

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

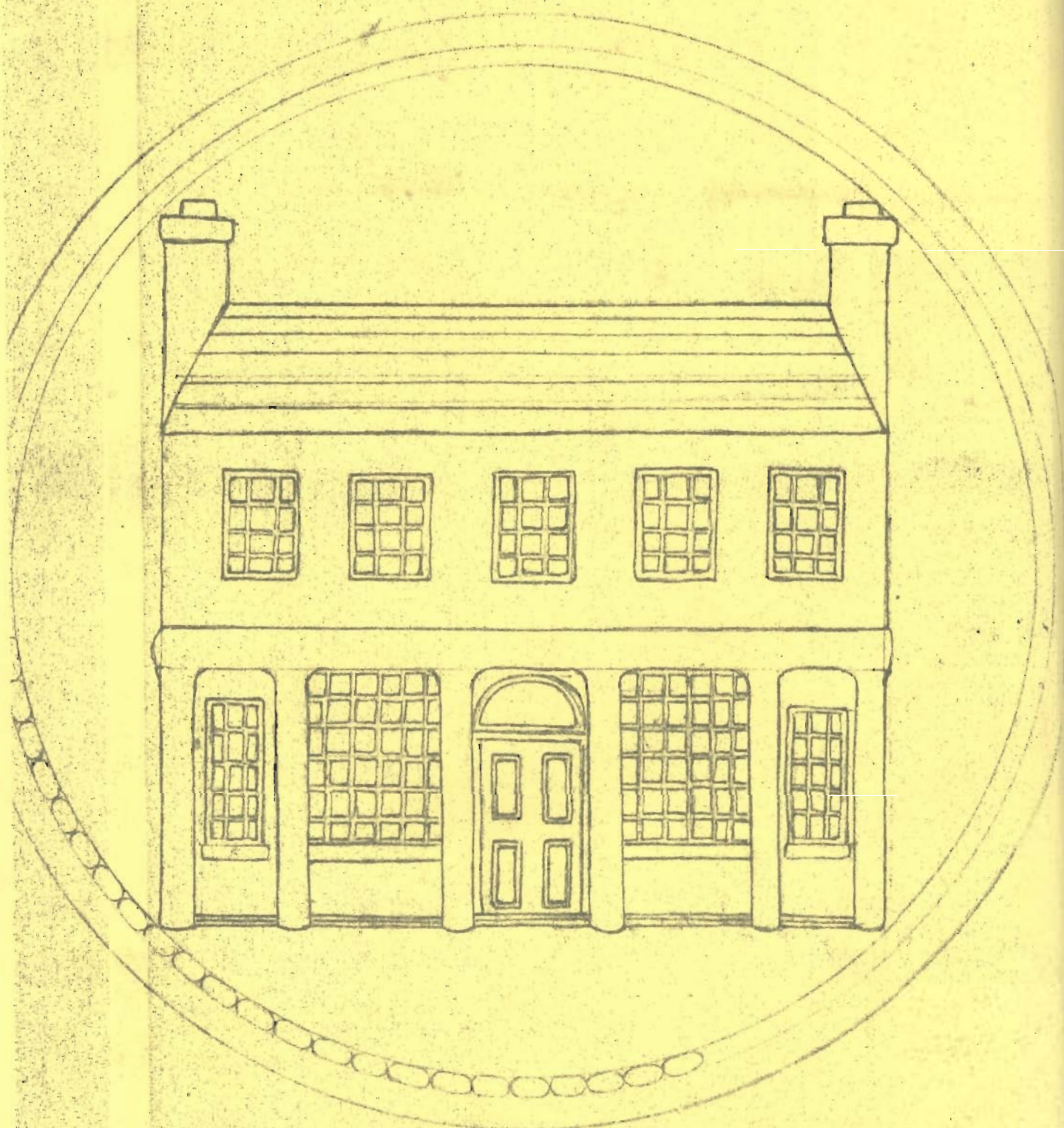
DECIES

Number Eleven

May, 1979.

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Enlargement of token issued by W. Kirkwood, draper and milk
mercer, Waterford in mid-nineteenth century showing probable
business premises.
(See Tokens issued by Waterford Tradesmen by John Mulholland
in DECIES 10. Other tokens on inner back cover.)

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

EDITORIAL

It is intended to make DECIES 15 (Sept.1980) an index volume to the previous fourteen issues and then to begin a new series of DECIES. As indexing is a rather tedious process we would be grateful for any help offered.

Due to the postal strike some of our contributors have not had the opportunity to check the proofs of their scripts and we apologise in advance for any errors that may have occurred.

REPORT OF A. G. M.

The Annual General Meeting of the O. W. S. was held March 23rd, 1979. The following officers and committee were elected:-

CHAIRMAN	:	Mr. Jim O'Meara
VICE-CHAIRMAN	:	Mr. John Hodge
HON. SECRETARY	:	Mrs. N. Croke
HON. TREASURER	:	Mrs. R. Lumley
PRESS OFFICER	:	Sr. Virginia
EDITOR "DECIES"	:	Mr. Des Cowman.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS: Mrs. S. Brophy, Mr. J. S. Carroll (ex-officio), Mr. N. Cassidy, Mr. L. Eachthigheirn, Mr. F. Heylin, Miss E. O'Reilly, Mrs. E. Webster, Mr. M. Wigham.

LIFE MEMBER : Miss K. Kelly

CHANGES IN CONSTITUTION: The meeting resolved, (i) on the appointment of a honorary Press Officer who should be an ex-officio member of the committee, and (ii) that it is the policy of the Society to issue a publication for which an editor shall be elected and who will be an ex-officio member of the committee. These changes will be incorporated in a new issue of the Constitution of the Old Waterford Society which will be available to members shortly.

SUBSCRIPTION: In view of the continued rapid rise in membership, the subscription for 1980 will remain at £2.50.

Please forward any subscriptions for 1979 (£2.50) still outstanding to Hon. Treasurer:

Mrs. R. Lumley, 28, Daisy Terrace, Waterford.



SIR THOMAS WYSE



MADAME LETITIA BONAPARTE WYSE

THE MARRIAGE OF THOMAS WYSE AND LETITIA BONAPARTE.

By Eileen Holt.

ITALY.

In 1815, after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, when the continent was again open to travellers, a young Irishman set out upon the Grand Tour, and during the winter of 1815/16, he arrived in Rome. He was the future Sir Thomas Wyse, then known as Thomas Wyse junior. He was twenty-four years old, the eldest of a family of six, and heir to the ancient estate of The Manor of St. John, Waterford, which had been in the Catholic family of the Wyses for generations. Already an accomplished and cultured young man, if a somewhat puritanical and almost wholly humourless one, he was later to become associated with Daniel O'Connell in the struggle for Catholic Emancipation, and to be elected as a Member of Parliament, firstly for County Tipperary, and later for Waterford City. He became Lord of the Treasury, Secretary of the India Board of Control, and in 1849 was appointed as British Minister in Greece, which post he held until his death in Athens in 1862. He was to attain fame primarily as an educationalist, and it is on his career in the fields of education and diplomacy that his biographer, J.J. Auchmuty, concentrates. (1) Nevertheless, this biography does contain much interesting and valuable information about Thomas's private life, much of it based upon material from the Wyse family archives. There is also a fascinating and entertaining account of Thomas's marriage and the subsequent life of his wife and her children to be found in The Spurious Brood by Olga Bonaparte-Wyse, (2) an account also based on family correspondence and documents.

The story of this marriage, reconstructed from these two sources, from contemporary accounts in Memoirs, newspapers and correspondence, and from hitherto unpublished papers in the family archives, (3) and in the archives of The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, (4) is seen to be one containing elements of drama, if not melodrama, of idyllic happiness followed by deep unhappiness, of gaiety and boredom, and of the pathos of exile and parting.

The story begins in that winter of 1815/16, when Thomas, provided with letters of introduction by Lord and Lady Dlandaff, called upon Prince Lucien Bonaparte and his family who had returned the previous year to live in Rome, after spending four years in exile in England. Lucien, brother of Napoleon, had been refused the title of a French Prince, but in 1814 the papal title of Prince of Canino, taken from his estate at Canino, had been bestowed upon him. His first wife Catherine-Christine Boyer had died in 1800, and of this marriage two daughters survived, Christine-Charlotte, and Christine - Charlotte-Alexandrine-Egypta. In 1803 he married again, and this marriage was a source of great anger to his brother who had had a dynastic alliance in view for him. Napoleon refused to recognise Lucien's second wife, the former Alexandrine Joubertson, as his sister-in-law, and brought pressure to bear upon his brother to divorce her. Lucien, however, steadfastly refused to do so, and in 1815 was living happily with his wife and children in Rome. The children now numbered eight, the two daughters by his first marriage, and two daughters and four sons of the second marriage. The family was not yet complete, other children would be born later to Alexandrine.

The eldest daughter of the second marriage was Letitia, who had been born in Milan on 1st December, 1804, the eve of Napoleon's coronation as Emperor. Lucien had not been invited to the ceremony, and his mother, Madame Mere, waited with him in Milan in the hope that an invitation would be issued for him. It did not however arrive, and Madame Mere refused to go without him, to the great annoyance of Napoleon. It was after her paternal grandmother that Letitia was named, and when Thomas first arrived in Rome she was a child of eleven years old.

Many years later, Thomas's niece, Winifrede Wyse, wrote down an account of her Uncle's marriage (5), and told how he became intimate with Lucien and his family, and particularly devoted to Lucien's wife. After a second winter in Rome, young Wyse started out on a tour of the Near East which was to last for two years. On his return, he visited the Bonapartes at their villa near Viterbo, and Winifrede tells us how during his absence, the daughters had grown into young women. She goes on to relate how Thomas "dazzled by the extraordinary beauty, the apparent modesty and gentleness of the third daughter, Letitia, at once fell deeply in love with her". The word 'apparent' is a significant one, for even bearing in mind Winifrede's adoration of her Uncle, and her wholehearted dislike of his wife, it has to be admitted that the picture which emerges of Letitia is not one of modest and gentle woman. Winifrede goes on to relate how Thomas, although in love, had no thought of proposing for Letitia in view of his family's financial situation which was a difficult one. Price Lucien and his wife were, however, anxious to have him for a son-in-law, and he was therefore persuaded to propose, and was accepted.

Thomas and Letitia were married at Canino on March 4th 1821. The bride was sixteen years old, the bridegroom in his thirtieth year. In a letter to his sister Harriet dated 8th March, 1821, Thomas described the ceremony, and spoke of his great happiness. Of his wife he said: "She draws, sings, and plays, composes in French and Italian; I have already begun Latin and English with her, and we read Belles Lettres and History together. She is beloved here to an excess, which even in this family is extraordinary, where everything is harmony, attachment, and dignified and useful pursuit." (6) There is no doubt that for Thomas at least, there was at first a period of idyllic happiness, even if Letitia, as we shall see, may well have had some reservations from the very early days.

On 6th January 1822, their first son, Napoleon Alfred was born. His sponsors were John Talbot, afterwards, Earl of Shrewsbury, and Charlotte, his mother's half-sister. It was at the home of Charlotte, now Princess Gabrielli, in Rome, that Napoleon was born. On the return to Viterbo some months later, discord was first noticed between husband and wife. It was commented upon in family correspondence, and we can also find a reflection of it in the fragment of an unpublished novel, written in the hand of Letitia herself, and obviously autobiographical. This novel can be dated from references to it in family letters, as having been composed in 1823. It is written in French and entitled: Madame Veruspi raconte (sic) l'histoire de son amie la Comtesse (sic) d'Aberville. (7) Letitia's first language was Italian, but whether she was writing in Italian, French or English, she frequently made mistakes in spelling and in grammar. The following passage is taken from the beginning of the story, and we can substitute 'Rome' for 'Florence' and Letitia herself for 'my friend, the Countess of Aberville.' :

"When I came to Florence, my friend was barely 19 years old, and had been married for more than three years to a man who was as virtuous and good as he was cold and reserved. He admired and loved her more than any other woman he had ever met, although he loved her much less than his books and his other occupations, and did not admire her as much as the objects d'art which decorated his salons, and that since the first days of their marriage!"

Here we have an indication that Letitia's own disillusionment with married life probably started very early on. "She knew his good qualities," continues the narrator, "She gave credit to his talents, but she did not love him." Again, this seems to be an accurate summary of Letitia's own feelings.

We then have a portrait of the heroine, which is obviously based upon Letitia's own appearance according to contemporary paintings and descriptions of her:

"Her big brown eyes were gentle, sweet and bright. The delicacy and transparency of her complexion were enhanced by the dark colour of her eyebrows and hair.....Her arms, dazzling white, and remarkably beautiful, were worthy of her small hands; her feet were enchanting, and the somewhat pronounced contours of her body contrasted with the elegant slenderness of her figure, which without being tall, was perfect."

This is not a modest one, if we are to take it as self-portrait, but it must be remembered that Letitia was a recognised beauty in her youth.

Thomas too was to begin a novel later on, which was entitled Everard Aylmer, or Memoirs of a Papist. (8) Here again we find autobiographical details. The hero falls deeply in love with a fifteen year old Italian girl whom he describes as 'a true Italian beauty.' He goes on :

"Nature had spread out in her ripest luxuriance, but not one line beyond the grace and dignity of her sex.....The eyes were deep and velvety, the lips loving and perhaps large, the whole countenance sad and concentrated and enframed in raven hair."

However, in Thomas's novel, the girl marries someone else, the hero being too shy to declare himself. Written when his own marriage had finally broken up, it may be that the author preferred his hero to lose his love early on, than to have to write about the painful experience of the breakdown of a marriage.

After the return to Viterbo, it is understandable that Letitia, having experienced the delights and excitement of life in Roman society, should have rebelled against the dull routine she was now expected to follow with Thomas. She was after all still very young, and she longed for gaiety. At the same time, she was a wife and mother, and not willing to resume the studies she had shared with her husband in the early days, which doubtless reminded her of the schoolroom. In any event, in the autumn of 1824 matters came to a head, and after a quarrel with her husband, she ran screaming from the house, as a result of which she was forced to enter the Convent of Santa Rosa, Viterbo, where she was to remain for the next seven months. From the Convent she wrote pathetic letters to her husband, begging him to allow her to see her small son whom she loved dearly. Thomas however now exhibited the stern, unrelenting, and unattractive side of his character to the full, and refused all her requests. He would not even allow the child to be brought in a carriage and held up outside the window, so that she could see that the little boy was in good health. It was not until May 1825, when she had made an abject apology to her husband, that she was allowed to leave the Convent.

In the meantime, Thomas had decided it was time to return to Ireland, and at the end of June, accompanied by his wife and child, his sister Harriet who had been staying with them, and his servants, he started on the long journey home. They passed through the Tyrol and Bavaria, and arrived at Bruges where Letitia met her father and mother-in-law, who were resident there, for the first time.

In August the party arrived in Waterford. The old Manor House, the family home, had been demolished, and Thomas and his family went to live with his brother George and his family in a house on The Adelphi. Thus in the home of her brother-in-law did a Bonaparte Princess begin her life in provincial Ireland. She was not yet twenty one years old, she was beautiful, high-spirited, and she was now pregnant with her second child.

IRELAND.

This child, another son, was born in the house on the Adelphi in the following February, and he was named William Thomas Charles Joseph. Although William Charles Bonaparte-Wyse, as he was to be known in adult life, always celebrated his birthday on 20th February, he was in fact born on Tuesday 21st February 1826. On that day his father was absent in Dublin, and George Wyse sent a letter to his brother at his hotel there to be delivered immediately. In it he said:

"it is with infinite pleasure I have to congratulate you on the birth of a young son, which took place much unexpectedly this morning about eleven o'clock after scarce an hour's illness - the Doctor not being in time. She is thank God going on well - but much annoyed at your absence. I have not told her of your further delay - hoping you may still be able to be here as intended. I have yet time to say once more - Make Haste!!! (9)

The next day, on Wednesday 22nd, the following announcement appeared on the birth in The Waterford Mirror:

"Yesterday, the Lady of Thomas Wyse Jun. of the Manor of St. John Esq. and daughter of Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, a son."

The child was baptised by the Bishop of Waterford on 6th March, and the Certificate of Baptism (10) shows the sponsors to be "Thomas Wyse (sen.)" and "Mad. Mere Bonaparte." However, although Thomas Wyse (sen.) had expressed his willingness to act as a sponsor, Madame Mere had not in fact given her consent to act in that capacity to her great-grandson. At the time of Letitia's marriage, she had according to her daughter-in-law Elizabeth Bonaparte (nee Patterson) "refused to acknowledge the marriage of Lucien's daughter with an Irishman on account of the inferiority of his birth." (11)

On the 1st April 1826, nearly a month after the baptism had taken place, a letter was written on her behalf from Rome, which, while cordial in tone, advised Thomas that she could not undertake to be godmother to the new baby. She gave her advanced age as the reason for her refusal (she was then 76), and added that she had refused the same request from several other members of the family. (12)

Ironically, in Ireland, Letitia found herself being treated as an inferior, because of her Bonaparte connections, by an element of the Protestant aristocracy. This she resented bitterly, and one incident was reported as follows:

"We had quite a scene last night at Mr. Beattie's Ball. He took Lady Brindley into supper. MMe Bonaparte-Wyse who was there, flew into such a rage, and screamed - so as to be heard by everyone - that she ought to have precedence of everyone in the room, as she was of royal blood and a princess in her own right. Her husband had great difficulty in getting her to take his arm, and he conducted her to his carriage. She is a splendid woman, but she has, O! such a voice ! and such a temper! There are rumours of a separation." (13)

The Wyse family were closely involved in the Waterford Election of 1826, and supported the Liberal candidate, Henry Villiers Stuart, on a pro-Emancipation programme.

In the spring of that year Thomas had taken a house on The Mall, and the family had moved there. A description of Letitia's activities in the election campaign has been preserved:

"Fashionable ladies filled the windows of The Mall; and not least demonstrative in exhibition of sympathy was Madame Buonaparte Wyse, who with her own hands fitted the ribbon favours in the hats of the electors, and was more Irish than the Irish themselves in her exertions in favour of the good cause. This lady, the daughter of Lucien Buonaparte, Prince of Canino, was niece of Napoleon the Great;.....she had become an object of decided interest and of great attraction. Her size was rather small; her finely moulded features had the impression of the family of Imperial France; she was not only very young, but very beautiful, with all the fascination and address which not only indicated her high lineage but which gave her a widespread popularity.....her manners, in many respects were more suited to sunny Italy than to the peculiarities of the clime and people among whom she cast her fortunes; at times she wore a profusion of orange ribbons on her shoes, which were so adjusted that in walking, she used to trample on them"(14)

Thus did Letitia express her contempt for those who scorned her, the significance of the orange ribbons not being lost on the crowd. With the poorer classes she was a great success, being welcomed warmly as the niece of Napoleon,

At the social functions she attended she aroused much comment. On 2nd September 1826, Daniel O'Connell wrote to his wife:

We had on Wednesday night a Catholic Charity Ball. It was the first the Catholics ever gave in Waterford. Stephen Coppinger must needs dance in a quadrille with Madame Wyse. You never saw anything so ludicrous - his sepulchral aspect and funeral step were most powerfully contrasted with her elegant Italian dancing, almost too airy indeed for a sober company without being at all indelicate. I was greatly amused at it. They had great fun at supper when they made him make several speeches and gave her health three times in various shapes.(15)

Life in Waterford was certainly not dull that year, and in October Thomas and Letitia attended the great Fancy Dress Ball at Dromana, the seat of Henry Villiers Stuart, who had been successfully returned at the Election. Thomas was attired as a gentleman of Constantinople, and Letitia as "a lovely Italian peasant." The couple played leading parts in an entertainment given at the Ball, a report of which was given in the local press;

"Shortly after nine o'clock the Company began to assemble, as it was requested that they should come early to witness an exhibition en tableaux, a novel entertainment well known on the Continent, but which has not before been exhibited in this country. Large picture frames were placed on the stage, in front of which is hung a thin gauze veil, behind which those who are to perform stand...The great art is to continue in a fixed attitude, motionless, breathless, and apparently lifeless, so as to appear to the spectators like a real picture. This entertainment was performed in the Theatre at Dromana by Mr. Stuart, the Hon. Mr. Seymour, Mr. Wyse and Mrs. Bonaparte Wyse, etc.etc. with which the numerous and fashionable audience which filled the boxes were highly delighted."(16)

Nevertheless Letitia became increasingly unhappy in Ireland. She detested the climate, and longed for the sunny skies of Italy. She complained that her husband neglected her, that he shut himself away with his books, that he paid more attention to his sister-in-law and her daughter Winifrede than he did to her. In the winter of 1827, her brother, Prince Charles Bonaparte came to visit them, and he found his sister irritable and discontented. He had little sympathy with her, and told her that she had a husband such as very few women could boast of.(17) What he either failed to recognise, or dismissed as being of no importance, was the fact that there was complete incompatibility of temperament in husband and wife. Letitia did acknowledge her husband's good qualities, but they did not make her happy. Furthermore, in the sphere of social activity, their tastes sometimes differed sharply, and this was a source

of friction. For instance, the dancing which Letitia loved, Thomas detested. Rather surprisingly, we find Thomas to be the author of a light satire on waltzing, which is unexpected in view of his almost total lack of humour. An extract of this satire, published anonymously, appeared in The Waterford Mirror,⁽¹⁸⁾ in it he commented:

"However I approve, or permit rather, such inevitable amusements as quadrilles, I cordially abhor, condemn and renunciate under all their denominations, both waltzes and waltzers."

He went on to present an amusing account of the wiles of young ladies who took part in what he considered to be an immoral dance, but behind the light hearted tone we can sense the cold disapproval of the puritanical Thomas. We must of course remember that there were many others who did not approve of the waltz at this period, and we should not condemn him for this reason alone. But this was only one source of dispute. The fiery Southern temperament of his wife was ill matched with his cool reserve, and he simply did not try to understand her tantrums, nor would he make any allowances for her. There were faults on both sides, but it is he who emerges as the unsympathetic character because of his cold and self centred attitude towards his young wife.

The rumours of a separation grew. One day Letitia arrived at the Deanery "attired in a white morning dress profusely trimmed with Valenciennes lace, and a leghorn hat with a plume of scarlet feathers; her stockingless feet were thrust loosely into red morocco slippers. She was superbly handsome, but with a pronounced expression of bitterness and defiance!"⁽¹⁹⁾ She announced that she was going to leave Waterford for good, and that a Deed of Separation was to be drawn up. The Dean's wife received the news coolly, not wishing to take sides in the dispute between husband and wife. She was intimate with the Wyse family, and well aware that they would be there long after Letitia had left. This coolness had the effect of exasperating Letitia all the more. "She worked herself up into a state of passionate screaming", and had to be supported downstairs and into her carriage.⁽²⁰⁾

At the end of January, 1828, while Thomas and George were in Dublin, Letitia finally left Waterford. Her one bitter regret was that she had to leave behind her two little boys, but she knew she would never be allowed to have custody of them and to take them from Ireland. There is no doubt that she loved her eldest son dearly, and even if there is little evidence of her affection for William, there is nevertheless an element of pathos in the parting of the mother from her young children, albeit that she was leaving of her own accord. She intended taking the boat at Dublin for Holyhead, but Thomas and George had been warned of her departure from Waterford, and were waiting for her on her arrival at the Waterford Hotel in Dublin. There followed a long discussion, but Letitia was adamant, and it was agreed that a Deed of Separation should be drawn up. Letitia handed to Thomas a letter she had intended posting to him from Holyhead in which she told him it was as impossible for them to live happily together "as to unite water and fire together in the same vessel." She said "our tastes and dispositions are too much opposed - what pleases me is painful to you, what displeases me charms you!" She spoke of her children, particularly the elder: "I recommend to your love William and Napoleon, the latter (much too sensitive) has several traits of my character, look after him, direct his upbringing, treat him with gentleness, and those same qualities which have brought about my unhappiness will bring about his happiness and your pride."⁽²²⁾ Then she left for Holyhead and London, and she never saw her husband again.

About a month after her departure, she did, however, return to Waterford by the steamer from Bristol. She had been advised in London to obtain the services of a legal adviser in Ireland, and this was the purpose of her visit. Thomas took steps to avoid her, moving to his brother's house on the Adelphi during her visit. A Deed of Separation was signed by both parties in May 1828, and Letitia, having stayed for some time in Dublin, returned to London.

The families of George and Thomas Wyse now united in one household in another house on The Mall, and George's wife and her mother who resided with them assumed responsibility for the upbringing of the two sons of Thomas. William was brought from a tenant's cottage where he had been put out with a nurse, and Napoleon who had been living as a boarder at the school of the Misses Quan, was removed and sent to Downside College in England. Waterford however, had not seen the last of Letitia. In December 1829 she arrived once more in the city, this time accompanied by a Miss Gordon, whom Winifrede described as "a violent woman who was said to carry pistols in her belt." Thomas and George were absent in Dublin, and Letitia went to the house on The Mall demanding to see William. In the absence of Thomas, Mrs. George refused permission and there was a scene, described as follows in The Waterford Mail:

"Madame Wyse arrived in this city on Thursday morning from England, accompanied by a lady to whom the title of Madame Murat has been given.⁽²³⁾ She put at the Commercial Hotel, and in the course of the day enacted various scenes which kept the multitude constantly agog. She went to the school of the Misses Quan and other places, as it was said, in search of her children. She made an unsuccessful attempt on the house of George Wyse Esq. but was refused admittance, and we understand applied to the Mayor for assistance to force an entry, one of her children being in the house. The aid required was most respectfully refused. After this she returned to the hotel; opened one of the front windows, and addressed the mob whether in French or English we have not learned. She concluded by throwing money amongst them - sovereigns. Fortunately for himself, Mr. Wyse was not in town to be a spectator to this exhibition. Yesterday the scene was partially renewed, and Madame paraded through different parts of the town with a long train of rabble at her heels. It is said that she only seeks to have her children; but somehow her case excites no sympathy here. These Bonapartes are troublesome folk."⁽²⁴⁾

In spite of the tone of this article, there was in fact some support for Letitia in Waterford as at least one letter written in reply shows. It began "Unhappy family misfortunes in private life ought not to be made the subject of public discussions in public journals and went on to speak of the "base and scurrilous attack made in the columns of The Waterford Mail" on that "certainly illustrious but much to be pitied lady, Madame Bonaparte Wyse."⁽²⁵⁾ It should not therefore be assumed that it was only in the poorer sections of the community that Letitia found support; there was some sympathy in the more educated section of the population also.

During this visit to Waterford there was also a scene on the bridge when Letitia in her carriage stopped the carriage of Mrs. George Wyse who was accompanied by her daughter, and hurled abuse at her. Mrs. George took refuge in The Deanery, and was pursued there by Letitia who was refused admittance. There the action turned to melodrama, with the butler refusing to open the door, and Mrs. George and her daughter in a state of extreme agitation.⁽²⁶⁾

William had now been sent away to a school in Carlow, no doubt to remove the reason for Letitia's presence in Waterford; and in order to get rid of her and to avoid further scandal, Thomas had a letter issued to Letitia giving her permission to see the boy there. She went away accompanied by Miss Gordon, and never returned to the city.

THE AFTERMATH.

An account of Thomas's life after the separation is to be found in his biography, and that of Letitia and her children in The Spurious Brood. What should be, and is being examined in closer detail, in spite of numerous articles, and one full length work in French having been written on the subject, is the life and work of their second son, who became a Provençal poet of distinction, and a friend

of French, English, and Spanish men of letters. That however is another story, and it belongs to William Charles.

SOURCES:

- (1) J. J. Auchmuty, Sir Thomas Wyse 1791-1862, London, P.S. King & Son Ltd., 1939
- (2) Olga Bonaparte-Wyse, The Spurious Brood, London, Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1969.
- (3) Extracts from the Wyse family papers (referred to as Wyse MSS) are reproduced by kind permission of Mr. William Bonaparte-Wyse.
- (4) Extracts from the papers in the Wyse collection at this University are reproduced by kind permission of the University. I also wish to acknowledge the support given to me by The British Academy to enable me to visit The University of Illinois and consult the Wyse papers there.
- (5) Wyse MSS.; (6) Wyse MSS.; (7) Wyse Collection, University of Illinois, MS 26.
- (8) Wyse MSS. (9) Wyse MSS.; (10) Acknowledgement is made of the assistance of Mr. M. V. Gough, County Library Headquarters, Lismore, in obtaining the copy of the Certificate of Baptism.
- (11) Didier E.L., The Life and Letters of Madame Bonaparte, London, Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1879, p.103.
- (12) Wyse MSS.
- (13) M.L.C. Sometime in Ireland - A Recollection., London, H.S. King & Co., 1874 p. 183. Quotations from this source were also used by Auchmuty and Olga Bonaparte-Wyse.
- (14) Wyse Collection, University of Illinois. MS 86. Extract from No. X111. Dec. 21, 1866, of 'Reminiscences of a Journalist' (M. Lenihan). Published in the Limerick Reporter.
- (15) The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell Vol. 111, 1824-1828, ed. M.R. O'Connell, Dublin, Irish University Press, 1974, p. 26 9.
- (16) Waterford Mirror, October, 23, 1826. (17) Wyse MSS.
- (18) Waterford Mirror, June 30, 1828. (19) Sometime in Ireland, p.283
- (20) ibid. p.286. (21) The Spurious Brood. p.69 (22) Wyse MSS.
- (23) Miss Gordon. (24) Wyse MSS-Cuttings Book, n.d. (25) ibid.
- (26) Sometime in Ireland, pp. 218/19.

Illustrations on page 4

That of Thomas Wyse is based on illustration in The Spurious Brood facing p.33, no date or attribution being given. That of Letitia is redrawn from illustrations facing p.218 in Sir Thomas Wyse 1791-1862. Again, no attribution is given, but it is dated 1844 - sixteen years after her separation from Thomas. Both have been prepared for Decies by Mrs. Susanne Brophy.

(We hope to publish as a sequel to this a further article by Dr. Holt dealing with the career of William Charles Bonaparte-Wyse).

NOTES ON SETTLEMENTS AT ROSSMIRE, CO. WATERFORD.

By John Mulholland.

Rossmire parish at present is a rather unassuming place with little about it to indicate former distinction. However, a single reference and corroborative nomenclature indicate that here was an important medieval ecclesiastical centre and long after it had vanished there was at least one attempt to develop an urban settlement on approximately the same site. This article intends to deal in turn with the evidence for these settlements.

THE "MONASTERY" (?) OF ROSSMIRE:

In the parish at present are two churches - a Catholic one adjoining Newtown village built about 1836 (1) and a Church of Ireland dating from about 1830 (2) standing on the townland of Kilmacthomas. Both are modest buildings with no evidence of antiquity about them. Yet in 1291 this parish boasted an ecclesiastical settlement which rivaled Ardmore if the papal taxation of that year is a fair indicator. Only Lismore, Dungarvan, Stradbally and Glenvydan (See Decies 9) were rated substantially higher. (3) By Cromwell's time all that lingered of the establishment was the townland "Lisardnemanisteragh" as recorded in the Civil Survey. (4) This lay to the north of the Cork-Waterford road, the townland of Rossmire lying to the south. ^{here} The Down Survey Map, (5) showing only the three townlands to the South-west of the parish, states that on Kilmacthomas townland there are two mills in repair, a castle in repair and several cabbins. No church is mentioned. By 1659 (6) the name Lisardnemanisteragh had gone, although a version of it appears in the Books of Survey and Distribution (7) in the joint townland name of "Newtown and Lisnamaneskagh."

That there was such a religious establishment is assumed by O'Donovan (8) and he implies that the Church of Ireland stands on its site. This is taken up by Canon Power (9) and between them they give authority to the assumption. The evidence too seems fairly weighty. Canon Power records, "the present Protestant Church stands on the site of the original Rossmire Parish Church and fragments of the ancient building may be seen incorporated into the present church." Furthermore, the 1840 O.S. Map shows an ecclesiastical site at the rear of and outside the present churchyard at Kilmacthomas.

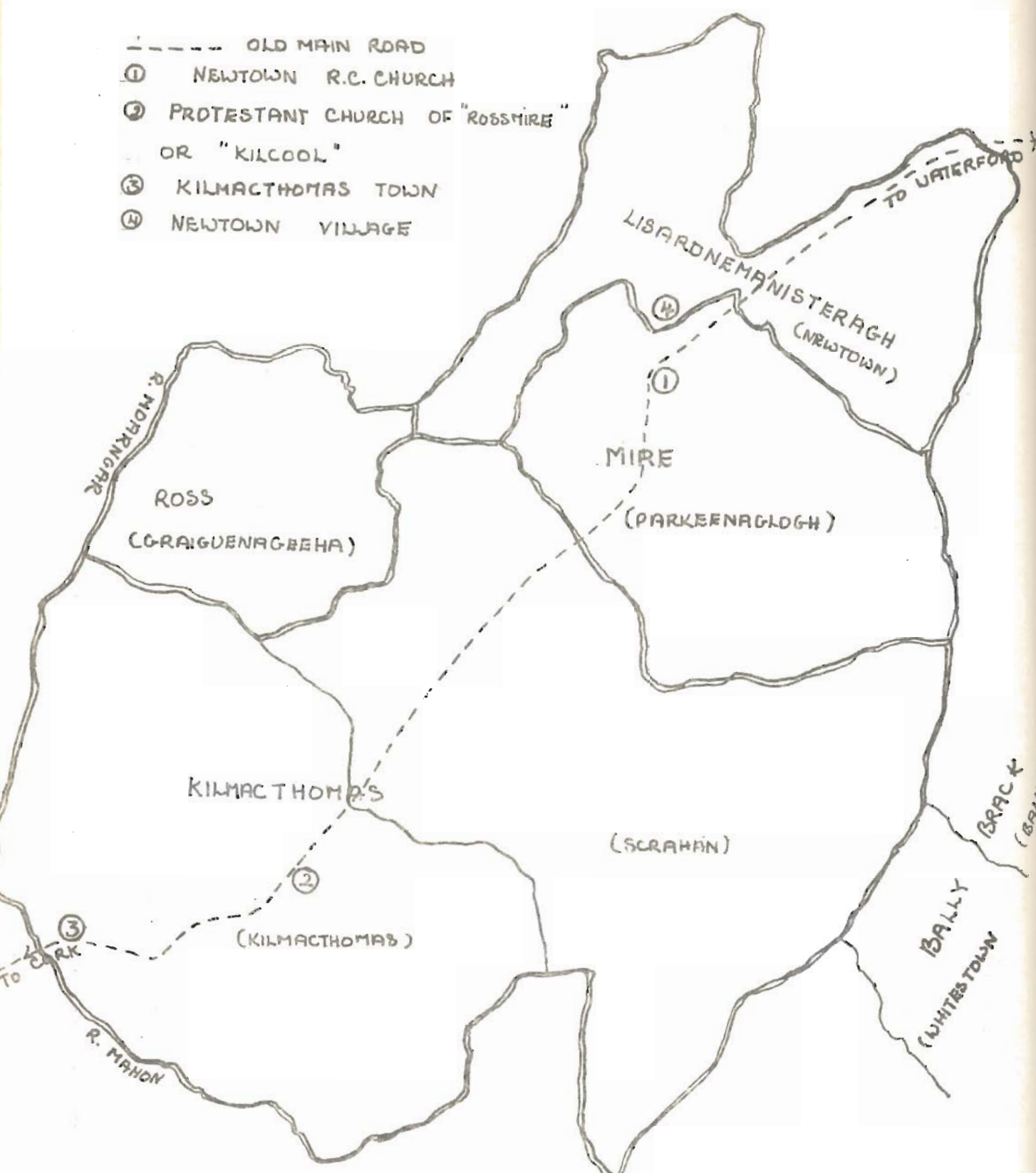
It seems a reasonable hypothesis, therefore, that the Church of Ireland here represents a continuity of tradition going back at least to 1291. No such claims have been made for the Catholic Church three miles away at Newtown.

SITE OF ROSSMIRE PARISH CHURCH:

It is my contention that in fact near Newtown is the site of the old parish church and indeed of an older tradition. The fact that Lisardnemanisteragh was near here is obviously significant but other evidence must be produced. Canon Power (10) implies that there was no earlier church at Newtown than that built in 1836. However, he also mentions that there was a pattern (11) here which was stopped around 1840 and this obviously implies an older tradition. The Grand Jury Map of 1812 (12) shows a church here and nobody disputes that Donnadh Rua was buried at Newtown church in 1810. A "church ruins" is shown here by Taylor and Skinner (13) in 1778. Most telling of all, perhaps is a gravestone in the present churchyard, inscribed around 1770 for one laid to rest in, "the burial ground of his ancestors."

To be sure that this church gave its name in antiquity to the parish we would need to look for the long-vanished townland of Rossmire. Such a townland is

- OLD MAIN ROAD
- ① NEWTOWN R.C. CHURCH
- ② PROTESTANT CHURCH OF "ROSSMIRE"
OR "KILCOOL"
- ③ KILMATHOMAS TOWN
- ④ NEWTOWN VILLAGE



RECONSTRUCTION OF LOCAL TOWNLAND NAMES IN 1654 FROM CIVIL SURVEY DESCRIPTION. MODERN TOWNLAND NAMES IN BRACKETS - OF WHICH "SCRAHAN" "GRAIGUENAGEEHA" "PARKEENAGLOGH" "NEWTOWN" & "WHITESTOWN" DID NOT EXIST IN 1654.

however given in the Civil Survey and the Down Survey. By comparing acreages, outlines and boundaries of the townlands given here and the present townlands it seems to me indisputable that Darkeenagloch, the townland on which stands the modern Newtown church was indeed portion of ancient Rossmire.

What then of the claims of Kilmacthomas? One reference gives the clue. In early times a grant of a fair was given for "Kilmacthomasin alias Kilcowley"(14) This would indicate that the townland had an older alternative name - Cill Chuille or St. Mochuille's church, modified form of which is still in use among residents there. This may then have been the site of a small church whose ruins stood there until the building of a Church of Ireland. When this was first done cannot be dated for certain, but the earliest grave here is 1766 and Donnadh Rua became clerk here the previous year, possibly on the completion of the church. It was certainly here in 1778(15) but apparently had to be rebuilt in the late 1820s. O'Donovan's reference to an "ancient building" may therefore only be to an apparently flimsy 18th century structure, or possibly to the remains of Kilcowley.

It must be said, however, that the present Newtown site has even less left to date or place it precisely. The present large graveyard there is on three distinct levels. On the upper level stands the present church. Below it are to be found the oldest tombs which may indicate that here was the site of an older church, the equivalent of one field in from the road which seems true of so many old churches in east Waterford. The level below it is comparatively empty of grave stones.

It remains, therefore, to account for the disappearance of the names, not only of the early church site itself, but of the very townland on which it stood. It seems that the village at the cross roads became "Newtown" which name came to be applied in time to the townland of Lisardnemanisteragh on which it stood. In due course the adjoining church site doubtless also acquired the name Newtown. Some explanation is therefore needed for the emergence of this new name.

NEWTOWN - NEW TOWNS?

For the majority of "Newtowns" there is no evidence for urban development at any time. Perhaps the term is an awkward anglicisation of "Baile Nua" applied where a farm settlement was made on a new location. However, for this particular Newtown there are three lots of evidence of development.

Best known of these is Charles Smith's; (5) "About one hundred years ago (i.e. in 1640's), one Greatrakes formed a design of building a town in a place in this parish (i.e. Rossmire) which yet retains the name of Newtown; the streets were marked out and paved and several houses built which are since gone to ruin". Local tradition still asserts that this was none other than "The Stroaker", Valentine Greatrakes who received a grant of the district from a grateful Charles II and proceeded to erect a town. This would have been between his return to Ireland in 1666 and his death in 1683.(16) However, this land was then in the possession of Martin Hoare (17) who applied for a licence for a fair here (approximately) in 1685. It is hard to justify the involvement of a member of the Greatrakes family of Affane as a party to such speculation at this stage. Martin Hoare did lose his lands in the Jacobite war and they may for a while have come into the possession of one of the Greatrakes family - but that would have been only fifty years before Smith's time.

There is another possibility however. Before 1641, one Walsh of Little Island owned most of Rossmire parish. The Civil Survey says of this "(there) standeth the wales (sic) of severall ruined houses and a paved street intended before the rebellion for a plantation". This clearly was the origin of Newtown,

the name coming into official usage instead of Lisardnemanisteragh. Quite possibly it was this that Smith referred to although why he introduced Greatrakes into it is not obvious. Clearly the attempted settlement failed but it is possible that Martin Hoare's application for a fair a half century later represented an attempt to restore the same "plantation". As both these men were Catholics, one wonders whether they were conscious of any link with the former ecclesiastical importance of the townland.

This of course still does not explain the disappearance of the townland of Rossmire which appears to have been taken into the modern townlands of Parkeenagloch and Graigue nageeha. A tentative explanation could be this; the name Rossmire had begun to drop out of common usage anyway with the emergence of "Newtown". Having little descriptive meaning in itself (experts disagree as to what it does mean) it gradually came to be supplanted by names more evocative of local phenomena. First came Graiguenageeha by which name the area is known in the Grand Jury map and then the Little Rocky Field (Parkeenagloch) emerged as a feature commonly referred to. These were in such common currency that by 1840 O'Donovan simply accepted them as the townland names and the name Rossmire only lived on as applied to the parish.

SOURCES:

1. Power, Rev.P., A Compendious History of Waterford and Lismore Diocese (Cork, 1937), p.191.
2. Rennison, W.H., Succession List of the Clergy of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore (c.1920).
3. Power, op. cit, p. 342.
4. Semington, R.C. (ed.) Civil Survey 1654, Vol.IV (IMC 1942)
5. Down Survey Map of part of Parish of Rossmire, Mss in PRO.
6. Pender, S. (ed.) "Census" of Ireland, 1659 (IMC 1939)
7. Book of Survey and Distribution. Waterford. Ms. PRO
8. O'Donovan's Ordnance Survey Letters (ed. O'Flanagan, c1930)
9. Power, op. cit., p.194. 10. Power, op.cit., p.191. 11. Power, op.cit., p.195.
12. Grand Jury Map of County Waterford 1818 Ms.PRO.
13. Taylor & Skimmer, Maps of the Roads of Ireland, (1783) p.165
14. 1852-'53, Reports of the Committee to inquire into the state of Fairs and Markets in Ireland.
15. Smith, C., The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford (1746).
16. Boylan, H., Dictionary of Irish Biography (1978), p.126
17. See No. 7 and 14 above.

ASPECTS OF PASSAGE EAST - Part II.

By Julian C. Walton

(In part I of this article in Decies 10 Mr. Walton outlined the history of Crook Castle, traced the Aylward ownership of the area, described attempts to build here a defence for Waterford harbour in the late 16th century and recounted the role of Passage in the Cromwellian War. He now resumes the account after the restoration of Charles II).

PROPOSED NEW FORT FOR PASSAGE:

During the reign of Charles II several attempts were made to bring Passage up to date. When Ormonde was appointed Governor of Duncannon and Passage in 1663/ he appointed Sir William Flower Deputy Governor of Duncannon and Governor of Passage. Flower was responsible for repairing and reoccupying the fort. He was succeeded in the following year by Sir William Boyse.¹ In March of that year a Captain Webb compiled a list of the repairs done in all the forts in Ireland, and reported that "the fort of Passage cost in building and repairing up part of one of the flankers the sum of ---" (left blank).²

In 1666 extensive lands around Passage were granted to Sir Nicholas Armerer, Governor of Duncannon, for the use of the two forts.³

In 1684 the Block House at Passage mounted seven pieces of iron ordnance - a twelve pounder, a demi-culverin, three sakers and two falcons. The standing carriages of the demi-culverin and one of the falcons were reported as defective.⁴

In 1685 Lord Dartmouth reported to the King that Passage was one of the few forts in Ireland that were still defensible.⁵ An extensive survey was made in this year by Sir Thomas Phillips,⁶ who was commissioned by Charles II to inspect all the forts on the south coast, report on their condition and suggest how they might be enlarged and strengthened. Phillips had big plans for Passage; he planned to construct an enormous fort on the most modern lines on the hill above the town, to house a large garrison and command the passage of the river. The measurements were all worked out to the nearest foot, and the expenses to the nearest shilling. The following was the schedule for the proposed works;

"An estimate of the charge of fortifying the entrance of the river of Waterford by taking in the Hill over Passage, and making a battery below where the Spanish fort is.

For clearing the foundation of the main wall of the rampart and the counter-mine arch, being in length 2,120 ft., 20 ft. wide and 20 ft. deep, which makes 848 squares @ 40/- per square amounts to £1,696/-/-

For building the main wall, which is in length 2,120 ft. 18 ft. high and 9 ft. thick, containing 7,805½ perches, @ 12/- per perch, amounts to £4,683/6/-

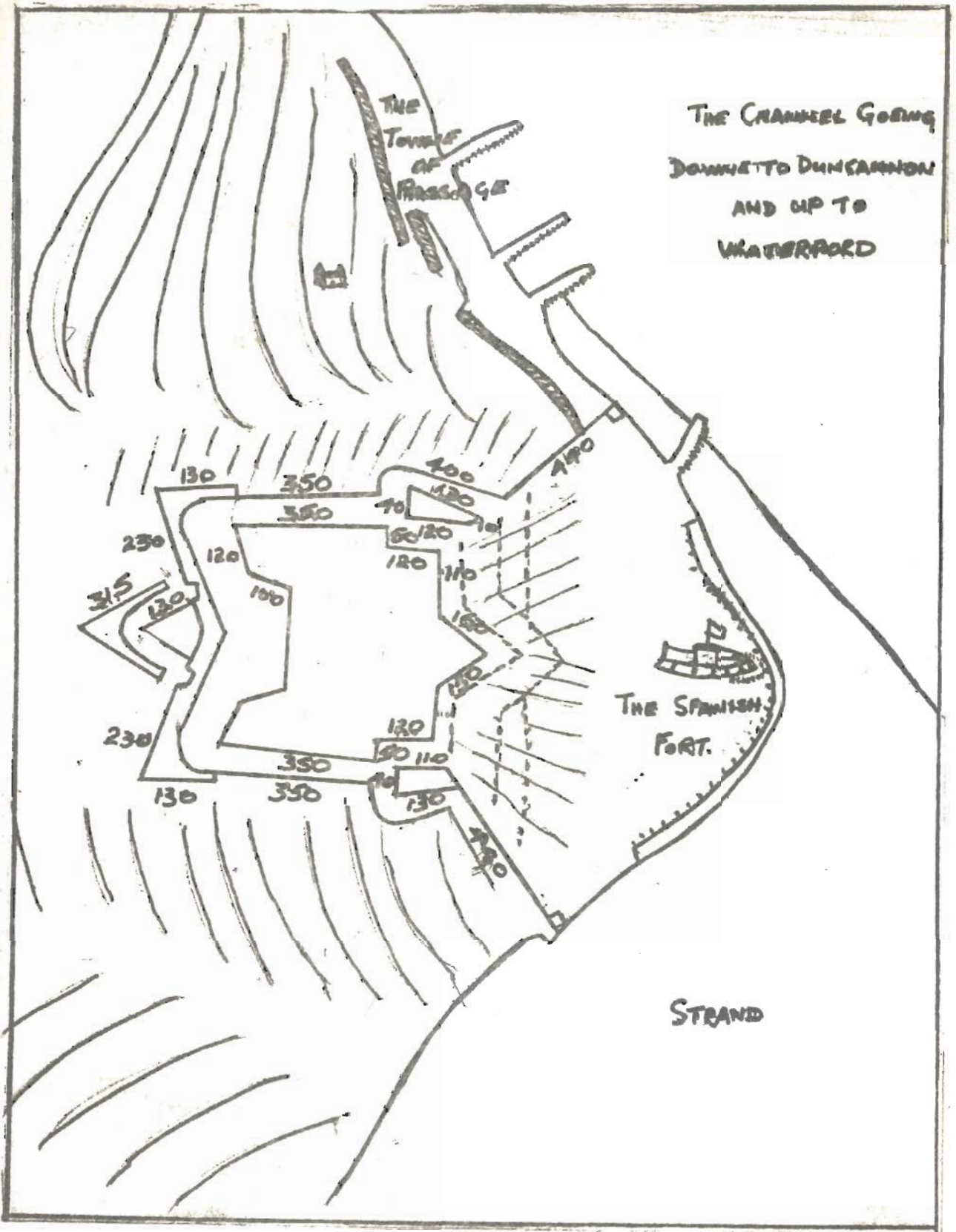
The charge of the counter-mine arch, being the same length as the rampart, and in every perch running there is 24 perches, so that there is in the whole 4,704 perches @ 12/- per perch comes to £2,822/8/-

The round table stone at the top of the rampart, being 2,120 ft. @ 4/- per foot comes to £ 424/-/-

There is contained in the walls of the two detached works, or bastions, and the ravelin without, and the counter-guard before the main work, being in length 1,810 ft., the charge of clearing which foundations containing 3,470½ squares @ 3/- per square comes to £521/5/-

The charge of building the wall of the said out works or counter-guard, with the counter-mine arch, amounts to 6,802 perches, the wall being in length 1,810 ft., 16 ft. high and 7 ft. thick; the arch of the counter-mine being 24 ft. over and 2 ft. thick, contains the number of perches before mentioned, @ 12/- per perch comes to	£4,081/4/-
The walls that face or line the inside of the ramparts, or the outside of the graft, being in length 2,500 ft, 5 ft. thick, and 12 ft. high, which makes 3,409 perches, @ 12/- per perch comes to	£2,045/-/-
For sinking the graft, being 80 ft. wide, 1,000 ft. in length and 14 ft. deep, makes 1,120 squares @ 20/- per square comes to	£1,120/-/-
For the two traverse walls that cover the lower battery, with the two redoubts at each end, amounts to	£12,000/-/-
The charge of avenues and sally ports	£ 675/-/-
The charge of sentry boxes of stone	£ 100/-/-
The charge of barracks to be under the rampier arched and for store houses	£ 5,000/-/-
For the battery below with earth embrasures	£ 800/-/-
For palisadoes for the outer counter scarf, being about 120 running perches or rods, with a breast-work of stone before it, @ £8 per perch comes to	£ 960/-/-
For casemates and arches where need shall require, for the defence of the place, comes to	£ 1,000/-/-
For smiths' work, glazing, plumbers, and painting, estimated at	£1,560/-/-
For draw-bridges	£ 200/-/-
For guard-houses	£ 600/-/-
For piles to be driven in below to the water-side	£ 500/-/-
For carriages and platforms	£1,000/-/-
There is nothing mentioned for the lower platform, they being to lie all upon skids upon the battery. There is nothing allowed for accidents by reason it is put into the price of the perch work, and is to be done cheaper than what is set down. The sum total for completing this design for fortifying Passage by taking in the hill	£41,788/3/-
The charge of a boom and chain to be drawn across the river at Passage, will come to	£ 2,500/-/-
	£44,288/3/-

Numerous illustrations adorn the pages of Phillip's survey, which is written in a clear, neat hand. Two of them are of Passage. The first is a plan of the proposed fort itself (page 10). The second is an enormous prospect of the river looking downstream at Passage and Ballyhack, with Duncannon in the distance. The village of Passage is shown with its many-chimneyed houses with their attic windows; various inhabitants stroll about the quays and admire the boats, while at the south end of the village another boat is in process of construction. Beyond this is the fort - a squat machicolated round tower from which an



Amended version of Phillips Plans for the proposed Fort on the hill over Passage.

enormous flag waves triumphantly and surrounding it an indented wall with its battlements and square embrasures. Behind the town is the frowning cliff on which Phillips proposed to build his great fortification, and the smaller hill beside it on which stands the old church, then in ruins. (A modified version of this appears on page 21).

Unfortunately for Phillips, the King died before he had completed his enormous survey; the new King, James II, was not interested in fortifying the coast of Ireland, and the whole project was laid aside.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY DECAY:

Sir James Jeffreys was appointed Governor of Duncannon and Passage by William III, and he has left an account book of the repairs he executed during his tenure of that office (1690-1698). The following references to Passage are included.⁷

"1691. June 17th. Paid Denis Sullivan for covering the Castle in the fort at Passage with deale Boards and mending the Stairs and making Beds for Soldiers as by bill and receipt & c. £2.16.0."

"July 10th. Paid Richard Hughes for works done by him at the efforts of Duncannon and Passage as by receipt & c. £1.5.7¹/₂."

"August 6th. Paid Edward Sprye for repairing the Fort at Passage £3.1.0."

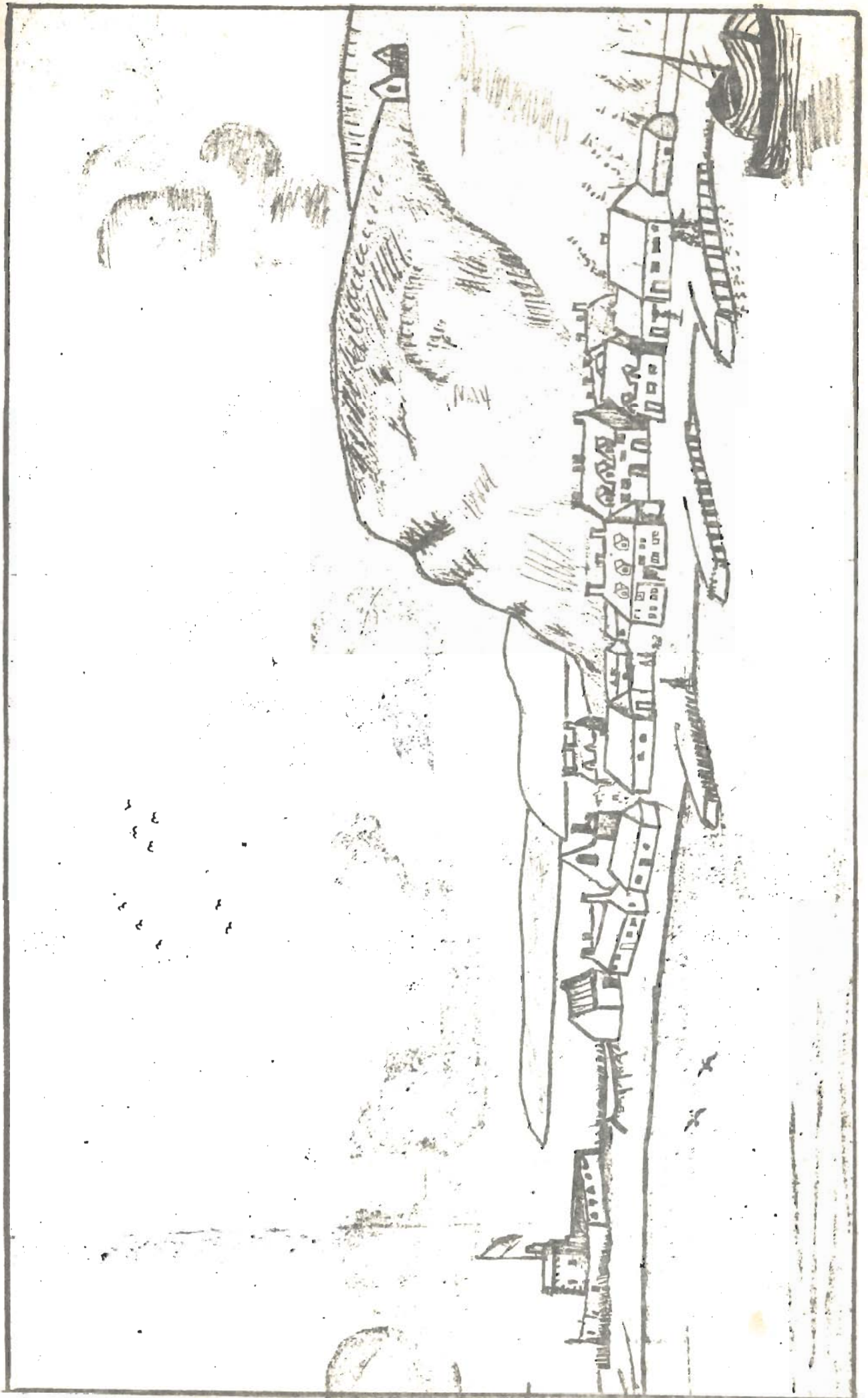
"1692. October 5th. Paid Joan Dunn for mending the Iron gate at Passage and for mending the wooden gate as by receipt & c. 8s.6."

"1694. November 23rd. Paid H. Parkes for severall materialls and mending the Guard House at Passage as by receipt & c. £1.2.6."

Despite the care taken of the fort by Jeffreys, it was decided some years later to dismantle some of the fortifications of Waterford Harbour, and in 1711 the Duke of Ormonde had all the ordnance and other materials removed from Passage. Reginalds Tower was dismantled at the same time.⁸ This gave some consternation to the Rev. Alexander Alcock, who had taken a lease of the lands mentioned above as having been acquired for the maintenance of the forts; by the terms of his lease he was obliged to spend £600 on Duncannon and Passage. In 1724 he protested that Passage Fort was in a grievous state owing to the encroachments of the sea, and that since the removal of the guns it was of no manner of use.⁹

For many years Passage Fort was left to moulder, but in March 1779 the Government sent Lt. Col. Vallancey (later Lt.-Gen.) to survey the place. Vallancey fancied himself as an archaeologist, but it is as a sapper that he really deserves fame. He was at this time engaged on a large-scale survey of the south and west coasts of Ireland. This had been instigated by the war with America which had left the country open to invasion from France; it was the same invasion scare that gave rise to the Irish Volunteers. The following was his report on Passage:¹⁰ "A battery of 5 guns formerly existed at Passage, the walls still remain, it is a good situation as the Guns would rake every ship or boat, when (it) passed the fort; I am of opinion this Battery should be reconstructed, and another sh^d be built at Faithlegg point, and that each sh^d be furnished with 6 24 pounders, 10 Royals, and 3 10 inch mortars."

Vallancey's recommendations were carried into effect; the outer wall of the fort was rebuilt and equipped with ordnance, a barracks was built and a battery was constructed at Faithlegg on the side of the Minaun overlooking the Suir, where it may still be seen.



Phillips 1685 Survey (N.L.I.)

Prospect of Passage East looking down stream

In 1796 Lt.-Col. Charles Tarrant was sent to inspect the fortification, and he reported as follows:¹¹ "On Passage point which is low and sandy is a round tower the remains of an ancient blockhouse, without either floors or roof; about 15 years ago 9 embrasures were made, platforms laid, some Guns mounted, and a small Building erected for a Barrack, and a wall to the Land about 12 feet high with holes for musquetry. The Guns were removed at the end of the war, the platforms sold; there is no gate at the entrance, and the Barrack requires to be repaired, here are 7 embrasures that point towards King's Bay, and 2 across the Channel but none up the River. The Embrasures are so low that some of them do not exceed 4 feet above high water mark.

"From the high Rocks above Passage the Fort or Battery is within reach of Musquetry. This place might be an addition to the defence of the harbour, notwithstanding the Rocks command it as Troops might be there posted in safety from Ships Cannon Shot, to prevent boats landing near it.

"The steep and high land above Passage extending on the Waterford shore, commands a Ships Deck as the Channel is nearest to that shore, and a ships guns cannot bear on its summit, where it is not so steep, and inclines more inland, Banks (or Ditches) enclose the Fields, that extend to cheek point, affording a good Cover for Troops".

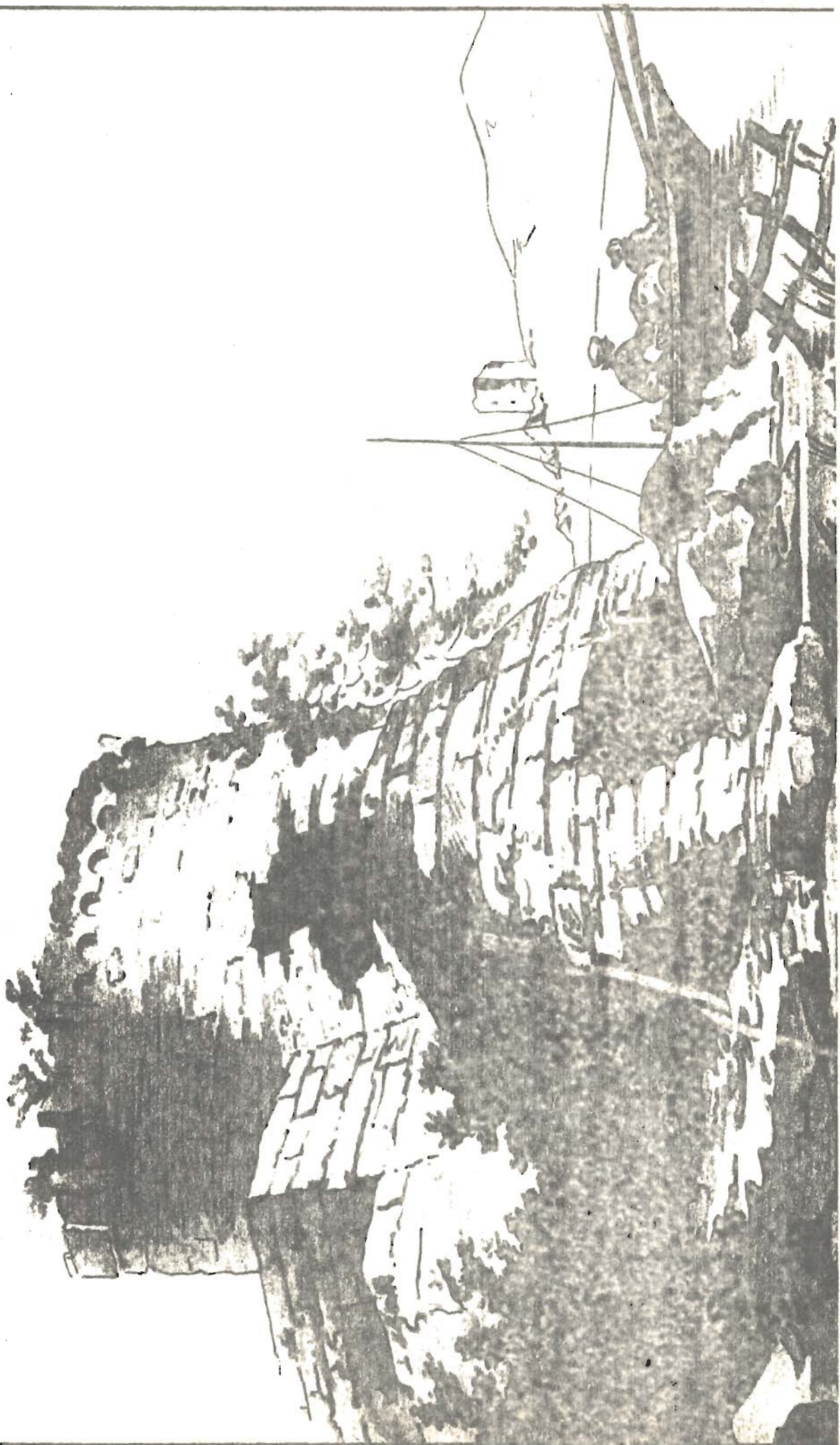
Despite Tarrant's recommendations, Passage Fort was never occupied after the end of the American war. The ruins of the old "Spanish" tower, the outer walls with their embrasures, and the "Carrison" erected at the time of the Volunteers remained unattended until late in the nineteenth century when it was decided to demolish all. This was accordingly done and only a small portion of one flanker now remains of the old defences.

RECORDS OF THE FORT:

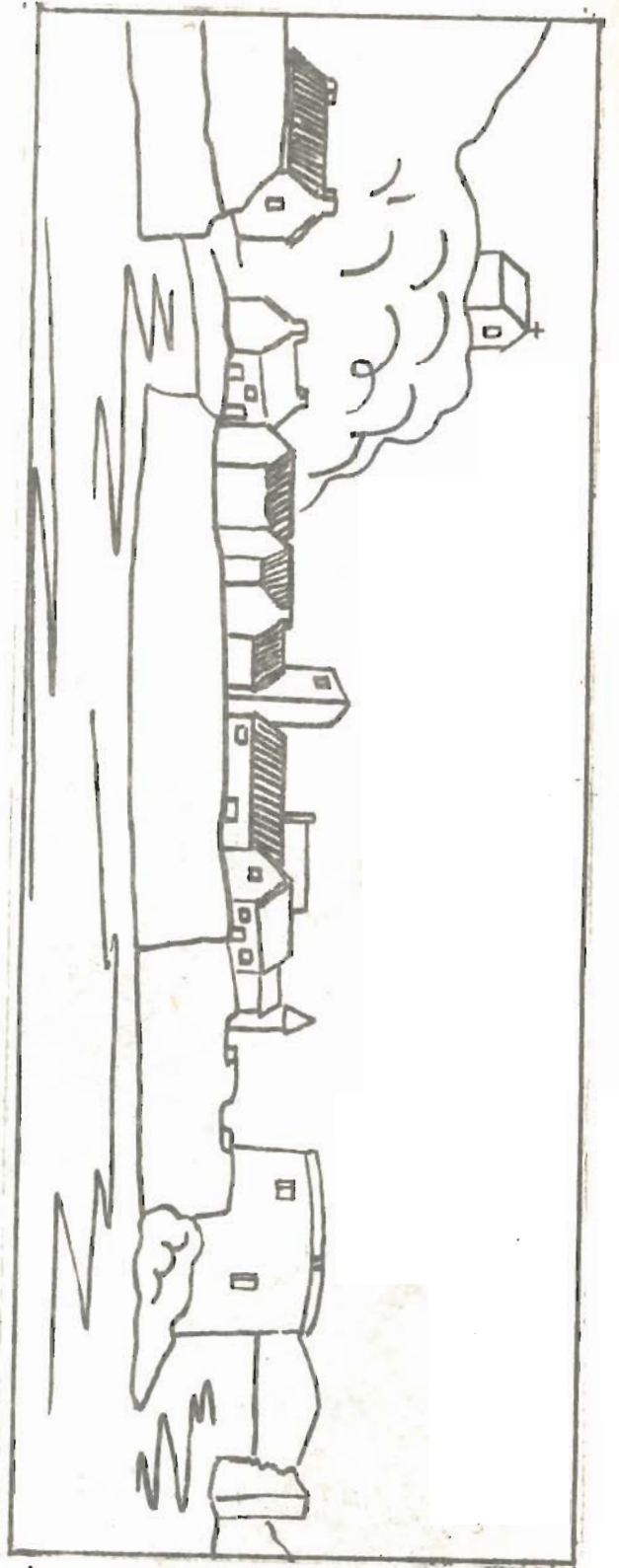
For some reason, Smith¹² dismisses the Fort with the words: "Where the pier now stands was formerly a block-house, mounted with several great guns, then under the command of the governour of Duncannon Fort." This has had an interesting effect upon his successors, especially the compilers of topographical works: it has effectively damped any interest in the fort at all, and Smith's remark has been passed from pen to pen by men who did not bother to check its accuracy. Had they done so, they would have found Passage bursting with antiquarian interest.

But the Fort has fared much better at the hands of the draughtsmen of the last century. In the National Library are two battered sketches of it by an anonymous draughtsman of the early 1800's.¹³ One is a view of Passage from the south, showing the round tower, two sides of the curtain wall with the two embrasures added in 1779-80 pointing across the river, the thatched roofs of the houses showing up behind and the masts of the ships, with the church on the hill in the background. (See modified version, Page 24).

The second sketch is a close-up view of the tower itself. It was published as a coloured print, and there is a copy of this in the British Library.¹⁴ Another print by the same artist and publishers, entitled "View on the River Blackwater", was published on 1 October 1809, which may be some guide to the date of the Passage print. It shows the machicolations of the tower clearly, and one can see what the Rev. Alexander Alcock meant when he complained in 1724 that the fort had been damaged by the encroachments of the sea. Behind the tower, the sky is lit up by the pink glow of the sun rising over Ballyhack Castle, while a fishing-boat is just returning to the harbour after its night's work, (See sketch of this print on page 23).



Fort of Passage East circa 1810



Early 19th Century view of Passage East, from the South. After Sargent & Jukes
(N.L.I. Eimes 1573-24)



Passage East from the North
Mid 19th Century.

Du Noyer has also left a sketch of Passage, made from the Waterford road in September 1862.¹⁵ It shows the curtain wall and the Garrison within it, but most of the tower seems to have fallen away into the sea¹⁶ (see page 24)

There are a few contemporary references to what may have been other fortifications in or near Passage. One account of the abortive attempt by the Irish forces to recover Passage from the Cromwellians states¹⁷ that when O Ferrall got there he "began to repair a demolished fort that was there". In 1685 "a castle, a garden and several houses in Passage" were held in trust for Richard Mansfield by Martin Hore.¹⁸ Among the lands confiscated under William III and sold at Chichester House in 1703 were; "Gaultier - An old house, Castle, and some other houses in Passage, rent in 1702 £10-5-0. Value £93-2-6. Tenant, Michael Murphy. Description - An old Castle three stories high with one room in each floor, with two tenements or mast flats on which stand the walls of two ruined houses, in Passage"¹⁹ All were bought by the Hollow Blade Sword Company.²⁰ One of the anonymous sketches of c.1809 clearly shows a tall square tower in the village. Whether these references are to Passage Fort, the sixteenth-century Aylward residence or some other building is hard to say.

SOURCES:

1. Philip Herbert Hore: History of the Town and County of Wexford - Duncannon Fort, &c., p.228
2. Historical MSS Commission; Ormond MSS (New Series) III, 155
3. Cal. State Papers, Ireland, XXIII, 172.
4. National Library MSS 2557, 3137; Hist. MSS. Comm.; Ormond MSS, I, 366
5. Ormond MSS, II, 311
6. There are two copies of Phillips' survey in the National Library; MSS 2557 and 3137. The actual report has been published in Ormond MSS, II, 314, 322. The British Library also possesses copies of the illustrations (King's Topographical Collection, LV, 11, 12, 21 1, &c)
7. Hore, op.cit., pp.239 et seq.
8. Smith, Antient & Present State of Waterford (1746), P.172
9. Hore, op.cit., p.246.
10. British Library MS Additional 33118, f.121. His maps of Co. Waterford, dated 1776-1782, are also in the British Library.
11. B.L. MS Add. 33118, ff.357-8.
12. Smith, Waterford, p. 102
13. Elmes Catalogue No 1573 (5), (24).
14. B.L. King's Top., LV, 21 (ii). The Blackwater print is III, 39.
15. R.S.A.I. Collection, III, 63.
16. In 1854 Sir Bernard Burke referred to "the fast disappearing ruins of Passage Fort and Castle" (Visitations of Seats and Arms, 2nd series, I, 159-161).
17. Asphorismical Discovery, II, 59
18. Lattin-Mansfield MSS (published in Analecta Hibernica, XX, 92-125).
19. National Library, Matthew Butler MSS, XXX, 4.
20. Matthew Butler, Barony of Gaultier, p.112. See Simms, The Williamite Confiscations in Ireland, 151-155.

Sketches and tracings on page 23 & 24 are by Mrs. Susanne Brophy.

(This article will be concluded in Decies 12 with an account of the ecclesiastical remains in Crook-Passage).



A Book for Boys.

If you find your case is hard,
Try, try, try again,
Time will bring you your reward,
Try, try, try again,
All that other people do,
Why with patience should not you
Only keep this rule in view,
Try, try, try again.

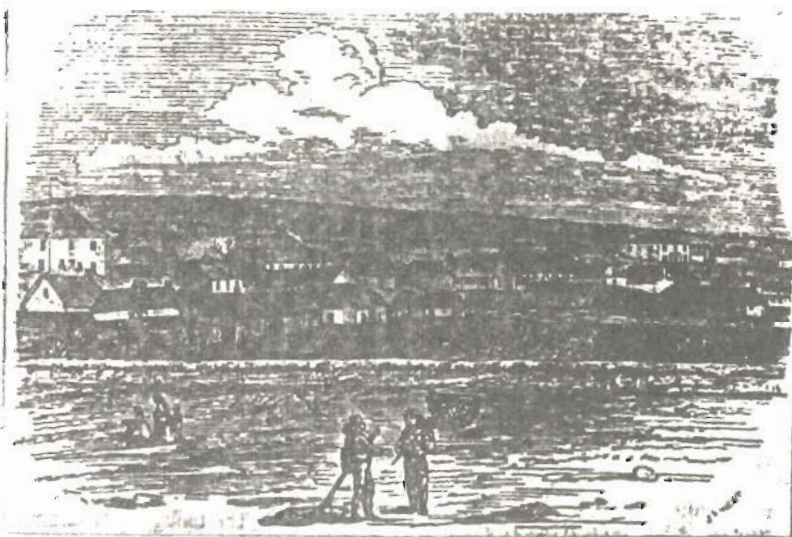
By "Old Jonathan."

LONDON:
W. H. COLLINGRIDGE, LONG LANE.

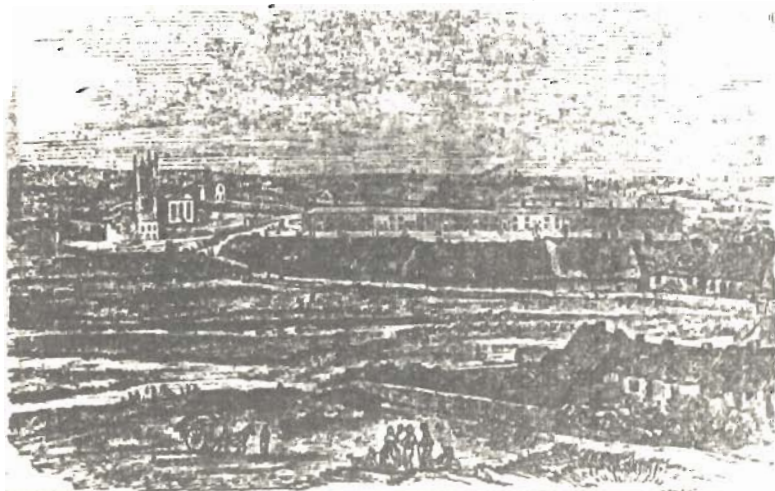
MDCCLVII.

3. Left, title page from TRY printed in Bunmahon in 1857. An advertisement for the publication for the publication declared it to be "An illustrated gift book for youth. For the counsel and encouragement of youth and young people generally, a little work prettily illustrated". It is said that 7,000 copies of the work were printed. The authorship of the book is given as "Old Jonathan" and this was the pseudonym used on occasion by Rev. D.A. Doudney.

2. Right, sketch of the village of Bunmahon Co. Waterford c. 1855. The large building to the right is the glebe house completed by Rev. Doudney around 1854. The artist of the scene was one J. Knight.



3. Left, view of the village of Knockmahon, Co. Waterford c. 1855. The buildings above and below the Protestant Church may have been one or other of Doudney's schools, the one below probably being the printing school. The row of cabins to the centre do not survive, and they do not appear to correspond with the lie of the land as it is today.



REV. DAVID ALFRED DOUDNEY AND EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS

AT BUNMAHON, CO. WATERFORD. 1847-58 Part II.

by Thomas Power

(Part one of this article was published in Decies 10 and dealt with the early career of Rev. Doudney, with the state of Bunmahon c.1850 and with the founding of the four schools - the printing school, the infant school, the agricultural school and the embroidery school).

Controversy.

When Doudney first took up his position as curate of Monksland in 1847 there was speculation among the local Catholic community in Bunmahon that he was a Protestant evangelical attempting to gain new converts to his faith. The Waterford News of Oct. 17, 1851, having reported on the arrival of the printers Doudney had recruited in London, asserted that "the general opinion is that they are a gang of sowers who came over for the purpose of proselytising".²⁹ How true in fact was this assertion?

After 1822 there were various attempts by zealots in the Established Church to initiate a movement of proselytising or conversion among the Catholics of Ireland. This developed into a struggle that was waged at various levels of society, religious, political and social. By the late 1840s, it had assumed the character of a cultural conflict between the two faiths and lifestyles, Catholic and Protestant. The high point of the Protestant movement was reached in the early 1850s, when the Irish Church Missions, a body financed and supported from England, had a number of proselytising projects underway in Ireland. After the mid-1850s, attempts at missionary conversion activity by Protestants in Ireland slackened off.

The Irish Protestant clergy and laity as a whole were against the open militant proselytising activity carried on by missionaries from England. However, the two most notable exceptions to this rule among leading Irish churchmen, were the Archbishop of Tuam, Power le Poer Trench, and Robert Daly, Bishop of Cashel, Emlly, Waterford and Lismore. After 1839, with the death of Trench, Daly assumed the leadership of the proselytising element among Irish Protestants. This position was strengthened when Daly was created Bishop of Cashel in 1843, an office he held until his death in 1872. During his long episcopal reign, Daly openly supported Protestant missionary activity and vigorously encouraged the clergy of his four dioceses, Cashel, Emlly, Lismore and Waterford, in the cultural and religious conversion of Catholics.

In the aftermath of the Famine, Daly addressed the clergy of his four dioceses in 1849 saying: "The aspect of the time is very peculiar, full of especial solemn awfulness..... May we not hope that the present judgements..... may soften many hard hearts and dispose them to receive the Gospel of Christ. We should surely be ready to take advantage of every soft moment, of every favourable impression made upon men's minds --- ready to press the saving truth upon all --- upon those who profess to belong to our communion, that we may build up those that are in the faith, and that we may lead to Christ those who, though they have a name to live, are yet dead before God; -- and ready to offer the truth to those who are not of our communion, if God's dealings with the world should open any door for the entrance of the truth".³⁰

From the tone of this address, we can see that Bishop Daly was a prelate whom we would expect to find encouraging projects of a missionary nature in the dioceses, and by the clergymen under his control. By 1851, when evangelical activity by English missionaries among Irish Catholics was about to assume a high level of intensity, Bishop Daly could address the clergy of his dioceses and, with a

certain degree of boldness, claim that: "We have reason to be thankful that the great body of our clergy are sound....whilst among the population of our country there is a great spirit of enquiry, and many thousands are giving up the errors of Rome and joining our Scriptural Church".

In this matter the clergy must be prepared to assume the duty laid upon them: "you should be prepared to set before your Roman Catholic neighbours that there is 'boldness to enter into the holiest' allowed to every sinner through the blood of Jesus"³¹ Given the tone and content of both these addresses of 1849 and 1851, it would be reasonable to assume that Bishop Daly supported Rev. Doudney's various educational establishments at Bunnahon.

When Doudney resolved to open the infant school, he encountered much opposition from the Catholic clergy, who claimed he would use the school to gain converts to Protestantism. In an address to the people of Bunnahon on February 16, 1852, Doudney defended himself against this charge of proselytising. He says he intends to set up an infant school to relieve the children from their poverty and misery and to provide them with an elementary education, food and clothing. In doing so, he says, "I am asking English friends to help me.... I want to see them taught; and as your priests have not got up a school for them I will try". Further, he says no compulsion will be used either for Catholic parents to send their infants to the school or to force the children to adopt the Protestant religion: "And though I will not ask the children to become protestants; nor will I ask them to attend our Church..... yet this I will tell you plainly, all that come to our Infant School will be taught to read, and taught to read the Bible too...." ³²

As we have observed already, the infant school opened in August, 1852. During its first month in operation Doudney, in a series of progress reports to readers of the Gospel Magazine, conveyed news of attacks made on it by the local Catholic clergy. For Monday, August 9, Doudney reported that the "priest denounced our proceedings from the altar yesterday", and the following day that the Catholic Bishop, at a confirmation ceremony in a neighbouring parish, ordered the parish priest to excommunicate those children who went to the infant school. The following Monday, August 16, the news was that "The altar harangue was in Irish yesterday".

Very soon, attempts by the priests to halt Catholic parents sending their infants to Doudney's school increased for on Friday, August 20, Doudney told readers that "Four priests have been in the village again today and have been busily engaged in each cabin whence the children came".³³ Relations between Doudney and the priests continued to remain tense during 1852 and 1853. In June, 1853, Doudney reports that sixteen children were withdrawn from the infant school by their parents because of threats from the priests that if they did not do so, they would be excommunicated.³⁴ Other evidence of conflict at this time comes from the Waterford News which, on September 29, 1854, reported that at Ballylaneen, four girls from Bunnahon, Mary Fry, Mary Fitzgerald, Kitty Lane and Catherine Cahill, renounced the Protestant creed which they had adopted and returned to Catholicism.³⁵

These incidents show that there was a feeling of entrenchment on both sides, with Doudney justifying his attempts to give the youth of the locality, Catholic and Protestant, a useful education along with a biblically based faith, and the Catholic clergy resisting any attempts to induce their parishioners to convert to Protestantism. As one might expect, conditions for those Catholics attending Doudney's schools became very difficult, and by 1855, Doudney had resolved to provide a sanctuary or home for those children who had been turned out or ostracised from the community because of their attendance at his schools.³⁶ Despite this effort at protection, intimidating threats continued. In July 1856, Doudney reported to his readers that three children of one family attending the infant school were withdrawn because the Catholic priest had refused to give a relation of theirs absolution unless they did so.³⁷ We are unable to determine the accuracy and validity of many of these statements, but they do,

THE
GOSPEL MAGAZINE;

AND
Protestant Beacon.

"COMFORT YE, COMFORT YE, MY PEOPLE, SAITH YOUR GOD."

"ENDEAVOURING TO KEEP THE UNITY OF THE SPIRIT IN THE BOND OF PEACE."

JESUS CHRIST, THE SAME YESTERDAY, AND TO-DAY, AND FOR EVER. WHOM TO
KNOW IS LIFE ETERNAL."

FOR 1854.

IRELAND.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE

BUNMAHON INDUSTRIAL PRINTING SCHOOL, COUNTY OF
WATERFORD, IRELAND.

(Established Oct. 1851, by D. A. Doudney, Curate of Bunmahon.)

1854.

- Below, a view of Rev. Doudney's agricultural school, showing the pupils hoeing and preparing the soil under the surveillance of their instructor W.S. Moore. The caption to the illustration reads: "Let those that sow in sadness wait Till the bright harvest come; They shall confess their sheaves are great, And shout the blessings home".



- Below, sketch of the Bunmahon cliffs. The individual to the centre would appear to be drawing sea weed for manuring purposes. The cliffs still retain their rugged and dismembered aspect today.



ve, title page of the
 odical 'The Gospel
 azine and Protestant Beacon'
 1854, printed and published
 Bunmahon for the years 1853-
 7. The Magazine is described
 'very old in its date and
 y plain in its doctrine. It
 races all who love our Lord
 s Christ in sincerity....
 it makes its monthly circuit
 ough cities, towns and
 ages, it goes in quest of
 ers".

nevertheless, reflect the high passions that could be aroused on both sides.

In 1857, passions reached a new level of intensity when there were a number of reported threats on Doudney's life. One of these threats, we are told, arose out of an incident with the local national teacher, Michael Kelly. Doudney says that Kelly's brother came to him and sought conversion from the Catholic to the Protestant faith. Doudney agreed to this and the conversion was duly consummated, but Kelly, the new convert, found it difficult to live at peace in a predominantly catholic area. Kelly sought Doudney's advice and the result was that he departed for London. Meanwhile, Kelly's elder brother the teacher, addressed letters to Doudney seeking information on his brother's whereabouts. Doudney quotes Kelly's letter of 9 March, 1857, in which he stated that "you have acted illegally in taking away my brother, a lad under 17 years, from me his only guardian..... The very evening that he left...he stole property from me".³⁸

The next sequence in the episode occurred when a sister of Kelly's, who was mentally unbalanced, committed suicide. Doudney was blamed for having occasioned the crime, and he quotes a threatening note which he is reported to have subsequently received stating: "Mister Doudney have your coffin made and your grave dug, for our hands we will wash in your blood...." ³⁹ Further intimidating threats are said to have been made on Doudney later in 1857. Information on these threats is based on Doudney's own report of the incidents to readers of the Gospel Magazine, so in this sense they are one-sided accounts, and I have not come across other evidence to substantiate Doudney's claims. At any rate, the threats are said to have continued. Doudney quotes a threatening letter which he received on July 8, 1857, stating: "David A. Doudney you proselytising Orangeman you have got warning to leaye this country and take flight to John Bull it is all in vain blame yourself this is the last notice, have your coffin bought and grave made before this day month". ⁴⁰ These threats, if true, are an index of the high passions aroused among the majority Catholic community of Bunmahon by the presence of Doudney and his schools.

Decline of the Schools.

As we have seen, Doudney's object in setting up the schools was to provide the children of Bunmahon not only with an elementary education, as in the infant school, but also to furnish them with useful skills as in the printing, agricultural and embroidery schools. Doudney did not intend the schools to be a temporary measure, but he hoped through them "to give permanency to the system of industry and self-reliance". ⁴¹

For the first few years it seemed as if this aim of self-sufficiency might be achieved. The printing school, for instance, had considerable success in its early years. When the printing of Gill's Exposition was undertaken, at least 2,000 subscribers were secured beforehand. This number was sufficient to ensure that all expenses would be covered, and it even allowed Doudney a surplus which he used to complete a glebe house. After the completion of Gill's Exposition, Doudney admits that the printing school did not pay its way, due to the cheap rate at which the books were issued, increases in paper prices and rising labour costs. Doudney realised that the only way to boost the prospects of the printing school was to increase sales. Thus on numerous occasions we find Doudney appealing for people to purchase the books, tracts and pamphlets printed at Bunmahon. In the Gospel Magazine for December, 1856 (p.620), Doudney made an appeal for subscriptions to the Magazine to be paid promptly and he exhorted readers to try to extend the circulation of the periodical. As is evident from TABLE 1 (Decies 10, p.11 & 12) a large number of works were printed right up to 1857-1858, though the quantity was considerably less after 1855 than before it.

In 1856, there was a controversy in the press over whether numbers in Doudney's Bunmahon schools were on the decline or not. For instance, the Catholic

Telegraph of August 9, 1856, carried a report headed 'Decay of Proselytism in Bunnahon' in which it was claimed that attendance figures for the infant school had fallen from 109 to 10 in a year, that numbers in the embroidery school had in six months fallen from 46 to 13, and that the printing school only retained a part-time staff.⁴² Doudney defended his schools against the accusation of declining numbers of pupils. In his support, Doudney quotes a report from the Clare Journal, the substance of which claims that the average attendance at the infant school was never as high as 109, and that far from being in demise, the printing and embroidery schools are successful. Doudney also mentions a report from the London Morning Advertiser in which it is stated that attendance for the printing school was 30, for the embroidery school 29, and for the infant school 19, giving a total of 78.⁴³ We cannot decide for sure what the actual numbers in attendance were, and the controversy in the press over school numbers may have been a reflection of the proselytising debate then intensifying in Bunnahon.

Doudney remained undaunted by criticism and drawbacks. In the October 1857 issue of the Gospel Magazine (p.519), he mentions that a charitable donation of £150 had been made to him, and this he has used to erect a new building suitable for printing purposes adjacent to the glebe house he had already completed. He says that the printing of the Gospel Magazine and Old Jonathan is not enough to keep the staff of the printing works busy, so he plans to print Thomas Goodwin's entire works in 6 volumes, one volume every four months. He urges every reader of the Magazine to accept a copy of the new work and to forward their subscriptions immediately. There is no evidence that Goodwin's works were ever printed in Bunnahon.

The reason for the continuing lack of viability on the part of Doudney's schools may lie in the fact that funds were not coming as regularly from readers in England as they had been. Certainly after about mid-1857, sums of money for the support of the Bunnahon schools are no longer acknowledged in the Gospel Magazine.

Departure from Bunnahon.

Some time early in 1858---we are not sure of the exact date, but at least before March ---- Rev. Doudney abruptly resigned his curacy in Monksland and decided to depart for a new life in England. Personal factors may have influenced this decision. There is no doubt that since his arrival in Bunnahon Doudney had been under constant stress both in his efforts to run his schools with reasonable proficiency and because of his controversy with the priests. This stress was aggravated by reported threats on his life. By 1858, the demands on Doudney's composure were great for, in March of that year, he could write: "I have borne the weight as long as it was possible to bear it. To have grappled with it any longer would have made irreparable inroads upon my health".⁴⁴

Another factor influencing departure was that Doudney may have been in difficulties with Bishop Daly. The Waterford Mail reports Doudney as claiming that he was refused (presumably by Daly) the leave of absence from his parish duties to organise his financial collection system in England and to gain a wider interest in his work.⁴⁵ Funds from England were essential if Doudney's schools were to succeed, but from mid-1857, these funds were not being forwarded as plentifully as formerly. Doudney may have thought it prudent to pay a personal visit to his various collection agencies in England, and this may have caused some rancour with his bishop. However, the suggestion of the Waterford Mail⁴⁶ that Doudney's final departure from Bunnahon was due to a lack of sympathy for his aims on the part of Bishop Daly, cannot be entertained for, as we have noted, Daly was the most staunch proponent for the advance of Protestantism in Ireland and, on this basis, would not have hindered Doudney's efforts at Bunnahon.

There is also the suggestion that Doudney's departure may have been occasioned by proposals over parish reorganisation. Twice, Doudney says, proposals for an

adjustment of the Established Church parishes in the area had been forwarded, and had these been sanctioned, Doudney would have remained in Bunmahon. In a letter to his parishioners dated March 30, 1858, Doudney says that his decision to leave "may be said to have originated some three or four years ago when the proposed arrangement of the parishes were negatived..... Had the proposed arrangement been carried out it would most probably have fixed me with you for the residue of my days".⁴⁷ There is no other evidence of parish re-organisation at this time and curates continued to be appointed to Monksland up to 1867⁴⁸ when, for a short period, the parish was made independent, but only until 1875 when it was united to Stradbally parish.

So with the majority Catholic population deeply hostile towards him because of his alleged attempts to use his schools to gain converts to his faith, with funds for the schools themselves not being as freely available as before, with a lack of support from most of his fellow-clergymen in the Waterford-Lismore dioceses, and with the likelihood that it was proving extremely gruelling for an Englishman to survive in an environment so remote as that of Bunmahon, departure seemed the most hopeful option for Rev. Doudney.

Before he left, Doudney had a number of matters to attend to. On May 13, 1858, there was a sale at the parsonage in Bunmahon of various household furniture and effects.⁴⁹ The types and presses used in the printing works were shipped to London to the firm of Messrs. Collingridge of Long Lane.⁵⁰ The welfare of the pupils who attended the schools had also to be looked after. Doudney's wish was to obtain passage to Australia, Canada and America for some of the elder boys and girls, and he recounts that six girls and one young man from the printing school had left for New York at a cost of £50.⁵¹

Doudney's efforts to provide a useful education in various skills for the young people of Bunmahon could not succeed permanently due to the suspicion that reigned over his motives, and because in an area where most of the population was Catholic, an English evangelical clergyman like Doudney could not hope to achieve his aims with long-lasting success. The result was that Doudney's schools, in the short span of their existence, while they may have served the needs of his own parishioners, did not appeal at a popular level to the Catholics of the district. By all accounts, it was the National School system which, by March 1853, had four schools under its auspices in the Bunmahon-Knockmahon area, that had most appeal.

Later Career.

Doudney departed from his curacy in Monksland in 1858. In 1859, he took up a new position as curate of St. Luke's, Bedminster, Bristol. In Bristol he set up educational schemes similar to those he had run in Bunmahon. We know that he started a printing works in Bristol, from which a number of tracts and devotional works were issued. Doudney also continued his editorship of the Gospel Magazine, and in 1866, to celebrate the centenary of the foundation of the Magazine, Doudney was presented with a watch and £400 at a function in London.⁵²

Doudney's links with Ireland were not severed immediately upon his departure from Bunmahon. In July, 1861, at the opening of the new Protestant Hall in Waterford, several letters were read, including one from Doudney enclosing a cheque for £25 which, with the £75 already given would make up the £100 he had promised to donate for the new hall.⁵³ In August, 1864, Doudney visited Tramore and in the church there delivered sermons morning and evening.⁵⁴ Also one of Doudney's sons --- who, like himself, had the initials D.A.D. --- was still studying in Ireland. The twenty-year old son entered Trinity College on November 6, 1857, received his B.A. in 1861, and his M.A. in 1864. In 1865, he took up an appointment in the church in Carlisle.⁵⁵

The elder Doudney continued in his curacy at Bedminster until 1890, when he resigned. In 1890 also, he received a gift of £1,000 in commemoration of his

THE
CAUSE

OF

GOD AND TRUTH.

In Four Parts.

WITH A

VINDICATION OF PART IV.

FROM THE CAVILS, CALUMNIES, AND DEFAMATIONS, OF MR. HENRY HEYWOOD.

BY JOHN GILL, D.D.

A NEW EDITION.

CO. WATERFORD:

PRINTED AT THE BONMAHON INDUSTRIAL PRINTING SCHOOL,
(Established Oct. 1851, by D. A. Doudney, Curate of the Parish)

AND PUBLISHED BY

W. H. COLLINGRIDGE, J. LONG LANE, LONDON.

1865.

- 8. Below, delightful sketch of the early 19th century Protestant Church in Knockmahon, of which Rev. Doudney was curate from 1847 to 1858. It is regretful to note that such a fine structure has been out of use for many years.



- 9. Below, view of the interior of Rev. Doudney's printing school, showing some of the pupils engaged in composing type. The scene conveys an impression of activity and industriousness.



Above, title page of J. Gill, The Cause of God and Truth, printed in Bonmahon in 1855. 2,500 copies of the work are said to have been produced. On the issuing of another publication the Waterford Mail commented: "To have so elaborate a work issued from an Infant Printing Establishment in the wild mining village of Bonmahon, is what may be truly termed an astounding

fifty years as editor of the Gospel Magazine. To spend his retirement, Doudney moved to Southsea, where he died on April 21, 1893, at the handsome old age of eighty-two years.⁵⁶ His life indeed had been long, colourful and eventful.

Sources:

(The following abbreviations have been used:- G.M.= Gospel Magazine and Protestant Beacon; NLI = National Library of Ireland; P.O.= A Pictorial Outing of the Rise and Progress of the Bunnahon Industrial, Infant and Agricultural Schools by D. A. Doudney, published Bunnahon 1855; W.M.= The Waterford Mail)

29. Waterford News 7.11.1902 quoting same of 17.10.1851: N.L.I. Ms. 9497 No. 22 p.16.
30. A Charge delivered by the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Cashel at the visitation of the Dioceses of Waterford and Lismore, Cashel and Emly (1849) p.4, 13.
31. A Charge delivered by the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Cashel at visitation held in the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore, Cashel and Emly (1851)p.7,12-13.
32. P.O. p.20. For a further address similar in tone and content see G.M.1852 (May) p.243. Bible-reading by the people themselves was an important issue of controversy between Catholic and Protestant clergymen. In 1853-4, Doudney initiated a fund for a Bible Depository at Bunnahon, for this see: P.O. p.21, G.M. 1854 (Jan.) p. 48, G.M. 1855 (Nov.) P.538.
33. G. M. 1852 (Sept.) p. 445-7. 34. G.M. 1853 (July) p.326.
35. Waterford News 29.9.1854; N.L.I. Ms.9495 No. 9 P.3.; 36. P.O. p.24
37. G.M. 1856 (July) p.380; 38. G.M. 1857 (June) p.335. In 1851, Kelly had been awarded a premium of £1 for order in his class: P.P. 18th Report of Commissioners of National Education (Irl.) XLIII (1852-3) p. 362.
39. ibid., p.337; 40. G.M. 1857 (Aug.) p.403; 41. P.O. p.23;
42. Catholic Telegraph 9.8.1856; N.L.I. Ms.9497 No.22 p.19.
43. G.M. 1856 (Sept.) p.486-8; 44. G.M. 1858 (May) p.232.
45. W.M. 5.6.1858; N.L.I. Ms. 9497 No.22 p.18. 46. Cited in THE IRISH DOOKLOVER 32 No.4 (1955) p.82. 47. G.M. 1858 (May) p.232.
48. P. Leo was Doudney's successor in Monksland: Thom's Directory 1859 p.687.
49. W.M. 13.5.1858; N.L.I. Ms.9497 No.22 p.18. 50. ibid., 5.6.1858 : ibid.
51. G.M. 1858 (May) p.240, G.M.1858 (Oct.) p.534. 52. W.M. 24.8.1866 : N.L.I. Ms.9497 No. 22 p.17. 53. W.M. 5.7.1861 : ibid.
54. ibid., 15.8.1864 : ibid. 55. N.L.I. Ms. 9497 No. 22 p.17.
56. Dictionary of National Biography vol. 22 Supplement (1909) p. 572-3. Doudney maintained his interest in writing pastoral and religious works right up to the time of his death. For his works post-1860, see under 'D.A.Doudney' in J.F. Kirk A supplement to Allibone's critical dictionary of English literature vol 1 (1895).

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LAND OWNERSHIP IN EAST WATERFORD 1640-1703.

by J. S. Carroll.

THE CROMWELLIAN PLANTATION:

From those parts of the Civil Survey (1654-56) which have survived and from the Books of Survey and Distribution, drawn up under the Acts of Settlement (1662) and Explanation (1665) it is possible in most areas to establish the names and properties of those affected by the Cromwellian plantation. This is true of the County of Waterford and of the Liberties of the city but only partly true of the city itself.

In 1654 General Fleetwood, the Lord Deputy, issued commissions to various groups to carry out the Civil Survey and, for that purpose, to hold Courts of Enquiry in the several baronies of the County for which they were appointed. Those for Co. Waterford were John Cliffe, Robert Fawcett and George Cawdron. Fawcett and Cawdron were already in possession of forfeited land in the Liberties as were some other Parliamentarians. Cawdron became the first Mayor of Waterford in the Puritan Corporation appointed in 1656 following six years of military government.¹

The Commonwealth reserved for themselves all the towns, all Church lands, with their tithes, as well as the entire Counties of Dublin, Cork, Carlow and Kildare. Forfeited lands derived from the estates of those who were banished from the country, those driven out of the towns and those transplanted to Connacht.

It is difficult to establish the number of heads of families who were transplanted. Matthew Butler² gives the number for Co. Waterford as 79 representing (with retainers, etc.) 1748 persons. Simington³ suggests a higher figure and this seems likely when one considers the list of names of those from Co. Waterford subsequently put before Ormonde as being worthy of consideration for possible restoration. These numbered 49. Very few were selected.

The fate of the transplanted landowners and their retainers was a hard one but the merchants and property owners in the towns fared worst of all and nowhere worse than in Waterford. It was decreed that all Catholics, whether of Irish or English birth, must leave the town and not return within two miles of it. For the merchants of Waterford, land in Connacht would have been of little interest, even if they had been offered it. They took themselves and their families abroad, making use, no doubt, of the commercial links and friendships established over the years.

The spoils had to be divided between those who fell into five distinct categories. First, there were the adventurers who, to the number of 1360, had subscribed between them nearly £300,000 to win Irish land at give away rates. The going rate per acre varied with the County, ranging between 25 and 110 pence. Here in Co. Waterford the rate was 50 pence, except for the barony of Middlethird which went for only 35 pence.⁴

The next group was the Parliamentarian army in Ireland, plus the garrisons of Dublin and Derry, all of whose pay was in arrear. Thirdly, there were the Parliamentary troops still in England who were also offered Irish land in lieu of pay. These were given land in Co. Mayo which had to be taken from the transplanted Irish to make room for them. Fourthly, there were those troops who had fought in Ireland under Col. Jones and Col. Monk before Cromwell arrived. These got lands in Cork, Louth and Fermanagh. Finally, there was the special case of the Cork Garrisons under Inchiquin who had changed sides and changed back again. These were first disbarred but eventually had their claims allowed.

Some Counties were reserved for adventurers only, some for soldiers only and some for both. Waterford was one of the mixed Counties. The baronies of Decies, Coshmore and Coshbridge and the Liberties of Waterford (except for Kilculliheen) went to adventurers. Upperthird, Glenahiry, Middlethird, Gaultier and Kilculliheen went to soldiers⁵. Within the compass of this article it is possible to treat only of Gaultier, the Liberties and the City.

THE FATE OF WATERFORD CITY:

In the accompanying table (pages 41-) for the Liberties some small parcels of land not identifiable by name have been omitted. For the city the preparation of such a table was not practicable but the following particulars should give a fair indication of what happened.

A valuation survey of C.1663 or 1664⁶ shows, not only the names of all proprietors at that time, but also those for 1641. This document gives the names of 335 proprietors and houses they occupied in 59 streets. Opposite the proprietors' names for 1663/4 are shown those who possessed the same houses in 1641. A quick comparison is sufficient to show the wholesale change that had taken place in ownership. Of the 335 later proprietors only 24 bear the family name of a former inhabitant. The new names are totally strange to Ireland - Axtell, Barblett, Darzy, Buckridge, Dancer, Dapwell, Goatley, Heaven, Hubblethorne, Mackerel, Outing, Sinkler, Solvent and Treniman.

These were the victorious troops of Col Prettic's regiment of horse. Thirty men were picked from each of the troops under the command of Major Brereton, Major Richardson, Capt. Aaland, Capt. Bolton, Capt. Nicholls and Capt. Thomas. They were disbanded in August 1655 (the first of three disbandments), and became private citizens.⁷

HOPES AT THE RESTORATION:

The old families had been dispersed and many had gone to the continental seaports. Their hopes were raised by the declaration of Charles II at the time of the Restoration, so in November, 1660, they petitioned Ormonde to be allowed to return. The signatories to this petition and to a second one in 1664 included Matthew Porter, Nicholas Geraldine, Jasper Grant, Nicholas Lee, James Lincoln, Matthew Everard, and Luke Hoare. They wrote from St. Malo, describing themselves as "banished merchants of Waterford now residing beyond the seas". Andrew Carew was at Ostend, Valentine Morgan at San Sebastian, Francis White in Calais, Andrew Geraldine in Nantes, William Lee in Rochelle and Walter Power in Mexico.⁸ These petitions fell on deaf ears.

Although well organised, the resettlement scheme was bound to proceed slowly because of its very magnitude. At the time of the Restoration there were 21,515 soldiers who had exchanged their debentures for assignments but had not yet got land.⁹ From the outset it was clear that Charles, despite his declaration, would do little to interfere with the course planned by the Commonwealth. However, a few of the changes which he made affected Waterford. He restored Ormonde and a few of the nobility to their estates. He bestowed gifts of further Irish land on certain nominees who had no claim whatever. These included his brother James, then Duke of York. James got lands in Dublin, Kilkenny, Meath, Westmeath and Wexford, but he did not disdain to accept also a mere 25 acres in Loyer Grange, along with some houses in High St., Barronstrand Street and the Quay.¹⁰ Of course, he promptly lost them all under the Williamites.

For Waterford County and the Liberties the Restoration settlement, as represented in the Books of Survey and Distribution, is substantially the same as the Cromwellian, but not so for the city. The award of lands to the Inchiquin

men was cancelled but, on the other hand, provision was made for the Royalist Officers who had served under Ormonde before Cromwell's arrival. At the Commission appointed to administer the Acts of Settlement and Explanation claims were made on behalf of these ex-officers by Sir Matthew Apleyard and others. The claims were for various houses in Waterford city, and all were allowed.¹¹ This was in 1667 - 13 years after the Cromwellians had moved in, so the proprietors listed in the 1663/4 valuation survey cannot have included any of the Royalists. How, then, were there enough vacant houses for them and, if they did take up their abode here, how did Royalist and Cromwellian get on as neighbours? It is interesting to speculate.

Outside the city, grants of huge estates were confirmed to certain individuals. By 1667 these men had probably added substantially to their original grants by the purchase of debentures. At any rate, the lead for Waterford went to Sir John Cole who acquired 9279 statute acres, next was Sir Algernon May with 8,726, then Henry Nicholls with 8,091.¹²

When all undisputed claims had been settled and when restoration had been made of Church lands and their tithes, there remained a residue of forfeited lands in the hands of those whose title to them was defective or doubtful. To remedy this, Charles II set up the Commission of Grace (1684) under which new titles were granted by the Crown. Three of these are of Waterford interest, viz, Thomas Wise was confirmed in title to "the site and precinct of the monastery of St. John's" as well as to Lisduggan, Slievekeale, Browleymore, Wise's Newtown and other lands in the Liberties and in the barony of Gaultier. James Devereaux's title to lands in Middlethird (Pickardstown, Ballydrislane and Carriglong) was also confirmed as was that of Thomas Maunsell to a slated house in Conduit Lane.¹³

James II, on his accession, directed that any unfinished work of the Commission be completed.

THE WILLIAMITE SETTLEMENT:

The last move was made by William III. Certain prominent Jacobites were attainted and their lands declared forfeit to the Crown, under an Act of 1700. They were sold by public auction and the names of purchasers, as well as those of former owners, are recorded in the Books of Postings and Sales, 1703. The following transactions took place in East Waterford:

King James' land at Lower Grange, with "a good stonewall slated house of two floors on it," was bought by John Lapp, the sitting tenant. Also in the Liberties, Arthur Gallway's property in Abbey Lane (Trinity parish), mortgaged to Mainard Christian, went to John Langrish of Knocktopher, who also bought the "White Hart" in Patrick Street, which had been the leasehold of Theodore Jones. Nicholas Porter's house "near the Key" was bought by John Lapp, the tenant. "An old house, castle, and some other houses" at Passage, tenanted by Michael Murphy, were purchased by Sir Thomas Rendingast.¹⁴

And so the story closes of the great land robbery, contemplated by Charles I, given effect to by Cromwell, condoned by Charles II and his brother James, added to by William III and not finalised until the second year of Queen Anne.

Note on Tables and Sources:

Table 1, is an attempt to condense the information given in the Civil Survey for ownership in 1640 and 1654 of each townland (or other denomination) in Gaultier. The adjoining column giving ownership in the Restoration period is (continued p. 44)

PARISH	TOWNLAND	TABLE I. BARONY OF GAULTIER		GRANTEE UNDER ACTS OF S. & E. (1666-84)	REMARKS
		OWNER IN 1640	OWNER IN 1654		
Ballinakill	Farronshoneen	Peter Dobbin, gent I.P.	Beale Dobbin his widow	William Dobbin	Held on lease in 1640 by Andrew Lynn of Ballygunner Castle
	Grantstown	do.	do.	do.	
	Williamstown	do.	Ellen Dobbin, widow	Thos. Cealy, Andrew Rickards & Wm. Dobbin	Has a decayed castle and mill
	Ballinakill	do.	-	William Dobbin	
	Kilcehan	do.	Ellen Dobbin, widow	do.	
Ballygunner	Little Island	James Walsh, Esqr.	Quartermaster General Vernon	Sir James Walsh	A castle in good repair Vernon held by Act of Parliament.
	Ballymaclode	John Jord Power Baron of Curragh - more I.P.	Sir Thos. Sherlock	Lord Power	Has a castle
	Ballygunner Temple	do.	Andrew Lynn English Protestant	do.	Has a water mill
	Knockboy	Peter Dobbin		William Dobbin	
	Ballygunner Castle	James Walsh		Pierce Walsh	Has a ruined castle
Corbally	Ballygunner more	Robert Walsh Esq. I.P.		Sir Robert Walsh	
	Callaghan	John Power of Ballyheyny, gent. I.P.	John Lee	Lord Power	
	Corbally Beg	John Aylward of Faithlegge Esq. I.P.		Sir Charles Wheeler	Formerly Col. Wheeler
	Corbally More	Peter Archdeacon of Corballymore, gent. I.P.		do.	
	Coolum	Thos. Wadding of Kilberry, Esq. I.P.		do.	
Creeke	Crooke	Sir Peter Aylward, I.P. decd.	(Edward Aston, gent. English Protestant)	Lord Power	Has a castle & a church
	Cooltegan	Edward Butler of Kilcop, gent. I.P.		Sir Charles Wheeler	
	Dromina	do.		Richard Lynn	
Faithlegg	Kilcop	do.	Anstace Butler (his widow)	Gregory Limbry & Sir Thos. Newcomen. Duncannon Fort	
	Rabeens Newtown	Sir Peter Aylward	John Murphy	do.	
	Ballydeavid Faithlegg	Ann Wise, Spinster, I.P. Sir Peter Aylward		Thomas Wise William Bolton	A church & a handsome castle. Also 8 wells.

Note. The suffix I.P. after a person's name stands for "Irish Papist" and is used generally throughout the Civil Survey.

PARISH	TOWNLAND OR OTHER DESIGNATION	BARONY OF GAULTIER Contd.			REMARKS.
		OWNER IN 1640	OWNER IN 1654	GRANTEE UNDER ACTS OF S. & E.	
Killea	Graigariddy	Richard Butler Esq. I.P.	Alexander Leonard I.P.	Sir Charles Wheeler	
	Ballymabin	Francis Wise of Creaden, Esq. I.P.	Ald. Thomas White I.P.	Thomas Wise	
	Portally	John Aylward		Sir Charles Wheeler	
	Killagh Mangan	Sir Thos. Sherlock of Butlerstown, I.P.		do.	
	Killagh Dobbin	Peter Dobbin I.P.		do.	
	Dunmore	John Lord Power		Lord Power	Has the stump of a ruined castle
	Glandemus	John Sherlock of Gracedieu, I.P.		Sir Charles Wheeler	Countermixed with Dunmore.
	Liscaun	James Walsh	Nicholas Walsh	Thomas Wise	Has a handsome slated house
	Killawlan	Alexander Leonard		Sir Charles Wheeler	
	Knockaveelish	do.	Marcus Cransborough, I.P.	Randal Clayton & Lord Power	Has a mill & watercourse
	Fornaght	Redmond of the Hall		Randal Clayton	
	Kill St. Lawrence	Creadan	Francis Wise		Sir Charles Wheeler
Kill St. Lawrence		Patrick Sherlock of Nothill, Esq. I.P.	James Faggan Merchant I.P.	John Fovell & Andrew Rickards	
Kill St. Nicholas	Killure	Sir Peter Aylward		William Bolton	
	Knockree	Sir Peter Aylward		Duncannon Fort	Includes Passage, fishing weir & 2 mills. Has two weirs.
Kilmacleague	Parkwood	do.		Francis Jones	
	Kill St. Nicholas and Carrigleigh)	John Lord Power		Lord Power	
	Barristown	do	Sir Thos. Sherlock	do.	Has a mill
	Cross	Sir Peter Aylward		do.	Has a ruined castle & a water grist mill
Ballycanavan	Ballyglan	John Lord Power		do.	
	Drumrusk	Edmund Butler		Randal Clayton	
	Ballyncloerty	John Lord Power		Lord Power	
	Ballyshonine	Thos. Porter, Esq. I.P. Michael Sherlock, gent., I.P.	Robert Murphy James Lingoln, merchant, I.P.	Sir Charles Wheeler Andrew Rickards	

PARISH	TOWNLAND OR OTHER DENOMINATION	BARONY OF GAULTIER Contd.			REMARKS.
		OWNER IN 1640	OWNER IN 1654	GRANTEE UNDER ACTS OF S. & E.	
Kilmaclegave	Ballinveilla	Michael Sherlock gent. I.P.	David Hagheren, Yeoman, I.P.	Andrew Richards	
	Ballylough	Alex. Leonard		Richard Lynn & Sir C. Wheeler	
	Ballynamindra	Stephen Power, gent. I.P.		William Bolton	
	Monamintra More	Walter Power of Castletown, gent. I.P.		Lord Power	
	Monamintra Beg	Thos. Porter		Lord Power	
	Rathmoylean Aylward	John Aylward		Sir Charles Wheeler	
	Rathmoylean Dobbin	Peter Dobbin		do.	
	Rathmoylean Wadding	Thomas Wadding		do.	
	Brownstown	Sir Peter Aylward		do.	
	Ballymaqueale	Thomas Wadding		do.	
Kilmaoomb	Liscelty	do.		do.	
	Ballymaedavid	John Sherlock		Paul Sherlock & Sir C. Wheeler	
	Kilmaquage	Sir Thos. Sherlock		James Mottlow, Richard Ryves & Sir C. Wheeler	
	Woodstown & Rossduff	Thos. Wadding		William Bolton	
	Kilmaoomb & Gurteens	do		Elizabeth Ward & Sir C. Wheeler	
	Harristown	Alex. Leonard	Philip Bellew, gent. I.P.	Lord Power	Has a church
	Ballyvooreen	John Lord Power	Andrew Lynn	do.	
	Ballyheny	do.		do.	
	Ballyloughmore	John Sherlock		do.	

TABLE 2. THE LIBERTIES OF WATERFORD

PARISH	DENOMINATION OF LAND	LESSEE IN 1654	OCCUPIER FROM 1654	GRANTEE UNDER ACTS OF S. & H.	REMARKS
Killetteran	Killetteran	James Bryver		The Crown	Bryver lease was for 101 yrs. from 1588
	Woodtown	Dr. R. Madden		Sir John Stephens	Dr. Madden's lease was for 101 yrs. from 1588.
	Knockhouse	Helen White widow		do.	Ald. James White's lease was for 101 yrs. from 1588
	Lismore	Richard Butler	John Cooke Chief Justice of Munster	The Crown	Butler's lease do. 1628 Cooke's regicide was executed on the Restoration
	Lombardy	Robt. Lombard	Richard Ryves	Sir John Stephens	
	Carrigpherish	Peter Morgan Merchant	Lt. John Gregory	do.	Morgan's lease was for 88 yrs. from 1640
	Bawndaw	Patk. Madden	Cecily White Widow	The Crown	Both held leases for 88 yrs from 1640
	Gracedieu	John Shearman John Sherlock	Andrew Rickards Merchant	Sir John Stephens	
	Cremnaspirogue	Dr. Laurence Strange	Francis Thy, brewer.	The Crown	
	Ballymoney	Peter Morgan & Edmond Geraldine	Lt. John Gregory	Sir John Stephens	Geraldine described as "now in France"
Trinity } Withert }	Rathfadden	Matthew Everard	Col. Wm. Leigh	do.	Everard described as "now dwelling in Dunkirk"
	Cleaboy	Sir Thos. Sherlock	Thos. Watts	Pierce Walsh	Sherlock's lease was for 101 years from 1635
	Porter's Parks	John Porter	Thos. Tapping butcher	Corporation	Porter's lease was for 101 years from 1639.
	Woodlocks "	James Woodlock		Sir John Stephens	
	Lyvetts Parks	John Lyvett	Capt. Sam Wade	do.	
	John Devenish's Park	Wm. Cleere	do.	do.	Cleere's lease had 73 yrs. to run "
	James Dobbin's Parks	James Dobbins	Robt. Fawcett	do.	Dobbins " " 45 "
	Clashree	Gerard Lincoln		Sir Algernon May	to run Lincoln's " " 44 "
	Bricken's Mill Parks	Francis Bryver	Samuel Brown cannonier		

TABLE 2. THE LIBERTIES OF WATERFORD Contd.

PARISH	DENOMINATION OF LAND	LESSEE IN 1654	OCCUPIER FROM 1654	GRANTEE UNDER ACTS OF S. & E.	REMARKS
Trinity (Without)	Gibbet Hill	Howell Powell	Wm. White & Andrew Wallis	Sir John Stephens	Powell's lease had 37 years to run
	Wyncroft	Thomas Porter	Capt. Richard Wilkinson	Sir Algernon May	Dobbins lease was for 101 years from 1626 Confirmed to Thos Wise by Commission of Grace. Cliffe had a sub-lease from Laurence Walsh
	Shortcourse	Peter Dobbin	Capt. Sam Wade	Corporation	
	Little Browley	Ald. Matt. Grant	Col. Wm. Leigh	Sir John Stephens	
	Lisduggan	Peter Dobbin	Capt. S. Wade	Corporation	
	Browley More Pt.	Henry Cliffe		Sir John Stephens	
	Lombard's Meadow	Freehold of the Corporation	Thos. Osborne, tanner	Corporation	
	The Little Meadow	Peter Dobbin	Capt. S. Wade	Sir John Stephens	
Kilculliheen	Kilculliheen	Sir Peter Aylward		Sir Algernon May	Aylward's lease had 33 years to run
	Rathculliheen	Thos. Geraldine		do.	
	Robertstown	Ald. M. Grant		do.	
	Newrath	do.		do.	
	Slievekeale Pt.	Henry Cliffe	Cliffe's daughter & Mr. Blanch, merchant	Thos. Wise	Confirmed to Wise by Commission of Grace.
	do.	John Lombard	"Some of the English inhabitants"	do.	do.
	do.	John Lyvert	do.	do.	do.
	Browleymore	Henry Cliffe		do.	Cliffe had a sub-lease from Laurence Walsh confirmed to Wise by Commission of Grace.
	John Lee's Park	John Lee	do.	do.	do.
	Priorsknock		Col. Laurence	do.	Col. Richard Laurence was military Governor of W'ford. Confirmed to Wise by Commission of Grace.

TABLE 2. THE LIBERTIES OF WATERFORD Contd.

PARISH	DENOMINATION OF LAND	LESSEE IN 1654	OCCUPIER FROM 1654	Grantee Under Acts of S. & E.	REMARKS
St. Catherine's Abbey	Kilbarry	Thomas Aston	Edward Aston	Sir Geo. Lane	
	Ballinamona	Capt. S. Wade) Gen. Cawdron John Williams)	Andrew Lynn		
	Dallytrackle	Capt. Wm. Halsey	Edward Smith & John West		
	Lower Grange	Jas. Sherlock	Andrew Lynn	Edward Smith & the Duke of York	Duke of York's (James II) land bought by John Lapp 1703.
	Upper Grange	Chr. Mason	Mason's widow	Thomas Gower, Overington Blundell or Blunden John West	
	Wise's Newtown		Lord Deputy	Thomas Wise	Thomas Wise
Gough's Newtown		Fleetwood		Sir Algernon May	

taken from the Books of Survey and Distribution. The "Remarks" come largely from the Books of Postings and Sales.

Table 2 for the Liberties is arranged slightly differently, ownership in 1640 being omitted. This is because Waterford Corporation owned most of the area. Only the parishes of St. John's Without, Kilbarry and St. Catherine's Abbey then being privately owned. Townlands in these parishes were owned by the following seven people: Thomas Wadding (Slievekeale, Browleymore and Kilbarry), Francis Wise (John Lee's Park and Wise's Newtown), Nicholas Wise (Priorsknock), Sir Peter Aylward (Ballytruckle) Thomas Porter (Lower Grange), John Walsh, Merchant (Upper Grange) and Patrick Gough (Gough's Newtown). As the Civil Survey also gives the names of leaseholders in the Liberties in 1654, I have listed these here. Changes caused by the findings of the Commission of Grace (1703) appear in the "Remarks".

The following sources were used, as enumerated in the text:

1. Prendergast: The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.
2. Butler: History of the Barony of Gaultier. p.85.
3. Simington: The Civil Survey, 1654, Vol. VI Intro. p XXiii
4. Prendergast: op. cit. 5. Simington: op.cit. p xiii.
6. Simington: op.cit. p p xli & 215-285.
7. Prendergast: op. cit. 8. ibid; 9. ibid,
10. Fifteenth Report of Public Records Commission, 1825; Grants under Acts of Settlement and Explanation.
11. Ibid; 12. ibid;
13. Hatchell: Grants under the Commission of Grace 1684-98. (Dublin, 1839). Transcript by Pender.
14. Book of Postings and Sales, 1703. (Ms. in National Library).

OSBORNE THE STUCCADORE

In response to Dr. Pettit's request for information on a Stuccadore named William Osborne (Decies 8), Mr. Ian Lumley writes:-

While the name of William Osborne is unfamiliar to me, that of a Patrick Osborne, traditionally but without known proof held to be a Waterfordman, is on record. From Castletown Cox, Co. Kilkenny, built 1767 onwards by Davis Ducart (the same Architect as the Cork Mayoralty House), a set of accounts of 1774 show the fine plasterwork to be the work of Patrick Osborne. This is interesting in connecting the Osborne name with that of Ducart for the second time, suggesting that research into the stucco of Ducart's other works would be worthwhile.

C. P. Curran in 'Dublin Decorative Plasterwork' (1967) attributes the work in the Chamber of Commerce, Waterford, a house of 1790's, to Patrick (not William) Osborne but gives no source. In addition he places Patrick in his list of Dublin plasterers showing he must at least have trained there.

Stylistically, the work at the Mayoralty House, Cork is Rococo. That at Castletown Cox more disciplined, while the Waterford work is largely Adamesque showing the influence of the Dublin plasterer Michael Stapleton. Unfortunately, records of Irish provincial plasterwork are so obscure and fragmentary that research into the Osborne family is likely to be difficult.

THE ATHERTON FILE.

by Aidan Clarke.

For fifteen years or so, I have kept a file labelled 'John Atherton' in which I have gathered odds and ends of information connected with an unsolved, and seemingly insoluble, seventeenth century mystery. This is no more than an attempt to put the contents of that folder into coherent order, so that one may take stock of what is known and what remains to be discovered.

John Atherton was the son of a Somerset clergyman, born in 1598, educated at Gloucester Hall and Lincoln College, where he took his M.A. in 1621 (B.A.1617), and ordained in the Church of England. He established some reputation as a canon lawyer at Oxford, which makes it a little odd that when he went down it was to a rural rectory in his native county (Huish Champflower, 1622). Odder still is the fact that, on 22 April 1630, he was installed as prebendary of St. John the Evangelist in Dublin, though he had neither relinquished his English benefice nor received permission to hold the two jointly. There is no doubt that it was in Dublin that he served, and it was there that his legal skills were quickly recognized by the incoming lord deputy, Thomas Wentworth. Wentworth arrived in Ireland in the summer of 1633; in the following April, the accelerated advancement of Atherton commenced with his installation as Chancellor (i.e. law officer) of Killaloe diocese: in rapid succession, he became absentee rector of two parishes in Queens County (Killaban and Ballintubride/Portstown), chaplain to the lord chancellor of Ireland, an honorary Doctor of Divinity of Dublin University, Chancellor of Christ Church, Dublin (December, 1635), a member of the influential and prestigious Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes (February, 1636), and, finally, on 28 May 1636, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. It was not an unusual career pattern for an able Englishman, lay or cleric, in the service of the English administration in Ireland. But its ending was unique. On 5 December 1640, he was hanged in Dublin. On the same day, at his own request, his remains were interred in a rubbish dump in a corner of St. John's churchyard in Fishamble Street. On the same day, Dublin University formally expunged his name from its roll of honorary graduates. That he died as a bishop was entirely fortuitous. The death of the acting lord deputy on December 3 had made it impossible to proceed with the ceremony of deconsecration which had been arranged for December 4.

Exact information is hard to come by, but there is no mystery about the capital charge brought against Atherton. So far as the record goes, his troubles began on 17 June 1640. On that day, while the opposition majority in the Irish Commons was preparing a detailed statement of ecclesiastical grievances - most of them stemming from the discontented Ulster presbyterians - it heard a petition presented by one John Child against the lord Bishop of Waterford. A committee was at once appointed to bring the matter to the attention of the lord deputy, and to request that both Child and Atherton be placed in custody at once. The petition itself has not survived, but a private letter of the time makes it clear that it contained a comprehensive attack on Atherton's morals. Child both accused the bishop of acts of fornication and adultery and claimed to have had homosexual relations with him. In biblical language, the capital charge was sodomy: in the legal terminology of the day, it was buggery. This had been a capital offence in Ireland for only six years, the English legislation of a hundred years before having been introduced to Ireland as a result of the interest and revulsion aroused by the trial and execution of the earl of Castlehaven for complicated sexual offences in 1631. The charges against Atherton had overtones of irony: as a judge in the ecclesiastical courts he had been notoriously severe in his judgements on sexual offenders; and to add to the piquancy, though he strenuously denied the charge of sodomy, he admitted to the minor charges.

We know nothing of the trial, except that the bishop's attitude gave widespread offence, and that he was found guilty on November 28. We know even less about his accuser, John Child: of him, we know only that he was hanged at Bandonbridge in March 1641 'condemned thereto at the assizes holden in Cork'. About Atherton's last days, we know a great deal, because Nicholas Barnard, Dean of Ardagh, who acted as his spiritual advisor, subsequently published an account under the title The penitent death of a woeful sinner. Its theme was simple: that Atherton had fully and authentically repented of his many sins, but that sodomy was not one of them. He had confessed to 'reading of naughty books, viewing of immodest pictures, frequenting of plays, and drunkenness'; he had admitted that in religious matters he had been more attentive to self-advancement than to spiritual concerns; he had claimed a premonition, when recently 'the one who had corrupted him in his youth' had visited him unexpectedly and he had felt as though a ghost had come to warn him of the 'present vengeance drawing nigh him'; he had been punctilious about righting wrongs done to others, forgiving wrongs done to him, and paying his debts; he had acknowledged that he deserved to die, indeed he had said that a dog's death was too good for him; but he had denied the charge of homosexuality, and Barnard believed him. The work was written to declare publicly that Atherton had been wrongly convicted. It was couched in the form of a work of edification: its ostensible themes were penitence and resignation - but the real intention was controversial, and it was written at the request of the Archbishop of Armagh, James Ussher.

Ussher's concern was understandable. The fact is that 1640 was a bad year for bishops. The growth of alternative ideas about church structure, particularly presbyterianism, together with dissatisfaction with the extensive administrative and political involvement of bishops in unpopular governments, had generated attacks on the institution itself. Demands for reform, or abolition, were becoming widespread in both England and Ireland. The Atherton case was grist to this mill, a perfect propaganda instrument in the campaign. The political flavour is conveyed by the concluding words of an anonymously written pamphlet on the state of Ireland, dated April 1641: 'when a bishop shall be condemned for the sin of sodomy, it is time for the church to look into and suppress them with their increasing superstition, idolatry and shameful iniquity.' At a lower level, the sensationalist exploitation of the episode can be observed in a rhyming pamphlet published in London (about March 1641). Its scope is suggested by its title, The life and death of John Atherton, who for incest, buggery and many other enormous crimes, after having lived a vicious life died a shameful death: some examples will both indicate its character and introduce new themes, to which we will revert -

'So far baseness in him did prevail
that unto lust he set himself to sail,
deflowered virgins, marriage beds defiled,
with many other vicious crimes too vile
to be conceived. . . .
Lastly, through pride, high fare and lustful life
incest committed with the sister of his wife,
for which he sued his pardon and then fled
to Ireland, where a worser life he led.'

There is no explicit description of this worser life, but the concluding lines become circumstantial -

'Suppose a devil from the infernal pit,
more monster like than ere was devil yet,
contrary to course, taking a male fiend
to sodomize with him: such was the mind
of this lord bishop; he did take a Child,
by name, not years, acting a sin so vile,
as is forenamed; and this Child a proctor too!'

It was then, against a background of this sort of publicity that Barnard wrote. He believed that Atherton had been maligned, and that his demeanour in the face of death commanded respect: but he also hoped that to defend Atherton would help to defend episcopacy. What he did not do was to suggest any explanation of the miscarriage of justice which he alleged to have taken place.

Before long, the debate about episcopacy moved on to a different level. Rebellion broke out in Ireland, and civil war in England, and episcopacy actually was abolished for some years. John Atherton slipped into the background. His memory survived only because Barnard's book remained popular, and was printed again more than once, for a market that was clearly more anxious to be scandalized than edified. Early in the eighteenth century, however, one reader was sufficiently puzzled by the incompleteness of Barnard's defence to set about following up the question of why Atherton should have been the victim of what appeared to be a false charge. This was Dr. John King, rector of Chelsea, who wrote to the incumbent bishop of Waterford asking for information, in 1710. Bishop Thomas Mills replied that all the 'creditable and sensible' people of the diocese believed that Atherton had been innocent and thought that 'he was brought to his death by the contrivance and conspiracy of a certain number of men who were set to work to prevent further trouble from the said bishop about lands in dispute between them, and therefore they resolved to have him out of the way'. A little later, the Chancellor of the diocese, Alexander Alcock, wrote in greater detail, alleging that the chief prosecutor had been the Recorder of Waterford, Piers Butler, who was also one of those from whom Atherton had recovered lands ('particularly the villages near this town'), which properly belonged to the bishopric; and that the chief witness had been a menial servant of the bishop, 'a most profligate, wicked fellow', who fled to England after the trial, and later, at his own execution, confessed to perjury. This man (who does not appear to have been Child, who was separately mentioned) was widely believed to have been bribed by Butler, and to have brought a considerable sum of money to England. Alcock concluded by reporting that Butler had subsequently gone mad and been haunted by Atherton's ghost, and that the ghost was now the sole occupant of Butler's house.

On the basis of this information, King wrote a pamphlet, arguing that Atherton had been a litigious man, and an unscrupulous one, who had aroused antagonism, even hatred, and become an easy target for false claims and allegations. His innocence was clear, not only because the chief witness was a self-confessed perjurer, but also on commonsensical grounds. To King, it was inconceivable that a man long-married and 'of his years, education and function should be guilty of so unnatural and brutal a piece of lust as that he was charged with'. And, following Barnard, he accepted that the fact that Atherton had made a full confession, yet denied the charge, was conclusive.

The point was not to be settled as easily as Dr. King supposed. In the following year, 1711, a reply was published under the title Bishop Atherton's case discussed, and the level of interest in the debate is suggested by the fact that it carried advertisements for accounts of the Castlehaven case and of the murder of the archbishop of St. Andrews (Sharp) in 1679. Apart from a brief, sanctimonious and uninformative introduction, the reply consisted of two statements. One was by a man called John Price who claimed to have been present at Atherton's execution, and who provides us with our only physical description of him: he was 'a proper strait person, of a brown blackish hair' with a brown beard, aged about 50. According to Price, Atherton had been doubly charged; by his own servant with sodomy, and by a woman with rape. As to the latter, the bishop was dismissive: 'he said she swore it, but God knows what she is'. As to the former, he had publicly confessed his guilt before execution in these words:

'I am come to pay my last debt there, the first of my coat that I know of in this kind. I pray God that I may be the last. I believe it is known to you all that is laid to my charge, and for which I received sentence of death. I do here before the Lord, His holy angels and you all own the sentence against me to be just, and that I was guilty of the charge brought against me.'

This stands in direct contradiction to Bernard. Unfortunately, there seems to be no way of evaluating it. A puritan minister called John Price was appointed a fellow of T.C.D in the 1650s (SFPCD 1659), and this may well have been he, but we have no information as to when, and in what circumstances, the statement was made.

The author of the second statement, which is very much longer and more remarkable, is identifiable. He was the Rev. John Quick, a non-conformist minister of some notoriety in the Restoration period, who set down, in 1690, what he knew of certain events concerning Atherton. The chief character in his narrative was the wife of a merchant called Leakey, of Minchhead in Somerset. In 1636, her recently dead mother in law (who had been making regular public appearances in the harbour since her death) came to her privately and told her to go to Ireland to warn her uncle, the bishop of Waterford, that 'unless he doth repent of the sin whereof he knows himself guilty, he shall be hanged'. The apparition proceeded to fill in the background. When John Atherton

'lodged at my brother's house in Barnstable, he being then married to my sister, got my brother's daughter with child, and I delivered her of a girl, which as soon as he had baptised I pinched the throat of it and strangled it, and he smoked it over a pan of charcoal that it might not stink, and buried it in the chamber of the house'.

The younger Mrs. Leakey, having first consulted godly ministers, delivered the message to Atherton, who replied, inscrutably, that 'if he was born to be hanged he should not be drowned'. Mrs. Leakey returned home and told the local J.P.s, who reported to the Privy Council, but it was agreed that her source of information did not measure up to the requirements of legal proof, and the matter was not pursued. However, three years later, in 1639, a young man called Chamberlain who was apprentice to the Town Clerk of Barnstable, who was none other than the elder Mrs. Leakey's brother, was troubled by apparitions - a young woman with an infant, and an old man. One night, the old man told him where to find four boxes under the floor. In them, he would find two silver pots: one contained gold, and he was to keep it: the other he was to bring unopened to his master's married daughter in Wales, a Mrs. Betty, who was niece to Bishop Atherton. Chamberlain did as he was told. A year later, Mrs. Betty died, leaving all her property to her maid on condition that she took the silver pot to Atherton and delivered this message, 'that if he did not repent of the sin he knew himself to be guilty of, he would be hanged'. The terms of the will gave rise to curiosity and suspicion: a local justice of the peace commanded the pot, which was found to contain the skeleton of an infant. The Privy Council was informed, and Atherton's arrest ordered - just at the moment when his other crimes were catching up with him in Dublin. It should be said at once that the Privy Council register contains no record of this, and Quick, who was born in 1636, claimed no direct knowledge. But he was from nearby Devon, he stated his sources of information throughout, and there are, of course, echoes - of the rhyming pamphlet's allegation of incest, and of Atherton's own premonition of vengeance 'drawing nigh him' as a result of a visit from 'the one who had corrupted him in his youth'.

Nonetheless, the pamphlet contributed nothing decisive. Neither Price's brief statement nor Quick's fascinating and circumstantial account came near to meeting the most relaxed standards of proof. But at that point, the accumulation of evidence virtually ended, and historians were left to make up

their minds, one way or the other, on gravely deficient information. In fact, most of them agreed with Bernard, but a few were sceptical, principally Walter Harris who argued, in the mid-18th century, that there was at least one man, Sir James Ware, on the Irish Privy Council in 1640 who 'had opportunities enough of knowing the truth and zeal enough to declare it, if there had been room to have acquitted him'. As to explanation, two further elements were introduced. In 1736, in his Life of Ormonde, Thomas Carte bluntly accused Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, of having engineered Atherton's death in revenge for the loss of the lands of the manor of Ardmore. But he offered no proof: the existence of the property dispute was the sole basis for the charge. Much more recently, two twentieth century scholars, Canon Jourdan and Canon Winnett, have been led by fresh evidence to prefer a different culprit. In Marsh's Library, there are certified copies of an order of the Irish house of commons, dated 7 August 1641. It had escaped notice because it was not recorded in the journals of the house. Its substance was to reverse a judgement in the Court of Chancery which had granted possession of episcopal lands in the parish of Donaghmore in south Tipperary to Bishop Atherton, and to direct Atherton's widow to return the income already derived from the property, which was valued at £80 a year. The beneficiary was Piers Butler. This was taken to confirm the suspicions of the Recorder of Waterford reported by Alcock. Its status as proof, of course, is exactly the same as that of Carte's case against the earl of Cork.

If there can be said to be an accepted view of so little noticed an episode as the Atherton affair, it is that he was a grasping, greedy man whose attempts to increase his income by recovering church property brought him into conflict with someone who eventually downed him by foul means: he was, in Carte's words, 'a sacrifice to litigation rather than to justice, when he suffered for a pretended crime of a secret nature'.

So far as Atherton's death is concerned, no fresh evidence has come to light, but the opening up of the Fitzwilliam archive - which contains the papers of Lord Deputy Wentworth - has provided a number of scattered glimpses which reveal a little more about his life and help to establish a slightly different framework within which to consider his activities. He emerges as the agent of a coherent state policy, rather than as a single rapacious individual. To understand his role, one needs to understand Wentworth's religious policy. He recognized that it was futile to dragoon catholics into protestantism if the Church of Ireland were not strong enough and well organized enough to receive them. So he made no attempt to interfere with catholic worship, but he did set out systematically to prepare the ground for a very different policy, and his diagnosis of the fundamental problems was stark and accurate. Nominally, the church had enormous resources, in land and tithes. In practice, laymen had secured control of a large proportion of them; sometimes, more or less legitimately through long leases at low rents, but often by fraudulent royal grants, gained by concealing the fact that the land was church property. Further, those who had got possession of the lands of dissolved monasteries had also received the right to collect tithes. The net result was that the church was very poorly endowed, and the average living very low. In many of the 8,000 parishes, the resources were insufficient to support an incumbent; in most of the rest, there was not enough to support a properly qualified one. So, there were too few clergy, perhaps one for every six parishes, and they were often of poor quality. The case was the same all the way up the hierarchy. Wentworth believed in putting first things first: to suppress catholicism, one must first have a vigorous alternative, and that required money. Moreover, the resources were there, if they could be recovered from those who enjoyed them. So, he set himself to re-endow the church with its rightful property, and he chose his bishops, and many of the lower clergy, with that end in view. Spiritual qualities were secondary: what he wanted was tough minded men, greedily ambitious men, with the force of character to resist local pressures and the drive to build up the church materially. They stood to gain in the short term: the church stood to gain in the long term.

He also needed an example, and there could be no doubt that Richard Boyle, who had arrived in Ireland with a few pounds and who was now earl of Cork, one of the governors that Wentworth succeeded, and the richest man in the country, was the man who had amassed most church property by the most devious means. If he could be forced to disgorge, then others would be easier to deal with. These things were clear to Wentworth very quickly, and they form the essential background to Atherton's career.

His first appointment leaves no doubt that it was his legal expertise that attracted Wentworth's attention. But we now know that he played an active part in Convocation in 1634. Convocation was the assembly of the clergy, which sat simultaneously with parliament. Usually, it concerned itself with minor matters, particularly taxing the clergy, which parliament could not do. But this one was vital, and difficult, for Wentworth used it to bring the Irish and English churches into line, by having the independent Irish Articles replaced by new ones modelled on those of England. Atherton proved an effective supporter, and Wentworth rewarded him by attempting to regularize his position. He requested his political ally and friend, William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, to grant Atherton a dispensation to hold livings in England and Ireland at the same time - otherwise, Wentworth observed, 'he would gain little of the exchange and account himself ill rewarded for his pains'. The result was an unexpected rebuff: Laud turned down the proposal as likely to be an 'evil and scandalous example.' But Atherton was already showing his mettle: only a few months later Wentworth was able to assure Laud that the dispensation was no longer required, and that Atherton would resign his English living: he had, Wentworth reported, 'secured two good rectories from the patron who had made them lay-free these forty years' - in other words, having been appointed to the parishes of Killaban and Ballintubride, Atherton had forced the local impropiator to restore the associated properties and tithes to the livings, which he held as an absentee. It was an impressive performance, and it stood him in good stead. Towards the end of 1635, the bishopric of Waterford and Lismore fell vacant. It was a classic diocese so far as the problems of the church were concerned: it had once been rich, and was now poor, and its main despoiler was the earl of Cork. Its rights and revenues badly needed to be restored, but it would not be an easy task. Wentworth was convinced that Atherton was the man for the job, or, at least, for part of it - for what he called 'the soliciting part and recovering the rights of the bishopric', when he asked Laud to recommend Atherton to the king. Once again, Laud was uncooperative, and suggested that Wentworth should reconsider: 'Better Dr. Atherton than a worse', he wrote, 'though for my part I like nothing at all in him but the soliciting part'. Wentworth did not try to defend Atherton. 'There is exception against the man, I confess', he replied, but he was insistent that Atherton had the requisite qualifications for this particular position: if he were appointed, 'Cork would think the devil is let loose upon him forth of his chain. I will undertake that there is no such terrier in all England for the unkenning of an old fox'. Laud finally agreed, with reservations: 'I confess clearly to you, since I had speech with him in England, I have no opinion either of his worth or honesty. I pray God I may be deceived'. Atherton became bishop, at last resigned his Somerset living, but was allowed to retain both his Chancellorship of Christ Church, Dublin, and his rectory of Killaban until the revenues of his new diocese had been recovered.

This correspondence is irritatingly reticent. One gets the clear impression that Laud and Wentworth knew exactly what they were talking about. Whatever it was, it seems obvious that even before Atherton became a bishop there was considerable doubt as to whether he was fit to be one. There may be a hint in the fact that Atherton and Laud had met, in circumstances markedly unfavourable to Atherton. Laud had been bishop of Bath and Wells, and therefore Atherton's direct superior, from 1626 to 1628. The rhyme, it may be recalled, alleged:

"Incest committed with the sister of his wife,
for which he sued his pardon and then fled to Ireland....

and Quick, much later, made a similar accusation involving the niece of his wife. If Atherton did sue pardon for incest, it would have been from his bishop, and that might well have been Laud, assuming that Atherton was in Ireland for some time before securing his appointment in St. Johns. To speculate thus, it might well be felt, is to take rumour too seriously: all we know for certain is that Atherton left England precipitately, leaving a bad impression behind him. But we can at least now say also, that the Rev. John Quick's account is not entirely a work of the imagination, for Mrs. Leakey and her mother in law's ghost came to Archbishop Laud's notice in December 1636. His account to Wentworth is not so detailed as Quick's narrative, but, just as the date agrees, so the outline is corroborative. Mrs. Leakey's mother in law, who had been two years dead, had appeared to her and told her to go to Ireland to deliver a message to the bishop of Waterford, and to no one else. This seems to have given rise to some speculation, if one attends to the nuances of Laud's wording: 'You may believe what you list of this, but some people of very good quality do affirm this and a great deal more'. Wentworth did not take the matter very seriously: 'I will enquire after Mrs. Leakey and her errand', he wrote back, 'and will learn what the devil has to say to the bishop of Waterford. Sure I am that the earl of Cork wishes them together already'. It is not clear whether she actually came to Ireland: Laud thought not. In the spring of 1637, however, he reported that she had been examined not only by two justices of the peace, but also by the bishop of Bath and Wells, and they had judged her story to be untrue. In fact, they did not hear all of it: it seems that she was prepared to reveal the message only to the king in person -- and this was not followed up. Laud's opinion is interesting, in a negative way: he did not directly connect this odd happening with his previous doubts about Atherton, but he did conclude that Mrs. Leakey was 'a cunning young woman' who was really hoping for money. He may perhaps seem to have been taking it for granted that John Atherton was not an unsuitable subject for blackmail. Wentworth picked up that inference, and it amused him greatly: 'I hear nothing more of Mrs. Leakey or her familiar,' he wrote, 'but if money be that they aim at, it must be a strong and crafty devil that gets anything out of the bishop's purse.'

He had, in fact, every reason to be satisfied with the success of his episcopal protegee. In Waterford, Atherton had gone to war on the earl of Cork. In less than a year, he recovered the site of the bishop's palace in Waterford (which he later rebuilt), together with lands worth £40 a year. This was no more than an appetizer. He went on to sue for the abrogation of leases by which Cork held extensive lands, particularly the manors of Lismore and Ardmore: his legalistic point was that the leases had been granted by the bishop alone, without the approval of the deans and chapters of the cathedrals of Waterford and Lismore. It was a point which, if it had been established, would have invalidated almost every lease of episcopal land in the country. That would have made it an uncomfortably large precedent: nearly every influential member of the administration had leases which would become vulnerable. There was, therefore strong pressure for arbitration rather than legal process, and a deal was done (August 1637: Parsons and Bramhall): the land was divided, and Atherton received Ardmore manor (valued at £500 a year), and a capital sum of £500 to build an episcopal residence. That he was indeed a formidable opponent was quickly shown, for he then proceeded to attack the settlement itself from a totally different direction. New men were moved into the Lismore: first a treasurer, then the archdeacon and finally (in May 1640) the dean were replaced. Cork's influence (the dean had been his cousin) was broken, and each of the new men at once began legal action to recover the cathedral lands allotted to Cork in the arbitration settlement.

All of this was part of a long term plan, in which Atherton was Wentworth's agent. The same sort of thing, less dramatically, was going on in many dioceses. But Atherton was also an innovator, who devised a strategem which proved useful elsewhere. One of the church's problems was lay patronage:

that is, the right to nominate clergy to particular benefices belonged to laymen, whose choice the bishop was bound to accept, so that the church had only incomplete control over its own appointments. This was an absolute right, indeed a piece of private property which could be bought and sold, but it was held subject to one condition. It had to be exercised: if a living was left vacant, the right reverted to the bishop. Atherton's practice was simple. He persuaded clergy nominated by private individuals not to make formal application for institution. After the requisite interval, he filed a suit and secured a judgement that the patron had defaulted and that the right of presentation had therefore lapsed and reverted to the bishop.

In 1638, notwithstanding Mrs. Lenkey's mother in law, Wentworth pressed Atherton's claims for further preferment. An ideal opportunity had been created by the promotion of the bishop of Cork to the archdiocese of Tuam. Wentworth recommended Atherton in characteristic terms as 'a marvellous instrument to settle the bishopric of Cork, Cloyne and Ross by recovering at least £800 a year to those churches'. As it happened, Laud had his own candidate, William Chappell, Provost of T.C.D.: Wentworth deferred to his wishes, and Atherton remained in Waterford, not to reappear until Child's petition against him was presented to the Commons in June 1640.

There are a few things that can be fairly said about all this: that there is a strong probability that John Atherton was a man of doubtful moral character - but that does not necessarily suggest his guilt of the charges against him; it may simply explain why he was vulnerable to rigged charges: similarly, that Atherton was not merely a thorn in the flesh of the earl of Cork, and others, but part of a concerted state programme of recovering church property - a greedy man, certainly, but one whose rapacity was geared to the service of the government and church as well as to his own benefit. It may well be significant that the petition against him was received on the day on which ecclesiastical grievances were being discussed, for it connects with an interesting silence. The grievances expressed were concerned with matters of administration and ritual, with the recent insistence upon an unpopular conformity to the Articles adopted in 1634, and with the alleged injustices of the Court of High Commission. The recovery of church property could not be mentioned - but to most it was the prime grievance. The opportunity to discredit a leading proponent of that policy must have been attractive, and it is easy to see why a Commons with a working coalition majority of Catholics and non-conformists (all of them secular landowners) should have been receptive to Child's petition, particularly since his patron, Wentworth, had left Ireland. The timing alone suggests that the presentation of the petition was not coincidental: that the attack, in short, was managed. And the questions that arise - by whom? and why? - remain the same whether the charges were well founded or not.

Three centuries have thrown up two answers, the earl of Cork and the recorder of Waterford. The fact that the earl of Cork was out of Ireland throughout the entire relevant period need mean nothing: he had plenty of people who were willing to do his work for him. But the only small piece of evidence seems to point in the wrong direction. That evidence consists of an act of the Irish parliament, passed on 22 October, 1640, an act 'concerning the earl of Cork and John, Lord Bishop of Lismore' to give it its short title. In substance, it was a formal ratification of the arbitration settlement relating to Ardmore and Lismore in 1637, which had divided the property between the two. It has been presumed that the act was promoted by Cork to secure his share. In fact, his share had already been considerably reduced by a series of independent actions, and he can no longer have had much to gain from ratification. It seems more likely that the act was the government's means of ensuring that Atherton's disgrace would not prejudice the gains that he had made for the church. Moreover, one needs to preserve a sense of proportion: Lismore was actually one of the smaller losses sustained by the earl of Cork in the sixteen-thirties, and his special animus was directed against Wentworth. His day came on 12 May 1641, when he had the satisfaction of making a diary record of the execution of Wentworth for high treason 'as he well deserved'. In that episode, Cork had played his part.

The case against Piers Butler is very insubstantial. In fact, it rests solely on local rumour recorded seventy years after the event, for the allegedly corroboratory evidence of his embroilment in a property dispute with Atherton refers to the wrong property and the wrong man. The Piers Butler who contested Donaghmore with the bishop of Waterford was the son of Lord Cahir, not the recorder of the city, who was young (he entered Grey's Inn in London in 1635), and not particularly well connected. He was, moreover, a catholic: and Atherton emphatically assured Barnard that 'none of the Romish sect, though differing from me in points of religion, had a hand in this complaint against me'.

If the case against Butler is to be discounted, as it must be if one prefers Atherton's explicit statement to the gossip of later generations, and if the earl of Cork was, at the most, off-stage, then what are the possibilities? On a purely speculative level there seem to me to be two, not necessarily separate from one another, since one relates to the strategy while the other concerns timing and motive.

The first arises from the suggestive resemblance between the charges made against John Atherton and the charges which had been preferred nine years earlier against the earl of Castlehaven. The circumstances were very different: Castlehaven was alleged to have had sexual relations with a manservant (an Irishman, called Fitzpatrick), and with having forced his wife to have sexual relations with the same man: he was charged with sodomy and rape. And so also, it seems, on the explicit evidence of John Price and the implicit evidence of a contemporary letter, was Atherton. Of course, it may be simply a coincidence that the two celebrated scandalous cases of the period should have involved similarly double-barreled charges of bi-sexual offences, but it may equally be that the first was the model for the second. One naturally looks for connections. They are not necessary to the argument, because the Castlehaven case was notorious, but they do exist. In general, Castlehaven had Irish interests as a planter in County Tyrone. More directly, a rather sinister Queen's County adventurer called Sir Piers Crosby, who had been at the centre of a great deal of intrigue against Lord Deputy Wentworth in the 1630s, and who was mixed up with the parliamentary opposition in 1640, was married to the earl's widowed mother. Moreover, the most active parliamentary spokesman of the Northern opposition in the Irish commons, Sir Audley Mervyn, was the earl's nephew: indeed, he was named after him (Castlehaven had been Lord Audley at the time of Mervyn's birth). Of course, it need not follow that these men used the Castlehaven 'buggery and rape' formula to attack Atherton: but it is possible that their special knowledge came in useful.

The second line of thought is suggested by the very different problems encountered by another bishop, Archibald Adair, installed as bishop of Killalla in 1630. In 1639, there had arrived in his diocese a fellow Scot called Corbet, a minister who had published an unpopular pamphlet attacking the Scots covenanters who were then organizing against King Charles. Corbet had taken refuge in Ireland, gained Wentworth's goodwill, and brought a letter of recommendation with him to Mayo. Adair and Corbet had angry words: Corbet reported the bishop to Wentworth as a supporter of the Scots Covenanters, and he was arraigned before the Court of High Commission, where John Atherton was notably virulent against him. He was judged guilty and formally degraded from his episcopal status on 18 May 1640, exactly one month before the attack (or counter attack?) on John Atherton was publicly launched. His reinstatement was adopted as one of the sins of the parliamentary opposition, and almost exactly one year later the court's decision was revoked by the king and Adair was restored. But the Killalla vacancy had already been filled, so his new appointment was to the vacant bishopric of Waterford and Lismore. Adair's patron throughout his Irish career - the man who secured his initial appointment and presented the petition for his pardon and reinstatement to the king - was Sir Robert Stewart, a Tyrone based planter and an opposition member (for Londonderry) of the 1640 parliament. There may be some connection here.

As yet, there seems to be no way of deciding the point, just as there is no way of deciding whether John Atherton was innocent or guilty as charged, so that this file must remain forever open - so long, at least, as it depends on conventional sources of information. There is always the hope of a visit from Mrs. Leskey's mother in law, or perhaps, in Waterford, John Atherton himself.

(Professor Clarke feels that further information on Bishop Atherton may be available in Waterford and would like to add such information to his "file".
Do let us know of anything relevant - Ed.)

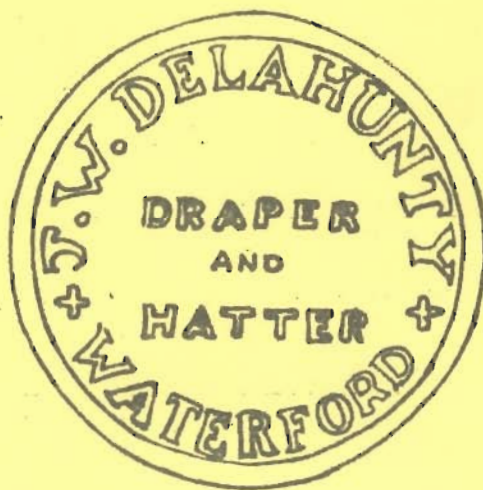
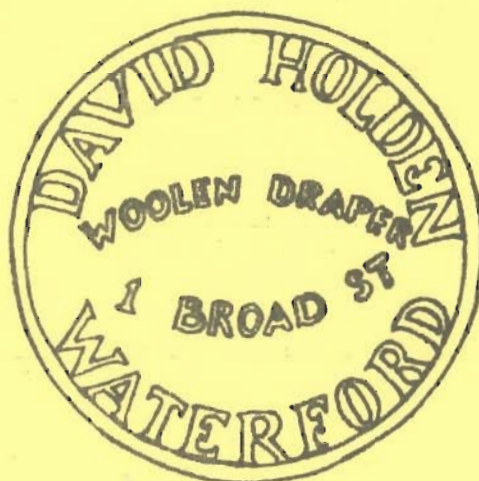
PUBLICATIONS OF LOCAL HISTORICAL INTEREST -
Waterford City Draft Development Plan, 1978.

While this Plan is not intended as an historical document its conclusions will be seen as significant for historians here. They will be cheered to read, "it is the policy of the Planning Authority to preserve and protect buildings, structures and features of historic, architectural, archaeological or artistic interest which contribute to the character of the city". Substantiating this is a list of sixty five items for preservation - walls, towers, bridges, public buildings, old churches and many other structures and features. Added to this is a further list of thirty one interior fixtures for preservation. This is a most interesting list, identifying good staircases, plasterwork, woodwork, fireplaces and other features in public buildings, shops, pubs and private houses.

A second category lists buildings and features for protection. These include thirty one "Good traditional shop fronts which will be protected and which should not be altered without prior planning permission". There is a further wide-ranging list of ninety one buildings and other structures, Victorian mainly, which are to be protected. Historians will be particularly pleased to note that Blackfriars is to be made accessible and that the Watch Tower is to be repaired and made available for suitable use.

Perhaps more significant than the preservation of individual features is the concept of "Conservation Areas" which, "require special care in dealing with development proposals which affect unlisted buildings". Such is "the triangular area of the Old Danish City Area with additional eighteenth century areas combined, i.e. The Mall, Parnell and Catherine Streets". Particularly mentioned for conservation is "the streetscape of medieval street patterns" in the medieval triangle.

This, therefore, is a most encouraging document. Implicit throughout is a concern that Waterford's past will be preserved, and not just in the shadow of transient twentieth century structures but as a focus and theme for future development. It is pointless now to bewail what is lost but we can be thankful for, and indeed proud of, the enlightened attitudes which this Plan gives expression to.



(from page 2)

1. Milling and Co., linen drapers, haberdashers and silk mercers' premises was at 4, Little Georges St..

2&3 It seems that Holden was succeeded at 1, Broad St., by J.W. Delahunty.

(These illustrations are by Mrs. Susanne Brophy)

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

PROGRAMME OF SUMMER ACTIVITIES 1979.

1979

- MAY 13th: Coach Trip to Burren. Leaving City Hall at 10 a.m.
Subscription £2.00

- MAY 20th: VISIT TO CARRICK-ON-SUIR-AND-SURROUNDINGS conducted by Dr. Patrick Power, Ballyneale. Departure from City Hall at 2.30 p.m. to assemble at Carrick Castle at 3 p.m.

- JUNE 10th: A TOUR OF THE BLACK ABBEY AND ROTHE HOUSE, KILKENNY
Leaving City Hall at 2.30 p.m. to arrive at Abbey at 3.15 p.m.

- JUNE 24th: VISIT TO THOMASTOWN, JERPOINT ABBEY AND GOWRAN
Assemble at Jerpoint at 3 p.m.

- JULY 8th: VISIT TO FERNS, ENNISCORTHY AND VINEGAR HILL.
Departure from City Hall at 2 p.m.

- AUG.12th: OUTING TO KELLS PRIORY AND KILREA.
Conducted by Rev. Dr. Empey.
Leave City Hall at 2.30 p.m. to arrive in Kells at 3.30 p.m.

- AUG.23rd EVENING TRIP TO TRAMORE
Assembly at Church Car Park, Holy Cross at 7.30.
Conducted by Mr. D. Cowman.

- SEPT.9th: AFTERNOON TOUR OF CITY OF WATERFORD with Mr. Frank Heylin.
Assemble at City Hall at 3 p.m.

- MID-SEPT.: Distribution of DECIES 12 to members.

- SEPT.21st: "IRISH COUNTRY HOUSES 1600 - 1800". A Lecture by Mr. Wm. Garner, M.A., H.Dip.Ed., Arch.History. In Teachers' Centre, 31 The Mall, Waterford.

The public are invited to come to these lectures and activities and join the Society. Alternatively, intending members may send £2.50 subscription for membership to the Hon. Treasurer:-

Mrs. R. Lunley, 28, Daisy Terrace, Waterford.

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