

DECIES

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Irisleabhar Cumann Seandálaíochta
agus Staire Phort Láirge

***COMHAIRLE CATHRACH
PHORT LAIRGE***

WATERFORD CITY COUNCIL

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Cover Illustrations

Front Cover: Broad Street, Waterford, colour postcard 1940s.

Courtesy Anne McEaney.

Back Cover: The road from Dublin to Waterford, from Taylor and Skinner, Maps of the Roads of Ireland, 1777.

Courtesy Waterford Museum of Treasures.

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The launch of Decies 66 by the Mayor of Waterford, Cllr Mary Roche. Front left to right, Fergus Dillon and Her Worship the Mayor of Waterford, Cllr Mary Roche. Back row, Tony Gunning, Seamus Reale, Béatrice Payet, Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin, Michael Maher, Erica Fay, Dr Niall Byrne, George Kavanagh, William Condon.



Orla Scully who lectured on archaeological excavations in the Viking Triangle in Waterford, with Eddie Synnott Vice Chairman, WAHS, Seán Caulfield and Tony Gunning.

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Dave Pollock who lectured on recent archaeological excavations in Waterford city centre, with Fergus Dillon, Chairman WAHS and Ben Murtagh.



WAHS Chairman, Fergus Dillon with Eddie Synnott who lectured on the German bombing of Campile, Co Wexford in 1940.

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Ba bhreá liom mo bhuíochas a ghabháil le gach éinne a chabhraigh liom iris na bliana seo a chur le chéile agus a fhoilsiú – an coiste eagarthóireachta, coiste an chunainn agus go hairithe, udair na n-alt. Dóibh siúd ar fad mo mhíle buíochas.

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 publication in *Decies* 68 (2012) is 1 May 2012.

Dar ndóigh beidh fáilte roimh altanna as Gaeilge nó as Béarla.

For further information on the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society see our website: <http://waterford-history.org/>

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Annual Lunch 2010: After-lunch speaker Julian C Walton.



Jack Burtchaell lecturing on Waterford - Bristol trade connections.



*Dr Pat McCarthy and Dr Daithí Ó Corráin who delivered a joint lecture on *The Dead of the Irish Revolution*.*

List of Contributors

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

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Damian Shiels is a company director at Headland Archaeology (Ireland) Ltd and Know Thy Place Ltd. He formerly worked on the curatorial staff at the National Museum of Ireland and was one of the team that produced the *Soldiers and Chiefs* military history exhibition. He specialises in Conflict Archaeology, a topic on which he has lectured and published widely.

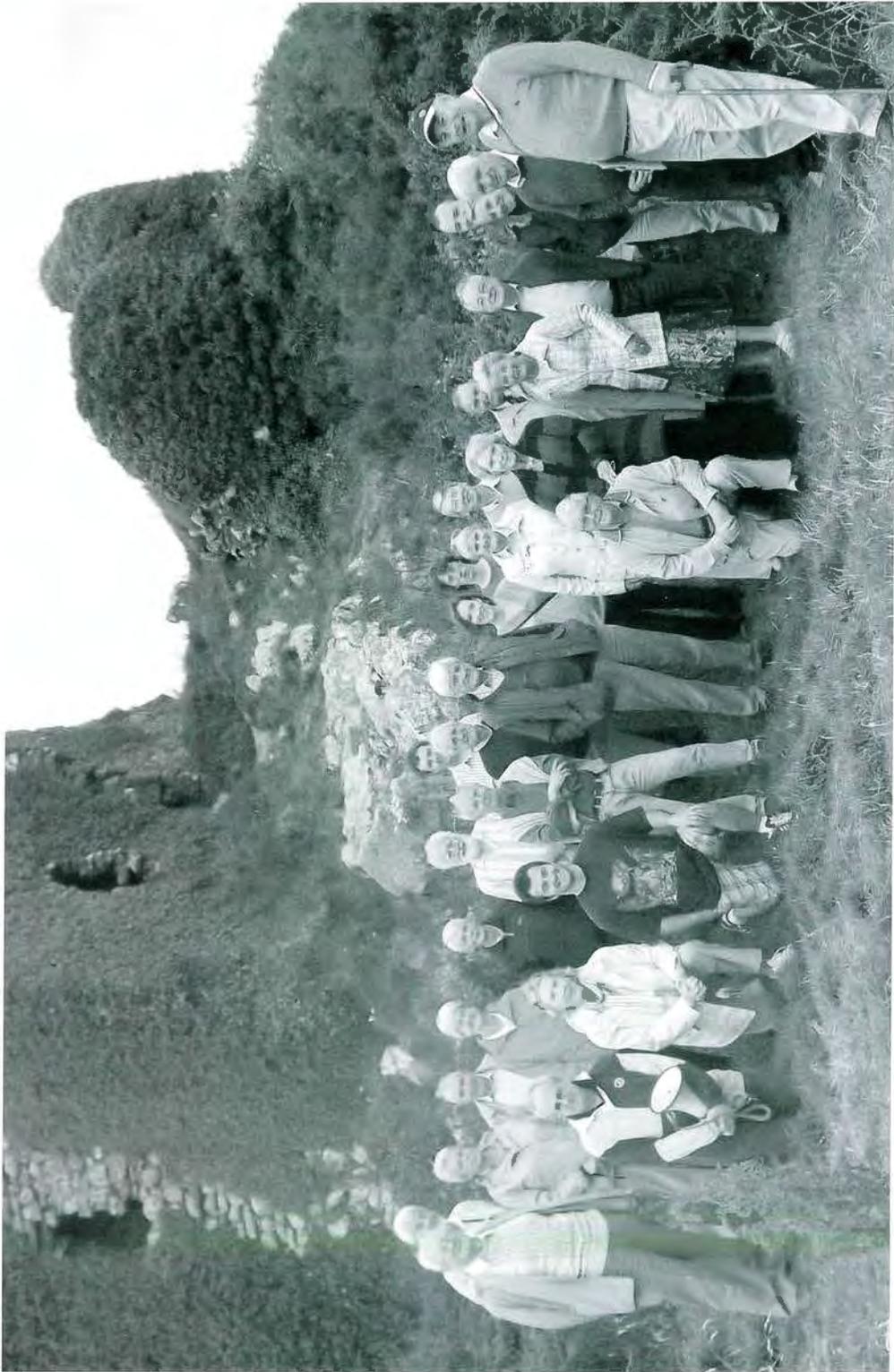
Julian C. Walton is a retired schoolteacher and librarian with a lifelong interest in Irish history and genealogy. He is a former editor of *The Irish Genealogist* and of *Decies*, and has written and lectured on many aspects of Waterford history. Since 1994 he has presented on WLR-FM a local history slot, 'On This Day'. He is Consultant in Special Collections at the Boole Library, University College Cork and is associated with Dunhill Multi-Education Centre. He is an avid follower of Waterford hurling.



Faction Fighting in Munster delivered by Michéal Ó hAodha, (centre) with Michael Maher and Fergus Dillon, Chairman WAHS.



Ben Murtagh leading the society's visit to the Hook Peninsula.



WAHS visit to Dunhill Castle, led by Julian C Walton.



WAHS outing to the Boyne Valley, June 2011, led by Dr Pat McCarthy

A Flintlock Pistol from Whitestown, County Waterford

Damian Shiels

Introduction

In the summer of 2006 Headland Archaeology (Ireland) Ltd undertook a series of archaeological excavations in advance of the East Waterford Water Mains Supply. This work was carried out on behalf of Coffey Construction and Waterford County Council who also funded the project. The investigations revealed evidence for small-scale prehistoric activity, most notably in the form of Bronze Age burnt mounds and spreads.

The excavation

Site 11 (06E0281) in the townland of Whitestown was located approximately 1.5km south-east of Kilmacthomas in a low-lying field (Figure 1). The site was identified during pre-construction testing and full excavation was undertaken in May 2006 under the direction of Tom Janes of Headland Archaeology. Immediately beyond the limits of excavation on the western side was a Recorded Monument (WA016-056) described as an 'enclosure site'. The archaeological work revealed a spread of heat-shattered stone and charcoal. A radiocarbon date of cal. BC 1055-898 was returned from a sample of alder charcoal which was recovered from the burnt spread. This placed the main phase of activity at the site in the Late Bronze Age (Janes 2008, 3). Some post-medieval evidence was also uncovered, with a number of field boundaries containing pottery of eighteenth to twentieth-century date traversing the site (*Ibid.* 4). During the early stages of the excavation hand-cleaning revealed a shallow natural depression, sealed by topsoil. Within this depression a firearm was uncovered, which was clearly of some antiquity.

Treatment and analysis

The firearm was clearly in a fragile state and a decision was taken to block-lift the weapon. It was initially transported to ArchCon Labs Ltd for treatment, where an x-ray was undertaken to establish that the gun was not loaded. The majority of the weapon maintained its integrity, though some portions of the ramrod were retrieved from the surrounding block-lifted soil. The weapon was fully stabilised and conserved before being returned to Headland Archaeology where specialist analysis was undertaken by the author.

The pistol was identified as a flintlock, most probably of eighteenth-century date (Figure 2, Plate 1). The barrel is some 8 inches (20.3cm) in length, while the calibre is c.0.6 inches (1.5cm). The calibre is the internal width of the barrel which dictates the size of bullet the weapon could fire. This is consistent with pistols of the period; the majority of such weapons in use at this time had a calibre range of between .56in to .75in (1.4cm to 1.9cm).

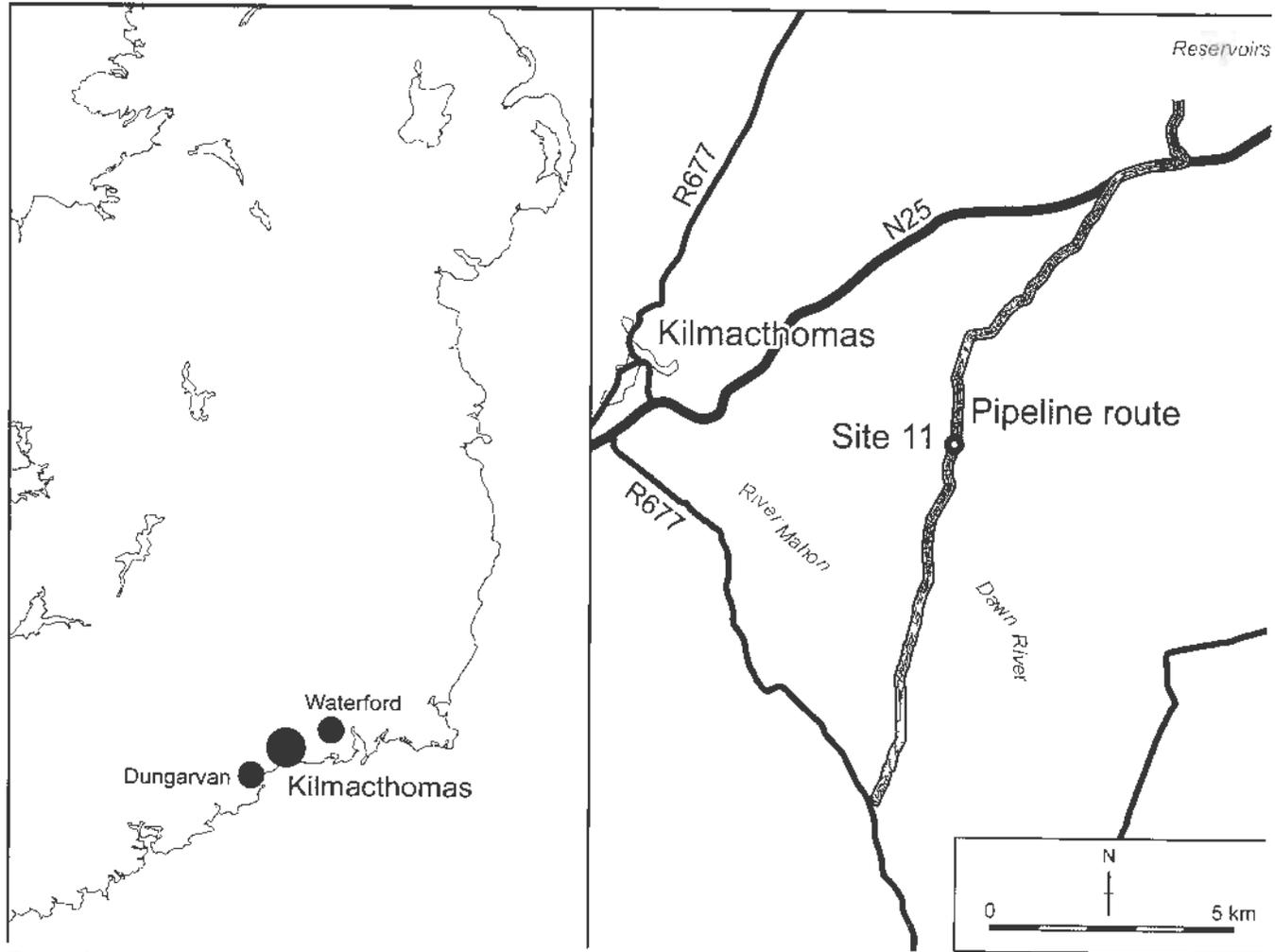


Figure 1: Location map of Site II (06E0281).

All elements of the pistol survive intact, though the ramrod is for the most part in a poor state of preservation and as stated above has become detached from the gun. Despite this, it does retain some of the metal that originally connected it to the main body of the weapon. The pan cover is still in position over the pan, and the gun is in the 'half-cock' position. The flint was not retrieved with the gun, and the position of the jaws (if original) suggests that there may have been no flint in the pistol when it was deposited. This 'half-cock' position was the accepted storage position for weapons of this type, in order to preserve the mechanism's spring.

Flintlocks

These types of weapons are characterised by a system whereby sparks are produced as a flint carried in a spring actuated 'cock' strikes the 'steel' (or 'frizzen'), thus igniting the powder and causing the ball to be fired. They first appeared in the sixteenth century, but did not come into widespread use until the second half of the seventeenth century. They eventually superseded the earlier matchlock system and by the eighteenth century the majority of firearms used this method of powder ignition. It remains in use in some parts of the world to this day, but in most of Europe it was replaced in the middle of the nineteenth century by the percussion system, which was adopted by the British army in 1839 (Peterson 1964: 229). The following method was used to fire the weapon:

- 1 The cock, holding the flint, is placed in the 'half-cock' position.
- 2 The gun is loaded from the muzzle end, usually by pouring the desired amount of black powder down the barrel, followed by a round lead ball. The ball is generally wrapped in paper or cloth to insure a tight fit in the barrel. The ball is rammed home with the ramrod, stored underneath the barrel.
- 3 The pan is primed with a small amount of fine black powder, and the pan cover (of which the 'steel' or 'frizzen' is a part) is positioned to cover it.
- 4 The cock is moved to the 'full-cock' position.
- 5 The trigger is pulled, releasing the spring and propelling the cock towards the steel.
- 6 The cock strikes the steel, forcing it back and exposing the priming pan.
- 7 The sparks created as the flint in the cock hit the steel cause the priming powder to ignite.
- 8 The lit powder passes through a touch-hole in the barrel, igniting the powder within and discharging the ball.

Identification

The pistol has a number of traits which can be examined to attempt to identify its exact date and origins. The butt-cap and trigger guard are made of brass; this was common on 'service' pistols, which were designed for use, as opposed to weapons such as duelling pistols which were often inlaid with silver and/or decorated. The butt-cap displays long side pieces, suggesting the pistol dates to before the last quarter of the eighteenth century. After this date butt-caps lost these long

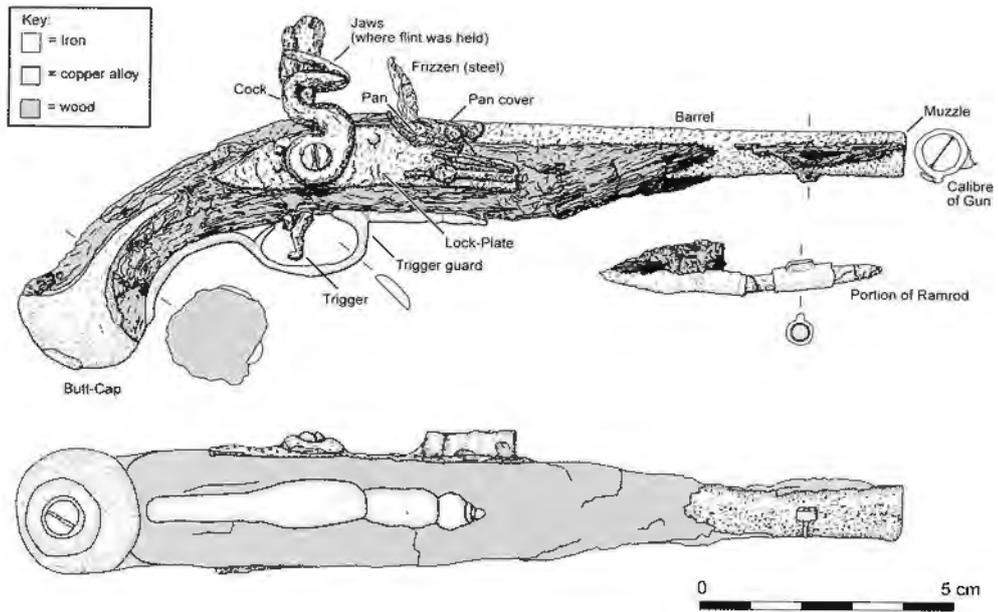


Figure 2: Illustration of pistol, identifying key terms.



Plate 1: Photograph of fully-conserved pistol.

protrusions (Blackmore 1961: 63). Corrosion on the lock-plate prevents the identification of any markings; these can include a maker's name or stamps to indicate the gun was part of a government armoury (such as 'Tower' or 'Dublin Castle').

The pistol is almost certainly a military service pistol, dating to c.1750- 1775. It bears a striking similarity to a 1759 dated British service pistol originally intended for use by dragoons and mounted troops (Blackmore 1961: 63, 97). It is possible then that the gun's original owner was a member of the British armed forces, but this does not mean that its last owner was; pistols could pass through many hands during their service history.

Discussion

How did the pistol come to be deposited in a shallow depression in Whitestown? The fact that the pistol was not loaded, has no flint and is at the 'half-cock' storage position suggests that it was probably not discarded in extreme haste, i.e. hidden during a pursuit. The individual who placed the gun here may have been trying to hide the weapon following an indiscretion, or possibly storing the weapon for later collection, which for some reason never took place. If the hiding place was intended as a temporary storage area (and allowing for the fact that the weapon may have been protected by a covering such as a cloth) it would seem a strange place to select, as the conditions would have ensured the rapid deterioration of the gun. However, it is possible that some other construction may have originally overlain the findspot and provided the pistol with further protection.

It is natural to associate finds such as this pistol with major upheavals around the time of deposition; in this case the 1798 and 1848 rebellions immediately spring to mind. However, it is impossible to directly associate the weapon or its concealment with either of these events. It must be borne in mind that the gun could have been in use for an extremely long period, potentially well into the late nineteenth century.

What we can state with some certainty is that the individual who concealed this weapon did not want it to be discovered, and this in itself is of interest. It was never recovered, which is perhaps an indication that it was intended to be permanently hidden. The other possibility is that the person who placed it here was later unable to locate it, or was unable or unwilling to return and retrieve it. Whatever the circumstances the discovery of this pistol raises many questions as to who left it there, when they did so and, perhaps most intriguingly, why they did so. Unfortunately these are questions for which we will never have certain answers.

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Thanks to Coffey Construction and Waterford County Council for funding the excavation and the conservation of the pistol. Thanks are also due to Tom Janes who directed the excavation and his team from Headland Archaeology, and to Sara Nylund for producing the graphics.

William Gosse, a merchant in fourteenth-century Waterford

Niall O'Brien

The family name of Gosse

This article sets out to record some of the life and times of William Gosse, a merchant living in Waterford city during the fourteenth century. The surname of Gosse was present in many places across the whole of England in the Middle Ages. Examples include Gilbert Gos of Essex (c.1224); William Gos of Norfolk (c.1241); Robert Gosse of Exeter (temp Edward I) and Paye Gosse of Exmouth (c.1310).¹ Instances of the surname occurring in Ireland include William Gosse of Louth (c.1286) and Simon Goos of Loughrea (c.1304).²

William Gosse in Waterford

We do not know if William was a native of Waterford city or if he moved to the city in the mid-fourteenth century.

A suggestion of local association in the South East of Ireland is provided by the presence of Arnold de Gos as one of the jurors to value a ship that bypassed Waterford and landed in New Ross in 1292. Here we find Arnold living in New Ross.³ The commercial rivalry between the two ports over many decades has been well documented. At times New Ross got ahead but Waterford always seemed to have the last say. If William Gosse of Waterford was a relation of Arnold then William may have moved to Waterford as a surer place to engage in trade.

The first reference to William is in the summer of 1351 when his merchant business was under pressure. He found it difficult to pay his debts and a number of Waterford citizens seized his merchandise in lieu of payment. Many merchants from England who owed William money had been levied heavily by the king's officials for prise and custom duties. This was not just an Irish issue for when William took goods to England he also suffered heavy duties. Three other merchants from Waterford also experienced financial and trading difficulties at the same time. They were John Loke, John de la Hay and David de la Hay. On foot of William's petition to the king, Gosse received a letter of special protection on the 1st June 1351 to trade with his goods and merchandise in England as did the other three merchants.⁴

1 *Calendar of the Fine Rolls, Henry III (1216-1224)*, no. 8/72; *Ibid, Henry III (34-1242)*, no. 26/235; Maryanne Kowaleski (ed.), *Local custom accounts of the port of Exeter 1266-1321* (Devon & Cornwall Record Society, 1993), New series, Vol. 36, pp.56, 63-4, 66, 72, 88-9, 98, 103-4, 111, 114, 116-7, 202, 204.

2 H.S. Sweetman (ed.), *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland* (Liechtenstein, 1974), Vol. III, no. 180; Vol. V, no. 198.

3 H.S. Sweetman (ed.), *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, Vol. III, p. 482.

4 *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward III (1350-1354)*, p. 127.

William's was not the only such petition from a Waterford merchant made about that time. In May 1356, William le Clere made a similar petition and got special protection from the king to trade freely with his goods and merchandise in England. Other Waterford merchants, like William Gower (December 1356) and William Lombard (August 1357), got similar letters of protection in response to similar petitions.⁵ Two years before that, in July 1354, a letter of general protection was issued for the citizens of Waterford to be able to come to England with goods and merchandise and not be arrested there for any debts they had owing to the king's officials in Ireland. This letter was reissued in August 1355 with particular reference to three Waterford merchants, namely: John Mercere, Simon Berkley and Roger Archer.⁶

The Black Death together with the period of economic downturn in the mid fourteenth century were major contributors to the fact that these letters of protection were granted. The economic dislocation as well as the many deaths particularly in the towns and cities, led to bankruptcies and numerous unpaid debts.⁷

About one third of the people of Waterford city died as a result in the plague.⁸ We do not know if William lost any family members. We know he had a son Robert who was of legal age by 1372.

William Gosse - the merchant

The next fact of his life we know of is that by May 1352 William Gosse was in England and had plans to stay there for two years. His fellow Waterford merchant, John Loke, took this opportunity to appoint William his attorney in England for the following two years along with John Colpek.⁹ Loke had served as mayor of Waterford for two years from 1346 to 1348. The Black Death arrived in the latter year and in 1349 Loke first got permission to have attorneys appointed in England. In May 1352 Loke received an exemption for life from holding any local government position such as mayor, sheriff and coroner.¹⁰ This avoidance of foreign travel and withdrawal from public office reflected, according to some authors, the political instability of the country.¹¹ It could also be the case that a close family member, maybe his wife, survived the plague but was seriously ill for years after and Loke wanted time to care for her.

William Gosse had no such matters to hold him back from trading around Ireland and across to England even as statistics suggest that the plague caused an economic recession across Western Europe. Towards the end of the 1350s William Gosse's business had improved considerably. In April 1356 he got a permit to take

5 *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward III (1354-1358)*, pp. 376, 484, 597.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 278.

7 Eamonn McEneaney (ed.), *A History of Waterford and its Mayors from the 12th to the 20th Century* (Waterford, 1995), p. 62.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

9 *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward III (1350-1354)*, p. 258.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 255.

11 Eamonn McEneaney (ed.), *A History of Waterford and its Mayors*, p. 61.

hides from Ireland to parts of England and onwards to Flanders.¹² This reference is very fortuitous as in the absence of private papers or accounts books it is sometimes difficult to know what commodities a merchant traded in or with whom he traded. The example of Waterford merchant Walter Strode carrying wool from Clonmel via Waterford and onto Bordeaux to buy wine in 1319 only came to light because Walter died intestate and a court case revealed the information.¹³

The export of hides was second only to fish as Ireland's most important export in medieval times. Most of the cow hides and calfskins were sent to markets on continental Europe as in the example of William's permit. Flanders was the chief manufacturing region of Europe and a profit of about thirty per cent over the Waterford buying price could be made.¹⁴

The same permit that allowed William to export hides to Flanders also restricted him to buying wool, wool products and lead in England while on such journeys. This measure was to ensure that English trade was not damaged. Flanders depended on English wool and this dependence ensured that Flemish merchants would give significant loans to Edward III which helped finance the Hundred Years War against France. Acts of the English parliament in 1353 (where the wool-growers were a powerful lobby) established fifteen staple towns from where wool could be exported (ten in England, one in Wales and four in Ireland). The establishment of the staple towns aided a massive expansion in wool exports. Waterford was made a staple town yet its merchants were not allowed to have all the profits as William's restrictions show.¹⁵

Despite such restrictions, William Gosse expanded his business and became a wealthy merchant. By February 1358 Gosse could afford to stay in Ireland and nominate two attorneys to handle his affairs in England for one year. The two attorneys were Walter le Reve and Thomas de Coventre.¹⁶ Walter le Reve had been dean of Waterford since 1351 and received papal confirmation of his office in June 1358.¹⁷

Yet for all William's progress in business, he does not feature in the city's government. In medieval times the merchant class dominated the government of Waterford. Between 1280 and 1320 some eleven men controlled the council.¹⁸ William's frequent journeys overseas possibly prevented him from building relations with this inner circle of merchants. Perhaps the earlier possible Gosse association with New Ross may have disbarred William from becoming mayor or holding other municipal offices. Despite this loss of status, William Gosse had ambitions to raise his own station in life as a landed proprietor.

12 *Calendar of the Close Rolls, Edward III (1354-1360)*, pp. 254-59.

13 Wendy Childs and Timothy O'Neill, 'Overseas trade', in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, Vol. II, medieval Ireland 1169-1534*, (Oxford, 2008), p. 518.

14 Timothy O'Neill, *Merchants and Mariners in medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1987), pp. 77-9.

15 May McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 120, 353-6.

16 *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward III (1358-1361)*, p. 14.

17 W.H. Bliss (ed.), *Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope, vol. I, 1342-1419* (HMSO, London, 1896), pp. 308, 330

18 Eamonn McEaney (ed.), *A History of Waterford and its Mayors*, p. 78.

William Gosse - the property owner

We see this change in later official documents where William Gosse came to be described as a citizen of Waterford rather than just a merchant. As was the ambition of many city merchants, William ventured out to acquire a landed estate. We sometimes get the impression that merchants buying land was a development of the second half of the fifteenth century. The great Waterford merchant and long-time mayor, James Rice springs to mind.¹⁹ Yet Waterford merchants were acquiring land one hundred years before Rice.

In August 1359 William Gosse received from Andrew de Milford, sergent-at-arms of King Edward III Island Malure near Waterford, with all its land and to hold from the chief lord of the fee. This property was owned previously by the Earls of Kildare until March 1322 when Earl Thomas FitzJohn granted it in fee to Richard son of James Lengles who subsequently gave it to his son John Lengles. When William came into Island Malure in 1359, John Lengles was still in possession but was not recognised by the crown.²⁰

In April 1360 John Lengles gave one carucate of land, twenty acres of wood and twenty acres of pasture in Island Malure to Roger Ewyas and William de Falwesle. This deed was witnessed by William Gosse's fellow merchant, John Loke. Later in September of the same year Ewyas and Falwesle granted the land to James Butler, second Earl of Ormond which was confirmed by letter patent in October 1360 and again in February 1361 when Ormond was made the chief lord.²¹

William's claim to be the owner came under severe pressure with the arrival of such a powerful local magnate. Ever since the end of the rebellion by the first Earl of Desmond and his followers in 1345, the Butlers of Ormond had been expanding their influence into County Waterford. The principal family of East Waterford, the le Poers, surrendered land to Ormond, particularly the lands of the executed Eustace le Poer II in the north-east of the county. Ormond also sought land and submission in other parts of the east.²² Thus by June 1361 William Gosse was forced to release and quit claim to the Earl of Ormond all his rights to Island Malure. William's fellow merchants David de la Hay and John Loke witnessed this deed.²³ It is difficult to know if their presence was to persuade William to quit the land or to comfort him in the action. As Loke had previously witnessed the transfer from John Lengles to Ewyas and Falwesle it is likely that the former reason justified their presence.

After William Gosse had died (we don't as yet know when this occurred), his son Robert attempted to recover Island Malure, but without success and in December 1372 he forever quit his claim to Island Malure.²⁴

19 *Ibid.*, p. 97.

20 Edmund Curtis (ed.), *Calendar of Ormond Deeds* (Dublin, 1932), Vol. II, pp. 60-2

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 59-62.

22 Ciaran Parker, 'Paterfamilias and Parentela: the le Poer lineage in fourteenth-century Waterford', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. 95C (1995), p. 114.

23 Edmund Curtis, *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, Vol. II, p. 62.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

This was not the end of the Gosse family's effort to acquire land. Sometime before 1369, and maybe during the life of William Gosse, the family acquired the manor of Ballymcclode. In January 1369 Robert Gosse appointed his bailiffs, Stephen Grove and Walter (surname unknown), to give seisin of the land and church of Ballymcclode to Stephen Broun, chaplain to hold in trust for Robert and his heirs.²⁵

The subsequent history of Ballymcclode is unknown. A royal confirmation of circa 1408-9 acknowledges James Butler, fourth Earl of Ormond as the owner of Ballymcclode along with Island Malure. It is possible that William and Robert Gosse had accumulated debts owing to the Ormond estate. The passage of both properties to the Earls of Ormond could be as payment of that debt. Over two hundred years later, in 1640, Lord John Power, Baron of Curraghmore owned the property and this was measured as half a ploughland.²⁶

After 1372 the Gosse family of merchants disappear from the records known to this author.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

26 R.C. Simington (ed.), *The Civil Survey County of Waterford AD 1654-1656* (Dublin, 1942), p. 165.

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Vallancey's Military Surveys of 1776-1777 and 1796 as Relating to County Waterford and its Immediate Environs

Edward J Law

The British Library holds manuscript material, originally part of the topographical collection of King George III of England, relating to military surveys of Ireland undertaken from 1776 to 1782 by Charles Vallancey.¹

Charles Vallancey was born c.1725 in Flanders, of a Huguenot family and educated at Eton and the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich before joining the army. In 1750 he came to Ireland with his regiment, where he spent the remainder of his life as a career soldier pursuing military surveying and engineering. In this he received encouragement from Viscount Townshend, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1767-72, who had been a contemporary at Eton College.²

The origin of the surveys are set out in Vallancey's introduction to his survey of 1776:

To His Majesty.

May it please your Majesty.

In obedience to your Majesty's commands, I have commenced a military survey of that part of Ireland, being south of the bays of Dublin and Galway, comprehending the harbours of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Dungarvan, Youghal, Corke,³ Kinsale, Bantry, Kenmare and Galway, the coast adjoining said harbours, the roads leading from

- 1 British Library, maps: 51 Top L1 31-2 6 Tab 35. The harbours of Cork & Kinsale, the environs & coast adjacent, 1778; 51 Top L1 31-2 6 Tab 36 Report on the 1st part of the survey, 1776.
- 2 Many articles have been written about Vallancey, among the most important are: J. H. Andrews, 'Charles Vallancey and the Map of Ireland', in *Geographical Journal* 132 (1966), pp. 48-61; Monica Nevin, 'General Charles Vallancey 1725-1812', in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* Vol. 123 (1993), pp. 19-58; Monica Nevin, 'The Defence of the Southern part of Ireland by General Vallancey, Chief Engineer', in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Vol. 125 (1995), pp. 5-9; William O'Reilly, 'Charles Vallancey and the *Military Itinerary of Ireland*', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* Vol. 106C, pp 125-217; Norman Vance, 'Vallancey, Charles (c.1726-1812)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edition, January 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28051>]
- 3 The original spelling of the manuscript has been retained in quotations therefrom.

each of these parts to Dublin, and the cross-roads leading from each to the other.

The Execution of this survey, I humbly propose to divide into five parts.

The survey covers much of southern Ireland with material in particular on counties Carlow, Cork, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford and Wexford. The material is presented here not primarily for its military interest but for the topographical descriptions it gives in support of the strategies and tactics being promoted, in which it has much to interest the local historian.

The extracts in this article relate to County Waterford, and it is hoped to publish papers relating to the other counties elsewhere. In addition to the survey of 1776-7 Vallancey also undertook a similar survey in 1796, with updates in 1797, which he named the Military Itinerary, a manuscript version of which is held in the British National Archives.⁴ This later account incorporates much of the material from 1776-7, but updated with regard to subsequent events, particularly the war between France and Britain which broke out in 1793 and the French expedition to Bantry Bay in December 1796. This article, which deals fully with the former surveys, incorporates, as footnotes and an appendix, extracts of updated and new material from that of 1796.

Although Vallancey informed the king that he would present the survey in five parts it appears that only three of the five were completed and only two of the three are relevant to this paper:

The first to extend from Arklow, eastward along the sea coast to Wexford and Waterford harbours, up the eastern side of Waterford harbour, to the conflux of the rivers Sure & Barro; up the eastern side of the Barro, to Leighlin-bridge, distant from Dublin 44 miles, and to express all the chief roads and military objects contained in this surround.

The Second, to extend from Leighlin-Bridge along the western side of the River Barro to Waterford and Passage; along the Sea Coast to Tramore, Dungarvon and Youghal; up the River Blackwater (by Youghal) to Capoquin; and from thence across the Mountains to Clonmel; up the River Suir, from the Conflux of the rivers Sure and Barro to Clonmel, Cahir, Thurles and Roscrea; from thence across the country to Maryborough distant from Dublin 39 Miles.

...

Each division or survey to be contained in a separate report, and when finished, the whole to be blended in one survey.

The object of the survey was to provide strategies and tactics to oppose an enemy either before disembarking in Ireland or after an invasion. Vallancey noted that if an enemy intended to invade the island with a force sufficient to take

⁴ The National Archives, Kew, WO 30/63.

possession of it for some time he would need to assemble 20,000 or 30,000 troops on the coasts of France or Spain and amass transports in proportion and a fleet to convey them. Preparations of that order could not be effected without coming to the attention of the British who would be able to prepare to meet them at sea, or certainly on the coast of Ireland.

Initially Vallancey analysed the sea approaches which an enemy could make through consideration of a plate he presented of 'an accurate Chart of the Sea Coast, from Wexford Harbour to Waterford Harbour.'

By this Chart will appear the danger of an Enemy bringing a Fleet of Battle-Ships, further to the Eastward of the Southern Coast of Ireland, than Carnsore-point on account of the many Shoals and Sand banks along the Eastern Coast; at the same time will appear, the practicability of an Enemy's landing, any where between Carnsore Point and Duncannon Fort, and even in Wexford Harbour, in moderate weather, the distance from Carnsore Point to that Harbour being but 4 leagues.

McKenzie's Survey of the Irish Coast.

An Enemy will certainly not venture a Fleet to the Eastward of Carnsore Point, that is, will not enter the Irish Channel, not so much from an apprehension of being land-locked between the Islands of Great Britain and Ireland, as from the danger [that] would arise from his Ships striking on any of the banks before mentioned, which extend from Carnsore Point to Dublin Bay. It is very remarkable along the Coasts of the Counties of Wexford and Wicklo, that Spring-tides rise but 4 feet perpendicular, and Neap-tides, 3 feet; too small a rise to recover any Vessel of burthen, particularly a ship of War, which may happen to touch any of these banks at low-water: yet, at the small distance of the Saltee Islands, and in the Harbour of Waterford, spring tides rise 10 feet and neap tides rise 6 feet.

The approach of an Enemy on this part of the Coast, can only happen with a Wind blowing from the South or South-west; if it blows fresh from the South, it causes too great a swell on this Coast, to attempt a landing, except within the Harbour of Waterford, and it is not probable an Enemy will venture to run into this Harbour with a fresh Gale, because of the impracticability of retreating, and of the certainty of being overtaken by the British Fleet, while he is wind bound within the Harbour.

From hence it may be concluded, an Enemy will attempt to keep the Sea with his Fleet, land the Troops in several places between, and in, the Harbours of Waterford and Wexford, and then stand off with his Fleet.

This report is grounded on a supposition that the Enemy has landed his Troops between the Mouth of the Barro and Wexford Harbour, as two given points, from whence we are to oppose his further progress into the Country.

In considering the routes which an enemy might take if he were able to land any force on the south east coast, he made a concise summary of the navigable rivers and their crossings. The Barrow was navigable to Leighlin Bridge, and for small boats to Carlow, and the tide flowed to Saint Mullins within a mile and a half of Graiguenamanagh. The Suir was navigable to Clonmel, twelve miles above Waterford, and the tide flowed near to Carrick, seven miles above Waterford. The Slaney was navigable to Enniscorthy, with the tide flowing near to that town. On the Nore the tide flowed to Inistiogue and was navigable to Thomastown. The first bridges over the rivers were at Graignamanagh on the Barrow; at Carrick on the Suir; on the Slaney it was at Enniscorthy; and on the Nore at Inistiogue. Vallancey records that 'these rivers being not fordable from the sea to the above bridges, or near them, consequently they form so many obstacles to an enemy, moving from any part of the sea coast contained between the harbours of Waterford and Wexford.'

Duncannon fort is discounted as 'a very trifling defence' and he allows that an enemy well acquainted with the rivers Barrow, Nore and Suir taking advantage of the half flood, could convey his troops, cannon and baggage to Waterford, Ross and Inistiogue, if not to Graignamanagh, on the one tide.

Writing in general of the country in the survey he notes that it

is well inhabited, well cultivated and inclosed, the tops of some mountains excepted. The inclosures are small, and fenced with a double ditch, and a hedge of furze, which grows to a great height, and is the common fuel in a country which has so little bog-turf, these fences render it very difficult for cavalry to pass anywhere out of the high roads. The land abounds with grain, black cattle and sheep: the cattle are driven to the mountains during the summer season, a circumstance much in our favour in a country where nine tenths of the inhabitants would meet an enemy with open arms. The roads in general are good.

Vallancey's trained military observation is informative on the sizes of towns and villages, the nature of housing, shipping, waterborne trade, local roads and landscape, farming and crops. The following is extracted from the notes accompanying plate 3 of his survey:

Of the Rivers Barro, Nore & Sure; and of the roads leading from the mouth of Waterford Harbour to Dublin, by Ross, Graignamannagh and Leighlin Bridge.

The conflux of the rivers Barro & Sure forms the harbour of Waterford, this conflux is called parting water; it is 12 miles distant from the harbours mouth, and 4½ miles from Duncannon Fort; at this conflux the river Barro departs from the Sure in a direction to the North East.

10 miles above this conflux the River Nore discharges into the Barro on the western side.

Eight miles above parting water, and on the eastern banks of the Barro, stands the town of Ross, and 12 miles above Ross is the village of Graignamannagh, at which place is the first bridge over the river Barro, next the harbours mouth.

Seven miles above Graignamanagh is Gores Bridge, the 2nd pass over this river; from thence to Bagnets Bridge, or Royal Oak, is four miles and a quarter, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles above this is Leighlin Bridge, the 4th pass over the Barro --these distances are taken by water.

The Barro rises in the bog of Allen, is navigable at all seasons for boats carrying 8 tons, from the sea to Carlow, for boats of 5 tons burthen to the town of Athy, and so little fall has this river, that in time of floods, and in winter, it is navigable for boats of like burthen to the town of Munstereven, distant from Dublin only 30 miles.

The tide-water flows to St Mullins, 10 miles above Ross; from St Mullins to Graignamannagh the navigation is continued by means of 3 small canals, the rest is a river navigation. From Graignamanagh to Leighlin Bridge and Carlow, the passage is not so easily performed on account of some sharps. The boats are towed over these by force of men; the usual allowance is one man to each ton burthen, besides the boats crew, which consists of 5 others.

Boats on the Barro

These boats are 45 feet long, 8 feet wide, and draw about 22 inches water when loaded: there are 70 boats belonging to Graignamannagh, about 20 to the Nore, and as many between Graignamanagh and Leighlin Bridge which are constantly employed in transporting coals from the pits near Athy to Ross, where the coals are shipped for Dublin and other towns on the coast.

Are fit for ponton bridges.

As these boats will conveniently carry 40 men each, and are convenient either for passing these rivers or for transporting baggage and artillery, they become a great military object in time of war, especially if an invasion is expected; and the construction of these boats being very uniform, they are preferable to pontoons for a bridge. Each boat is furnished with a mast and sail, and by taking advantage of the tide they run from Graignamanagh to parting-water in one tide.

General Description

If an Enemy invades this Island, it will certainly be with a sufficient Force to keep possession of it for some time. The assembling so great a body of Troops as 20, or 30,000 men on the Coasts of France or

Spain, a number of Transports in proportion, and a fleet to convey them cannot be done, without the Knowledge of the British Court, which will prepare to meet them at Sea, or at farthest on the Coast of Ireland. The enemy sensible of this, and seeking to avoid a Sea Engagement, will consequently be as precipitate in landing as possible.

Enemy will probably land in two different Harbours.

He will probably divide his Forces into two bodies, one to take possession of Corke, not only as the most wealthy City in this Island, Dublin excepted, but chiefly, as a general Magazine of Provisions, with which that City abounds; for with respect to penetrating the Island, the harbour of Corke, is less favourable than many others, equally safe for a Fleet and more commodious for disembarking the Troops: The other division will probably endeavour to penetrate the Country, by means of the Harbours of Waterford, or of Limerick, the Rivers of which will lead him a very considerable distance from the Coast, towards the Metropolis, with great facility and expedition.

In this report I have supposed the Enemy making the Port of Waterford. As it is evident we cannot attempt to collect a sufficient force in every Port of this Island to oppose his landing, he will certainly be in possession of the towns of Waterford, & Wexford, also of the Villages of Passage, Ballyhack, Feathard, Tintern, Clonmines etc. which together with the numerous Farm-Houses, in this well peopled part of the Country, will conveniently canton or quarter 12,000 men; and this may be done in a few hours after the landing is made.

Duncannon Fort.

Duncannon Fort affords a very trifling defence, One Vessel of War of 30 Guns, would silence it in three hours, at least would engage its attention, while the Enemy's flatbottomed boats passed between the Vessel and the Western Shore, one mile distant from the Fort.

But there are many landing places below the Fort; and by Land it can make no Resistance, or is it at any time (even in War) provided with Provisions, Artillery or Gunners.

If the Enemy is well acquainted with the Scite of the Rivers Barro, Nore and Sure, and knows there are no great bodies of our Troops in the Vicinity, by taking the advantage of half flood, he may with that high water, convey his Troops, Cannon and Baggage to Waterford, Ross, Ennisteague, if not to Graignamannagh; He must indeed be well informed to venture so far, yet the practicability of such a bold manouvre, will appear from the description and particular Survey of those rivers, hereunto annexed.

Waterford harbour is mentioned elsewhere in the report:

parting water.

The Conflux of the Rivers Barro and Sure forms the Harbour of Waterford, this Conflux is called parting-water; it is 12 miles distant from the Harbours Mouth, and 4½ miles from Duncannon Fort; at this Conflux the River Barro departs from the Sure in a direction to the North East.

His second division of the survey is presented, in 1777, in the following terms

To His Majesty.

May it please your Majesty.

Extent of this Survey.

In obedience to your Majesty's Commands I have completed the second division of the Military Survey of Ireland, extending coastways from the Harbour of Waterford to the Harbour of Youghal, and in-land to the Towns of Cashell and Kilkenny, containing about 1200 square miles; and in obedience to your Majesty's special command, I have also surveyed the Harbours of Corke and Kinsale, the Environs and Coast adjacent, which Surveys I have now the honour of laying before Your Majesty.

In his first report Vallancey had supposed the enemy to have landed on the Eastern shore of Waterford Harbour, and to have pressed forward towards Dublin. In the second report he envisions the enemy having landed in Waterford harbour with an alternative strategy.

Enemy supposed to land in Waterford Harbour.

The Enemy is here supposed to enter the same Harbour with intention, to fall on the Town of Waterford; to push to the Town of Kilkenny; to attempt the pass over the River Suire at Carrick; and lastly to make good a junction with another body of his Troops, landed at Corke.

...

Waterford Harbour

From inspection, it is evident, an Enemy will not venture his Fleet of Men of war into this, or any Harbour on our Coast, on account of the impossibility of turning out immediately, against the wind; and of the certainty of being overtaken by our Fleets, if he should be detained only two days; it is therefore probable, he will stand off with his Ships of War, and run his Transports into the port, with a Frigate or two, to silence such Batteries, as may be erected to annoy his debarkation.

A Fleet of Transports coming into this Harbour, with the first quarter flood, may run up to the point of Faithleg, commonly called parting water; and should the Wind lull at their entrance into this port, (as is

frequently experienced by Ships on their approach to land) the tide setting in here so fast as 3 miles per hour, would bring the Ships up to this point by the time of half flood; there is a narrow bank of sand running across the entrance of this Harbour, over which there is 10 feet water at low tide; this circumstance will oblige, the Enemy to wait for quarter flood at least, for altho' Transports might pass over sooner, the Frigates destined to cover the landing, would be in danger of striking.

At the point of Faithleg, the River Suire, changes its course from South and North, to East and West, the River Barro inclining to the N East, and the Suire almost due West; so the Enemy once arrived at this point, will be able to land on the Northern and Southern banks of the Suire at the same time; an advantage he should be deprived of, because if he intends to strike on Kilkenny, and had been obliged to land at, or about Passage, he must be delayed considerably, by passing his Troops, Artillery and Baggage, over the Suire, in boats, at Waterford; the first bridge over this River being at Carrick. If therefore he does not bring his boats up to Waterford, and we have secured the boats belonging to these Rivers, the passage of the Suire may be delayed some days, untill his detached parties have recovered the boats or become Masters of the bridge of Carrick.

The only defence of Waterford Harbour at present, is the Fort of Duncannon, which as one Battery is properly placed, but is by no means sufficient. One 30 Gun Frigate would in a short time silence This Fort, or at least take up its attention, while the Enemy's Transports pass by, particularly if there should be the smallest breeze of Wind; the Harbour is above one mile broad in this place, so that its Guns cannot command across at high water, and on the Land side it is commanded at the distance of 370 yards, so much we have been obliged to throw up a Traverse in the rear of the upper Sea Batteries, to secure them from being taken en revêrs. The plans and profiles of the Fort and Ground are hereunto annexed.

A battery of 5 Guns formerly existed at Passage, it was a good situation, raking every Ship and Boat when passed the Fort; this battery should be reconstructed and mounted with Six 24 pounders; another of like number and metal should be erected at Faithleg point, and in all, should be a number of Royals and 10 inch Mortars.

These batteries, in my humble opinion, would delay the debarkation of an Enemy, and greatly annoy a Fleet of Transports, or Boats. I consider the delay of one tide only, in the debarkation of the Enemy Troops, to be of the utmost consequence; thereby, giving so much time to our Fleet to come up with the Enemy; affording time to the Inhabitants to recover from their surprize, to drive off the Cattle, to

break down bridges, etc., and to our Troops to move from the Central Camps, or Quarter, to the place attacked.

Town of Waterford

This is a large Town, containing about 3,000 Houses and Cabbins, and several large Warehouses; it is near one third of the size of Corke, and will canton 6000 Infantry and 2000 Cavalry. The adjacent Country is well laboured, particularly the northern banks of the Suire, which produces abundance of grain and potatoes.

The Export Trade of this Town (to Newfoundland chiefly) and the Imports for the supply of the Towns on the banks of the Rivers Suire, Nore, and Barro; render it a place of consequence and in regard to the Subsistence an Enemy may here obtain for his Troops, we may judge of the quantity and quality, by the following comparative view of exports from hence and from Corke, taken for the year 1773, as a medium in time of peace.

Exports of Corke and Waterford compared

	From Corke	From Waterford
Bacon	1,034 Flitches	1,187 Do
Beef	115,670 Barrels	21,779 Do
Pork	23,595 Barrels	16,819 Do
Butter	4,991 Tons	3,355 Do
Oatmeal	190 Barrels	731 Barrels

Waterford a place of consequence – can subsist a large Army

If we allow one third of the above quantity to be always in Store, an Enemy will certainly consider this Town of equal consequence as Corke, with respect to his Subsistence; and it has this great advantage, if he meditates a descent when the Harvest is collected, That at all seasons, there is a greater supply of live cattle on the Southern side of the Suire, and greater Haggards of grain, on the Northern side, than can be found in the vicinity of Corke.

Further reference is made to the likely timing of any invasion of the island in the concluding paragraph of his second report:

Improbability of the Enemy attempting a descent on Ireland, but in time of Harvest

And I beg leave further to remark, that having carried on the Survey of Corke, Kinsale and Coast adjacent, during the months of November, December and January, I had an opportunity of being convinced of the impossibility of an Enemy subsisting an Army in this part of the Island, at that Season, or in the Spring, without possession of the Towns of Corke, Limerick or Waterford, and the Stores therein: it is therefore probable, if ever an invasion takes place here, it will be, when the Harvest is on the ground; and the more, I am convinced of

the necessity of securing those Towns in the manner already described.

Reverting to his report on the town of Waterford he continues:

Difficulty of fortifying large towns

To fortify these maritime Towns, would be squandering men and money to no purpose; but if commanding grounds can be found in the Environs, which overlook them, I am of opinion, if Redouts were constructed, one over each Town, the Enemy would not take possession of the Town, before he had reduced the Redout; as this could not be done without Artillery, this defence would cause a second delay, and give us more time to move to the place attached, and perhaps to preserve the Town.

Redout proposed for the defence of Waterford

The high ground on the northern banks of the Suire, opposite the Town, is of this kind, and I submit to better judgement, if a strong Redout was constructed on this hill, and mounted with Artillery, it might not afford us the great advantages, here described, and might also be in part defended by the Militia of Waterford, assisted by a detachment of Artillery, and of veteran Troops. It is certain the Enemy will not attempt the passage of the river at this place, until he has reduced the Redout; this consideration alone shows the consequence of such a work, which promises every advantage to us, and every disadvantage to the Enemy.

Advantage of this method of fortifying

Works of this kind neither devour the Revenue of a State to build or maintain them, nor do they embazzle the means of sending our Army into the field; yet they will retard the operations of an Enemy equally as a much larger Fortification: The Resistance made by such a Redoubt might give time to the whole Island to rendezvous, before the Enemy could penetrate the Country, whereas, in the present State of this Harbour an Enemy may come boldly up to parting water, be in possession of Waterford on the same day, and of Carrick, Ross, etc. before the news of his arrival could possibly reach the seat of Government.

Enemy cannot subsist an army in Ireland without possession of Corke, Waterford, or Limerick

The common objection is, the great expense of securing the whole coast of an Island, so extensive in its contour as Ireland; if we reflect on the impossibility of an Enemy subsisting his Army in this Country without possession of Corke, Waterford, or Limerick, and that the object of his Expedition would not be answered if he did not deprive us of the provisions always in Store at these places, we may consider

the defence of this Island reduced to these three places, and the Metropolis.

Movements an Enemy can make from Waterford

We will now suppose the Enemy in possession of Waterford, Ross and Carrick meditating to move Northwards to fall on Kilkenny, or Westwards along the Suire towards Limerick, or Southwards towards Corke; these are the only movements he can possibly make from Waterford.

Boats on the Suire, Nore and Barro. Should be seized when a descent is expected.

On the rivers Suire, Nore and Barro, between Carrick, Ennisteague and Graignamanna, there are about 200 flatbottomed boats, of 8 and 10 tons burthen, constantly employed; The greater part commonly remain at the Quays of Waterford waiting for Cargoes. Should these be assembled in the Harbour, they might give such assistance to the Enemy, as to enable him to reach the bridges of Carrick, Ennisteague and Graig, with the same tide of flood which brings him in, and the next day be Master of Kilkenny, Carlo etc.

...

If the Enemy push from Waterford towards Carrick, on the South side of the River, great opposition may be given at the heights of the Dargil, Gilcan, and Clonegam, over which the road passes; the tide reaches the bridge of Portlaw, and the woods of Lord Tyrone close upon the bridge; the heights form a good advanced post between Waterford and Carrick, the River being not fordable between the two Towns. On the North side of the River are two roads leading to Carrick, uniting at Pilltown; these run in a rich cultivated flat, well fenced and inclosed, called the Golden Vale.

On inspection we shall find the great ridge of the Moanavulla Mountains, forms an excellent barrier on the West, should the Enemy attempt to extend from Waterford to Dungarvan, in order to reach Corke, or to support any detachment at Youghal, or on any pass of the Blackwater.

These Mountains are boggy, are impassable for Carriages, and have only one bad horse path over them, about the middle; a tolerable horse road leads along the base on the Southern side, and another from Waterford along the Coast, uniting at Dungarvan:⁵ the only Carriage road from hence to Youghal, is by 2 mile bridge, Foxes bridge and Dungarvan; it is at present a very bad road, almost

5 1796. Dungarvan is a considerable town in size, and could canton 1500 Infantry and 200 Cavalry.

impassable in winter, and is easily destroyed, and on each side are deep boggy glins.

...

Between Waterford Harbour and Dungarvan there is no place fit for the debarkation of Troops: the bay of Tramore is very dangerous to single Ships, much more to a Fleet of Transports, for if once embayed and the Wind freshens from the Sea, inevitable destruction must ensue, from the great swell always rolling on this hard strand.

Dungarvan Harbour

Transports not drawing more than 10 feet water, may run in here with great safety, at high water of a spring tide; at low water the depth of the Channel is but 3 feet: it is a good harbour for flatbottomed boats to enter at all times in moderate weather, and there is a good Quay at the town, for landing baggage, Artillery, etc.

Three good roads lead from Dungarvan to Cappoquin, where is an old wooden bridge over the River Blackwater; the first Stone bridge is at Lismore, 2 miles higher up from Cappoquin one mountain road leads to Clogheen, and another to Newcastle passable for Carriages in Summer only.

From this description of Dungarvan, we may conclude an enemy will not choose it for the place of debarkation, unless compelled by bad weather, or the inferiority of his Fleet, when closely pursued.

In a concluding statement to his report on Division I Vallancey clarifies his statements on the numbers capable of being billeted or cantoned in the various towns and villages and makes pre-emptive excuses for any omissions he may have made:

Wherever I have mentioned the number of Troops each Town or Village will canton, I beg leave to be understood, that every building which can protect a Soldier or a Horse from the inclemency of the weather, is on such emergency turned to that use. On every other occasion, as assembling Troops for Exercise, or on a march through the Country in time of Peace, two thirds of these numbers must be deducted, that neither the Troops or the Inhabitants may be distressed.

In a work of so extensive a nature as this Survey, executed without the least Assistance, I humbly conceive some omissions may be expected in the Field. Excess of fatigue, bad accomodations in the Country, and new objects arising each moment to view, are apt to lead from the original Plan of the work; and the deliberate reflections of the Closet may point out objects of importance, which did not strike in the Field.

In drawing up this Report from my Field Notes, it occurs, the River Slaney, from the Town of Enniscorthy to the Harbours mouth, and the

road on its bank from that Town to Wexford, should have been contained in this Survey. I humbly propose to blend the succeeding Survey with this, and to add the Plans omitted.

all which is humbly submitted.

Charles Vallancey Lieut: Colonel and
Director of Engineers.

Appendix 1

Material from the Military Itinerary of 1796, with additional notes by Vallancey reproduced as footnotes.

In his introductory paragraphs Vallancey records:

It is an axiom not to be controverted, that an enemy, intent on invading Ireland, will make himself master, of one, or more, of our victualling towns, viz. Waterford, Corke, or Limerick: because without the provision Stores of these Cities, his army cannot be subsisted.

Supposing then that Cork and Limerick had quickly fallen to an enemy, and an army of 30,000 had been mobilised to oppose the enemy's progress, he questioned:

where were our depôts of provisions to victual such an army? From whence could beef, pork, or even biscuit, have been drawn for the supply, but from Waterford, from whence our escorts might be cut off, by detachments of the enemy from Corke.

Vallancey introduces a good deal of additional information in treating of the harbour and city of Waterford.

Waterford Harbour

Is spacious and safe, and capable of large ships; but there is a narrow ridge of sand, about half a mile above Creadan Head (and below Duncannon Fort), which stretches quite across the Channel: the least water on it, at low spring tide is 10 feet – at high water spring tide rises there 20 feet, and common tides 18 feet; therefore large ships cannot venture there, above Creadan Head, but, transports, light frigates, and corvettes, may run up to Passage, and vessels that don't draw more than 10 feet of water, may run up to Waterford, and to New Ross on the River Barro.

The tide sets in strong, and the flood, without a breeze of wind, would carry transports up to the mouth of the Barro, at the rate of 3 miles an hour.

Duncannon Fort is 6 miles up the harbour, it is a proper site to annoy ships going up, because the Channel narrows there; but this fort (like many others in Ireland) originally built for an advanced Sea battery, is commanded in rear, by a rising ground within 371 yards: the batteries would be silenced in a few minutes by a frigate, and if the enemy took possession of the height, the garrison must soon surrender – here are no Casemates, or Bombproofs for covering troops. At high water, the harbour is more than a mile broad, opposite the fort – boats may pass on the opposite shore, unmolested. At Passage the Channel narrows: here was originally the best battery for the security of merchant Ships,

from being cut out by privateers boats: it also takes the channel down to Duncannon Fort.⁶

A debarkation of the enemy, in this harbour, would probably be with design to fall on Waterford, having completed his debarkation, and got possession of that City, he would probably send his fleet to some other port, where he could fortify himself against an English fleet, which he cannot accomplish in this harbour. He would pay no attention to Duncannon Fort, as there are so many fine strands below the fort, on the same side of the harbour, with the City of Waterford, viz. Woodstown Strand, Dunmore Cove, etc., distant from Waterford only 6 miles.

From this description, and from the inspection of the map, it will appear, that Duncannon Fort, is on the wrong side of the harbour, for the protection of the City of Waterford, and that the opposite side of the harbour is defenceless.

A strong battery should be erected on Credan Head, which would command the anchorage of large ships, and protect the trade from privateers: large ships must stop there, a tide at least, before they can pass the bar, if they enter at low water. This battery should be secured in rear, against a coup de main; be casemated bombproof for the security of the garrison, (as all sea batteries should be) and so strong, as to oblige an enemy to land artillery, and open trenches, yet even this battery might not save Waterford from a coup de main, as the enemy may land elsewhere and pass that by also.

The great expedition in the last war, under the Duc d'Aquilon, was intended in part for this harbour, as many French officers of rank, have since assured me: they talked of the River Suir being navigable for artillery and baggage to Clonmell, and of the Barro to Carlo – the latter was not then in that state: it is so at present.⁷ This idea seems to

6 In the last war I repaired this battery and mounted 8 Guns on it. I preferred another spot, at Ballyhack Church, or a height at Passage Church, which commands this battery within a stones cast, but was not allowed to take ground. And since writing this Report, I have received a Letter from the Engineer employed at Duncannon, stating the possibility of an enemy passing Duncannon fort, and of either destroying or cutting out the Merchant Ships at anchor at Passage.

7 The enemy were to have made a feint on Corke harbour, or some bay to the West, three days at least, previous to the real attack on Waterford harbour, in order to draw our troops from central camps of the island towards the West, when the enemy intended to penetrate up the Suir and Barro towards the Capital, and to have turned our Western Army – the enemy then thought themselves masters of the Sea, and that they could move at discretion.

point out, the necessity of a battery at the conflux of the Suir & Barro⁸ it is a proper situation for a battery or for gun boats, or both.⁹

These batteries are trifling in point of expence, compared to the safety of this Island; if they delay the enemy but 48 hours, that delay is of the utmost consequence, by giving time to our fleet to come up with the enemy – by giving time to the inhabitants to recover from their surprise, to drive their cattle, break up roads &c. – and permitting our troops to move from the central camps, which are generally three or four days march distant, from the southern harbours.

Waterford City,

is large and prosperous, containing about 3500 houses, and several extensive provision store houses; it is about one third of the size of Corke, and could canton 6,000 Infantry and 1500 Cavalry.

The export of provisions from hence, renders it a place of importance to an invading enemy, and reciprocally so to ourselves, as a depot of subsistence for our army, if called to its vicinity, or collected in the center of the Island; more especially if Corke or Limerick should be in the enemy's hands.

To fortify these maritime cities in a regular manner, would be squandering men and money to no purpose, in my humble opinion: — but, if ground can be found, which commands them, and if strong Redouts, properly furnished with artillery, with a garrison of 500 men, were constructed in such heights, the enemy could not take possession of the town, till they had opened trenches, and reduced this citadel; an operation of 10 or 12 days at least. The enemy will be cautious of losing men in this siege, from the impossibility of recruiting his army, and will certainly offer terms to the garrison, by which the city may be saved from plunder.¹⁰

8 Agreeable to my recommendation, a battery has been erected at the conflux of these rivers, unknown to me – the platforms are not laid – I did intend the battery should have been at western point of the Barro, that if an enemy landed on the Wexford side of the harbour, he should have found the Barro betwixt him and the battery – and if he landed on the Waterford side, the Suir would have been between them – unfortunately the Engineer has placed it at Cheek point on the Waterford side, on the Suir, opposite the mouth of the Barro – by the Kings instructions to the Chief Engineer he is to examine all plans proposed, and when approved to see the work staked out – that compliment has not been paid him, this war, by which neglect many blunders have been committed.

9 One gun boat, mounting one gun, has been lately sent there, as I am informed by the Clerk of the Works.

10 On the confiscation of the forfeited estates of Ireland in 1642 certain lands were allocated to the repairs of the different forts, and walled towns; the burghers were also empowered to lay on Port taxes for the repairs of the town walls. – the profit of all these lands have been seized by Governors and Corporations.

Works of this kind neither devour the revenue of the state to build and support them, or embezzle the means of sending our armies into the field, requiring not more than 300 Regulars at most, — the loyal inhabitants would gladly join in the defence of such a Work, where their wealth might be secured by an honourable capitulation.

The high ground on the northern banks of the Suir, commands the city, and is proper for a Redout of this kind.

Supposing an enemy, relying on our feelings for the lives of the inhabitants, should take possession of the City, in defiance of the Redout, the bridge (which is of wood) being destroyed, he will not attempt to cross the river in face of this Redout, in order to fall on Kilkenny, or to penetrate towards the center of the island, and the nearest bridge over the river, is at Carrick, 12 miles higher up the stream.

There are a great number of flat bottomed boats on these rivers, which may accelerate the enemy's passage, if they should fall into his hands. — we must suppose, an intelligent officer commanding in this district, will have had the precaution to collect and burn these boats, or caused them to be taken up the Barro, out of the enemy's reach, on the first alarm: of these boats we shall speak hereafter.

In dealing with interior, as opposed to coastal, defence Vallancey also enlarges on his earlier survey in relation to county Waterford:

We will now suppose the enemy landed in the harbour of Waterford.

...

Master of Waterford he will meditate to penetrate the country: To delay his advance towards Kilkenny and the Metropolis, the wooden bridge over the Suir at this city, must be immediately destroyed, and all the boats on the Suir, Nore and Barro, must be collected on the first alarm, and sent up the Barro, or burnt.

Our first opposition must be on the northern banks of the Suir from Waterford to Carrick, 12 miles distant: this is the first pass over the Suir above Waterford.

If the enemy is provided with boats or pontoons, and the Rivers remain in their present defenceless state, he may push up the Barro to New Ross, in order to fall on Kilkenny. Our central camps are usually at Ardfinnan, 30 miles from Waterford and 35 from New Ross. If we can arrive in time, to prevent this advance of the enemy, we must possess the mountains of Mullinavat and Sleev na man, (or 9 mile house) over which all the roads from Waterford & Carrick, lead to Ross & Kilkenny. And here our light Cavalry may act with vigour: In this species of troops it must be supposed, we should have every advantage, as the enemy could not have had the means, as yet, of mounting

his Hussars. The French are no ways proper for this species of troops: they have too much fire and will not stand a discharge of Musquetry, unless in a collective body: therefore they always hire Hungarians or Germans at the breaking out of a war: the Germans are preferable to the former, being more resolute and steady.

Floating batteries of Gun boats are very proper for such rivers as the Suir & Barro, they will be ready to act on either river as occasion may require.

In the present situation of this district, I see no obstacle to an enemy, landing from 12 to 15,000 men, on the western side of the harbour, from Dunmore to Credan head, and in Forenaught bay, on Woodstown strand, and marching boldly up to Waterford, (distant only 6 miles) with half of his army, & a few field pieces, leaving the other half to intrench themselves, on the second debarkation. Along this coast there is deep water, from 20 to 30 feet at low water, and these strands are below the bar, and good roads leading to Waterford: for this and other reasons, I recommended a battery on Credan head last war.¹¹

If we have time to recover our surprise, we may annoy the enemy in the act of landing, by a field train drawn from Geneva or Waterford, and if we are in strength to dispute his march to that city, we shall find strong positions, all the way; as the heights of Leperstown, Ballygannon, (at the base of which the road passes,) and lastly Grantstown and Prospect hills. The country abounds in grain and cattle, yet not so much enclosed, to prevent our light cavalry, acting.¹²

The enemy in possession of Waterford, will not think himself secure, without advanced posts on the heights on the North side of the river, as well as those on the South, extending in a semi-circle from 3 mile bridge to Ballygannon – he will also begin to forage round the country, to husband the Stores in Waterford, and he will also attempt to secure the next pass over the River at Carrick (12 miles distant) in all

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- 11 I can scarce believe the enemy intended to debark in Bantry Bay, on his leaving France – the Rendezvous, was off that Bay is certain, but, when we consider the difficulty & hazard, of his bringing on his provisions, towards Corke, (for he could not have had less than three depôts, in his march from Bantry to Corke, at every 12 Irish miles) and the advantage of securing a grand depôt, at our expence, at Waterford or Limerick, in a few hours after his debarkation: the want of Cattle & the badness of the roads in the West, of which he was certainly well informed, and the abundance of cattle, the goodness of the roads, add to which the readiness of mounting his Hussars, in the vicinity of Limerick or Waterford, I think is a conviction that the intended debarkation at Bantry, was owing to the stormy weather, rather than to a settled plan.
- 12 By the annexed Return of our Field Train, it appears there are none at Waterford, and at Geneva only two 12 p[ounds]rs – and no Howitzers nearer than Clonmeil 24 miles from Waterford and 30 miles from this coast.

which attempts we must harrass him – he will be shy of engaging, well knowing he cannot recruit his losses – a circumstance I would have well explained to our army, – but his first object will be to mount his Hussars: great attention should be paid to driving off the Cattle on the first alarm – it was surprizing to see how soon Genl Hobert mounted 200 Hussars, in Thurots expedition, near Carrickfergus – the stables of two Gentlemen, afforded about a score tolerable hunters and coach horses, the rest were of the peasantry, – the Hussars brought bridles & saddles on shore.

In the march to Carrick, if the enemy confines himself to the southern side of the river, the ground affords many opportunities of disputing his march: the road runs over, and, at the foot, of very strong ground, as the hills of Dargal, Gilcaw, & Clonegam including the woods of Curraghmore. At Portlaw bridge (over a muddy impassable brook, up which the tide rises from the Suir,) is a strong defilé.

At this place it is but 6 miles to the Monavilla mountain; Were the enemy mad enough to risk a battle of his whole army, and we are in sufficient force to meet him, we could not desire a more eligible situation, taking this position from Portlaw bridge, with the wood on our left, and that butt of the mountain named Cnocawn povris, on our right, it is but 4 miles with the village of Kilmacthomas, a strong post, 2 miles in our front, and the enemy could not turn our flanks.

From the hills before mentioned the ground on the South side of the River is most commanding all the way to Clonmell.

The tide rises to Carrick, and there are no fords between Waterford & Carrick, except in 4 places, and in very dry seasons, one particularly near 2 mile bridge, at Turrylea Castle; but as Clonmell depends much on the navigation of the Suir, to which place boats of 4 and 6 tons are daily passing from Waterford, these fords do not long exist.

...

The enemy is supposed to attempt forming a junction with another division landed at Corke, or intends to march from Waterford to fall on Corke.

There are two great roads leading from Waterford to Corke, One on the north and one on the south of the Suir. The first passing over the Suir at Carrick, from thence to Clonmell, Ardfinnan, Clogheen, Kilworth, Corke, and this is the principal road; to avoid the ferries of Dungarvan & Youghall has been repaired, and remade from Waterford to Dungarvan, at the national expence, under pretence of being a Military Road, although at the same time, there was an excellent coast road, almost as short from Waterford to Dungarvan.!!

On the south side of the Suir, one road runs parallel to, and near the river, to Clonmell; if the enemy should find opposition in crossing the Suir, at Carrick, he may proceed on the south side to Clonmell, and if there opposed, he may still keep the South side of the river, and turn over the mountain road, to Cappoquin, on the Black water, at which place another road unites from Dungarvan; and he may thus escape the difficulty of the ferries. There is a wooden bridge at Cappoquin, and a stone bridge at Lismore, two miles higher up the Blackwater.

From Dungarvan to Clonmell is 14 miles in a right line, 11 of which is taken up by the high mountains of Monavilla, over which there is no carriage road, and but one difficult horse track, about the center. If we are in force to possess these mountains, the enemy may be effectually checked, passing at either of the extremities.

From Dungarvan three roads lead to Cappoquin, in the narrow and rich vale of Whitechurch: from 4 mile water to Cappoquin, (in the road from Clonmell) it is an open mountainous road, till it reaches Ballynamult, 6 miles on this side of Cappoquin; in the midway, is the deep ravine of murdering glin, 3 miles short of Cappoquin – All this track is within 12 miles of Ardfinnan, where our great body is usually encamp[e]d, in time of war, and there are many fords & bridges to facilitate our passage over the Suir, from the North to the South side. – There is also a carriage road lately made from Clogheen to Lismore, over the mountain of Knockmeeldown: all these afford us great opportunities of hanging on the enemy's flanks in this march.

But, should the enemy have advanced from Corke, at the same time, his other division moved from Waterford, we must retire to the North of the Suir, and secure the heights of Kilcash or Sleevnaman, to prevent the enemy turning on Kilkenny; and his junction will be effected.

Glossary

<i>Battery:</i>	A protected position designed as a firing place for one or more pieces of artillery.
<i>Bar:</i>	A bank or shoal as at the mouth of a river or harbour.
<i>Battleship:</i>	The largest class of warship.
<i>Camp:</i>	A place where tents, huts, or other temporary shelters are set up by soldiers.
<i>Cannon:</i>	Large mounted weapon.
<i>Canton:</i>	Provide housing for.
<i>Citadel:</i>	A fortress in or near a city which was used to control the city and its inhabitants; providing a strong defensive position, and once the outer defences had fallen it could be used as a final refuge.
<i>Coup de main:</i>	Swift attack.

<i>Defilé:</i>	A narrow gorge or pass that restricts lateral movement.
<i>En revêrs:</i>	From the rear.
<i>Field train:</i>	Supply of ammunition and ordinance during war.
<i>Flitches:</i>	A salted and cured side of bacon.
<i>Frigate:</i>	A type of warship developed in the eighteenth century, mounting from approximately twenty to as many as fifty guns, mostly 6, 9, and 12-pounders.
<i>Garrison:</i>	A military post, especially one that is permanently established.
<i>Haggard:</i>	An enclosure on a farm for stacking grain, hay, etc.
<i>Howitzer:</i>	A short, squat gun used for shelling at a steep angle, especially in siege or trench warfare.
<i>Hussar:</i>	Lightly armed cavalry soldier.
<i>Magazine:</i>	A reinforced structure where arms, and gunpowder were stored, preferably located away from incoming missiles.
<i>Mortar:</i>	A short-barreled, large-caliber artillery piece used to lob shells along a high trajectory and down into fortified positions.
<i>Ponton/Pontoon:</i>	A floating structure, such as a flatbottom boat, that is used to support a bridge.
<i>Post:</i>	Military installation at which a body of troops is stationed.
<i>Quarter:</i>	Provide residence for.
<i>Redout/Redoubt:</i>	Independent defensive position.
<i>Royal:</i>	A small mortar firing a shell of 5½ inches in diameter.
<i>Transport:</i>	A ship used to transport troops or military equipment.
<i>Traverse:</i>	A mound or earth situated at intervals along a work such as a covered way, the traverses were aligned at right angles to the work and prevented it from being swept by flanking fire should part of the work be taken by the enemy, or observed from higher ground by the enemy.

A Traveller's Tale: Lord Donoughmore's Journey from Knocklofty to London in May 1815

Julian C. Walton

Introduction

Richard Hely Hutchinson, first Earl of Donoughmore, was in his sixtieth year when he made the journey described below, having been born in 1756. His father, John Hely Hutchinson, was a vigorous and controversial lawyer, statesman, and Provost of Trinity College Dublin. His mother, Christian, daughter of Abraham Nickson of Munny,¹ near Shillelagh in County Wicklow, was also the grand-niece and heir of Richard Hutchinson of Knocklofty, Co. Tipperary, four miles southwest of Clonmel. In 1783 she was raised to the peerage of Ireland as Baroness Donoughmore of Knocklofty, a title which combined her husband's origins and power base in County Cork (Donoughmore) with the estate she had inherited.

Richard succeeded to his mother's title upon her death in 1788, and was further ennobled as Viscount Donoughmore in 1797 and Earl of Donoughmore in 1800. Upon the passing of the Act of Union he was elected one of the twenty-eight peers to represent Ireland in the House of Lords, and in 1821 he received yet another title, that of Viscount Hutchinson. He died unmarried in 1825.

Given his father's distinguished career, it was only natural that Richard should have made such an early start in public life. In accordance with the cheerfully relaxed attitude of the eighteenth century towards patronage, he was granted the high-sounding post of Treasurer's Remembrancer in the Court of Exchequer at the age of eight – and retained this office for the rest of his life. He was a Commissioner of Accounts 1776-85, a Commissioner of the Revenue 1785-1801, and Chief Commissioner of the Revenue 1801-06. In 1777 he was called to the Irish Bar and began his political career as MP for Dublin University. Upon inheriting his mother's title in 1788 he entered the House of Lords, and played an active part in parliamentary affairs until his death.

The Earl was a man of liberal sentiments and an ardent champion of his Catholic fellow-countrymen. His political goal, which became almost an obsession and was viewed by his family and friends with a certain degree of cynicism, was the achievement of Catholic Emancipation. In 1800 he voted for union with Britain in the sincere belief that Emancipation would follow. On passing through Waterford in May 1815 on the journey described below, he made a point of calling on the Catholic bishop and accepting the petition of the Catholics of Waterford

¹ Now the home of the Bielenberg family. The late Christabel Bielenberg was the author of *The Past is Myself* and *The Road Ahead*.

which he and the Duke of Devonshire were to present to the House of Lords. One of his last political acts was to move the second reading of the Catholic Relief Bill in 1825, and upon his death a few months later the Catholic Association paid a warm tribute to his memory as 'the hereditary patron of the Catholics'.²

Richard's brother John, who travelled with him and shared the expenses of the journey, had a distinguished military career during the Napoleonic Wars. He succeeded General Abercrombie as commander of the British Army in Egypt, and was rewarded for his services in 1801 with the title Baron Hutchinson of Alexandria and Knocklofty. Upon his brother's death he succeeded to all his titles, but as he too died unmarried in 1832 the earldom etc. passed to the son of a third brother, direct ancestor of the present earl.

In May 1815 the earl and his brother John, Baron Hutchinson, travelled in their own carriage from Knocklofty to Waterford, where they spent the night, then on to Passage East, where they took the sailing packet to Milford Haven. On arrival the following evening they spent the night at a hotel, then continued to London in their carriage, reaching their destination ten days after leaving Knocklofty. Such was the timetable of two wealthy and busy men in the year of the battle of Waterloo. Half a century later, thanks to the advent of steam travel, it would have taken an ordinary worker less than twenty-four hours to do the same journey.

Lord Donoughmore was a keen observer and a meticulous recorder; he must have been a congenial travelling companion. His comments on the towns, the countryside, and the notable buildings to be seen along the route are interesting, but the greatest value of the narrative is surely his detailed account of the packet station at Passage East. The first seriously organized programme for passenger travel between Waterford and Wales had been initiated in 1775 thanks to John Congreve of Mount Congreve, and the route was from Passage to Milford.³ The Irish end of the voyage could be slow and tedious, the difficulties up or down the estuary being compounded by the additional hazards of tides, currents and shallows and the fickleness of the wind in a confined space. Then in 1785 political strings were pulled to have the packet station transferred even further up river to Cheekpoint. This may have suited the endeavours of Cornelius Bolton to develop an industrial centre on his estate at Faithlegg, but it also made life considerably more difficult for everyone else. Upon the death of the port manager, Thomas Owen, in 1813, the packet station was transferred back to Passage East – thus it was at Passage, not Cheekpoint, that Lord Donoughmore's party embarked in May 1815.⁴

2 See entries in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) and *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (2009); also introduction to A.P.W. Malcomson's catalogue of the Donoughmore Papers in Trinity College Dublin.

3 See John Mannion, 'Vessels, masters and seafaring: patterns in Waterford voyages, 1766-1771', in W. Nolan and T.P. Power (eds.), *Waterford History & Society*, (1992, Geography Publications), p. 380.

4 See J.C. Walton, 'The Boltons of Co. Waterford', in *Irish Genealogist* VII (3) (1988), pp. 412-14.

By this time a more up-to-date harbour was being built by the government at Dunmore East. Lord Donoughmore's contemptuous dismissal of this venture as a navigational and financial disaster was hardly justified by events, for the new harbour was in operation by 1824.⁵ However, the development of steam travel soon made it redundant – it was little extra trouble for a steamer to go right up the river to Waterford, so that both passengers and cargoes could avoid the overland journey from Dunmore to the city. From 1837 the steam packets began to go direct to Waterford, bypassing Dunmore altogether.

Knocklofty is a fine Georgian house consisting of a three-storey, seven-bay central block with two-storey gable-ended wings projecting forward on the entrance front so as to form a three-sided court. It is superbly sited beside the River Suir, and the demesne stretches across the river into County Waterford. The house was sold in the 1980s and the extensive family papers were deposited with Trinity College, a very appropriate home in view of the important role played by John Hely Hutchinson during his reign as Provost from 1774 to 1794.

The manuscript containing Lord Donoughmore's account of his journey to London is numbered D/2/3. It is a tiny booklet containing twenty-nine written pages. I have reproduced the full text down to the arrival of the travellers at Milford Haven, omitting the continuation of the journey through Wales and England. Apart from a few minor modernizations of spelling and punctuation, I have made one major alteration in the arrangement of the text, reversing the order of the two sections so as to place the narrative (pp. 7-16) before the expenses (pp. 1-6).

I should like to thank Dr Thomas Power for drawing my attention to this document, and the Earl of Donoughmore and the Trustees of Trinity College Library for permitting it to be published.

Text

TCD MS D/2/3. May 1815. From Knocklofty to London in May 1815 with my brother Lord Hutchinson.

[7] Wednesday 3 May. We left Knocklofty at 3 in the afternoon. My brother's servant William Jones and my servants Gurdier (?), Kelly and [blank] with us. Richardson's horses from Clonmel took us to Carrick in 2 hours and a half, where we found Withers's horses harnessed and ready for us, having been bespoke the day before. We were kept at Carrick ten minutes only, and went the stage to Waterford in 2 hours and 20 minutes, having reached the Commercial Hotel at 8 in the evening; so that 5 hours brought us the 25 miles, our only stop that at Carrick included.

5 R.H. Ryland, *History of Waterford* (1824), pp 238-43; June Fennelly, 'Notes Towards a Maritime History of Dunmore East', in *Decies* 26 (Summer 1984), pp. 16-21.

To make the run from Knocklofty to Waterford at all a matter of tolerable certainty in point of time, horses should be bespoke at Carrick the day before they are wanted. In returning from London in August last, Withers could give us no horses and we were forced to wait for the feeding of those which brought us from Waterford. And on the present occasion, having sent to bespeak horses from Cleary, the only other man who keeps them at Carrick, he had sent, as it seemed, his horses to Dublin.

The whole of the road to Mount Coyne,⁶ the little halfway village between Carrick and Waterford, is excellently good and much of it lately repaired, and it is nearly a perfect flat. The last six miles or thereabouts, though a hard road and but very little broken, is much coarser and less smooth, the stones not having been sufficiently broken, [8] if that is the material of which the road is made, and if it is limestone gravel, the larger stones not having been picked out, as they ought to have been.

From Knocklofty we took the Co. of Waterford side of the river⁷ and crossed at Mr Newport's bridge,⁸ and the Anner at Two Mile Bridge. Left Landscape on the Co. of Waterford side to our right, 4 miles from Clonmel.⁹ Then Mr Edward Power's place at Gurteen.¹⁰ Then the bridge of Kilsheelan 1 mile further on.¹¹ Then Ballydine, Mr Mandeville's, about a mile further, still on the Tipperary side and still nearer to Carrick, from which they are about 2 miles distant.¹² Mr

6 Mooncoin.

7 Curiously, at this point Lord Donoughmore records the landmarks in the wrong order. Bypassing Clonmel on the County Waterford side, they crossed the Suir at Newport's / Sir Thomas's Bridge, then the Anner, and would then have seen Gurteen le Poer, Kilsheelan Bidge, Landscape and Ballydine.

8 Also known as Sir Thomas's Bridge and Two Mile Bridge. An attractive and skillfully-constructed humpback bridge built in the late seventeenth century by Sir Thomas Osborne of Tikincor. The narrow carriageway rises steeply on both sides. Five segmental or elliptical arches, with a smaller arch on the south side for pedestrians on the river bank.

9 Built by John Congreve (d. 1801), elder son of John of Mount Congreve. He bequeathed it to his cousin William Congreve Alcock, MP, after whose death in 1812 it reverted to the Congreve family and was leased out.

10 Edmond Power, *de jure* 16th Baron le Power and Coroghmore (1775-1830). His residence was a Georgian house close to the present farm buildings. A few weeks after Lord Donoughmore passed by, he married Anastatia, elder daughter and co-heir of John Lalor of Long Orchard, County Tipperary (after his death she married her cousin Richard Lalor Sheil, MP). Their grandson, created Count De la Poer in 1864, built the present Gurteen le Poer Castle.

11 Then quite new. An elegant, early nineteenth-century hump-backed bridge comprising three large arches with a smaller arch for pedestrians along the river bank.

12 William Mandeville-Power of Ballydine, only son of James Mandeville of Hamerton and Mar Power of Gurteen. He died without issue in 1823.

Wall's at Coolnamuck, and the house built by his mother and called the Lodge, both these on the Co. of Waterford side.¹³ About Coolnamuck there appears to me no sort of ornamented improvement nor any advantage taken of the river, to which the back of the house and the haggard are turned. From the wooded hills and its neighbourhood to so noble a stream, the place cannot however escape being beautiful and very picturesque, at least to look at. As high as Coolnamuck the tide ebbs and flows.

Below the town of Carrick the river of course extends itself into a greater expanse of water, but the banks lose their beauty and there is nothing to interest you till you reach Waterford across the wooden bridge, [9] with the exception only of the house and place of Mr Walsh, Lord Bessborough's agent, which are very neat;¹⁴ and a little farther on, and distant from Carrick 3 miles, his own demesne of Besborough and village of Piltown.¹⁵ The river is certainly a noble feature, within sight of which you pass for the whole of the 35 miles from Knocklofty to Waterford.

After you have passed Piltown about 2 miles you see on a hill at some distance, on the Co. of Waterford side of the river, the obelisk which stands above Curraghmore, Lord Waterford's, which is about 5 miles from Carrick;¹⁶ Mayfield, now Mr Medlecott's, formerly Sir J[ames] May's;¹⁷ and Lord Waterford's village of Portlaw and his post town, about a mile farther still. Curraghmore from Waterford – by Pilltown – 10 miles.

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- 13 Coolnamuck Court was built by James William Wall c.1774. In 1815 it was occupied by his son Charles William, whose mother (Elizabeth, née Cuffe) lived at the Lodge. Dorothea Herbert gives an entertaining account of the Wall family in her *Retrospections*: 'Mrs Wall was a grass widow as her husband had been for many years out of his reason and was kept in England under proper guardians.' Coolnamuck Court was sold in 1852 and passed through a succession of owners before being demolished c.1960. See H.D. Gallwey, *The Wall Family in Ireland 1170-1970* (1st edition, 1970), pp 164-7.
- 14 Belline, a beautiful and unusual house built c.1800 by Peter Walsh, Lord Bessborough's agent and a zealous antiquary. It was the home of successive agents of the Bessboroughs, and in recent times of the noted architect Donal O'Neill Flanagan.
- 15 Formerly Kildalton. Built 1744 for Brahazon Ponsonby, first Earl of Bessborough. Occupied in 1815 by his grandson the third earl. Burned by Anti-Treaty forces in 1923 but rebuilt and sold. In 1940 the Oblate Fathers established a seminary here. Bought by the Department of Agriculture in 1971 and run as an agricultural college.
- 16 Erected in 1783 by the first Marquess of Waterford to commemorate his eldest son who was killed in a riding accident at the age of twelve.
- 17 In 1795 James Edward May sold Mayfield to John Thomas Medlycott of Newport Pratt, County Mayo, who reverted to the older name of Rockett's Castle. It remained the seat of that family down to 1961. The house which Lord Donoughmore saw burned down in about 1840, and the present house was built in 1863 at some distance from it. Recently occupied by Russians, it is now the home of Mr and Mrs Driver.

Two miles and a half before you reach Waterford, you have at your right Graney Castle and the ferry, across which you passed to Waterford before the building of the new bridge.¹⁸

For half the way at least from Carrick to Waterford the quality of the land seems to me to be very good, and I was delighted observe a great proportion of it pasture land, and some considerable dairies of cows. On asking Mr Sauce,¹⁹ whom we met in Carrick, whether it was not true that the population had decreased very much, he answered me that it was by no means the case, and thinks he was sure it was as populous now as ever it was; and he said [10] that no one had better means than himself of forming a correct opinion, having been long a resident in the town, and no man perhaps so large a proprietor of houses there, Lord Besborough having the fee. When Morton Pitt²⁰ was at Carrick with his regiment about the period of 1798, he made a census of the inhabitants by actual enumeration, and found them to amount to more than ten thousand souls.²¹

When we had got beyond Carrick about a mile, I was surprised at seeing what struck me as a very singular sight, the Waterford mail coach passing us by on the way to Clonmell, and an opposition jaunting car with a pair of horses abreast, covered with an awning of oil cloth, sticking as close to the coach as possible, and with more passengers in it than the mail coach itself.²²

From 2 miles or thereabouts after you have passed, till you cross the river on entering Waterford, you are in the county of Kilkenny, which extends on that side to the Ross River at Checkpoint. At the other side of the river is the county of Wexford, which runs down to the opening of the harbour of Waterford on that side, taking in Ballyhack (the little village opposite to Passage), Loftus Hall, and so on to Hook Tower.

A little higher up than Dunmore – on that side – a good deal above Loftus Hall – is Sir Joshua Paul's place, which seems a fine one, and his son sets about it.²³ There is near it a little place of note, Mr Jno Fairholm. New Geneva Barracks on the Passage side, about a mile lower down than Passage.

18 'Timbertoes' Bridge, built in 1793-4 by Lemuel Cox. Replaced by Redmond Bridge in 1913.

19 Richard Sausse esq., of Anneborough, Carrick-on-Suir.

20 Cousin of the Prime Minister and a Dorset landowner. Major in the Dorset Militia.

21 See L.J. Clarkson, 'The demography of Carrick-on-Suir, 1799', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 87.C.2 (1987).

22 Presumably an early 'Bian', i.e., one of Bianconi's coaches.

23 Ballyglan, built c.1800 by Sir Joshua Christmas Paul.

No packet sailing till one the next day, we remained at Waterford Wednesday night [11] and Mr Esch²⁴ gave us for our dinner as fine a turbot as I ever eat – a v. small one of course – and some remarkably fine potatoes. I think they were of the old apple kind, which have been nearly quite given up for a much worse thing, tho' of greater size and weight, the red apple.

Thursday 4 May. After breakfast I called on Dr Power, the Catholic Bishop of Waterford, to do what I could for the appointment of my friend O'Meagher to the parish of Dungarvan on the event of Walsh's death. Dr Power expressed great personal kindness towards myself, and entered very candidly with me into the subject, but he had made up his mind, which I could not shake, as he avowed to me, though quite confidentially, the principle on which he proceeded.²⁵

The residence of Dr Power is in Bowling Green Lane,²⁶ next door to one of the chapels at which he officiates, two parishes being assigned to him as Bishop, that of [blank] and that of St Dominick's, where the large chapel was built some few years since.²⁷ Dr Power's income as Bishop he mentioned to me himself as not exceeding £900 a year, and that in Hussey's time it was not so much.

Its position on the bank of a fine river [is] the only beauty of the town of Waterford. The length of quay indeed is deserving of observation, extending as it does nearly an English mile in length from the [12] Bridge to the Mall, and of a very suitable breadth too. On this Quay are the Fish House and the new Market House on one side, and the Tholsill and the Custom House on the other.²⁸ At right angles with the

24 Mail coaches in 1815 operated to and from Esch's Commercial Hotel on the Mall. By 1824 Edward Cummins had established the Family and Commercial Hotel on the Quay, which in 1831 became the south-eastern terminus on Bianconi's coaching network.

25 Fr Robert Walsh was parish priest of Dungarvan and Fr O'Meagher was his curate. The bishop knew more than he was prepared to divulge about the unsavoury character of the earl's 'friend'. In the event it was the bishop who died (1816). Fr Walsh was chosen as the new bishop, and immediately appointed O'Meagher to be his successor in Dungarvan. So strong were the protests against O'Meagher's scandalous conduct that in 1821 Walsh was summoned to Rome to explain how in four years he had managed to reduce a well-run diocese to chaos. See (*inter alia*) M.C. Normoyle, *A Tee is Planted* (2nd edn, 1976), pp 127-35.

26 Now part of Manor Street.

27 This house later became a constabulary barracks. See Patrick Power, 'A historic Waterford house: the present Manor Street police station', in *Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society* XV (1912), pp 1-5, and frontispiece.

28 Waterford Corporation invested 'considerable amounts' in 1814 on 'building quays near the New Bridge at the east and west of the Butter Market, fitting up the said

Quay runs the Mall, where the Commercial Hotel stands, from which a narrow passage turning to the right leads you to the Cathedral and Bishop's House, which are stuck together in a very narrow space and visible from no place what ever.

The County Courthouses are in the part of the town called Ballybricken, lying to the south of the Quay (supposing the course of the river to be from west to east).²⁹ The Manor of St John lies also southward of the Quay, but towards the east. Bowling Green Lane (where Dr Power lives) is in the Manor, in which Mr Wyse has a large house extending into the country.³⁰ The residence of Mr J. Fitzgerald.³¹ The Adelphi Terrace fronting the river to the right of the Commercial Hotel.

The population of Waterford [is] computed at [blank].

Except towards the west, the side at which we entered the environs of Waterford are pretty enough, the ground rising on every other side, broken into a great variety of little hills, improved and thickly set with country residences for the inhabitants of the town.

Standing on the Mall, you see the country house of Mr Hunt directly in front on the opposite side of the river, and that of Mr William Newport to the right of it and a little more distant from the town.³²

[13] The present hour for the departure of the mail coach for Passage is a q[uarte]r past 11 in the morning. The time allowed for its arrival there is an hour and a half. On this day (Thursday) it left the Hotel at 12 and reached Passage with us at 1. My brother, fearing to be late, left the Hotel without me and called for me in the carriage at the corner of Bowling Green Lane, and sent Fitzgerald to me to Dr Power's to say that there was no time to be lost. Fitzgerald had called with the Catholic Petition of the County and City of Waterford which they had wished that I should present, with the Duke of Devonshire, to the House of Lords.

It was 12 when I got into the carriage, and we ran these 7 miles, and with many hills to go up and down – most expeditiously – in an hour.

market house... and Fish House'. See *Waterford Mirror*, 12 March 1814. The Tholsill probably refers to the Exchange on the Quay, built between 1710 and 1714. See Richards and Scalé map of Waterford, 1764.

- 29 Built to the design of James Gandon. Demolished in the 1840s and replaced by the City Gaol.
- 30 Demolished by the agent a few years later, and eventually replaced by the present, much smaller building at Roanmore.
- 31 John FitzGerald of Kingsmeadow (the house mentioned here) and Williamstown. It was he who compiled the Catholic Petition of the County and City of Waterford and gave it to Lord Donoughmore. His descendant Gerald Purcell FitzGerald was the builder in the early 1900s of the Island Castle (now Waterford Castle Hotel).
- 32 Belmont. William Newport was head of one of the leading banks of the south of Ireland. When it crashed in 1820, to the ruin of many he took his own life.

For Dunmore, Cheekpoint and Passage (which are all within the harbour of Waterford) you proceed from Waterford by the same road. When you have gone 3 miles the Dunmore road turns to the right, as the Cheekpoint road does to the left when you have gone 4 miles, the constant direction taking you to Passage. The distances of Cheekpoint and Passage are nearly the same – 7 miles – that of Dunmore; to take you to the pier, when it shall be completed, 8 miles at least.

But I can consider this undertaking in no [14] other light than that of a wild project and a great jump in the dark, in which you can count on nothing as certain but the expense. Just at the opening of the harbour a heavy sea of course tumbles in, from which it must be matter of difficulty, in anything like a gale of wind, exactly to hit, in failure of which you have the alternative presented to you of going at one against the rocks or running aground on the shoal water in the little bay where the village stands. Add to this the difficulty of securing this pier against the violence of such a sea as will often have to contend with, and take into consideration above all whether the communication between this island and Great Britain – as well the internal communications throughout itself – are not already abundantly sufficient, and whether there are not at the present moment other and more pressing calls on the public purse.

The village of Passage is singularly enough placed, so much overhung by the base of the hill at which it stands as if the space had been actually scooped out for its foundation. The small village of Ballyhack, on the opposite side of the river, each with a very neat parish church fancifully perched on the opposite hills, and each appearing almost the ditto of the other.³³

To the misfortune of the unhappy proprietors, miserable a village as Passage is, it contains notwithstanding two Inns, that of [15] my friend Howley,³⁴ where only we could stop, affording so wretched accommodation that it would be quite impossible to pass a night there, indeed almost to eat a meal. It will be therefore always necessary to remain at Waterford till the last moment, and on landing at Passage to hurry up to Waterford without delay, though this may not always be so easy a matter, as no horses are kept at Passage but those for the Mail Coach. These, however, are often put to private carriages when not just then wanting for the purposes of the Mail.

33 St James's Church, Ballyhack, described in 1837 as 'small plain building without tower or spire' was closed in 1878 and subsequently demolished. St Anne's Church, Passage, built c.1730 incorporating remains of a medieval chapel, was sold in 1978 and, after some years of neglect and vandalism, refurbished for private residential use.

34 William Howley had moved his business from Cheekpoint to Passage with the packet station in 1813.

In $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from where the Passage road turns to the left to wind you round the hill into the town, the straight road would bring you to New Geneva.³⁵

About 3 miles lower down the river than Passage, Duncannon Fort runs out as a narrow isthmus into the river. 5 miles lower down or thereabouts is Loftus Hall, standing without a tree near it on a miserable flat,³⁶ and lower still about a mile Hook Tower, which forms one of the headlands of the harbour of Waterford, that to the eastward. Creaden Head has been always considered as the other, that to the westward, but I think it should be the point of Dunmore, which is below Creaden Head, the village of Dunmore being confessedly within the harbour. Tramore which is 6 miles from Waterford and has a bay of its own, is confessedly without the harbour of Waterford.

Charles Nuttall (the father) having finished [16] his new vessel the Countess of Mansfield, in which we sailed on his 3rd trip. The 7 established packets on the Milford and Waterford station are the following, all of them cutters, viz.

the Auckland	Richards
the Countess of Mansfield	Ch. Nuttall
the Sandwich	Jenkins
the Leicester	Steel
the Gower	Gray
the Fielding	Hughs
& the Cambden	Jas Nuttall

In all the others excepting the lately fitted out the Countess of Mansfield there are 12 beds for cabin passengers. In her there are 14. But in the accommodation of what are called steerage passengers, they are all miserably deficient, having only for that class of passengers 2 beds only.

Chs Nuttall has been in the packet service since 1785, almost from their first establishment by Mr Bolton, Mr Saml Newport and others as passage vessels, having in that year begun his apprenticeship on board them as a boy.

Having reached Passage (Thurs. 4 May) as already stated in page 13 at one, my carriage and the passengers where [sic] embarked by two o'clock, and at half past two we weighed anchor in the Countess of

35 Site of the proposed City of New Geneva. Appropriated in the 1790s for military use, it acquired an unsavoury reputation in 1798. After 1815 the barrack fell into disuse, and the building materials were bought and removed by an enterprising Dungarvan merchant, Matthew Galwey of Duckspool.

36 Seat of the Redmond family and from 1666 of the Loftuses. The rather attractive house seen by Lord Donoughmore was levelled in 1870 by the 4th Marquess of Ely and the present bleak barrack erected on its site. Later occupied by nuns, then run as a hotel, it is currently in private hands and unoccupied.

Mansfield, Chs Nuttall, who was particularly fortunate this trip, having 20 passengers, 11 of them cabin passengers, and another carriage besides mine. [17] During our passage we were hailed by a ship from South America bound to Liverpool, laden with cotton.

To avoid the strength of the tide, which was running against us, we passed through what is called the Sound, between the islands of Scokam [Skokholm] and Scomer [Skomer], the end of which is about a league from St Anne's Head.

I have set down in my present itinerary the distance across the water 1 league less than heretofore, the former packet station at Cheekpoint being by so much higher up the river than their present one at Passage.

The following are the distances, viz. Passage to Hook Tower 3 leagues, and thence to the Smalls 18, and thence to St Anne's 7, and thence to Milford 3. Total 31 leagues, and which may be again subdivided thus – viz. from Passage to Hook Tower 3 and St Anne's to Milford 3 and across Channel 25.

The headlands which form the Bristol Channel are Hartland Point on the Devonshire coast and Linney Head off Milford Haven.

Having weighed anchor on Thursday 4th May at ½ past 2, as mentioned in the last page, we reached the Nelson Hotel at Milford at ½ past 10 on Friday night 5th May after a passage from land to land of 32 hours.

Reached London – brother's house in Bulstrode St. – at 9 p.m. on Friday 12th May and on the 10th day after our having left Knocklofty, the days of departure and arrival respectively being included. [Ms ends on p. 29]

Expenditures

[1]	<u>Rates</u>	<u>Miles</u>	<u>Amounts Irish</u>		
4 horses to Carrick	Tipp 2/8½	16	£2	3	4
2 turnpikes				4	4
Postboys & hostler				10	4
Express with horse to bespeak horses				12	4
Horses to Waterford	2/8½	13	1	15	2½
Postboys				8	0
Hostler, who had the horses harnessed the whole day				2	0
bridge toll, and horses returning				3	6
dinner, beds and breakfast at H. Esch's - the Commercial Hotel at Waterford (and as good a small turbot as I ever eat); bill £1-17-7 waiter & ch maid 6/- each			2	9	7
Horses for the carriage to Passage		7	1	2	9
Allowance for being ready yesterday				5	3
Postboys with sm allowance also				5	10
Seashore at Howley's, Passage, having brought from Knocklofty bread and butter and eggs for ourselves (with 2/3 for maid)			1	10	0
Total in Irish measure and money		36	11	12	5½
which makes in British measure and money		45	10	14	7

[2]

Expenses in crossing the water, my brother's passage and my own	4	4	0
do. of 4 servants	4	4	0
do. of carriage and slinging	4	14	6
horse boats for carriage		7	6
boats for ourselves and servants		4	0
the 2 cash charges at landing		11	6
steward 12/-, crew 16/-		1	8
on board Mansfield, Cap. Ch. Nuttall	93	15	13
		6	

[5] These expenses being equally divided between my brother and me with respect to the land journey and rateably as to the crossing of the water, with the proportions of each of the totals as follows, viz.

		<u>My own</u>			<u>my brother's part</u>				
crossing the water	£15	13	6	11	13	6	4	0	0
land journey	76	5	0	38	2	6	38	2	6
totals	91	18	6	49	10	0	42	2	6

[6] The expenses of my groom & pair of saddle horses: 2 days to Waterford and Ireland on board, 10 from Milford to London, 13 days.

Left Knocklofty 19 Feb, arrived 3 March at Buistrode St.,
total expenses £15-17-9.

But so much time will not be necessary for every journey – on this occasion it rained incessantly and I had given the groom a particular charge against hurrying the young horse.



Plate 1: The Officers of the Company of St. Patrick in the Papal Army 1861. Keily is standing third from the right. Keogh is beside him, third from left.

Dan Keily and Belle Boyd: The Waterford Soldier and the Confederate Spy

Pat McCarthy

By any standard, Waterfordman Daniel Keily¹ had an adventurous life. He served in two armies and a navy, fought in two wars and campaigned on two continents. He fought bravely for Pope Pius IX and for Abraham Lincoln. However his contribution to the Union cause in the American Civil War is somewhat overshadowed by his brief dalliance with Belle Boyd, a notorious Confederate spy.

Early life

The scant details that we have of Dan Keily's early life are drawn principally from the records of his service in the papal army, copies of which are in the Berkeley papers in the National Library of Ireland.² Presumably, these details would have been supplied by Keily himself on enlistment and are as follows:

Keily, Daniel Giuseppi – Tenente (Lieutenant)
Date of Birth: 6 September 1832
At: Newtownville, Waterford, Ireland
Parents: Thomas Keily and Kyte [*sic*] O'Byrne
Domiciled: Newtownville, Waterford, Ireland

There are repeated references to Dan's home being 'Newtownville, near Waterford'. The Ordnance Survey map of 1846 shows a house called 'Newtownville' on the Newtown Road just outside the then city boundary. This would certainly fit the description of 'near Waterford'.

In response to an appeal for information about Keily, the *Waterford News* of 23 December 1953 published a note from a Ms Susan Calthorpe of 23 Johnstown. Ms Calthorpe claimed that her mother, who died in 1933 aged eighty-eight, was a near relative of Keily's mother and that her grandmother and Keily's mother were sisters who were born in Portlaw. She also claimed that Keily's father was a butter merchant, who also owned a bakery in George's Street and that Dan was an only child. The 1846 directory does show a bakery in George's Street but gives the owner as James Keily.

1 Tracing the life, especially the early life, of our subject is complicated by spelling! Various sources refer to him as Keily but sometimes Kiely or even Keiley is used. In the only handwritten document I discovered which had been written by the man himself he signed it 'Keily' and that is the spelling I have had adhered to throughout this essay.

2 National Library of Ireland, (henceforth abbreviated as NLI) Berkeley Papers, Box 5, MS 13280.

Details of his service in the Royal Navy are equally scant. Berkeley states that Keily had served as a midshipman in the Royal Navy.³ There are many other references to this service in the unpublished correspondence in the Berkeley papers. For example, Albert de la Hoyde in a letter home to Dublin dated September 1861 refers to his officer as 'Lt. Keily, who had begun life in the British Navy'.⁴ By the mid-nineteenth century the training of officer cadets or midshipmen in the Royal Navy had been formalised. The age of entry had been raised from twelve to eighteen and trainees spent four years at a naval college followed by up to two years at sea before being commissioned. Unfortunately the quarterly Naval Lists of the 1850s give only commissioned officers and there is no mention of a Daniel Kiely. It is possible that having joined a naval college and spent some time there that Keily left before being commissioned. Certainly his rapid promotion in the Papal army and his experience on board the ship, the *Conte Cavour* (see below), all suggest some maritime and command experience. He had obviously left the Royal Navy by the spring of 1860 for he was available to answer the call to arms of Pope Pius IX.

In the Papal army

For more than a 1,400 years Italy had been a mosaic of kingdoms, dukedoms, principalities and city-states that spent most of their time and energy in internecine feuding. However by the 1850s the momentum for a unified Italian state had become almost unstoppable. Ruled by King Victor Emmanuel and masterminded by the Prime Minister Count Cavour the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia was extending its control over much of the peninsula. An alliance with France led to the military defeat of Austria in 1859 and to the annexation of Lombardy, Tuscany, Parma and Modena. In 1860 an insurrection in Sicily led by Garibaldi seemed certain to succeed and would lead inevitably to the annexation of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies by Victor Emmanuel. That would leave only the Papal States and Austrian-occupied Venetia as the last obstacles to the nationalist dream of a unified Italian state. That the Papal States would be next was obvious to all. Pope Pius IX however was determined to defend his territories and in March 1860 sent out an appeal to the Catholic world for assistance – both men and money. Ireland responded enthusiastically on both fronts.⁵ A nationwide collection yielded substantial funds while soon over 1,400 men had volunteered for service in the Papal army. These had to be circumspect for the British Government issued a proclamation reminding its Irish citizens that enrolment in a foreign army was a crime under British law. In June and July small groups of men left Ireland under the guise of tourists, pilgrims or intending to work on railway construction in Italy. Travelling via Antwerp and Vienna they began to arrive in Rome in July 1860. Among them were two close friends, Daniel Keily and Myles Keogh.

3 G.F.H. Berkeley, *The Irish Battalion in the Papal Army of 1860*, (Talbot Press, Dublin, 1929), p. 230.

4 NLI, Berkeley Papers, Box 5, MS 13280.

5 For details of the Irish response to the Pope's appeal see Pat McCarthy, 'Under Two Flags: The Military Career of Captain Patrick F. Clooney', in *Decies* 56 (2000).

The Irishmen were eager and willing but they lacked arms, equipment, uniforms and above all officers who could mould them into a fighting force. De Lamoriciere, a highly regarded French officer was in overall command of the Papal forces and he designated County Louth-born Major Myles O'Reilly as commander of the Irish unit, formally christened the Battalion of St Patrick. Without the diplomatic assistance of a friendly power, the Irish were in a far worse state than the Austrian, French and Belgian recruits. They were issued with leftover Austrian uniforms and obsolete smoothbore muskets. The first thing that O'Reilly did was to appoint suitable officers from among the ranks of his volunteers. Given his previous military experience it was no surprise that Keily was appointed a 1st Lieutenant on 7 August. The same day Keogh and another friend, Joseph O'Keefe from Cork were commissioned as 2nd Lieutenants. Under the able command of O'Reilly and the intensive drilling and training by the newly appointed officers St Patrick's Battalion began to take shape. However the battalion never got a chance to fight as a single unit. Four companies, half the battalion and including Keily and Keogh were left at Ancona on the eastern side of the peninsula. Ancona was vital to De Lamoriciere's plans. The help from Austria on which he counted could only come through that port. Hence holding it for as long as possible would be vital. The other four companies, under the command of O'Reilly were sent to Perugia and to Spoleto.

Meanwhile Cavour watched anxiously at the growing strength of the Papal army. Secretly assured by Napoleon III that France would not intervene, he mobilised his forces. From the beginning of September small bands of Piedmontese had been raiding across the frontier. On 11 September war was formally declared and Victor Emmanuel's main army crossed the frontier. De Lamoriciere's plan was to move as much of his force as possible to Ancona and there to withstand a siege while waiting for the hoped-for Austrian intervention. Gathering as much of his motley army as possible he moved towards the coast but found his way blocked by the army of Sardinia-Piedmont at a little village called Castelfidardo. Even though his force of 10,000 men was greatly outnumbered De Lamoriciere led an attack on his entrenched enemy on 18 September. Despite the exceptional courage shown by some elements of the Papal army, especially one company of 105 Irishmen, it was forced to retreat and to surrender. De Lamoriciere accompanied by about forty cavalry managed to fight his way through to Ancona about 8 miles away. The next day the Sardinian-Piedmontese army closed in on the port and began to bombard the city. The siege had begun.⁶

The garrison numbered about 4,200 including about 450 Irishmen under the command of Captain Frank Russell. The besiegers numbered about 30,000 and were well equipped with artillery. The bombardment of the town was augmented by fire from naval vessels stationed just off the harbour. Given his naval experience Keily and some of the Irish troops may have initially been given the task of defending the harbour. On 25 September these troops were transferred to the

⁶ For details of the siege see G.F.H. Berkeley, *The Irish Battalion in the Papal Army of 1860*, p. 174-216.

landward defences just in time to meet an attack. After 8 days of continuous bombardment. Cialdini, the commander of the Sardinian-Piedmontese army deemed that the fortifications had been sufficiently weakened by the non-stop cannonade and ordered an infantry assault. On the morning of the 26th a column of 5,000 troops attacked the walls but after savage hand to hand fighting in which the Irish were prominent, the attackers were forced to retreat leaving about 700 dead and wounded behind them. The next day the small defensive outwork of San Stefano was captured by Sardinian-Piedmontese troops under General Fanti but a ferocious counterattack by the Irish and the Austrians recaptured the position.

Enraged by these repulses Cialdini renewed the bombardment with even greater intensity. On 28 September one of the main defensive works which contained most of the garrison's ammunition supply took a direct hit and exploded, fatally weakening the defences. That evening a tearful De Lamoriciere ordered that the white flag be hoisted and he surrendered. The war was over. All of peninsular Italy and most of the north now formed the unified Kingdom of Italy. Only Venetia, occupied by the Austrians and Rome itself, protected by a French garrison, were still not subject to the rule of Victor Emmanuel. Both Keily and Keogh must have displayed conspicuous bravery for they were among the small number of officers who were created Cavaliere dell'Ordine San Gregorio. They were also awarded the Pro Petri Sede medal. Both men would wear their papal medals with pride until their deaths.

After the end of hostilities the Papal army, now prisoners of war, was marched across Italy to Genoa. They arrived there at the end of September. Both Keily and Keogh, as officers, were spared the march and were sent by sea.⁷ On the evening of 30 September De Lamoriciere and 320 officers boarded the *SS Conte Cavour*. The voyage was not without incident. A few hours after clearing the harbour of Ancona the ship ran aground on a sandbank. For three hours the captain tried vainly to move it off the obstacle. De Lamoriciere watched on anxiously as rising winds threatened to make the *Conte Cavour* a total loss and to throw both crew and prisoners into the sea. At last he instructed Keily to take charge. Keily ordered sails hoisted and even though one was torn by the howling winds the others provided enough force to shift the ship off the obstacle. Shaken but otherwise undamaged the ship continued its voyage. According to Russell, Keily was 'the man of the moment' and he attributed the salvation of all to Keily's mastery of the sea.⁸

At Genoa the officers were reunited with their men. Victor Emmanuel was anxious to be rid of these prisoners and a month later the Irish were shipped to Marseilles, transported to Le Havre and from there they were shipped to Cork. They arrived there on 3 November to a hero's welcome.⁹ Not all the Irish travelled

7 Frank Russell of Killough, *Dix Années au Service Pontifical, Récits et Souvenirs*. (Paris, 1871), p. 98.

8 *Ibid.*

9 Anne O'Connor, 'Triumphant Failure: The Return of the Irish Papal Brigade to Cork, November 1860', in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Volume 114 (2009), pp. 51-62.

home. A small army called the Papal Guard was set up to defend Rome and a small number of selected Irish soldiers were invited to form the St. Patrick's Company of the Papal Zouaves.¹⁰ This unit never numbered more than sixty. Keily, Keogh and O'Keeffe were among the eight officers selected for this unit and they received their new commissions at a ceremony on 8 November. Keily was very committed to the Irish Company and very proud of his position. In a letter to a friend, Cornelius Redmond, publisher of the *Waterford News* dated 1 February 1862, he wrote:

I feel assured that you will expect to get a few lines from me. Of course you heard of my connection with the Irish Brigade during the late campaign. That affair has become a matter of history and although disastrous to the Papal Arms shall ever reflect honour upon old Ireland. I am happy to be able to inform you that I won my grade as First Lieutenant and attained the Cross of St. Gregory for I am one of the few officers in the Irish Brigade who hold definite commissions. When the others went home I remained in the service and very likely will die in it... Kindest regards to Mrs Redmond. I have nothing else to offer her as a souvenir of friendship but my photograph, which I will forward as soon as I get to Rome...

Signed: Illmo Signor Tenente Keily, Battaglione Irlandesa.

Although formal warfare had ceased with the Lamoriciere's surrender and the subsequent annexation of most of the Papal States, bands of Piedmontese irregulars continued to be active in the small territory around Rome, which continued to be ruled by the Pope. They hoped to destabilise the area and pave the way for a further intervention by Piedmont-Sardinia. The Papal Guard responded vigorously. Hard marching and hard fighting throughout the winter of 1860 and 1861 crushed the guerrilla bands. In a note attached to his letter to Cornelius Redmond, Keily described one such encounter:

The Irish Zouaves are out campaigning with their brave brothers-in-arms, the France Belge, or as they are now called, the Papal Zouaves. The day before they were ordered to join them they had surprised a post of Piedmontese who had encroached on the Papal territory and took 48 of them prisoners, killing and wounding a few... We are encamped at Torita, about five hundred yards from the enemy, every moment expecting to have a brush with them, and only hope they will come on. We occupy one side of the Tiber, they the other.

Campo di Torita

February 1, 1861.

His note was published in the *Waterford News* of 8 February 1861 under the heading: 'From the Field of Battle' but with no clue as to the identity of the writer.

¹⁰ Charles A. Coulombe, *The Pope's Legion: The Multinational Fighting Force that Defended the Vatican*, (London, Palgrave and McMillan, 2008), pp. 205-7.



Belle Boyd.

By April 1861 the Piedmontese inspired insurrection had been suppressed. The Papal Guard now assumed a largely ceremonial role. For Keily and his friends parades in St Peter's Square were no substitute for the adrenalin and comradeship of combat. Despite his earlier thoughts that he would likely die in the Papal service, his thoughts turned to further adventure.

Civil War in America

Meanwhile a greater conflict had broken out in America. Attracted by the prospect of glory and the lure of battle the three friends decided to join the armies of the North and applied for permission to resign from the Papal Guard. This was forthcoming and on 28 February 1862 they formally resigned their commissions and left for Ireland the next day.¹¹ After brief visits home Keily and Keogh travelled to Liverpool on 17 March. Two days later they left for New York on board the *SS Kangaroo* of the Inman line. The next day the ship called at Cork where it picked up 132 emigrants, 'principally females of the humble class in life' before proceeding across the Atlantic. Not for Keily or Keogh the hardships of steerage. They travelled first class at a cost of 21 guineas each and according to the shipping company's brochure they were assured that the cabins were 'strictly segregated from the steerage'. O'Keeffe travelled separately to America a few days later.

In the army of the Union and in the arms of Belle Boyd

On 1 April 1862 the *Kangaroo* arrived in New York and Keily and Keogh disembarked. The two Irishmen lost no time in seeking commissions in the Union army. Using the influence of Archbishop Hughes of New York they persuaded no less a personage than William Seward, the US Secretary of State to intervene on their behalf. As Secretary of State Seward's main preoccupation was to stop any foreign country, no matter how small, recognising the Confederacy. He was also aware that a high-powered delegation from the South was in Rome lobbying the Pope for diplomatic recognition. On 4 April Seward wrote to his cabinet colleague, the Secretary of War:

11 NLI, Berkeley Papers, Box 5, MS 13280.

To the Honorable E.M. Stanton,
Secretary of War,
Sir,

I am informed by Archbishop Hughes, who is now in Rome, that he has written to you on behalf of Messrs Keily and Keogh, two gentlemen recent officers of the Papal Army, who are desirous of being appointed in the military service of the United States. As this wish on their part is understood to be favoured by Cardinal Antonelli and by the Pope himself, the expediency of gratifying it is obvious on high political grounds. I trust that it may be within your power to gratify it. The gentlemen are believed to be in this city.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
William H. Seward.¹²

In ensuring the continued diplomatic isolation of the South, Hughes was a valuable ally to Seward and his visit to Rome had been undertaken at his request. It is no surprise then that less than a week later, on 9 April, Keily and Keogh, along with their friend O’Keeffe who had joined them, were commissioned into the Union army as captains. On 15 April they were ordered to report to the Army of the Shenandoah with initial assignment as aides to General James Shields.¹³ Born in County Tyrone, Shields was a politician turned soldier who commanded a division of about 10,000 men. Overall command of the Union forces in the Shenandoah Valley lay with another politician-general, Nathaniel Banks who had about 25,000 men in total. The enemy force of about 12,000 men was led by the legendary Thomas J. ‘Stonewall’ Jackson.

Shields’s headquarters was in a small hotel in the town of Front Royal and as aide to the general, Keily was soon introduced to a young lady, a frequent visitor to the hotel – Miss Isabelle (Belle) Boyd. Shields may have been smitten by Belle; Dan Keily certainly was. In her memoirs Belle recalled a young Irishman whom she coyly referred to only as DK. According to her: ‘To him I am indebted for some very remarkable effusions [poems], some withered flowers and a great deal of important information.’¹⁴ The last phrase is the telling one for Belle Boyd was a Confederate spy.

Marie Isabelle Boyd was born on 9 May 1843 in Virginia to a prosperous merchant family who owned businesses in many towns in the valley, including the hotel in Front Royal.¹⁵ The family home was described as the finest house in Martinsburg. She was sent to school to a noted academy, the Mount Washington Female College in Baltimore from where she graduated in Spring 1861, a very

12 See Robert Doyle, www.irishamericancivilwar.wordpress.com/the-popes-irish-soldiers.

13 J.P. Sean Callan, *Courage and Country: James Shields*, (Illinois, Irish Quil Publishing, 2004).

14 Curtis C. Davis, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison*, (New Jersey, 1958), p. 150.

15 Louis A. Sigeaud, *Belle Boyd, Confederate Spy*, (Richmond Virginia, 1944).

well educated woman by the standards of the time. She was formally presented to Washington D.C. society in March of that year, just before war broke out. On the outbreak of hostilities she returned to the Shenandoah Valley where she was very prominent in fund raising activities in support of Confederate troops. Her father and brothers had enlisted in a Virginia regiment and on 4 July she was alone in the house with her mother when some Union soldiers burst into the house intent on removing the Confederate flag fluttering from the roof. When one of the soldiers insulted her mother, Belle drew a pistol and killed him. A Federal board of enquiry exonerated her but she was put under house arrest. This gave her ample opportunity to become familiar with Union officers and to pick up military information, which she promptly passed to Jackson.

Occasionally she made the trip south herself but usually she used a trusted black slave, Eliza Hopewell. Messages were encoded and hidden in a large watch-case from which the mechanism had been removed. For months she supplied intelligence to Jackson.

In mid-May she learned from Keily that Shields had called a meeting for 15 May of all his staff and unit commanding officers in his headquarters. When Belle heard this she rode to Front Royal and hid herself in a closet adjoining the main dining room from where she could hear all that transpired. The discussion was animated for Shields had been told to detach a significant number of his troops and to send them east to reinforce the main Federal army under McClellan. Armed with this key piece of information Belle rode through the night to Jackson. Based on this knowledge Jackson decided to advance and to attack the weakened Federal forces. Even though he was still outnumbered by the Union forces in the valley, Jackson now knew that they were dispersed and weakened. He was not the man to miss such an opportunity. On 22 May he moved his army (about 12,000 men) to within ten miles of Front Royal, which was garrisoned by about 1,000 men, Shields himself with most of his force having moved north. The next morning Jackson advanced with a vanguard of about 3,000 men and deployed in line of battle ready to assault the town. As his men exchanged fire with the defenders, Belle Boyd ran between the lines, braving the bullets and urging Jackson 'The Yankee force is very small, charge right down and you will catch them all'. Jackson did so speedily and successfully. That evening he penned her a note of gratitude: 'I thank you, for myself and for the army, for the immense service that you have rendered your country today'. To show his appreciation for all her service Jackson awarded her an honorary rank of Captain in the Confederate army.¹⁶

With all his force Jackson moved swiftly. On 25 May he smashed a Union army of 4,500 men under General Nathaniel Banks at Winchester. He then marched up the valley almost as far as Harper's Ferry and appeared to threaten Washington itself. The Union commanders reacted as Jackson expected. Instead of reinforcing McClellan and his main force Lincoln had to divert troops to the valley. Reinforcements were rushed there from east and west and two union armies, each

16 Belle Boyd, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison*, 2 Vols, (London, 1865), vol. 1, chapter 9.

larger than Jackson's force, began to converge on Port Republic hoping to trap Jackson. Jackson was almost twice as far from Port Republic as the Union forces but hard marching meant that by 7 June the three armies were approaching the town. That evening Shields sent Keily with a despatch to Colonel Samuel Carroll ordering him to force-march his brigade and to capture the bridge in the town thus effectively trapping Jackson. Shields had great faith in Keily and told Carroll to 'confer with him on all occasions'. Accompanied by Keily, Carroll arrived at the town shortly after sunrise on 8 June, accompanied by 150 troopers of the First Virginia (Union) Cavalry and the four guns of Battery L, First Ohio Artillery. The four infantry battalions of the brigade were some hours behind. To their surprise the two officers saw Confederate troops approaching the town from the north. Nevertheless Carroll and Keily pushed on with their troops and seized the bridge but they were unable to hold it. As line after line of Confederate infantry attacked, Carroll and Keily and their men were forced to retreat. Carroll would later pay tribute to Keily's 'indomitable energy and courage'.¹⁷ He further declared: 'I do not think I ever saw a more perfect piece of coolness and heroism'. The rest of that day was a stalemate but Jackson used the time to soundly defeat Fremont's Union army. He could now turn his attention to Shields's force. Early on 9 June, Jackson led his men across the bridge. Their first point of attack was on Carroll's brigade. In their first assault they forced Carroll's men back and captured seven artillery pieces. However Keily organised an immediate counter-attack and personally led two Ohio regiments to recapture the guns. At the head of his troops Keily had his horse killed under him and at the same moment a musket ball hit him on the left side of his face. The ball fractured his jaw, lacerated his tongue and the roof of his mouth and exited through his right cheek. Reeling in pain and shock, Keily managed to regain his lines before collapsing. He was carried to the rear. The first report that Shields got was that his young aide and confidante was mortally wounded.

Meanwhile the battle continued but Jackson was able to slip away south with his army and baggage train leaving a small force behind to deter any pursuit by Shields. Keily would survive his terrible injury, but his recovery would be long and painful. He must have got some comfort from reading the accounts of the battle. According to the *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, 12 June 1862, 'Keily received praise from all who witnessed his conduct'. Shields, in a letter to Archbishop Hughes called him 'the noblest soldier on that field ... a glory to his country and race'.¹⁸ Early in July he had a visitor to his hospital bed – Belle Boyd. It is unlikely that she was motivated by concern for the wounded Irishman. In her own words:

I must avow the flowers and the poetry were comparatively valueless in my eyes; but let Captain K be consoled: these were days of war, not of love, and there are still other ladies in the world besides the 'rebel spy'.

¹⁷ Brian C. Pohanka, *Myles Keogh*, (Montana, 1998), pp. 69-70.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Failing to glean any further information from the injured Keily, who probably could not speak because of his wound, Belle transferred her attentions to a Capt. C.W.D. Smitley of the Virginia Cavalry. Either Keily or Smitley or both became suspicious of Belle and voiced their concerns to the authorities. On 29 July Belle was arrested by Union agents and lodged in the Old Capitol Prison in Washington. Despite strict orders that she be kept in close confinement, Belle exercised her female charms on one of the officers and soon she was living like a queen, entertaining visitors and having all her food sent in by Southern sympathisers. Since there was no specific charge against her, she was exchanged on 30 August and sent south where she continued to work for the Confederate cause. The prison officer was court-martialled for his leniency to Belle.

Meanwhile Dan Keily continued his slow convalescence in Washington and in New York. On 6 October 1862 he wrote to the family of Myles Keogh in Carlow from New York, 'I am here on my way to Washington from the sea shore, I am much improved but still far from being entirely recovered. I intend to apply immediately for active service'.¹⁹ He signed the letter as 'Chief-of-Staff to General Shields'. But Shields had been removed from his command and recalled to Washington. This meant that Keily was now aide to a general without a command. Now living at the Ebbitt Hotel in Washington, he made repeated efforts to be assigned to active duties. In desperation he again turned to Secretary of State Seward. On 23 April 1863 he wrote:

An interval of nine months has elapsed and I have not had any recognition of my services, nor have I heard from the War Department. If I were to remain in my present anomalous position I would suffer in reputation and be all but repudiated by those who know me. I am overlooked and forgotten by the War Department... I am now a citizen of this great republic, devoted to all its institutions and ready to preserve the glorious cause of the Union at the sacrifice of my life if necessary. I have freely offered it up before, and now as then I am most anxious to do the same.²⁰

His letter and the efforts of others on his behalf bore fruit. Brigadier General Charles P. Stone had been assigned to the Union army in Louisiana and he received permission to use Keily as a member of his staff. Soon they were both on their way to New Orleans. Before leaving for New Orleans, Keily was a guest at the home of Judge Charles P. Daly, a recognised leader of the Irish community in New York. As a judge he was described as able, intelligent, eloquent and above all honest. His wife, Maria Lydig Daly, was an inveterate gatherer of gossip, which she confided to her diary. This is how she described the evening:

14 May 1863

Night before last, we had a visit from a Captain Reilley who has been in the Papal Brigade and in the Crimea and who has been chief of

¹⁹ NLI, Keogh Papers, MS 3885.

²⁰ Seward Papers, cited in Brian C. Pohanka, *Myles Keogh*, p. 72.



Keily (seated) as Colonel of the 2nd Louisiana Cavalry.

General Shields' staff. He is a most interesting, intelligent man. He was wounded and has lost a part of his right jaw. He is now going to the Southwest with General Stone. Captain Reilley in answer to some questions with regard to the government, answered, 'Were I not in the service of the United States, I might criticize its actions'. It gave us great respect for him; he has observed much. He gave us a lamentable account of the condition of the priests in Italy and said that he feared to bring his Irish soldiers whose faith was so pure and fervent into the towns, lest they should witness the ill conduct and loose lives of the inferior clergy, who mostly kept coffee houses, etc. He mentioned that everyone in Italy was educated – too many to find employment.²¹

Although Daly called him 'Reilley', it is clear from the context that it is Dan Keily who was their guest. It also appears that his experience with Belle Boyd had taught him to be a lot more discreet in his comments.

Stone was appointed chief-of-staff to Major General Nathaniel Banks who was besieging the Mississippi stronghold of Port Hudson. Keily served as a staff officer for six months, which must have been a frustrating period for a man who had distinguished himself under fire in Italy and in the Shenandoah. In November 1863 he was given the task of organising a regiment among loyal citizens of the former Confederate heartland of Louisiana. Initially an infantry unit, it was soon changed to cavalry as the 2nd Louisiana Cavalry Regiment. For some reason he did not accompany his regiment on Banks' ill-fated Red River expedition. In September 1864, the regiment was consolidated with the 1st Louisiana Cavalry and Keily was promoted to Colonel. On 13 March 1865 he was promoted to Brevet Brigadier General of Volunteers for 'gallantry and meritorious service'.²² However, unlike his close friend Myles Keogh, he failed to get an appointment in the post-war regular army. He was mustered out of service with honour on 20 August 1865.

For whatever reason, he decided to stay in Louisiana and engaged in some business ventures. He may also have been promised a consular post by Seward but this did not materialise. He did not live long. In October 1867 he succumbed to yellow fever in one of the periodic epidemics that swept the Mississippi Delta area. He died at Oak Grove Plantation, where he was plantation manager, in Pointe Coupee, Louisiana.²³ His grave is unknown. Possibly he was buried in one of the mass graves used for victims of the epidemic. When Myles Keogh heard of the death of his friend he tried to have the body re-interred in Washington but he was too late.

Daniel Joseph Keily, Waterfordman, a soldier in two armies, in two wars, on two continents, lies somewhere in Louisiana in an unmarked grave.

21 Maria Lydig Daly, *Diary of a Union Daly*, (University of Nebraska Edition, 2008), p. 239.

22 John H. Eicher and David J. Eicher, *Civil War High Commands*, (Stanford University Press, 2002), p. 328.

23 Brian C. Pohanka, *Myles Keogh*, p. 110.



Plate 1: Richard O'Flynn in front of his bookstore on Front Street in Worcester.

Courtesy of the College of the Holy Cross Photograph Archives.

From Waterford to Worcester: Records from a Massachusetts Archive

Margo Griffin

Richard O'Flynn, the son of Thomas O'Flynn (died 20 December, 1874) and Margaret Power (died 20 August, 1875), was born in Greenan, Newtown, near Kilmacthomas, County Waterford, on 24 February, 1829. Like many people from that part of County Waterford, O'Flynn emigrated to Worcester, Massachusetts in 1851. He began working on the Hartford-Providence railroad and later trained as a molder,¹ eventually securing employment in the William A. Wheeler Foundry in Worcester. In 1861 he married Anne O'Neill, with whom he had seven children, two of whom died young.² After her death in 1875 O'Flynn married Ellen Foran, a native of Stradbally, Co. Waterford, from 'a family noted for their learning'.³ He opened an antiquarian bookstore on Front Street in Worcester in the same year (1877), beginning with a small collection from his own personal library and eventually establishing a steady business in the city. He died in Worcester on 24 December, 1907.

One of the founders of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, O'Flynn had a particular interest in the history of the Irish in the city, and he left behind him an extensive archive—a total of twenty folio volumes—which is housed in the College of the Holy Cross Archives and Special Collections in Worcester, Massachusetts.⁴ During the course of an ongoing, larger project—in collaboration with Pádraig Ó Macháin—on O'Flynn and his literary and historical connections, I transcribed births, dates of landing, obituary notices and gravestone inscriptions of Irish people in Worcester that were recorded by O'Flynn in his papers. Those relating to counties Laois (Queen's County) and Kilkenny were published in a recent

- 1 O'Flynn states that he was an apprentice at Allen & Olds, Danielsonville, Connecticut (O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 152).
- 2 Anne O'Neill, the daughter of Charles O'Neill (b. 15 July, 1800, Richardstown, Co. Louth) and Bridget O'Reilly, was born in Worcester 23 January, 1840. She married Richard O'Flynn 21 April, 1861.
- 3 She was the widow of Thomas White (O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 154); see White below.
- 4 I am especially grateful for the assistance of Sarah Campbell, Assistant Archivist, Mark Savolis, Archivist, and Susan Selby. John Buckingham, Associate Director of Audio-Visual Services (Holy Cross), has kindly taken digital photographs of items in the O'Flynn papers published here.

volume of *Ossory, Laois and Leinster*.⁵ In what follows I present similar records for persons from County Waterford, along with biographical sketches written by O'Flynn in his papers.

The information recorded below has been transcribed from folio 1 (286 pages) and folio 2 (640 pages) of the papers, which deal with the early Irish settlers in Worcester.⁶ O'Flynn states that he obtained much of the data from records in the office of the County Clerk, though newspaper clippings and obituary notices which O'Flynn pasted into the folios supplement the record. Notes in his own hand have been added, particularly for persons from County Waterford, many of whom he knew personally. Upon the death of John Flaherty (born 22 June, 1804), a native of Carrickbeg, he writes: 'He was an honest man, in every respect, [and] was a friend and companion of my father in their youth.'⁷ A note appended to the obituary of Catherine O'Flynn reads: '[She] was a sister of the writer. She came to America in 1858.'⁸ Johanna, daughter of Richard Power and wife of Michael McGrath (see below), is identified as 'an aunt to the writer'.⁹

O'Flynn frequently supplies a place of birth for several Waterford people. Alongside an obituary notice for James Hearn (died 18 February, 1892), O'Flynn identifies him as the son of Pierce Hearn, a native of Newtown, who came to America around 1848.¹⁰ Similarly, Patrick Day (died 12 April, 1888) is identified as 'a native of Co. Waterford', who came to America around 1850. Waterford connections of children born in America are also noted. Beside a newspaper review of Richard G. Whittey's first production of his play, *The Pullman Strike* (1 April, 1896) O'Flynn writes: 'Richard Whittey was born in Worcester. His father was a native of Newtown, near Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.'¹¹ Sons of Waterford emigrants who attended Holy Cross College, the oldest Catholic college in New England, are also identified (see Burke, Doyle² below). Without these details, the Waterford connection of these persons could not be established.

O'Flynn's biographical sketches, many penned at his old book store 'during snatches of leisure,'¹² provide glimpses into the lives of the Irish in Worcester. Tragedies and accomplishments of Waterford people are recorded in a strikingly forthright manner, and with the moralising tone which colours many of O'Flynn's accounts. An advocate of temperance and an active member of the Father Matthew Society, his harshest remarks are directed at 'rum sellers', though his regard for

5 Margo Griffin-Wilson, 'Kilkenny and Queen's County people in a Massachusetts archive', in *Ossory, Laois and Leinster* 4 (2010), pp. 236-43.

6 For a history of the Irish in Worcester, with frequent reference to the O'Flynn Papers, see Timothy J. Mcagher, *Inventing Irish America: Generation, Class and Ethnic Identity in a New England City, 1880 to 1928* (Notre Dame, 2001).

7 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 107. See Flaherty below.

8 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 413. O'Flynn adds that she was unmarried.

9 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, pp. 75-6. O'Flynn's mother was Margaret Power, sister of Johanna.

10 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 1, p. 266.

11 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 1, p. 234. See Whittey below.

12 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 69. The note is dated 10 October 1879.

personal character sometimes mitigates criticism. O'Flynn speaks with respect for Philip Moore, born near Carrick-on-Suir:

He was a man of more than ordinary intelligence... Although a rum dealer, he was a strictly honest man in his dealings, and was never known to sell on Sunday. For many years before his death he was troubled with a sore leg, from which he suffered very much, and which incapacitated him from doing any other work; he often expressed his abhorrence, and disgust of his calling, to the Writer, and said if he could earn \$1.25 at any other business he would gladly accept of it.¹³

The 'writer' (O'Flynn) clearly knew Moore well and engaged in conversation with him. Such personal details give O'Flynn's papers an interest beyond the facts gleaned from city records.

Details elsewhere in the papers indicate that O'Flynn knew many of the persons described, or at least observed their occupations at a distance. Jeremiah Kane, a native of Dungarvan and one of Worcester's famous detectives, is described with the eye of a keen observer: 'He was about 5 feet 10 inches in height; slim, grey eyes, which seemed to be half-closed, but from which nothing escaped observation.'¹⁴ The sketch of James McGrath (born, Newtown), who owned a few cows and peddled his own milk, as 'a fine specimen of humanity',¹⁵ or of Patrick Doyle (born, Stradbally), who purchased a farm in Holden 'which he made to blossom',¹⁶ offer a glimpse at the ordinary lives of Irish settlers in Worcester and surrounding villages and also convey O'Flynn's ideals. Other accounts are clearly drawn from oral tradition. Stories are told about Irish settlers deceased before O'Flynn's own arrival in the city, among them, James Corcoran (died 4 August, 1850), a native of Kilmacthomas, who was renowned for his strength. O'Flynn also includes a description of Corcoran's final years in the city: 'In stature he was about 5 feet 9 inches, dark hazel eyes, inclined to stoop, large chested and muscular. His remains were taken from the Almshouse by his old friend and comrade John Fay,¹⁷ who collected enough money, amongst his old acquaintances, to buy a coffin, and placed a small slab over his grave (of which no trace could be found by the writer in 1876)'.¹⁸

Epitaphs in Worcester's Irish Burial Grounds

An important source of information for persons from Ireland are the gravestone inscriptions which O'Flynn and his eldest son, Thomas Francis (aged fourteen),

13 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 83.

14 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 98.

15 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, pp. 75-6.

16 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 90.

17 John Fay, a native of Kilkenny; see Griffin-Wilson, 'Kilkenny and Queen's County people in a Massachusetts archive', in *Ossory, Laois and Leinster* 4 (2010), pp. 241-2.

18 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 1, p. 69; for another account see also fol. 2, p. 67.



Plate 2:



Plate 3:



Plate 4:

copied from two burial grounds in Worcester: the Old Tatnuck Cemetery, the first burial ground for the Irish of Worcester, which was established on land purchased in 1835, and St. John's Cemetery, purchased in 1848 to accommodate the growing number of Irish immigrants. O'Flynn's account of the Old Tatnuck burial ground was noted only briefly in my article in *Ossory, Laois and Leinster*,¹⁹ as no gravestones of persons from Laois or Kilkenny have survived. It does, however, provide evidence for the earliest settlers from County Waterford.

In June and July of 1876 O'Flynn and his son Thomas collected every epitaph in the Old Tatnuck cemetery. These are recorded in his papers, and his research was published by the Worcester Society of Antiquity.²⁰ The inscriptions were copied 'from stones and wood', and at a time when the cemetery had already fallen into disuse; O'Flynn mentions gravestones thrown down and broken and a general air of neglect. One gravestone inscription provides the only surviving record of Elizabeth Cahill (wife of Michael Flahaval), from the Parish of Mothill, who died on 10 December, 1846.²¹ O'Flynn twice asserts that another native of County Waterford, Patrick Doyle, was also buried in Old Tatnuck Cemetery;²² however, the name is not included in O'Flynn's published account. The importance O'Flynn's records for this early burial ground cannot be underestimated. In 1907 the remains of these persons were moved to St. John's Cemetery, some to family plots, but most to a mass grave where two thousand unnamed early settlers were reinterred in a remote corner of the burial ground.²³ The site is a poignant reminder of the value of the painstaking work of O'Flynn and his son.

One early settler, John McGrath (died 1856), who emigrated from Waterford around 1820, was buried in Pine Meadow cemetery, an early burial ground mentioned only once by O'Flynn. A stone placed on McGrath's remains was seen by O'Flynn in 1870, who adds that it was later shattered to pieces by vandals who lived adjacent - a group he elsewhere refers to as 'the roughs of Pine Meadow'.²⁴ According to O'Flynn, the remains were removed from Pine Meadow to Rural

19 Griffin-Wilson, 'Kilkenny and Queen's County people in a Massachusetts archive', in *Ossory, Laois and Leinster* 4 (2010), p. 237.

20 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, pp. 335-7. See also Richard O'Flynn, 'First Catholic Cemetery', in *Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity* 16 (1899). Worcester Historical Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, pp. 133-42.

21 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 336. See also Richard O'Flynn, 'First Catholic Cemetery', in *Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity* 16 (1899).

22 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 1, p 73.

23 The massgrave is adjacent to St. John's Cemetery, and now part of Hope Cemetery, Webster Street, Worcester.

24 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 90. Pine Meadow was the low ground between Oak and Chandler Hills, extending a mile east of Washington Square. Shrewsbury Street, formerly called Pine Street, runs through the centre of the meadow. 'Many years ago a large Irish settlement was made here and still remains, though much improved over its former condition'; see Franklin Pierce Rice, *Dictionary of Worcester and its Vicinity*, (1889), p. 67. The Pine Street Burial Ground was opened in 1828 and used for about thirty years; see Thomas F. O'Flynn, *The story of Worcester, Massachusetts*, (Boston, 1910) p. 126.



Plate 5:



Plate 6:



Plate 7:

Cemetery,²⁵ but no record of McGrath's burial survives at Rural, Worcester's oldest (and predominantly Protestant) burial ground.²⁶ It is possible that he refers here to Hope Cemetery, a city-owned cemetery (established in 1854) where remains of persons from Pine Meadow cemetery were reinterred.

All other gravestone inscriptions for people from Waterford are from St. John's Cemetery (Cambridge Street, Worcester). O'Flynn and his son Thomas Francis copied the epitaphs in the summer and fall of 1879, and O'Flynn stated that the list contained every epitaph in it up to 1 January, 1880.²⁷ The value of their account is apparent when compared to a database of tombstone inscriptions of Irish settlers in St. John's Cemetery recently made available online, in which the authors have noted that many stones were missing letters and numbers, or were sinking into the ground, soon to be lost to researchers.²⁸ My own examination of only some of these gravestones (see plates 2-7) confirms their observations, and the compilers' efforts to recover details on the surviving stones can only be commended. In several instances, however, missing details are clarified by O'Flynn's meticulous and timely transcriptions. For example, O'Flynn supplied the obit of an early settler, Alice Cunningham (died 9 November, 1868, aged fifty-three), illegible on a stone now worn. Faded letters which have lead to a misconstrued place of birth ('Conbally') are clarified by O'Flynn's lucid transcription 'parish of Comeragh, Ballykerouge' (see Connell, John, below). Similar gaps obscure the placename 'Ballinroad, parish of Ring', listed on the website as 'Bal—ring' (see Merrigan, William). O'Flynn supplies the illegible place of birth 'Mothill' for Ann Conners. His identification of her husband as Patrick Cummings rather than Patrick Conners is more difficult to confirm, as the stone is worn, though O'Flynn's rendering is very likely correct, as women are commonly listed by their family name.

O'Flynn's record and the website often complement each other and extend the information on persons from Waterford. The gravestone of John Lonergan, erected after O'Flynn completed his epitaphs, is noted only on the website; however, a newspaper notice ('Death of an Old Citizen') pasted into O'Flynn's papers gives further information of his family (see Lonergan below). O'Flynn records details of the death of William Foley (19 September, 1878), though there is no mention of a gravestone and perhaps one had not yet been erected. The burial place of William Foley is, however, noted on the website, which also names his wife, Ann Hastings, who is not mentioned elsewhere. Family names of a more recent date on the Foley tombstone indicate that it replaced an earlier stone, a common practice and one

25 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 68.

26 McGrath was married to an American woman named Rydell, though no trace of either McGrath or Rydell survives; see Mildred McClary Tymeson, *Rural Retrospect, History of Worcester and its Rural Cemetery*, (Worcester, Massachusetts, 1956). O'Flynn knew this cemetery, located on Grove Street, and mentioned elsewhere in his papers (fol. 1, p. 243); See Melican below.

27 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, pp. 351-431.

28 Tombstones in St. John's Cemetery, Worcester, Massachusetts. Listing a birthplace in Ireland. Database compiled by Mary Ellen Radziewicz and Marion and Frank Conery, October 1, 2004. <http://tiara.ie/StJohnsCemetery.php>

which often led to a loss of biographical details. Again the value of O'Flynn's record is underscored; O'Flynn, for example, very likely records the epitaph on the original stone for Eliza Walsh (see below).

Neither source is complete and gaps occur. O'Flynn records the birth of Edward Baldwin but no obit. The gravestone of 'Edward and Johanna Baldwin, Parish of Mothill Co. Waterford', noted on the website (also without an obit) is presumably the same Baldwin. A record of the gravestone of Martin Power (born County Waterford, died 7 October, 1857) is preserved in the O'Flynn papers. This stone is not mentioned on the website, though it still stands in St. John's Cemetery; nor is there mention of the stone for Nicholas Power 1812-1852; Ellen Powers (1820-1875) and Timothy Powers (1851-1869), though one suspects that this may include a Nicholas Power mentioned by O'Flynn (see below). The reverse is also true. Several gravestones noted on the website are not recorded in O'Flynn's papers; these are marked with an asterisk in the list below. As in the case of tombstones recorded from Queen's County and Kilkenny, in all matters of relating to O'Flynn's transcriptions it is necessary to enter the caveat that he was dependent upon the accuracy and reliability of the stone-carvers, many of whom would not have been familiar with Irish names and placenames. Areas of doubt are indicated below.

When O'Flynn arrived in Worcester mistrust of the Irish settlers was pervasive. Writing in 1879, he recalls an experience which was common for many of the newcomers: 'In 1854 the writer was rudely pushed off the sidewalk in front of the Old Post Office simply because he was an Irishman, and for this he dare not offer a word of remonstrance to the young American ruffian for fear of worse maltreatment, which he should undoubtedly receive.'²⁹ He nevertheless made a life for himself in Worcester. He left the city briefly in 1857, travelling to New York, South Carolina and Virginia in search of work, but returned in 1858. His accomplishments were impressive. O'Flynn was the only Irish settler among the first founders of the Worcester Society of Antiquities. His personal collection of Indian artifacts and other items of antiquarian interest—the work of twenty years—was displayed at the museum of the Worcester Society (Main Street, Worcester) and featured in a lengthy news article in a prominent Boston newspaper, the *Boston Globe* (27 December, 1903).³⁰ There O'Flynn is described as an 'old bookseller and a student of archaeology', and his collection of 8,000 pieces, 'each one perfect, and mounted with a precision and nicety that would thrill the heart of any collector', is praised as one of the finest in the possession of anyone in the state, if not the country. Interestingly, it is noted that O'Flynn obtained many of the items with the cooperation of a 'negro preacher' (unnamed) in southern Georgia.

The twenty folio volumes of notes which comprise the O'Flynn papers, though presumably not well-known in his lifetime, indicate both his interest in the past and attention to the moment. Reading the papers one has the impression of O'Flynn observing the coming and goings of the city from his bookstore;

²⁹ O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 8.

³⁰ The article is pasted into the O'Flynn Papers, fol. 1, p. 269.

occasionally a narrative stops mid-sentence, as if the writer was called to other business. O'Flynn acknowledges that his record of the early Irish settlers 'is by no means full, nor perhaps accurate in all respects'.³¹ He hoped, however, that his biographical sketches, 'obtained at different times and under many discouraging circumstances' might be of 'some benefit to the future history of the Irish race in Worcester.'³² There is no doubt that O'Flynn achieved his purpose in his records of the many persons who emigrated from Waterford to Worcester.

In the list below, focus is on the records compiled by Richard O'Flynn. The notation [***Gravestone:**] designates the gravestones of persons mentioned in the O'Flynn papers, whose gravestone is noted on the website <http://tiara.ie/StJohnsCemetery.php>. Where there is an overlap with O'Flynn's epitaphs, the website entry is footnoted. Placenames are written exactly as they appear in the sources, with the exception of Fues / Fuse, which has been adjusted to Fews. Brackets indicate the added letters in the placename Ra[th]gormac.

There are several Waterford people deceased before 1880 (when O'Flynn completed his record) recorded on the website (<http://tiara.ie/StJohnsCemetery.php>), whom I have not found in the first two folio volumes of the O'Flynn Papers. These are not included in the present article, though readers can consult the website for further details. In some instances older names are included on a stone erected for a later descendant. Readers can also consult a more recent website on the Irish in Worcester compiled by John Canavan and his son (made available in 2011), which draws from various city records: <http://tiara.ie/worcIrishP.php>. Both of these sites contain complementary and often additional information on persons from County Waterford.

Baldwin, Edward. b. May 1810, Mothill, Co. Waterford. Landed New York, 1 June, 1834.

Owned a house and large piece of swamp south of Gold Street. About 1850 he was an esteemed citizen, 'but rum got the better of him, and for a number of years before his death became totally blind'. He had several children: a daughter, Bridget, married James Barrett, a molder.

[*(?) **Gravestone:** Edward and Johanna Baldwin, Parish of Mothill, Co. Waterford. A small stone stands beside above stone: Corp. James H. Baldwin OO. A 34 Mass Inf.]³³

Brennan, Catherine [**Gravestone:**] wife of Michael Brennan, b. Co. Waterford, d. 1 September, 1849, aged 42.

31 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 1, p. 37.

32 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 8.

33 Gravestone noted only on website. There are no dates on the stone, but it appears to be the same Baldwin.

Burke, Patrick. b. Carrickbeg, Co. Waterford, 1816. Came to America 1834. Settled in Worcester 1843. Married Anne O'Neill (b. Glen of Aherlow) in 1810. Came to America 1832. d. 23 July, 1882, at her home (143 Millbury Street). They had four sons. Two were priests: Michael J. Burke, b. 3 September, 1843, graduated from Holy Cross College, Worcester; ordained 3 January, 1871. d. 29 November, 1871.³⁴ 'The manner of his death was and is still, shrouded in mystery. It is supposed he jumped off the Night Express train, a little south of Garden Street, in this city, being weary he slept, and did not wake up at the depot where he should have got off, and on waking, thought he would get off, not realizing the danger. His body was discovered in the morning alongside the track. He was a very talented young man, much esteemed and loved by all who knew him.'

Butler, W[illiam]. b. Co. Waterford, 15 October, 1822. Landed New York, 4 March, 1849.

Became a citizen 12 April, 1859.

Byrnes, Catherine, b. city of Waterford. Married Denis Dunn, b. city of Kilkenny. Had son John M. Dunn (see Dunn, John M. below).

Cahill, Elizabeth [Gravestone:] Parish of Mothill, Co. Waterford, Ireland, d. 10 December, 1846, aged 33. Wife of Michael Flahaval (*sic?*).³⁵

Callahan, Joseph. b. c. 1840, near Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford. d. 4 February, 1879. Tailor. Worked at his trade up to 1870. Married a sister of Edward Baldwin (see Baldwin, Edward, above). Owned small house on Winter Street. At one time a prominent member of St. John's Church, 'taking up the penny collection'. Had two sons, two daughters. Older daughter Ann married John Kenny, a molder. They had two children. Second daughter Ellen, who was blind in one eye, married Owen McArdle, an iron molder. They had no children.

Connell, John [Gravestone:] b. parish of Comeragh, Ballykerouge, Co. Waterford. d. 29 October, 1859, aged 34.³⁶ (Names of young children who died are also noted).

Connell, Matthew C. b. 2 December, 1805, Co. Waterford.³⁷ Landed New York, 20 May, 1829. Became a citizen 1 October, 1839.

34 O'Flynn's record is confirmed by a list of Holy Cross graduates from the year 1868: 'Burke, Michael S. J., Clergyman; Clinton, Mass.; died Nov. 28th, 1871'; see *College of the Holy Cross*, (Worcester, Mass, Press of Charles Hamilton, 1893).

35 Buried in the Old Tatnuck Cemetery.

36 [*Gravestone:] John Connel, d. 29 October 1859, age 34. Native of parish of Conbally, Co. Waterford. Mary, Ellen and Katie, young children.

37 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 125. Elsewhere b. December 1806 (O'Flynn Papers, fol. 1, p. 59).

Conner, Ann [Gravestone:] wife of Patrick Cummings,³⁸ d. 16 January, 1870, aged 66; native of parish of Mothill, Co. Waterford. Patrick Cummings, d. 9 November, 1875, aged 73.

Connery, John. b. 10 March 1803, Stradbally, Co. Waterford. Landed Boston, Mass., October 1834. Became a citizen 2 December, 1850. Owned a house on Temple Street, which he sold to the Father Matthew Temperance Society and in which their hall was subsequently built, at his death. Left \$2000 to an only daughter, who subsequently married. 'Both of them soon spent the money.'³⁹

Corcoran, James. b. Kilmacthomas, Waterford. Came to America c. 1825. d. 4 August, 1850. Noted for his physical strength. 'He was generous, and warm-hearted, gentle and unassuming in manner. The fatal cup, however, got the best of him, and he ended his days in the City Almshouse. About 5 feet 9 inches, dark hazel eyes, inclined to stoop, large chested and muscular. His remains were taken from the Almshouse by his old friend and comrade John Fay,⁴⁰ who collected enough money, amongst his old acquaintances to buy a coffin, and place a small slab over his grave (of which no trace could be found by the writer in 1876). He was never married.' His nickname 'Pasha' was associated with an American woman he loved, named 'Patience'. Stories were told by the early settlers of his strength and prowess. O'Flynn narrates one tale: When the Blackstone canal was being built the Irishman was looked upon as a sort of inferior being to be avoided, their many qualities of strength, courage not being known to the natives at that time, they were held in contempt by the 'rum-drinking barroom bully-ruffian and village loafer'. Corcoran accepted the challenge of one such 'bully' who passed along the canal, abusing and insulting the Irishmen and offering to fight any of them for a wager. Corcoran, 'although of a mild disposition, was aroused to anger by the insults and offered to wrestle him'. They agree to wrestle for a puncheon of New England rum. Met near Quinsigamond. Corcoran was victor. His opponent died three weeks later of the injuries received in the struggle.

Cunningham, Alice [Gravestone:], wife of Ja[me]s, d. 9 November, 1868, aged 53, native of Co. Waterford.

Cunningham, Patrick. b. 25 December 1795, Kilrossenty, Co. Waterford. Landed Boston, Mass., 4 July, 1827. Became a voter, 1 December, 1845.

Day, Michael. b. 23 November 1813, Parish of Fenor, Co. Waterford. Landed New York, 30 October, 1832. Became a citizen 23 September, 1844.⁴¹

38 Elsewhere, 'wife of Patrick Connors' (see website).

39 See O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 107.

40 John Fay, a native of Kilkenny; see n. 17 above.

41 See website, which may refer to the same Michael Day: [*Gravestone: Michael Day, native of Garr-v-oone, Parish of Carrick-beg, Co. Waterford. d. 3 August 18[...], age 35 years]. This stone is fading and 1/3 is buried.

Day, Patrick. b. Co. Waterford. d. 12 April, 1888 in his home at 59 East Central Street, Worcester. Employee of Ames Plow Company. 'His genial qualities of mind and heart made him a general favorite with his fellow workmen, and his strict application to duty and uncompromising honesty gained him the confidence of his employers.' Funeral at St. Anne's Church.⁴² Left one daughter.

Dee, James. b. 25 December, 1814, Parish of Fewes, Co. Waterford. Landed Boston, 20 May, 1839.

Became a citizen, 6 March, 1848.

¹Doyle, Patrick. b. Co. Waterford. Early settler. Died unmarried. Buried in Tatnuck Cemetery.⁴³ A man of immense strength. Many stories were told of him by his acquaintances. O'Flynn records one in which he was said to throw a minister of the Old South Church out of the pulpit, having taken umbrage at some remarks of the preacher. He was arrested, brought before Judge Green, reprimanded for the assault, fined \$5.00. The fine was paid by a companion.

²Doyle, Patrick. b. 17 March, 1818. Stradbally, Co. Waterford. Landed in New York 30 June, 1840. Farmer. Industrious and prudent. He had property in the city which he sold about 1865. Purchased a farm near Holden 'which he made to blossom'. Had issue one son John, a graduate of Holy Cross College.⁴⁴ In 1877 John married a daughter of Michael McLoughlin of Holden; assumed control of his father's farm. 'He became a very accomplished man.' Patrick was obliged to give up the farm in 1887, 'being then old and infirm, and his son not attending to the business properly'.⁴⁵ A sister of Patrick Doyle was married to Richard Mooney, and was mother-in-law to James Mellon. His brother James lived on Winter St. before the canal was built.

Doyle, James (see Doyle, Patrick).

42 The source is a newspaper obituary, which does not mention his birth in Waterford. O'Flynn adds: He was a native of the Co. Waterford, Ireland, and came to America about 1850. He owned the house in which he died. He left an only child, a spinster maiden, on the shady side of 40 years' (O'Flynn Papers, fol. 1, p. 178).

43 Not mentioned in O'Flynn's published account of the Tatnuck burial ground ('First Catholic cemetery').

44 The dates suggest Michael J. Doyle, Holy Cross, A.B. 1880. d. 5 February, 1922. M.J. Doyle, '80 appears in a photo entitled 'What the well-dressed ball team wore in the seventies'; see *The Holy Cross Alumnus*, Vol. VI. No. 2 (Mt. St. James, November, 1931), p. 2.

45 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 1, p. 242; cf. fol. 2, p. 97, where there is no mention of the sale of the farm.

Dunn, John M. b. 21 November 1830, Leeds, Yorkshire, of Irish parents. Son of Denis Dunn, b. city of Kilkenny, and Catherine Byrnes, b. city of Waterford. Fifth of eight children (5 sons, 3 daughters). Married May Smith, 29 November, 1850. Came to America 26 August, 1866. Settled in Worcester. Had issue 10 children, all of whom died young, except John M. who was born in Dublin, Ireland, 18 February, 1861. Machinist at Crompton's Loom Works for over thirteen years: worked three years at Rice and Bartons and about three years at Earle Stone Company. Owned house on the corner of Endicott and Millbury Street.

Fitzgerald, Catherine [Gravestone:] parish of Butterstown, Co. Waterford, d. 6 September, 1859, aged 55.

Flaherty, Martin [Gravestone:] son of John and Catherine Flaherty, d. 29 September, 1858, Newtown, Co. Waterford, aged 22.

Flaherty, James [Gravestone:] Rathgormack. d. 7 February, 1867, aged 42. Also son James Flaherty, d. 6 March, 1865, aged 2; Edmond Flaherty, d. 15 September, 1860, aged 72; John Flaherty, d. 2 May, 1863, aged 37.

Flaherty, John. b. 22 June, 1804, Carrickbeg, Co. Waterford. Landed Whitehall, New York, 20 September, 1851. d. 4 October, 1881. Married Catherine Power, b. Carrigeen, Newtown, Co. Waterford, 1829, d. 23 September, 1883. Had issue Bridget, b. 1830 (married John Carberry), John b. 1832, Martin b. 1834, d. 29 September, 1858; Patrick b. 1838, d. 1872; Lawrence, b. 1840, married Bridget Lang; d. 31 May, 1889. 'He was an honest man, in every respect, was a friend and companion of my father in their youth.' Killed 4 October, 1881, when chimney of Washburn Car Wheel Company fell, crushing him. He was standing at the gate in front of office as gate-tender (newspaper clipping). O'Flynn adds that his son Lawrence came to scene, and was overcome by grief, 'which together with free use of rum, no doubt hastened his death', which took place suddenly on 31 May, 1889.⁴⁶

Flaherty, Lawrence. b. Newtown, Co. Waterford, 1840. Came to America with his parents, John and Catherine (Power). Worked in Rolling Mills for a number of years. Lost an arm through an accident; then set up a rum shop. He bought a house on Water Street, in which he did a good business ('if selling rum can be called a business'). At first prospered. Died in his bed, 31 May, 1882 '*gan sagart .7. bráthair*' [without a priest, brother].

Flaherty, John. Married Catherine Power (see Flaherty, Lawrence, above).

46 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 1, pp. 107-8.

Flynn, Anne. b. Tramore, married Morris Melavin, blacksmith (b. Feb 17, 1833, in the district of Montreal, Canada). He came to Burlington, Vermont, 30 October, 1849, then to Worcester about 1854. They had a large family. He went into partnership. d. April 28, 1880 'poor, miserable and unlamented by his family, to whom he was at all times harsh, cruel and overbearing'. His second oldest son Maurice, aged 22, died of consumption, 8 May, 1881.

Flynn, Hannon [Gravestone:] wife of John Flynn, Co. Waterford, d. 10 October, 1857, aged 32.⁴⁷

Foley, Catherine [Gravestone:] wife of Maurice Foley, d. 17 July, 1856, Co. Waterford, aged 26. Mary Ann, their daughter, d. 15 June, 1855 aged 9 mos.; Edward, d. 15 January, 1861, aged 1 year 7 mos.; Edwin, d. 5 November, 1864, 2 years 2 mos (sons of Maurice and Mary Foley); Mary, wife of John Downing, d. 3 February, 1855, aged 36; Hannah, their dau, d. 10 July, 1855, aged 10 years 3 mos; Honorah (?), wife of Patrick Donahue, d. March 1857, aged 44, natives of Co. Waterford.

Foley, William. b. Co. Waterford, 1850 [*sic?*]. Nick-named 'Black-leg Foley'. Kept a rum shop on Mechanic St. for over 25 years. Adept at card playing. A good flute player. 'For some time previous to his death he suffered much from an internal disease of an ear, which together with domestic difficulties, and hard drinking, brought temporary insanity during which he attempted to take his life and succeeded. On the morning of September 19, 1878, he threw himself into the old Canal, south of Lafayette St. Made a second attempt and was again rescued; was taken to his home, but hopeless case.' Died the same day.

[*Gravestone: Foley, William, b. Co. Waterford, d. 19 September 1878, aged 64. His wife Ann Hastings 1822-1903. John W. Foley, 1848-1912; William Foley b. 30 November, 1860, d. 22 March, 1864; Annie and Margaret, b. 1 November, 1863; Annie d. 23 September, 1864, aged 10 mos, 23 days; Margaret d. 22 January, 1865, aged 1 yr-4 mos 23 days. Russell Maynard 1917-1917]

Geary, Anastasia [Gravestone:] daughter of Richard and Johanna Geary, Parish of Kill, Co. Waterford. d. 20 February, 1857, aged 36.

Geary, John [Gravestone:] b. Tramore, Co. Waterford, d. 13 June, 1862, aged 50.⁴⁸

Hanley, Francis [Gravestone:] d. 5 July, 1862, aged 28.⁴⁹

47 Elsewhere 'Hanora, wife of John Flinn (*sic?*)'; see website.

48 Elsewhere d. 18 June, 1862 (see website).

49 No place of birth given, but the subsequent entry indicates his Waterford connection.

Hanley, Michael: To the memory of his father, Michael Hanley, of Cronalisk Parish of Dunhill, Co. Waterford, d. 21 July, 1858, aged 62 (also his grandchildren).

Harney, Ellen [Gravestone (Clancey):] b. Ross, parish of Ballyduff, Co. Waterford. d. 27 December, 1861, aged 61. Clancey, Patrick, d. 7 August, 1854, aged 32. John Clancey, d. 1 September, 1853, aged 11 mos. Erected by their daughter, Mrs(?) Margaret Clancey.

Healy, James [Gravestone:] b. Clashmore, Co. Waterford, d. 4 December, 1857, aged 69. Mary, his daughter, d. 2 May, 1857, aged 26 (two grandchildren also named).

Hearn, James. b. Worcester, d. 18 February, 1892. Residence 95 Salem Street. Funeral St. John's Church. Burial St. John's cemetery.⁵⁰ O'Flynn identifies him as son of Pierce Hearn (see below), b. Newtown, near Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford, who came to America c. 1848. James, b. Worcester and was about 30 years of age: 'Mr Hearn was of a respectable family—a fine looking man, courteous and dignified; he never took part in any on the movements in Ireland's cause, nor was he at any time a member of any Society, being of a retiring disposition and feeling no interest whatever in any matter outside of his domestic affairs. There is, however, a sad story connected with his married life which the writer of this does not care to touch upon. It was of such a nature as to cast a blight and gloom on his life, and a sorrow and grief which never was effaced. May his spirit find rest and peace; Richard O'Flynn, April 18, 1892'.

Hearn, Pierce. b. Newtown, Co. Waterford. d. 15 April, 1892. News clipping: death of Pierce Hearn, 'an aged and well-known citizen', father of the late James Hearn (see Hearn, James, above), who was for many years superintendent of St. John's Parish School.⁵¹ Survived by four daughters.

Hickey, John. b. 25 August, 1830, Co. Waterford. Landed New York, 3 August, 1851. Became a citizen 13 August, 1858.

Hogan, John. b. June 1811, Rathcormick, Co. Waterford. Landed Boston, 20 November 1853. Became a citizen 18 October, 1858. Tailor. Member of Father Matthew Society and Irish Catholic Union.

Kane, Catherine, b. Stradbally. d. 2 August, 1882. Married Patrick Mullins (see Mullins, Patrick).

50 Newspaper clipping. O'Flynn has added notes on Hearn (O'Flynn Papers, fol. 1, p. 266).

51 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 1, p. 266.

Kane, Jeremiah. b. Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, 15 August, 1823. Landed Boston, 15 August, 1833.

One of the first Irish constables of the city. One of the keenest and best detectives in Worcester. 'He was about 5 feet 10 inches in height; slim, grey eyes, which seemed to be half-closed, but from which nothing escaped observation. Thin features, shrewd and sharp, was fond of a joke, and used to have many practical ones with his friends in their convivial hours. He was respected by the good, and feared by the rogue, having brought many of the latter to grief, and once on the trail, he was generally successful.'⁵² Owned a house on Temple St., which was purchased by the parish of St. John after his death. A part of it was used as a playground for the children of the parochial school, held in the Catholic Institute. Survived by his wife and family.

Keane, Mary [Gravestone:] Kilmore, parish of Ring, Co. Waterford. d. 1 May, 1872, aged 47. Her brother John Keane, d. 20 September, 1862, aged 42 yrs.

Keane, John. Brother of Mary Keane (see above).

Keefe, Jeremiah [Gravestone:] Co. Waterford. d. 21 July, 1872, aged 40. Erected by his wife Alice.⁵³

Keenan, Th[omas] [Gravestone:] Carrickbegg, Co. Waterford. d. 2 August, 1864, aged 20 years, 8 mos.⁵⁴

Keily, Michael P., b. near Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, c. 1838. Came to America in 1850.

d. 4 February, 1881. Learned trade of molder in Worcester. Foreman for William A. Wheeler and subsequently a partner. After the dissolution of the partnership, owing to the death of Charles Wheeler, he continued in the old shop for some years. Later removed to Union Street Foundry, in which place he continued until his death. A sergeant in 50th Massachusetts Regiment during the war, serving with credit. Member of the Mechanics Association. Prominent member of Irish Catholic Union. On 7 February, a High Mass celebrated at St. Anne's Church: 'There were over 50 hucks in the procession'. Bearers were Thomas Morrissey, B.H. McMahon, Thomas F. McKenna and Thomas Monahan, all members of the Irish Catholic Benevolent Society. 'He was a man of a genial disposition. He was about 5 feet 10 inches in height, dark hair, grey eyes, erect in bearing, honest and honorable, in his dealings; his disease was hereditary consumption.' Daughter, Maggie P., d. 21 March, 1885, aged 18 years 2 months. Daughter, Elizabeth Kiely, d. August 1889 (buried in St. John's Cemetery). Obituary news clipping (5 August, 1889) gives her residence as 12 Reservoir St.⁵⁵

52 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 98.

53 Cf. website. Keefe, Jeremiah. No mention of wife, Alice.

54 The name 'Thos. Kcevan' appears on the surviving stone; cf. website. See plate 6.

55 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 136. No mention of her gravestone in website.

Kennedy, James [Gravestone:] Ballydurren, Parish of Mothill, Co. Waterford. d. 18 June, 1852, aged 33. Erected by Mary Kennedy, in memory of her husband. Also in memory of her children, Martin, John & Bridget.

Lonergan, John. b. Parish of Fennor, Co. Waterford. d. 6 October, 1889, at his residence in Lovell's court after an illness. Aged 64, 38 years of which were spent in Worcester. Survived by two married daughters. Newspaper obituary mentions recent death of his wife and another daughter, Sister Sabina, of the Sisters of Notre Dame, all of whom died within a short time. Funeral at St. Paul's Church.⁵⁶

[*Gravestone: John Lonergan, d. 6 October, 1889, age 64 years. Native of Parish of (Fenn)or, Co. Waterford. Ann, his wife, d. 15 March, 1888. Age 57. Native of Parish of S(h or l— —(e))- Co. Kilkenny.]⁵⁷

McGrath, John. b. Co. Waterford. Emigrated c. 1820. d. 6 December, 1856. Carpenter. 'He married American woman, Rydell, by whom he had a son and a daughter who later moved out west after their parents' death.' Connected to early Catholic church but fell away from his faith. He was 'full of fun, joke and anecdote'. Lived on Vine Street. Buried in Pine Meadow Cemetery. Stone placed on his remains was seen by the writer (O'Flynn) in 1870. Shattered to pieces by vandals, who lived adjacent. Remains removed to Rural Cemetery to make way for the B & A Railroad.⁵⁸ Owned two houses on Vine Street. Issue: John, Mary Jane (b. 6 February, 1836).

McGrath, Michael. b. parish of Newtown, Co. Waterford. d. 22 September, 1877. In 1848 married Johanna, daughter of Richard Power, b. Georgestown, parish of Newtown. 'an aunt to the writer',⁵⁹ by whom he had nine children (all born in Worcester): James b. 1851, d. 1852; Richard b. 2 September, 1852; married Bridget Shanahan, May 1879; William b. 19 February, 1854, married Mary Torpy, had... (?); Mary b. 31 March, 1856; married James Fay, 31 October, 1882. d. 23 March 23, 1886; Patrick. d. in Millbury, Mass., 24 August, 1889; Johanna b. 30 October, 1857; married Francis W. Reynolds, 27 October, 1887; Mich[ae]l, b. 5 November, 1860; Margaret b. Aug 31, 1862; John (no details).

McGrath emigrated shortly after his marriage in 1848, coming directly to Worcester. Remained in Worcester until his death. Lived on King Street. Employed by his uncle, Nicholas Power (see Power, Nicholas), a contractor for excavating cellars. Remained with him until the latter's death. He began to take small contracts on his own account, which gradually increased, until he became one of the largest contractors for excavating cellars, wells, etc. in the city. After the death of

56 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 1, p. 285. The Lonergan gravestone in St. John's Cemetery would have been erected shortly after O'Flynn compiled his list of epitaphs.

57 See website. I take the parish name engraved on the stone as 'Slieverue'.

58 O'Flynn states that he had seen the stone (fol. 2, p. 68).

59 This note is added by Richard O'Flynn (fol. 2, pp. 75-6), whose mother was Margaret Power.

his first born he became member of Fr. Matthew Society. Member for over 15 years. Account of large funeral in St Paul's Church. Lived a small time in Cork Alley, afterwards in basement in Mechanics Street. Lived in John McGrath's house on Vine Street and subsequently on South Irving Street. 'After the breaking out of the Rebellion in 1861, his business increased, and in a few years he was a wealthy man.' He bought 6 acres of land and built several good houses on it. Bought a lot on the corner of King and Woodland Street on which he built a good house for his own use. Owned a large farm in Rutland. 'He was an illiterate man, harsh, tyrannical with his own family, his name being associated with a Mrs. O'Flaherty who lived near the 'Junction', the rumors in regard to them being all too true'. He was fond of 'popular praise'. To his own family and relatives he was unfeeling, uncharitable... seldom giving, always exacting'. He would not give to the orphan children of his brother Laurence (d. 1874), 'but could pay for putting a bell on the Vernon Street Convent School'. He would not help another brother, who was struggling for existence, 'but contributed and put a stained glass window in St Paul's Church'. On his death bed he exacted a sum of \$100, due by his brother, who was not able to pay him at the time, but in his will left 400 to the Sisters of Mercy High in Worcester. 'By his will his Executor, Rev. D.H. O'Neill, was empowered to erect a monument over his remains, a duty which for some reason was not performed, and it more than probably, none will ever be raised. Such is life.'

McGrath, James. b. parish of Newtown, Co. Waterford. d. 9 June, 1888. A brother of Michael McGrath. According to O'Flynn, 'a fine specimen of humanity'. Lived on Bluff Street, owned a few cows, milked and peddled his own milk mornings.

McGrath, Laurence. d. 1874. A brother of Michael McGrath.

Melican, Micheal. b. Loughdaheen, Parish of Ballyduff, Co. Waterford, 29 September, 1819.⁶⁰ Landed Burlington, Vermont, 6 June, 1841. Farmer. Worked in Old Court Mills. Later bought a farm. Settled in Worcester. In 1845 married Johanna Looney (b. Macroom, Co. Cork), who came to America in 1840. In 1847 he bought a lot on Blackstone Street. Sold part of his land to an adjoining occupant and in 1852 sold the remainder including his homestead to Patrick O'Day. Purchased a large tract on Grove Street opposite Rural Cemetery. 'This was the first cellar. Michael McGrath, afterward a noted contractor who lived on King Street at the time of his death, dug, and I worked for him on the job, which was a very small one, having to do all the work with wheelbarrows....He was the first Catholic Irishman who built a house in that section of Worcester, as well as on Blackstone Street.'⁶¹ A few years later sold his property to Lawrence McGrath; purchased the house 106 Mechanic Street. Sold this afterward to Anthony

60 Elsewhere b. 20 October, 1817 (fol. 2, p. 90), though the entry otherwise indicates the same person.

61 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 1, p. 243.

Devereause in 1865. Bought a farm of 100 acres on Mountain Street, and on it built a house. Sold it in 1887, and 'through the chicanery of lawyers, and one or two land sharks of the straight puritanic streak—so they style themselves—he lost all.' Had children: Ellen, b. 1848, d. 1880 unmarried; W[illia]m, b. 1853; Mary, b. 1855; married Philip Deady; Tho[ma]s, b. 1857, married Mana (*sic?*) Deady in 1886. The latter were brother and sister of Policeman Michael Deady, a well-known policeman and a 'terror to the roughs of Pine Meadow',⁶² and were born in Co. Tipperary near Carrick-on-Suir.

Mellen, Margaret. b. Waterford, d. Chicopee 10 March, 1886. Married James Mellen (b. 9 March, 1816, Coagh, Co. Derry. Landed in New York 11 May, 1839). Margaret Mellen came to America in 1832. Took an active part in Irish affairs. One of the first singers in St John's choir and a leading soprano. They had two sons: James H., b. 9 November, 1854. Molder, member of State Legislature; married Julia (d. 8 May, 1885). William, b. 16 April, 1848. Molder by trade, but later became a physician.

Merrigan, William [Gravestone:] d. 14 May, 1857, aged 43; his sister Mary (d. 18 May, 1855, aged 30), wife of Martin Kane, natives of Ballinroad, parish of Ring, Co. Waterford.⁶³

Mooney [Gravestone:] Mooney, John. b. Rathuchtrach, Parish of Fews, Co. Waterford, d. 18 August, 1863. Erected by Margaret Mooney, in memory of her husband. Margaret, d. August 1851, aged 1 year 6 mos; Patrick, d. August 1853, aged 1 year 5 mos (children of John and Margaret Mooney). Margaret, his wife, d. 22 June, 1870, aged 50. Natives of Parish of Mothill, Co. Waterford, Ireland.

Mooney, Nicholas J. Son of Richard Mooney (see Mooney, Richard, below). In 1877 appointed to police force. Married Mrs. J. M. Healey at St. Paul's Church. Brother John, sister Julia, acted as groomsmen and bridesmaid. Went to reside at 33 Washington Street. Nicholas is brother-in-law of J.H. Mellen, whose wife is Julia Mooney (buried 11 May, 1885).

Mooney, Richard. b. Carrickbeg, Co. Waterford, 15 July 1822. Carpenter. Landed Boston, Mass., 15 September, 1842. Married a sister of Patrick Doyle's (see Doyle, Patrick). Two children: Nicholas J. (see above). Member of the police force of Worcester, 1877-1880; Julia, married J. H. Mellen (see Mellen, James, above).

62 See n. above.

63 Cf. website: 'William Merrigan and his wife (*sic?*) Mry, Bal—ring, Co. Waterford'.

Mooney / Doyle [Gravestone:] Mooney, Nicholas, d. 12 June, 1848, aged 19; Richard Mooney, d. 16 February 1860, aged 40; natives of parish of Carrickbeg, Co. Waterford.⁶⁴

Moore, Philip. b. 10 March 1835, Tinhallow, near Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Waterford.⁶⁵ Emigrated to America 1852. Landed in New York, 10 March, 1852. d. Oct 9, 1881, in Worcester. Went to Panama to work on railroad in 1852; then went to Wilmington, Ohio, where he remained until 1855, in which year he returned to Ireland on short visit. Returned to America in 1856; settled in Worcester. 'He was a man of fine personal appearance, being over 6 feet in height, strait as an arrow, fine hair, heavy mustache, and long full beard, and grey eyes. He was a man of more than ordinary intelligence. Very friendly in manner, and sociable in conversation, he had a host of friends, who regretted his early death. Although a rum dealer, he was a strictly honest man in his dealings, and was never known to sell on Sunday. For many years before his death he was troubled with a sore leg, from which he suffered very much, and which incapacitated him from doing any other work; he often expressed his abhorrence, and disgust of his calling, to the Writer, and said if he could earn \$1.25 at any other business he would gladly accept of it.' Owing to the injury, he was obliged to open a saloon, on corner of Grafton and Temple Street, which he carried on until the end of his life. He was the 'superior of any person in the business in Worcester, as regards honesty, uprightness of character, and general intelligence. He would not give a glass to a drunken man.... He was an ardent lover of his native land and took a deep interest in all that concerned it.' Elected to City Council 1877-1878.

Mullins, Ellen M.C. [Gravestone:] Ross, Co. Waterford. d. 17 March, 1854, aged 22. Erected by her brothers and sisters, Thomas and Bridget Brayel.

Mullins, Ellen [Gravestone:] wife of Richard Mullins, d. 11 August, 1852, aged 42. Catherine, dau of Richard and Ellen, d. 8 August, 1854, aged 14 years, natives of the parish of Fewes, Co. Waterford. Erected by Ellen Mullins.⁶⁶

64 O'Flynn records epitaphs for Nicholas and Richard Mooney, named above, on a single gravestone. See website (Mooney) for other family members: [*Gravestone: Mooney, Nicholas. b. Carrick Beg, Co. Waterford. d. 12 June, 1848, aged -9 years. Richard Mooney. d. 16 February, 1860, aged -0. Margaret R. Mooney, his wife, b. Co. Waterford. d. 19 December 1905, aged 80. Annie S. Mooney, d. 24 September, 1847 aged 22-15ds. John F. H. Mooney, 1857-1929; Richard H. Mooney 1855-1938; Margaret E. (Mooney) Foley 1859-1928; Margaret E. Foley 1894-1921.] The name Doyle appears on the back of the stone. This appears to be a later stone.

65 An obituary notice from *Worcester Daily Times* (O'Flynn Papers, fol.2, p. 83) gives 'Carrick-Begh, Co. Waterford' as place of birth, but Carrick-on-Suir is again noted by O'Flynn: see O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 570.

66 See website, which gives the same details, though obit of daughter Katherine (8 August) is illegible. Only O'Flynn mentions the erection of the stone by Ellen Mullins.

Mullins, Nicholas [Gravestone:], son of Thomas and Alice. Parish of Fews, Co. Waterford. d. June 12, 1870, aged 24.

Mullins, Patrick. b. Rathcormack, Co. Waterford. Set up rum shop about 1870. Prospered, became wealthy. Married Catherine Kane, b. Stradbally. d. 2 August, 1882, aged 35 years, after a long illness, supposed to have been brought on by the loss of her children. They had 6 children, 4 of whom died between ages of 2-12. . 'She was a fine woman, sociable, friendly and generous'.

Naven, Catherine [Gravestone:] b. Clashmore, Co. Waterford, d. 23 October, 1856, aged 64 years. Erected by Honora Naven, in memory of her mother.

O'Flynn, Catherine [Gravestone:] b. Ireland, d. 20 September, 1861, aged 22.⁶⁷ Erected by her sister Johanna, Parish of Newtown, Co. Waterford.

Phelan, Catherine [Gravestone:] wife of Patrick Phelen. d. 9 March, 1875, aged 52, native of parish of Clashmore, Co. Waterford (Michael and Lizzie, infant children of Patrick and Catherine Phelen).

Power, Catherine [Gravestone:] d. 21 October, 1860, aged 56. Katie dau of Thomas and Catherine Power, wife of Owen Sherlock, d. 28 July, 1868, aged 22. Natives of Co. Waterford.

Power, David [Gravestone:] son of James and Mary Power, d. 2 December, 1862, aged 2 yrs 3 mos and 1 day.⁶⁸

Power, Thomas [Gravestone:] d. April 4, 1860, aged 41. Bridget, wife of Thomas Powers, died March 31, 1863, aged 45. Erected by their son and daughter.

Power, John [Gravestone:] To the memory of John Power, d. 4 November, 1867. Aged 18 years, 3 mos, 24 days. May he rest in peace Amen. Erected by his brother, Michael Power.

Power, Michael (brother of John Power, see above)

Power, Johanna. Daughter of Richard Power. Wife of Michael McGrath. See McGrath, Michael.

67 O'Flynn adds: 'Was sister of the writer. She came to America in 1858, was unmarried.' (O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 413). But elsewhere O'Flynn lists his sister Catherine, b. 10 July, 1835, d. 23 October, 1860, Worcester (O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 151).

68 There is no mention of birthplace, but the next three names (David, John, Thomas Powers), follow directly after Catherine Power (Co. Waterford), and a Waterford connection is possible; see O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 417.

Power, John (brother of Thomas Power; see below).

Power, Martin [Gravestone:] Newtown, Co. Waterford, d. 7 October, 1857. Age 22. Erected by his brother James.⁶⁹

Power, Maurice A., married Mary, a daughter of John Fay, Undertaker.⁷⁰ d. 2 February, 1872. His father was a native of Newtown, near Kilmacthomas. Sexton at St. John's Church, succeeds Thomas Magennis; lived only a few years after the appointment. Succeeded by John F. Murray, son of Henry Murray, one of the first Irish settlers. 'He [Maurice Power] was very careless and extravagant in his habits, and at the time of his death his own and the Church's affairs were in a bad condition.'

Power, Michael. b. Co. Waterford. Came to America 1852. Worked for a number of years for O.B. Hadwen on his farm. Industrious and sober. Married Bridget Vail, 1858. They had no children. Member of Father Mathew Temperance Society for many years. Commenced to drink. Opened a rum shop. Died suddenly in his home.

Power, Nicholas. b. 10 June, 1811, parish of Ballylaneen, Co. Waterford. Landed Boston 3 May, 1834. d. 28 November, 1852. Himself and his brothers worked on Railroad from Boston to Springfield. Settled in Worcester. Married a Miss (?) Fogarty, by whom he had a large family. Lived in what was known as 'Cork Alley' in 1850. Contractor for excavating cellars, building walls, and digging and storing well. Bought a lot on So. Irving Street in 1852, 'and being the first Irish man who made a purchase in that locality the natives were so horrified at the idea of an Irishman living in such close proximity that no less than 6 families moved away. He built a good house and in a short time gained the respect and esteem of his neighbors.' Being improvident, he died poor; family lost all.

[(?) Gravestone: Nicholas Power 1812-1852; Ellen Powers (1820-1875), Timothy Powers (1851-1869)].⁷¹

Power, Richard. Father of Johanna Power. See McGrath, Michael.

Power, Thomas [Gravestone:] d. 26 June, 1856, aged 21, native of Ballyogarty, parish of Ballylaneen, Co. Waterford, Ireland. Also his brother John, d. 14 August, 1855, aged 18 years. Margaret Powers d. 9 February, 1857, aged 57.

69 This stone does not appear on the website, but has survived and confirms O'Flynn's record.

70 See John Fay, noted in 'Kilkenny and Queen's County people in a Massachusetts archive', 241-2. Maurice A. Power, d. Feb 2, 1872, also appears in a list of Undertakers (O'Flynn Papers, fol. 2, p. 246).

71 There is no birthplace noted on the surviving gravestone, but the dates suggest the grave of this Nicholas Power. This stone is not noted in the O'Flynn Papers (or on the website), but it still stands in St. John's cemetery.

Quinlan, Patrick [Gravestone:] b. Co. Waterford, Parish of Ra[th]gormac. Son of Edward and Ellen Quinlan, d. 23 March, 1861, aged 22. Erected by his sister Bridget.

Roach, Johanna [Gravestone:] wife of Michael Roach, d. 5 September, 1849. Aged 54. Native of parish of Abbyside, Co. Waterford.

Sanders, Michael [Gravestone:] d. 22 February, 1863, aged 37; native of Co. Waterford. John son of Michael and Ellen Saunders, d. 24 January, 1863, aged 1 year 8 mos.

Scanlon, John. b. Co. Waterford. Unmarried. Worked in a Foundry for a few years. Set up rum shop on corner of Union and Thomas Street. d. August 1880 in 'delirium tremen'.

Sullivan, Catherine [Gravestone:] d. 6 November, 1859, aged 2 years and 6 mos. Edmond, d. 25 November, 1863, aged 21 years, 6 mos. 12 days (children of John and Ellen Sullivan).

William, brother of John, d. 11 December, 1870, age 60 years 2 mos and 9 days. Native of Parish of Lismore, Co. Waterford.⁷²

Vaill, Mary [Gravestone:] wife of Robert Vaill, b. parish of Newtown, Waterford. d. 11 May, 1859, aged 80 years.

Walsh, Eliza [Gravestone:] parish of Aglish, Co. Waterford. d. 9 June, 1852, aged 29. Erected by Ellen Walsh, in memory of her beloved sister (Eliza Walsh).⁷³

Walsh, Mary, b. Co. Waterford, 1845. Married John Madigan, b. Kildysart, Co. Clare 1820. Landed at Burlington, Vermont, 1839. Became a citizen 16 April, 1850. Had issue Mary, b. 26 November, 1846, married Thomas Millane(?); James, h. 1856; Thom. d. aged 8 years; John, d. 1847, aged 10 mos.; Ellen, d. 1849. And 3 stillborn. Lived on Spring St., Worcester.

72 See website, where several details are missing and an obit 1926 suggests later additions or possibly a later stone. [*Gravestone: Sullivan, Catherine, d. ___6, 1860, age 25 years. Edmond, child of John & Ellen Sullivan. William, brother of John, d. Dec 11, 1870 age 60 y 2 m 9 d. Natives of Parish of L_____, Co. Waterford. John Sullivan d. Feb___, 188_ age 88 yrs. Ellen his wife, d. July __, 1880 age 60 yrs. Mary Sullivan 1838-1926.]

73 O'Flynn records epitaphs on the original stone. For later descendants see website: [*Gravestone: Erected by E. J. Walsh in memory of his sister, Eliza, b. parish of Aglish, Co. Waterford, d. 9 June, 1852, aged 20. John H. Moore 1889-1952; his wife Josephine E. Walsh 1889-1970; Julia O'Connor Morelly 1902-1980; John Walsh, d. 7 July 1870, aged 49 years; James Walsh, d. 24 June 1846, aged 1 yr. and 5 mos; Johnana Walsh, d. 17 October, 1881, aged 41 yrs. Sons and daughters of Michael and Mary Walsh].

Walsh, John [Gravestone:] b. Kilmacthomas. Co. Waterford. d. 24 August, 1854, aged 47.

Erected by his wife, Mary Walsh.

Walsh, Patrick [Gravestone:] d. May 23, 1855, aged 44. Native of Stradbally, Co. Waterford.

Waters [Gravestone:] Erected to the memory of Mrs. Waters, who departed from this life Jan 5 1858, aged 28, a native of Carrick on Suir, Co. Waterford.

White, Thomas [Gravestone:] d. 7 October, 1862, aged 53, native of parish of Stradbally, Co. Waterford, Ireland. Also our five children, who died at different times, whose ages ranged from one to five years.

Whitney, Richard G. b. Worcester. O'Flynn notes: 'Richard Whitney was born in Worcester. His father was a native of Newtown, near Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford, Ireland.'⁷⁴ Newspaper clipping notes the first production of his original drama, *The Pullman Strike*, 1 April, 1896, at Worcester Theatre. Cast included the author and sixteen speaking characters. Last act set in the yards of the Pullman Company, and a riot was in progress.



Plate 8: Richard O'Flynn and his wife Anne.

Courtesy of the Holy Cross Photograph Archives.

74 O'Flynn Papers, fol. 1, p. 234.

Letter from a War Zone

Patrick Grogan

Probably the defining moment of Ireland's civil war was the siege and bombardment of the Four Courts in Dublin, which had been occupied since 13th April 1922 by anti-Treaty forces.¹ Following the result of the 16th June general election, where pro-Treaty Sinn Féin candidates polled 239,193 votes as opposed to 133,864 votes by anti-Treaty candidates² and under extreme pressure from the British Government, which had made a definite decision to intervene on 24th June, Free State forces began the siege of the complex on 28th June 1922, with ineffectual rifle fire, and on 29th June, by two 18lb artillery pieces sited at the junction of Merchant's Quay and Winetavern Street³. The buildings soon caught fire, and on 30th June, the deliberate detonation of two landmines by the garrison, followed by the gigantic explosion of the munitions dump in the basement, destroyed the Public Records Office⁴, forcing the garrison there to surrender, on orders from Oscar Traynor, Commandant of the Dublin Brigade, IRA. Following the storming of the O'Connell Street strongholds of the anti-Treaty forces, the war in Dublin was effectively over by 5th July⁵. The anti-Treaty strength was now concentrated in the province of Munster and Liam Lynch, now the commander of all anti-Treaty forces, chose to establish a front along the 'Limerick to Waterford line' which one commentator noted 'held no more substance than the equator'.⁶

The Free State army advanced southwards, clearing resistance as they came, occupying Kilkenny. On the instructions of Michael Collins, who sent on 500 rifles, Lewis guns and ammunition, Colonel-Commandant John Prout⁷, with an army of 600, men advanced on Waterford on Tuesday 18th July, using horses and requisitioned civilian transport and towing an 18-pounder artillery piece, such as was used at the Four Courts.⁸

1 Michael Hopkinson, *Green Against Green*, (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1988), p. 72.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 115, 118.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 122.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 124.

6 Calton Younger, *Ireland's Civil War*, (London, Fontana, 1970), quoted in Terence O'Reilly, *Rebel Heart: George Lennon Flying Column Commander*, (Dublin, Mercier Press, 2009), p. 175.

7 Prout was born in Tipperary in 1880 and emigrated to the USA. He joined the New York 69th Regiment on America's entry into World War I. He spent five months attached to the French command staff on the Western Front and was awarded the Croix de Guerre. On his return to Ireland in 1919 he joined the IRA in Tipperary as Intelligence Officer and Divisional Instructor. During the civil war he served with the pro-Treaty forces. See Terence O'Reilly, *Rebel Heart: George Lennon Flying Column Commander*, (Dublin, Mercier Press, 2009), p. 174-5.

8 Terence O'Reilly, 'The Battle of Waterford, 1922', in *Decies* 26 (1984), p. 32.



Plate 1: The Torrie family at Rosemount, John's Hill.

Prout set up HQ at Fleming's Castle above Sion Row, and on the appearance of the army on Mount Misery, the forces at Waterford Jail opened fire at 6.50 pm, and Volunteer Costello was shot in the lung and died, becoming the first casualty of the siege.⁹ 200 anti-Treaty forces, under Pax Whelan and Jerry Cronin, were in the city, occupying the GPO, the Artillery Barracks and the Infantry Barracks, the Adelphi Hotel, the County Club, Reginald's Tower, Breen's & Granville Hotels, Hearne & Co, and Hall's Grain Store, until recently Waterford Museum of Treasures and now occupied by Waterford Institute of Technology and the Granary Café.¹⁰ The opening span of Redmond Bridge was raised and the lifting machinery disabled. On Wednesday 19th July, sniping from the jail and GPO resumed, and the 18lb artillery piece was brought across the golf links to a rock overlooking the city and firing began against the jail and both barracks. The crew were protected only by the gun-shield. Republican rifle and Lewis gunfire came mostly from the jail and the GPO on the Quay.¹¹

This is the background to a letter written on Sunday 23rd July, when it was all over, by Margaret (Peg) Torrie, aged twenty-eight, from her father's house 'Rosemount', John's Hill, to her sister Annabel, aged thirty, who was in England. Margaret and Annabel were daughters of Adam F Torrie, of L&N Stores, Waterford and Tramore. She remained living at Rosemount all her life, was a regular at Music Club concerts into old age and died in 1983 aged eighty-nine. Her sister Annabel died in 1966, aged sixty-six. Both sisters are buried in John's Hill. Peg Torrie writes fairly accurately about the Battle for Waterford, just two days after it was all over.

Rosemount, John's
Hill,
Waterford.

[Sunday] 23rd July 1922.

Dear Annabel,

I hope you got the Marconi¹² Will sent you last night by the *Great Western* boat, we were afraid if you had seen Friday's *Daily Mail*, you might have been nervous about us.

Well little did we think last Sunday that at this time we were so near a battle. Last Sunday we heard the Free State Army was marching on Waterford, but of course, we have heard that so often we did not really expect the trouble so soon.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

12 Radio telegraph message.

Tuesday [18th] was a glorious day, one of the best this year, so we all gathered at the [Tennis] Club,¹³ it was a record day and we were in the middle of tournaments of all kinds. Mrs. Haughton and I were playing our Cup Singles, just about 7 o'clock, when we heard shots which came from the other side of the river, around the Golf Links.

The Free Staters had taken up their positions there but there were only about 150 men. The Republicans returned fire: they had taken possession of the Adelphi and Imperial hotels, the Post Office and both Barracks—they blazed away at each other until about 11pm—only rifle fire, and then stopped. Guy, [Max Adrian] was with us so we kept him all night, much to his delight. We were all a bit jumpy and wondered how things would develop.

Next day rifle shots started at 7am but everybody went to work as usual, but about 10.30 there was a terrible bang, so we knew we were in for it, and all that day, at intervals the 18 pounders banged, the noise was terrific—when the first shots went off we thought Waterford was blown to bits, but we heard afterwards the guns were fired from Kilmacow and a good many shells landed in the marshes. All shops were closed about 11am: we stocked the larder with provisions, flour, sugar, butter etc.—about 2pm the shooting stopped.

After dinner we were at a loose end, Guy and Tyrrell landed up to us with their tennis togs and hauled us off to tennis, about 10 turned up, but I needn't tell you tennis was not brisk, about 5pm Mr. Fudger¹⁴ came up to say he thought we had better go home as the Free Staters were coming in the road, and there was likely to be fighting on the road. Just then Mr. Farrell came for Riocard,¹⁵ and just then the Republicans were mounting a machine gun in Nolan's,¹⁶ so we weren't long in clearing off.

About 7, we heard shooting on the road—the Free Staters had arrived, so we flew to the gate and they were splendid looking men, well drilled and military looking, they came in open formation, both sides of the road, dodging into doorways, some on their knees with rifles cocked, poor souls they looked terribly tired, they had stolen a march on the Republicans, who had expected them to come in the Cork road, instead they came across in barges and landed at

13 Waterford Lawn Tennis Club, on the site of present Waterford Cheshire, John's Hill and next door to 'Rosemount'.

14 TW Fudger, 'Belvedere', Newtown Road and 89 the Quay, Waterford, agent for National Provident Institution Insurances. See *Thom's Waterford Directory*, (1909), p. 95, 111.

15 Riocard Farrell, later Summerville House and father of Ian Farrell, Waterford City Council Law Officer.

16 George Nolan, builder, Johnstown. See *Thom's Waterford Directory*, (1909), p. 127.

Cheekpoint,¹⁷ but unfortunately when marching in on the road past Blenheim and the one under the bridge at Cheekpoint, when they came under the bridge, instead of keeping straight on they turned off to Passage which delayed them—there were about 500 of them.

They took Perrott's little house, everyone was sure they would take *Rosemount*, as the garden would have been a great place for sniping, however they passed on and took the first and last houses in Bellvue Terrace—then the sniping started in earnest—the bullets were whizzing in all directions, but we couldn't stay indoors for the 3 days the battle lasted. A crowd of us stood at Chapman's¹⁸ wall the whole time, only going in to eat and sleep—it was impossible to settle at anything, even Papa¹⁹ admitted he couldn't stay in and often joined us. There were five Chapmans, May and Jack Egan,²⁰ Mr and Mrs Prenter, Miss Carden,²¹ Will and myself and any stragglers who happened to come along. Arthur Denny²² also, who thought he was doing everything—needless to say he was in a blue funk all the time. I needn't tell you Reg Chapman's tongue wagged the whole time, he had Arthur furious. Every time anything strange happened, Reg ran for Arthur Denny and when he came out pulled his leg to such an extent, Arthur got so angry he would leave us and go back into the house—much to our delight.

Arthur was down at the gate talking to the Prenters: Reg Chapman slipped in at the back and gave the tin shed 2 whacks with a stick—poor Arthur thought his last hour had come. The bullets were whizzing past us through the trees and telegraph wires, when it was getting too hot we hid in the gateway. Mr. Thornton²³ tried to sober us by telling us we wouldn't be so merry if one of us got a bullet through the head.

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- 17 During the night of the 19th July 100 pro-Treaty troops crossed the Suir in rowing boats from Gyles' Quay and made their way along the bank of the river into Waterford City. See Terence O'Reilly, 'The Battle of Waterford, 1922', in *Decies* 26 (1984), p. 35.
- 18 George Chapman, 'Fairmount', John's Hill, grocer and tea merchant, the Quay and O'Connell Street. See *Thom's Waterford Directory*, (1909), pp. 87, 95.
- 19 Adam F Torric, London & Newcastle Tea Company, 3-4 Broad Street, Waterford and also at Tramore, father of correspondent. See *Thom's Waterford Directory*, (1909), p. 151.
- 20 Eagan's, wine and spirit merchants, 37-8 Barronstrand Street and 'Mayville', John's Hill. See *Thom's Waterford Directory*, (1909), p. 54, 87.
- 21 Miss Carden, 'Kilard', John's Hill. See *Thom's Waterford Directory*, (1909), p. 87.
- 22 Arthur Denny, 'Comeragh View', John's Hill, and Henry Denny & Company, sack bag manufacturers, O'Connell Street. He was aged about sixty in 1922. See *Thom's Waterford Directory*, (1909), p. 87, 107.
- 23 Ernest J Thornton, 'The Grange', John's Hill and Thomson & Company, solicitors, Cathedral Square. He was single and about fifty-nine years of age in 1922. Ernest Thornton's sister was the mother of the American crime-writer Raymond Chandler.

Thursday a.m. [20th], they started the barrage—we could see them shelling the barracks: they missed it with one shot and put a huge hole in the Presentation Convent. The Cavalry barracks is gone and only a little bit of the Infantry barracks left standing: they went on fire and it burnt all Thursday and Friday night—the poor unfortunate people in Barracks Street had to fly and nearly all came in this direction. We had a poor woman with 4 children from Wednesday night, we rigged up beds in the breakfast room for them where they stayed for the duration—the mother was in such a state of nerves she couldn't eat. We didn't know where her husband was with his 2 sons. She hadn't heard anything from them: they opened the poor house [St Patrick's] for the refugees but of course they had little food. Mother and I baked bread and made rice puddings, and by degrees it became known that we had food and we had many people seeking help.

On Thursday our meat was finished but fortunately a man from Woodstown brought in a 16lb salmon: he couldn't get to town so we divided it between Chapmans, Dennys and ourselves.

The Free Staters were marching into Waterford and met two IRA men in Barron Howell's²⁴ car, so they filled the car and made them drive into town. When they got to the Asylum they put in the car and took the IRA men prisoner and held them in the Asylum lodge. They had several prisoners in Bellvue Tce also, they have taken over the De La Salle as barracks and when going over it they found 5 land mines. About 3 o'clock Thursday the FS broke into the Country Club²⁵ and the Imperial Hotel and surprised the Republicans, they found them dead drunk and fast asleep and took them all prisoner—then they discovered they had broken a hole into the Adelphi so went in there and found more drunk men and took them. Also poor Mrs Beazley²⁶ has had a terrible time, they drank everything she had in the place, cut open feather pillows, lit the fires with mahogany chairs and broke up everything—the Boots in the hotel was a Republican and showed them all the ropes—they were simply mad with drink.

The Post Office has had 5 shells put into it—one made a huge hole near the roof. The Granville Hotel was the next to fall: they shelled it and the IRA waved a white flag so they ceased fire and when the FS were going in to take prisoners the dirty dogs opened fire so the F Staters gave them no mercy—they got Commandant Cronin there.²⁷

24 Howell, Newtown Road. See Census of Ireland, 1911.

25 Waterford County and City Club, Adelphi Terrace, William Gallwey, Hon. Secretary. See *Thom's Waterford Directory*, (1909), p. 40.

26 Howell, Newtown Road. See Census of Ireland, 1911.

27 Anti-Treaty Commandant Gerry Cronin and eighteen men were taken prisoner following the capture of the Granville Hotel. See Terence O'Reilly, *Rebel Heart: George Lennon Flying Column Commander*. (Dublin, Mercier Press, 2009), p. 184.

The last stronghold the Republicans had was the gaol and it fell about 5 o'clock Friday afternoon [22nd July]. When the second last shell landed the crowd thought it was all over and went in to look when another shell landed and killed several. I can't understand the people they risked their lives over and over again to get a few sticks of furniture. The worst case was poor Mrs Jacks,²⁸ they cleaned her place out about €1,000 worth of stuff—they were selling gold rings for 1 shilling. However they got the looters and General Prout has ordered them to be shot but they were interceded for, and will probably not be shot, but it was a good scare.

General Grant [probably means Col. Prout] issued a proclamation: no drink to be sold after 7 o'clock—curfew at midnight and any person found after Sunday night on the streets will be shot. He is a fine man—no half measures with him. Nearly all the FS are ex-servicemen, they are getting loads of recruits here.

When coming in on Wednesday night they came to the Manor [RIC] barracks and one noticed a hole in the gable where a sniper had a rifle. The FS got down and put 4 shots straight through the hole without touching the wall, the officer got up and said this is too heavy, took out a revolver and put 4 more shots in, and the Republicans all rushed out with hands up and a crowd of FS came from the Manor and took all of them prisoner. The FS took Merry's²⁹ and Mrs. Merry and the children and servants went to Tramore. Jackson Peavoy and Willie came in to our house—he has 5 officers billeted with them. Prout uses their telephone for all the commands. Half of Waterford fled to Tramore, the boys in the digs had to fly too—Mutt and Mull to Blenheim, and I haven't heard yet where John and Billy went to [probably employees of L & N Stores].

Guy was coming to us but he couldn't move from the hostel.³⁰ The shooting was pretty bad in Cathedral Square as there was a sniper around—they never found him but think he was up in the spire of the Cathedral. Mr. Murphy [Kelly's]³¹ and Michael Doyle were sitting in Murphy's, they put their heads out of the window to see what was going on, 6 FS's were outside and got behind the 8 lamp standards and blazed at the place, Every window is broken, poor Murphy rushed out with a white handkerchief. Such a silly thing to look out the window, of course they were taken for snipers, so Mr. Murphy explained

28 Davidson & Jack, jewellers, 92 the Quay. See *Thom's Waterford Directory*, (1909), p. 107.

29 Robert A Merry & Company, the Mall, whiskey bonders, wine merchants and grocers, also Dungarvan and New Ross. See *Thom's Waterford Directory*, (1909), p. 123.

30 Probably the Young Women's Christian Association hostel, William Street.

31 Kelly's, 75 the Quay.

and they searched his house. Will's car is still safe and hidden—with not a scratch on it—there were 9 burned in the barracks.

Pat Keane used to go down every night and bring us back all the news. Egan's had a shot right through the breakfast room window and [our] Mother was in our spare room when a bullet went smack off the wall. She wasn't long clearing out—she and Papa are very calm and not upset. We hadn't heard anything about Bob³² and when Friday came, were anxious, so Will³³ went down after breakfast but of course they were A1. He had tried to get up several times but was held up each time at Bellvue Terrace and warned not to go on.

When the Free Staters went down South Parade, they knocked at *Kincora* [Miss Keane's]—they got no reply so shot the lock off and established themselves. About 3 am Bob was wakened by a thundering knock so he went down, a soldier was at the door. he asked if the picket was there, and Bob said 'What are you?' 'Free Stater' he said so Bob showed him where they were and they were all taken out then. Bob came up on Friday and stayed the day with us. Charlie Fudger³⁴ and Mr Prentis came up so the men played bridge—later Mr. Storey came up to say that it was all over. So we all went to town to see the damage, considering all the noise there was little damage done—a lot of broken glass and all the telephone wires are hanging all over the place.

The Free State's motto is to take the town with as little damage to property and save as many lives as possible—we haven't heard the casualties yet and suppose we never will. The Free Staters lost their best gunner the night they arrived, shot through the eye—killed instantly.³⁵ A great many civilians have been killed but it is a wonder there weren't more.³⁶ We were talking to a F.S. officer afterwards and he told us people delayed the operation 6 hours—people simply wouldn't get off the Quay. Charlie Fudger went out the road on Friday and fell into the hands of the republicans. They kept him for a while and then let him go—they told him if he made any attempt to go back

32 Robert I Torrie, thirty-three year old brother of correspondent, later resident of 'Chatsfort', Newtown. See Census of Ireland, 1911.

33 William J I Torrie, thirty-eight year old brother of correspondent, Later resident of 'Killard', John's Hill. See Census of Ireland, 1911.

34 Son of TW Fudger, 'Belvedere', Newtown. See *Thom's Waterford Directory*, (1909).

35 On Friday 21 July Sergeant Howlett from Duncannon stood up in the Lancia armoured car on the Ferrybank side of the bridge and while returning fire from the jail with a Lewis machine gun was shot through the eye and killed. The armoured car had been placed at the bridge to protect the 18lb artillery piece which was shelling the jail. See Terence O'Reilly, 'The Battle of Waterford, 1922', in *Decies 26* (1984), quoting *Munster Express*, 29 July 1922.

36 Total fatalities: anti-Treaty forces, 1; pro-Treaty forces, 2; civilians, 6, including a ten-year old girl. Information courtesy of Dr Pat McCarthy.

to town, they would shoot him. Poor Charlie didn't know what to do: he didn't mind staying out but knew the state those people would be in. He went to Coad's³⁷ at Blenheim and they directed him over the fields to Ballynakill near some houses: 2 women and a lot of dogs came out and Charlie asked if the road was clear but they wouldn't tell him. Then he asked to be directed through the fields, but they wouldn't tell him that either, so he pulled down his hat, pulled up his collar and made for the road but just on the opposite side were two IRA men so he hopped back again and kept to the fields. He came to a tree and was just getting over the wall when a man spoke to him from the other side of the tree—he nearly died on the spot. He eventually went back on the road and arrived home about 11.30.

The town is full of soldiers—they are going to leave 300 here—it is a great comfort to have them. On Friday when we were going to see the damage, we heard a shout from the prisoners in Bellvue and who do you think was there but Jackson the penny dinner boy—he waved and bowed to me but I didn't pretend to know him. You will see by the papers about the looting—it was incredible what they took—clothes, shoes, food etc. Willie Merry had to come down one morning at 2 o'clock and hand out 6 sides of bacon. They gave him receipts for all the stuff they got from us, so we hope to be paid some day. You can read this to Auntie or anyone who might be interested.

Your loving sister, Peg.

Acknowledgement: Use of family photograph and letter by kind permission of Mr. Jonathan Torrie, grandson of William JI Torrie. Original letter was given into the care of Professor RF Foster, Carroll Professor of Irish History at University of Oxford, who has placed it in the archives of Trinity College Dublin.

37 Richard Coad, farmer and boot and shoe merchant, 9 Barronstrand Street, also Blenheim House. See *Thom's Waterford Directory*, (1909), pp. 103, 165.



Canon Patrick Power

Canon Patrick Power was born in Callaghan, civil parish of Ballygunner, barony of Gaultier County Waterford on 8 March 1862. A quick glance at his publication *The Place Names of Decies* gives us this information and also gives us the results of his research into the meaning and origin of this placename and indeed all townland names in Waterford. This publication, for which Waterford owes a great debt to Canon Power, is only one part of his prodigious output of research that spanned a diverse range of interests in archaeology, history, the Irish language and antiquities.

The 150th anniversary of the birth of Canon Power will fall on the 8 March 2012 and in order to mark this occasion Waterford County Council, Waterford City Council and Waterford Institute of Technology are joining together to celebrate the life and work of Canon Power. A seminar will be held in WIT on Thursday 8 March 2012 with lectures from Monsignor Michael Olden, Dr Elizabeth Shee-Twohig, University College Cork, Professor Pádraig Ó Macháin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies and Pádraig Ó Cearbháill, An Brainse Logainmneacha; each discussing a different aspect of the wide ranging scholarship of Canon Power. An online exhibition will be made available to highlight the research of Canon Power. New research to extend our knowledge of local placenames to field names and other local sites will be carried out by pupils in Fenor National School and Whitechurch National School with the support and guidance of the Coiste Logainmneacha Comhairle Contae Phóirt Láirge.

We hope that members of the Waterford Historical and Archaeological Society will join us in celebrating the work of Canon Patrick Power. We would like to request any members who have information, archives or artefacts that they would like to make available to the online exhibition to contact Waterford County Archives, Dubgarvan. The brochure for the seminar will shortly be issued and we hope to see you there. Any queries or information can be submitted by contacting archivist@waterfordcoco.ie

• *Decies 67* •

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 2011
(Up to September 30th 2011)

Abbeyside Reference Archives, Parish Office, Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co.
Waterford.

Allen Public County Library, P.O. Box 2270, 900 Library Plaza, Fort Wayne, IN
46801-2270, USA.

Arthur, Rev. R., Cappoquin, Co. Waterford.

Aylward, Mr J., Wander Inn, Johnstown, Waterford.

Brazil, Mrs C., 'Killard', John's Hill, Waterford.

Brazil, Mr D., 'Killard', John's Hill, Waterford.

Breen, Ms M., Lower Newtown, Waterford.

Brennan, Mr D., 11 The Brambles, Ballinakill Downs, Dunmore Road, Waterford.

Brennan, Mr J., 25 Daisy Terrace, Waterford.

Brennan, Ms V., Gregaridda, Dunmore East, co Waterford.

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Brophy, Mr A., Bushe Lodge, Catherine Street, Waterford.

Burns, Mrs A. M. B., 97 Park Road, Loughborough, Leicester, LE11 2HD,
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Burtchaell, Mr Jack, Giles Quay, Slieverue, via Waterford.

Byrne, Prof. K., Director, Waterford Institute of Technology, Cork Road,
Waterford.

Byrne, Dr. N., 'Auburn', John's Hill, Waterford.

Byrne, Mrs S., 'Auburn', John's Hill, Waterford.

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Cahill, Ms D., Reise, Grange Lawn, Waterford.

Cahill, Ms. L., 17 Oakley Drive, Earls court, Waterford.

Carporelli, Mr L., Woodlands Cottage, Faithlegge, Co Waterford.

Carroll, Ms M., Newrath Road, Waterford.

Carroll, Mr P., Greenmount House, Crooke, Passage East, Co. Waterford.

Caulfield, Mr S., Robinstown, Glenmore, Co. Kilkenny.

Caulfield, Mr T., Killure Cross, Monamintra, Co Waterford.

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.

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Crowe, Mr W., 13 Bromley Avenue, Ardkeen Village, Waterford.

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Crowley, Ms N., 45 Orchard Drive, Ursuline Court, Waterford.
Cuddy, Mr M., 17 Belvedere Drive, Waterford.
Curham, Mrs W., 19 The Folly, Ballytruckle, Waterford.
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Cusack, Mr A., Knockhouse Lower, Waterford.
Cusack, Mrs. A., Granville Hotel, Waterford.
Cusack, Mr. L., Granville Hotel, Waterford.

Dalton, Mr N., Kill Dara, 36 The Folly, Waterford.
Deegan, Mr P., 2 Fairfield Park, Belvedere Manor, Waterford.
Delahunty, Mrs M., Rocksprings, Newtown, Waterford.
Devlin, Dr P., 14 South Parade, Waterford.
Dillon, Mr F., 'Trespan', The Folly, Waterford.
Doherty, Mr B., Ballinlammy, Glenmore, Co Kilkenny.
Doorley, Mr S., 1 Glenthomas, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Doran, Ms L., 7 St. Mary's Road, Ballsbridge, Dublin 4.
Downey, Ms C., 19 Newtown Road, Waterford.
Downey, Mr M., 19 Newtown 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.

Eogan, Mr J., 12 Barley Grove, Ballinakill Downs, 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.
Fenton, Mr C., Portnahully, Carigeen, via Waterford.
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44574BB, Wales.
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Gallagher, Mr L., 42 Dunluce Road, Clontarf, Dublin 3.
Gallagher, Mr M., 54 The Moorings, Ballinakill, Waterford.
Gaule, Mr Barry, 31 Ferndale, Waterford.
Goff, Mr J., Marlfield, Newtown, Waterford.

- Goff, Ms R., Marfield, Newtown, Waterford.
Gordon, Mr J. P., 12 The Burgery, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
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Gossip, Mrs P., 'Garden Cottage', Ballinakill, Waterford.
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Griffin, Mr D., 38 Sweetbriar Terrace, Lower Newtown.
Griffin, Mrs N., Dooneen, Kilmeaden, Co. Waterford.
Griffin, Mr P., Dooneen, Kilmeaden, Co. Waterford.
Grogan, Mrs A., The Laurels, Botherduff, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.
Grogan, Mr A. G., Thomastown House, Duleek, Co. Meath.
Grogan, Mr P., 41 Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
Grogan, Mrs V., 41 Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
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- Hall, Mr K.P., 'Cruhall', 58 Viewmount Park, Waterford
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Healey, Mr P., 31 Lismore Park, Waterford.
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Hearne, Ms M., Fairview, Priest's Road, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
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Heine, Miss B., 5 The Elms, John's Hill, Waterford.
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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.
Holland, Mr P., Killeigh, Clonmel Road, Cahir, Co. Tipperary.
Hopkins, Miss S., Lower Newtown, Waterford.
Howard, Ms S.T., 10 Tuar na Greinne, Ardn Graoi, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
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- 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.
Kennelly, 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, Ms S., 4 Brookwood Grove, Artane, Dublin 5.
Kilkenny County Library, 6 John's Quay, Kilkenny.
Kimber, Mr D., 39 Faiche an Ghraig-in, Portlirge.

Laffan, Mrs K., Greenville, Kilmacow, via Waterford.
Lambert, Mr N., Glenpipe, Mullinavat, Co. Kilkenny.
Lawton, Ms B., Woodlands Cottage, Faithlegg, Co Waterford.
Leamy, Mr P., 11 Oakley Drive, Earls Court, Waterford.
Lincoln, Mrs S., Ardmore, Co. Waterford.
Lineen, Mr D., Grantstown, Waterford.
Long, Mr C., 226 Viewmount Park, Waterford.
Lowe, Mrs A., 22 Coxtown East, Dunmore East, Co Waterford.
Lowe, Mr P., 31 South Parade, Waterford.
Lowe, Mr R., 22 Coxtown East, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Lumley, Mrs R., Formby, Daisy Terrace, Waterford.

Maher, Mr J., 76 Williamstown Park, Waterford.
Maher, Mr M., 26 Kenure Park, Powerscourt Lawns, Waterford.
Maloney, Ms T., 53 Viewmount Park, Waterford.
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Malthouse, Mrs M., 10 Leoville, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Manning, Mr C., 2 Newport's Terrace, Waterford.
Manning, Mr O., 2 Newport Terrace, Waterford.
Mary Immaculate, College Library - Journals Dept., South Circular Road,
Limerick.
Matson, Ms L., Newtown Villa, Waterford
McCarthy, Dr. P., 29 Lea Road, Sandymount, Dublin 4.
McCarthy, Mr R., 'Beniklus', Bernard Place, Waterford.
McEaney, Mr E., Waterford Treasures Museum, Hanover Street, Waterford.
McShea, Mr M., Sacre Coeur, Killea Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
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Mechan, Mr K., Meadowell, Grantstown Village, Waterford.
Mercer, Mrs B., 6 Highfield Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Mescall, Ms M., 3 Ashcroft Road, Riverview, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Miller, Mr D., Badger House, Woodstown, Co. Waterford.
Mount Melleray Abbey, The Librarian, Cappoquin, Co. Waterford.
Mullane, Sr. Virginia, Box 36370, Lusaka, Zambia.
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Murphy, Mr J. P., Shin-Shin, 45 Blenheim Heights, Waterford.
Murphy, Mr P., Ballyquin House, Carrickbeg, Carrick-on-Suir.
Murphy, Mr R., 10 Wellington Street, Waterford.
Murphy, Mr S., Millfield, Furraleigh, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.

Murphy, Mrs S., Millfield, Furraleigh, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.
Murray, Mr D., Dermar, Seaview Park, Tramore, Co Waterford.
Murray, Mr P., 28 Waterloo Road, Dublin 4.
Murtagh, Mr B., Primrose Hill, Threecastles, Co. Kilkenny.

Newberry Library, 60 Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610, USA.
Nolan, Mr F., 92 Roselawn, Tramore, Co Waterford.
Nolan, Ms N., 6 Ashbrook, Rockshire Road, Ferrybank, Waterford.
Nolan, Mr T., Greenville, Fenor, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Nolan Farrell & Goff, Solicitors, Newtown, Waterford.
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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.
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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., St. Mary's, 3 The Vinery, Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
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'Donnoghue, Mr F., 18 Carigeen Lea, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
O'Drisceoil, Dr P., 6 Riverview, Gallows Hill, Co. Kilkenny.
O'Floinn, Mr T., 1 Blackrock Court, Youghal Road, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
O Griofa, Mr P., Ballindud, Co Waterford.
Ó Griofain, An t-Uasal N., Radharc na Farraige, An Rinn, Dungarban, Co.
Phortlairge.
O'Neill, Mr F., Newtown, Passage East, Co. Waterford.
O'Reilly, Miss E., 5 Railway Square, Waterford.
O'Reilly, Mr P., Riese, Grange Lawn, Waterford.
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Waterford Heritage & Genealogical Services, Jenkins Lane, Waterford.

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