

Old Waterford Society

DECIES

No XLIII

Spring 1990.



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FRONT COVER:

Our cover illustration shows the belfry of the Dominican Church at the corner of Bridge Street and O'Connell Street, Waterford. The Dominican Order established its first house in Waterford at Blackfriars, in the 13th century. The present edifice was erected in 1875.

We wish to express our sincere thanks to Waterford Corporation and to Waterford Regional Technical College for their valued assistance in the production of this issue.

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E D I T O R I A L.

Most of our readers will, no doubt, be familiar with those old, sepia tinted photographs of Irish scenes taken in the latter years of the 19th and the early years of this century which may sometimes be seen gracing the walls of coffee shops and the like around the country or appearing occasionally as bound collections.

Many of these emanated from the Lawrence Studio in Dublin, whose staff travelled throughout the country recording the passing scene in cities, towns and rural areas. Using the old fashioned wet plate cameras of the period they produced photographs of very high quality.

The National Library of Ireland holds a large collection of these photographs and they generously agreed to co-operate in an interesting project initiated by the Federation of Local History Societies, to which the Old Waterford Society is affiliated. This involved re-photographing 1,000 scenes from the Lawrence collection so as to produce 1,000 pairs of photographs of places throughout the 32 counties of Ireland, taken 100 years apart.

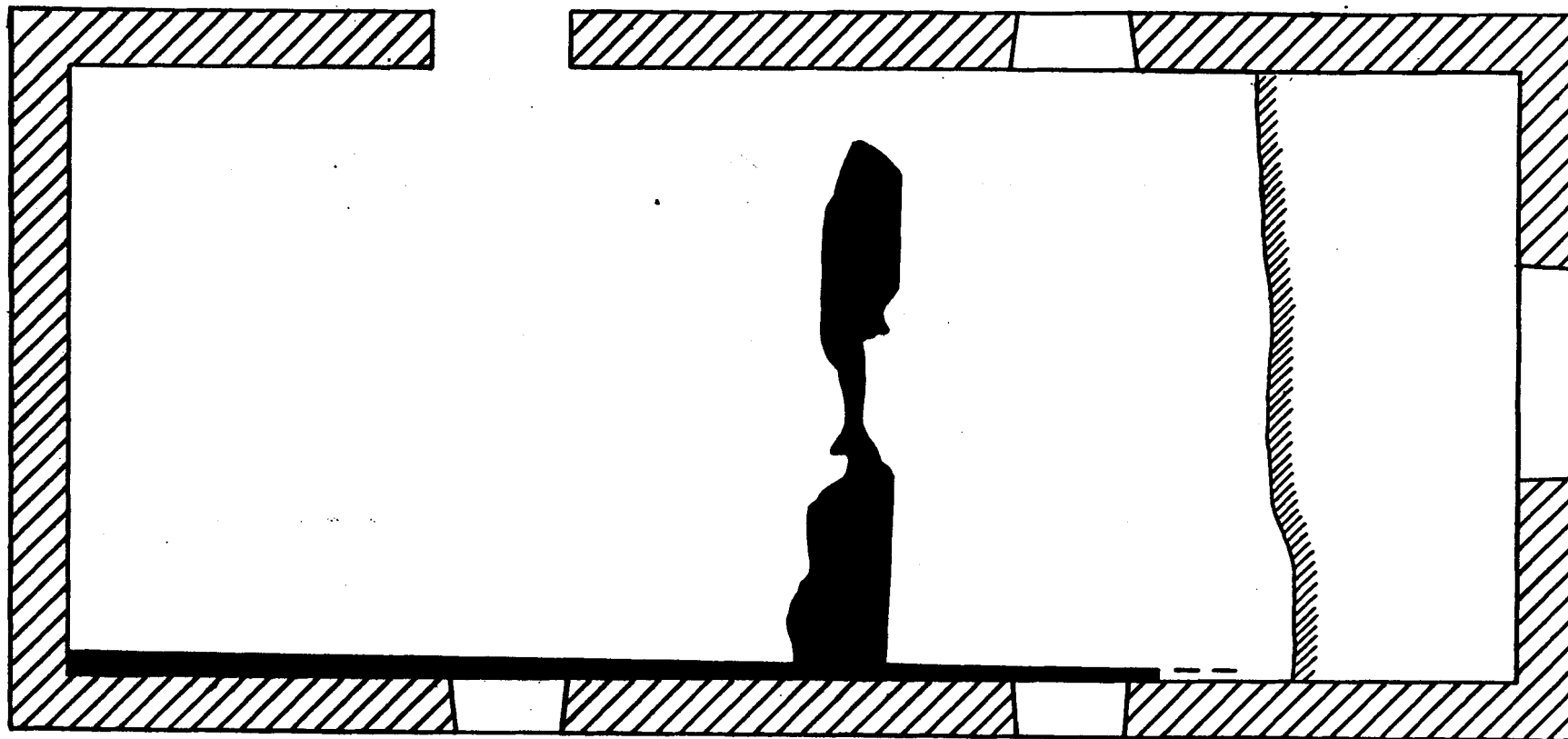
At the time of writing the project is well under way and as can be imagined the results are proving most interesting. In some cases the scene has changed very little over the years while in others it is hardly recognizable.




When the project is complete the new collection will be held in the National Library and a set of scenes from each county will be lodged with the local County Library, together with a catalogue of the new collection showing the scenes depicted and the names of the participating photographers, without whose assistance the scheme could not have gone ahead.

Valuable assistance was also given by Messrs. Fuji who generously sponsored the project by supplying and processing the film.

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FIG. 1: PLAN OF RATHMOYLAN CHURCH



-  TRUNCATED WALLS
-  STANDING WALLS
-  REVETMENT



Investigation of Rathmoylan Church, Co. Waterford.

Andrew S.R.Gittins.

Rathmoylan Church lies approximately 100 yards up a farm track which joins the Dunmore East to Ballymacaw road from the west at G.R. 60629092 (O.S. $\frac{1}{2}$ " series, Sheet 23). It is situated near the north-east edge of a plateau which is defined by a steep-sided ravine.

The site has claimed the attention of antiquaries in the past on account of an extensive group of earthworks and overgrown middens which lay between the churchyard and the precipitous edge of the plateau. Unfortunately, these were destroyed in the Winter of 1982/'83 when the land was deep-ploughed; a situation doubly unfortunate since they had never been adequately investigated or surveyed. The fullest description and survey available is that published by the Reverend George Reade 1869, whose fertile imagination led him to proclaim the discovery here of "an ancient residence of the princely family of O'Faolan, Lords of Deesi".¹ The plan of the earthworks which accompanies Reade's text and which was stated to be of only approximate accuracy, was subsequently elaborated on in a rough survey undertaken by an archaeologist working for the Office of Public Works, shortly before the earthworks were destroyed.²

The O.P.W. report mentions that pottery, mainly of two types, and an iron spear head, were revealed by field walking. The pottery is described morphologically but is not dated or ascribed to definite fabric types. In recent seasons, the area has been walked by local volunteers, organised by Mr. Noel McDonagh. The finds, most of which appear to be fairly modern, include a brooch pin, now in the possession of the National Museum and described by them as medieval, and a small collection of pottery. The pot sherds examined by the author were largely of c17th/18th century date, and included gravel-tempered, Sgraffito and Brown wares. Two small sherds of medieval South Leinster ware were also present, and a fragment of a Gravel-Tempered roof tile was found within the church.

The final element in the settlement pattern, and the only one to have survived, is the ruined church which stands in a small, modern-looking, rectangular enclosure. This has received scant attention from former writers since the visible remains lacked both antiquity and features of architectural merit. However, the juxtaposition of the building, modern or otherwise, in relation to the remains of what may have been an early settlement of some significance, begs the question of continuity of land-use and was thus thought worthy of further investigation.

Rathmoylan Church, Co. Waterford.

Over the last twelve months, much of the vegetation which covered all of the area of the churchyard has been removed by Mr. McDonagh and his helpers, and so it has been possible to examine the remains in some detail and to prepare an accurate plan of the building. (Fig. 1).

The above-ground remains are of a plain, rectangular structure in the Gothic style, measuring internally 14.85x6.20m. (48'-10"x20'-4"). The walls, which are substantially intact, are constructed from irregularly shaped fragments of local sandstone and conglomerate (gritstone), and a little slate, randomly laid and plastered internally with a thick coat of coal-flecked, lime mortar. The side walls are only 0.56m. (1'-10") thick and the northern one, remarkably, appears to lack a foundation. The gable walls are 0.60m. (2') thick and the foundation of the western one is at least 0.50m (1'-8"), deep.

The interior, entered through a plain doorway placed unusually towards the west end of the north wall,³ is lit by four symmetrically placed and well proportioned windows. The side windows are all of similar size, differing only marginally in overall dimensions; internally 1.20 - 1.29m. wide x 2.55m high (3'-11" - 4'-3" x 8'-4"); a height to width ratio of approximately 2:1. The jambs and the heads take the form of equilateral-pointed arches. In each case, a continuous, linear gap about 0.10m (4"), across, in the plasterwork of the reveals close to the external openings, indicates the former existence of wooden window-frames. These frames, since they were clearly original and mounted externally, suggest a date around the turn of the 17th-18th century for the building, which makes it an early example of the Gothic Revival in Ireland.⁴

The east window survives today only up to the level of the springing of its arch. It is 2.22m (7'-3"), wide internally, the jambs are 1.91m (6'3") high and very slightly splayed. The sill is flat. O'Donovan, writing in 1841, records that the window was approximately twelve feet high, (3.66m). Unfortunately, he does not mention the shape of the head.⁵

The doorway, which like the windows is not adorned with any dressed stone, is not intact but enough of the west jamb and the lower part of the arch survives to reconstruct its details. The outer arch was probably of equilateral-pointed form and the back-arch was of segmental-pointed shape. The jambs are plain with right-angled reveals. The width of the opening is 1.40 - 1.44m (4'-7" to 4'-8") and O'Donovan records a height of 8'-3" (2.51m).

The only other surviving contemporary features (there are no signs of addition or alteration), are the traces of the attachments for the altar rail, preserved as castes in the plastering, 3 metres (9'-9") from the east wall, and a small, blind aperture 0.55m (1'-9") west of the springing of the eastern window of the south wall. This may represent the point at which a sounding-board, above the pulpit, was attached to the wall. The floor of the building has entirely vanished. At the east end, a low platform of earth, retained by a crumbling drystone revetment, was added at some stage. Its function is unclear but it obviously belongs to the period following the abandonment of the church as a formal place of worship.

Rathmoylan Church, Co. Waterford.

There is some evidence to suggest the presence of an earlier church on the same site. Mention of the Manor and lands of Rathmoylan is made in documents spanning the period 1274 - 1667. In the Ecclesiastical Taxation Account of 1306, the vicarage of Rathmoylan was valued at 20 shillings.⁷ The first specific mention of the church occurs at the time of the Dissolution. In June 1536 an inquisition held at Passage found it to be in the possession of the Prior of St. Johns, Waterford. On November 15th of the same year, a grant of the rectory and tithes and the advowsons of the vicarage of Rathmoylan and Kilhee (Killea) was made to William Wise Esq.⁸ The last relevant reference is again to the rectory and vicarage, in 1619⁹, and the church is indicated on the Down Survey map of 1654.

The historical record does not of course locate the site of the church to which it refers. The physical and topographical evidence, such as it is, suggests however that it lay in a similar position to the edifice described above. In the first place there are the remains of some sort of settlement close by, towards which the doorway of the surviving building faces. Secondly, this building is superimposed upon a truncated system of earlier walls or foundations which are similarly orientated.

The visible remains consist of a wall running east-west which serves as a foundation for its successor, and an adjoining one aligned north-south (Fig.1). Both are constructed of rough-hewn or random shaped fragments of sandstone and conglomerate, and they appear to be bonded at the junction, which is formed of large blocks of conglomerate. Since the details here are largely obscured by the later wall however, it is impossible to be conclusive on this point. Only the very surface of the north-south wall is exposed to view. It appears to have been vertically truncated northwards, possibly by graves.¹⁰ Rather more of the east-west wall can be seen. Its extent is indeterminate since it is overlain to the east by the collapsed earthen platform, and to the west by the later gable wall. The visible masonry consists mainly of rather small pieces of sandstone which appear to be laid roughly to course. Examination of the south face in a conveniently placed animal burrow indicated that the wall runs down at least 0.55m (1'-9") below its truncated surface and that it is bonded with lime mortar to at least that depth. The presence of mortar together with the fact that the face is quite neatly executed suggests a standing wall rather than a foundation, though a consideration of the other wall suggests the contrary.

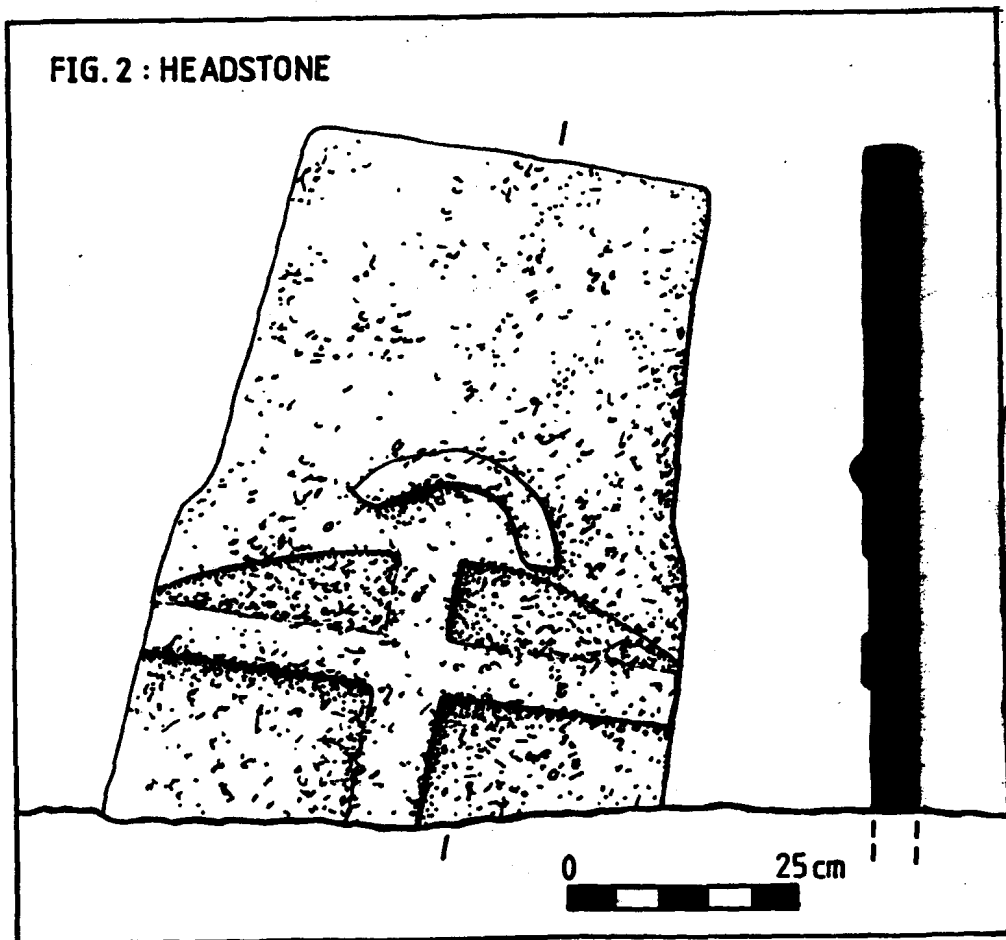
This latter could in the context of an ecclesiastical building, be interpreted as the footing of a chancel-arch. If that was the case then it follows that the east-west wall too would have been a foundation. This sort of problem and likewise, the question of whether the walls indeed represent the traces of an earlier church could not be resolved without excavation.

Early ecclesiastical sites sometimes betray themselves by such features as pieces of cut stone re-used in later masonry or early cross slabs and perhaps a bullaun in the graveyard, but this does not seem to be the case here. There are several interesting headstones of the later 18th Century -early 19th century, all to the south of the church. Not all of these are inscribed and some have a rather primitive appearance but none can be dated to medieval times. The earliest headstone bearing an inscription is dated 1744. The nature of the writing suggests a craftsman who was not particularly literate.

The westernmost group of stones consists of five rough slabs of conglomerate. Only one of these is decorated, and the details are reproduced in Fig. 2. In the opinion of Dorothy Kelly and Heather King of U.C.D., it is likely to be of post-medieval date with no parallels to suggest anything earlier. It is somewhat unusual however in that it apparently lacks any inscription to accompany the cross motif. Recently Mr. McDonagh discovered a small, now recumbent, slab bearing a simple incised cross on one side, and there may be more stones hidden below the surface of the ground.

Perhaps the only other evidence for a former building on the site is the nature of the ground immediately adjacent to the surviving church. This has the appearance of a slight mound; the ground-level to the south and east of the building being rather higher than the floor-level of the church itself. This differential could be partly explained as the result of burial during the 18th century and later, but there is no indication of any significant rise in level relative to the earliest headstones, over the period during which the graveyard was in use. An alternative explanation though speculative, is that the ground could have risen as a result of earlier grave-digging and/or the decay of a building which lay abandoned for an indeterminate period before the site was cleared in preparation for its replacement. This latter interpretation would help to explain the relative frequency of loose rubble near the surface of the higher ground, not all of which could readily be explained as deriving from the later church since most of it still stands to wall-plate height.

Taken together then, the strands of evidence seem to point to this location as the site of the church which existed in 1536. Again, only excavation could take the argument further but while the site is not under threat of development, that would be hard to justify since burials would inevitably be disturbed in the process.



A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S :

Of the several people who have assisted in the preparation of this article, I would like to express particular thanks to the following; Noel McDonagh whose contributions at all points exceed my own, Heather King and Dorothy Kelly for their advice on funerary monuments, Noel Cassidy for assistance with the surveying and a number of useful observations, Sean Durack for assistance in the preparation of Fig.2, and Noel Dunne for literary references.

F O O T N O T E S :

1. Reade, Revd. George H., J.R.S.A.I. Vol.I, Third Series, 1868-9, p.228- His unsupported speculations which include the assertion that Rathmoylan Church was of 16th century date (which is highly unlikely), should be seen in the context of the times in which he was writing and do not detract from the value of his article as a whole.
 2. O.P.W. Topographical Files.
 3. The churchyard enclosure is likewise entered from the north.
 4. Cf. Hollywood Church, Co. Wicklow; in Craig, M. 1983. The Architecture of Ireland, p.213.
 5. O'Donovan, J. 1841. Letters containing Information Relative to the Antiquities of the County of Waterford, Collected During the Progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1841.
 6. Noel Cassidy, pers. comm.
 7. Cal. Doc. Ireland. Vol.5, p.304.
 8. Butler, M. 1913. A History of the Barony of Gaultier, pp.44-45.
 9. Pat. Roll Jas. I, p.311.
 10. Canon Power states that there were no interments within the walls. I believe that on this point he was incorrect.
Ref. Power, Revd. P. The Ancient Ruined Churches of Co. Waterford
J.R.S.A.I. Vol. 21, p.477.
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APPENDIX A - BY NOEL McDONAGH.

Inscriptions on Gravestones at Rathmoylan Church.

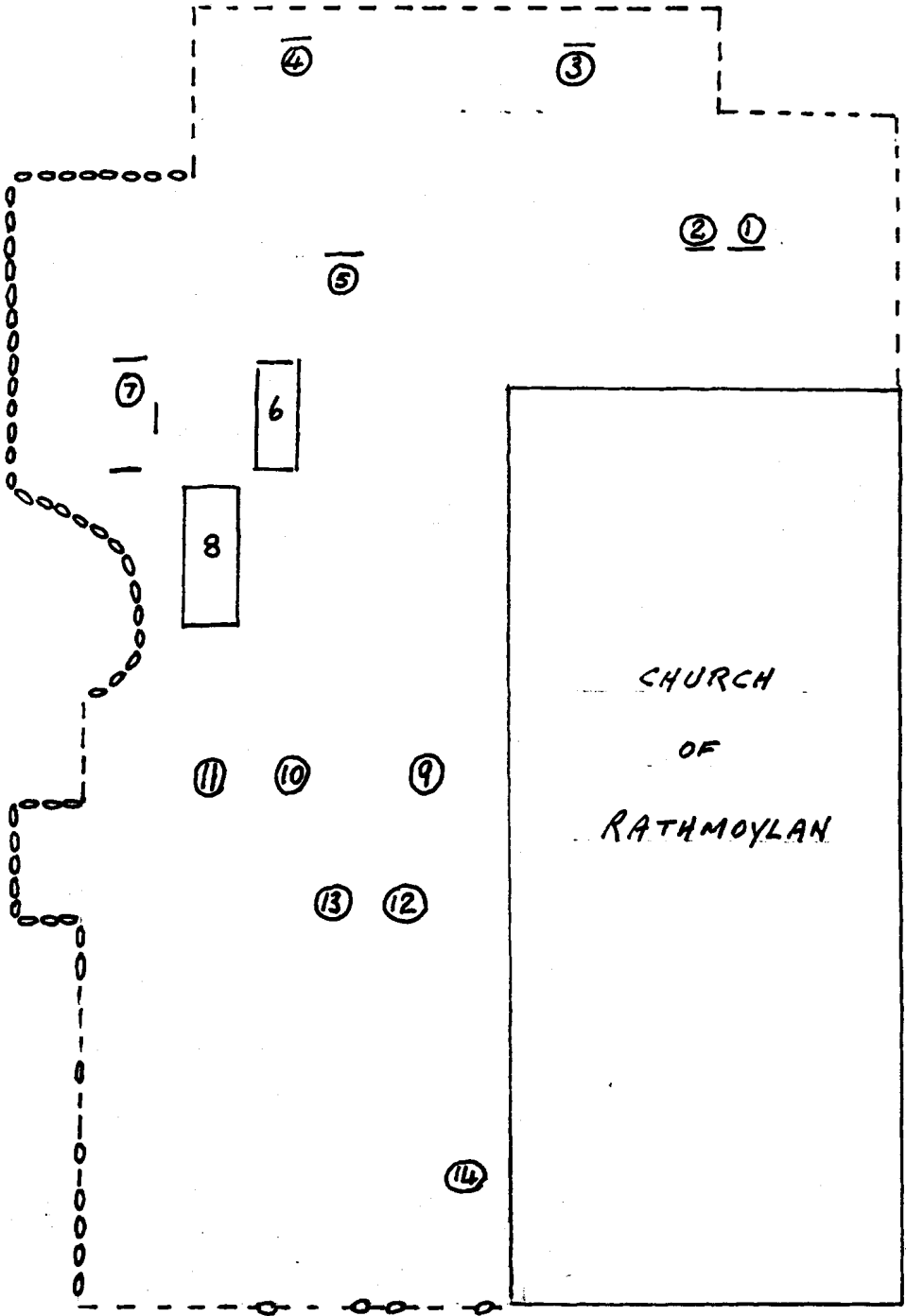
1. Here lies the body of Dinish Dwyer who departed this life in May 1756 - As being the buiral place of William Dwyer of Waterford and his family - Requeisant the Pache.
2. Erected by Nicholas Power in memory of his wife Easter^(s) Power alſ Sleavin who died Jan^ry the 2^d 1810 aged 31 years alfo in memory of his father Morice Power who died July the 8:th 1790 aged 43 years. Requiefeant in Paccamen.

3. Erected by John and Patrick Brazel in 1805 in memory of their family here John Brazel 21 yr.^s Patrick Brazel 23yr.^s
4. Cross cut in red sandstone 1ft.x2ft.
5. Erected by John Fleming of the city of Waterford carpenter in memory of his father Tho Fleming who dep:^t this life Nov^d 6th 1802 aged 72y^s also his mother Catherine Fleming alias Dun died Feb y 9th 1804 ag.^d 74 years. Also the body of James Power son of Dennis Power Portally and nephew to the above John Fleming dep:^d Jan y. 25th 1815 aged 27 Thomas Power Dep.^d July 21th 1808. Requiefcant in Pace Amen.
6. (Stone lying flat - 7ft.x3ft.4ins.) I.H.S. This stone was erected by Margaret Daly in memory of her father, mother, brothers and sisters - Requesient in Pace.
7. See detailed drawing, Fig. 3
8. (Stone lying flat - only part readable). 8'x3'8". Gloria in Excisis Deo - This stone was erected by Thomas Hearn in memory of his father -- of Bai ----- who departed this life the 7 of July ----- 1790 --- who departed this life July the 6th 1816 age 21 years.
9. In memory of Johanna Barton died 1876. Also her mother Ann died 1857 and her father John died 1843 Also her sister Catherine and her brother Patrick Barton.
10. Gloria in Excelsis Deo - This stone was erected by Willia^m Power and Mary Keily in memory of their daughter Magret Power who dep:^d this life Dec:^d 26th 1820 aged 38 years. The Lord have Merch on her Soul Amen.
11. T.H.S. Here lyes the body of Joan Power Deceads Nov 21 AD GD47 1744.
12. T.H.S. Glory be to God on High - Here lyeth the body of Mary Dobbyn Alias Doyle & her seventh child who departed this life the 8th day of Febr^y, 1773 aged 31 years.
13. Here lyeth the body of John Doyle. He died the 11th of Sept 1770 Aged 32 years.
14. I.H.S. Gloria in Excelsis Deo - Erect^d by Abigal Power in memory of her Hufband Laurance Power who departed this life June 7th 1801 aged 32 years - Requiefcant in Pace Amen.

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FIG 3

GRAVEYARD WITH BOUNDARY MARKINGS



NOT TO SCALE

ENQUIRY : - The Boate Family of Waterford.

Mr. J.R.D. Russell, of Tall Trees, Oxford Road, Tilehurst, Reading, Berkshire, RG3 6UT, England, is researching the Boate family of Waterford and Dungarvan with whom he is connected.

Edward Wellington Boate, eldest son of George Boate of Waterford, was born circa 1822 and died on 4th October, 1871, in Philadelphia, U.S.A. aged 49 years. He married the poetess Henrietta Bruce O'Neill in 1848. She was the second daughter of Edmond Neill of Twie Castle, Co. Donegal.

A noted Irish journalist, Boate edited the Waterford Chronicle and Wexford Guardian. He was also a reporter for the Times in the House of Commons and worked on the Irish American, Evening Express and other journals. He reported for the Sunday Mercury to September, 1871.

Boate was a member of the 42nd New York Volunteers in 1863. At the battle of Bristo Station in the American Civil War he was taken prisoner and sent to Belle Island. As Chairman of a delegation representing 95,000 men he negotiated with Abraham Lincoln for an exchange of prisoners.

Another member of this family was George Boate of Prospect near Waterford City and of William Street, Waterford, who was a landowner and Common Councilman circa 1788 - 1816.

The Boates of Dungarvan were merchants and lived at Duckspool and Tournore in Abbeyside. That family included Henry Charles Boate, born in Dungarvan on 3rd August, 1828. He was Asst. Surgeon in the 6th Inniskilling Dragoons and served in the Crimean War where he won medals.

The above details were supplied by Mr. Russell who would be grateful for any information which would enable him to complete his researches. Perhaps some of our readers might be in a position to assist. He particularly seeks information on the parents and family of Edward Wellington Boate and where they lived in the period 1780 to 1850.

Waterford Diocese, 1096 - 1363.

Sr. Assumpta O'Neill.

Chapter One:

Foundation of the Diocese of Waterford.

Life and times of Malchus.

Of the clerics who served the needs of the Christian community of Waterford Danes we have no information until we come to the year 1096. By that year, the number of Christians in the Waterford kingdom seemed to its citizens to call for the election of a bishop to rule over them.¹ Accordingly they met under the presidency of King Muirchertach O'Briain, and chose as their spiritual leader an Irishman named Maoliosa Ua h-Ainmire who was then a monk at Winchester under the jurisdiction of Walchelin, bishop of that see.² Having chosen Malchus (as the name was Latinized) they drew up a letter and sent it to Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, asking him to consecrate their new bishop. St. Anselm was then in the fourth year of his episcopate, to which he had reluctantly succeeded after the death of Lanfranc. Both Lanfranc and Anselm were Italians by birth and both had been trained at the great Benedictine abbey of Bec in Normandy.³ Anselm's career as archbishop of Canterbury was rendered doubly difficult by the treatment, or rather ill-treatment, he received from the King, William Rufus, son of the Conqueror. About a year after his consecration he sent a letter to the Irish bishops. 'Reverend Fathers', the letter runs, 'I speak to you in sorrow and I confess that most bitter tribulation has come upon me. I recall the fruitful peace which I have lost and I think of the fruitless dangers I have incurred. Wherefore, venerable brothers, children of everlasting love, I beseech you in the name of Him who redeemed His enemies by His own blood, pray that God may grant peace in all things.'⁴ Such was the man to whom the clergy and people of Waterford addressed the following letter :

To Anselm, by God's grace archbishop of the English and to all the bishops of his diocese, the clergy and people of the town of Waterford with King Muirchertach and Bishop Dofnald, greeting in the Lord.

Holy Father, the blindness of ignorance has for a long time made us suffer great harms to our salvation, for we chose rather to withdraw our necks slavishly from the yoke of the Lord than to submit ourselves freely to pastoral obedience.

Now, however, we have come to know what great profit is to be derived from the care of pastors, when we compare it with other things; for without leadership neither an army will dare to undertake the danger of war, nor a ship the danger of the sea. How then will our small ship, adrift on the waves of the world, fight against the wily enemy? Wherefore we and our king Muirchertach and our bishop Dofnald and Dermeth our duke, brother of the king, have chosen this priest Malchus, a monk of Walchelin, bishop of Winchester, well known to us, of noble birth and character, imbued with apostolic and ecclesiastical discipline, catholic in his faith, prudent, temperate in his habits, chaste in his life, sober, humble, affable, kind, learned in letters, instructed in the law of God, careful in interpretation of scripture, hospitable, ruling own household well, no neophyte, well thought of by all.⁵ We beg that this man may be ordained bishop for us by your paternity so that he may lawfully rule over and help us and that we may be able under his leadership to fight manfully for the Lord.

But that you may know that all our voices concur in this election, we have each of us with ready will signed this canonical decree with our own hands.

- I, Muirchertach, King of Ireland, have signed.
- I, Duke Dermeth, the King's brother, have signed.
- I, Bishop Dofnald, have signed.
- I, Idunan, Bishop of Meath, have signed.
- I, Samuel, Bishop of Dublin, have signed.
- I, Ferdomnach, Bishop of the men of Leinster, have signed.

For the fact that this letter is extant, we have to thank the monk Eadmer, the friend and biographer of Anselm, who transcribed it.⁶ That there were some further signatures to the letter we know from the note with which Eadmer closed this entry. 'Many others besides these signed the latter, but for the sake of brevity, I have not thought it necessary to note them'.⁷ Of the signatures he has given us, the first is that of Muirchertach O'Briain, a leading spirit in church reform in his time. The second is his brother Diarmuid, who seems from the text of the letter to have had some particular jurisdiction over Waterford, subject to Muirchertach. The third signature is that of Domhnall O'h-Enna, the Dalcassian bishop closely associated with the O'Brien's in the work of reform. He was over seventy years old in 1096, and died two years later.⁸ After his death, his work was continued by Maelmuire O'Dunain, who is the fourth signatory to the Waterford letter. The fifth, Samuel O'h-Angli, bishop of Dublin, had been consecrated by Anselm only a few months before he signed this letter. The last of the signatories, Ferdomnach, is termed bishop of Kildare in the account of his death in 1101.⁹

After the election of Malchus, messengers were sent to Walchelin, bishop of Winchester, asking him to accede to their request that Malchus, a monk under his jurisdiction, might be consecrated their bishop. It is likely that the messengers from Waterford, bearing also the letter to Anselm, went first to Walchelin, who wrote to Anselm, his metropolitan:

To my lord and father Anselm, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, Walchelin, bishop of Winchester, greeting.

The king of Ireland with the bishops and clergy and people of that country have chosen this monk of mine, Malchus by name, a native of Ireland, for the episcopal office to be constituted in Waterford, one of their states. From there they sent their messengers to me, that I might consent to their election and might send him to you to be consecrated. I therefore with the advice of the lord Godfrey, prior of our church, and of our seniors and brothers, have given assent to their petition, knowing the same to be a monk adorned with virtues, learned in letters, prudent, humble, fearing God, catholic in knowledge and devout in religion. On that account I have sent him to your paternity, that in him and for him you may do what is yours. I ask you also for the sake of our love, because he is our monk, to deal kindly with his, and since his countrymen are awaiting him at Bristol with ships, to hasten his consecration. Farewell. 10

There are some noteworthy points in this letter. Walchelin begins by saying that Malchus has been elected by the king, bishops, clergy and people of Ireland. This statement is obviously not borne out by the letter sent to Anselm from Waterford, and perhaps delivered to Anselm by the same messengers, which expressly states that it comes from the clergy and people of the town of Waterford, with King Muirchertach and Duke Diarmuid. Eadmer, in his introduction to the transcript of the Waterford letter, adds a further statement, likewise unwarranted. 'The king of Ireland, with all the nobles and clergy and people of that island, sent messengers to Anselm, asking him in virtue of the primacy which he exercised over them, and relying on the apostolic authority which he held, to come to their assistance by consecrating their new bishop.' 11 This claim of Canterbury to primacy over the Irish church was not new. It had been formerly put forward by Lanfranc.¹² There is no evidence that the whole Irish church ever acknowledged this primacy, but the Danish kingdoms of Dublin and Limerick, and for a short time that of Waterford, made their bishops suffragans of Canterbury. Thus we find Malchus at his consecration making the following profession of obedience:

I, Malchus, bishop-elect of Waterford, and now about to be consecrated by you, Reverend Father Anselm, archbishop of the holy church of Canterbury and primate of all Britain, do promise in all things to give canonical obedience to you and all your successors.¹³

Why did the people of Waterford place their diocese under the jurisdiction of Canterbury? One explanation is that in applying to Canterbury the Danes of Waterford, like those of Dublin and Limerick, were simply seeking the most accessible metropolitan see.¹⁴ Further reasons may have been the desire to regularise their position in the universal church, and to ensure their independence of the neighbouring Irish comarbai.¹⁵ It must be borne in mind that the setting-up of a territorial diocese was something outside the traditional framework of church organisation in Ireland.¹⁶ The advice and assistance desirable in the circumstances could hardly have been obtained in Ireland, where the new system would probably be regarded as an intrusion. The older Irish churches, (to call them dioceses would be misleading since they were not territorially delimited) had been for six centuries accustomed to the rule of men claiming to be successors of one or other Irish saint. Thus we read of the successor (comarb) of Patrick, of Ciaran, of Ailbe, where we would

speaking rather of bishops of Armagh, Clonmacnoise, Emlly. An appeal to Armagh was out of the question, since Armagh in 1096 as for 200 years previously, was ruled by lay-abbots, a state of affairs that ended only with the ordination of Celsus in 1106.¹⁷ Nevertheless, jealousy of Armagh has actually been suggested as a motive for the appeal to Canterbury.¹⁸ An appeal to Lismore was equally unthinkable, since the newly-constituted diocese was formed of territory which up to then was loosely subject to Lismore. For whatever reasons, the fact remains that the inhabitants of Waterford chose to make their new bishopric a suffragan see of Canterbury, and that Muirchertach O'Briain, his brother Diarmuid, and at least four Irish bishops signified their approval.

Eadmer gives 20 December 1096 as the date of the consecration of Malchus as Waterford's first bishop. The consecration took place in Canterbury cathedral. The consecrating prelate was, of course, Anselm, and the co-consecrators were Ralph, bishop of Chichester, and Gundolf, bishop of Rochester.¹⁹ Since the consecration of Malchus is known to have taken place in December, we can place the otherwise undated letter from Waterford between April and December of that year. Bishop Samuel of Dublin, one of the signatories, was consecrated April 20, and allowing time for him to return to his diocese and attend the Waterford synod, we can date the election of Malchus to summer or Autumn, 1096.

That was a most auspicious year for the consecration of a bishop who was to become 'an important agent for the reform movement'.²⁰ Kenney goes so far as to say that events in Ireland in that year may be regarded as inaugurating the twelfth century revival.²¹ In a tract known as the Second Vision of Adamnan, woe and calamity were foretold for the men of Ireland in the year when the feast of the beheading of St. John the Baptist would fall on a Friday in a bissextile and embolismal year at the end of a cycle.²² With the exception of the last, these conditions were fulfilled in the year 1096. It was the fourteenth year of a nineteen-year cycle, which was sufficiently near the end to induce a wave of popular terror as the apocalyptic year approached. When, in Summer 1096, a great plague broke out 'which wrought havoc of people'²³ the country was dominated by fear. 'Great fear upon the men of Ireland before the feast of John of this year', says the Ulster annalist, 'until God spared them through the fastings of the comarb of Patrick and the clergy of Ireland besides'. The Four Masters give more details. 'The festival of John fell on Friday this year; the men of Ireland were seized with great fear, and the counsel taken by the clergy of Ireland with the comarb of Patrick at their head, in order to save them from the mortality which had been predicted to them from a remote period, was to command all in general to observe a three days' abstinence from Wednesday to Sunday, every month, and to fast every day till the end of a year, except on Sundays and great festivals; and they also gave alms and many offerings to God, and many lands were granted to churches and the clergy by kings and princes. And so the men of Ireland were delivered for that time from the fire of vengeance.' The Annals of Clonmacnoise add to the measures taken by the clergy that 'they also appointed certain prayers to be said daily'. It is perhaps notable that neither in 1095 nor 1096 do the annalists mention any expedition by Muirchertach O'Briain against his rival, Domhnall O'Lochlainn, an event which occurs regularly both before and after those years.

In that year, 1096, Bernard of Clairvaux was five years old, Malachy of Armagh was a child of two, and Peter Abelard a youth of seventeen. Anselm, the recipient of the letter from Waterford was sixty-three. Urban II was Pope, and the Crusades had just begun.

Malchus, we may presume, sailed from Bristol to Waterford early in 1097.²⁴ He was not quite fifty years old, and for almost forty years thereafter he played his part in the work of church reform in Ireland.²⁵ When he died in 1135 that work was nearing the final form embodied in the decrees of the Synod of Kells, 1152.

We have no record of the welcome accorded to Malchus on his arrival in Waterford. Of Bishop Samuel of Dublin consecrated by Anselm eight months previously, Eadmer says that 'he returned joyfully to his fatherland and was received in his new see with all the honours customary in that land'.²⁶ We would expect Muirchertach O'Briain to have greeted him, though we know that at some time in that year, he was once again busy leading a hosting against Domhnall O'Lochlainn.²⁷ The Annals of Ulster from which we take this item give a picture of general prosperity that year when they remark with evident satisfaction on the 'great nut-crop in Ireland this year so that the sixth of a barrel of nuts used to be got for one penny'.

Malchus was no stranger in Ireland, for his obit gives his Irish name, Maoliosa O'h-Ainmire.²⁸ Fr. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. thinks it likely that he had been a monk in some Irish monastery, probably Lismore, before he went to Winchester.²⁹ Now, as bishop of an Irish diocese, it was his duty to co-operate with his fellow-bishops in carrying out the programme of reform already inaugurated on the continent. Ireland had come through three centuries of turmoil in the fluctuating struggle against the Danes, during which much was gained, but inevitably much was also lost. The monasteries, centres of religion and the arts, had been repeatedly plundered. Priceless books were burned or drowned.³⁰ Others were taken to continental monasteries by their owners fleeing from the wrath to come. Brian Boru had made valiant efforts to make good these losses, but the recovery was bound to be slow. An old order was changed, the new was not yet formed. The letters of Lanfranc, Anselm, and St. Bernard point out in no uncertain terms that abuses existed in the Irish church.³¹ If we allow for their necessarily limited knowledge of Irish affairs and for the fact that reformers then as now are sometimes found to exaggerate, we must still agree that all was not well with the Irish church.³² Its greatest hope lay with the men who were wise enough to see this and humble enough to admit it and then did all in their power to supply a remedy. We may consider it certain that Bishop Malchus lost no time in setting about the organisation of his diocese. The Christchurch of Waterford became his cathedral church.³³ He may have organised a cathedral chapter and encouraged the canonical recitation of the divine office as was customary in Norman England.

Four years after Malchus returned to Waterford, a synod was held at Cashel, at which Muirchertach O'Briain made a gift of Cashel to the church. The account of the synod mentions only one of the bishops who attended - Maelmuire O'Dunain - but it is likely that Malchus was one of those 'chiefs of the clergy' who were also present.³⁴

Some time after this, Malchus became involved in the affairs of Bishop Samuel of Dublin. Anselm had heard certain complaints about the conduct of Samuel, and, as his metropolitan, sent him a severe reprimand for his offences.³⁵ The first of these was the giving away of 'books, vestments, and other ornaments of the church which the lord archbishop Lanfranc gave to your uncle Donatus.' The second was 'driving out and scattering the monks who had been brought together for the service of that church', and the last was 'causing the cross to be carried before you on your journeys.' The last-named practice meant that Samuel was appropriating to himself metropolitan dignity, which prompts Anselm to end his letter with the words 'I order you to do so no longer, for this right is reserved to archbishops who have been confirmed with the pall by the Roman Pontiff.'

This stern letter of rebuke was not sent directly to Samuel, but to Malchus of Waterford, with a covering letter entrusting him with the unwelcome task of admonishing his brother of Dublin.

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, to his friend and fellow-bishop Malchus of Waterford, greeting and blessing.

I have heard that the Lord Samuel, bishop of Dublin, is casting out the monks from the church of Dublin, for little or no cause, and that he will not take them back, no matter what satisfaction be offered; and that, contrary to custom, he causes his cross to be carried before him on his journey, and that he is giving away as his own, property of that church which was given by Archbishop Lanfranc. On all these points I am sending him a letter and I am ordering the people of that city to prevent the distribution of the afore-said property. And since I can find no person more suitable than you through whom I can send my letter, I beg you, my brother, to hand it to him in person, and to warn him with prayer and counsel, to pay heed to the admonition I am sending him in writing.'³⁶

There is also extant a letter written by Malchus to Anselm while the latter was in exile in St. Omer. The tone of the letter reveals the admiration which Malchus had for the archbishop in his many trials, and the affection he felt for him. 'Carissime pater', he writes, 'partim fuimus tristes, partim laeti, de discessione vestra. Laeti quidem, quia habuimus exemplum discendae patientiae quacumque tribulatione engruente; tristes vero, quia vos intervalla locorum in longinquam separaverunt, quia voluimus esse propinqui vobis frequentia litterarum, licet absentes personae'.³⁷ He then requests Anselm to send him the book on the Holy Trinity which he had written and which Malchus has lately heard was commended by the Pope himself. Lastly he reminds Anselm of a request he had already made to him to commit to writing a sermon on the Incarnation given apparently at Winchester. Since Malchus mentions that the sermon was preached 'after dinner on the feast of St. Martin' but does not mention the year, the letter appears to have been written within twelve months of his departure from Winchester. There is no record of Anselm's reply, except in so far as his 'cur deus homo' can be regarded as the written version of the sermon requested by Malchus.

In 1105, before the diocese of Waterford was quite ten years old, an event occurred which was of the utmost significance for the whole Irish church. The comarb of Patrick died at Duleek and Ceallach was chosen to succeed him.³⁸ This Ceallach or Celsus, though a member of the family which had ruled Armagh as lay-abbots for 200 years, had been won over to the cause of reform.³⁹ Immediately after his election he received Holy Orders and in the following year he was consecrated bishop. All that we know of his consecration is that it took place in Munster in 1106.⁴⁰ We may however consider it certain that there were three consecrating prelates, as canonically prescribed. St. Anselm had, in fact, in his letter to King Muirchertach in 1096, mentioned consecration by a single prelate as an irregularity calling for attention.⁴¹ It is unlikely that his words would have gone unheeded. It is not difficult to name the three outstanding prelates of Munster in 1106, the three leading spirits of the reform movement. They were Maelmuire O'Dunain, Malchus of Waterford, and Gilbert of Limerick.

The fact that Armagh was now ruled by a bishop who was intent on reform meant that the next synod would be representative of the whole of Ireland. So it came about in 1111, when a synod met at Rathbreasail.⁴²

It was at Rathbreasail that the first attempt was made at the formal erection of an Irish hierarchy. Ireland was to be divided into two ecclesiastical provinces - Armagh and Cashel - each with twelve suffragan sees. In addition, there were to be two bishops in Meath. This arrangement was similar to that already obtaining in England, which was divided into the provinces of York and Canterbury.⁴³ In Ireland, moreover, such an arrangement coincided with the traditional division of the country into Leth Chuinn and Leth Mogha. In the planning of the diocesan limits, the general lines of already-existing civil divisions were followed.⁴⁴ This probably explains why Lismore and Waterford were, at Rathbreasail, constituted one single diocese.⁴⁵ The seat of residence of the bishop was to be Lismore or Waterford. The diocese was to extend 'from Mileadhach on the brink of the Bearbha at Cumar na dtri n-Uisce to Corcach, and from the Suir southward to the sea'.⁴⁶ This territory was in fact coterminous with the ancient territory of Decies.⁴⁷

Bishop Malchus was now free to reside either at Lismore or at Waterford. It was natural that he should choose Lismore. It had been for a long time 'a great religious city, a school of sacred sciences, to which pilgrims from all over Ireland and scholars from beyond the seas resorted'.⁴⁸ The earliest date at which we can fix the residence of Malchus at Lismore is 1121 or 1122.⁴⁹ He may have been there earlier. Niall Mac Aeducain (whose name is inscribed on the famous Lismore Crozier) was bishop of Lismore at Rathbreasail (1111) but died in 1113.⁵⁰ Malchus may have gone to Lismore soon after Mac Aeducain's death. Or he may have lived some time at Cashel. Malchus signed the acts of the synod of Rathbreasail as archbishop of Cashel,⁵¹ his name appearing immediately after those of the papal legate and the primate. By that date the term archbishop had a very definite meaning and signified that Malchus was to be metropolitan of the newly-constituted province of Cashel.⁵² One aspect of this was that he was henceforth free of the jurisdiction of Canterbury. We do not know how long Malchus remained archbishop of Cashel. There is no evidence that a bishop was elected to replace him at Waterford. It is likely that Malchus remained bishop of Waterford at the same time as he was archbishop of the province, just as St. Malachy some years later was bishop of Connor and archbishop of Armagh.

Like Malachy, Malchus may have resigned the metropolitan see. Certainly he died at Lismore and the annals recording his death call him bishop of Waterford.⁵³ At any rate, though the seat of the archbishop was fixed at Cashel, by decree of the synod of Rathbreasail, this may not have been immediately feasible. Cashel had no tradition as an ecclesiastical centre, having been granted to the church only ten years previously. Moreover in the turmoil after the death of Muirchertach O'Briain in 1119, residence at Cashel would probably have been out of the question.

In 1117 Maelmuire O'Dunain died in his seventy-seventh year,⁵⁴ in 1118 Duke Diarmuid died,⁵⁵ and in 1119 King Muirchertach himself.⁵⁶ There was now only one survivor of the signatories to the Waterford letter (in 1101 Ferdornach had died).⁵⁷ Bishop Samuel of Dublin lived until 1121, when he too 'in pace quievit'.⁵⁸

In 1120 Celsus, archbishop of Armagh, made his visitation of Munster. This was his first visitation of that province since 1106, as far as our information goes. He had, of course met Malchus in the intervening years for they were both prominent at Rathbreasail. While Celsus was in Munster in 1120, he left as his vicar at Armagh a young priest whom he had ordained only the year before. This was Maolmaodhog O'Morgair, afterwards known as St. Malachy.⁵⁹ When Celsus returned to Armagh he sent his young vicar south to Lismore to study under Malchus. St. Bernard described this incident in his *Vita Malachiae* and speaks of Bishop Malchus in terms no less eulogistic than those of the letter from Waterford in 1096.

He was an old man, full of days and of virtues and the wisdom of God was in him. He was of Irish nationality, but had lived in England in the habit and rule of a monk in the monastery of Winchester, from which he was promoted to be bishop in Lismore⁶⁰ a city of Munster, and one of the noblest cities of that kingdom. There so great grace was bestowed upon him from above that he was illustrious, not only for life and doctrine, but also for signs. Of these I set down two as examples, that it may be known to all what sort of teacher Malachy had in the knowledge of holy things. He healed a boy who was troubled with a mental disorder in the act of confirming him ... He restored hearing to one who was deaf For these and other such deeds his fame increased and he won a great name, so that Scots and Irish flowed together to him and he was revered by all as the one father of all.⁶¹

It is pleasant to visualise the meeting that took place between the ageing Bishop Malchus and the youthful Malachy. One was past the biblical three score and ten,⁶² the other was the young man seeing visions⁶³ yet disparity of age was no bar to union of spirit. Malachy remained at Lismore until, after two years, he was recalled to Armagh. For three years he was abbot of Bangor, and when circumstances forced him to leave his monastery, he again made his way to Lismore. Another famous pilgrim at Lismore in that year (1227) was Cormac MacCarthy, king of Desmond,⁶⁴ the same Cormac who later built at Cashel the famous chapel which bears his name. This visit of Malachy to Malchus did not last long, probably not more than a few months.

In 1129 the Irish reform party suffered a severe blow when Celsus died at the early age of fifty. His death took place at Ardpatrik on April 1, ' and on 3rd April his body was carried to Lismore of Mochuda according to his will and it was waked with psalms and hymns and canticles. And it was buried with honour in the tomb of the bishops'.⁶⁵ Before his death Celsus had named Malchus as his successor but it was only at the persistent persuasion of Malchus and Gilbert that he consented to accept the charge.⁶⁶ After a long struggle with those at Armagh who regarded the see as their hereditary right,⁶⁷ Malchus succeeded in establishing so satisfactory a state of affairs there that his successor Gelasius entered upon his succession without opposition. Gelasius was still primate at the Norman invasion.

One other notable event occurred in the lifetime of Malchus. In 1134, the chapel on the Rock of Cashel was consecrated.⁶⁸ Bishop Malchus was not very old and we do not know whether he was present.⁶⁹ Certainly he was present in spirit. The chapel is very much an expression in stone of the 12th century reform, an enduring tribute to the faith of the age.⁷⁰ In that sense it is a monument to the spirit that animated Malchus. And as if it were indeed the seal on his life's work, the annalist records in the following year, ' Maoliosa O h-Aimire bishop of Portlairge , and chief senior of the Irish, died at Lis-mor-Mochuda after the eighty-eight year of his age.'⁷¹

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N O T E S

List of Abbreviations:

A.F.M.	: Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters.
A.L.C.	: The Annals of Loch Ce.
A.U.	: The Annals of Ulster.
Cal. Docs. Ire.	: Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland.
Clyn's Annals	: The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn and Thady Dowling.
I.E.R.	: Irish Ecclesiastical Record.
Proc. R.I.A.	: Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.
Report D.K.R.	: Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland.
R.S.A.I. Jn.	: Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
Waterford Arch.Soc.Jn.:	Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society.

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1. Eadmer, Historia Novorum, p.76.
2. The cathedral priory of St. Swithun at Winchester was a community of Benedictine monks directly subject to the bishop. At this particular time, it was an outstanding centre of all that was richest and best in Norman Benedictine abbeys. The formation given at Winchester embraced not only the strictly spiritual but also painting, architecture, music, history, grammar, verse-making and homiletics, science and languages. Bishop Walchelin was said to have loved his monks as if they were angels, and Prior Godfrey, Malchus's immediate superior, was noted both for his literary gifts and his holiness of life. (See various references in Knowles, The Monastic Order in England.)

3. For Bec as an intellectual centre in medieval times, see Knowles, op.cit. p.96-7. It was to the abbey of Bec that the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ramsey went on the feast of St. Anselm, 21 April 1067, to join in prayer for Christian unity,
4. Ussher, Works, iv, 515, translated by Fr. Aubrey Gwynn S.J. in his article 'Lanfranc and the Irish church' in I.E.R. lvii (1941), 481 - 500.
5. This list of qualifications, taken almost literally from 1 Tim.iii, 1-7, was used from the early days of the church to determine suitability of candidates for the office of bishop, and together with the requirements for priests and deacons, became known as the 'regula apostoli'. The use of it in this letter is intended to assure Anselm that there is no impediment to the consecration of Malchus. See G.J. Hand's introductory remarks to his article 'The Bigamous Archbishop of Palermo' in Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.
6. The letter is printed in Eadmer, Historia Novorum, p.76; Schmitt (ed.) S. Anselmi Opera Omnia, iv. Letter 20-; Ussher, Works, iv, 518; Migne, Patrologia Latina, 159, col. 395-6.
7. Eadmer, Historia Novorum, p.77.
8. A.U. 1098.
9. A.U. 1101. For a fuller account of all the signatories, see Appendix A.
10. Schmitt, S. Anselmi Opera Omnia, iv, Letter 202.
11. Eadmer, Historia Novorum, p.76
12. See A. Gwynn, S.J. 'Lanfranc and the Irish Church' in I.E.R. lvii, 481-500; lviii, 1-15. See also Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland, i. 307.
13. Ussher, Works, iv. 565.
14. Richardson, Norman Monastic Foundations, in Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. p.41.
15. Kenney, Sources, p.758. A comarb was a ruler of a local church, successor of its founder, not necessarily in orders; Irish bishops were often subject to comarbai.
16. 'It implied', says K. Hughes, 'the complete overthrow of the traditional system'. (Church in Early Irish Society, p.267).
17. A. Gwynn, 'St. Malachy of Armagh' in I.E.R. lxx (1948).
18. Phillips, History of the Church of Ireland, i.35.
19. Eadmer, Historia Novorum, p.77. Ralph later became archbishop of Canterbury, (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 1114).
20. Phillips (ed.) History of the Church of Ireland, i.34.
21. Kenney, Sources, p.749.
22. The entire text of Fis Adamnain is printed with translation and notes, by Whitby Stokes in Revue Celtique, xii (1891) 420-43. O'Curry dated this prophecy to 'some period subsequent to the Danish invasion, but before the Anglo-Norman invasion was so much as thought of'. (Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History, pp. 424-5).
23. A.U. 1096.
24. We have the evidence of Walchelin's letter that Bristol was his port of embarkation.
25. His age at his consecration can be calculated from the fact that he died in 1135 'after the eighty-eight year of his age'. (A.F.M.) .
26. Eadmer, Historia Novorum, p.74.
27. A. U. 1097.
28. A.F.M. 1135.
29. Gwynn, 'Origins of the Diocese of Waterford' in I.E.R. lix (1942) 289 - 97.
30. Cog. Gael, p.39.
31. Ussher, Works, iv. 492, 513, 515, 520. Lawlor, St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy, pp.45-6.

32. This is not to suggest that all was well with the church elsewhere. The papacy reached a low ebb before Hildebrand became Pope and devoted all his energies to reform of abuses. The greed and immorality of higher ecclesiastics and the poverty, ignorance and discontent of the majority of ordinary clergy make a sorry picture of church life in Europe at the time. See, for example, Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century.
33. Power, Waterford and Lismore, p.9.
34. A.F.M. 1101.
35. Schmitt (ed.) S. Anselmi Opera Omnia, iv. Letter 278. Ussher, Works, iv. 530.
36. Ussher, Works, iv. 528; S. Anselmi Opera Omnia, iv. Letter 277. Translation by A. Gwynn, S.J. in I.E.R. LIX (1942).
37. S. Anselmi Opera Omnia, iv. Letter 207.
38. A.U. 1105.
39. Celsus was grandson of a former abbot.
40. A.U. 1106.
41. Ussher, Works, iv. 520.
42. A.U. 1111. A. Gwynn, S.J. locates Rathbreasail in central Tipperary near Templemore. (The Twelfth-Century Reform,) p.29
43. Keating, Foras Feasa, iii. 299.
44. Begley, Diocese of Limerick, p.76, suggests that this principle also applies to parishes.
45. Keating, Foras Feasa, iii.305.
46. ibid. 'Cumar na dTri n-Uisce' is the Irish name for the meeting of the Suir, Barrow, and Nore. For derivation of Mileadhach, see Power (ed.) Lives of Declan and Mochuda, I.T.S. xvi. 188.
47. Ware, Antiquities, p.49; Power, Waterford and Lismore, p.1
48. Power, op.cit. p.5. Lismore had been a religious centre since the 7th century. For an account of its foundation by St. Carthage, otherwise Mochuda, see 'Lives of Declan and Mochuda' (ed. Power) I.T.S. xvi.
49. Lawlor, St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy, p.20.
50. Ann. Inisf. 1113.
51. Keating, Foras Feasa, iii. 307.
52. According to Curtis, History of Ireland, p.40, 'Celsus erected Cashel into an archbishopric for Malchus of Waterford.
53. A.F.M. 1135.
54. A.U. 1117.
55. A.U. and A.L.C. 1118.
56. A.U. and A.L.C. 1119.
57. A.U. 1101.
58. A.U. 1121.
59. See A. Gwynn S.J. 'St. Malachy of Armagh' in I.E.R. lxx (1948) 961 - 76; lxxi (1949) 134 - 44; 317 - 31.
60. St. Bernard's confusion of Lismore with Waterford (to which Malchus had in fact been elected) is understandable, particularly as at the time of which Bernard here speaks, Malchus was residing at Lismore.
61. Lawlor, St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy, p.20.
62. Malchus was eighty-eight when he died in 1135, so at the time of Malachy's first visit to Lismore, he was about seventy-four.
63. Malachy was not yet thirty, having been born in 1095, according to Lawlor, op.cit. p.6, note 1.
64. St. Bernard's chronology here is faulty, for he places the meeting of Cormac and Malachy at the latter's first visit to Lismore. See Lawlor, op.cit., p.21, note 3.
Also A. Gwynn's note to Vita S. Malachiae, ed. Leclercq and Roche.

65. A. U. 1129. A. Gwynn, S.J. comments: His dying wish that he should be buried at Lismore shows how close was his kinship of spirit to Malchus and Malachy.
(I.E.R. lxxi. (1949) 317.)
66. Lawlor, op.cit. p.48.
67. St. Bernard in his picturesque style writes: For lo, the viperous brood, raging and crying out that it was disinherited, aroused itself in full strength.
(Lawlor, op.cit. p.53).
68. Keating, Foras Feasa, iii. 311.
69. The annals say the chapel was consecrated ' by the archbishop of Cashel and the bishops of Munster'.
(Misc. Irish Annals, p.21).
70. This significance of Cormac's chapel is well brought out by Liam de Paor in an article in 'North Munster Studies 133 - 43. He points out that Cormac had come under the influence of the reform at Lismore, where he met Malachy. He does not however mention Malchus, to whom Malachy had been sent by Celsus. Cormac's chapel is described in R.S.A.I. Jn. xlii (1912) 140 - 7.
71. A.F.M. 1135.

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Tories, Rapparees and Highwayman - Social Unrest in the 17th, & 18th, Centuries.

Dan Dowling.

The exploits of the Brennans of the Castlecomer country, in the 17th century, and of James Freney, in the 18th, are still very much alive in the folk history and traditions of Co. Kilkenny. Their feats and daring encounters have, all through the intervening years, never failed to fascinate the succeeding generations. A certain romanticism has always been associated with their daring, and the folklore of the common people is imbued with that tradition.

The Brennans took to the road from motives of revenge, in retaliation for the loss of their ancestral homes and lands. The gross injustice perpetrated upon them could not but elicit some form of revenge, and in common with countless others of their times, they have become folk heroes as Tories or Rapparees.

James Freney, on the other hand some decades later, became a highwayman from less clearly defined motives. Yet his memory is ever fresh in the popular tradition. His gallantry, and respect for females has ennobled his memory. He never killed nor maimed, and to those in need or the widow in distress, his hand was ever free with the proceeds of his trade.

Tories, Rapparees and Highwaymen, of past centuries all had a common origin in injustice and tyranny, and in a corrupt legal system whose main function was to protect the interests of the new propertied classes who were infiltrating the Irish scene at that time. The system was all the more reprehensible in that it was devised and implemented by an administration composed of people who were alien in race, religion, language and tradition, who had acquired their lands and properties by forcible acquisition, and dispossession of the rightful owners.

The wars of extermination initiated and pursued under the reign of Elizabeth I, resulted in the defeat of the Gaelic order at the Battle of Kinsale in 1601, and the subsequent flight to the Continent of the last great Irish leaders including O'Neill and O'Donnell, in 1607. Their

departure marked the end of the old order, and paved the way for the total subjugation, and massive plantations which were to take place within the century to follow.

The policy of systematic plantation had its origin in 1556, during the reign of Mary Tudor, when the extensive lands of Laois and Offaly were confiscated from their ancient owners who were ejected to make way for a new planter class. This was followed by (2) Sir Thomas Smith's Ulster Plantation in the Ards area of Co. Down, in 1570, (3) the Essex Plantation of 1572-3, in Antrim, (4) the Desmond Plantation in Counties Cork and Kerry in 1584, and the Monaghan Plantation in 1592. (5) The great Ulster Plantation of 1609-13, in the reign of James I, completely altered the pattern of land ownership in the six escheated counties of Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Armagh, and Cavan, where the new Protestant Scottish and English undertaker-immigrants were granted vast tracts of these lands, to the exclusion and extinction of native ownership.

There was also (6) confiscation by legal subtlety, and that form of chicanery became widespread during the Stuart period. "The Discoverers of Defective Title", who were a mean breed of robbers and thieves protected by the law, were active in this period, and their activities completely undermined any remaining vestige of confidence which the Catholic landowner may have had in the semblance of law as it then existed for the protection of his ancient property rights.

The 1641 Rising was a direct result of the evil system of dispossession, and when the opportunity for revenge presented itself, the consequences were marked with great violence. The Cromwellian campaign which followed, and its aftermath, along with the final dispossessions in the Williamite period, all sowed the bitter seeds of discontent which were in after generations to yield the harvest of revenge in many forms.

The late J.P. Prendergast, heard his father who died in 1846, mention the story told by his father again who died in 1803, that he had seen the one-time proprietor of broad lands, or his son, going about as a beggar with his old title deeds tied up in a common cotton handkerchief: these and the respect paid him by the common Irish, being the only signs left to show the world he was a gentleman." The Mr. Prendergast, who met and knew this beggar, was born in Co. Tipperary.

Another instance which the author Mr. Prendergast, remembered, was when shown in the Rolls Office of Chancery in Dublin, "a Privy Seal of King Charles the Second, brought thither the day before by some peasant from the County of Longford, descendant of some O'Reilly, ordering his ancestor to be restored to all such of his lands as were not in the hands of Adventurers, or Soldiers; this was of as much real value as if it had ordered him lands on the moon. His descendants, occupants of a cabin, had preserved it in cotton-wool as a precious inheritance for 200 years." Those facts speak for themselves and could not but evoke a sense of shame and indignation at the blatant injustice which had reduced these once independent people to such a sorry state.

There were in 1641, according to the lowest estimate, 8,000 Roman Catholic landowners in Ireland. All of them with the exception of 26, lost their property during the Cromwellian period. A number of the dispossessed received land in compensation West of the Shannon, and the Acts of Settlement, and Exploration, further improved the imbalance to about 1,300 Catholic owners during the reign of Charles II.

The early decades of the 18th century were marked by recurring periods of want and famine, and the scourge of poverty was everywhere to be found. Jonathan Swift, the Dean of St. Patrick's in Dublin, penned the following description in 1727, of what he witnessed in the rural Ireland of that time; - "It is manifest that whatever stranger took such a journey through Ireland, would be apt to think himself travelling in Lapland, or Iceland, rather than in a country so favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil and temperature of climate. The miserable dress, and diet, and dwellings of the people, the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom; the old seats of the Nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their stead; the families of farmers who pay great rents living in filth and nastiness upon buttermilk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet; or a house so convenient as an English hogsty to receive them, - these may, indeed, be comfortable sights to an English spectator who comes for a short time to learn the language, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all our wealth transmitted."

The great catastrophe of the century occurred in 1741, which became known as the year of the slaughter. About 300,000 people are believed to have perished in the famine which swept the land, with a probable death rate between 50 - 70 per 1,000 of the population. There were also a series of bad harvests in the 1750's. Emigration became a sizeable factor as the century progressed. In 1759, alone, 35 ships sailed from the ports of Waterford and New Ross, to New England, and Nova Scotia, with over 4,000 emigrants.

In 1732, there were food riots in Waterford City, and in 1775, there was further trouble in the City occasioned by food shortages. On that occasion the assistance of Major William Murray of the 42nd Regiment of Foot, then quartered in the City, and Captain Richard Rodney Bligh of His Majesty's Sloop of War, "Wasp", lying in the harbour, was procured by the Corporation, to deal with the attacks of an armed, riotous, and enraged mob. For their assistance in quelling the riots, Major Murray and Captain Bligh were both presented with the freedom of the City.

When Dean Swift wrote in 1727, about the high rents the farmers had to pay for their land, the position had not changed a lot in the next 100 years, when William Cobbett, the famed English social reformer and champion of the common people made the following observations on what he saw at Mullinavat, whilst journeying from Kilkenny to Waterford, in October 1834; - "In coming from Kilkenny to Waterford, I and my friend (Mr. O'Higgins), in a post-chaise, came through a little town called Mullinavat, where there was a fair for cattle and fat hogs, and apples. There might be 4,000 people; there were about 7 acres of ground covered with cattle - mostly fat; and all over the streets of the town there were about 3,000 beautiful fat hogs, lying all over the road and the streets; and our chaise was actually stopped and blocked up by fat hogs; and we were obliged to stop till the civil and kind people could get them out of

our way. There was a sight to be seen by me, who had never seen thirty such hogs together in the course of my life, these hogs weighing from ten to thirty score each ! Ah ! but there arose out of this fine sight reflections that made my blood boil; that the far greater part of those who had bred and fattened those hogs were never to taste one morsel of them, no, not even the offal, and had lived worse than the hogs, not daring to taste any part of the meal used in the fattening of the hogs. The hogs are to be killed, dried or tubbed, and sent out of the country to be sold for money to be paid to the landowners, who spend it in London, Bath, Paris, Rome, or some other place of pleasure, while these poor creatures are raising all this food from the land, and are starving themselves."

Kilkenny in the 18th century was the finest and most prosperous of the inland cities and towns in Ireland. It ranked next in size and importance to Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Waterford. Seat and home to the Ormonds for centuries, this connection with the affairs of state and power in Ireland, placed Kilkenny in a privileged position which contributed towards its development as a manufacturing, trading and business centre, and a prime residential area for the lesser aristocracy and landed gentry.

The changes in ownership of property and land in both City, and County, since the Cromwellian and Williamite confiscations of the previous century, had a profound effect on the social order of the area, particularly in the late 17th century, and the early decades of the 18th. The dispossession of the great landed families who had provided stability over centuries, created a certain vacuum in the prevailing social and economic structure of the area.

In 1641, the total land in Catholic ownership in Ireland amounted to 59%. In 1688, the amount in Catholic hands stood at 22% which indicates the violent upheaval in ownership which had taken place in the Commonwealth period. The Williamite confiscation in the years 1690-1703 further reduced Catholic ownership to 14% by 1703.

In Co. Kilkenny, the amount of land held by the Old Irish, and Anglo-Norman Catholic proprietors ranged from 25%-49% in 1641. In 1688 this amount had been drastically reduced by forfeiture to range from 15%-24%, while only 10%-14% remained in Catholic hands in 1703, at the end of the Williamite period. The final episode in this mass plunder was when the Trustees for the Sale of the Forfeited Estates in 1702-3, disposed of 32,398 acres in Co. Kilkenny, belonging to 13 proprietors. There were 23 purchasers including the Hollow Blade Co. ; which bought 17,922 acres including the Galmoy estate. This Company purchased in the forfeiting counties a total of 250,000 profitable acres.

The vast upheaval in the ownership structure in both town and country created a hardening of attitudes on the part of the dispossessed, and revenge for the loss and robbery of their ancestral lands. The guerilla attacks which were to develop in areas throughout the country, against the new ownership, in turn brought demands from those self same beneficiaries of the forfeited properties, for the civil power to intervene in their protection, and for the promulgation of more severe measures for the suppression of the disturbances, and the apprehension and conviction of those involved. Not content with their recent acquisitions the new proprietors now demanded the extinction of those dispossessed owners who dared, as a last resort, to take matters into their own hands, to fight the gross injustice which had been perpetrated.

Rapparee and Highwayman.

The numerous Acts passed by Parliament for the suppression of Tories, Robbers, and Rapparees, are indicators of the precarious conditions under which the new settlers were endeavouring to hold on to their properties and estates ever since the plantations first began to take hold. The most active period was from Cromwellian times, to the early decades of the 18th century. The rape of Ireland, at that time and the dispossession of the Catholic landowners, probably had no parallel in the European context before or since.

The various Proclamations offering rewards for the capture dead or alive of those Tories, induced certain individuals to become Tory Hunters. A despised breed even in their own time, as were their despicable brothers, the priest hunters. The traditional old rhyme of Johnny Magory, epitomises this in the following verses : ;

"I'll tell you a story about Johnny Magory,
He went to the wood and shot a Tory;
I'll tell you another about his brother,
He went to the wood and shot another.

He hunted him in and he hunted him out,
Three times through the bog, and about and about ;
Till out of the bush he spied his head,
So he levelled his pistol and shot him dead."

Probably the first of the Rapparees was the famed Rory Oge O'More, who wreaked vengeance on the English settlers of Leinster, following the treacherous massacre of the Laois and Offaly families at the Rath of Mullaghmast, near the present day village of Ballytore in Co. Kildare, on New Years Day 1577. His son, Owney in 1597 avenged the dastardly deed. Rory Oge himself was killed in 1578.

One of the more famous Tories was Hugh O'Keeffe, born at Dromagh, near Mallow, in Co. Cork. For his part in the 1641 Rising, he forfeited his estate. He operated in West Cork, and was succeeded by his famous son, Donal O'Keeffe. Richard Power of Kilbolane, near Charleville, Co. Cork was also a noted Tory who operated over a wide area, including parts of Counties Waterford and Kilkenny. He was eventually captured and executed at Clonmel, on the 10th November 1685.

The famed Redmond O'Hanlon, of Co. Armagh, is today best remembered for his refusal to betray Oliver Plunkett. Payment and the offer of a pardon failed to induce him to betray his honour. He operated mainly in the Ulster counties. He was killed by treachery at Hilltown, Co. Down, on the 4th April 1681. Dudley Costello, who operated west of the Shannon, was born near Ballaghaderreen, in the Barony of Costello, in Co. Mayo. He fought with Owen Roe O'Neill, and later in the Spanish army, with the rank of Colonel. His area of operations included Mayo, Sligo, Cavan, Fermanagh, Leitrim and Tyrone. He ended his days in an engagement with the military in 1667, when he was shot.

Other Rapparees and Tories who have secured a place in the folk history of Ireland are Brennan of the Moor, Shane Crossagh of Derry, Ned of the Hill, otherwise Edward O'Ryan, born at Kilnamanagh in Co. Tipperary. He was killed near Cappamore in 1724. Galloping Hogan, also a Tipperary man, born in the Barony of Lower Ormond, was operating during the Williamite period, and his major claim to fame is the service he rendered to Patrick Sarsfield in the destruction of the Williamite siege train at Ballyneety in 1690.

The more famous of the Kilkenny Rapparees who have secured a niche in history, were the Brennans. The family, an ancient sept of Ossory, whose chief stronghold was in the territory surrounding what is present day Castlecomer. The O'Brennans became owners of the ancient territory of Idough, prior to the 12th century. At the Anglo-Norman invasion they were driven from their lands, but in time they succeeded in reacquiring portion of same. In the year 1200, they captured and burned down the castle which the Anglo-Normans had built at Castlecomer, and shortly afterwards all the surrounding countryside was again back in their hands. It remained in their possession for the next 400 years until 1637, when it was acquired by Sir Christopher Wandesford, by purchase from the Earl of Ormonde, and Sir Robert Ridgeway.

An Inquisition held at Kilkenny on the 11th May 1635, to investigate the title of the territory of Idough, found that the Sept of Brennan was but "mere Irish", and had no title, but held it by strong hand. The Earl of Ormonde and Sir Richard Ridgeway, Earl of Londonderry, claimed the title derived through a grant of King James the First. The older English title derived from Strongbow's intermarriage with Eva Mac Murrough, confirmed all Leinster to Strongbow, and he having no male heir, the territory passed to his daughter and only child who married William Earl Marshall. The Marshall in turn having no male heir, it was divided among his five daughters.

The Duke of Norfolk in 1639, who descended from one of these daughters, claimed the County of Kilkenny as his inheritance.

While all this was taking place, the Brennans who claimed that they themselves were the true owners, engaged Lords Mountgarrett, and Maltravers, to be their solicitors to plead their case at the Court in England. The Brennans declined to enter into any surrender of their rights and claims to the property, despite the attempt by Sir Christopher Wandesforde, for them to do so. Wandesforde came to Ireland in 1635, with Thomas Lord Wentworth who had been appointed Lord Deputy. He was afterwards elevated to the Earldom of Strafford. He appointed Wandesforde as Master of the Rolls.

The Lord Deputy is reputed to have said " He would have no man to question his orders." In 1638, a Richard Butler, who was still in possession of the Castle of Castlecomer, along with the Brennans offered resistance to the Wandesforde purchase. The Earl of Strafford, thereupon sent a body of soldiers to Castlecomer, who seized the parents of about 100 families, and took them to Dublin, where they were all imprisoned.³⁶ Strafford was impeached in 1640, and the 15th Article of his Impeachment stated the following; - " And in the said 12th year of His Majesty's reign (A.D. 1638), the said Earl of Strafford did traitorously send certain troops of horse and foot to expel Richard Butler from the possession of Castlecomer, in the territory of Idough, and, in like manner, expelled divers of His Majesty's subjects from their houses, families and

possessions, as - namely, Edward Brennan, Owen O'Brennan, and divers others, to the number of about 100 families, and carried them, and their wives prisoners to Dublin, and there detained them until they yielded up their respective estates and rights."

Sir Christopher Wandesforde would appear to have been a humane man with a conscience. His acquisition of the Brennan lands evidently caused him certain misgivings for his actions, and to make some amends he included in his will, made on the 2nd October 1640, the following provision ; -

"Whereas also, the natives of Idough, called Brennans, who have for many years possessed the same, have several times refused such proffers of benefit as I thought good out of my own private charity and conscience to tender unto them - not that I ever believed, either by Law or Equity, I could be compelled to give them any consideration at all for their pretended interest - my will is that the trustees aforesaid shall, out of the said rents, pay unto so many of them (the said Brennans) or their children, as by a Commission out of Chancery shall be found to have been the reputed possessors and terr-tenants of the lands at the time of the finding of the Office of Idough for His Majesty, dated 21st May, 1635, so much money severally as a lease for 21 years of the moiety of those lands so in their possession respectively, shall be by the said Commissioners value to have been worth unto the said possessors at the time of finding the said Office after the common course of bargaining."

He also secured the reprieve of one of the Brennans who had been condemned to death for stealing sheep from off his own land. This was a disputed robbery, and carried out in the full knowledge of Wandesforde's Seneschal and shepherd who had been lavishly entertained by one of the chief men of the Brennans, with a plentiful supply of dressed mutton of good quality. When the feasting was over, and the guests were leaving the Bawn, Brennan in a display of contempt, threw the head and skin of a branded sheep over the shoulders of Wandesforde's shepherd. That was done to indicate where the mutton came from as the fleece was stamped with Wandesforde's brand.

Wandesforde died on the 3rd December 1640, and at his funeral which was held in Dublin, his passing was lamented by a number of native Irish who attended. His biographer remarked that the Irish, at the Lord Deputy's interment, raised their peculiar lamentations, a signal honour paid to him by that people, probably the last time the Irish cry was heard at a funeral in Dublin.

The outbreak of the Irish Rebellion in October 1641, would appear to have prevented the Brennans from benefitting from Sir Christopher's legacy. Castlecomer Castle was regularly attacked in December 1641, by a section of Lord Mountgarret's army, consisting of, it is believed, a large contingent of the Brennans. The Castle held out for 18 weeks under a Captain Farrer, who surrendered it and its garrison to the assailants, a company of whom was commanded by a Captain Edward Brennan. Under the terms of surrender, the garrison was safely escorted by a body of the Irish under Captain Dempsey, to Ballylinan, in Laois, and there handed over to Captain Grimes, the English Commander. On their way back, Captain Dempsey and his men were treachously ambushed and attacked by the English under Grimes.

During the Confederate period, the Brennans were apparently back in possession of their ancestral lands. Since the death of Sir Christopher Wandesforde, his estate had been managed by his cousin William Wandesforde. He and Lady Wandesforde had escaped from Castlecomer before the siege, disguised in Irish clothes. In the meantime, Sir Christopher Wandesforde had succeeded to the ownership of his father's estate in 1640. In the Cromwellian period he was obliged to sue in the Court of Claims, for the recovery of his father's estates, in which suit he was successful.

In 1679, 22 of the Brennans filed a Bill in the Court of Chancery, claiming the legacy left to them in Sir Christopher's Will of 1640. On the 10th June 1686 they obtained a Decree of the Chancellor in their favour, but owing to the death of Sir Christopher Wandesforde, in February 1687, and the onset of the Williamite Wars, the matter fell into abeyance, and no further proceedings were ever taken.

In 1694, Sir Christopher Wandesforde, grandson of the first Wandesforde to acquire the Castlecomer lands of the Brennans, presented a Petition to the Crown that the forfeited rights of the Brennans under the Decree in Chancery, should be granted to him in lieu of services he had rendered, and the sufferings he had endured at the hands of the Brennans, who in 1641 took possession of his estate, and all the stock upon it. He also claimed that they had burned and destroyed all his houses, and buildings, and other improvements which had been carried out, which destruction amounted to thousands of pounds. It was further maintained that they had murdered many of his English tenants, and remained in possession of his lands for ten years without making payments or satisfaction. He also claimed that the Brennans were very numerous, and terrorised the English inhabitants of that country upon whom they frequently committed robberies and murder, and bore arms for the late King James.

He succeeded in his Petition; the Brennans were declared outlaws, and they lost their claim for the legacies under the provisions of his grandfather's Will, which then became vested in the Crown and forfeited. That finalised the legitimate claims of the Brennans, to their inheritances and lands which their ancestors had enjoyed for centuries.

The names of the Brennans who obtained the Decree and who were later outlawed were given by "Sir Richard Levinge, the Attorney-General, in his Report to the Lords Justices, dated 13th October 1694, as follows ; -

John Brennan, late of Levin, gentleman; John Brennan, late of Crott, gentleman; Owen Brennan, late of Kildonoghinkelly, gentleman; Farr Brennan, late of Crottenclogh, gentleman; Patrick Brennan, late of Cloneen, gentleman; Loughlin Brennan, late of the same, gentleman; Loughlin Brennan, son of James, late of the same, gentleman; Margaret Brennan, late of Kildonoghinkelly; Mortagh Brennan, late of Kilrobbing, gentleman ; Anastas Brennan, late of the same; Donagh Brennan, late of Rathcally, gentleman; Elinor Brennan, late of Dungillinagh, spinster; William Brennan Fitz-John, late of Smithstown, gentleman; James Brennan, of the same, gentleman; Margaret Brennan, late of Turlave, spinster; Edward Brennan, late of Ballyhoman, gentleman; Donagh Brennan, late of Kilkenny, gentleman; Edward Brennan, late of Cruttin, gentleman; and by the outlawry and attainder, the rights of which they, or any of them, had against Sir

Christopher, the Petitioner's father, by the Decree in Chancery, are forfeited to the Crown and in their Majesties' disposal."

The first mention in official circles of the depredations of the three Brennan Rapparees, was in a letter from Dr. Thomas Otway, Bishop of Ossory, which was addressed to the Earl of Arran, Lord Deputy for Ormonde. The time was the early part of 1683, and even by then they had numerous robberies and escapades to their credit. The Bishop mentioned in his letter that on the morning before they had lured a witness against them into a wood, where they cut out his tongue.⁴⁷ The Brennans involved were Tall James, and Little James, both of Croghtenclogh, and Patrick of Killeshin.

In June 1683, as Alexander Marshall of Lisburn, Co. Antrim, and two other merchants were riding along from Ballinakill, to Kilcullen, on Cromwell's road near Ballyragget, they were overtaken on Ballyragget Heath by the three Brennans, all of whom were well mounted, and armed with pistols, carbines and swords. Knocking them off their horses, they dragged them into an old fort, and there robbed them of their possessions, including £100 in money.

The best recorded robbery in which they were involved took place at the house of Mr. Bolton, grandson of Lord Chancellor Bolton, which was located seven miles north of the City of Dublin. The short period of a couple of years they had been operating on the roads and highways of Leinster had netted them the enormous sum of £18,000

They were eventually run to earth, captured, tried and condemned to death, and on the day of execution were rescued from the gallows. For this to have been accomplished, would indicate that they must have had friends in high places, and the power of bribery must also have been a factor. Chief Justice Keatinge, testified as to that escape having taken place. After the escape they fled to the Queens County, where they had numerous friends and relations who provided them with harbourage and shelter. Now proclaimed as Tories and rebels in Ireland, and rewards offered for their heads, their position became all the more tenuous, as the forces of the law along with one Jack Warren, a cousin of Chief Justice Keatinge, were in constant pursuit. This harassment forced them to again take to the road, this time towards Dublin, and en route carrying out numerous robberies. Arriving at Ringsend, then the port of departure for England, they accommodated a cousin accomplice of theirs, a boy in the King's Head, the landlord of which was a Brennan. The Chief Justice all the time on their track, had his spies watch the premises. The Brennans, too wily for their pursuers, as soon as the Chief Justice called off the vigil and had retired to his residence at Lissen Hill, near Swords, availed of the absence and boarded the 'Dogger' boat whilst under sail bound for England. The horses in their cousins care followed in the next boat. They also had £53 sent to them by bills drawn on London.

By an unusual twist of fate, Mr. Marshall, the merchant from Lisburn, whom they had robbed on Ballyragget Heath, happened to be in Chester, and recognising them had them arrested for robbery, and committed to jail. They wore rich clothes, and were described as extremely rich, and when confronted by their captors on the street in Chester, they drew their swords. Committed to the local jail, they were heavily shackled in irons. According to Chief

Justice Keatinge, they would think nothing of giving £3,000 for a pardon or liberty. He had also heard that they were friendly with Sir Robert Reading and there must have been some truth in that statement, for in a letter from Sir Robert Reading, of the 21st October 1683, and addressed to the Earl of Arran from London, he mentioned " he scarce knew how they could escape hanging, but hoped that His Excellency would remember the poor devils, and let them quit the Kingdom, if they had no hand in blood." He also evidently had a hand in getting them safely out of Ireland, "When Captain Bishop and all the country could not catch them."

They were only two days confined in Chester jail when they escaped by overpowering the keeper. On enquiry into the escape, Richard Wright, in sworn evidence deposed that he was the keeper of the jail at the North Gate in Chester, and that on the 19th October 1683, he received into his custody James O'Brennan, Patrick O'Brennan, and James O'Brennan, called Tall James. They were charged with the robbery of Mr. Alexander Marshall on Ballyragget Heath in Ireland. He further deposed that he kept them in irons in the daytime, and at night took away their clothes. While he and his wife were having their supper in the lower room, called the Hall, with the three Brennans confined in irons, and Thomas Greene, a prisoner for debt, who was employed as his assistant, Tall James spoke something in Irish to the other two, whereupon Little James who sat beside him, immediately drew a knife and struck at his throat, wounding him in the arm as he was trying to protect himself. Then grabbing him, he pushed his head under the bed and stamped upon him. Thomas Greene was then grabbed by Tall James, who threatened to cut his throat. He was then put in irons. Patrick having secured Mrs. Wright, then went upstairs to the jailor's closet, where he obtained a sword and keys with which they unlocked their fetters. Obtaining the keys of the outer door from the keeper's pocket, they let themselves out. The only other person employed in the jail at this time was the maid, Mary Swettenham, who went to the aid of her mistress as she was being subdued. On their way out, the maid was assured that no harm would come to her, and to confirm that observation, one of the Brennans turned aside saying, "Sweetheart, you and I, it may be, may meet again." "In another country, then" said she."

The Earl of Arran had his suspicions about the whole affair, and felt that the Brennans had bribed their way out, and that a third party could have been involved. The attack and break-out were probably connived for the purpose. The hue and cry was raised, and nothing further was heard of the Brennans, in official circles until nearly two years afterwards, when to the consternation of the authorities they broke into the residence of the Duke of Ormonde at Kilkenny Castle on the 17th September 1685, and robbed therefrom portion of the Duke's silver plate. They also robbed a box of plate belonging to the Duke's half brother and land-agent, Captain George Mathew.

On the accession of King James II, in 1685, things began to brighten on the political scene in Ireland. The Brennans were pardoned on condition that they discovered and returned the stolen plate. It is believed that the intercession of Captain Mathew, was responsible for this development. They were allowed their horses, and firearms.⁵⁵ At the Kilkenny Assizes in March 1687, the Grand Jury of the County decided that there could be no better way to suppress robberies and felonies in these parts, than to take the Brennans into protection for a term of years. The Duke of Tyrconnell, who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the reign of King James II, was accused by the Williamites of having recruited Tories like the Brennans into the Jacobite army. Great leniency and affection was shown to Tories during this Jacobite period.

The Enigma of Jasper Pyne.

Is an Englishman and a Protestant son of an English clergyman. Had a farm from the Duke of Devonshire but went to the bad through drink - chosen only because Mr. Parnell could not force a strange candidate on the county. Is a violent speaker and 'boycots' (sic). S.P.O., Police and crime records, police reports 1886-1915, carton No.4, 'list of nationalist members of Parliament, giving short particulars about the political views of each', J. D. Pyne, February 1887.

Jasper Douglas Pyne, the son of the rector of Oxted, Surrey, was born in 1847. He married his first cousin, a daughter of Jasper Pyne of Ballyvolane and Castlemartyr, County Cork, and lived on a substantial leasehold farm at Lisfinny, on the outskirts of Tallow, County Waterford.¹ Pyne was heavily involved in local nationalist politics and served as chairman of the Lismore board of guardians.

At the general election of 1885 he was elected to parliament as the nationalist member for West Waterford, defeating the Conservative candidate, Sir Richard Francis Keane, Bart. by 3,746 votes to 359. He was returned unopposed in the general election of the following year.²

In Ireland the mid 1880's were characterised by political upheaval, economic depression and a revival of agrarian agitation from the autumn of 1886, following the launching of the Plan of Campaign by William O'Brien and John Dillon. In west Waterford opposition to landlord hegemony was orchestrated by the local member, Jasper Pyne.

In mid October 1887 it was rumoured that the Marquess of Waterford was about to evict one of his tenants, William Shanahan of Scrahan. Immediately farmers from the surrounding countryside began to assemble at Shanahan's farm, summoned thither by the ringing of chapel bells at Kilmacthomas and Newtown. The local brass band turned out, a football was produced and in the afternoon the assembly was provisioned with bread and half a barrel of Kelly's beer. A temporary platform was hastily erected and in the course of an impromptu address Pyne gave further evidence of his penchant for 'violent' speaking.³

He characterised the police as 'armed assassins and murderers in uniform'; they and the remainder of the evicting party should be given 'a proper reception' by the assembled tenants. Shanahan was exhorted not to surrender his home without a protest, but to barricade it with trees and judiciously placed iron gates, impediments which would give 'Mr. sheriff and his bailiffs work for a week'. If blood were spilled during the eviction, he concluded, the blame would rest solely with the government and the landlords.⁴

Pyne was charged with inciting to resist evictions, an offence punishable summarily under the government's recently enacted emergency legislation,⁵ and which carried a maximum penalty of six months imprisonment with hard labour. He was summoned to appear at Kilmacthomas courthouse on 8 November 1887.

On 6 November Pyne infringed another provision of the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887, more commonly known as the Crimes Act, when he informed a gathering at Clonmel that 'there was no use to talk to them about boycotting. If they dont know how to do it they would require to be in a big lunatic asylum. Let nobody stop them boycotting. Just go on doing it straight and whenever they meet an obnoxious individual boycott him'.⁶ Pyne's crude endorsement of exclusive dealing was a disdainful dismissal of the judicial process. His failure to attend for his trial two days later led to warrants being issued against him. The fugitive repaired to Lisfinny Castle, a dilapidated building adjoining his home. He barricaded himself inside, determined to defy the police until the new parliamentary session opened in February 1888. A red and green banner, symbolising English radicalism and Irish patriotism according to Pyne, was hoisted over the castle. The Freeman's Journal opined editorially that it would require a small army to effect an entrance unless artillery were employed.⁷

The Lismore guardians adjourned their weekly meeting as a mark of respect to their chairman and the nationalist members visited him at Lisfinny. Several of them were winched aboard the 'stronghold' by means of a block and tackle. From one of the castle apertures, the self-incarcerated prisoner subsequently addressed those gathered below. He was comfortable, he assured them, and confident of withstanding any efforts to arrest him. He promised the police 'a warm reception' whenever they attempted to do so.⁸

Pyne's action did not meet with universal nationalist approval. A somewhat intense Michael Davitt, speaking at Stepside, County Dublin, on 20 November, opined that 'a hide and go seek policy was not a very dignified one, nor a line of action likely to be rightly understood outside Ireland'. They should not attempt to evade their summonses or their warrants, he continued, but should show the world that they were prepared to make personal sacrifices in order to win national freedom. Pyne denied that he possessed any ulterior motives and asserted that he was impelled solely by the wish to give the government 'the trouble of digging him out'.¹⁰

Despite Davitt's reservations the public was captivated and Pyne's singular act of defiance received extensive newspaper coverage in Ireland and Britain. It provided an element of comic relief in the intense drama involving two other Crimes Act prisoners, John Mandeville and William O'Brien, then being played out in Tullamore jail.¹¹ The farcical element in the Pyne affair was accentuated by the conflicting, if well meaning, advice tendered to the Irish administration as to the best way of transferring him from the well publicised prison of his own choosing to one of her majesty's more orthodox lock-ups. One disgruntled Londoner urged the Irish chief secretary to flush Pyne out of his hiding place by using steam engines to flood the building. If this stratagem were not employed, the fugitive could be trapped on the stairs in a pincer movement, by the police entering through

simultaneously penetrated holes in the roof and at the base of the building.¹² More soberly, The Times suggested that Pyne be left 'to consume his tinned meats in his "castle" but stressed, characteristically, that he be caught 'in the commonplace ignominious fashion of commonplace offenders' when eventually he decided to vacate his hiding place.¹³ The R.I.C. had already decided on this line of action. "As his capture could only be accomplished at considerable risk and expense', they explained, ' he has been permitted to remain in confinement in this prison of his own choice'. Police reinforcements were drafted into Tallow and a watch was posted at Lisfinny castle.¹⁴

The situation became even more bizarre as the weeks passed. At the beginning of January 1888 District Inspector Barry of Tallow reported that Pyne had his meals served to him from his home nearby and that one of his servants attended upon him throughout his confinement. He was in constant communication with members of his family and was regularly visited by people from the surrounding districts. Each evening a neighbour was hoisted up by means of a rope and pulley and, having kept Pyne company overnight, returned to his home early on the following morning. Barry concluded in deadpan fashion that Pyne 'frequently amuses himself during the night by throwing stones down from the castle to the danger of the police who are performing their duty in a quiet, unobtrusive manner and who, neither by word or act, give the slightest cause for offence to Mr. Pyne or any member of his family'.¹⁵

Some weeks earlier Pyne informed a tenants' delegation who had presented him with a purse containing some 200 sovereigns that 'he wished to give the police fair notice' that he was going to leave his hiding place for three days, commencing on Tuesday, 13 December.¹⁶ As a precautionary measure the night patrols at the castle were doubled from 9 December. The Freeman's Journal of 17 December reported that Pyne had returned to Lisfinny Castle, 'Mr. Pyne was not far from Kilmacthomas on Tuesday when his case was called and again adjourned for the appearance of Mr. Pyne. The authorities are very sore over Mr. Pyne's departure and, of course, were naturally inclined to contradict the matter', the report concluded mischievously.

A furious District Inspector Wynne of Cappoquin denied that there was a single word of truth in the Freeman's account. 'Mr. Pyne has not returned to Lisfinny Castle', he explained, 'for the simple reason that he has never left it'. He merely pretended to do so. He had hidden himself in his room, but had been overheard talking and joking by the night patrols. Pyne's accent and laugh were such, Wynne assured his superiors, that they could not possibly be mistaken.¹⁷

On 2 January 1888 District Inspector Bouchier of the Special Branch confirmed that Pyne was safely within the castle and a police patrol properly posted without. There was no possibility of escape, except by means of an underground passage, but, he added hastily, none such existed.¹⁸ District Inspector Barry corroborated his colleague's report that Pyne was hemmed in on every side and that all avenues of escape were sealed off.¹⁹

The police, however, had underestimated Irish nationalist ingenuity. On the evening of Friday, 13 January, some 200 cattle were stampeded in the vicinity of the castle. While the 20 constables on duty contended with this bovine diversion Pyne scampered down the exterior wall and made his way to a waiting car that set off immediately for Cork. The telegraph wires at Tallow had been cut and when the police eventually realised that they had been duped they were unable to raise the alarm. The fugitive boarded a cargo ship bound for Plymouth whence he proceeded to London on the afternoon on 16 January.²⁰

Pyne eluded the police for the next three weeks but was finally arrested on 10 February 1888, the day the new parliamentary session began, as he approached the House of Commons. He asserted unavailingly that he was actually within the privileged precincts of the house when apprehended. He was despatched under police escort to Waterford where he was remanded in custody to the Petty Sessions at Kilmacthomas on 15 February. One of the charges outstanding against Pyne was dismissed on grounds of insufficient evidence, while the other, inciting to criminal conspiracy, was adjourned and the prisoner was released on bail.²¹ This development was obviously unexpected by at least one County Waterford branch of the Irish National League. At Croke the following resolution was adopted : -

That with contemptible pity we look upon that tyrannical descendant of Cromwell - the abominable Balfour - and condemn most emphatically this last vindictive act of his suicidal policy by adding to the list of our political martyrs the honoured name of our beloved county member, J.D.Pyne, M.P., whose imprisonment will, if possible, endear him more to the hearts of the Irish people; and we tender to him our heartfelt sympathy in his prison cell.²²

Pyne was feted in his home town. According to one nationalist newspaper, 'green banners waved from the windows of many houses and brass bands from Lismore and Tallow, as well as numerous fife and drum bands, attended'.²³ The local curate, Fr. Power, introduced Pyne as 'a criminal under Mr. Balfour's coercion act' and 'hoped that before long somebody would be introducing him as a criminal under the same act'. Fr. James Queally of Knockanore denied that their local member was a criminal. 'He had never committed anything that could be called a crime in the eyes of honest men and his only crime in the eyes of the government was that he wanted to keep the people of the country in the country by every fair and lawful means'. According to Fr. J. Savage of Conna he had merely 'opened his mouth in defence of the poor people' and was attempting to 'rescue them from the landlords'. The three clergymen concurred that Pyne, and they by association, were fighting, in Power's words, 'for a cause, old as the world itself, the cause of liberty', thereby indicating once again the almost absolute identification of the Catholic church with Irish nationalism in the second half of the 1880's. An unrepentant Pyne prophesied rather vaguely that 'in a short time Ireland would again be a nation, in sympathy with the English nation, joined hand in hand, fighting the common cause and working out the common end'.²⁴

Pyne eventually served a six weeks prison sentence. Some months later he disappeared, reputedly drowned in the Irish Sea while crossing from Holyhead. The incident gave rise to considerable speculation. Mr. J.A.Carbery, J.P., Queenstown, County Cork, claimed that Pyne had informed him a short time earlier that if he so desired he could easily deceive the public into believing him dead. He stated that Pyne was a known practical joker and that he would soon reappear.²⁵ Mr. Robert Pratt, J.P., Carrigrohane, County Cork, Mrs. Pyne's agent, informed the Irish chief secretary that his employer was not in the least disturbed 'about the rumour in the papers that her husband was drowned; in fact she appears quite satisfied she is no widow'.²⁶ A year later the nationalist M.P., Matthew M. Kenny confided, in characteristic fashion, in his crony, John J. Dunne : -

Mrs. Pyne received or states that she has received a letter from Jasper Douglas - from Colorado. She never went into mourning for him and always refused to believe that he was dead, but there he is now and if he turns up in a few months won't it be a prodigy ! There are reasons for thinking, however, that the Douglas is really gone over (to the majority, I mean) but still you see the matter is problematical.²⁷

On 24 February 1890 Alfred Webb was returned unopposed in a by-election for Pyne's seat.²⁸ Some months later Mrs. Pyne applied for letters of administration of her husband's estate. Counsel posited that Pyne had been seen boarding the Holyhead boat and that he must be presumed drowned. The judge insisted that it was essential to exhaust every source of inquiry. There was no positive evidence that Pyne was dead; even if he had fallen overboard it was conceivable that he had been picked up by another boat. Advertisements should be inserted in *The Times*, the *Freeman's Journal* and a Waterford newspaper and he ruled that the case stand over until November for further affidavits.²⁹ Finally, in November 1891, letters of administration were granted to Mrs. Pyne who had earlier been described by one unionist newspaper as 'the widow of the late Mr. Jasper Douglas Pyne drowned in the Irish Channel, 13 November 1889 (sic).'³⁰

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A Fashionable Waterford Wedding.

Michael O'Donnell.

INTRODUCTION:

This account, which has been culled from the pages of the Clonmel Chronicle of Saturday 7th October 1871, should have an appeal beyond the Waterford area where it is set. Such as the description of the bride's and bridesmaids' dresses, the time at which the marriage began and the little departure ceremony of the bride and groom may interest the social historian.

It seems that continental travel was once again safe and possible as the Franco-Prussian War had ended on the previous May.

FASHIONABLE MARRIAGE.

The marriage of George W. Morris, Esq., J.P., only son of the late Richard W. Morris, Esq., of Rockenham, and Miss Subella King, youngest daughter of Samuel King, Esq., J.P., of Mount Pleasant, Waterford, was solemnised at the Church of Dunmore East, on Thursday 28th Sept., in the presence of a large assemblage of the relatives and friends of both families. The ceremony was most impressively performed by the Rev. Ambrose Congreve Webb, Rector of Dysart Galen, Queen's County, assisted by the Rev. Frank Owen, Rector of the parish of Dunmore. The "Wedding March" and other appropriate musical selections were played in a masterly style by Mrs. Owen and her sister, Miss M'Cormack - the vocal parts being sustained by the choir. The pretty little church was tastefully decorated for the occasion, and reflected great credit upon those who had so kindly assisted in the undertaking. The youthful bride, who entered the sacred edifice at eleven o'clock, leaning on the arm of her father, excited much admiration. She was attired in a dress of rich white corded silk, trimmed with satin and fringe; her head-dress was a wreath of orange blossoms, and the veil of exquisite Honiton lace. She was followed by six bridesmaids, the sisters of both bride and bridegroom, and Miss Eleanor Roberts, niece of the bride. They were all most becomingly dressed in skirts of white tulle, with bodices and paniers of white silk handsomely trimmed with mauve satin. Their bonnets were of white blonde, ornamented with sprays of wisteria, and long tulle veils falling at the back. Each wore a handsome gold locket, the gift of the bridegroom. After the ceremony was concluded, the wedding party adjourned to Villa Marina, the residence of Mrs. Malcomson, sister of the bride, where a sumptuous dejeuner was prepared, after partaking of which the happy couple, amidst a shower of slippers and the hearty congratulations of all present, started for Dublin, en route for the Continent.

Book Reviews.

Book Review:

A Labour History of Waterford.

The knowledge and understanding of Waterford's past has been greatly enhanced by the recent publication of the title "A Labour History of Waterford". An ambitious enterprise on the part of the Waterford Council of Trade Unions and its Secretary Charlie Spillane, it has been written and compiled by the well known Waterford scholar Emmet O'Connor, who specialises in labour and political history. He presently lectures in Political Science at Magee University College in Derry. He is co-editor of Saothar, the journal of the Irish Labour History Society in which publication a number of contributions from his pen have already appeared. In 1988, Cork University Press published his work "Syndicalism in Ireland 1917 - 1923."

An extremely well-researched and scholarly publication, it traces the evolution of the worker and tradesman and their inter-relationship in the companies or Guilds, which operated under the feudal system on its introduction to the local scene in Waterford, by Anglo-Norman overlords in the 13th Century. Those guilds formed part of a system of social and economic relations which were devised to control labour and to protect the local economy. They regulated working practices and apprenticeships, and Corporation and Assizes were empowered to fix wage rates and prices. The Guilds also protected the consumer by regulating standards of workmanship, as well as being a mutual aid society in times of distress when needy members could be provided with relief. They also imposed restrictions and collected fees and fines. James Freney, the celebrated Kilkenny Highwayman, before he had embarked on his colourful career, had set up in business as Publican or Tavern-keeper in Waterford, but not having complied with the then extant regulations of trading in the City was forced by the authorities to close door and leave.

An act of 1659, prohibited the employment of any Catholic as "apprentice, servant, factor or partner". In 1764, there were nine Guilds incorporated in the City. They were the merchant retailers; the smiths; the carpenters, masons, slaters and coopers; the bakers; the brewers, maltsters and distillers; the barber surgeons; the shoemakers, tanners, skimmers and glovers; the clothiers, weavers, dyers and the victualers, butchers etc.

Although the Guilds were in decline in the 18th Century, yet vestiges of the system remained on for much longer. As late as October 1813, the slaters of Ross, petitioned the local Quarter Sessions for an increase of wages, and the Court on reading and considering the petition and the evidence produced ordered the wages of one guinea per week to be paid to the Slaters, for which increase that body of workers expressed their thanks to the Court by public notice.

Even as late as the 18th Century, Waterford was a medieval city, enclosed within its walls, and cluttered by high density housing in a system of narrow laneways and streets. Governed by an elite of the established Church, the Corporation was a self-perpetuating oligarchy who appointed one another to office without the formality of election. It was also the century of the throwing down of the City's medieval walls, and the expansion of the street system into the surrounding areas.

The book deals with the rise of the linen industry, and its importance to the economy and employment of Waterford in mid-century. In 1761, there were over 1,400 men, women and children employed in spinning, winding, weaving, spooling, skeaning, bleaching and flax growing and preparing. The Smith factory maintained a bleach green at Ballytruckle and the industry generally was a common source of employment for poor rural migrants to the City. The English competition later caused its demise.

It also deals with the rise and development of the provision trade, and its importance as the City's major industry, along with the rise of brewing and the woollen business. The origin and development of Waterford glass is also treated, as well as the pioneering efforts of Thomas Wyse of the Manor of St. John, in the development of industry and employment. Arthur Young's visit in 1776 and his observations are well documented particularly in relation to the then Newfoundland fishing trade and its importance to the Waterford economy. At that time 50 fishing boats operated out of Waterford and as many more again worked out of the estuary. Dungarvan in the 18th century was an important port in the hake fisheries, with the boats operating from there having crews of five or six men, much larger than the traditional craft used elsewhere at the time.

In dealing with poverty, the Author mentions the food riots of 1729 and the Mayor calling out the army to quell the protests. Demonstrations again erupted in 1732 over the export of corn and in 1741 in Carrick-on-Suir where the military shot ten people as they tried to stop a cargo of oats sailing to Waterford. The wages of artisans were about 20 shillings per week, while labourers only received at the same time from 6 pence to 8 pence per day or about three shillings per week. The diet of the artisan at that time consisted mainly of oaten bread and buttermilk. Harvest failures were periodic but famine struck in 1728-29, 1740-41 and 1822, with near famine conditions in other years.

In relation to combinations and urban protest, the Author states that - " It is unusual to locate the origins of modern trade unionism in the medieval Guilds. Genealogically this is valid, as there is a continuum between the old journeymen's associations and latterday craft unions. But trade unionism is not a tradition. It is an idea; one which requires no antiquity or vast amount of understanding, to be adopted at any time by any group of persons. The basic tenet of its creed, collective action for defence of common interests, was familiar to peasant movements and unskilled labourers as much as to artisans. The importance of craftsmen lay not in devising or even sustaining the concept, but in creating its most elaborate expression and thereby influencing the character of the modern labour movement".

In the 18th and 19th centuries, there are numerous references to urban and rural protest, both arising from a variety of social, economic and political factors impinging on the living conditions of those involved. The changing circumstances of the times and the attitudes of those in power exacerbated the volatile and unjust situations as they then existed.

With the repeal of the Combination Laws in 1824, the emergence of trade unionism could be stated to have begun. Mr. O'Connor reiterates the statement that "The early trade unions understood their function to be benefit and protection. Benefit for members in times of illness, unemployment or mortality. Protection meant the defence of wages, jobs and working practices. With a few exceptions, craftsmen alone had the bargaining strength to combine. That strength they believed rested ultimately on their ability to maintain a scarcity of labour. Controlling entry to the Trade therefore was of vital importance. Up to the 1840's, the prevailing conception of industrial relations remained a militant one. Aside from employer hostility, social inequality and the artisans fear of sinking into the poverty that engulfed the labourer, living conditions gave class relations an aggressive edge. Trade disputes frequently involved violence and intimidation".

In the 1830's the trade Societies supported Daniel O'Connell in the Repeal Campaign on the understanding that an Irish Government would protect and foster native industries. The difficulties which beset Waterford in this period included the decline of the City's woollen trade, the difficulties in Gatchell's Glassworks and a large glue manufacturing which collapsed in this decade. Employment fell in the cooperage and salting businesses owing to the decline of the provision trade. Emigration increased and over 2,000 persons sailed from the Port of Waterford in 1832.

The proportion of families dependant upon trade and manufacture in the City increased from 53% to 58% between 1841 and 1851. The population peaked at 30,194 in 1851 which was due to an influx of refugees from famine stricken areas. In the same period the population of Dungarvan fell from 8,625 to 6,965. At the same time the Malcolmson cotton factory at Mayfield, Portlaoise, employed about 1,350 men, women and children. At its peak in the 1850's the Portlaoise Spinning Company employed over 1,800 people. In 1844 Joseph Malcolmson opened the Neptune Shipbuilding Works in Waterford and concentrated on iron built ships. Other shipyards of the period included Whites and Popes.

In 1831 there were 175 licensed spirit dealers in operation in the City. Two years later, in 1833, the number had increased to 190. It was reckoned at the time that the average pub or whiskey shop received a weekly intake of ten pounds which amounted to a total expenditure on drink of almost 100,000.00 pounds per annum. The Waterford Teetotal Society founded in 1839 with 50 members claimed 15,000 members within twelve months. Father Mathew who was early on the scene in Waterford must have been very pleased with that development.

The second half of the 19th Century was a period of much change. The advent of the railways and the growth of steam navigation facilitated cheap imports and the export of unprocessed goods such as pigs and cattle on the hoof. This was responsible for a loss of jobs in the traditional industries and the collapse of farm prices later in the century due to cheap

imports to our traditional markets had a marked overall depressing effect in the local economy.

The Author ranges over the full spectrum of labour affairs and deals with every issue in a full and enlightened manner. He covers such matters as public health, housing, education, strikes and disputes, James Larkin and other personalities, the First World War, the War of Independence, the Irish Free State, the Waterford Farm Workers' strike, the civil and economic wars and the chain of events leading to the present day. Altogether an absorbing and scholarly work which historians, students of history and politics and the general public should find as an invaluable text and work of reference to the history of Waterford.

Dan Dowling.

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" Henry Boylan's A Dictionary of Irish Biography: Is it enough ?"

By: Thomas G. Fewer.

After coming across few biographies of women in A Dictionary of Irish Biography (2nd edition, 1988; Dublin, Gill & MacMillan), I decided to determine how many there were in the book, and compare that number with those relating to men. I found that out of 1303 biographies in the Dictionary, only 125 were of women.

With this discovery, I wondered what made these women worthy of inclusion, and I thus compared them with a sample of 326 men taken from sections A, B, E, M, U, and V. Women were included largely for their contribution to the literary and visual arts; 46 (36.8%) of the 125 were writers (i.e. novelists, playwrights, shortstory-writers, and journalists); 17 (13.6%) were involved in drama; 10 (8%) were artists; while 5 (3.2%) were poets. Only 47 (14.4%) of the men in the sample were writers; 15 (4.6%) were in drama; 18 (5.5%) were artists; and 15 (4.6%) were poets. Therefore, while 62.4% of the women's biographies related to individuals in the literary and visual arts, only 29% of the men's were so included. Still, numerically speaking, the men outnumber the women in these areas, so the bias against women remains. One major area of difference between the men's and women's biographies is that 10.1% of the males in the sample were politicians and nationalists. Amongst the women, there is one "political organiser", two trade unionists, and two feminist activists - but no elective politicians. Why are there not more of these women as well as any female politicians (even if only at local level) included ?

By comparing Boylan's work with that of Brian de Breffny (1986), one will find that there are 76 biographies of deceased people (one must be dead to have an entry in D.I.B.) from the latter not included in the more recent tome, and 12 of these were of women. If one needed to find more women for inclusion, the historians, Kathleen Hughes (d.1977) and Maureen Wall (d.1972), whose works remain important to this day, and the well-known 19th century painter, Lady Elizabeth (Thompson) Butler merit inclusion. Though British-born, and considered British by many (e.g. Cieszkowski, 1982:30) because much of her art related to the military activity of the British Empire, she married an Irishman (an officer in the British army) and often lived in their home in Ireland. There, she painted an Irish scene, "Evicted" (1888), in response to the political situation in Ireland at the time (Dillon, 1989:24). Amongst male biographies, how could Boylan include an article on the eminent genealogist and one time Chief Herald of Ireland, Edward Mac Lysaght, yet omit an entry on Michael J. O'Kelly, the archaeologist who excavated Newgrange and discovered that the tomb was aligned to receive sunlight directly into its innermost chamber on the winter solstice (O'Kelly, 1978:111)?

Differences between the women's biographies and those of the men are also reflected in the way Boylan treats them. Women tend to be identified by the inclusion of their fathers and husbands (41.6% and 40.0%, respectively) by name or by occupation. Fathers are only mentioned in 21.2% of the men's biographies - a major difference - while just 9.2% refer to their wives, a very different treatment of the two sexes. Thus, Boylan seems to find that marriage was a more important aspect of life for women than for men. Mothers of those biographed are virtually ignored in the case of men (just 0.3% refer to them by name or occupation) and are in only a marginally better position with the articles on women (6.4%). Overall, women (at least, as mothers and wives) seem to have been barely a part of men's lives, since they are only mentioned in 9.5% of the 326 men's articles, while 72.8% of the women's include such references to their fathers and husbands.

To be fair to Boylan, he has (after all) included some entries about women, but how useful are they? The 1986 Leaving Certificate course in English included nine modern novels and two plays all written by men. The 19th Century novel by George Eliot, Silas Marner, was the only book written by a woman for that year's school leavers to study. In the Leaving Cert. poetry text book for English (Martin, 1969), one woman poet is represented along with twenty-two male poets. Typically, all four Irish poets given in the book are male. Therefore, what stimulation do children receive to read books, articles, or poetry by women, and as a result, what reason would children have for looking up a female writer if they have not come across one in their studies?

Of course, one person cannot include every meritable person in such an undertaking as a national dictionary of biography, though one might expect a more balanced effort nonetheless. Boylan's work is useful in that it provides a quick reference, especially with regard to the important dates in a person's life - and the author seems to be quite accurate in this respect - but I feel that something on the lines of the Dictionary of Canadian Biography and that of Australia would be a more useful approach. Each has a large number of contributors who discuss the persons they are writing about (rather than simply outline the important aspects of their life), give a detailed bibliography after each entry, and present a standardised approach (e.g., giving both parents names in a biography in every case if they could be ascertained).

Though it is not feasible to check every entry for its accuracy, I feel I should refer to this sentence in the entry for George Berkeley (pp. 20 - 21) :

(Berkeley) then advanced the project of a college in the Bermudas, to reform the English colonists and civilise the natives.

There were no "natives" on the islands prior to English settlement from 1609.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Old Waterford Society was held on Friday, 6th April, 1990, at Garter Lane Arts Centre, Waterford. After a discussion of the usual Society business the following officers and committee were elected: -

CHAIRMAN	:	Mr. Jim O'Meara.
VICE CHAIRMAN	:	Mr. Nial O'Flaherty.
HON. SECRETARY	:	Mrs. Nellie Croke.
HON. TREASURER	:	Mrs. Renee Lumley.
HON. EDITOR	:	Mr. Fergus Dillon.
P.R.O.	:	Mr. Liam Eachtighearn.
<u>COMMITTEE:</u>	:	Miss Patricia Fanning, Mrs. Lisa Gallagher, Mr. George Kavanagh, Mr. P. J. Kenneally, (ex-officio), Mr. Patrick Kennedy, Mrs. Margaret Power.

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP.

A

Ahearne, Miss S., 8 Sweetbriar Park, Waterford.
Allison Mrs. A., 46 Tramore Heights, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Aylward Rev. Fr. J., Killea, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Aylward Mr. J., Ballydaw Upper, Kilmacow, Co. Waterford.
Aylward Mrs. N., Rocklands, Ferrybank, Waterford.

B

Barry Mr. R.J., 3 Carolann Ct., Stonypoint, New York 10980, U.S.A.
Barron Mr. H.C.N. 3 Ravenscourt Square, London England.
Brazil Mr. D., 'Killard', John's Hill, Waterford. (Hon.)
Brett Mr. P., "Cois Feorac", Golf Links Road, Ferrybank, Waterford.
Brophy Mr. & Mrs. A., "Bushe Lodge", Catherine Street, Waterford.
Burns Mrs. G. W., 97 Park Road, Loughborough, Leics, England.
Byrne Mr. N., "Auburn", John's Hill, Waterford.
Brennan Mr. J., Main Street, Mooncoin via Waterford.
Bradley Mr. J., Urban Archaeology Survey, Newman House, St. Stephen's Green,
Dublin 2

C

Coady, Mr. M., 29 Clairin, Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary.
 Carberry Mr. M., Carrigadustra, Kilmeaden, Co. Waterford.
 Carroll Mr. P., "Greenmount", Crooke, Passage East, Co. Waterford.
 Carroll Mrs. S., "Ardaun", Newtown, Waterford. (Hon.)
 Cassidy Mr. N., "Lisacul", Marian Park, Waterford.
 Cody Mr. P., Portroe, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.
 Colclough Mr. B., 9 Pearse Park, Waterford.
 Collins Mrs. A., 36 Sweetbriar Terrace, Lower Newtown, Waterford.
 Condon Mrs. S., 19 Beau Street, Waterford.
 Condon Mr. W., 31 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.
 Cooney Mr. T., 145 Rockenham, Ferrybank, Waterford.
 Corcoran Mr. & Mrs. W., New Aglish, Carrigeen, Waterford.
 County Museum, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.
 Cotter Mr. D., 'Padua', Springmount, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
 Cowman Mr. D., Knockane, Anestown, Co. Waterford.
 Cranley Mrs. J., 6 Parnell Street, Waterford.
 Croke Mrs. J., 208 Viewmount Park, Waterford.
 Crosbie Mr. & Mrs. T., 'Seaville House', Tramore, Co. Waterford.
 Crowley Mrs. M., 'Fernhill', Ballyvooney, Stradbally, Co. Waterford.

D

Dalton Miss P., Airmount Villas, Waterford.
 Dale Mrs. N.F., Ashleigh, Three Ashes, Hereford HR2 84T, England.
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 Devine Mrs. A., Colligammore, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
 Delahunty Mr. E., Kilcullen House, Half-way-house P.O.
 Dillon Mr. F., 'Trespan', The Folly, Waterford.
 Dobbyn Mr. J.M., 18 Rosall Drive, Cadley, Folwood, Preston, Lancs., England.
 Dower Mrs. N., 1 Mayor's Walk, Waterford.
 Dunphy Mrs. M., Ballycashin, Waterford.
 Doyle Mr. L., Gants Hill House, Faithlegge, Co. Waterford.
 Dowling Mr. D., Glenmore via Waterford.

E

Eachtnigheirn Mr. L., "Dun-an-Oir", Newrath, Waterford.
 Enright Canon J.L., Seafeld Drive, Newtown Hill, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
 Evans Mr. J., 6 Ballybricken, Waterford.

F

Fanning Mr. & Mrs. E., 50 St. Herblain Park, Kilcohan, Waterford.
 Fanning Mr. M., 64 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.
 Fanning Miss P., 1 Railway Square, Waterford.
 Farrell Mr. I., "Summerville House", Newtown, Waterford.
 Farrell Mrs. M., 'Trade Winds', John's Hill, Waterford.
 Fewer Mrs. M., "Hillcrest", Passage Road, Waterford.
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 Fitzgerald Mrs. K., Farmllea, Waterford.

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 Flynn Mr. W., 29 Rathfaddan Villas, Waterford.
 Frank Bro., Belmont Park Hospital, Ferrybank, Waterford.

G

Galgey Mrs. M., Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
 Gallagher Mrs. L., 12 Parnell Street, Waterford.
 Gough Mr. M., Planning Department, Dublin Corporation.
 Grogan Mrs. M., 10 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.
 Grubb Miss C., 55 Roselawn, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

H

Hennebry - Power Mrs. A., c/o St. James Church of Ireland School,
 Stradbally, Co. Waterford.
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 Hearne Mrs. E., "Mossleigh", Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
 Hearne Miss M., 2 Francis Court, Lisduggan, Waterford.
 Hearne Mr. T., 59 Marian Terrace, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
 Heylin Mr. F., Duagh, Tramore Road, Waterford. (Hon.)
 Heylin Mrs. M., 29 Parnell Street, Waterford.
 Hodge Mr. E., "Rosecroft", Ursuline Road, Waterford.
 Hodge Mr. J., "Avonlea", Ursuline Road, Waterford. (Hon.)
 Holland Mr. D., 8 Western Park, Irishtown, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.
 Holland Mr. P., Tipperary S.R. Museum, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.
 Holman Mr. D., Ballygunnermore, Waterford.
 Hynes Miss N., Knockeaton, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
 History Department, Our Lady of Mercy Secondary School, Waterford.

K

Kavanagh Mr. G., "Rosedale", Ballinaneeshagh, Waterford.
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 Kennedy Miss S., Boite 11 Bo. Brand Whitlook, 77 B1200, Bruxelles, Belgium.
 Kelly Mr. E., 48 Roanmore Park, Waterford.
 Kiely Mr. E., 3 Poleberry Terrace, Waterford.
 Kiely Mr. M., Green Street, Cappoquin, Co. Waterford.
 Kiersey Mrs. M.T., Ballyhussa, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.
 Kilkenny Co. Library, 6 John's Quay, Kilkenny.
 Kinch Mr. J.R., 4 Percy Terrace, Waterford.
 Kirwan Mrs. B., 112 Cannon Street, Waterford.
 Kirwan Miss E.M., Drumlohan, Kilmacthomas, Waterford.
 Kirwan M/s M., Knockenpower, Colligan, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

L

Laffan Mrs. K., Greenville, Kilmacow, Waterford.
 Lahert Mr. R., 51 College Park, Terenure, Dublin 6.
 Lumley Mr. I., 'Formby', Daisy Terrace, Waterford.
 Lumley Mrs. R., 'Formby', Daisy Terrace, Waterford.
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M

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 Maher Mrs. M., "Carrig Eden", Newrath, Waterford.
 Malachy Bro., Belmont Park Hospital, Ferrybank, Waterford.
 McCarthy Rev. Fr. D.W., 2 Raheen Park, Bray, Co. Wicklow.
 McEvoy Mrs. A., "Aureole", Grange Lawn, Waterford.
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 Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada.
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 Morrissey Miss G., Ballinaskela, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
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 Mulholland Mr. J., Ballynasissala, Bonmahon, Co. Waterford.
 Murphy Mr. P., 198 Lismore Park, Waterford.
 McNeill Mrs. B., 4 Birch Terrace, Lisduggan, Waterford.
 McCarthy Mr. R., 27 Morley Terrace, Waterford.
 McGrath Mr. W.J., AIA Building, No. 1 Stubbs Road, P.O. Box 456, Hong Kong.

N.

National Museum of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin 2.
 Newberry Library, 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.
 Nolan Mr. T., "Greenville", Fenor, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
 Norton Dr. E., "Westgate end House", Wakefield, West Yorkshire, England.
 Nicholson Mr. R., 48 Manor Lawn, Waterford.

O

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 O'Brien Mr. & Mrs. S., 13 Thomond Green, Lismore Lawn, Waterford.
 O'Caomh Mr. D., "Dun Ard", Grange Lawn, Waterford.
 O'Ceagan Mr. C., "Farranlea", Dunmore Road, Waterford.

R.

Roche Sr. Madeleine, Good Shepherd Convent, Waterford.
 Royal Irish Academy, 19 Dawson Street, Dublin 2.
 Ryan Mr. S., Broad Street, Waterford.
 Ryan Mrs. D., 37 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.

S.

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 Sheridan Mr. M., 3 Tramore Heights, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
 Sheridan Mr. T., "Quarrymount", Upper John's Hill, Waterford.
 Sinclair Mrs. I., "Penrhy", South Park, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
 Stewart Mr. J., "Tivoli", Marian Park, Waterford.
 Strain Mr. F., 36 Sexton Street, Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
 South Eastern Education and Library Board, Windmill Hill, Ballynahinch,
 Co. Down, BT24 80N, Northern Ireland.
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 Sullivan Mr. M., Georgestown, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.
 Stacey Dr. J., Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

T.

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 Taylor Mr. A., 36 Marian Terrace, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
 Terry Mr. W., The Friary, Aglish, Cappoquin, Co. Waterford.
 Traynor Mrs. M., "Cherry Cottage", Rockshire Road, Ferrybank, Waterford.
 Turner Miss M.C., "Cooleen" Church Lane, Thames Ditton, Surrey, England.
 Timoney Mrs. M., Keash, Co. Sligo.

U.

Upton Mr. & Mrs. S., 99 Mount Sion Avenue, Waterford.

W.

- Wall Mr. S., Ballinakill, Glendonnell, Mullinavat, Co. Kilkenny
- Wallace Mr. J., 138 Rathgar Road, Rathgar, Dublin 6.
- Walsh Mr. E., 133 Limekiln Green, Limekiln Farm, Dublin 12.
- Walsh Mr. F.J., '74 Hawthorndene Drive, Hawthorndene, South Australia.
- Walsh Mr. J.J., "Cliff Grange", Church Road, Tramore.
- Walsh Mr. P., 56 Barrack Street, Waterford.
- Walsh Mrs. M., 82 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.
- Walsh Mr. W., Woodstock, Coolroe, Portlaoise, Co. Waterford.
- Walton Mr. J., Sutton Park School, Dublin 13.
- Ware Mrs. A., 6 St. Laurence Terrace, Waterford.
- Webster Mrs. E., "Morven" Grange Park Road, Waterford.
- White Miss E., 7 Summerhill, Waterford.
- Whittle Miss B., Clonea, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
- Williams Mr. L., "River View", Kilmacow, Waterford.

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SUMMER OUTINGS 1990.

- May 13th : Annual Coach Trip to Nenagh and environs.
June 17th : Afternoon coach trip to Clonmines, Co. Wexford -
Guide : Mr. Michael Moore.
June 28th : Evening visit to Dunmore East.
Guide : Mr. Noel McDonagh.
July 1st : Afternoon coach trip - Five Castles in Co. Wexford.
Guide : Mr. Jim Doyle.
July 22nd : Afternoon outing to Clommel (own cars).
Guide : Mrs. Rossiter.
Sept. 9th : Afternoon outing to Callan (own cars).
Guide : Mr. Joe Kennedy.
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LECTURE SEASON 1990/91.

Lectures will be held in Garter Lane Arts Centre, Phase 2, O'Connell Street, Waterford, commencing at 8.00 p.m.

- Sept. 28th : The Suir - Transport and Fisheries -
Dr. Patrick C. Power, M.A., PhD.
Oct. 26th : Traditional Irish Farmhouses on the Kilkenny/Waterford Border -
Ellen Prendergast, National Museum Official (retd.)
Nov. 23rd : The City Charters of Waterford -
Julian Walton, member.
Dec. 2nd : Annual Luncheon. Separate notice will be sent to members.
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Enquiries regarding DECIES to : Mr. Fergus Dillon,
'Trespan'
70, The Folly,
Waterford.

Membership of the Old Waterford Society is open to all. Subscription for 1990 is £7.00 which may be sent to the Hon Treasurer:

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

The Society is not responsible for damage or injury suffered or sustained on outings.