

DECIES

DECIES 12

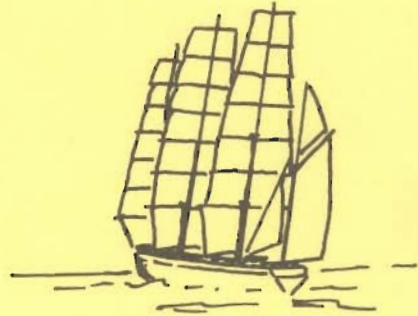
September, 1979

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Full Rigged Ship

Simplified Rigs



4-masted Barque



Brig



Schooner



small fishing lugger.



Cutter with spinnaker



Cutter



Sloop.

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

1. We wish to apologise to Mrs.L.Gallagher for not including her name in the list of Committee Members published in Decies 11. Mrs. Gallagher was of course elected to the Committee of the OWS for 1979-'80.
2. For the three 1979 issues of Decies we offer our thanks once again to Waterford Corporation for their help and encouragement, and in particular to Nancy Dunphy and Eileen Murphy whose goodwill seems boundless. For help with this issue we are also grateful to S.E.R.T.O.
3. We still need, however, the constructive criticism of the members of the OWS. We also urgently need people who are willing to help to prepare an index for Decies 1 - 14.
4. We shall shortly be losing Sr. Virginia, an initiator of Decies, one time Hon.Sec. of the OWS, and present Hon.Press Officer. She will be missed.
5. We intend to reproduce some of the illustrations on pages 26, 29, and 33 of the last issue as frontispieces to Decies 13. We apologise to Mr.Thomas Power that their poor reproduction had rendered them unsatisfactory in illustrating his article on Rev.D.A.Doudney's schools at Bunnahon.
6. Those whose 1979 subscriptions are still outstanding will find a "reminder" enclosed with this issue. Those without such an enclosure may assume that they are paid up for 1979. A full list of this year's members will appear in Decies 13.

PUBLICATIONS OF LOCAL HISTORICAL INTEREST

Fassadinin: Land Settlement and Society in South-East Ireland, 1600-1850
By William Nolan. Published 1979 by Geography Publications at £9.00 plus Vat.

Following his earlier book "Sources for Local Studies", Dr.Nolan now demonstrates how such sources can be used in his reconstruction of the past geography of the area around Castlecomer. He was fortunate in having at his disposal also the Prior-Wandesforde papers which helped to bridge many gaps in the 250 years studied.

The earlier chapters assess the rôle of Irish, Anglo-Irish and new-English in shaping settlement and society there in the 17th century. Through the 18th and early 19th centuries, Dr.Nolan traces the social and spatial ramifications of the estate system on Fassadinin. In assessing the importance of the "middleman" on the area he comes to the interesting conclusion that Castlecomer was a "middleman town". He also deals with the social impact of the development of the coal mines there as well as with the various other strata that went to form a highly complex society.

I have long maintained that the most relevant questions in history are now being asked - and answered - by geographers. Dr.Nolan, a geographer as well as being a member of the OWS, has in these well produced 259 pages supported my contention and illustrated it with 56 relevant maps and figures plus 13 plates. He is to be congratulated on his initiative in publishing this research which thus illustrates society, not only in Fassadinin but as a paradigm for the

entire South -- east. The book is available at some local bookshops, or direct from the publisher at 24, Kennington Road, Templeogue, Dublin.

A Walk around Ardmore, By Sioban Lincoln. Privately published, 1979.

The inner title page uses the title "A Walking Tour of Ardmore, Co. Waterford", but either way the invitation is the same - to join Mrs. Lincoln and the various members of her family who designed, researched and illustrated the booklet, around the ecclesiastical core of Ardmore. We are regaled in our tour by the observations, reminiscences and knowledge of the enthusiast.

It is most attractively produced with a useful map and short bibliography, the hand scripting adding much to its flavour. Its thirty pages contain a selection of delightful sketches and at 65p no visitor to Ardmore should be without it. It is available in shops there and from Bord Fáilte in Waterford. Mrs. Lincoln, a member of the OWS, is to be congratulated on her initiative in publishing this and it is very much to be hoped that at some time in the future every such locality in this region will have a similar inexpensive means of sharing in the insights of such local enthusiasts.

The Helen Blake, the last Fethard Life-boat, by John Doyle.
Privately published, 1979. Price £1.50

On Friday, 20th February, 1914 the Norwegian Schooner Mexico carrying a cargo of timber from South America to Liverpool was driven aground on the Keeragh Islands in Bannow Bay by a South-easterly gale. A life-boat was launched from the Mexico, but was swept away with two of the crew. These men managed to swim ashore.

The Fethard life-boat was launched but when nearing the Mexico was capsized by heavy seas and smashed on the island rocks. Nine of the crew were lost. A line was thrown from the stricken Schooner and made fast by one of the life-boat crew. This enabled the crew of the Mexico to come ashore on the island.

The Dunmore, Kilmore and Wexford life-boats together with a Wexford tug were unable to rescue the men marooned on the Island until the following Monday.

Using the records of the Royal Life-boat enthusiasts Society, contemporary newspaper reports, and memories of local people, Mr. Doyle has built a fascinating description of the tragedy. He illustrates it with photographs taken by Poole's of Waterford. All profits are to go to Life-boat funds.

MEDIAEVAL WATERFORD

A series covering different aspects of Waterford and hinterland in the later middle ages (1200 to 1500 approx).

The standard histories of Waterford tend to skim quickly over the period from the arrival of the Normans to the Warbeck episode over three hundred years later. This series is intended to help fill the lacuna. We open with Professor Lydon's analysis of the role of the city following the break-down of the "Pax Normannica" and continue with Mr. McEneaney's assessment of the trade of Waterford and New Ross towards the end of the "pax" as revealed in the trade dispute between them. In future articles we hope to deal with the administration of Waterford city and of the county, with one of the more exotic mediaeval religious orders, the Knights Templars, in the south-east, as well as with other aspects of the period.

1. THE CITY OF WATERFORD IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

By James Lydon

About forty years ago a British historian wrote that in the middle ages Waterford was next to Dublin the most important city in Ireland, "virtually a self-governing state of the continental type, electing its magistrates, declaring war and peace"¹ More recently another English historian, writing of the close connection between Waterford and the port of Bristol, enthused about the "harbour of the sun" and the "extensive quay of half a mile (where) no less than sixty vessels could anchor".² And to complete the catalogue, more recently still an Irish historian called it "virtually an independent Anglicised outpost" at the end of the 15th century.³ A 16th century map of the British Isles showed only four cities: London, Oxford, Edinburgh and Waterford.⁴ If this odd choice of cities is eccentric, it does demonstrate the importance of Waterford in some foreign eyes. In the lordship of Ireland she yielded place only to Dublin, a fact which is perhaps best illustrated by the Irish rolls of Parliament. From the time of the earliest roll to survive, the third statute of every Parliament formally confirmed the liberties and franchises of the three leading towns, Dublin, Waterford and Drogheda, and always in that order.⁵ There is no doubt, then, that in the later middle ages Waterford must be seen as a place of some importance and the second city in Ireland.

That the city itself shared this view of her importance is easily demonstrated. In March 1375 the Mayor and citizens told King Edward III - "if all your said land of Ireland should be gained by your enemies, which God forbid, it would be regained better and more quickly by your said city than by any other city throughout your said land of Ireland".⁶ It seems that the reason why this should be so, according to the Mayor, was that the city contained only "seven acres of land within the walls, like a little castle". We must therefore get our scale right in viewing mediaeval Waterford :

if it was the second city in Ireland, it was in truth a small place within its walls. Not only that, the same petition of 1375 depicts a situation so desperate that we are forced to conclude that the city was not only small, but poor as well. It told of "divers slaughters recently made by the enemies of those parts" - on one occasion the Mayor, Bailiffs, the Sheriff, Coroner and twenty six of the better men of the city, together with eighty loyal Englishmen from Coventry, Dartmouth, Bristol and other places were slaughtered: six weeks later another twenty four men of Waterford were slain; they were aggrieved because the country around was robbed, burned and destroyed right up to the walls; ships were taken at sea, so that now there were no ships or barges in the city where there used to be more than elsewhere in Ireland; they complained of their great costs in repairing the belfry of the Church of Blessed Trinity, which had been blown down by a tempest, to the great comfort of their enemies;⁷ that they had to pay for the repair of the ancient walls of the city, which had fallen through their weight; and also of the great costs which they bear in defending the King's rights and inheritance through litigation with the town of Ross, which had lasted long and was still pending before the King in the chancery of England - all of which had made them so poor that they cannot stay there any longer without royal aid.

It is not to be believed that the Mayor and his leading citizens were preparing to pull out of Waterford, or that the situation was quite as desperate as depicted in the petition. Irish towns in the later middle ages were more than adept at putting on the poor mouth when it suited them and on this occasion the Mayor was looking for a grant of the custom known as the coket for nine or ten years and the reduction of the annual farm of the city from 100 to 75 marks. It is noteworthy, too, that this was a time of great disturbance in Munster and that the government of the day, headed by William of Windsor, was not only proving singularly ineffective in restoring order (at least according to its critics), but was also attempting to raise money by means of taxation, to which Waterford, like other towns, would have to contribute.⁸ Nevertheless it can be shown that Waterford was in difficult, and even dangerous, circumstances at this time and that this condition was becoming normal for the city. The records of the central administration contain enough evidence to illustrate this fact and convey in vivid terms the real dangers and privations which the people of Waterford had to face. So as to convey an impression of reality I shall let the records speak for themselves and so as to keep the catalogue of distress short I shall present only a few examples from the late 14th and 15th centuries. But it should be emphasised that this is only a sample, that the process of deterioration had begun much earlier in the 14th century, and that the cumulative effect of the regular walls of distress is to make one wonder that the city survived at all.

A petition of 1388 addressed to the English council described the "arsons, homicides and thefts of the King's Irish enemies and English rebels and the invasions of other enemies of parts adjacent". As if that were not bad enough, the petition continued with complaints of "the capture of ships, barges and other vessels and the ransom of their men by the French and Spaniards" and finishes with a moan about the "intollerable expense incurred in repairing the walls and fortifications of the city".⁹ The reference to the French and Spaniards is interesting: one of the most frequent complaints as long as the Hundred Years War lasted was of the loss of ships and cargoes coming to and from Waterford. Whatever about the high profits which entrepreneurs could make, the risks were great. In 1430 another complaint was that "the city has been wasted by Irish enemies and English rebels and by armed Bretons, Scots and Spaniards coming by sea goods and chattels and shipping (have been) destroyed utterly".¹⁰ By 1442, we are told, the "city has fallen into such poverty as well through the robberies, destructions and oppressions done by the Irish enemies and English rebels, Scots, Bretons, Spaniards, as because of late certain Bretons took a balinger of Flanders coming with merchandise to the value of 4,000 marks to the said citizens... and their goods are daily wasted!"¹¹

In 1448 it was said "many rebels in the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford and Wexford, with an armed force of the King's Irish enemies and divers other nations, traitors, rebels, felons and fugitives of those countries, perpetrate invasions, slaughters, burnings, plunderings, robberies, captures, fines, ransoms, hangings and other intollerable misdeeds on the Mayor and commons and other lieges of the King there by land and water".¹² If this reads like an extract from one of the Irish annals, so that one is tempted to doubt it as a sober statement of fact, it at least produced an interesting result: permission was given to the city that "by the assent of the Mayor (it) may gather all persons whose estate or condition is suitable, to ride or go on foot as often as they will with standards displayed against the said rebels and all who favour, aid or victual them, and spoil, burn and slay the same". To march with standards displayed was in normal circumstances treason, and it is an indication of the crisis in Ireland, affecting towns like Waterford which could no longer rely on the royal standard to protect them, that the English government licensed what was in effect private warfare.^{12a} As a final example, it was reported in 1474 that "the city is impoverished for the past six years by ill success in trade and loss of goods of the citizens and the death and capture of divers merchants of the city and there is no law, justice or government around the city but murder, robbery and war by the Irish and rebel English, so that we can hardly keep the city or repair its walls and port".¹³

We perhaps need to be reminded that the city of Waterford was a community of people and that it was they, and not some abstraction like a Corporation or municipality, who suffered. Danger, even violent death, loss of property and privation was the lot of many of them. Starvation must have faced the inhabitants on occasions, a fact which was emphasised in 1450 when an Irish Parliament was told that both city and county were "destroyed and wasted as well by Irish enemies as by English rebels, by continual wars existing in the said city and county, by which the commons of the said city and county are sometimes desolated in default of corn, because the land cannot be tilled".¹⁴ Another parliament in 1474 was told the same thing: they "cannot sustain themselves with grain".¹⁵ The only answer, as Parliament recognised, was to allow grain to be imported. Licenses might be issued to individuals,¹⁶ or groups,¹⁷ to carry corn to the city; or the license might cover a wide area, as was the case in December 1344, when the general permission to bring victuals to Waterford covered the counties Wexford, Tipperary and Kilkenny.¹⁸ It might even mean that trade with the Irish had to be tolerated, an unpalatable fact which Parliament had to accept.¹⁹

If the situation was as bad as the weight of evidence already quoted would suggest, then it must also be admitted that Waterford herself was in some measure responsible for the disaster. The long and vexatious quarrel with New Ross, involving expensive litigation and interrupting trade when violence erupted, did not help.²⁰ The lawlessness and violence which the city claimed to be responsible for her straitened circumstances were sometimes exploited by the men of Waterford and sometimes even occasioned by them. In 1449 the Abbot of Dunbrody, the Cistercian abbey across the river in Wexford, was summoned to Parliament. But "for mistrust and danger of the ways" he refused to come in person and sent a proctor in his place. Later, however, he changed his mind and decided to risk the journey. "Peaceably reposing himself in his chamber the night before", we are told, a number of apostate monks and others from Wexford and Waterford, "with divers others unknown, with force and arms against the peace of our sovereign lord, entered the chamber of the said Abbot and there took him prisoner, and took the goods and chattels of the said Abbot out of the said Abbey, to the value of £40, and carried the said Abbot to Waterford, and there detain him prisoner with great duress".²¹ If the unfortunate Abbot would have been safer to have risked the dangers of the road to Parliament, and thus avoided the "great duress" of his imprisonment in Waterford, it was not the "intollerable hurt and prejudice of the said Abbot"

which alone distressed the government, nor even "the contempt and derogation of our sovereign lord and his Parliament", but rather that it would be "to the very bad example of others in time to come, if it shall not be remedied at this time". For all her complaints about others, Waterford does not seem to have been fussy about maintaining the King's peace and for all we know the Abbot of Dunbrody may have languished long in the city where it seems to have been possible for his captors to hold him unmolested. And when Waterford dignatories complained about pirates, they were tolerant of those who came from their own city. One of the more bizarre acts of piracy occurred in the Jubilee Year of St. James when a boat carrying 400 pilgrims home from Compostela was returning to New Ross and was attacked near Waterford by 800 "malefactors and pirates" in three ships of the port; the boat, the owner, the pilgrims and the cargo were all taken to Youghal.²² Nor did all the wailing about the depredations of Irish enemies and English rebels, and in particular the O'Driscolls and the Powers, prevent Waterford merchants from breaking the law through illicit trading with them. The pursuit of profit led some into the country of the O'Driscolls, bringing not only victuals but arms as well: in 1450 Parliament had to decree that "no manner of person of the parts of Wexford, Waterford, Youghal, Cork or Kinsale, or any other liege people" were to fish in his country, to trade with victual or arms, or to receive him in their town.²³

Trade with their hinterlands was the lifeblood of towns like Waterford in the later middle ages. In 1463 it was agreed in Parliament that "the profit of every market, city, and town in this land depends principally on the resort of Irish people bring^{ing} their merchandise to the said cities and towns".²⁴ This was one-way traffic: trade the other way was forbidden. But no amount of parliamentary legislation was going to prevent the merchants from selling goods, often imported at considerable cost, to the nearest buyer, even if he were technically an Irish enemy or English rebel. In its own municipal legislation Waterford provides plenty of evidence of such traffic, which it attempted to regulate. A decree of 1465 said that no one should "give, borrow nor sell bords, iron, pitch, rosin, mortar nor other things whereby a boat should be made, to any idle man of the counties of Wexford, Kilkenny, Tipperary and Waterford." And another decree of the same year banned the sale of "cloth, wine, iron, salt, weapon or armour, corn, victual" to any "during the time of their unkindness or war with the city."²⁵ In 1481 the sale, or even the lending, of crossbows, "gonnes small nor greate nether gonnepowder" to any person, Irish or English, living outside the city, was forbidden - though as the rider showed ("without licence of Maire and counsaile for tyme beyng") such traffic could be tolerated by the municipality.²⁶

The Dublin Government, of course, had long since forbidden trade with Irish enemies.²⁷ But occasionally it had to face realities and licensed trade. In 1463, for example, the Parliament lifted the ban on such trade, but only temporarily.²⁸ It was policy to control and regulate such traffic as part of the Government's determination to regulate relations generally with Irish enemies and English rebels. The principle of centralised control - the policy of "one war and one peace" - had been enunciated as far back as the 13th century and it had never been abandoned. In 1345, for example, Waterford was allowed to treat with and to make truces with the Powers and "to do all other things which were necessary for the good of the peace".²⁹ But in the later middle ages such attempts to maintain centralised control were no longer realistic: what had been practicable in the heyday of the lordship in the 13th century was in no way applicable to the circumstances of life in the later middle ages. For the gradual erosion of the settlement by what we call the "gaelic revival" and its associated developments among the English settlers which produced "rebel English", "degenerate English" and an ever diminishing number of "loyal English", meant that Waterford, like many other towns away from the environs of Dublin, became increasingly isolated. What was known in the graphic terminology of the late 13th century as the terra guerre (or land of war)

grew and the terra pacis (or land of peace) shrank. The frontier of one area expanded and the frontier of the other shrank. Around Dublin a Pale appeared and another around Waterford. But the picture, unfortunately for the historian who likes things neat, was not as simple as that. Frontiers were constantly shifting and marchlands, at least in the eastern part of the lordship, were everywhere.³⁰ Nevertheless, so far as Waterford was concerned, the gradual isolation and the approaching frontier of the land of war became facts of life in the 14th century. When Edward IV in 1462 confirmed all the Waterford Charters from 1205 onwards, in a great inspeximus which covers nearly six pages in the English calendar, he added his special grace and favour because of Waterford's position " on the frontier of our enemies and rebels".³¹ Beyond that frontier the King's writ hardly ran, the common law was yielding to march law or even to Brehon Law,³² and the authority of the Dublin Government and its local officials counted for less than that of the local mandarin, Irish or Anglo-Irish. Waterford had to put up with the situation as best it could and cope with the problems of isolation from Dublin. It provided a convenient stick with which to beat the government from time to time. In 1441, in describing how the Powers, "traitors and rebels to our lord the King", were causing havoc in the city and its hinterland because "from day to day (they) ride in the manner of war with banners displayed and rob, spoil and kill the King's liegemen of the said city of Waterford", the city complained that the real cause of all this was "that the lieutenant and governors of this land for the time being have not continually used to reside in the parts of Waterford; and in default of chastisement of the said traitors and rebels, according to the law of the King, the said city is for the greater part destroyed and laid waste".³³

This accusation of neglect by the government is not of immediate interest to us here; but the sense of isolation which it portrays is more to the point. It is easy enough to show that this isolation can be traced back into the 14th century. The methods which had been devised in the early days of the colony for keeping a check on the localities were gradually to become inappropriate in a lordship which was increasingly fragmented, where communication was dangerous and sometimes impossible, and where the force of the law sometimes failed to reach. Regular proffers at the exchequer, or accounting, or the return of writs, could hardly be hoped for as the authority of the central government began to weaken the further one moved from Dublin. Yet the system remain^{ed} unchanged and its officials, like conservative civil servants at all times, continued to play according to the rules as if the game were still the same. It was insisted, for example, that after election Mayors should present themselves in the exchequer in Dublin to take their oaths of office. But by 1331 the city of Waterford was requesting that the mayor might be allowed to take his oath there and not in Dublin "on account of the distance and the perils of the way".³⁴ From then on the privilege was confirmed at intervals. In 1400, too, the prior of St. Katherine's was authorised to take the oaths of the Mayor and constable of the staple, "seeing that by reason of the distance and because of the King's Irish enemies they may not without a costly power and peril of their life and property repair" to Dublin.³⁵ Thus was one of the most important checks on municipal authority removed. But even more significantly, the farm was no longer accounted for at the Dublin exchequer. In 1474 the excuse was that "the city of Waterford is sixty miles away from the City of Dublin and there is nothing but rebellion, murder, robbery and war around".³⁶ Yet another sign of the breakdown in relations between Waterford and the central government was the occasional failure of the city to return representatives to Parliament because of the same difficulties and dangers of communication.³⁷

This isolation can be vividly illustrated by one more example. The Drogheda parliament of 1450 was told that the town of Carrickmagriffin in Co. Tipperary was constantly in danger from English rebels: "in those last fourteen years the town was twice entirely burned" and "for the greatest part all the people taken prisoners, and afterwards a general pillage of them made four times, and all this was done by English rebels". It was agreed by Parliament that the town should be enclosed with new walls, "for all men that go from Waterford to Clonmel, Cashel or

Fethard, who can have no resting place or lodging in twenty miles of road except only in the said town of Carrick".³⁸ Travelling out of Waterford, then, you could only move in safety from one fortified place to another through hostile countryside which was in the control of Irish enemies or English rebels. Nor was passage by sea to be recommended so long as hostile French or Spaniards or Scots continued to be a scourge in the shipping lanes out of Waterford.

Anyone familiar with the history of the Irish lordship in the later middle ages will know that Waterford's position of isolation was typical of what was happening as the 13th century settlement collapsed. Early 14th century parliaments provide shrill evidence of the growing menace of idlemen, armies of kernes and satellites, protected by magnates and terrorising settled communities.³⁹ Occasional forays by chief governors with small armies did nothing to weaken the control exercised by the magnates in the localities or to bring succour to communities at the mercy of Irish enemies or English rebels. Not even the two great armies imported by Richard II at the end of the 14th century could restore the comparative peace and stability of what Orpen rather quaintly called the Pax Normanna.⁴⁰ As the tide of disorder flowed in the 14th century, Waterford and other towns survived as outposts on the frontier. Carlow, which had been made the virtual administrative centre of the lordship by Lionel of Clarence in the 1360's, had to be left to its own devices before the end of the 14th century.⁴¹ Trim, which in the great days of the lordship of Meath had been its caput, surrounded by the land of peace, found itself a frontier town by the 15th century as the land of war threatened to engulf it: when a Pale emerged around Dublin, Trim became one of its fortified outposts.⁴² Wherever one looks in the later middle ages, one sees the towns which manage to survive becoming isolated from each other, in stark contrast to the 13th century when some of them managed to combine in representative assemblies. Even Dublin was placed in a similar predicament by the growing menace of the Irish of Leinster, and in particular those of the mountains. By the early 14th century the Irish dominated much of the area to the south of the city and sometimes came right up to the walls.

Waterford, then, in the situation which we have described earlier was typical of what was happening in Ireland during two centuries of decline in English power. It demonstrates in microcosm the history of Anglo - Ireland. To judge by the evidence of the complaints already quoted it might almost be called a "riches to rags" story. For if Waterford had once before been a frontier town in the hectic days of the Anglo-Norman invasion (who will ever forget the story of Reginald Macgillemorey and the three great chains which he stretched across the river as a boom to prevent the fleet of Henry II from entering Waterford?)⁴³ with the expansion of the Leinster settlement Waterford grew and prospered and became the most important commercial centre in the south. The series of charters from early in the 13th century, the murage grants which are evidence not only of physical expansion but of commercial development as well, the accounts of the prise of wines and above all the accounts of the Great New Custom of 1275 - all bear testimony to the growth of Waterford in the 13th century. The development of mines near the city, with associated smelting, must have generated a good deal of capital.⁴⁴ The accounts of royal purveyors show that the city was an outlet for large quantities of grain and wine, drawing supplies of corn from the whole of south Leinster and east Munster. This evidence of prosperity shows that Waterford before the collapse of the 13th century settlement shared the prosperity which feudalism and the consequent growth in commerce brought to Ireland. That this evidence may be deceptive, however, and that economic decline may have begun in the early 14th century is suggested by some other facts. When the city was granted murage in 1310, it was to "repair the defects in the walls"⁴⁵. And the arrears in payment of the annual farm at the exchequer may also argue for decline at the end of Edward I's reign. In 1301 the arrears amounted to £436.10s.5d.; the city was able to pay off this sum in the same year, though it was still left

with other debts which came to more than £270.⁴⁶ By 1315, the farm was in arrears to the sum of £486.2s.0d. and if the city paid £422 to the exchequer it was still left owing £423.12s.2½d.

Nevertheless the weight of ^{the} evidence certainly confirms the picture of growth in prosperity in the 13th century. The question we should ask is does the later history of Waterford, the isolation, neglect and privation which we have already seen, mirror economic decline? In this connection it is instructive to look at the figures for the wool custom. I am aware that there are many pitfalls in using these figures and I would not be so foolish as to equate them with the actual exports of wool, fells or hides. Nevertheless we cannot ignore the pattern which they show. The very first account, covering nearly two years between 1275 and 1277, shows New Ross heading the list with £743 in revenues from the custom; Waterford next, and a good bit behind, with £440; Cork, just short of this with £400, followed by Dublin with only £219, Drogheda £133 and Wexford as low as £10.⁴⁸ Most of the wool, therefore, seems to have been exported through Ross, Waterford and Cork. The first two headed the list because the rivers which served them were the natural highways for transporting the wool from the rich manors of Leinster and because they were well placed for serving Flanders, where the demand for Irish wool was growing. The last account to have survived on the Irish pipe rolls covers nearly three years between 1342 and 1345. Now Cork led with £247, with Dublin and Drogheda close behind with £219 each, Waterford next with £177, followed by Ross which had sunk to £121. However these figures are to be explained, they do show a startling decline in exports and an equally startling shift in the balance of trade to the ports on the East coast. At the very least they make us receptive to the idea that Waterford entered a period of decline in the 14th century which is in line with the general picture revealed by other sources. I said earlier that 13th century murage grants provide evidence of expansion since they were intended for the building of new walls. It can be left to the archaeologist to confirm if the money was actually spent by the municipal authorities on new structures. But in the 14th century the situation was reversed: grants were not intended for enclosing an expanding city, but for preserving old walls. From 1310 onwards there is plenty of evidence for this. Waterford seems to be heading for the position of 1375, when the Mayor could compare it to a little castle, enclosing only seven acres. It is notable, too, that many of the petitions of the kind quoted earlier mention that the same walls are in decay and that the city cannot afford to keep them in repair. When the English government in 1430 granted £30 a year to be expended "on the repair and defence of the town", it was said that "the ditches, walls, towers, gates and portcullises are so old and ruinous in many places as to be all but fallen to the ground".⁴⁹ Again, if we take such evidence at its face value, we must conclude that the economy of the city had declined since the great days of the 13th century. A cynic might suggest that for all the complaints and the reported attacks by Powers, O'Driscolls and other natural enemies of the city, a truer picture is presented by the evidence of collusion between Waterford and these supposed enemies, so that city walls had become an expensive and perhaps even unnecessary luxury. The siege of Waterford in 1495 during the height of the Warbeck conspiracy shows that the walls must have been in a fair state by then: not only did the city manage to hold out, she helped (with the aid of artillery) to defeat the enemy.⁵⁰ So Waterford remained urbs intacta, justified her position as a frontier town, and earned the gratitude of Henry VII who sent, he said, "our right hearty thanks, as we have singular cause to do so".⁵¹ It is impossible to resist quoting here the unknown rhymist shortly afterwards celebrated the glories of Waterford in verse:

Henry the Valiant, famous of memorye,
Well did he know by true experyence,
Thy great fydelytie in tyme of victorye,
When Lambert was crowned by false advertence,
And Perkin, allso, with no lesse reverens,
Then only of this land thow were empresse -
Quia tu semper intacta manes. ⁵²

Justifiable local pride and poetic licence can excuse the distortion of history in having Perkin Warbeck crowned. But what of Waterford as the empress of Ireland? It has been said in the past that the existence of a royal mint in the city in the 15th century is an indication of the special status which the city enjoyed. But the famous grant of 1463, which allowed coins to be struck in Réginald's Tower, was unambiguous about the reason: "the mayor, bailiffs and commons are from day to day and oftentimes embarrassed from want of coins".⁵³ The fact that Trim was also given a mint, and for the same reason, only reinforces the conclusion that Waterford's isolation was causing economic problems to the city.

On balance, then, the weight of evidence seems to favour the view that Waterford city, while retaining its place as the second city in the mediaeval lordship of Ireland, suffered a decline in the later middle ages which mirrors that of the English settlement as a whole. But there are features which might make one suspicious of this rather simple view of rise and fall. I have argued elsewhere that in the lordship as a whole the evidence of complaints of poverty, neglect and privation, such as those Waterford ones which we have examined, are highly misleading. New secular and ecclesiastical building suggests that the 15th century witnessed a remarkable recovery from the economic regression of the 14th century.⁵⁴ Isolated trade records, such as those of Bristol and Chester, certainly do not indicate flagging commerce in the traditional Irish exports and imports.⁵⁵ Perhaps the most remarkable evidence of this kind comes from Italy where large numbers of hides were imported from Ireland.⁵⁶ The trouble is that in the 15th century we have little of the kind of record evidence so abundantly available for the late 13th and 14th centuries, and so we are too inclined to take at their face value the petitions and complaints which went to the King or the Irish council or Parliament from communities or individuals. And yet the student of political history knows that in the 15th century a new stability, based largely on the network of lordships which covered the island, provided the environment for economic growth. It has recently been shown that in the late 15th and early 16th centuries the royal administration was more active in a larger part of Ireland than has heretofore been suspected.⁵⁷ In the light of all this, is there local Waterford evidence which might justify suspicion that the city was in fact more prosperous than the evidence we have already examined seems to suggest? Is there evidence of growth? Here we must wait for the archaeologist to come up with material evidence. But merely to read through the register of the chantry of Saint Saviour is to get an impression of growth and vigour.⁵⁸ The fact that Dean Collyn should have founded a chantry at all is a sign of life. Even the creation of a hostel ("the Goddes men hous") demonstrates the kind of bourgeois welfare which denotes commercial prosperity.⁵⁹ The decision of 1481, recorded in the register, that henceforth on the first Monday after the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in each year, the day set aside for the annual election of municipal officers, mass of the Holy Spirit should be celebrated in St. Saviour's chapel immediately preceding the elections in the Guildhall, also suggests continued development of municipal institutions.⁶⁰ As for new buildings, when James Rice decided to endow a chapel, he set the labourers to dig the foundations on 26th March 1481, laid the foundation stone three days later, and saw the Bishop of Ossory consecrate the finished building to St. James and St. Katherine one year and nine months later.⁶¹ That this James Rice was wealthy is clear and from this register alone it is easy to show that he possessed considerable property in the city.⁶² When he helped Dean Collyn to build a chapel in Holy Trinity Church, he provided as an endowment six messuages, three shops, two gardens and quarter of another garden, rents worth 33s/4d per annum, and other property which unfortunately cannot now be identified.⁶³ Another benefactor was William Lyncoll who gave four shops, two messuages, and a line kiln with a vacant plot on the Quay - clearly he too was a man of much property if he could afford to give away so much.⁶⁴ The inventory attached to the will of Dean Collyn shows him possessed of money, goods and property, which also made him a rich man.⁶⁵ We have no way of knowing, of course, how typical these men were of Waterford's men of substance, though no doubt local research

would let us know ; but they do suggest that the city was prosperous enough to provide lavish endowment in one admittedly small case. Put another way, it does not square with the picture of poverty and decay which the other evidence revealed. It suggests vigour and growth, not decay.

The same can be said about one other important piece of evidence. The lucky survival of municipal records from the later middle ages presents a picture of a self-assured oligarchy conducting the affairs of a city which is thriving and prosperous.⁶⁶ It provides the evidence which led Agnes Conway to the conclusion (quoted at the outset) that Waterford was "virtually a self-governing state of the continental type". If this is an exaggeration, it is understandable when viewed in the context of the part played by the city during the stormy early years of the new Tudor dynasty in England and the obvious reliance of Henry VII on the continued loyalty of the city.

The conclusion we must come to, then, is that the complaints of the city of Waterford in the later middle ages must be treated with caution. If they do illustrate in the 14th century the growing isolation of Waterford in a land which had become increasingly a land of war, and by a sea which the Hundred Years War had turned into a battlefield of sorts, then they conceal the fact that in the 15th century at least Waterford, like so much of Ireland, learned not only to live with the new situation which followed the collapse of the 13th century English settlement, but also to cash in on the new (if risky) opportunities which this offered to the enterprising entrepreneur.

R E F E R E N C E S

I have used the following abbreviations:

C.C.R (Calendar of Clors Rolls).

CFR (Calendar of Fine Rolls).

C.P.R. (Calendar of Patent Rolls).

D.K.Rept. (Reports of the deputy keeper of Public Records of Ireland).

Rot.Pat.Hib (Rotulorum Patentium et Clausurarum Cancellarie Hibernie Calendarium).

Stats.John-Hen.V: (H.F. Berry, Ed., Statutes and Ordinances and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland, King John to Henry V).

Stats.Hen.V: (H.F. Berry, Ed., Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland, Henry V¹).

Stats.Ed.IV i: (H.F. Berry, Ed., Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland: 1 - 12 Edward IV).

Stats.Ed.IV, ii: (J.F. Morrissey, Ed., Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland: 12 - 22 Edward IV)

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1. Agnes Conway, Henry VII's relations with Scotland and Ireland, p.85
 2. E.M. Carus-Wilson, Medieval Merchant Venturers, p.14 . This is taken from Alice Stopford Green, The Making of Ireland and its Undoing, 1200-1600, p.26 , which in turn is an unacknowledged quotation from Charles Smith - The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford, p.195, where he was writing of conditions in his own time, 1774 ! .
 3. D.B. Quinn, Henry VIII and Ireland, 1509-'34, Irish Historical Studies, xiii (1961), p.319
 4. Conway, op.cit., p.85, n.1.
 5. Stats.Hen.VI, p.113. See also pp.166 (1449), 181 (1450), 292 (1451 -'52), 301 (1455), 439 (1456), 497 (1458), 639 (1460).

6. The original petition (Public Record Office London, C47/10/23, No.26), is printed by G. Mac Niocail, Na Buirgeisi, ii, 469, n.75. It is calendared, with the resulting instructions from the King, in C.P.R. 1374-'77, p.145. See also C.F.R. 1369-'77, pp. 344, 346
7. In 1442 the King was told that the Church of Holy Trinity "has been spoiled by Irish enemies and English rebels, so that the dean and chapter have no livelihood and cannot sustain divine service there without aid" - C.P.R. 1441-'46, p. 51 .
8. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, A History of Medieval Ireland, pp. 301-5. For William of Windsor's efforts to raise subsidies see J.F. Lydon, "William of Windsor and the Irish Parliament", English Historical Review, LXXX (1963), pp. 158 - 167
9. C.P.R. 1385 -'89, p.492. See also C.P.R. 1388-'92, p.314
10. C.P.R. 1429-'36, p.68
11. C.P.R. 1441-'46, p.58. On this occasion there was the ominous revelation that "many citizens have left and daily leave the city".
12. C.P.R. 1446-'52, p.132
- 12a. The citizens had already claimed in the Trin Parliament of 1447 the right to "ride upon" their enemies "with banners displayed" - Stats Hen.VI, p.83.
13. C.P.R. 1467 - '77, p.459
14. Stats.Hen.VI, pp. 237-9
15. Stats.Ed. IV, ii, p.383
16. Rot.Pat.Hib., p.97 No.229
17. Stats.Hen.VI, pp.171,239; Stats.Ed. IV, ii, p.383
18. C.C.R. 1374-'77, p.111
19. Stats.Ed. IV, i, p.139. For Statute forbidding trade with the Irish in 1433 see Stats.Hen.VI, p.43
20. The best short account of the quarrel is Mac Niocail, Na Buirgeisi, ii, 456-'67
21. Stats.Hen.VI, pp.129-131
22. C.P.R. 1476-'85, pp. 78-9; full Latin text in Mac Niocail, op.cit, ii, 533, n.88
23. Stats.Hen.VI, pp.191-3
24. Stats. Ed. IV, i, p.139
25. J.T. Gilbert's report on the Waterford records in Historical Manuscripts Commission, Tenth Report, Appendix, Part V, (1885), p.302.
26. Ibid. p.315
27. Stats. John-Hen.V, pp.365 (1344) and 499 (the more drastic statute of 1394).
28. Stats.Ed. IV, i, p.139
29. Rot.Pat.Hib., p.49, No.64
30. For a general view of this development see J.F. Lydon, "The Problem of the frontier in Medieval Ireland", Topic : 13, (1967), pp. 7-22.
31. Cal: Charter Rolls 1427-1516, pp.171-5. The full Latin text is in Mac Niocail, op.cit., i, p.271-93.
32. In 1476 Waterford complained in Parliament that "in all the neighbouring counties about the said city there are no lords, gentlemen or commons arrayed in English habit nor brought under any faithful obedience to the King our sovereign lord nor ruled or governed by any of his laws but solely by that evil and damnable law called brehon law" - Stats.Ed. IV, ii, p.561.
33. Stats.Hen.VI, pp.83-5 .
34. C.P.R. 1330-34, p.43
35. C.C.R. 1399 - 1402, pp.74-5; C.P.R. 1399 - 1401, p.248
36. C.P.R. 1467 -'77, p.466
37. See, for example, Stats.Ed. IV, ii, p.729
38. Stats.Hen.VI, pp.243-5
39. For a good example see Stats. John-Hen.V, pp.263 ff (Parliament of 1310). For a general comment see M.V. Clarke, "Irish Parliaments of Edward II" in her Fourteenth Century Studies, pp. 1 - 35.
40. G.H. Orpen, Ireland under the Normans, iv, p.263.
41. In 1394 Richard II moved the bench and the exchequer back to Dublin - Rot. Pat. Hib., p.154, No.54.

42. By 1495, when Poynings held his famous Parliament at Drogheda, Trim was numbered among the "chief castles" of Ireland - Agnes Conway, op.cit., p.125
43. Cal. Justiciary Rolls, 1308-'14, pp.186-7
44. Pipe Roll 25 Edward I in D.K. Rept. 38, p.33
45. Rot.Pat.Hib., p.18, n.133 .
46. Pipe Roll 29 Edward I in D.K.Rept. 38, p.58
47. Pipe Roll 8 Edward II in D.K.Rept. 39, p.57
48. The figures are conveniently listed by Mac Niocaill, Na Buirgeisi, ll. 523 - 8.
49. C.P.R. 1429-'36, p.68. The grant was continued in 1442 - C.C.R. 1441-7, p.22
50. For a brief description of the siege see James Gairdner, History of the life and reign of King Richard III, pp.320-4
51. Smith, Waterford, p.125 .
52. Thomas Crofton Croker, Popular Songs of Ireland (1886), p.318 . Long before this Edward IV had called Waterford "one of our chambers (camera) of our land of Ireland annexed to our Crown" - Mac Niocaill, Na Buirgeisi, i. 286
53. Stats. Ed. IV, i. 131
54. J.F.Iydon, The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages, p.242.
55. See, for example, E.M.Carus-Wilson, op.cit., pp.13-28. A Waterford petition of 1477 made the point that "Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Portuguese, Bretons and Flemings (were) resorting to the city for trade and merchandise" - Stats.Ed.IV, ii. 559-61.
56. See the table of hide imports into Pisa in M.E.Mallett, "Anglo-Florentine Commercial Relations, 1465-1491", Economic History Review, Second series, XV (1962), p.265 .
57. This is one of the important conclusions of Steven Ellis in his unpublished Q.U.B. Ph.D. thesis (1978), "The administration of the lordship of Ireland under the early Tudors".
58. G.Mac Niocaill, "Registrum Cantariae S. Salvatoris Waterfordensis", Analecta Hibernica, xxiii (1964), pp. 137-222.
59. The statutes of the house are printed in ibid., no.94. The inmates had to pay for their keep, as it were, by prayers: ".... one of the sayde goddes pepill everi night exhort and make all the goddes pepill of the sayde house to arise and sytt in ther beddes thryes everi night, twys at VIII of the clokk, the secon tyme att XII of the clokk and the thyrdd tyme att the first peell of matyns, saying on this wise: arisith in Goddes naam and prayth to Godd for all that ye owyth to pray for", and then follows a list of benefactors for whom prayers are to be recited, including the "nair and haylifs and all the commons of this cite, for ther wyves and ther children that Godd kepe them and cite fro the power of ther enemys gostli and bodili".
60. Ibid., No.3 . See also Gilbert, Waterford records, p.315 .
61. Ibid., No. 87.
62. The remarkable monument which marks his final resting place shows plainly that he was a man of substance: see E.C.Rae, "The Rice Monument in Waterford Cathedral", Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 69, C.I. (1970).
63. Mac Niocaill, Na Buirgeisi, ii., 484 .
64. Mac Niocaill, "Registrum Cantariae S. Salvatoris", Nos. 55-7, 72-3 .
65. He also possessed a noteworthy library, including a "roll of the chronicles of England" - ibid., p.149 .
66. Just how lucky the survival of the existing municipal records is can be seen from the statement in 1812 in reply to inquiries concerning records in Waterford: "when the old Exchange at Waterford was pulled down about forty years since, the mayor ordered several cart loads of very old manuscripts to be thrown in a heap in the street and burned as useless lumber" ! - M.Clarke, Medieval Representation and Consent, p.73, n.2

(11). WATERFORD AND NEW ROSS TRADE COMPETITION, c.1300

by Eamonn McEneaney.

Background of Royal Favour:

By the time of the accession of Edward I in 1272, two ports towns were in competition for the valuable trade of the Suir, Nore and Barrow hinterlands, Waterford had long been the established port town and its charter from King John gave it royal status.¹ New Ross, however, was a comparatively new foundation, its walls not being built until 1265.² Both enjoyed equal geographical advantage but the vigorous merchants of New Ross seemed set to take the bulk of the trade.

This rivalry had manifest itself in the early years of the 13th century. On 3rd July 1215 King John granted to Waterford a monopoly on all shipping entering the harbour.³ The first mention of opposition by New Ross came a few weeks later on the 20th August when John ordered that ships should land at New Ross provided no injury should thereby result to the city of Waterford.⁴ The reason behind this change in emphasis by King John lies in the fact that William Marshal, Lord of New Ross, petitioned the King to allow ships to go freely to his port. (It is ironic that William Marshal had acted as witness to Waterford's Charter containing the exclusive privilege which worked against his port of New Ross⁵). Despite the fact that William was one of John's most faithful friends in a time when the King was much in need of friendship and support, the king nevertheless refused to revoke completely the special privileges granted to Waterford.⁶

The 1215 mandate from John authorising ships to go to New Ross implied that an enquiry was to be held to determine the effect this was going to have on the King's port of Waterford. It is unlikely that an enquiry ever took place or that complaints from the people of Waterford, if they were forthcoming, were listened to while the Marshal was alive. For in January of 1219 the King's justiciar of Ireland (i.e. his representative here), was ordered to allow ships to ply through the lands of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, by then the guardian of the young Henry III. The influential position held by W. Marshal in the English government possibly helped to postpone the day when an enquiry would be held. William Marshal died in May 1219⁷, and in August of that year the justiciar of Ireland was ordered to prolong from Michaelmas to the ensuing feast of All Saints (1st Nov.) the term which was granted to his successor for ships to touch at New Ross.⁸ The extension was given so that it might be ascertained whether or not ships could touch at New Ross without hindrance to Waterford. Clearly the death of William Marshal had paved the way for an enquiry and once the process was set in motion it was not long before a decision was reached. On the seventh of November, only six days after the extension granted to the new Earl had expired, the King ordered "that ships shall as they used to, diverge at the port of Waterford".¹⁰ The reason given was because the city of Waterford would be injured if ships with merchandise were allowed to touch at New Ross.

The next reference to the dispute between the two towns comes in 1222 when the justiciar was ordered not to permit any ships with merchandise to touch at the port of Ross apart from those that were wont to touch therein the time of King John before the war between him and his English barons.¹¹ Unfortunately the nature of the ships which touched at New Ross before the barons war is not specified. Finally in 1227¹² what seems to have been the policy adopted by the Kings of England for the rest of the middle ages came into force.¹³ William Marshall (son of William Marshall above), was granted a licence so

that his ships with merchandise could freely go to his port of New Ross, remain there and depart while other ships from Ireland and foreign parts would ply at Waterford. Again in 1230¹⁴ and in 1236¹⁵ the King sent writs to the Irish justiciar ordering that all ships except those from the Earl's land shall touch at Waterford and not at New Ross. The 1236 writ stated that those going to New Ross or the Island¹⁶ contrary to the King's command did so under pain of forfeiture. This continued to be the punishment inflicted on those who did not comply with the regulations at least until the end of Edward's reign.

For thirty years between 1236 and 1266 the sources are silent concerning the dispute between the two towns. However, this does not imply that the residents of both towns were living in peace/^{ful}coexistence, as the complaints which emerged in 1266 uncover an explosive situation.¹⁷ In that year the citizens of Waterford sent a deputation to England to complain to the King about the malpractices of the burgesses of New Ross. The complaint was a serious one - not only were ships bypassing Waterford, but the men of New Ross were, by force of arms, diverting trade to their own town. An enquiry which was held in Waterford on the sixth of December 1266 was the outcome of this complaint.¹⁸ This enquiry revealed that some forty ships had been arrested by the men of New Ross and forced to land at that port to the detriment of the King and the city of Waterford. It was probably as a result of this enquiry that, in 1267, the Lord Edward issued a general proclamation to all merchants and masters of ships who were not of the lands of William Marshal's heirs and who came to Ireland with merchandise, warning that those who bypassed Waterford in favour of New Ross or the Island could have their merchandise forfeit to the King.¹⁹

New Ross Disputes Waterford's Trading Monopoly:

Edward the first reigned from 1272 to 1307 and under him medieval administration may be said to have reached a high point. Within three years of his accession he had taken steps to ensure that "his" city, Waterford, would not suffer by competing with New Ross for the lucrative wine trade, and that previous proclamations be upheld. In 1275 the sherriff of Dublin was given official sanction to enter the Liberty of Carlow (in which New Ross then stood - see note on Sources 24 & 25 below), to go to the town of New Ross and take, as forfeit to the King, all ships with their wares and merchandise which had landed there contrary to the king's lawful inhibition.²⁰ The 1267 prohibition was re-issued in 1277²¹ and again in 1291²². In April of 1292 a ship called the "Alice of Harwich" carrying 137 hogheads of wine was arrested at New Ross by the sheriff of Dublin on the grounds that it had bypassed Waterford contrary to the King's inhibition.²³ It was probably as a result of this event that the burgesses of New Ross set about getting support for an enquiry which was held in November of 1292 concerning Waterford's monopoly.

Three great English magnates became involved on the side of New Ross in this dispute - Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England.²⁴ The involvement of de Clare and de Valence appears to have been the result of letters sent to them by the burgesses of New Ross, requesting them to petition the King concerning the monopoly held by Waterford. The letters addressed to these magnates show how anxious the burgesses of New Ross were to gain support for their cause, for neither de Clare nor de Valence had any jurisdiction over the town.²⁵ The only association they had with the area was that they, together with the lord of New Ross, Roger Bigod, were the major landholders in what was the liberty of Leinster before its partition among co-heiresses in 1247.²⁶ The burgesses of New Ross were seeking the support of these magnates on the grounds that any injury to New Ross would affect the rights of the old Liberty of Leinster, part of which

they held. In their letter to de Clare the burgesses claimed that the Liberty of Leinster was much injured because the King had forbidden ships to come to New Ross unless they or their goods were of that town or of the Liberty.²⁷ In their letter to William de Valence they claimed that the rights recently acquired by Waterford damaged his franchise of Wexford.²⁸ Clearly every effort was being made to muster up as much support as possible for their case. Although no record or letter from the Burgesses to their lord, Roger Bigod, survives, they did in all probability send a letter to him requesting that he petition the King on their behalf. The inquisition which was held in Dublin in November of 1292 investigated whether or not the King should grant to Roger Bigod permission for merchants and others with ships and merchandise to touch at the Earl's vill of New Ross.²⁹ The findings of this inquisition were in favour of Waterford retaining its monopoly. Despite the fact that the burgesses of New Ross had the support of three of the most important magnates in England, the King still remained steadfast in his support for Waterford.

During this inquisition it was claimed that the city of Waterford had not received its monopoly rights until the time when Robert de Ufford was justiciar (i.e. 1267-70 or 1276-81), thus ignoring Waterford's claim to a charter from King John.³⁰ Equally strange was the statement in the petition of 1302 whereby Roger Bigod again asked that ships should be allowed to land at New Ross without hindrance,³¹ as on this occasion it was claimed that Stephen Fulbourn³² was the instigator of Waterford's monopoly rights. When the inquisition relating to this petition was held in Waterford in 1302-3, the jury claimed that Stephen was the man from whom the city of Waterford received its monopoly on trade. Another strange feature of this enquiry was that the jury claimed, for the first time, that the loss incurred to Waterford by allowing all manner of ships to go to New Ross would, in fact, be counter-acted by the gain to the King and the town of New Ross. This was qualified by the provision that customs and prisage would be paid, the implementation of which was acceptable to the Earl. The reliability of those who gave evidence at the inquisition must be questioned, for they, like the Earl, claimed that Stephen Fulbourn was the man responsible for placing New Ross in a disadvantaged position. Among those who gave evidence the presence of two men called le Poer suggests that those called to testify at the inquisition were from the county of Waterford and, in all probability, cared little for the welfare of the city. Indeed it is not beyond the realms of credulity that those who gave evidence were in fact bribed. When we consider what was at stake, any money spent by either the burgesses of New Ross or the Earl could have paid handsome dividends if the findings of the inquisition were favourable towards New Ross. Despite the fact that the inquisition favoured New Ross the King did not pay much heed to its findings. Although the decision of the king concerning the inquisition of 1302-3 has not survived, it is clear that there was no change of policy, for the monopoly rights of Waterford were still a live issue in 1339 when the next major enquiry was held.³³

Effectiveness of Waterford's Monopoly :

The question which must now be answered is how effective were the restrictions placed on New Ross during Edward's reign. G.H.Orpen claims that the constant repetition of the orders forbidding certain ships from landing at New Ross shows how successfully the King's orders were evaded.³⁴ This interpretation of events is not acceptable. The advantage to be gained by ships going to New Ross is that they were free from the levy of certain customs and prisage which were collected from imports in the king's port of Waterford. It should be noted that the rate at which these duties were levied was not very great.³⁵ Those who stood to profit most from ships going to New Ross were the burgesses of that town and not the shipowners or traders. The 1266 inquisition proves this, pointing out that forty ships were brought by force of arms to New Ross. Clearly the men of New Ross had more to gain from

ships calling at their port that the unfortunate masters and merchants who were forced to go there. ³⁶

One cannot deny that the orders preventing the bypassing of Waterford were reissued but it would be an exaggeration to claim that this was a constant occurrence. Our sources provide us with only two occasions during Edward's reign on which the order was reissued - 1277³⁷ and 1291³⁸. On the other hand, if the restriction was too easily side-stepped how does one account for the two petitions made by the lords of New Ross to King Edward to allow shipping to go freely to New Ross? The petitions of 1292³⁹ and 1302⁴⁰ show that the restriction on shipping going to New Ross was in fact effective. if this were not the case why were the lord and burgesses of New Ross so anxious to end Waterford's monopoly?

Despite the geography of the harbour which made the bypassing of the port of Waterford a relatively easy task, I would nevertheless suggest that evasion of the regulations was not practised to any great extent. I feel sure that, had evasion been a common occurrence, the King would have come to some arrangement concerning the collection of the prise of wine and other duties, especially when the lords of New Ross seem to have been willing to accommodate him.⁴¹ The number of ships bypassing the port of Waterford must also have been reduced by virtue of the fact that if they were apprehended entering New Ross, their goods could be forfeit to the king. Our sources tell us of three occasions when positive attempts were made to arrest ships which had bypassed Waterford contrary to the King's orders.⁴² I would suggest that the risks involved in going to New Ross were so great and the ultimate profits so small, that most merchants and ship masters were discouraged from breaking the regulations. Clearly it would be unwise to suggest that evasion of the regulations did not take place, however it would be totally unfounded to state that the prohibition had little or no effect. Generally speaking, it seems that the King maintained and enforced the monopoly rights of Waterford, thus helping the city to maintain its position as the greatest importer of wine in the colony.

TABLE, showing custom collected on wool,woolfells and hides exported from New Ross and Waterford between 1275 and 1322. (From G.MacNiocaill,op.cit. in Sources, p.527-528. These may not be a complete record of exports due to the prevalence of smuggling).

| <u>Custom Collected</u> | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| between | and | From New Ross | From Waterford |
| 4/ 5 /1275 | 11/ 4/1277 | £743. 17. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ | £440. 9. 11 |
| 16/ 4/ 1277 | 29/ 9/1278 | £771. 0. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ | £592. 13. 4 |
| 29/ 9/ 1278 | 13/10/1279 | £564. 4. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ | £388. 8. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 29/ 9/ 1280 | 3/4 /1282* | £460 7. 11. | £454. 11. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 5/ 4/ 1282 | 15/10/1282* | £420. 9. 5 | £238. 6. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 1/11/ 1286 | 1/11/1287 | £361. 17. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ | £314. 0. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 1/11/ 1287 | 1/11/1288 | £451. 13. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ | £363. 15. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 1/11/ 1289 | 1/11/1290 | £493. 6. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ | £434. 2. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 1/11/ 1291 | 1/11/1291 | £369. 12. 2 | £426. 10. 7 |
| 1/11/ 1292 | 1/11/1293 | £259. 1. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ | £226. 4. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 1/11/ 1293 | 1/11/1294 | £ 89. 0. 8 | £ 86. 11. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 20/5/ 1297 | 1/11/1297 | £289. 13. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ | £600. 10. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 1/11/ 1297 | 7/ 6/1299 | £126. 4. 1 | £142. 18. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 21/ 5/ 1301 | 10/ 6/1302 | £189. 2. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ | £194. 10. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 10/ 6/ 1302 | 26/ 5/1303 | £120. 6. 8 | £127. 16. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 26/ 5/ 1303 | 30/11/1303 | £167. 17. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ | £ 18. 15. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 1/ 2/ 1311 | 29/10/1312 | £333. 19. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ | £227. 12. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 12/10/1320 | 12/10/1322 | £141. 4. 4 | £147. 19. 1 |

(* Approx.)

Competition for Exports:

The New Ross/Waterford dispute was concerned only with imports at official level, as Waterford's monopoly did not extend to goods leaving the harbour. The question we must now answer is to what extent did New Ross impinge upon Waterford's export trade. If we base our judgement of the colony's export trade on the customs receipt for wool, woolfells and hides we will note that between 1275 and 1292 New Ross was the greatest exporter in the colony.⁴³ However, from 1292 until the end of Edward's reign the figures reveal a great similarity between the quantity of exports leaving Waterford and those leaving New Ross.⁴⁴ The close proximity of New Ross did not help to increase Waterford's share of the export trade, it would however be incorrect to say that the city suffered by having to share with New Ross, the Colony's closest harbour to Europe. Until 1292 the combined quantity of wool and hides exported from both New Ross and Waterford was greater than the total exports from the other nine ports in the Colony.⁴⁵ The dominance in the export trade held by New Ross and Waterford was never seriously challenged during Edward's reign.⁴⁶

The decline in exports suffered by the port of Waterford in the latter half of Edward's reign was not the result of internal competition. Every port in the colony with the exception of Drogheda experienced a similar decline in exports. The export figures for Drogheda remained fairly constant until the end of the 13th century.⁴⁷ Nor indeed is the reason for the decline to be found in internal strife or other adverse conditions which might affect the wool and hide trade in Ireland. The decline can in all probability be accounted for by increased competition from English wool. The English wool trade suffered from an outbreak of a severe epidemic of scab among sheep flocks in the 1270's and 1280's.⁴⁸ Consequently on failing to find sufficient quantities of wool in England, the wool merchants turned to Ireland in an attempt to supplement the reduced supply. In actual fact what Ireland was experiencing during the 1270's and 1280's was an artificially high demand for Irish wool. When the English wool trade began to recover during the 1290's the demand for Irish wool fell drastically. The recovery of the English wool trade can be seen from the customs revenue the King received from wool and hide exports there. In the years 1286-1290 the sum received from the wool custom was £43,801.18.9, while the figure for the next four years was £46,256.19.0.⁴⁹ Although this represents only an increase of some £2,455.0.3, it was probably enough to account for the decline in exports sustained by the Irish Wool and hide exporting ports. The reason the demand for Irish wool fell so dramatically in the 1290's may be due to the quality of Irish wool. With the recovery of the English wool trade, the coarse Irish wool could no longer compete.

Although competition from New Ross did not adversely affect Waterford's exports, the quantity of the New Ross exports shows the great prosperity which that town was enjoying. The monopoly rights held by Waterford did not in theory impinge upon exports coming from New Ross, yet in practice, it must have helped Waterford's exports. I would suggest that Waterford's export potential vis-a-vis New Ross was aided by virtue of the fact that ships coming to Waterford with such commodities as wine did not return to the Continent empty but laden with exports, thereby helping Waterford to maintain its position as the second best exporter in the colony. Given the prosperity of New Ross and Waterford, and the fact that both shared the same harbour it is hardly surprising that an intense rivalry existed between these two towns. Equally understandable, is the support given by Edward I to Waterford, despite the fact that throughout his reign the town of New Ross had the backing of many influential English magnates. It would be incorrect to claim however that Edward's support for Waterford rested solely on import duties which could be gained from the port. We know that Roger Bigod was willing to allow the collection of customs on imports if the King removed the ban on

foreign ships going to New Ross⁵⁰. On the other hand it would be naive to suggest that Edward protected Waterford purely out of loyalty to his city, because in the final analysis the prosperity of the city affected the king - for example, a poverty stricken community could not pay its farm, or indeed, fulfil any of its obligations to the king. During his reign, Edward I instigated many changes which helped to advance the trading potential of Waterford city. Perhaps his greatest favour to Waterford was the change he did not make. By allowing the city to maintain its monopoly over trade entering Waterford harbour he increased its prosperity. Admittedly he gained from that prosperity, the nature of this gain will be discussed in the next section.

Edward I and Waterford:

From the foregoing it would appear that New Ross was a strong challenger to Waterford for the role of premier city in the south-east and that the main reason for Waterford's ultimate success was the patronage of Edward I. It therefore remains to wonder what the King had to gain from Waterford, particularly as half his potential income on wine imports through Waterford was lost to him⁵¹ and customs' income from exports of wool and hides was greater from New Ross. This latter is clear from the table on Page 19 but the King's loss on the wine trade needs further explaining.

One of the methods used to assess the importation of Wine into Ireland in the middle ages was based on what was called the prise of wine. This was a tax paid to the King and collected in the Royal ports from every ship which unloaded a cargo of wine. The prise was levied by choosing for the king one ton of wine from before the mast of the ship and one ton from behind the mast. In our records of the prise of wine every two tons are equivalent to one shipload of wine having entered the port. The quantity of wine imported cannot be assessed, as the same prise was exacted from every ship regardless of the quantity it was carrying. However, when comparing the record of the prise of wine relating to Waterford with that of any other port we must be very cautious. The Waterford figures are always equivalent to only half of the actual prise of wine levied in the port of Waterford. The reason for this is to be found in Henry III's charter of 1232 which conferred upon the city the right to one of the two tons of wine which were taken as the king's prise of wine.⁵² Before we refer to the figures for the prise of wine we must always multiply those given for Waterford by two. Accordingly we will find that for the period 1269-1283 Waterford was not a "very poor third" but in fact the leading importer of wine.⁵³ Although evidence relating to the prise of wine does not exist for the latter part of Edward's reign we can nonetheless say with some degree of certainty that Waterford retained its lead in the field of wine imports. In 1310, of the twenty eight Irish ships carrying wine from Bordeaux, the main port from which wine was exported to Ireland, thirteen of the ships originally came from Waterford and five each from both Limerick and Cork. Despite the fact that the destination of these ships does not appear on the Bordeaux customs accounts, those coming from Waterford did in all probability return to that port, suggesting that Waterford retained its leadership in the field of wine imports throughout Edward's reign.⁵⁴ We cannot attribute the position Waterford held in the field of imports solely to the restrictions placed on New Ross's import trade. Part of Waterford's success must surely lie in the geographically advantageous position of its port which placed it closer to the European mainland than any other port in the colony.

Unless there are other items of trade which have gone unrecorded, it seems that the King's patronage of Waterford was based on other motives. I maintain that the main advantage Edward saw in Waterford was the facility with which his revenues could be collected. In New Ross and elsewhere the King relied on paid officials to collect his various customs, tolls and levies - a system open

to much abuse, consequent appeal and litigation. Waterford's charter provided for such monies to be collected by officials elected by the citizens and it was part of the responsibility of the Mayor, elected annually, to ensure that this was done without abuse of the king's money.⁵⁵ By the late 13th century this system appears to have become quite efficient, revenue being collected and transferred to the royal exchequer without undue effort on the part of royal officials.

This system could of course have been abused in turn, with the Mayor and citizens providing false returns. However, there were some checks against this as the Mayor and other officials were made personally responsible for the collection of revenue and could be made pay any shortfalls from their own resources. The King had a further sanction against a royal city defaulting on taxes - he could suspend their privileges and liberties, sending an official to administer the city on his behalf. This happened to Waterford in 1275⁵⁶, 1285 (until 1287)⁵⁷ and also in 1305.⁵⁸ On the first two occasions it was administered by Walter de la Hay, sherriff of Waterford and later escheator of Ireland. On the third occasion Eustace de la Poer seems to have taken over the administration. The exact effect of this action by the King on the citizens is difficult to assess and there appears to be no surviving record of why such drastic action was taken against the city. Nevertheless for most of Edward's reign his revenues seem to have been collected efficiently, and the greater the volume of trade through Waterford the greater his income appears to have been.

While fuller details of trade here do not appear to have survived, a murrage grant of 1291⁵⁹ throws much light on the kind of commercial traffic handled by Waterford at that time. It comprises a list of special toll charges on commodities entering the city, the revenue from which over a period of four years was to go towards strengthening the walls :

"Grant to the bailiffs and men of Waterford, for 4 years from the feast of St. Peter ad vincula next ensuing, in aid of inclosing their city, for the improvement thereof, and the security of the men of parts adjacent, of the following customs, namely: - From each seam of wheat for sale, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each horse and mare, ox and cow, sold, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each hide of horse and mare, ox and cow, salt or tanned, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each cart carrying neat, salt or fresh, $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.; 5 hogs, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each salmon, fresh or salt, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; 10 sheep, goats or pigs 1d.; 10 fleeces, 1d.; each 100 skins of sheep and goats $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each hundred skins of lambs, hares, rabbits, foxes, cats and squirrels, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each seam of cloths, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each whole cloth, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each hundred of linen cloth, canvas, cloths of Ireland, Galewich, and worsted, 1d.; each hogshead of wine and cinders, $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each seam of honey, 1d.; each sack of wool, 4d.; each truss of cloths brought by carts, 2d.; each seam of cloth, or of other diverse and minute articles, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each hundred of iron, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each seam of iron, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each weight of 1 cartload, 1d.; each cartload of tan, by the week, 1d.; each quarter of wood, 2d.; 2,000 onions, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; 8 sheaves of garlic, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; each herrings, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each seam of fish, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each 100 boards, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each quarter of salt, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; each way of cheese and butter, 1d.; each cartload of firewood and coals, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; by the week; each 1,000 nails, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; each 100 horse-shoes and tires for carts, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each quarter of tan $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; each truss of any kind of wares exceeding the value of 2s. $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; each 100 gads of steel, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; each hundred of Aberdene, 1d.; each hundred of stockfish, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; 10 stone of canvas, $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; 10 flagons of oil, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and each mill-stone $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Mandate that the custom aforesaid may be taken for 4 years from the feast of St. Peter ad vincula next ensuing, and that on completion of this term it shall cease".

SOURCES

1. Chartae Privilegia et Immunitates, Record Commission London, 1830, pp.13 &14
2. H. Shiels, "The Walling of New Ross: A thirteenth Century Poem in French" Longroon, Nos. 12 & 13. (Dublin, 1975-1976).
3. Chartae Privilegia et Immunitates (Loc. cit.)
4. Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, Record Commission, London, 1835, p.153b
5. *ibid.*
6. G.H.Orpen, New Ross in the 13th Century, Dublin, 1911, p.8
7. Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, ed. Sweetman, London, 1875-1886. (hereafter referred to as C.D.I.) 1171-1251, No.862
8. Sir Maurice Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, Oxford, 1953. p.17
9. C.D.I. 1171-1251, No.890
10. *ibid.* No. 912
11. *ibid.* No. 1058
12. *ibid.* No. 1552
13. H.M.ore, History of the Town and County of Wexford, Old Ross and New Ross. London, 1910. p.133, n.3
14. Chartae Privilegia et Immunitates, loc. cit. p.21
15. C.D.I., 1171-1251. No.2361
16. i.e. Hervey's Island - the present Campile.
17. Chartae Privilegia et Immunitates; (loc.cit.) p.31
18. *ibid.* p.32
19. *ibid.* p.32
20. *ibid.* p.34
21. C.D.I. 1252-1284, No.1344
22. C.D.I. 1285-1292, No. 915
23. *ibid.* No. 1087
24. de Clare, de Valence and Bigod were Lords of Kilkenny, Wexford and Carlow respectively - see G.Otway - Ruthven, A History of Medieval Ireland, London 1968, p.197 .
25. C.D.I. 1302-1307, No.617 . An Inquisition dated 1307 shows that Roger Bigod, Lord of Carlow, held New Ross although the Town is in modern Co. Wexford.
26. J.Otway-Ruthven, *op.cit.* p.186 .
27. C.D.I. 1285-1292, No. 1085
28. *ibid.* No. 1086
29. *ibid.* No.1160
30. H. Wood , The Office of Chief Governor of Ireland, 1172-1509, P.R.I.A. XXXV^I, p.221
31. C.D.I. 1302- 1307, No.100
32. Stephen Fulbourn was justiciar from 1281-2, until 1288. (see H. Wood, loc.cit.). Elected Bishop of Waterford at the King's request in 1274. (C.D.I.1252-1284, No.1009). Made Archbishop of Tuam in 1288 .(H.Wood).
- 33.G. Mac Niocaill, Na Buirgisi XII-XVI-Aois, Vol. II, Dublin, 1964, p.554
34. G.M.Orpen, Thirteenth Century New Ross, (*op.cit.*) p. 9.
35. The rate at which the prise of wine was levied at was two tons per each ship load. In 1310 a Waterford ship called "La Bonan" was laden on one occasion with 91 tons and another occasion with 124 tons. Clearly the percentage paid in prise of wine was not very great, about 2% on average. W.McComish, Irish Overseas Trade in the Later Middle Ages. (unpublished B.A. Theses, T.C.D. 1968, p.56
36. Chartae Privilegia et Immunitates, loc.cit. p.31
37. C.D.I. 1252-1284, No. 1344
38. *ibid.* 1285-1292, No.915
39. *ibid.* No. 1160
40. *ibid.* 1302-1307, No.100
41. *ibid.* No. 100
42. Once in 1275 and twice in 1292. C.D.I. 1171-1251, No. 1058
ibid. 1285-1292 No.1087

43. G. Mac Niocaill, op.cit. pp. 523-528 .
44. See Table P. from ibid.
45. Total for New Ross and Waterford 1292 = £796.2.9.
" " Dublin, Drogheda (both parts), Cork, Galway, Youghal, Wexford,
Limerick, Kerry and Ulster 1292 = £668.3.2.
G. Mac Niocaill, op. cit. pp. 523-528.
46. ibid.
47. ibid. p. 525
48. T. Lloyd, English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages, Cambridge, 1977, p. 63
49. ibid.
50. C.D.I. 1302-1307, No. 100
51. Charter of Henry III, 1232, quoted by Mac Niocaill, op.cit. pp. 251-5
52. ibid.
53. Prise of Wine, 1269 - 1283

| | | | |
|----------|-----------|----------|-----------------------|
| Dublin | Waterford | Limerick | Drogheda (both parts) |
| 342 tons | 191 tons | 70 tons | 288 tons |
- ibid. p. 512
54. W. Mc Conish, op.cit. p. 56
55. Charter of Henry III, 1232, loc. cit.
56. Pipe Roll IV Ed. I. Reports Deputy Keeper P.R.O.I., No. 36, p. 30
57. Receipt Roll (Michaelmas) XV Ed. I - (E 101/231/6). Also Pipe Roll XV, Ed. I Reports Deputy Keeper P.R.O.I. No. 37 p. 26.
58. Receipt Roll (Easter), XXXIII Ed. 1, P.R.O.I. (E 101/234/2).
59. C.D.I. 1285 - 1292, No. 2133.

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THE EMERGENCE OF TRAMORE

This is an amended extract from a study entitled, "A Social and Economic Study of the Origin & Growth of Tramore, Co. Waterford", by five Third Year pupils of C.B.S., Tramore - Michael Clarke, Liam Holland, Thomas Mooney, Michael Power and Cormac Treacy.

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Tramore today is a seaside resort and dormitory town for Waterford, with a population of about 5,000 swelling in Summer to about 30,000. In 1659 "Tramore" townland had a population of ten¹ and was second smallest in its parish, Drummannon. This townland appears to have nothing in it to encourage settlement - except the three miles of beach from which it got its name. It still serves no important industrial or commercial need. Could modern Tramore have emerged merely because of a sand-spit? That is what we tried to decide.

Beginnings :

In the 60 years after 1659 the only mention we have found to Tramore is in the published summaries of the papers of Lord Doneraile, the landlord.² In these Tramore is merely listed among the many townlands in his possession and there is no indication of any particular development here nor is it shown on the fairly crude maps of the period.³ The first indication of urban existence appears on a map of 1737⁴ showing five stylised houses here bearing the legend "Town". This must have been an exaggeration, however, as Smith⁵ nine years later is content with the term "village" and the phrase "some houses". Later references suggest that this was a fishing village⁶ but Smith makes no specific reference to this, simply describing Tramore as being "A village....(being) in summertime a pleasant retreat for the citizens of Waterford and others who assemble here for the purposes of the salt water". His map shows only a tower here, but this is explained by Pococke,⁷ in 1752 who tells us that the Rev. Thomas of Lismore had recently built here "a turret... with one large room up, one pair of stairs and great conveniences under it".

In the twenty five years from 1752 two major factors contributed to the continued use of Tramore "for the purposes of the salt water". One was the publication in that year of a translation of Dr. Russell's popular book "A dissertation concerning the use of sea water in diseases of the glands"⁸. Secondly was the emergence in Waterford of a class that had grown rich on the Newfoundland trade⁹ and presumably had time and money enough to be able to worry about their "glands". It was probably these who were responsible for the fact that in 1778 Taylor and Skinner¹⁰ considered the road from Waterford to Tramore to be of sufficient importance to show on their series of individual road maps of Ireland. They also show about twelve houses.

This map is the first positive indication we have had of where exactly Tramore began. The turret is not marked but the crude representation of houses shows about twelve of them to be in approximately the area of the present Lodge's corner where they could enjoy a good elevated view of the bay without being too exposed to surf or spray. This accords with local tradition and with the continued presence of five Georgian houses there close to the entrance to the present Sweetbriar Estate (this name may go back to the 18th century). The fact that these appear to have been served by a common gate-lodge seems to suggest that they were built by one individual to sell or let.

These then were the beginnings of Tramore as revealed by the limited amount of evidence available. A dozen houses or so perched near the top of a

hill overlooking a bay with little commercial potential seemed an unpromising start to the present town. It might never have developed had local initiative not availed of outside influences to cause it to grow.

Growth:

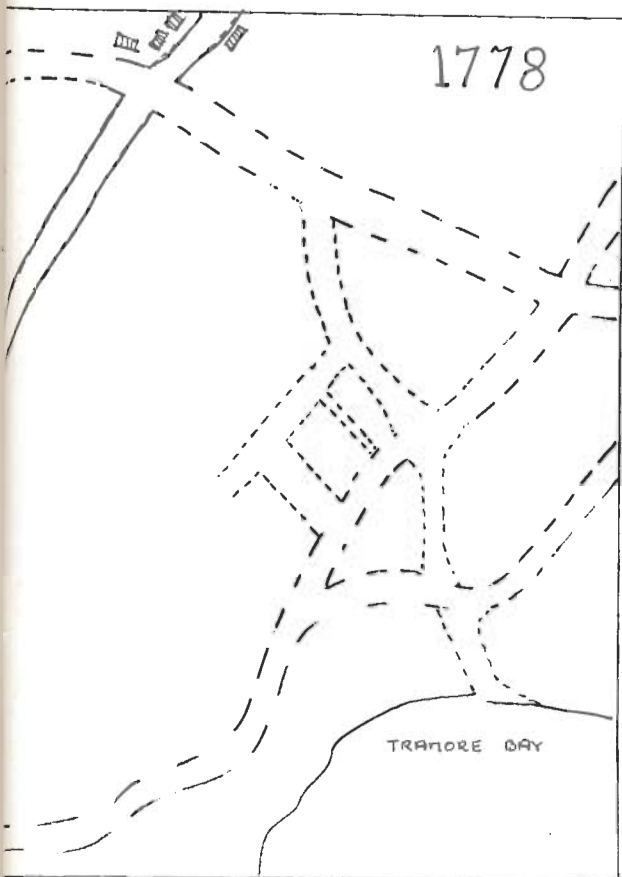
The main outside influence was none less than the Prince of Wales, (later George IV) who in 1783 bestowed himself on Brighton and suddenly sea bathing became all the rage¹⁰. The local initiative was provided by a Waterford banker called Bartholomew Rivers who by 1793¹¹ appears to have invested heavily in what he supposed to be the future of the area. In imitation of Brighton he build an Assembly Rooms¹² for the amusement of the Sweetbriar residents. Their path to it forms the straight line from Lodge's Corner to the foot of Patrick Street where the sad remains of this once fashionable building still stand.

A necessary step in the development of Tramore in days before supermarkets and deep-freezes was the establishment of a regular market here, and this too Rivers did.¹² To complete the amenities he may also have built a hotel - perhaps the present Grand Hotel.¹³ He seems to have anticipated the present amusement area by building an embankment at the Back Strand to hold back the sea, but this was reported to have been in ruins by 1824.¹⁴ A guide book¹⁵ of 1805 describes Tramore at the turn of the century as being "on a declivity of hill.... built in a scattered irregular manner but is daily improving.... Several elegant small edifices with a handsome market house, assembly rooms etc. have been built.....". Rivers is given full credit for this and for having "diffused a laudable spirit of industry among the inhabitants."

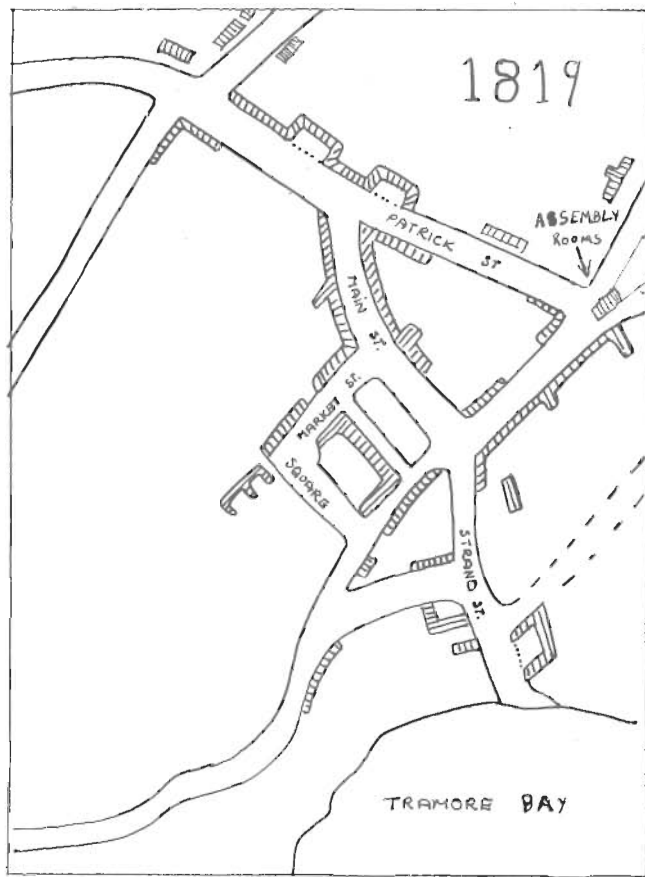
The bankruptcy of Rivers in 1793¹¹ does not seem to have hindered the growth of Tramore. We don't have details of this growth over the following twenty years but the establishment of two churches and a post office over this period probably added a degree of permanence to the resort. The permanent population may not have increased greatly to judge from the Catholic marriage registers between 1783 and 1802¹⁶ and few people may actually have lived in Tramore over the Winter. This was apparently the case in 1814 when the Rev. Cooke reported "After the month of October there is nothing... until the beginning of the June following"¹⁷. He gives the population then as almost a thousand, but does not tell us at what time of the year.

Over the following 17 years however, the population appears to have tripled reaching nearly 3,000 (its peak for the century)¹⁸. For this period we have quite a lot of detail about the physical development of Tramore but little about the people behind it. In 1824 it could be described as "A neat, well-built village".¹⁹ By 1818 a road branching off the Lodge's Corner-Assembly Rooms axis (i.e. Summerhill & Patrick Street), was lined with houses, giving the basis of the present Main Street.²⁰ Perhaps this was because the gradient here was less steep for those preceeding to their bathing boxes on the beach¹⁷ (these boxes were here by 1814) and sometime before 1830 access to the beach was improved by the addition of a storm wall.²¹ Although the promenade had not yet been built, the beach itself was used for "regular races which are encouraged by the proprietors of the village"¹⁴

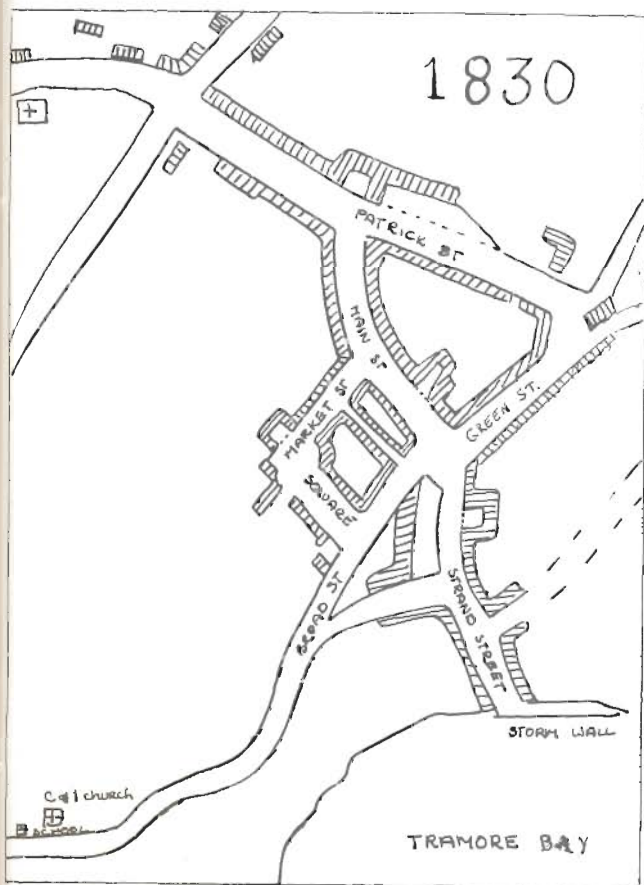
We'd like to know more about the activities of these anonymous "proprietors". The actual owner of Tramore at the time was Lord Doneraile²¹ who built a new walled market place²² (still standing behind the Grand Hotel). Whether he was involved in the rapid development of the lower part of Tramore we don't know but not alone had the Strand Street area been built between 1818 and 1830 but new roads had appeared to service it. Over the next few years indeed a new road was laid to Tramore from Waterford, so that "great facilities of intercourse with that city are afforded by numerous vehicles".²²



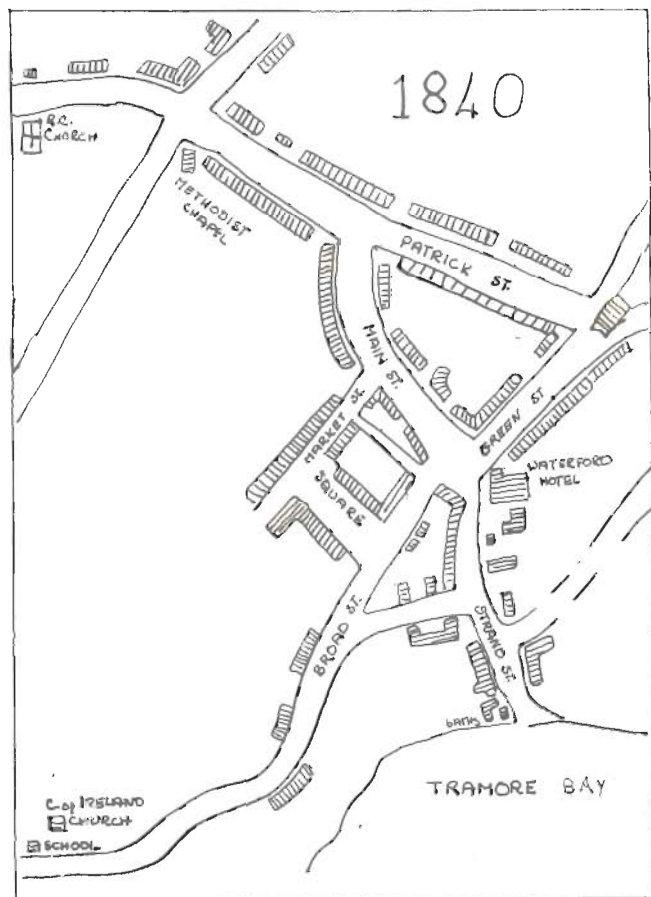
1778: Taylor & Kinnern's road maps. The small scale of the original makes location of these places difficult, particularly as there appears to have been only one road.



1819: Grand Jury Map. Growth of Tramore since 1778 obvious. The small scale in the original makes it difficult to trace the street patterns accurately.



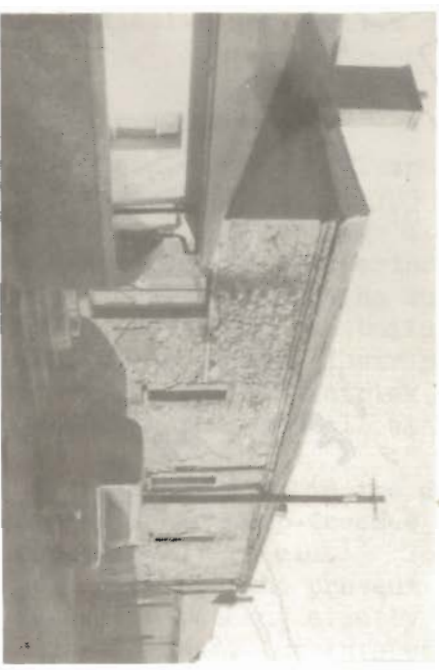
1830: Boundary Survey Map. Since the original was only described as a sketch map the details may not be accurate. However, there seems to have been little expansion since 1819.



1840: Six-inch O.S. Map. This is the first accurate and detailed map although from it the population changes mentioned in the text do not emerge.



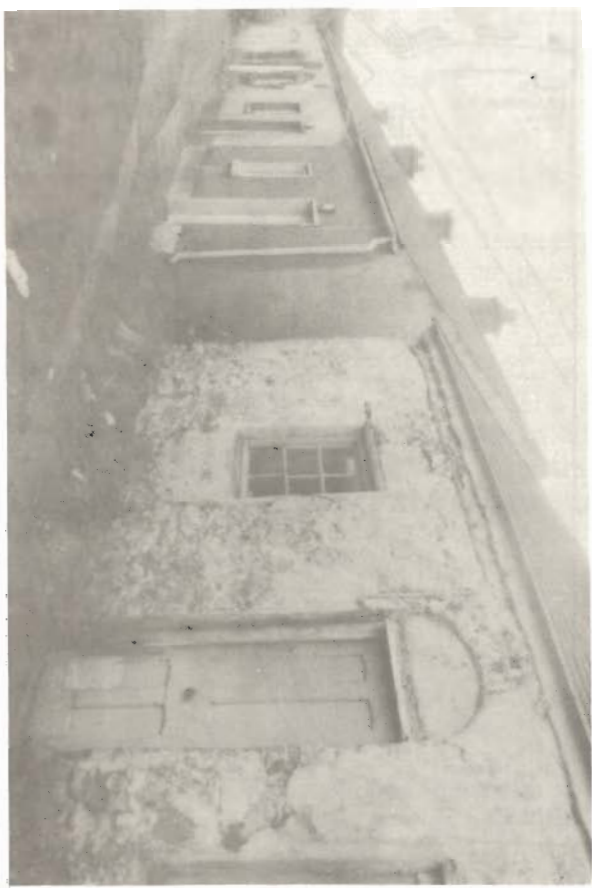
Above, one of the residences built for the Gentry and merchants in the late 18th cent. and, right, the ruins of what may have been the houses of those who served in such residences.



Below, the sad remains of the old Assembly Rooms. (Note the light bracket over doorway)



Below, some of the houses that appeared during the rapid expansion of the 1820s.



Various institutions had followed this expansion so that by the mid thirties Tramore not only had its two churches, but almshouses (still extant), a dispensary, a police barracks, a post office, a petty sessions court, and "many comfortable lodging houses".²² To many, no doubt, the future of Tramore seemed secure - but troubled times lay ahead.

Struggle for survival, 1840-'70.

Lewis²² published in 1837 gives no hint of these troubles. He refers to Mr. Rivers' hotel as being "on an elevated site above the village". Fourteen years later this village had disappeared, as had the entire population at the top of the town in the area around the Catholic church.²³ Possibly the famine was to blame for this, but even before the famine a dramatic decline in population had begun. In the decade up to 1841 the population of Tramore "town" dropped by half, falling from 2,224 in 1831 to 1,120 in 1841.²³ What was happening?

In brief, we don't know. Changes in townland boundaries do not account for the drop although they may account for some minor facets of it. It is of course possible that the census of 1841 and of 1851 coincided with very bad weather so that those who normally resided in Waterford stayed at home. However, this can hardly have continued over each of the next six censuses which record a progressive decline so that by 1911 over the entire area of Tramore there were only 1,644 people²⁴, about half the 1831 population. The famine may have added to this decline but it seems to us most likely that the fortunes of Tramore were so linked with the fortunes of Waterford City and hinterland that any decline there meant an immediate cutting back on the luxury of a Tramore residence. Certainly the Newfoundland trade had declined by the 1840's but as an economic history of Waterford at this period does not seem to have been written, the exact explanation for the decline of Tramore must remain a matter of speculation.

Whatever happened is not apparent from the O.S. Map of 1841.²⁵ By then a Methodist chapel had been added and an Anglican School as well as a baths. Sometimes afterwards the houses along Priests Road were added although it is hard to reconcile these fine residences with a declining population. The overall population of Tramore increased very slightly between 1841 and 1851 but obviously some very strong social forces were at work that entire populations disappeared as recounted above. The implications in the early 1850's would seem to have been that if some drastic steps were not taken to safeguard investment in Tramore, all would be lost.

In the early 1850's the first steps were taken, largely by local businessmen. They collected £75,000 to build a railway from Waterford to Tramore. It was opened in 1853. To encourage new housing in Tramore the railway company offered to carry all building materials free and anybody buying a house in Tramore was given a free five year railway pass.²⁶ Thus presumably, it was hoped to revive Tramore. The scheme was not a spectacular success however. While 52 new houses were built over the next eight years the population barely increased between 1851 and 1861 - from 2,245 to 2,365 and by 1871 it was still only 2,489.²³ Nevertheless this modest increase in the population figures would probably have been replaced by a drastic decrease were it not for the railway.

Conclusion:

Could Tramore have emerged merely because of a sand spit? This, we have decided is only partly true. The first houses were sited to enjoy the prospect of the scenic bay. Proximity to a prosperous Waterford was another very important factor. Most important, however, is the initiative by

Bartholomew Rivers and others in developing Tramore as a resort and amenity area around 1800 and the further initiative shown in the early 1850's when Tramore seemed faced with extinction. Even in the last decades of the 19th century and the early years of this, as the population slowly declined initiatives were being taken which ensured the survival and eventual revival of Tramore - the race course, promenade, places of entertainment, amusements, golf course etc. While the revival of Tramore must have seemed agonisingly slow to those that invested here (not until 1961 did the population surpass the 1831 figure), there is no doubt but that is now rapidly under way. Once again it seems directly linked to the renewed prosperity of Waterford and a greater national prosperity puts the amenities here within easier range of a wider number of people. By 1991 it seems that our sand spit will have attracted a population of well over 8,000 souls.²⁷

SOURCES :

1. Census of Ireland, 1659 edited by S. Pender (IMC).
2. Published in Analecta Hibernica, Nos. 15 & 20 (IMC)
3. Assembled as appendix to published typescript of Ordnance Survey Letters of John O'Donovan.
4. A New Chart, Being an Actual Survey of the Harbours of Rinneshark and Waterford.... by Wm. Doyle, 1737 (in W.L.I.).
5. Smith, Charles, The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford....., 1746. (republished).
6. This is stated in both Post Chaise Companion and Travellers' Directory through Ireland, 1805 and Topography of Ireland by Rev. M. Sleator (1806) and has been repeated many times since.
7. Pococke, Rev., Tour in Ireland, 1752.
8. Hibbert, Christopher, George IV, Prince of Wales, 1973, p.60-61.
9. Mannion, John, Waterford Merchants and the Newfoundland Trade, in Decies 2.
10. Taylor and Skinner, Road Maps of Ireland, 1778, (republished).
11. Rivers had gone bankrupt in 1793 and was in no position afterwards to contribute further towards the building of Tramore. This information is contained in his will, a transcription of which is held by Miss K. Kelly, Tramore to whom we are grateful for help. (See also this issue, p. 50, et seq.)
12. Seward, Topographia Hibernica, 1795.
13. In 1793 a hotel existed here but is described as Mrs. Coughlan's in Firnis Leinster Journal of 8th August 1793. It was capable of serving "prime venison.. and excellent old wine" and big enough to hold a ball following races on the strand. Sleator (op.cit.) in 1806 describes the hotel as "commodious". Pigot in 1824 lists three hotels.
14. Ryland, R.H., The History, Topography and Antiquities.. of Waterford, 1824, p. 248.
15. Post Chaise Companion, 1805, (op.cit.) is the third edition. The first edition of 1784 mentions Tramore but does not describe it.
16. The numbers of marriages per year vary between 14 and 36 in no particular pattern, an average number being 21 p.a. The register refers to the parish church at Duncannon about three miles away, there being no church in Tramore then. It is now in the sacristy of Holy Cross Church, Tramore.
17. Rev. Cooke's account appears in Mason's Parochial Survey, Vol. III, 1814.
18. P.P. Census of Population, 1831. This figure includes adjoining townlands.
19. Pigot's Directory, 1824. However, he lists only 5 shops - 2 grocers
20. Shown on Grand Jury Map, 1818. (in P.R.O.). and 3 spirit merchants
21. Marked on the Boundary Survey Map of 1830 (in P.R.O.).
21. As indicated by Tithe Applotments, 1830 (in P.R.O.).
22. Lewis' Topographical Dictionary, Vol. II, 1837.
23. P.P. Census of Population, 1871. 24. P.P. Census of Population, 1911.
25. 6" O.S. Map, 1841. O'Donovan's O.S. letters cast no light on the problem either
26. Fayle and Newham, The Waterford and Tramore Railway, 1972. (pp. 15 & 51).
27. Waterford County Council, Draft Development Plan for Tramore.

KILMATHOMAS WORKHOUSE, 1875.

by "Decie" .

Few workhouse records for County Waterford are available for consultation. I have therefore availed of an opportunity to inspect a "Fine Minute Book" for Kilmacthomas Union to make the following notes.

The book consists of weekly workhouse statistics running from 10th April to 4th Oct., 1875 along with summaries of correspondence from the Poor Law Commissioners, minutes of meetings of the Board of Guardians and reports from doctors, inspectors and from the workhouse master whose name does not appear. From his reports it is possible to get an insight into the day-to-day problems in running a rural workhouse in this relatively prosperous period for agriculture. The capacity of the workhouse was 562 but the average number of inmates was about 140. About 200 others were given outdoor relief.

The most frequent item to appear in the master's reports are requests from female inmates for clothes to enable them to leave the workhouse. The Board generally grants about 10/- worth of clothes although some applicants are turned down without explanation. A random selection from the Master's reports follows (with the Board's decision given in brackets):-

Received, a passage certificate and order for 10/- for John Hayes, an inmate, from his father who is in America. The boy will require some assistance from the Guardians. (20/- granted).

When changing the clothes of the old men of the house found on the clothing of Terence McDonnell £4. What is to be done with the money? (Decision here not clear - "MacDonnell to be admitted by way of loan").

The clocks belonging to the establishment require cleaning and repairs. (To be repaired).

Mary Mulcahy of Knockmahon is willing to take the foundling child sent into the House by the Relieving Officer. (Refused)

On Wednesday evening last an inmate, Bridget Tracey, struck him with a quart and cut him for preventing her leaving night prayers. Gave her in charge to the police. She was committed to gaol for a month (Approved).

Medical Officer recommends the healthy inmates get potatoes three times a week. (Sanctioned.)

Some estimate of the average workhouse diet at this period may be made from the food ordered for this average week (3rd to 10th July) for 136 inmates: 1010 lbs bread, 95 lbs beef, 6 heads, 810 quarts milk, 112 lbs. sugar, 1 doz eggs, 8 doz beer (!) and 5 doz. wine (!!). The last two may have been some consolation to the paupers for the lack of meat and eggs.

THE RE-FORMATION OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN WATERFORD :
FROM NEW MODEL UNIONISM TO LARKINISM.

By EMMET O'CONNOR

Introduction:

The inauguration of the Waterford United Trades and Labour Council in 1909, which was the centrepiece of Labour activities between 1908 and 1914, was part of a general swing towards radicalism affecting organised labour all over Ireland at this time. Following the disappointments of the late 1890's, the unions in Waterford reflected the quietism of the movement nationally. It is extremely unlikely that they would have had the capacity to resume the offensive had it not been for the impetus generated by events in Belfast, Cork, and Dublin. These in turn had largely been triggered off by the presence of one man, James Larkin. Writing about the pragmatic conservatism of the trade union movement during the early years of this century, Charles McCarthy goes on to comment about the years after 1907 :

"But the following year there was Larkin and Belfast, there was the new unionism arriving in Ireland a generation late, and there was what amounted to a civil revolt rather than a trade union strike, a sudden upsurge of feeling in response to the strike organiser; And all at once a new dimension was given to trade union affairs.... there was nevertheless in all this something difficult to deny; the socialism of the new endeavour, its proletarian character, and the sheer demagogic commitment of Larkin to the improvement of the lot of the unskilled and the deprived".

New unionism², or Larkinism, as it was more appropriately called in Ireland, expressed itself chiefly in terms of the extension of trade unionism to the unskilled, and previously unorganised, workers. But the role of the agitator was its hallmark. It was to him that the employer mostly objected, advocating as he did not only a more extensive and rigorous application of trade union practices, but social ideas and a new concept of the role of the Labour movement in society and politics. After 1910, the enthusiastic reception of Syndicalist^{*} ideas in Britain dispatched ripples of radicalism across St. George's Channel. Together with the espousal of industrial unionism by the I.T.G.W.U. they contributed significantly to the growing momentum of Labour. Nevertheless, Redmondism remained a powerful force in trade union circles - most especially in Waterford - and the new departure did not eliminate its influence.

New Model Unionism - in Pursuit of Acceptance:

Since its formation in 1890, the Waterford Federated Trades and Labour Union had from time to time addressed itself to the urgent social problems with which the city was beset. The chief of these were unemployment and housing. An idea of the extent of poverty in Waterford at the turn of the century can be grasped from the following tables.³

The Numbers in receipt of relief in Waterford City 1892-1896:

| | 1892 | 1893 | 1894 | 1895 | 1896 |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Indoor : | 836 | 845 | 813 | 779 | 769 |
| Outdoor : | 1,465 | 1,390 | 1,219 | 1,068 | 1,036 |
| TOTAL: | 2,301 | 2,235 | 2,035 | 1,847 | 1,805 |

Expenditure of the Waterford Union on Outdoor Relief 1892-1896:

| | 1892 | 1893 | 1894 | 1895 | 1896 |
|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| | £4,028 | £3,939 | £3,892 | £3,397 | £3,420 |

(* For note on terms used, see p. 41)

Considering that the population of the city in 1895 was 20,852 souls⁴, the size of the problem can be appreciated. However, the influence of the Labour movement in this area was very limited. The notion that workers ought to tackle social deprivation through industrial action only came with James Larkin and as yet was a concept foreign to trade unionists.

The firm commitment of the unions to co-operation rather than confrontation was as much a part of their psyche as their conviction in the necessity of free labour organisation. The introduction to the report of the Fourth Annual Irish Trade Union Congress, which was held in Waterford in 1897, illustrates the mood of trade unionism at this time. Its author, P.J.Leo declared that the Congress "has shown the employers that though representing such a powerful army of workers as 50,000 men, that the demands set forth are just and reasonable both; that the representatives of the workers of Ireland are tolerant and broadminded; that their motto is "Defence not Defiance"; that the object of every trades Congress is to promote and cultivate better relations between the employer and employee, and to such an extent has this been appreciated and understood in the city of the Urbs Intacta that "those who came to laugh remained to pray " 5

The concern to win recognition for its tolerance and respectability was clearly shown in the proceedings of the Congress, which opened on Monday the 7th of June at 10.00 a.m.

"Shortly after ten o'clock, when the delegates were all in their places, the Mayor of Waterford entered in state, attended by his sword and mace bearers, and accompanied by (a procession of Aldermen, Councillors, and local notables), for the purpose of extending to the Congress a hearty welcome to Waterford. As the civic party took their seats upon the platform they were warmly greeted by the delegates".⁶
One member of the municipal representatives encapsulated the sentiments of dignitaries and delegates alike when he said,

"If carried on in a spirit of toleration, meetings like that would result in an essential benefit to employers and employees (hear,hear). There was nothing in their agenda paper that any employer could object to (hear,hear)".⁷

The presence of the civic group was evidently very much appreciated by the Congress. In seconding a motion of thanks to the Mayor and his party, a Belfast delegate explained why.

"(He) thought it was a matter for congratulation that the chief Magistrate of Waterford came there in his official capacity to welcome the Congress (hear, hear). They knew how men in representative positions were very liable to form wrong conclusions of the proceedings of workmen; but if they looked through the agenda they would see that they were not there in antagonism to any class, but to further their own interests, and claim justice for themselves".⁸
Expanding on this theme, P.J.Leo outlined his vision of future labour development in the Congress report.

"With the growing intelligence of the workers of Ireland and consequent expansion of their ideas regarding their duties and responsibilities, a better feeling is certain to prevail between capital and labour, and the old time-worn and barbarous methods of strikes will soon become so obsolete as the hand-loom or the flint-lock. Mutual confidence and mutual self-respect are both important factors in bringing about this much desired end. Trades Unionism is marching rapidly on the road of progress; its influence is felt in every land, and is as boundless as the ocean, and its power, if used judiciously, is as irresistible as the waves that break upon our shores."⁹

Leo's moderate but optimistic aspirations for Labour were not to be realised (at least not in the short term). The next ten years was a decade of retrenchment. The Waterford Federated Trades and Labour Union met regularly passing motions on issues affecting the interests of the affiliated trades, and occasionally submitting resolutions to the Corporation on the broader working-class grievances, such as housing conditions, or the sale of bread by weight. The employers and politicians noted these matters and assured the workers of their sympathy, but offered no substantial assistance. Not only was Labour making no progress, but its stock was sinking lower all the time. The failure to change the character of Municipal politics after the reform of the local government system in 1899 had disillusioned the workers.¹⁰ The extinguishing of the socialist presence deprived the movement of energy and talent.¹¹ The W.F.T.L.U. was reverting to the role of the old Trades Club, which it was originally founded to replace. Since the demise of the Amalgamated Society of Porkbutchers, the Federated Labour Union had lost its foothold in industry, and its exclusive association with the craft unions was creating an image incompatible with that of a proper Trades Council. Accordingly, when the Unions finally began to shake off their lethargy, they thought in terms of forming a new trades council rather than attempting to reform the virtually moribund W.F.T.L.U.

New Unionism and Larkin:

The flame of new Unionism was lit in Waterford on Wednesday the 14th of October 1908, at a meeting in the City Hall. The purpose of the meeting was the organisation of dockers, and the main speaker was to be James Larkin, then an official of the Liverpool based National Union of Dock Labourers. Larkin had already organised dock workers in Belfast and Cork. His advent in Waterford was regarded with great interest by all sections of the community. The Assembly Room was packed to capacity, the crowds spilling out onto the Mall. The establishment too, were there in strength. The High Sheriff of the City presided, and six other members of the Corporation sat on the platform along with the President of the Trades and Labour Union. In addition, an unusual number of politicians and businessmen occupied the front rows.¹² However, in many respects this was quite normal. Politicians and a few employers, had always liked to identify themselves with the working classes. The attendance of so many of them revealed a sympathy with labouring men, but also a desire to show Mr. Larkin that harmonious relations prevailed between the classes in Waterford, and whilst his ideas had some merit, there was little need for them here.

It was not long before the spirit of the new times became evident. Shortly after Larkin rose to speak violence erupted in one corner of the room. Chairs were broken up and used as weapons. One man was seriously injured before police and firemen intervened to restore order.¹³ The disruption was caused by henchmen of the local Stevedores and Coal Merchants who were bitterly opposed to Larkin organising their employees.¹⁴ The attempted sabotage failed and Larkin went on to deliver a fiery address, advocating union membership, and talking about the need for the working class to improve its conditions. The rhetoric proved too strong for some, and one rather respectable-looking gentleman repeatedly interrupted with the question, "Why should there be any class?"¹⁵ After Larkin, a Cork trade unionist spoke comparing the dockers rates in Waterford with the much more favourable ones in Cork. The meeting was a great success and the nucleus of a branch enrolled afterwards. Despite its auspicious beginnings however, the branch remained weak, and was unable to improve wages or conditions. Membership was confined to the cross-channel coal fillers, and casual dock labourers remained unorganised.¹⁶ Nevertheless, a start had been made on which to build a stronger Labour movement. The effect of this on city workers generally was to prove of real significance the following year.

In 1909, the W.F.T.L.U. canvassed the idea of forming a proper trades council, and met with a favourable response. The Mayday celebrations were well supported that year, and it was at a meeting that night that the proposal was formally made public. Although Labour was beginning to flex its muscles, it was not done without the benign assistance of the Redmondites. The imprimatur of Redmondism was clearly visible in the proceedings. The usual quota of city councillors and dignitaries adorned the platform, (Larkin was invited but had telegraphed his apologies), and in his mayoral address Ald. Whittle gave his encouragement to a new departure that was evidently not intended to be all that different from old Unionism.

"Gentlemen, let you not be nervous about this thing. (The setting up of a trades council). I know that sometimes there is an idea in the minds of the skilled and unskilled labourers that if they attend a meeting of this kind they will be marked by their employers. To my mind, I think that the employers will have more regard and respect for men who attend meetings of this kind and unite as one man to do justice to all concerned."¹⁷

The resolution to form a trades council was duly passed by the assembly. The inaugural meeting of the Waterford United Trades and Labour Council took place on Monday the 24th of May at No. 8 Ballybricken, the home of Michael O'Connor, Branch Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants - a union that had long been advocating this move. Delegates from the following bodies were present: the W.F.T.L.U., the A.S.R.S., The Drapers Assistants Association, the Typographical Association, the A.S. Tailors and Tailoresses, the Postmens Union, the Stonecutters Society, the Coopers Society, the A.S. Corkcutters, the A.S. Pipenakers, the Railway Clerks Association, the A.S. Coachmakers, the Cabinet Makers Society and the Bridge Artificers Society.¹⁸ The I.T.G.W.U., the A.S. Carpenters and Joiners, the Ancient Guild of Incorporated Brick and Stone Layers, the Grocers' Assistants Association, and the National Federal Union of Bakers and Confectioners, were represented at meetings later on in the year.

If the catalogue of unions bears a strong resemblance to that of the W.F.T.L.U. in the 1890's, the new trades council was at least prepared to take up Labour grievances with a good deal more vigour, and was firmly committed to a comprehensive extension of union membership. The council canvassed various local groups, including the Corporation, the Irish Industrial Development Association, and the United Irish League, to support the Fair Wages Resolution, then being debated in Parliament. It also petitioned John Redmond M.P. to have the Sunday Observance Act applied to the whole of Ireland, as part of its campaign to have Sunday work for coal-fillers ended.¹⁹ Local issues were taken up with the Corporation in a more concerted way, and practical proposals, such as the establishment of a coal and boot fund, and the provision of playgrounds and open spaces, were presented to the City Council in an effort to improve working class living conditions. The old chestnuts of the sale of bread and coal by weight were taken up - with the same old results, the councillors waxed sympathetic and then referred the matter to their legal advisors, or a sub-committee, where it was conveniently forgotten about.

The Trades Council met with limited success in these campaigns but its initiative on the industrial front was much more spectacular. It was 1910 before the efforts to improve wages and organisation really began in earnest. At a meeting in January the council agreed to ask Larkin, now with the I.T.G.W.U., and Con O'Lehane, an official of the Irish Drapers Assistants Association, to come to Waterford to organise non-union labour on the docks and in the drapers shops. O'Lehane addressed a meeting in the City Hall on the 30th of the month at which he stated that his association had over 120 fully paid up members in Waterford, but that there were still about 100 assistants outside the Union.²¹ Attempts to improve organisation on the docks met with very strong

resistance from the employers - particularly Edward Murphy, a coal merchant. In 1911 the situation became more favourable and in August of that year P.T. Daly succeeded in reforming the I.T.G.W.U. branch and in enrolling new members. The branch extended its membership to include carters as well as dockers. Michael O'Connor was appointed part time secretary, and full-time secretary in 1913.²² But strikes were the engine of new unionism; it was the industrial unrest of 1911 that wrenched the Labour movement out of its old ways. 1911 was the pivotal year, that altered the nature of the movement in Waterford. It was not the end of old unionism, but was very definitely the beginning of the new.

1911: The Turning Point:

The action of the dockers and transport workers in Britain had a big impact on Waterford in 1911. The previous year the veteran labour leader Tom Mann, recently inspired by French syndicalism, had returned to England and encountered a surprisingly enthusiastic reception to industrial unionism among trade union leaders and members alike. Syndicalism defined industrial unrest in class terms and saw the strike weapon as an important political instrument. Whilst not accepting all of its implications, the workers immediately grasped the practical advantages of this theory. The first salvo in the new class war was fired by members of the Seamen's and Firemen's Union, who refused to operate the S.S. Olympic, the largest liner then afloat, as she lay in Southampton ready for her return voyage to New York. On June the 14th the union as a whole took up the demand for wage increases, and the strike was declared national. The stoppage was fully supported by the Waterford Trades Council, and the port workers expressed their solidarity and refused to handle diverted vessels. Although Waterford played but a very small part in the Seamen's victory, the success and speed with which it was gained infused a new spirit into the city, bringing Waterford much closer into line with the mainstream of industrial unionism. Militancy quickly spread to other sections. Tom Mann's achievement in welding the carters and dockers of Liverpool into an efficient strike force was one of the inspirations that induced the Waterford carters to join the I.T.G.W.U. at this time.²³

However, the most important development in Waterford that year was undoubtedly the Rail Strike. There were in fact two strikes, of which the second was the more significant. On the 18th of August, faced with mounting pressure from their own members, the A.S.R.S. executive declared a national strike in protest against the inadequacies of the Conciliation Board and the tardiness of the Railway Companies in dealing with the men's grievances. The intervention of Lloyd George, who appealed for national unity in a time of crisis (the Agadir affair threatened to bring Britain into war with Germany), brought about a compromise settlement within two days. The second dispute, which was a purely Irish one, broke out on the 11th of September. The cause of the trouble stemmed from the refusal of workers in Kingsbridge to handle goods from a strike-bound timber yard in Dublin. The men in question were immediately dismissed by the Great Southern and Western Railway Company, and the A.S.R.S. struck in support of their re-instatement. One hundred railwaymen in Waterford were affected.

This strike uncovered a side of the city that had long been submerged - so long that many thought it didn't exist. The workers rallied round the railwaymen, fully convinced of the legitimacy of the initial action taken at Kingsbridge. Indeed they themselves resorted to sympathetic action on one occasion - when goods were diverted by barge from the G.S. & W.R. marshalling yards at Newrath, to the Great Western jetty, the G.W.R. dockers, all members of the I.T.G.W.U. refused to handle them.²⁵ By contrast, the establishment saw the affair as a very grave challenge to the existing system of things. In their eyes the sympathetic strike was what the medieval church called a novelty and synonymous with anarchism. W.P. Ryan illustrates the nature of the culture shock.

"To the employers these articles of faith and practice, so far as they seriously considered them at all, were not only revolutionary, but incomprehensible. They regarded the social and industrial system they knew as part of the order of nature:.... Workers as co-operators and controllers of industry was something outside the range of their consciousness, but they could understand working men (and to some extent even working women) desiring more wages, for from time to time they had come up against this hunger of the proletariat. But there was a regular way to prevent these demands, and if ever the wilful and wanton expedient of a strike was to be forced, it should of course be in due form, like a national or imperial declaration of war after diplomats and negotiators had failed. The sudden "sympathetic strike", the impudent refusal to handle "tainted goods", and all such methods of "Larkinism" and Connollyism, were on a par with conspiracy and assassination."²⁶

There is no doubt but that the press, politicians, and the authorities over-reacted, grossly overestimating the threat which they detected in the dispute. The worst instance of this occurred on Friday the 22nd of September (by which time the end of the strike was in sight), when police and soldiers backed by a troop of dragoons blocked the route of a strike procession, forcing the men to disperse, which they did, peaceably.²⁷ From the beginning the press had strongly condemned the strike. Articles were published debating the question of sympathetic action, concluding for the most part that it was inspired by "socialistic and British Labouristic ideas, that it was foreign to Ireland; undoing the work of Parnell; repelling investment and damaging the prospects of Home Rule by showing the Unionists that the Irish were unfit to govern themselves. From this point onwards Editorial comment and reportage of industrial relations markedly contrasted with the benign condescension of earlier years. The press was not anti-labour per se however. Reports of "straight forward" disputes, i.e. where Larkinism or sympathetic action were not involved, were fairly objective. Occasionally the Editorials came out in favour of strikers' demands.

The manner in which the Rail strike ended is as worthy of attention as its origins. On the 20th of September, the Dublin timber dispute ended in complete defeat. The Rail stoppage was reinstated simultaneously. In Waterford the G.S.& W.R. demanded that their employees return to work on the company's terms. Initially the A.S.R.S. branch agreed to remain out until such time as assurances were given that there would be no victimisation. However, on the 2nd of October, the locomotive men returned to work on their employers terms. This undermined the position of the remainder who were forced to do likewise. Most received their old jobs back, but sixteen men were taken on at reduced rates of pay.²⁸ Nevertheless, the morale of the railwaymen remained high. They were confident that they would have won had it not been for the unilateral action of the ten loco men. Shortly after this, Mr. Halls, an organiser of the Railway Servants, received a warm reception at a branch meeting at which he pledged the Union's commitment to improving wages and conditions. The members for their part, told Halls that the action of the loco men was totally unrepresentative of their position and that they were ready and eager to come out again if need be.²⁹

During the next two years the new found confidence fully manifested itself and began to pay practical dividends as regards wage rates. 1913 was the high water mark of achievement. In May, the carpenters in two building firms succeeded in winning an extra 3/- per week on the existing rate of 30/- and imposing a maximum working week of 58 hours in Summer and 51 hours in Winter.³⁰ The following October, after a two month strike, the Masons won parity with the woodworkers. The tailors were successful in their campaign to have all shops pay the Union rate. The bakers in the Model Bakeries, and casual labourers in Graves timber yards also struck.³¹ This was an apprenticeship in militancy not to be forgotten. Although the next three years brought decline and disorganisation, the experience of 1910/1913 ensured that trade unionism in Waterford would never quite be the same again.

Labour and Politics:

Political development proceeded at a slower pace. The maturing of consciousness was very much the product of industrial agitation and lacked any philosophical foundation. In Ireland, industrial unionism had always incorporated a political dimension. Connolly's syndicalism differed significantly from that of the British and French movements in this respect. From its foundation the I.T.G.W.U. had regarded political action as one of its major objectives.³² By 1911 the socialists were beginning to win control of the I.T.U.C. The following year they succeeded in passing a resolution at Congress empowering the executive to form a Labour Party as an adjunct to the organisation. As on the industrial front, this political advance was due largely to the calibre of the socialists, of whom the most outstanding was Larkin.

"Larkin's achievement - and it was Larkin's much more than Connolly's, despite latter day opinion - was to raise the whole of industrial trade union activity to a high level of significance, to involve not merely the professional trade unionists but the great mass of the people, with the result that the trade union organisation, the Congress, could declare itself to be as well the independent Labour Party of Ireland, as long as it held firmly to the principle that all its representatives must be trade union members and authorised to act by the trade unions. Larkin had instinctively found the answer; if one could come to terms with the diverse party political tensions then-one set out to dominate them".³³

It was via this methodology that the Labour Movement gradually became politicized. In places like Waterford where no cadre of socialists existed to guide trade unionists towards political action, it took the sheer 'exuberance of Larkinism' to induce the workers to have their new-found power carried forward into politics. The new trades council addressed itself to this question almost immediately. At its second meeting, in June 1909, a full discussion took place on the issue of whether or not to contest the local elections the following year. Some delegates thought this move to be premature. Others were more favourable but stressed the need for pledge-bound candidates. One man put his finger on the cause of the general hesitancy.

"From our experience in the past we have no reason to have confidence in the so-called Labour representatives. It is a common phrase, "you can buy a labour vote for a pint of beer".³⁴

The following month a council meeting decided to field two in the coming local elections, but in the event the matter was not pursued and Labour abstained from the contest. The trades council did however support the candidature of James Collins, branch secretary of the I.T.G.W.U. who stood on an independent labour ticket, with little success.³⁵

During the next two years, the councils politics began to change. The industrial unrest was creating a body of socialists within the trade union movement. This development was acknowledged and accepted by the workers. Occasionally opposition was raised, such as in January 1910, when the proposal to invite O'Lehane and Larkin to Waterford was denounced by a delegate from the Pipenakers Society. The delegate objected on the grounds that the two men in question were socialists. He stated that the Pipenakers were a Catholic body, as was the trades council, and neither should have anything to do with socialism. He went on to say that he was aware that there were some socialists on the council but they had no right to be there. The meeting overruled this objection. It was agreed that the socialists present were there as trade Unionists, and that the delegates politics were their own affair.³⁶ This summed up the general view on the subject.

Waterford shared in the national revival of labour representation in 1912/1913. The trades council sponsored three candidates in the local elections of January 1913. Two of them, James Gleeson President of the Council, and Richard Keane, an active member of the A.S.R.S. won seats. Gleeson did particularly well, topping the poll in the Tower Ward with 373 votes.³⁷ (it is possible that Gleeson's triumph may have been due to purely local circumstances. Three candidates stood for the two vacancies. The defeated man was the outgoing Councillor, Patrick Gilligan, a businessman. Gilligan's campaign met with strong opposition from the 120 jarvies who objected to his attempts to introduce a char-a-banc service from the North Station to the city centre).³⁸ Once this start had been made, there was no going back; the tradition of Labour representation was maintained. However the socialist presence was not strong enough to sustain the momentum of these years. National and overseas influences had stimulated the re-formation of the Labour movement. As those influences flagged, or became conservative, so did Waterford Labour. Even on the political side of the movement, sufficient cohesion among the candidates did not exist to prevent a resurgence of traditional Labour conservatism in Municipal politics.

Redmondism: The Force for Stability:

Meanwhile, despite the dramatic improvement in Labour's position, Redmondism had not lost much of its old resilience, and still retained its ability to accommodate and contain the Labour challenge. There were two reasons for its successful permeation of the Labour movement. Firstly, at Municipal level, the politicians had avoided a head-on clash with the working class. A number of them had indeed become completely alienated from the trade unions. In 1910 Mayor Hackett refused to chair the annual Mayday public meeting because "he didn't consider the trades council represented the true interests of Labour and because the trades council had supported a "bogus Labour candidate" in the local elections".³⁹ (This was almost certainly a reference to the Council's backing of James Collins, the I.T.G.W.U.'s branch secretary). However, most city councillors were still willing and eager to identify with the unions - though not with Larkinism - and for their part the unions were glad of their assistance and good wishes. As we have seen, the growth of class consciousness does not necessarily imply a corresponding increase in class conflict. The Rail strike of 1911 brought about a comprehensive sharpening of class awareness, but the articulation of social antagonisms was largely, if not exclusively confined to the middle class. Accordingly, the Trades council did not feel inclined, and those councillors who relied on working class electoral support did not feel it politic, to manifest these antagonisms in any partisan way. Few politicians criticized Labour without drawing a distinction between legitimate trade unionism (as they saw it) and Larkinism. In addition, the consensus that had developed in the city since the healing of the schism in the Parliamentary Party, served to impose certain confines which restricted the introduction of controversy into the political arena. It similarly created a hostile social atmosphere which labour could sometimes weather, but frequently had to acknowledge. For example, the trades council was less than wholehearted in its support for the Dublin I.T.G.W.U. during the 1913 lockout. Both the Catholic and Protestant clergy in Waterford condemned the trade unions for not disassociating themselves from the Dublin transport workers.⁴⁰

Secondly, John Redmond was consolidating his stature as a parliamentary leader at this time. Opposition to his policies or position was out of the question in Waterford. The Labour movement openly supported Redmond and his party in Westminster. Some of the socialist trade unionists were inclined to take a more critical view of the Irish party's performance, particularly on social legislation. They would have preferred the trades council to lean a little more towards the British Parliamentary Labour Party. However the Council refused to indicate a preference, even on social issues, and regarded

both Labour and the Home Rulers as representing its interests.⁴¹ In any case Redmond was inching closer to his life long goal at this time. By 1913 it was confidently anticipated that before long Waterford would have the honour of being represented in the new Irish Parliament by the Prime Minister. Mobilising a challenge to Redmond at this stage was unthinkable.

But what did Redmondism now mean in local terms? It had certainly mellowed since the stormy days of the 1890's. Yet the fundamental ingredients remained unchanged, although by now Redmondism had fully emerged from its Parnellite chrysalis. John Redmond himself summed it all up in September 1908 when he told a meeting of his constituents:

" I have been able to do very little for the city of Waterford, but I have done my best, and I can anyway say this for myself, that I have made the name of Waterford respected not only in the British Parliament, but wherever the Irish race are to be found throughout the world. I am deeply grateful to the people of Waterford for their fidelity. They may rest assured that, though my shortcomings are, and I think I am pretty well aware of them myself, they can confidently count on my fidelity to them."⁴²
In other words it was still a question of loyalty, and an undemanding loyalty at that - based not on any material incentives, or even the prospect of any future achievement, it was centred on historical circumstances, a shared experience, and an image of municipal greatness that no longer conformed with reality.

Conclusion:

The onset of the Great War had a debilitating effect on trade union organisation in Waterford. But the wartime hardships together with national and international events 1917/1919 ushered in a new era of militancy that was to mark the zenith of radicalism in Irish, and Waterford, history. 1913 therefore, saw the culmination of only the first phase of new unionism. In summing up the events 1908/1913 it is worth paying particular attention to two factors. Firstly, the impact of contemporary developments in Britain, which Irish historians, even Labour historians, have tended to ignore. Secondly, the relative lack of influence of nationalism on the course of new unionism. The rise of Larkinism occurred simultaneously with a heightening of national sentiment, both culturally and politically. The Waterford experience shows that nationalism did not present any obstacles to Labour's advance. It does however show that the way in which people related to their locality was important. And that a powerful integrationist force like Redmondism could become a bulwark of conservatism, because it had become completely fused with the history, traditions and social-political culture of the city. Accordingly, whilst new unionism carried with it its own terms of reference, and a syndicalist mythology, inadequately articulated as they were, they could not hope to more than dent the simple, but more evocative mythology of Redmondism - which had by this time become the heritage of Waterford.

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NOTE ON TERMS:

New Model Unionism:

The form of trade unionism that developed in Britain from the 1850's onwards. Up to then workers' organisations were regarded with suspicion and hostility by the Middle Class. The New model unions sought to break with the radical tradition of the Labour movement and gain acceptance and legal toleration, by their discipline, moderation and respectability. The motto of the new model unions was "defence not defiance".

Amalgamated Society (A.S.):

Most of the new model unions styled themselves in this way, as they were usually founded by an amalgamation of local societies. The first such union was the A.S. Engineers (est.1851). It was followed by many others such as the A.S. Carpenters and Joiners, the A.S. Railway Servants etc.

New Unionism:

Up to the late 1880's trade unions catered almost exclusively for skilled workers. An upsurge of militancy by non-union workers between 1889 and 1893, led to the formation of general unions-- who catered for all categories of employee. The general unions also tended to be more militant than the craftsmen's organisations. Jim Larkin introduced this spirit into Ireland in the years after 1907.

Irish Trade Union Congress (I.T.U.C.)

Founded in 1894. Up to then Irish trade unionists were affiliated to the British T.U.C. (founded 1868).

Syndicalism:

A militant form of trade unionism which originated in France in the 1890's. Its aim was to transform political power from the state (i.e.the ruling class) to the trade unions, who would then become the representative institutions of the people. Larkin never consciously advocated Syndicalism but he agreed with many of its characteristics, such as direct action, the creation of one big union for all workers (the O.B.U.), the promotion of a class solidarity which would form the basis of a distinctive working class culture etc. One important aspect of Syndicalism which Larkin disagreed with was the myth of the general strike, after which power would pass to the Unions. Larkin regarded strikes as "necessary evils" which offered no vision of how the new society might be created.

S O U R C E S:

1. Charles McCarthy, "Trade Unions in Ireland 1894-1960", I.P.A., Dublin, 1977; pp.13-14 .
2. The terms "New Unionism" and "Larkinism " are synonymous.
3. Waterford News, 19.12.'96
4. Slater's Directory, 1896. p.336
5. J.D. Clarkson, "Labour and Nationalism in Ireland" (Ams Press), New York, 1970. p.166
6. Souvenir and Guide I.T.U.C. Waterford 1939. Introduction.
7. iden.
8. iden.
9. J.D.Clarkson, op.cit. p.194.
10. This was true of most parts of the country. In the 1903 local elections, "Labour was routed almost everywhere except Belfast marking the end of initial attempts at trade union and Labour representation". (A.Mitchell "Labour in Irish Politics" 1890-1930" (Irish university Press), Dublin, 1974, p.19). The small Irish craft unions were also on the decline, being absorbed by the English Amalgamated Unions (iden).

11. For a discussion of the decline of the Waterford branch of the Independent Labour Party, and the erosion of Labour's identity generally, see Decies No.10, pp.37-42.
12. "Waterford News" 16.10.'08.
13. Iden.
14. "Tommy Ryan Remembers", I.T.G.W.U. papers, Waterford.
15. "Waterford News", 16.10.'08.
16. "Tommy Ryan Remembers", op.cit.
17. "Waterford News", 7.5.'09.
18. Iden.
19. Ibid. 10.12.'09.
20. of Waterford County Borough Council Minutes. pp.280ff. 8.4.10. Similar Resolutions had been placed before the Corporation since 1889. cf p.378, 5.10.'97. The Corporation agreed to these proposals in 1915, cf p.297, 2.2.'15.
21. "Waterford News" 4.2.'10.
22. "Tommy Ryan Remembers", op. cit.
23. One of the major difficulties overcome by Mann in the Liverpool strike was the sectarian animosity between the carters- who mostly came from an Orange background, and the dockers - who were largely of Catholic Irish origin. Mann regarded their action as the most impressive display of solidarity he had ever encountered. (Tom Mann's Memoirs, McGibbon and Kee, London, 1967. pp.202/203).
24. "Waterford News", 22.9.11.
25. ibid.
26. W.P.Ryan, "The Irish Labour Movement", Talbot Press, Dublin, 1919, p.195.
27. "Waterford News", 29.9.11.
28. ibid. 2.10.11.
29. idem. Halls received quite a different reception from the authorities and the public. On his arrival by train from Cork, he was met at the North Station by police armed with carbines, who escorted him to the Union Hall in Ballybricken. On the way he was jeered and shouted at by the crowd. The police officer in charge pointed out that the escort was for his own protection. Halls strongly protested, arguing that it was provided to draw attention to him and make him look like a criminal in the public eye.
30. "Waterford News", 9.5.11.
31. ibid. 9.10.11.
32. A. Mitchell, op.cit. p.24
33. Charles McCarthy, op.cit. pp.21/22.
34. "Waterford News" 26.5.'09.
35. ibid. 14.1.10, 21.3.10.
36. ibid. 21.1.10.
37. ibid. 17.1.13.
38. idem.
39. ibid. 24.4.10.
40. ibid. 14.11.13.
41. of ibid. 11.3.11.
42. ibid. 11.8.'09.

The Churches of Passage

By Julian C. Walton.

Crook Old Church:

This was the largest medieval church in the barony of Gaultier, and may have been built in the 13th century by the Knights Templars, who held the manor of Crook. In the Visitations of 1607 and 1615 it is described as being in good repair, but it is not mentioned in the Down Survey (1655). Probably by this time it was in ruins; certainly it was ruined by the time of Dr. Smith (1746).

The remains have been described by Canon Power in his article on the ruined churches of Gaultier (Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1891). The three graceful lancet windows in the east gable are the most interesting feature, and the draughtsman G. V. Du Noyer thought them worthy of sketching when he visited Passage in August 1862 (see Du Noyer collection in R.S.A.I. Library, III.64). Unfortunately they are now obscured by ivy, which is growing so profusely that it threatens the whole wall (it brought down part of the south wall a couple of years ago); its careful removal would be a worthy act of conservation. The south wall has a low Gothic window, a piscina, and a curious holy water stoup formed of a single block of conglomerate. Scarcely a trace survives of the north wall.

Between the churchyard and the remains of Crook Castle is a holy well, which according to Canon Power was "sacred to St. John the Baptist, in whose honour before the Rebellion a great pattern was held here on June 24th. The occupation by yeomanry of the neighbouring barracks of New Geneva made popular gatherings here unsafe after 1798, and thus the pattern died out".

The graveyard is perhaps the most interesting in Gaultier. In 1973 I transcribed all the inscriptions, in accordance with a scheme initiated by the Irish Genealogical Research Society (it is hoped that copies of the transcript will soon be available in Waterford Municipal Library; meanwhile, it may be consulted in the Genealogical Office, Dublin Castle). There were then 138 monuments, the commonest surnames being Power (13 stones), Paul (11), Hearne/Heron (7), Kavanagh (6), Toole (5) and Murphy (4). A number of prominent or interesting people are commemorated here, from an unusually wide selection of social classes, both Protestant and Catholic; landed gentry, soldiers from Geneva Barracks, fishermen from Passage, Waterford tradesmen with local connections, and so on. An unusual number of stones have epitaphs or other curious comments on the deceased, and several monuments bear fine pictorial decoration. The inscriptions mention numerous placenames, mostly local, but also from as far afield as England, Norway, Havana and Australia. Among the occupations given are a bootmaker, a clergyman, a cord wainer, two customs and excise men, a malster, a Member of Parliament, three priests, a shipwright, a teacher, and numerous ship's captains, sailors and soldiers. As one would expect, nautical references abound, and at least five inscriptions commemorate deaths by drowning.

The oldest monument is a ledger (horizontal slab) in the chancel, dated 1710, and commemorating Ralph Pilkington. It bears the family coat of arms, crest and motto. The arms are a rather plain cross, but the crest and motto are most strange. The crest shows a knight wielding a scythe, and the motto is "Now Thus Now Thus". They are said to have originated when a medieval ancestor, fleeing from a battle and being hotly pursued by the victors, was concealed by a band of reaping peasants, who clad him in a smock, put a scythe in his hands, and gave him a rapid reaping lesson ("now thus, now thus")!

Close by this slab is a small grave-marker, painted white, which despite its humble appearance is the best-known monument in the place; it marks the alleged burying-place of the Croppy Boy ("At Geneva Barracks that young man died, And at Passage they have his body laid....").

The oldest headstone, as opposed to horizontal slab, is near the south-west corner of the church. The headstone is rare in Ireland before the 1730s, and this is the earliest example I have found in east Waterford. It commemorates Jane, daughter to Henry Mecc Murraen of Waterford, who was "drowned by an accident" on the 18th of March, 1718, aged 18. An unusual feature is that the year is written as a fraction, "1717/8"; prior to 1752 the new year began on 25 March and not on 1 January.

Inside the Church, near where the north wall stood, is a large tomb in a railed enclosure, inscribed with poetry. It was erected by Benjamin Conn of Passage in memory of his daughter Eliza, who died in 1842 aged 26.

Close by is an iron cross with an inscription in Italian to the memory of Pietro Velcich, who died in 1892 aged 47. He was the captain of a ship from Trieste, the Herbina, who died of a heart attack while directing his ship during a storm. Local tradition falsely connects him with the Alfred E. Snow, which was wrecked on Hook Head, at the same period.

The churchyard contains several examples of the local styles of decorated headstone. A stone of 1766 bears a crucifix flanked by angels' heads, and a monument to the Rocket family dated 1822 also has a crucifix. The commonest style of decoration throughout the second half of the 18th century in this area was a selection of objects connected with our Lord's Passion (cross, spear, hammer, nails, etc.). At Crook there are three stones bearing symbols of the Passion, one of which (outside the south-west corner of the church) is particularly fine.

Annexed to the graveyard is an enclosure containing a number of ledger-slabs and a large vault. This was the burial place of Gaultier's most prominent landed family, the Pauls of Ballyglan. It also contains perhaps the most moving inscription in the graveyard, which runs: "Here lies the body of Dorothea Wallis who dyed February 6th 1812 in her 14th year. She was an angel upon earth: we hope and trust in God she is an angel in heaven."

So far, there is no evidence of vandalism. Perhaps it was not always so, for two inscriptions include requests that the deceased be left in peace. An undated headstone of the 18th century commemorates William Davis, son to John Davis, "who requests that no one will disturb his grave"; and the monument to Anna Field (died 1800 aged 18), having listed all her virtues, concludes: "Reader, it is hoped that as long as these virtues are respected this stone will remain uninjured". An even more alarming indication that the local populace in days gone by were not always as upright as one might hope is contained in the inscription to Captain Patrick Kavanagh (died 1799 in his 31st year), which assures us: "He was an honest man." Not the only one, I hope!

Finally, a mystery. A ledger-slab against the west wall of the graveyard is inscribed thus: "Here rest the remains of Neils Petterson, from Arondahl in Norway, who by an unlucky accident died June 15 1774. This erected 1781 by one who greatly laments his loss." One cannot help wondering what Mr. Petterson was doing in Crook in 1774. What was the "unlucky accident" that caused his death? Who erected the tombstone? Why was he (or she?) so anxious to remain anonymous? And why the gap of seven years before the monument was erected?

Crook Catholic Church:

This church was built during the pastorate of the Rev. Martin Flynn, who was Parish Priest from 1837 to 1844. The parish registers contain entries of Baptisms and Marriages from 1839, and are on microfilm in the National Library. Before this date the area was included in the registers of Kill St. Nicholas and Killea, which date from 1780 - an unusually early date for the commencement of a rural Irish register.

St. Anne's Church, Passage:

During the Middle Ages, the land west of Passage was formed into a manor named Coolmacsawry, which was owned by the family of Bruys, apparently in virtue of a grant from King John. In a deed dated 1284, Matthew de Bruys of Coolmacsawry and his wife Margery, who were evidently of pious disposition, granted to the Master of St. Mark's Hospital in Bristol six acres in "Coluerwysaur" together with "the site of the oratory being built in the name of the blessed Anne on the east side of the said six acres", and other lands; in return, the Master and Brethren were to recommend especially in their prayers the souls of Matthew and Margery and their families (see Irish Genealogist, V, 264-5). Incidentally, one of the witnesses of this charter is Roger de Lom, perhaps the earliest recorded Mayor of Waterford.

The oratory of St. Anne is undoubtedly the predecessor of the present St. Anne's church. It is shown in ruins on the panoramic view of Passage and Ballyhack in 1685 by Thomas Phillips (see Decies 11, p.21)

By 1746 a new church had been built on the site, which according to Dr. Smith was having "constant service in it". When was it built? The beginning of a parish register often indicates the foundation of a church (as in the case of Crook R.C. church, above); the St. Anne's register dates from 1730, which could thus be the date at which the church was built. This suggests that it was one of the churches erected at this time by Bishop Milles, who also built St. Olaf's, Killotteran, and other churches. It would have been the only operational church in Gaultier at this period. As further evidence of this, a chalice and paten still exist, both inscribed "t Anns Chappel - Passage". The paten is undated but bears the makers mark, R P, in a rectangle. The initials also appear on a chalice dated 1719 given to St. Patricks (C. of I.), Waterford by Bishop Milles in 1723. He possibly had the paten made on the rebuilding of St. Anne's as a cover for a chalice bearing the date 1641. which had possibly previously belonged to the old oratory, (- see "Notes on the Church Plate of Waterford Diocese" by C. B. Warren in R.S.A.I. journal, Vol. 97, part 2, 1967, pp 119 - 127). Incidentally, this chalice is the oldest piece of church plate in the diocese.

Some time in the early 19th century, the church was extensively restored. An estate map of 1821 at Curraghmore calls it the New Church, while it is described in 1836 as having been "lately repaired...built many years ago". It continued in use until very recently, and was put up for auction by the Church of Ireland in August, 1978.

St. Anne's is a gem of Georgian architecture, with its little-wooden gallery, its pews and other fittings, and its sexton's cottage attached. Moreover, it is superbly sited on the hill overlooking Passage, with Ballyhack opposite and a view down the river to Duncannon. It was highly rated in a recent survey by An Foras Forbartha of post-1600 buildings in Co. Waterford.

The parish register dates from 1730 and is among the oldest in the diocese. It records Baptisms, Marriages and Burials throughout eastern Gaultier (Passage, Dunnore, Rathmoylan), an area of exceptional interest at this period because of its social variety (see under Crook Old Church, above). Moreover, the register has been indexed. The original books are kept by the Rector at Dunnore; they have been microfilmed by the Public Record Office.

Conclusion:

Passage is an area rich not only in history but in documentation. The inscriptions at Crook have been copied; the parish registers of both churches are unusually old (in the case of the Church of Ireland register, we are lucky to have it at all - most of the rural C. of I. registers were destroyed in the Record Office in 1922). It would be out of place here to list further source material, but such does exist. It is time this material was put to use in further studies of the Passage area.

RECORDS OF VESSELS WRECKED IN TRAMORE BAY, 1816 to 1899

By Maurice J. Wigham.

The Records:

Edward Jacob, of Ardview, Tramore was born in 1843 and died in 1924. As Lloyds' Agent, representative of the Shipwrecked Mariners Association, and as Honorary Secretary of the Tramore Lifeboat he had a particular interest in the hazards of the bay. This led him to make many notes and gather news cuttings connected with local shipping, and it is from these records that I have abstracted the following information.

There are several reasons why Tramore Bay was the site of so many wrecks. It is the only substantial opening in approximately 25 miles of jagged cliffs, stretching from Dunmore almost to Dungarvan. From the sea it is difficult to distinguish it from Waterford Harbour which vessels in distress would normally try to reach. The Pillars on Brownstown and Newtown Head were placed there in 1822-'23 in order to prevent this confusion, but were easily obscured by darkness and bad weather. Once a square-rigged ship was in Tramore Bay it was often too late to "wear ship" and get onto a tack which would clear one of the headlands. Facing south-south-west the bay gave insufficient shelter from the prevailing winds to make anchoring effective. Only the Rineshark at the North-east corner of the Bay provided potential shelter but there were severe tides and the entrance was complicated by sand bars. In some cases attempts to reach safety were made by beaching vessels on the long strand.

In the 84 year span of Edward Jacob's records these conditions led to no less than 83 shipwrecks with the loss of 440 lives (363 of these were from the 1816 wreck of the Sea Horse). The records fall into two sections - 1816 (the Sea Horse) to 1858, when the Lifeboat was established, and 1859 to 1899. The earlier section was compiled by John W. Maher first secretary to the Lifeboat, from contemporary notes "taken upon each occasion of wreck". After 1858 the Coxwain of the Lifeboat kept a Journal of all wrecks and rescues. The map on page 49 is a simplified version of the 6" O.S. map on which Edward Jacob recorded the exact position of wrecks where the details were known.

Wrecks 1816 to 1858 :

The following list has been published at least once before, appearing in the "Waterford Mirror and Tramore Visitor" on December 4th 1874. It begins with the wreck of the Sea Horse, details of which are too well known to repeat here, (see W. & S.E.I.A.S. Journal, Vol. XI, No. 3). For illustrations of the various types of vessel, see pages 2 & 49.

| Year | Name | Type | Carrying | From | Saved | Lost |
|------|---------------|------------|----------|--------------|-------|------|
| 1816 | Sea Horse | Ship | Troops | | 11 | 363 |
| | Apollo | Brig | Clothes | | 7 | - |
| | Fanny | Schooner | Salt | | | 5 |
| 1817 | Agnes | Brig | Cotton | | All | |
| | Oscar | Ship | Flour | Baltimore | All | |
| | Fox | Brig | Fruit | | | 9 |
| 1818 | Shamrock | Brig | Ballast | | All | |
| | Enna | Brigantine | Fish | Newfoundland | | 5 |
| | Rose | Sloop | Potatoes | | All ? | 3? |
| 1819 | Active | Schooner | Barley | Dungarvan | all | |
| | James & Henry | Brig | Cotton | Brazil | All | |

| Year | Name | Type | Carrying | From | Saved | Lost |
|------|----------------|------------|-----------------|--------------|-------|------|
| 1820 | Eliza | Brig | Flax | | all | |
| | Dart | Schooner | Ballast | | | 5 |
| 1823 | Harmony | Brig | Timber | Aberdeen | all | |
| 1824 | Bridget | Brig | Ballast | | | 3 |
| 1825 | Flora | Schooner | Ballast | Brixham | | 8 |
| | Mary | Sloop | Furniture | Youghal | all | |
| | Ellen | Smack | Potatoes | Glendon | | 4 |
| | (Spanish) | Lugger | Fruit & wine | | all | |
| | Kitty | Sloop | Flour | Cork | all | |
| 1828 | William & Mary | Brig | Ballast | Bideford | all | |
| 1829 | James | Smack | Ballast | Rose | all | |
| 1830 | Maud | Brig | Wine | Sunderland | all | |
| | - | Brigantine | Coal | North Shield | all | |
| | Diana | Brig | Coal | Newport | all | |
| | Hound | Sloop | | Swansea | all | |
| 1832 | - | Sloop | Ballast | | | 3 |
| 1835 | Two Sisters | Schooner | Tallow | Nantes | all | |
| 1836 | Cuba | Brig | Cotton | Liverpool | all | |
| | Grecian | Brig | Cotton | Mobile | all | |
| 1837 | Sir Edward | Brig | Coal | Liverpool | all | |
| | - | Yacht | | Cork | all | |
| 1838 | Active | Brigantine | Corkwood | Poole | all | |
| | Swan | Brig | Ballast | Ross | all | |
| | Breeze | Yacht | | | | 3 |
| | Brothers | Schooner | Coal | Newport | all | |
| | Speculator | Brig | Ballast | St.Malo | | 7 |
| 1839 | Letitia | Smack | Culm | Cardigan | all | |
| | Prince Regent | Barque | Passengers | Liverpool | all | 41. |
| | Jane | Brig | Coal | Swansea | all | |
| 1842 | William | Smack | | South Wales | all | |
| | Abraham | Brig | Cotton | Mobile | | 3 |
| 1844 | Kate | Smack | Potatoes | Glendon | all | |
| 1845 | Dove | Sloop | Brick | Ross | all | |
| | Elizabeth | Brig | Ballast | Newport | | 1 |
| 1846 | Joseph | Smack | Fish | Dungarvan | all | |
| 1847 | Casket | Sloop | Ballast | Cork | all | |
| | Mystery | Brig | Maize | Portmadoc | 13 | 1 |
| 1848 | Dartagnan | Lugger | Corn | Nantes | all | |
| | Petit Alexre. | Lugger | Corn | Nantes | all | |
| | Lonville | Lugger | Corn | Nantes | all | |
| | St.Vincent | Brig | Corn | Nantes | all | |
| 1852 | Achilles | Barque | Ballast | New Ross | all | |
| | Anne | Brig | Corn | Shields | all | |
| 1856 | Eliza | Brig | Coal | Cardigan | all | |
| 1858 | La Capricieuse | Brig | Coal | St.Malo | 6 | 1 |
| | Neptunus | Schooner | Ice | Norway | All | 6. |

In view of the frequency of these wrecks it is perhaps surprising that no local effort was made to set up a rescue service, leaving the onus on local boatmen to venture forth on rescue missions, usually in the very worst conditions. This happened in January 1858 when the French brig, "La Capricieuse", got into difficulties on the bar of Tramore strand. A local boat from Rineshark put to sea in an effort to rescue the crew. Their boat was capsized however and two of them were drowned. This shocked local opinion and a committee was set up to collect money to assist the families of the two men. Some of the members of this committee wrote to the Royal National Lifeboat Institution explaining the position and asking the R.N.L.I. to consider setting up a lifeboat station at Tramore. There was an immediate response and an inspector came to consider the conditions. He selected a site for the lifeboat house which was then built.

The Lifeboat:

The Lifeboat Station in Tramore was therefore founded in 1859 when the boat house was completed about $\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Tramore on the crest of the beach about 100 yards beyond high water. It was built of sandstone and faced with Carlow granite. The building was taken down in 1899 and rebuilt in Long House Lane where it now stands.

The first boat was a six-oared Lifeboat built by Messrs. Forest of Limehouse. It was replaced by a 10 -oared boat in 1865. This was the most successful "Tom Egan". The next boat was a ten-oared self-righting and self-discharging "Alfred Trower" which came in 1880 and was replaced a few years later by the patent Wolf unsubmergible ten-oar boat, "Henley", which proved a disastrous failure. It filled and almost sank on its trial trip ! A new boat was ordered from G.L. Watson of Glasgow. This was a self-discharging ten-oared boat, not self-righting. It was also called "Henley" and proved successful in bad surf, which it soon encountered at the wreck of the "Monmouthshire" in 1894.

The first secretary of the Lifeboat was John Waters Maher, followed by James Budd, Joseph Robinson Pim, and Edward Jacob. The following is a list of crew members taken from the Coxwain's Journal commencing in 1861. The original spelling has been retained and the date of first mention is given in brackets.

Richard Johns (cox.), John Joy, John Keoghan, Larance Keoghan, John Kelly, James Hurley, Thos. Karney (cox. '76), Larance Keoghan, William Walsh, Pat. Power, Henry Higgins, James Keogan ('64), Pat. Hearn ('65), Thos. Morrissey ('67), Stephen Pilcher (Cox. '71), James Cahil, James Mulligan, Thos. Tailer, Mickle Downey, John Dun, Mickle Halley, John Keohan Jun. ('67), John Toms, John Kirby, Joseph R. Pim ('68), Patrick Bryan, Patrick Power, James Kirwan, Martin Norris (cox. '99), Charles Harris, Michael Kirwan, Henry Long, Josiah Marks, Michael Murphy, John Power, Michael Baldwin, Thomas Keoghan, Charles Spinks ('71, Cox. '85), Pat Joy, John Hurley, John Kelly ('75), John Kirwin, John Walsh, Michael Cantrell (?), James Morrisy, Richard Smith, Michael Flemming ('76), John Phelan, Richard Grubb, Capt. Wm. Hayden ('85), Robt. Londrigan, F. Power, Pat Keoghan ('91), - Sharky, Jas. Power, - McCoy, Thos. Duggan, Michael Ryan, Pat. Kirwan ('92), Michael Hearn, John Spence ('94), Edward Winter, Jas. Kent (1911, 2nd Cox.), Algernon Power.

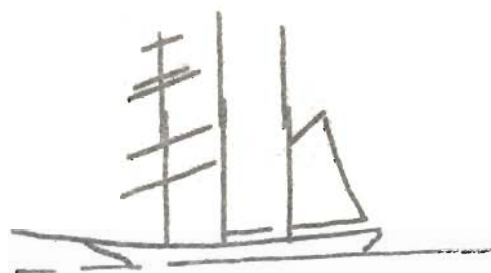
Wrecks, 1859 to 1899 :

By the end of 1860 two years had passed without further wrecks, but over the following eight years the Lifeboat went out to no less than 14 vessels, saving at least 120 lives. It is noticeable that the number of wrecks recorded in the list below for the 1880's and 1890's is comparatively few, presumably because of the more widespread use of steam.

| Year | Name | Type | Carrying | From | Saved | Lost |
|------|-----------------|------------|----------------|------------|-------|------|
| 1861 | Tycoon | Barque | Cotton | | - | - |
| | San Spiridion | Brig | Coal | | 4 | 6 |
| | Veadore du Voga | Schooner | Maize | | 8 | 0 |
| | Nancy | Brig | Ballast & Salt | Marseilles | 6 | 0 |
| 1862 | Nairn | Brig | R'wy. Iron | Leith | 5 | 1 |
| 1863 | Marinatta | Brig | Ballast | | 10 | 0 |
| | Westock | Schooner | | Dungarvan | 4 | 0 |
| 1864 | Sarah | Schooner | Hay & Turnips | | 6 | 0 |
| 1865 | Stefarria | Brig | Coal | Palermo | 12 | 0 |
| 1866 | Jane | Brigantine | | Cork | 5 | 0 |
| 1867 | Anemone | Schooner | Pig Iron | Nantes | 5 | 0 |

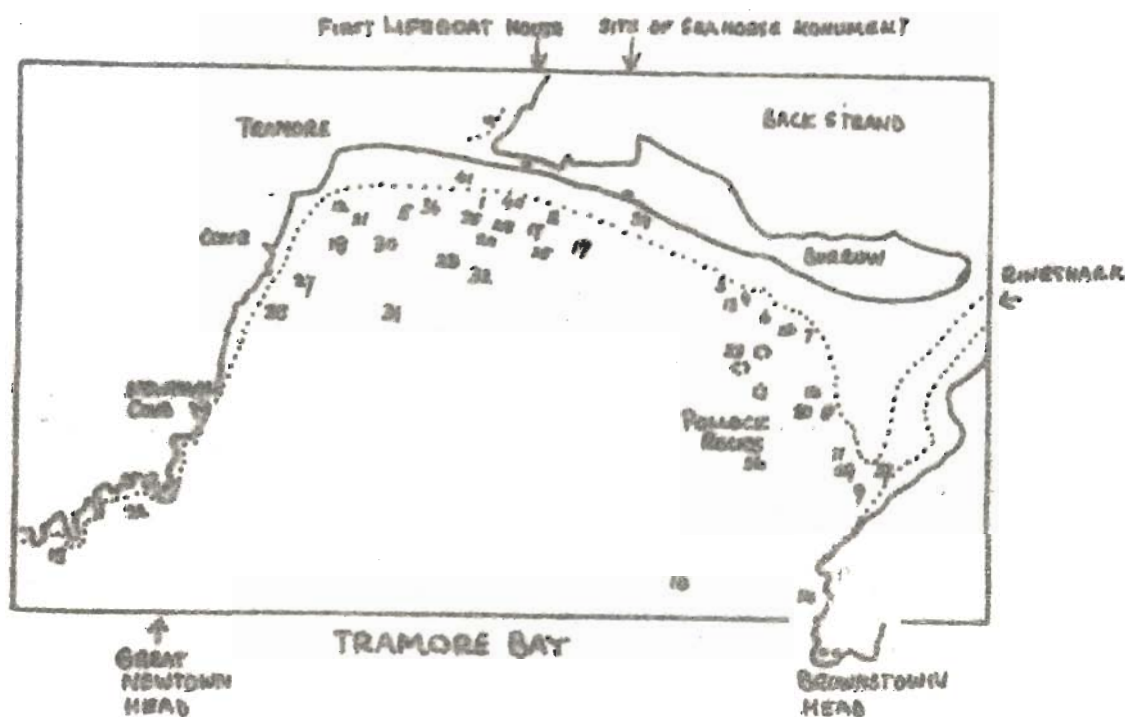


Brigantine



Barquentine

POSITIONS OF WRECKS PLOTTED BY EDWARD JACOB.



- | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Dartagh | 15. Marinatto | 29. Camilla |
| 2. Young Alexander | 16. Westock | 30. Ringarona |
| 3. Tomville | 17. Sarah | 31. Italia |
| 4. St. Vincent | 18. Steffaria | 32. Tug |
| 5. Achilles | 19. Jane | 33. Petrel |
| 6. Anne | 20. Anemone | 34. Albert |
| 7. Elisa | 21. Wild Horse | 35. Garland |
| 8. LaCapricieuse | 22. Oasis | 36. Unknown Steamer |
| 9. Neptunis | 23. Mea | 37. Lady of the Lake |
| 10. Tycoon | 24. Stranger | 38. Monmouthshire |
| 11. San Spiriden | 25. Adelaide | 39. Scott Harley |
| 12. Veodere de Vega | 26. Fanny | 40. Unicorn |
| 13. Nancy | 28. Aurora Australis | 41. Christianna Davis |
| 14. Nairn | 28. Pevier | |

| Year | Name | Type | Carrying | From | Saved | Lost |
|------|------------------|------------|---------------------|--------------|-------|------|
| 1867 | Wild Horse | Barque | Petroleum | Nova Scotia | 10 | 0 |
| 1868 | Oasis | Ship | Linseed | Liverpool | 27 | 2 |
| | Mea | Barque | Maize | Trieste | 17 | 0 |
| 1871 | Stranger | Schooner | Salt | Newfoundland | 3 | 0 |
| | Adelaide | Brig | Coal | Waterford | 8 | 0 |
| 1875 | Fanny | Schooner | Coal | Salcomb | 7 | 0 |
| 1876 | Aurora Australis | Barque | Sugar | Sunderland | 13 | 0 |
| 1879 | Pevieur | Trawler | | Tenby | 5 | 0 |
| 1885 | Camilla | Brigantine | Coal | Cork | 0 | 5 |
| 1891 | Albert | Brigantine | Coal | Youghal | 7 | 0 |
| 1892 | Paul | Brig | Pit wood | Newport | - | - |
| 1891 | Garland | Cutter | Slates | Cork | 3 | 0 |
| 1894 | Monmouthshire | Barque | Coal & Machinery | | 20 | 0 |
| | Scott Harley | Steamer | Coal | | 12 | 0 |
| 1899 | Unicorn | Schooner | Coal | | 4 | 0 |

Details of these are given in the Coxwain's Journal. The following seem to be of more than usual interest : -

"Anemone", of Nantes, a 100 ton schooner with a crew of five was sailing with a cargo of pig-iron from Glasgow to Nantes when she ran into difficulties off the south-east Irish coast losing her sails. She made for Waterford harbour on 6th January 1867. There was a moderate south-westerly breeze and very heavy sea. After anchoring for a period she let go of her anchors and struck on the Rineshark Bar. All her crew were taken off by the Lifeboat, and each of the Lifeboat's crew received a medal from the Emperor of France, Louis Napoleon.

Another award from abroad came at the time of the rescue of the 17 man crew of the 600 ton Austrian barque "Mea", on 24th November 1868. She was coming from Salina to Waterford with maize and had been taken in tow by a tug which then mistook Tramore Bay for Waterford Harbour. There was a moderate South - easterly gale and a slight mist. The Lifeboat was launched but the tug managed to keep the barque under tow. The wind then rose to a storm from the South-south-east, the hawser parted and the barque drifted ashore. The Lifeboat was launched again at 3 p.m. but was driven ashore by the storm. It was again launched at 10.30 p.m. and after being driven back six times eventually reached the wreck at 11.45. All the crew were taken off and the ship fell over on her beam ends an hour later when every sea washed over her. The Austrian Government presented gold watches to Capt. Butler, R.N. who was in charge of the rocket apparatus and to Edward Jacob, Honorary Secretary of the Lifeboat and sent a money reward to the Lifeboat crew.

The "Oasis" was a full rigged iron ship of 1,116 tons with a crew of 29, bound from Demerara to Liverpool with linseed. She struck just below the Metal Man on Sunday night, January 12th 1868. The weather was thick with heavy rain and a moderate gale from the South-east. Six of the crew put off in the ship's boat and eventually reached Slade in Co. Wexford. The Lifeboat took about an hour and a half to reach the "Oasis". The jib-boom was pointing seaward and the crew were able by the jib down-haul to reach the boat. All those thought to be alive were taken off. On return to the beach the weather had deteriorated and the seas were very high. By use of a drogue (Sea - anchor), the Lifeboat was beached successfully. Next morning another man was seen to be on the "Oasis". This time the Lifeboat went out in a North - westerly gale and the tide was low. Martin Norris, seaman R.N.R., had to board the ship, bend a rope around the man who was then lowered and dragged through the water to the boat. Two men were lost.

The record closes with two further wrecks in 1911 and 1915. In 1924 the station in Tramore was closed, the Lifeboat being transferred to Dunmore. The present inshore rescue boats at the Cove, Tramore date from 1964-'65.

NOTES ON SOME POETS OF THE DEISE.

by FRANK HEYLIN

It is astonishing that the same area of county Waterford should have produced at the same time two poets of national eminence, followed two generations later by a third and that none of them were native to this region. Tagh Gaelach O'Suilleabhain's origins are obscure but he lived most of his life in the Rathgormach-Kilmacthomas area. Donnacadh Ruadh was born in Clar. His family may have been married into the Powers who were transplanted there by Cromwell. With the partial restoration of some Power land by Charles II it is probable that various members of the MacNamara family came to Waterford to live. The traditions begun by these two men continued, as we shall see, well into this century.

Of the earlier pair Donnacadh Ruadh, it seems, was more destined in youth for a life of sanctity. He entered the church and studied for the priesthood in Rome while Tagh remained in Waterford living a life of gaiety and frivolity. However, Donnacadh was expelled from the seminary for a "youthful indiscretion" (according to his biographer, O'Daly) and arrived back in Kilmacthomas. Here he lampooned a spirited local lady who retaliated by setting fire to the school he had established there. He seems next to have turned up in Seskinan where, aged twenty-five he set himself up as a teacher of Greek, Latin, Gaelic prosody and the three Rs.

It would appear, however, that this life lacked glamour for him because at some stage afterwards he embarked for Newfoundland. His experiences here he celebrated in an epic poem of 360 verses. Describing his lodgings in the Quay in Waterford he begins:-

Go Portlairge den stair sin teim-se
Comh farranta le Conon na Feinne,
Glacaim mo loistin, bord, bidh is feasta
A bhácair na h-og mhna ba choral in Eirinn ---

This poem is one of great technical complexity with its alliterative repetitions and subtle half-rhymes. In translation it becomes a mere jingle:

"Eggs seven score, no boasting -
For frying or boiling, poaching or roasting;
A crock of butter packed full tightly,
A piece of bacon fine and sightly.
A barrel there was of the best then growing
Of new potatoes - Munster's sowing.
A keg of ale - all hail who brew so,
'Twould liven the dead if aught could do so.

While there he wrote one of his most celebrated poems - the bilingual, "As I was walking one evening fair". It seems that Donnacadh was drinking in a tavern in St. John's, Newfoundland, with some of his fellow countrymen when a group of English soldiers joined the party. He was requested to compose a poem extempore for the occasion, which he did, singing it in alternate verses of Irish and English. In the latter language he flattered the soldiers and sang the praises of their nation, but in Irish he damned them and wished them and their work to perdition.

"As I was walking one evening fair
Agus me go deanach i nEile Sheain,
I met a gang of English blades
Agus iad dá dtrachadh ag neart a namhad.
I ate and drank both late and early
With those courageous men of war
's gar bhuine. liom na Sasanaigh ag rith ar eigin
's gan de Gael ann ach fíor sheagan.
Newfoundland is a fine plantation-
It will be my station until I die
'S mo chra 'gam bhíhearr liom a bheith in Eirinn
Ag díol gairteiri no ag dul ían goill!"

In a different vein is his famous "Ban Cnuic Erin Oigh" which is, of course, given in most anthologies of Irish poetry. Donnacadh here would appear to be rather homesick. (The translation is by Charles Mangan):

Pleasant in that place the sweet song of birds
As a soft and gentle harp bewailing the Gael.
My fate is to be a thousand miles away
From the fair hills of holy Ireland.

On his return to Ireland, Donnacadh seems to have settled down once more in the Kilmacthomas area... Here presumably he established contact with Tadhg who by middle age had abandoned frivolity for matters religious. Tadhg's poems have a strange spirituality for that era and he seems in many ways a forerunner of Francis Thompson and the later mystics. His best known work is in most anthologies - "Gile mo Chroí". The quality of his poetry was recognised in his own time and he was unusual among Gaelic poets in that he lived to see some of his poems in print.

Donnacadh never did. The closest he may have got to building up a circulation was the famous "pass" he issued of the sterling qualities of one Risteard Mac Gearailt.

In Ath na scoile de brigh go bhfuil agus go dtainig an brasaire
beal-chaoin agus an cleasaire cluicheach, clo-tharghtha, cas-
curatha, crodha, calma, cliabh-scaoilte, etc., etc....

Some time later Donnacadh abandoned teaching to become verger of the Church of Ireland at Newtown (Kilmacthomas). What Tadhg thought of this transition is not recorded but they must have remained on good terms as, years later, when Tadhg died (then aged 80) it was Donnacadh who composed the epitaph in Latin which still stands over his grave at Ballylaneen:

"This is the grave of a poet, Oh Wanderer
Glance here in sorrow;
Famous he was and beloved. Weeds shade him now, and grey dust.
He is gone, he is conquered by fate's invincible arrow,
Yet hath his spirit from earth soared to the stars 'mid the Just."

This is his last known work but he lived on for another 15 years. Going blind he wandered the roads, a pathetic figure it seems, whose work was not appreciated by those in a position to bestow fame on him. The exact site of his grave was unknown but a later generation decided to honour him by publishing his works and erecting the fine limestone gravestone to his memory in Newtown churchyard.

In the 80 years following Tadhg's death at least nine different printers saw fit to publish his works (- see WSEASJ, Vol IX, No.1 pp 68-70). Much of Donnacadh's posthumous fame, however, was biographical - largely because of the adventurous life he had led. Included in this would be Tomas O'Flannghaile's edition of Eachtra Ghiolla an Anhran as well as the biographies of John Flening and Risteard O'Foghludha. Much interesting background material is to be found in "Cathair Port Lairge agus na Deise" by Sean O'Cadhla.

Irrespective of these publications, however, the poetic traditions of the Deise seem to have lived on into this century. One of the transmitters of this culture was a fellow county-man of Donnacadh, and likewise a school teacher - James Carnody. The man most responsible for perpetuating the tradition was Bob Weldon. Born in 1837, he saw both the decline of the language and the upsurge of nationalism in the 1880's and '90s. By then a more appreciative audience was available. The newly founded Oireachtas provided a suitable medium for his talents and there he was duly honoured, amongst other awards gaining the Bonn Oir in 1900. The poetic tradition was then taken up by a younger man, Padraig O'Mileadha of Tournaneena (born in 1877). Returning home in 1922 after 20 years mining in Wales he devoted the next quarter century to giving literary expression to the Gaelic culture of the county. He died in 1947 but we hope the tradition did not die with him.

BARTHOLOMEW RIVERS OF WATERFORD, BANKER, AND HIS KINDRED.

By Hubert Gallwey

Early History of the Rivers Family:

Most of our readers will have heard of the bank of Hayden and Rivers which operated in Waterford in the late 18th century, but few will know anything of the Rivers family, on which nothing has so far been published. The reason for this may be that the name seems to have become extinct in Ireland when the last of this family died in 1884. In England, however, the Rivers surname is still extant; there are 78 in the present London telephone directory.

According to Reaney* the name is taken from one of the places in France called La Riviere, meaning the river, and most likely from the one in Calvados or from that in the Pas de Calais.** The first recorded bearer of this name in England, Gozelinus de la Riviera in 1084, must have come in with the Norman Conquest in 1066, or soon after it, and may have fought at Hastings. He appears again in Domesday Book, 1086, with land in Somerset. In 1150 we have Walter de la Rivere and thirty years later the name appears among those of the early Norman settlers in Ireland. Hugh de Ryvere witnessed a grant of churches in Delvin by Gilbert de Nugent about 1180, and Peter de la Ryvere was a witness to a grant of tithes in Urich (Louth) between 1177 and 1191, whilst Richard de Riveres, among others, attested Prince John's Charter to the citizens of Dublin in 1192. In the following century the name occurs quite frequently among those of the witnesses to charters by which religious houses were endowed. The registers of Llanthony Priory in Gloucestershire, which had much Irish property, and of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist in Dublin contain many examples. Among the knights mentioned are Sir Robert de la Ryver about 1230, Sir Nicholas de la Ryvere in 1252 and 1260, Sir Roger de la Ryvere circa 1260 to 1285. They are especially associated with grants of lands or tithes in and around Duleek, Co. Meath. Riverstown in Duleek parish is probably called after them. Sir Roger is occasionally given the Latin form of his name, de Ripariis, (Ripa = river bank). In the next century they are still associated with the north of Co. Meath and with the town of Drogheda. John Ryvers senior had a messuage in Drogheda in 1349-50 and John Junior was an attorney practising there in 1393. Of significance in the light of our later story are the records in 1300-01 of Bartholomew de Rivers, described as one of the Kings' Gascon merchants. Although mentioned in Sweetman's Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, I cannot see any Irish connection. The christian name, nevertheless, is worth noting.

After its auspicious start in Ireland the family seems to have dwindled away until the name became extremely rare. I have found only two references to the name in the 15th century - and they both seem to apply to the same person - and in the 16th century the only one noticed is Gyles Rivers, who was one of the sheriffs of the City of Dublin in 1516/17, and an official of the Corporation for many years after, but never Mayor. There is not a mention in the fiants or inquisitions of Tudor times. Among the patent rolls of James I however, we have one reference which shows that the family had survived in the Dublin area. By a deed dated 19th February, 1618, Bartholomew Bellow of Weston of the Mall, Co. Dublin, and John Rivers, his sole feoffee, sold and assigned to Bartholomew Rivers of the same place lands in Counties Dublin and Meath including Weston itself, Kilmainham and Clondalkin near Dublin, Duleek, and several other denominations in Meath, for a specified sum of money. The Civil Survey of 1654 shows these lands in the hands of their proprietors, so that Bartholomew Rivers or his heirs must have disposed of them before 1641.

* A Dictionary of British Surnames.

** Another derivation mooted is from Reviers, a town in Normandy.

After this transaction of 1618, inrolled in 1622, we have an interval of 50 years without a record of the Rivers family. They were no longer landed proprietors, so do not figure in the Civil Survey or other records of the Cromwellian or Restoration periods concerned with confiscation and restitution of land. But the City of Dublin hearth money rolls for 1666 - 67 show a Stephen Rivers with four hearths taxed at 8 shillings.

The registers of some of the Dublin City parishes give us the next view of the family. In those of St. Catherine's we meet Kimbo Rivers, daughter of Bartholomew and Jane, born 24th July, baptised the following day, and buried in December 1687. On 23rd October 1688 Bartholomew, and on 28th April 1691 William, sons of Bartholomew Rivers were christened. The registers of St. Michan's tell us that on 14th March 1697 the burial of Bartholomew Rivers, "kild by fall of ye glasshouse", took place. Four others are said to have been killed in this accident, and two more to have been "burnt in ye glasshouse". Presumably they were all glass blowers. One might identify the Bartholomew who was killed in 1697 as the father of three children mentioned above. An obstacle, however, is that St. Catherine's has an entry under December 1699: "Dorcus ye dtr of Bartle Rivers baptised 26th". However this may be, I think it fairly safe to assume that the Bartholomew Rivers who was christened in 1688 became the tobacconist in Thomas Street whom we first meet in 1713 when he was made overseer of a will by one John Billop. He is mentioned again in a will of 1718, and when directories begin to be published, he appears in the lists of merchants and traders of Dublin, with premises in Thomas Street right up to his death in 1753. If born in 1688 he would then have been 65. His will mentions a son Charles, a niece Jane Smalley, a nephew Caleb Smalley and Jane Rivers, deceased grandmother of same; that is, his own mother. After his death the business in Thomas Street was carried on for a further ten years under the name of Rivers and Smalley.

It is virtually certain that the three Rivers brothers who settled in Dungarvan in the 1720's were related to Bartholomew the tobacconist, but the exact relationship cannot be stated. He might be their father but, if born in 1688, it would require two early marriages in succession, because the banker, who would then be his grandson, was born about 1730. The coupling of an uncommon Christian name with a rare surname (Bartholomew and Rivers) is always strong evidence that those who bear the two names are of the same family. In this instance one of the three brothers in Dungarvan was named Bartholomew, and he had an aunt in Dublin according to his will. Moreover, the fact that Bartholomew, the future banker, married a wife from a Dublin family, in Dublin, suggests that he had connections with that city.

Before treating of the family in Waterford, let us finish off the Dublin line. Valentine Rivers, a secular priest of the Dublin diocese, was officiating in St. Michael's parish in 1698, being obliged to say Mass in the chapel there and nowhere else. Oddly enough he appears once, in 1720, in a Protestant register as officiating clergyman at a marriage. He died intestate in or shortly before 1744. Charles Rivers, the son of the tobacconist, appears as a Dublin merchant in many registered deeds of the 1750's, 1760's and 1770's. Next come two distillers with separate addresses. Patrick Rivers of Church Street appears in directories from 1762 to 1781; John Rivers of 24 Cooke Street, appears from 1770 to 1799. John married Susanne Plunket in April 1766, but the name Rivers does not appear in the directory lists of Dublin residents, nor in any registered deed relating to Dublin, after 1799. The parish registers that I have seen and the Dublin Grants Index, contain several individuals of the name besides those that I have picked out before 1800. They include a labourer, a plasterer, a baker, a mariner, a merchant and Euphemia Rivers (1728), wife of Mark Synnott of Drumcondra. There are none at all from 1800 onwards. Evidently the name had died out in Dublin by the end of the 18th century.

The Rivers Brothers of Dungarvan:

As already mentioned, three brothers settled in Dungarvan, County Waterford, in the early 1730's. Their names were Michael, Patrick and Bartholomew. We do not know their order of seniority, but we will take Bartholomew first.

because he was the first to die. He married Anne, daughter of Isaac Quarry of Knockane, Co. Waterford, and by her had three daughters, Mary, Elizabeth and Anne. Mary married Edward Galwey of Dungarvan, merchant, and had issue. This Edward was a brother of John Galwey of Carrick on Suir, and they were descended from the Galweys of Lota, Co. Cork. Elizabeth married Patrick Brennock, a merchant in Co. Tipperary, and Anne lived in Dungarvan, unmarried, and died in 1759. Bartholomew made his will on 26th July 1740 and it was proved on 22nd March 1742. He mentioned his daughters and brothers, and his brother-in-law, John Quarry.

The other two brothers, both of them merchants in Dungarvan, married two sisters. Michael married Mary, daughter of Richard Stritch of Clonmel, merchant, and Patrick married her sister, Elizabeth. Both couples were married before Stritch made his will in January 1738, and probably ten years or so before that date. Michael Rivers was married to a second wife, Jane Osborne, by 1746, through whom he acquired a leasehold interest in land in Colligan, near Dungarvan. By a deed of 2nd May 1747, he conveyed this interest to Dominick Farrell of Waterford, and that is the last we hear of him. He is probably the father, by his first wife, of Bartholomew the banker and his brother, but it is also possible that Patrick Rivers and Elizabeth Stritch were the parents.

Patrick Rivers evidently lived longer than Michael, for he is recorded in 1749, 1750, 1756 and 1764. He was probably the father of Richard Rivers of Main Street, Clonmel, brewer and tanner. If so, he could not be the father of Bartholomew the banker, because the latter and Richard of Clonmel were not brothers. This Richard had a lease of premises in Dungarvan from Patrick Rivers in 1764. The memorial of the deed concerned does not mention a relationship between them; but it is likely that they were father and son. Patrick also had two daughters (not named) who married Thomas Flanagan and Charles Mc Carthy.

Patrick Rivers, the son of Richard, may be the student of that name who was attending Kilkenny Academy in 1791. In 1843 he was a member of Clonmel Corporation -- one of the 18 councillors. He died 6th January 1846, leaving £5 a year towards the maintenance of the Presentation Convent schools in Clonmel. He was the last of his name in that town and was probably unmarried.

We now return to the remaining brother of the first generation in Dungarvan, Michael Rivers. By his first wife, Mary Strich, he was probably the father of

1. Bartholomew, the banker of whom below.
 2. Richard, who died at Carrick on Suir, 2nd December 1790 and was described in the Clonmel Gazette as brother of Bartholomew Rivers of Waterford. He, or one of his brothers (but not Bartholomew) must be the "Riviere" from Waterford listed in an official return of the foreigners resident in Bordeaux in the year 1756, being shown as clerk to a Mr. Gernon from Dublin.
 3. Michael, of whom we shall treat later.
 4. Joseph, who had a legacy of £20 from his brother Michael in 1807.
 5. Thomas, of Dungarvan, who had legacies from his brothers Michael (1807) and Bartholomew (1809). The latter left him his clothes.
1. Kate, who married McDermott of Cork and died before 1808.
 2. Cecily, who married John Russell of the city of Waterford, The marriage articles are dated 27 November 1756 and are witnessed by Edward Galwey of Dungarvan, Bartholomew Rivers of Waterford, and Mary Rivers, the sister. The Russells were brewers and wine merchants in Waterford, according to Lucas's Directory, 1787.
 3. Mary, of Dungarvan, spinster. She was a witness to the above mentioned articles in 1756 and to a deed of Patrick Rivers in the same year.

Bartolomew Rivers, Bonker:

Bartholomew Rivers, probably the eldest son, was married in 1753, so he must have been born at least as early as 1732, and perhaps several years before that. His childhood was spent in Dungarvan, but by the time of his marriage he was already in business in Waterford. He married Mary, daughter of Philip Blake of Dublin, penmaker. The marriage articles are dated 10th August 1753. Mary had a dowry of £500.

By the 1760's Bartholomew had built up a thriving business and was one of the principal merchants of Waterford. His announcements in local newspapers give a good idea of the nature and scope of his trade. From Finn's Leinster Journal of 7th December 1767 we learn that he had fitted up a warehouse in Kilkenny to hold porter, which he sold in hogsheads, tierces and Kindirkins. He had also renewed the lease of his wholesale grocery warehouse in Waterford and added several improvements. He was importing and selling wines, spirits, hops, teas, sugars, spices etc. In the same paper of 9th January 1768, he announced that, "At his great wholesale warehouse in Broad Street, Waterford, he sells teas, coffees, wines, rum, brandy, hops, oils, etc. Extraordinary encouragement to those who buy for ready money". Bartholomew was also a ship owner. In the same paper of 13th July 1768 he advertises that his vessel; The Earl of Tyrone, has just arrived from Rotterdam. She is to return to Holland at once and will take freight and passengers reasonably. And so it went on, until in 1777 he decided to open a bank. At that period, as a Catholic, he could not be head of a bank, so he obtained a Protestant partner in the person of Henry Hayden of Snowhill, Co. Kilkenny. Bartholomew then announced in the September and October papers that he "intended declining Mercantile Business" and requests that all debts due to him be paid before 1st November 1777. His late clerk Mr. John Walsh, will dispose of his present stock in trade, "on very encouraging terms to the Buyer; which stock consists of choice old wines of different kinds in Wood and Bottle, Rum, Brandy and Geneva, London Porter, new Mineral Water, Teas, Coffee and Chocolate, Saltpetre, Raisins, Figs and Almonds, fine French Indigo, Madder, Redwood, Logwood, Sumack and Galla, Sallad, Rape and Lintseed Oyle, Painting Colours, Crown Window Glass, choice Leaf Tobacco etc. "

The bank opened on 1st November 1777 under the name of Hayden and Rivers. Two days previously a notice had appeared in Ramsay's Waterford Chronicle, Finn's Leinster Journal, and no doubt in the other local papers of the period. The partners announce the decision to open the bank, "in the house where said Rivers dwells". They beg leave, "to offer themselves to the Favour and Protection of their Friends and the Publick". Real and personal estates of considerable value will be vested in the hands of the trustees in a pledge to ensure the confidence of the public. The advantage to a commercial city of a bank erected on a solid and substantial basis is stressed. The Directors, "unconnected with Party, pledge themselves to the Publick, that they will do everything in their power to promote and improve the Commercial Interest of this City". "Hours of attendance at the Bank will be from Ten to Two, as at the Banks of Corke".

Local papers of March 1778 carried the following advertisement: "To be let, the house and offices on John's Hill, commonly called "The Turret", which Bartholomew Rivers lately occupied". It seems, then, that the bank was at first located on John's Hill, but, four months later, moved to Barronstrand Street. Bartholomew may have moved his private residence to Tranore about the same time.

It is from 1778 onwards, after he had become a banker, that Bartholomew acquired property in Tranore and began to take an interest in the development of the place as a seaside resort. The Act of 1778 enabling Catholics to take long leases would have encouraged him. His activities there were already well advanced by 1786, when the second edition of The Postchaise Companion was published. This early guide book makes the following statement under Tranore. "The town, which formerly consisted of fishermen's huts, was built in a scattered, irregular manner; but is daily improving under its present proprietor ,

Bartholomew Rivers Esq. Several elegant small edifices, with a handsome market-house, assembly-room, etc. have been there built at Mr. Rivers' expence; who has diffused a laudable spirit of industry among the inhabitants! (No reference to this had been made in the first edition of 1784). In Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle for 26th February 1788, Bartholomew advertises the letting of several lots of land suitable for building, in Tramore. Canon W.P. Burke, History of Clonmel (p.340) says that at the time of the collapse of the bank, he had projected a large reclamation scheme on the Back Strand. The failure of Hayden and Rivers' Bank in April 1793 put an end to the schemes and enterprises of Bartholomew Rivers. He lived quietly in Tramore for the remaining sixteen years of his life.

Finn's Leinster Journal for 27th July 1793 lists the properties offered for sale in the matter of the bankruptcy of Hayden & Rivers as follows:

1. Mr. Hayden's house and beautiful demesne of Snowhill, Co. Kilkenny, 160 acres. An estate in fee simples subject to a life annuity of £200.
2. - adjoining Snowhill, 65 acres.
3. Cellarstown in the liberties of Kilkenny, 186 acres.
4. Terevire (?). Queen's Co. 248 Acres.
5. Mr. Hayden's holding in Tramore, yearly profit rent £8.8.6 .
6. Coolrahene and Cartnagrage, Co. Kilkenny, 400 acres.
7. Ballyshoneen, Co. Waterford, 143 acres.
8. Knockenduffe, Co. Waterford, 164 acres.
9. Ballymolla, Co. Waterford, (? Ballymollala).
10. Ballyfin, Co. Cork.
11. Three fields at Newtown in the liberties of Waterford.
12. Crobally, Co. Waterford, 132 acres.
13. Killragh, Co. Tipperary, 82 acres.
14. Mr. Rivers's holding in Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny, which contained a mill, an inn and an island, 23 acres.
15. Ballygunner, Co. Waterford, 170 acres.
16. Little Island, Co. Waterford, 176 acres on which is a dairy of 76 cows and the whole set to a dairyman. The cows and interest in the land to be sold together. Nine years of the lease to run.
17. Mr. Rivers's interest in several houses in Waterford.
18. Houses and concerns formerly in possession of James Lennon in Waterford.

Samuel Roberts
Attorney for the Trustees.

Snowhill was perhaps the only holding in Fee Simple. The rest were all, or nearly all, leasehold interests, acquired, not inherited. It is odd that the Tramore property of Bartholomew is not included.

In a letter to The Limerick Reporter of 14th October 1856 regarding the winding up of the bank of Hayden and Rivers, J.M. Rivers, a great-nephew of Bartholomew, states that in April 1793 a bankruptcy was declared: in May five trustees were appointed; in June they submitted a report to the Lord Chancellor in Dublin saying that they had received £98,000 of assets and the liabilities were £87,000, yet the estate was kept in chancery for 57 years and frittered away "on fictitious motions" until there was nothing left. According to J.M. Rivers the patent clerk who settled the accounts got the preposterous sum of £17,000 out of the assets, Roberts the attorney got £11,000 for the winding up and another attorney received £3,000. He goes on to say that he, as the heir at law of the Rivers family, never saw a shilling from that estate. We may ask, why should he? Bartholomew had direct descendants. Why should his assets go to the descendants of his brother? They were not an inheritance, entailed on the male line, but the reward of his own industry.

Bartholomew Rivers had one son and two daughters surviving. Six other children appear to have died in infancy. The son, Joseph Rivers, (baptised at St. Patrick's on 21st March 1772) became a lieutenant in the Gaultier Cavalry (militia) from 1793, and died unmarried at the end of 1797. In his will, dated 29th November in that year he says: "As my sister Kate Power has generously supported me and my father, mother and sister Anne since my father's failure in business, and has promised to continue to do so, I leave her my leasehold interest in Lower Crobally, Tramore, and everything else". The sister Kate had married, in May 1783, Nicholas Power of Ballinakill, and was ancestor of the Powers of Bellevue and Faithlegg and therefore of the present writer. She had her brother Joseph, her sister Anne (baptised at St. Patrick's, 24th April, 1763), and her mother living with her at Ballinakill, she (Kate) having become a widow one year after the failure of the bank.

Mary Rivers, nee Blake, the wife of Bartholomew, died at Ballinakill in October 1799. Apart from a legacy "to the House of Industry for poor Females now building at Hennessy's Road", she left everything to her daughter, Kate Power.

Bartholomew Rivers died in Tramore "at a very advanced age" on Wednesday 27th September 1809. In his will, which is dated 15th November 1806, he directs that debts incurred since June 1793 are to be paid in the first instance. He impeaches the conduct of his trustees to whom he then conveyed his property, viz. Robert Dobbyn, Simon Newport, Humphrey May, Alexander Wallace and Robert Power. "Only for their gross neglect these sixteen years there was ample to pay all my debts. Henry Hayden's to me and to the bank were considerable". He mentions properties held for him by Edward Lee and then continues: "I leave and bequeath all my property to my beloved daughter Kate Power, alias Rivers, subject to £70 a year to my daughter Ann Rivers, I desire that my daughter Kate do reserve my dwellinghouse in Green's Lane; Tramore, known as Green's House, and all land and garden belonging thereto, and furniture, for her own use and residence". He desires to be buried in the vault of his uncle, Bartholomew Rivers of Dungarvan.

It is clear that Bartholomew had not lost all his property in 1793, and his having a prerogative will means that he possessed assets worth £5 or over in more than one diocese, e.g. Ossory as well as Waterford. It is not known whether Kate Power ever took up residence in Tramore. She was at Ballinakill when her father died and moved to Faithlegg after her second son had purchased it. She died at Faithlegg House on 7th March 1831 aged 76.

The Family of Michael Rivers of Carrick on Suir:

We now revert to Bartholomew's younger brother Michael who also had an interest in Tramore. He had a hardware business in Michael Street according to Lucas's Directory of 1787. In 1784 he was a signatory to a petition for a mail packet between Waterford and Milford Haven. The Waterford Herald of 27th September 1791 announces his sale by auction of several houses, lots of land and stables in Tramore and gives his private address as Lady Lane. In April 1792, together with Bartholomew and Joseph Rivers, he signed the Catholic Declaration, and a year later he signed the Address presented to George III by the Catholics of Waterford. He married Mary White of Clonmel early in 1764, and died on 4th November 1807. His will was proved on 28th December following. He left £500 to his wife Mary, £8 a year to his brother Thomas, £20 to his brother Joseph, £40 a year to his daughter Alice, £20 to his niece Mary Russell of Dungarvan, and £10 to his niece Kate Power. He left £10 to the child or children of his deceased sister, Kate McDermott of Cork, and one shilling to his "lying, malicious and undutiful daughter Mary Tobin", but £10 to each of her three children. Finally, he left £20 for the education of poor children in Tramore. His son Michael was the executor, who proved the will.

The "undutiful" daughter Mary had married Robert Tobin of Clonmel in 1796, (marriage articles dated 27th June), who then settled in Waterford and established a grocery business in Michael Street. He is listed in Pigot's Directory, 1824, as grocer and tea dealer. He died on 25th February 1840; having been 40 years in business in Waterford. The Waterford Mail of 2nd September 1840 publishes the following notice: - To let, the house at the corner of John Street and Lady Lane in which the late Robert Tobin lived. Apply J.M. Rivers, Tybroughney Castle.

Michael Rivers of Tybroughney Castle, near Carrick-on-Suir, is the only recorded son of Michael the elder. In 1804 he contributed to the fund for the building of the Catholic church at Carrick. In 1807 he proved his father's will, as we have seen. In the Census of 1821 he is described as:- Michael Rivers, 49, Gentleman, 70 acres, agent to Power of Bellevue; lives at Tybroughney Castle*. His wife Helen is said to be 49 also, and one son and four daughters are listed with their respective ages.

Tybroughney Castle and estate (652 acres) was leased in 1783 and purchased in 1792 by Nicholas Power, the husband of Kate Rivers. Nicholas left the Tybroughney property to his eldest son Patrick Power, later of Bellevue, near Slieverue, Co. Kilkenny. Patrick evidently made his mother's first cousin, Michael Rivers, agent for the property and leased him the house and 70 acres.

The Waterford Mail of 24th February, 1830 published a letter from Michael Rivers, Tybroughney, promising his support to Lord George Beresford at the forthcoming General Election. Since the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829, he said, he had no cause for opposition to Lord George. He carried out his promise, and the same paper of 7th April following reported that he was attacked at the Chapel, Carrick-on-Suir, the previous Sunday because he voted for Lord George Beresford. Furthermore, the same paper of 1st May reported that Michael's son Joseph had been followed by a crowd in Carrick-on-Suir "and called opprobrious names" because his father had voted for Lord George.

Michael probably had property near Cappoquin for we find a notice in the Waterford Mail of 19th November 1831 as follows: - To be let for such term as may be agreed upon, the corn stores of Mr. Rivers with kiln and a dwelling house attached. Situated on the Blackwater, one mile from Cappoquin.

Michael married in 1795 Helena Catherine Cormack, and died in Waterford on 23rd March 1834 "of gout in the stomach", at the age of 64. His widow died in May 1845 at the house of her son-in-law, Dr. A. Ryan in Carrick-on-Suir. The newspaper notice makes her 84, so that she would have been 9 years older than her husband, if their reported ages are correct. The 1821 Census, as we have seen, gives them the same age (49), which would make them 62 and 73 respectively when they died. Recent information indicates that Michael was baptised on 13th June, 1771. The had issue:

1. Michael St. John, who succeeded his father in Tybroughney, but died at the castle in early March 1839, apparently without issue.
2. Joseph Michael, who succeeded his brother.
1. Anne, aged 17 in 1831. It is probably she who married Dr. A. Ryan of Carrick-on-Suir and was alive in 1858.
2. Harriet, who married on 5th July 1823, Edward Whitby Briscoe of Harristown, Co. Kilkenny. She was alive in 1858 and he in 1884.
3. Wilhelmina, aged 13 in 1821, who married, on 27th November 1830 Thomas Charles Garvey, M.D. She was probably dead by 1858.
4. Eliza, aged 9 in 1821, became a nun in Clonmel and was living in 1858.
5. Dorothea or Dora, aged 8 in 1821. She was unmarried; in August 1858 there was an inquiry into her mental state, and she was found to be of unsound mind and, we presume, committed to an institution. It was stated at the inquiry that her next of kin

*See Irish Genealogist, 1978, p.648

were J.M.Rivers ,her eldest brother, and four sisters, who were named.

6. Catherine, a nun at the Presentation Convent, Clonmel. She died there on 27th February, 1864. Her brother Joseph Michael was her executor.

Finally, a younger brother was mentioned, but not named, in the inquiry on Dora Rivers, but not counted as one of the next of kin. Nothing further is known of him.

Joseph Michael Rivers, the second son, succeeded to the family property and other interests possessed by his father when his elder brother died in 1839. He was aged 21 in 1821. He married in December 1838 Marianne Louisa, nee Steele, widow of Robert Hackett of Birr, and was living then at Crobally Lodge, Tramore. He sold the furniture at the lodge in 1840 when he moved to Tybroughney Castle.

We can build up a picture of the man and his career from the newspaper announcements collected by Matthew Butler and now in the National Library. In 1834 he wrote a letter to the Waterford Agricultural Society on the manner in which a few Waterford butter merchants "possessing neither capital nor character" attempt a system of robbery against the farmers. In February 1842 the ploughing match organized by the Iverk Farming Society was held in a field given by Joseph Rivers of Tybroughney. In June 1844 a meeting was held in Carrick which drew up an address, to be sent to Daniel O'Connell in prison. The chairman was J.M.Rivers. This is the first record of him in politics; there were more to come, since he became associated with the Young Irelanders soon after this.

In June 1848 Rivers was a subscriber to a testimonial to John Mitchell. On 22nd July, at a meeting in Carrick, he proposed a resolution condemning the arrests of Mitchell, Meagher, Gavan Duffy and others, and made a long speech; and a week later, on the day after the skirmish at Ballingarry, Co. Tipperary, he left Carrick. The Freeman's Journal of 12th September, and The Tipperary Vindicator of 16th September reported that J.M.Rivers, for whose arrest on a charge of high treason a warrant was issued after Ballingarry, had arrived in France. On 1st November he was reported to be at Boulogne-sur-Mer. The Tipperary Vindicator of 4th July 1849 published a letter from Rivers from Paris. We learn from this that he left Carrick on 29th July of the previous year to avoid arrest. With this letter is a copy of a letter from Thomas Francis Meagher dated 19th June 1849 in Richmond Prison, in which Meagher states that of all the men connected with the events of 1848 there was not one of a character more truly honourable or of a purpose more determined, than Joe Rivers of Tybroughney. The same paper, of 5th September 1849 reports that J.M.Rivers has returned to Tybroughney Castle. His tenants welcomed him home with music and bonfires. He had presumably been granted a pardon, so that he could return without fear of arrest.

In January 1850 Nicholas Mahon Power, M.P. of Faithlegg, proposed "my friend Joe Rivers" as County Coroner vice Thomas Gamble deceased. Other candidates were John Newport Barron, Dr. Thomas Pyne and James Delahunty. The final voting was Delahunty 49, Rivers 44; so Joseph had the consolation of being runner-up. In November that year Joseph attended a great Tenant Right Meeting in Ballybricken, Waterford.

The Munster Express of 11th March 1864 prints a notice headed Crobally, Tramore, Riverstown building ground. It states that J.M.Rivers, Tramore is prepared to let building lots in this unrivalled site close to the strand and railway station. In July of that year we are told that sports events took place in Riverstown, the property of J.M.Rivers, and he was the principal organiser.

However, the Rivers connection with Tramore was drawing to a close. Eighteen months after the sports meeting Rivers announced that he was selling his Tramore estate piecemeal; he would sell each field separately. After this he seems to have lived mainly in Carrick, the lease of Tybroughney having been sold or given up, or having simply run out. The rental of his estate when intact had amounted to £236 per annum and included, Crobally Upper, Riverstown * and some sites in Tramore, Tybroughney (held under Nicholas Alfred Power of Bellevue), Carrigeen and houses in Lady Lane, Waterford.

At the re-opening of the Catholic church in Carrick, Joseph presented a window in the aisle. He died at Carrick on 29th June 1884, without issue, aged 86, and was buried in the Franciscan churchyard, Carrickbeg. His was the first funeral to pass over the then new (Dillon) bridge at Carrick. Probate of his will was granted on 17th September following to his brother-in-law, Edward Whitby Briscoe, the residuary legatee. So far as I can ascertain, he was the last of the Rivers family in Ireland.

Sources (Additional to those mentioned in text).

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NLI MSS. 9503 (Matthew Butler's notebooks)

* Riverstown probably takes its name from the family. It is ignored in Canon Power's Place-Names of the Decies.

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

Winter Programme 1979-'80

All lectures will be held in the Teachers' Centre, 31, The Mall, Waterford at 8.00 p.m.

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|-------------|-------|--|--|
| Sept. | 21st: | Development of Irish Country Houses, 1600-1800. | lecture by Mr. W. Garner, M.A.H.Dip. |
| Oct. | 19th: | History of Irish Farm Machinery, 1700-1950. | lecture by Dr. T. P. O'Neill. |
| Nov. | 16th: | Viking and Medieval Dublin Results of Excavations | lecture by Mr. Brendan O'Riordan (Director of Nat. Museum) |
| Nov. | 30th: | The Knights Templars and their Houses in the Waterford Area. | lecture by Mr. Tom Nolan (member) |
| Dec. | 9th: | Annual Luncheon of the Old Waterford Society. (Separate notice will be sent to members.) | |
| Jan. | 4th: | Irish Houses and Castles their Arts and Furnishings | illustrated lecture by Hon. Desmond Guinness. |
| mid. Jan. | * | Publication of Decies 13 Subscription to O.W.S. for 1980 now due. | |
| Feb. | 22nd: | on memorials of the dead (further details in next issue) | illustrated lecture by Mr. Julian C. Walton (member). |
| March | 14th: | Agrarian Unrest in Waterford, 1917-'23 | lecture by Mr. Emmet O'Connor (member) |
| March/April | : | Annual General Meeting of the Old Waterford Society (Separate notice will be sent to members) | |
| April 18th | : | Earlier Castles in South Eastern Ireland | lecture by Mr. David Newman Johnson. |
| mid. May | : | Publication of Decies 14 | |

* Decies 13 will be sent post free to all members who are fully paid up for 1979 (see item 6, page 3, this issue) as well as to new members joining for 1980. The sub. remains unchanged at £2.50 p.a. and should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer of the O.W.S.

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

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