with the twentieth century well-known figures of Mick Delahunty, Tommy O'Brien and Frank Patterson.

No book on Clonmel would be complete without dealing with two trials that took place there, the first, the infamous trial and hanging of Fr. Nicholas Sheehy outside the town gaol in 1766, and the famous 1848 trial of the Young Irelanders, William Smith O'Brien, Thomas Francis Meagher, Terence Bellew McManus and Patrick O'Donoghue. These events are fully treated as indeed as are all his subjects. Dr. Ahern's research has been exhaustive—I counted a bibliography of about 120 sources, while over sixty-five articles were consulted.

Some forgotten names were recalled, such as Una Troy, novelist and dramatist, who in the exalted company of G.B. Shaw, Frank O'Connor and Sean O'Faolain, achieved literary notoriety by having her novel, *Dead Stars Night* banned by the Censorship Board. She had four of her plays produced at the Abbey Theatre. A personal favourite among the subjects chosen would be 'William Tinsley, Architect and Builder', well researched, and the subject of an interesting lecture to members of the Society in 2006 by the author.

This hardback volume is handsomely produced, with forty-nine good-quality reproductions of illustrations, portraits and photographs—some by the author. Dr. Ahern perhaps wisely chose his subjects from among the dead, but Clonmel continues to produce nationally prominent people in many spheres of Irish life.

Patrick Grogan

Obituaries

Bréid McNeill

In late September, 2006, the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society lost one of its most loyal and dedicated members in Bréid McNeill.

I first noticed Bréid while attending lectures and outings organised by the society. She rarely, if ever, attended these events on her own, but was always accompanied by her large circle of friends. Bréid facilitated their attendance, not only by providing transport, but also by providing a comfort zone in the form of ensuring that they had the best seats in the house and could clearly hear the lecturer/speaker or the outing guide.

Bréid served on the Society's committee and also served as treasurer, suceeding Renee Lumley From the outset, Bréid faced a tough challenge in replacing Renee, one of the society's great icons, who was the standard bearer for many years, noted for her attention to detail and commitment. However, true to form, Bréid hit the ground running, ensuring that attention to detail and commitment to the Society continued and grew. Her term as treasurer overlapped with my period as chairman of the society and I found Bréid to be an absolute lady and a pleasure to deal with. I worked with Bréid at committee meetings/lectures/outings etc, and also met her outside of official society gatherings to discuss society business. On all occasions she was keen to do her very best for the society to ensure that it progressed to its maximum potential. I remember well her desire to maximise the efficiency and effectiveness of the Society's administration in relation to mailing the members as quickly as possible. She outlined to me her desire to set up a mailing list, thus allowing for a quick, efficient, mail-shot to be available to all members when the need arose. She told me that she was encountering some problems with this and asked me for assistance. However, before I had the opportunity to help, Bréid had worked out the solution for herself.

The Society owes a debt of gratitude to Bréid. Her tenure as treasurer co-incided with a progressive financial ('Celtic Tiger') period for the Society. However, it is my belief that her greatest contribution was in encouraging and enabling others to participate and enjoy society events. In my opinion, she carried out one of the aims of the society 'to encourage and promote interest' to the highest level, surpassing the vast majority of us and possibly leading the field.

I last saw Bréid in Mooncoin Residential Care Centre, visiting her friend Maura Matthews. She was continuing what she was doing when I saw her first – looking after her friends.

May she rest in peace.

Eddie Synnott

Peter Powell

Peter Powell, who died earlier this year, was a person who was a proud and committed member of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society. Prolonged illness, however, meant that his association with the society was, unfortunately, all too short. Nevertheless, Peter made a very significant contribution during his years of membership. In 1995 he was appointed to the editorial committee of *Decies* by the then editor, Julian C. Walton. Peter was, effectively, the business manager of the journal. He ensured that it was produced on time and within budget. The 1995 edition of *Decies* was a special one commemorating the famine. It was also noteworthy because it was the first one to appear in a new format. It was professionally published and produced to the highest standards. Peter Powell was the person who oversaw the transition of *Decies* from a relatively simple 'home produced' journal to a modern and attractive publication. He brought the project to fruition through hard work and dedication. Peter was selfless in his efforts and the modern format of *Decies,* of which the society is so proud, is his achievement. His contribution was recognised in his election to the committee in 1996. A year later he was elected editor of *Decies,* a fitting tribute to his vision. Illness soon came on him and he was unable to participate in the society's activities.

Besides his deep interest in History, Peter loved the Irish language and Irish music. He had an Irish music show on WLR FM, in which he was able to indulge his dual passion. It was his devotion to the language which motivated him to ensure that *Decies* published articles in Irish, whenever possible. It is pleasing to note that his editorial successors have continued this practice.

Fear uasal, morchroíoch agus cumasach ab ea Peter. Thuig sé tábhacht ár n-oireachta, idir stair agus theanga. Bhí sé fíor-bhrodúil as an nGaeilge agus ba mhór an sásamh dó í a labhairt chomh minic agus ab'fhéidir leis. D'fhág sé a lorg mar dhuine dílis, dúthrachtach ar Chumann Seandálaíochta agus Staire Phort Láirge. Táimíd go mór faoi chomaoin aige.

Peter, a native of County Tipperary, is survived by his wife Brid, and his three children, Tom, Maeve and Rory. To them the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society extends its deepest sympathy.

Go raibh sé i measc na nGael i ríocht Dé.

Eugene Broderick

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 who has held office for three consecutive years shall not be eligible to seek re-election as chairman or vice-chairman 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 2007

(Up to September 30th 2007)

Abbeyside Reference Archives, Parish Office, Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Allen Public County Library, P.O. Box 2270, 900 Webster Street, IN 46801-2270, USA.
Arthur, Rev. R., Cappoquin, Co. Waterford.
Aylward, Mr J., Wander Inn, Johnstown, Waterford.

Balding, Mr O., Kilmacomb, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Bergin, Mr D., 20 Harbour View, Scotch Quay, Waterford.
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.
Burns, Mrs A. M. B., 97 Park Road, Loughborough, Leicester, LE11 2HD, England.
Burtchaell, Mr Jack, Giles Quay, Slieverue, via Waterford.
Butler, Ms B., 22 Decies Avenue, Lismore Lawn, Waterford.
Byrne, Prof. K., Director, Waterford Institute of Technology, Cork Road, Waterford.
Byrne, Dr. N., 'Auburn', John's Hill, Waterford.

Cahill, Mr D., 17 Oakley Drive, Earlscourt, Waterford.
Cahill, Ms. L., 17 Oakley Drive, Earlscourt, Waterford.
Cahill, Ms P., Riese, Grange Lawn, 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.
Cooke, Mr D. W., 5486 Wellington Drive, Trappe, Maryland, 21673-8911, USA.
Cornish, Dr R. T., 1166 Evergreen Circle, Rock Hill, South Carolina, 29732, USA.
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.

Dalton, Mr N., Kill Dara, 36 The Folly, Waterford.
De Courcey, Mr N., 58 Morrisson's Road, 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.
Doorley, Mr S., 1 Glenthomas, Dunmore Road, 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.

Fanning, Miss P., 1 Railway Square, Waterford.
Farrell, Mr I., 'Summerville House', Newtown, Waterford.
Faulkner, Mr R., 6 The Folly, 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.
Finn, Mr B., 24 Crescent 2, Muirhevnamor, Dundalk, Co. Louth.
Flynn, Ms H., 10 Chestnut Drive, Viewmount, Waterford.
Fraher, Mr W., 10 Ringnasillogue Ave., Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Freyne-Kearney, Mrs O., Savagetown, Kill, Co. Waterford.

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.
Gorwill, Mrs C., 81 Seaforth Road, Kingston, Ontario, K7M 1E1, Canada.
Gossip, Mrs P., 'Garden Cottage', Ballinakill, Waterford.
Grant, Mrs E., 9 St. John's Villas, Waterford.
Greenwood, Ms C., 36 Aldreth Road, Haddenham, Ely, Cambs, CB6 3 PW, England.
Griffin, Mr D., 38 Sweetbriar Terrace, Lower Newtown.
Grogan, Mr A. G., Thomastown House, Duleek, Co. Meath.
Grogan, Mr P., 41 Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
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.
Hartley, Ms S., Cluain Ard, Shanaclune, Dunhill, Co. Waterford.
Hearne, Ms A., 2007 Sutters Mill Lane, Knoxville, Tennessee, 37909, USA.
Hearne, Ms B., 4 Magenta Close, Grange Manor, Waterford.

Hearne, Dr J. M., 3 Ballinakill Vale, Ballinakill Park, Waterford.
Hearne, Mr J., Fairview, Priest's Road, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Hearne, Ms M., Fairview, Priest's Road, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Hedigan, Ms T., 116 Sweetbriar, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
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.
Hill, Ms M., 164 Glenageary Park, Glenageary, Co. Dublin.
Hodge, Mr D., Ballynare, Kilcloone, Co. Meath.
Hogan, Mrs P., Slieverue, via Waterford.
Holland, Mr P., Killeigh, Clonmel Road, Cahir, Co. Tipperary.
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, 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, Mr B. P., Grianan, Dock Road, Dunmore East, Co. 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.
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.
Lambert, Mr N., Glenpipe, Mullinavat, Co. Kilkenny.
Lapthorn, Ms T., 10 The Eastury, Somerville, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Leamy, Mr P., 11 Oakley Drive, Earls Court, Waterford.
Lemon, Mr G. A., Brenan, Stradbally, Co. Waterford.
Leslie, Ms J., Glenagalt, Rockshire Road, Waterford.
Lincoln, Mrs S., Ardmore, Co. Waterford.
Long, Mr J., Rathsallagh, Rosegreen, Cashel, Co. Tipperary.
Lowe, Mr P., 31 South Parade, Waterford.

Lowe, Mr R., 22 Coxtown East, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Lumley, Mr I., Formby, Daisy Terrace, Waterford.
Lumley, Mrs R., Formby, Daisy Terrace, Waterford.

Maher, Mr J., 76 Williamstown Park, Waterford.
Maher, Mr M., 26 Kenure Park, Powerscourt Lawns, Waterford.
Maher, Mr S., Ballynooney, Mullinavat, Co. Kilkenny.
Malone, Mr Tony, Carraig, 42 Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
Malthouse, Mr F., 10 Leoville, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Malthouse, Mrs M., 10 Leoville, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Mary Immaculate, College Library - Journals Dept., South Circular Road, Limerick.
Matthews, Miss M., Ardeevin, Summerville, Avenue, Waterford.
McCarthy, Dr. P., 29 Lea Road, Sandymount, Dublin 4.
McCarthy, Mr R., 'Benildus', Bernard Place, Waterford.
McEneaney, Mr E., Waterford Treasures Museum, Hanover Street, Waterford.
McGrath, Mr H., Déise View, Leporstown, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
McKillops, Mrs H., 60 Cannon Street, 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 C., Unit 1, Wallingston Business Park, Little Island, Cork.
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.
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.
Norris, Ms R., Lissadel, The Orchard, Ring Road, Waterford.
Nunan, Mr M., Mullinabro, via Waterford, Co. Kilkenny.

O'Brien, Mr N., Marston, Ballyduff Upper, Co. Waterford.
O'Brien, Mr R., Booscabell, Cashel, Co. Tipperary.
O'Callaghan, Mr E., 17 Dunmore Avenue, Riverview, Waterford.
Ó Ceallacháin, Mr D., 22 Barker Street, Waterford.
O'Connor, Rev. Dr. Donal, The Presbytery, Dungarvan, Co. 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.
O'Connor, Dr. K., Ballydonnell, Baltray, Co. Louth.
O'Connor, Mr S., 90 Acorn Road, Dundrum, Dublin 16.
O'Doherty, Rev. S., PP, Durrow, Co. Laois.
O'Donoghue, Mr A., 4 Ballinakill Close, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
O'Drisceoil, Dr P., 6 Riverview, Gallows Hill, Co. Kilkenny.
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.
O'Reilly, Miss E., 5 Railway Square, Waterford.
O'Reilly, Mr P., Riese, Grange Lawn, Waterford.
Ormond, Mr G., 13 McBride Avenue, Mervue, Galway.
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.
Penkert, Ms S., 110 St Attracta Road, Cabra, Dublin 7.
Periodical Division Main Library, Memorial University of Newfoundland, PO-4144, AIB 3YI, St John's, New Foundland, Canada.
Phelan, Mr R., 34 Ferndale, Ballytruckle, Waterford.
Plunkett, Mrs A., 2 Lyon Terrace, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Power, Mrs H., Circular Road, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Power, Mrs M., Abbeylands, Ferrybank, Waterford.
Power, Mr M. K., 2 Greenlands, off Sandyford Road, Dublin 16.
Power, Mr W., Mount Bolton, Portlaw, Co. Waterford.
Power, Mr W., Circular Road, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Power, Rev. G., St. Mary's, Irishtown, Clonmel.

Quinn, Mrs R., Baymount, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Quinn, Mr T., Baymount, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.

Reale, Mr S., Appt. 2, Catherine Close, Catherine Street, Waterford.
Ronayne, Mr S., 5 Springfield, Summer Hill, Waterford.
Royal Irish Academy, The Librarian, 19 Dawson Street, Dublin 2.
Royal Society of Antiquaries, Miss Nicole M. F. Arnould, Librairian, 63 Merrion Square, Dublin 2.

Russell, Ms M. A. 3383 Wellesly Avenue, 92122-2336, San Diego, California, USA.
Ryan, Mrs E., 7 Leoville Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Ryan, Ms. R., Caherleske, Callan, Co. Kilkenny.
Ryan, Mr T., 7 Leoville, Dummore Road, Waterford.

School of Celtic Studies Library, (Ms N. Walsh), 10 Burlington Road, Dublin 4.
Serials Acquisitions, University of Notre Dame, S-48278 122, Hesburgh Library, NOTRE DAME -46556-5629, USA.
Shipsey, Mrs. Ita, Island Lane, Ballinakill, Waterford.
Simpson, Mr B., 29 O'Reilly Road, Cork Road, Waterford.
Stacey, Dr. J., 'Monang', Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Steadman, Mr E., 21 Pleasant Drive, Mount Pleasant, Waterford.
Steadman Mrs N., 21 Pleasant Drive, Mount Pleasant, Waterford.
Stewart, Mr J., Tivoli, Marian Park, Waterford.
St. Patrick's College Library, Drumcondra, Dublin 9.
Sweeney, Dr M. , 'Sonas', Kilgobnait, Co. Waterford.
Sweeney, Mrs M., Gaulsmills, Ferrybank, Waterford.
Synnott, Mr E., Weatherstown, Glenmore, via Mullinavat, Co. Kilkenny.

Tarbett, Miss M., 34 Elm Park, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Thos. P. O'Neill Library, Serials Dept., Boston College, Chestnut Hill, 02467-3800, Mass., USA.
Tipperary Libraries, Castle Avenue, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
Tipperary SR County Museum, Parnell Street, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.
Towers, Mr R., 2 The Crescent, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
Treacy, Mrs M. Newtown Rise, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Turner, Miss M. C., Cooleen, Church Lane, Thames Ditton, Surrey KT7 ONL, England.
Tyrrell, Mrs M., 6 St John's Villas, Lower Grange, Waterford.

University of Coleraine, Serials Management Division, Central Library, Coleraine BT52 ISA.
Upton, Mr S., 99 Mount Sion Avenue, Waterford.
Upton, Mrs S., 99 Mount Sion Avenue, Waterford.

Veale, Mr T., 120 Lindsay Road, Dublin 9.
Verling, Ms E., Kilronan, Butlerstown, Co. Waterford.

Walsh, Mr J., Trenaree, Slieverue, via Waterford.
Walsh, Mr J. F., 5 Chestnut Close, Viewmount Park, Waterford.
Walsh, Mr Wm., Woodstock, Coolroe, Portlaw, Co. Waterford.
Walshe, Mrs C., 'The Vinery', Summerhill Avenue, Waterford.
Walshe, Mr J., 'The Vinery', Summerhill Avenue, Waterford.
Walton, Mr J. C., The Old Forge, Seafield, Bonmahon, Co. Waterford.

Waterford County Library, West Street, Lismore, Co. Waterford.
Waterford Heritage & Genealogical Services, Jenkins Lane, Waterford.
Willis, Mr M., Gorse Cottage, Killegar, Bray, Co. Wicklow.