

*Journal of the Old Waterford Society*

# DECIES

No. 46

Autumn 1992



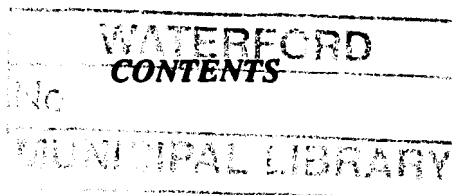
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## EDITORIAL

As the world recession bites deeper into the Irish economy, our tourist industry achieves ever greater importance. Two things that Ireland has to sell in abundance are scenery and history, and the south-east has plenty of both. Much has been done in the last year to make the Waterford region a more interesting place to visit: in particular, the development of Lismore as a heritage town has received well-merited acclaim, while (at a very different level) the arrival of Celtworld has brought a novel kind of publicity to Tramore.

However, the task of selling the Waterford region has been made considerably more difficult by the negative impression created by certain guidebooks. The most notorious of these has been the 1992 edition of *Let's Go: The Budget Guide to Britain & Ireland*, written by Harvard Student Agencies Inc. and published by Pan Books. A ten-page section (pp 546-557) deals with south-east Ireland, and in the introduction Waterford is dismissed with the comment that, 'though ugly and industrial, [it] is saturated in Viking history'. There follow entries on Enniscorthy, Wexford, the south Wexford coast, Waterford, Kilkenny, Cashel and Cahir. Waterford Town (sic) is awarded three paragraphs (as against three pages for Kilkenny), the first of which merits quotation in full:

'Waterford is a major industrial center, a coal smudge on the green map of Ireland; the noise and dirt of the waterfront, where ships load and unload huge bundles of ugliness, pervade the streets. A hotbed of religious struggle up through 1649, the town is only interesting today as a node for transportation running west to Cork, east to Wexford, and north to Dublin.'

There follow seventeen lines giving the location of the tourist office and of several places to stay, eat and drink. The final paragraph informs the hapless wayfarer who has had the misfortune to stray into this hell-hole how to get out of it as fast as possible.

The entry is misleading both in what it says and in what it omits: no mention of Reginald's Tower, the city walls, the heritage centre, the Georgian cathedrals - not even of Waterford Crystal. The county is almost totally ignored; there is nothing about our magnificent river and coastal scenery, though there is a short section on 'Southern Mountains' on pp 556-7.

Unfortunately, there is no need to go to Harvard to find a negative impression of Waterford, when our own *Ordnance Survey Leisure Guide: Ireland* virtually dismisses Waterford as 'an industrial city of unspectacular appearance'. During 1992 I have encountered several groups of tourists going round Ireland with these books as their mentors; one Australian couple said they would never have set foot in Waterford had they not had relations living in the area.

Perhaps the balance will be redressed by the new and forthcoming publications on the area, some of which are of high quality. I particularly like Michael Fewer's *By Cliff and Shore: Walking the Waterford Coast*, published in September by Anna Livia Press. An account of the author's 125-mile odyssey from Youghal to Dunmore and up the river to Waterford Bridge, it is beautifully illustrated with his own maps and drawings. The book abounds in history, folk-lore and personal anecdotes, and the author has a fine command of language.

At a humbler level, we are all ambassadors for our area. The impression that our visitors take away with them is affected not only by the hospitality with which they are welcomed but also by the degree to which we are informed about our heritage. All too often, they seem to encounter an abysmal ignorance of even the most basic facts of Waterford history, especially among the young. Hopefully this will change, and the enthusiasm with which schools now embark on local history projects is a very encouraging sign. You too can help, by participating in the affairs of this Society, by helping to enlarge the scope of its activities, and by attracting new members.

# THE 'MOTHER BROWN' STONE AT CLONEGAM

*by* Fiona Veale

Situated two miles north-west of Portlaw, the church of Clonegam is well-known to local historians (Walton, 1976). Less well-known is the stone which stands in the field next to the church.

Known locally as 'Mother Brown', the monument consists of a carved stone head sitting on a 'body' of conglomerate rock. From a distance, the monument resembles an old woman standing on the hillside wrapped in her shawl. At some time the stone was repaired, and it is now held together with mortar. The head, carved from sandstone, is in the Celtic style. The face is symmetrical, with wide eyes and a long nose (Fig. 1). However, some mystery surrounds 'Mother Brown'. Although it is known to locals, there do not seem to be any references to the stone in written sources. Canon Power (1894-5) mentions only the church and its graveyard. In his later work (1952) he describes a window from Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford, which was dumped on Clonegam Hill - but no reference to a carved stone. O'Donovan (1841) states: 'There are no antiquities of any description in this (Clonegam) parish', the church and the Le Poer tower being at the time of his writing relatively modern. Similarly, the Sites and Monuments Record (1988) contains no mention of a carved stone in this area.

The only documentary evidence comes from the Ordnance Survey six-inch maps (Fig 2). The stone is marked in and named on the 1841 and 1921 editions. To the east of the stone a ring-fort is shown, which has since disappeared. It may be possible that it was assumed the words 'Mother Brown' referred to the ring-fort.

Although the head is carved in the Celtic style, it must be remembered that it is located on Curraghmore estate. It is very possible that 'Mother Brown' was created during the last three hundred years to add picturesque antiquity to the grounds. As mentioned above, there is a break where the stone has been repaired. Such a repair may indicate that the stone does not belong in its present position. It may originally have come from another part of the estate, or even beyond. The present Marquess of Waterford has no record relating to the stone.

Approximately half a mile north of 'Mother Brown' stands a second stone locally called 'The Lady'. Even less is known about this monument. A plain, uncarved stone, it stands in the corner of its field. It is not mentioned in any of the sources referred to above, nor is it marked on the Ordnance Survey maps. However, there is a mark on the O.P.W. map which may indicate its presence. It would seem to have been overlooked by the compilers of the Sites and Monuments Record.

The main problem relating to both stones is that of dating. Unfortunately, stone monuments are extremely difficult to date in the absence of a written record. Carved stone faces in particular are very few in Ireland and have yet to be the subject of major research (O'Kelly, 1989). Unlike organic objects such as wood, stone is unsuitable for conventional dating methods. As a

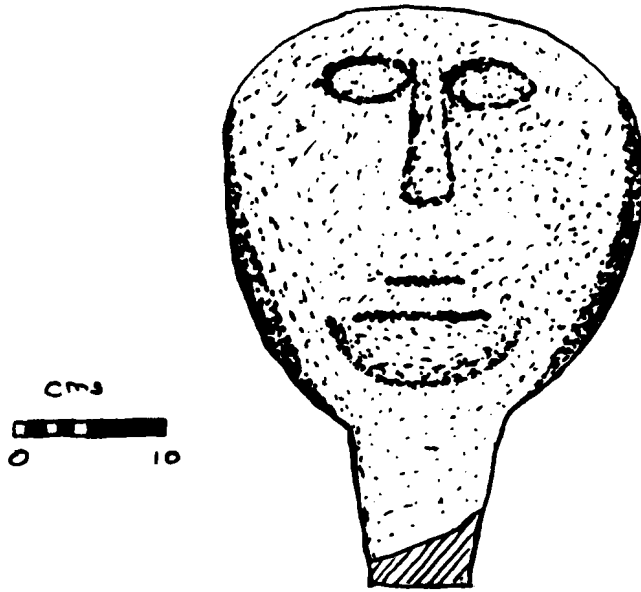


Fig. 1. Head of 'Mother Brown'

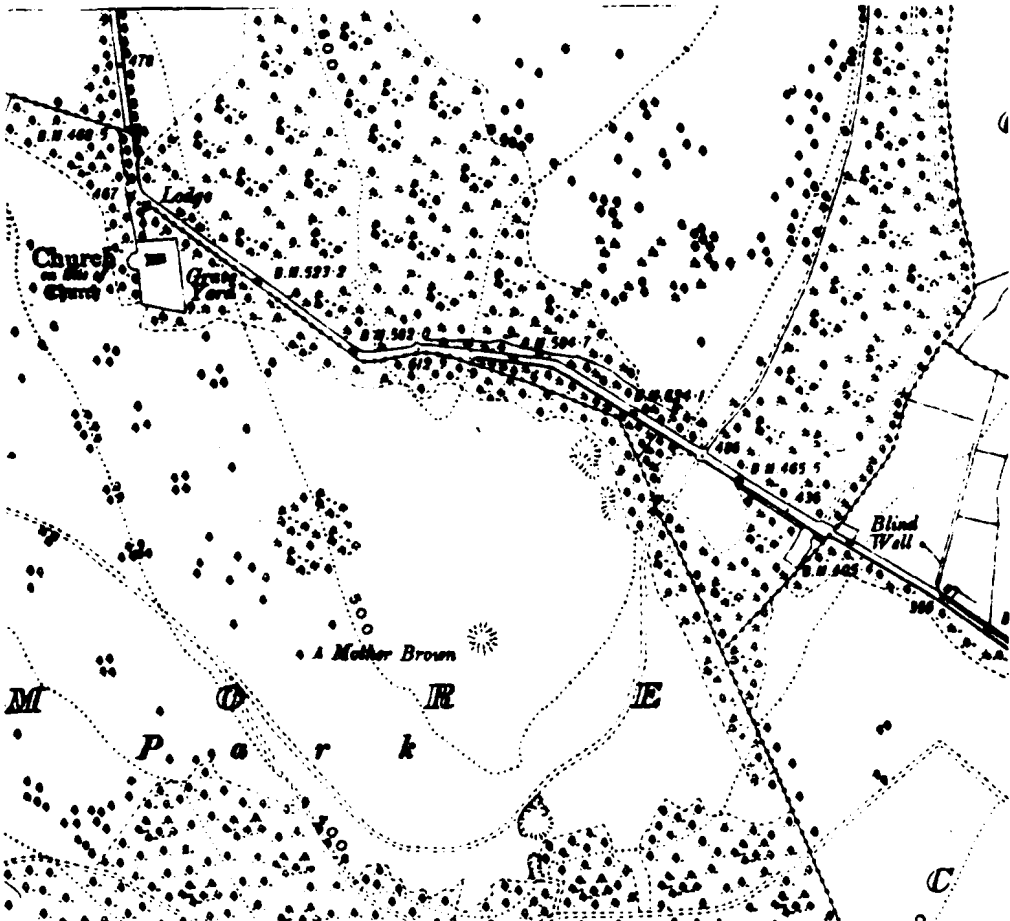


Fig. 2. Site of 'Mother Brown' as marked on 6" Ordnance Survey map (Sheet 8, 1921 edn, enlarged)

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result, the only definite date which applies to 'Mother Brown' is 1841. That it existed at this date is certain from the evidence of the Ordnance Survey maps. How long it had been standing prior to that date is unknown. However, it must have been there for some time for it to have had some degree of folklore attached to it, as shown by its name on the 1841 map. The history of the 'Lady Stone' is even more uncertain.

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## WHERE WAS SLIABH gCUA?

by An tAthair COLMCILLE, O.C.S.O.

The first mention of the place called Sliabh Cua (otherwise Sliabh gCua) in the Annals of the Four Masters occurs under the year of world 3790. In recording the death of the legendary Angus Olmuchadha, the annalists relate among other matters that he gained the battle of Sliabh Cua against the Erna. John O Donovan, in a footnote, identifies the Sliabh Cua of the Four Masters thus:-

Sliabh Cua. - Now Sliabh Gua, *anglice*, Slieve Gua, in the parish of Sheskinan, barony of Decies-without-Drum, and county of Waterford. The more elevated part of this mountain is now called Cnoc Maoldomhnaigh. But the whole range was originally called Sliabh Cua.<sup>1</sup>

He returns to the subject in his edition of *Leabhar na gCeart*<sup>2</sup> and in an article in the Kilkenny Archaeological Society Journal,<sup>3</sup> where he says that the name of Sliabh Gua 'is now popularly applied to a district in the parish of Seskinan, between Clonmel and Dungarvan, once the name of Knockmuldoon, now transferred to the lands at its base'. The district thus defined as bearing the name of Sliabh Gua is situated about halfway between Clonmel and Dungarvan and corresponds more or less to the Catholic parish of Tooraneena and the Nire. This parish is really the united parishes of Seskinan and Lickoran, with further additions taken from Kilsheelan, Rathgormack and Kilronan during the nineteenth century.

The ancient parish church of Seskinane, now in ruins, is situated on Knockboy and hence bears the name Knockboy. Though itself an erection of the fifteenth century, it evidently replaced a very ancient church, and all the evidence goes to show that there was on this spot or at least in the near vicinity a pagan cemetery which, at an early period, was converted to christian use. All but one of the doors and lintels are Ogham-inscribed and, as the diocesan historian of Lismore writes, 'must have served their purpose as headstones in a pagan or early christian cemetery before their present position and purpose'.<sup>4</sup> It may well be, therefore, that this area was the original Sliabh Cua which gave its name to that famous range of mountains so often mentioned in hagiological, historical and legendary literature; and perhaps it was in this district that the battles of Sliabh Cua mentioned in the annals were fought. Apart from the altogether legendary battle supposed by the annalists to have been fought in the year of the world 3790, we find mention in the annals of two battles fought at Sliabh Cua in historic times, one in 597<sup>5</sup> and the other in 1031<sup>6</sup>, but we have no means of identifying the exact locality. As we shall see in the course of this paper, the term Sliabh Cua is a very vague one when used without qualification in the ancient texts; it might designate any part of a tract of mountainous country stretching from the eastern borders of county Cork to the middle of county Waterford. All modern writers seem to agree that the Sliabh Cua so frequently mentioned in the ancient literature of Ireland is now represented by the fine range of mountains called the Knockmealdowns, which form the boundary between the counties of

1 *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann: Annals of the Four Masters*, ed. John O'Donovan; sub anno 3790.

2 *Leabhar na gCeart*, ed. John O'Donovan, p. 16, note t.

3 i, p. 358.

4 V. Rev. P. Power, *Waterford and Lismore, a compendious history of the United Dioceses*, Cork, 1937, p. 264.

5 *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann*, sub anno 597 A.D.

6 *ibid*, sub anno 1031.

Waterford and Tipperary for almost their entire length. It would, however, be more true to say that this range of mountains represents Sliabh Cua only in part. John O Donovan is certainly misleading when he states in the passage already quoted that the parish of Seskinane lies at the base of Knockmealdown.<sup>7</sup> On the contrary, it forms part of an elevated table-land between five hundred and one thousand feet above sea level lying between two great mountain masses - the Knockmealdown mountains to the west and the Comeragh and Monavullagh mountains to the east. In its general situation it may indeed be said to lie nearer to the Comeraghs than to the Knockmealdowns. The fact of the matter seems to be that while in modern times the name Sliabh gCua has been applied exclusively to the area in question, it was applied during the middle ages, and perhaps for many centuries before the coming of the Normans, not merely to what is now known as the Knockmealdown range but to the whole great mountain mass stretching from the river Duag in Co. Tipperary to the river Mahon in Co. Waterford, and including in its ambit the Knockmealdown, Comeragh and Monavullagh mountains. Moreover, the fact that alone of all the mountainous country within the limits so described, the elevated table-land between Clonmel and Dungarvan extending into the ancient parishes of Lickoran, Seskinane and Modeligo still bears the name Sliabh Gua, suggests that this was probably the area to which the name was originally applied.

That the Knockmealdown mountains formed part of the ancient Sliabh Cua has never been controverted. So clear is the evidence in this case that it has led the generality of writers to imagine that Sliabh Cua and Knockmealdown are interchangeable terms. There are, of course, many references in ancient Irish literature which might easily suggest to the casual reader that this was, in fact, the case. We learn from the *Féilire* of Oengus that Sliabh Cua lay south of Ardfinnan, and this suggests that it was identical with the mountain range now known as the Knockmealdowns. In the life of St. Mochuda we are told that on his way to Clonfert Molua from Déise Mumhan he crossed over Sliabh Cua, from the summit of which he saw angels ascending and descending on the banks of the river Nemh (now called Blackwater). From this we infer that Sliabh Cua was, indeed, the Knockmealdown range. This appears to be confirmed by the account given in the same 'Life' of Mochuda's settlement at Lismore after his expulsion from Rahan. He is depicted as meeting the King of the Déise (Maelochtraigh) at Ard Breanainn - the modern Ardfinnan - where the king offered him a site for his church at Lismore; a site, we are told, abounding in wood and fish 'beside Sliabh Cua on the bank of the Neamh'.<sup>8</sup> However, the text then makes a statement which shows that the term 'Sliabh Cua' was not, in the mind of the author, restricted to what is now called the Knockmealdown range; for although the saint is stated to have proceeded through Sliabh Cua on his way to Lismore, the route he is declared to have taken shows him approaching Lismore by way of Cill Clothair and Ath Mheadhoin, now Affane.<sup>9</sup> He did not, therefore, cross directly to Lismore over the Knockmealdown range; for Cill Clothair lies in the parish of Whitechurch, a little west of the village of Cappagh, Co. Waterford, so that the saint, instead of crossing over the Knockmealdown range, actually came by way of a pass leading to the plain of Modeligo and thus touching on the area known by the name of Sievegoe in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The life of St. Declan throws some light on the situation of Sliabh Cua and its relation to the Knockmealdown mountains; for the monastery of Tubbrid is there described as situated in Uí Fathaidh, in the western region of the Déise, between Sliabh Crot and Sliabh Cua.<sup>10</sup> Here the reference is clearly to the two great mountain ranges now known as the Galtees and the

7 See note 3 supra.

8 Life of St. Mochuda of Lismore, ed. V. Rev. P. Power, in *Irish Texts Society* vol xvi.

9 Ibid.

10 Vita Sancti Declani, ed. Rev. Charles Plummer in *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ii. p. 54.



Knockmealdowns respectively.<sup>11</sup> But Sliabh Cua is mentioned in connection with another journey in a context which would seem to exclude Knockmealdown. Saint Declan is said to have been instructed by an angel to proceed as quickly as possible to the plain called Inneoin, there to meet St Patrick. Inneoin is represented today by the townland of Mullach Inneona (Mullaghneony) in the parish of Newchapel, some five miles north-west of Clonmel. Since the saint was told to make no delay and is depicted in the 'Life' as hurrying in all haste (*cum omni festinacione*) to the said place, we must suppose that he took the most direct route from Ardmore. A look at the Ordnance Survey map will show that the most direct route from Ardmore to Mullaghneony is that taken by the modern road through Kilcloher, Modeligo and Ballinamult, and thence by Kilronan and Kilmanahan to the old ford over the Suir at the spot where Knocklofty bridge now stands. On or in close proximity to that road lay the ancient churches of Kilcloher, Kilronan, Kilmanahan and Kilnamack, none of which can be said to be located on the Knockmealdown mountains. The saint's 'Life' however states expressly that he proceeded through Sliabh Cua, crossing the river Suir and arriving at his destination the following morning. From this passage we gather that the Sliabh Cua of early christian Ireland was believed by the writer of the narrative to have extended farther east than the Knockmealdown range and to have, in effect, included part at least of the area now popularly called Sliabh Gua in Irish.

At least one manuscript places Sliabh Cua at Clonmel (*ag Cluain Meala*)<sup>12</sup> and certain Anglo-Norman charters presently to be quoted place beyond all doubt the fact that the Comeragh mountains themselves were included in that designation. It is a fact worthy of notice that neither the Knockmealdown nor the Comeragh mountains are mentioned by name in the ancient literature of Ireland, though Sliabh Cua is frequently referred to. It would indeed be most suprising if our medieval and ancient literature ignored completely the great mountain mass south of the Suir forming the Comeragh and Monavullagh ranges; and since we do not find them under their modern Irish names in that literature it must surely be because they figure therein under a different designation. That this designation was Sliabh Cua scarcely admits of doubt. From the examples already given we have seen that the Knockmealdown range was formerly known as Sliabh Cua. That the name survived to modern times under the anglicized form 'Slievegoe' is a well known fact. Numerous references in the Civil Survey of 1654 for County Waterford show that the area known as Slieve Goe or Slievegoe extended over a great part of the parishes of Modeligo,<sup>13</sup> Lickoran<sup>14</sup> and Seskinane<sup>15</sup> and probably reached as far east as the Comeragh and Monavullagh mountains in the latter parish.<sup>16</sup> Strange to say, the name Slievegoe is not applied to any part of the Knockmealdown range in the Co. Waterford survey. The Co. Tipperary survey, on the other hand, shows that the name survived in the extreme south-west of that county in 1654, extending indeed as far west as the boundary of the neighbouring county Cork; for in treating of the parish of Shanrahan which lies at the foot of the most westerly section of the Knockmealdown range in Co. Tipperary, the survey describes the Araglen river as rising in 'the mountaine of Slievguo'.<sup>17</sup> The Civil Survey of 1654, then, bears witness to the fact that at either end of the range of mountains now called the Kockmealdowns there was, in the middle of the seventeenth century, a mountain called Slievegoe or Slievguo, from which it may be inferred that the whole range formerly bore that name.

11 See also the Irish 'Life', ed. V. Rev. P. Power, *I.T.S.* xvi.

12 *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, p. 607, ed. Rev. Edmund Hogan, S.J.

13 *Civil Survey*, vi, p. 60. See also the editor's introduction to the volume, p. xviii, where he states that 'boundaries of lands within the parishes of Whitechurch and Modelligo, barony of Decies (pp. 53 & 61) are rendered "Slievegae", "Slievegoe" and "Slievegoe"; "Slievegoe" appears as an alias of Mountain Castle in a grant of that name'. The editor then (in a footnote) refers the reader to the Commission of Grace patent 3 & 4, Jas. II., to Edw. and Catherine Villiers (p.49).

14 "Likowrane", *ibid.*, p. 60.

15 "The parish of Seskinane", *ibid.*, p. 54.

16 *Ibid.* pp 63-66. The parish of Kilgobinet is said to meare with the 'Mountaines of Comeragh' in the east and the 'Mountaines of Slievegoe' on the north.

17 *Ibid.* i. p. 373.

In the register of the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary's, Dunbrody (Co. Wexford), there are references to lands in Co. Waterford which were granted to that abbey. Milo de Cogan who was slain in 1182 granted the monks the lands of Cnokmurn otherwise Cnocmurny in the tenement of Baliokeroc otherwise Balikeroc in the land of Hanegus otherwise Hanewys.<sup>18</sup> This charter was confirmed by William de Cogan, son of the said Milo.<sup>19</sup> On 3 July 1215 King John granted to Thomas fitz Anthony, Seneschal of Leinster, and his heirs, the custody of the counties of Desmond and Waterford.<sup>20</sup> Thomas granted to the monks of Dunbrody a carucate of land in his tenement of Hanegus near the mountains.<sup>21</sup> Although the mountains are not named in the charter itself, the title of the charter preserved in a contemporary table in the same register describes this land as being '*juxta montem de Slefgo*' - 'beside the mountain of Slefgo'.<sup>22</sup> Hence we are safe in assuming that the lands described in these charters were situated close to mountains which at that time bore the name Sliabh gCua. Now, the lands of Baliokeroc which Milo de Cogan granted to the monks are stated to have been near the lands granted by Thomas fitz Anthony.<sup>23</sup> If then we can discover the whereabouts of Baliokeroc and Cnocmurny, we shall have further evidence regarding the location and extent of the Sliabh Cua of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The register of the abbey of Dunbrody also records a quit-claim<sup>24</sup> by William de Norrath of the land of Cnocmurny in the tenement of Balikeroc in Hanewys. William de Norrath appears in the Calendar of Ormond Deeds<sup>25</sup> as William de Narrahe. He had evidently inherited some, at least, of Thomas fitz Anthony's lands in Co. Waterford. Where exactly were those lands? They were in Hanegus or Hanewys. The word Hanewys I take to be an Anglo-Norman rendering of the Irish *Uí Oenghusa*, one of the septs of the Déise. The lands of Uí Oenghusa were, accordingly, the lands occupied by that sept and were probably of wide extent. They appear in the Ormond Deeds under the form Ohenewys, and from the same collection of deeds we learn that Rathnescallik was in Ohenewys,<sup>26</sup> and I think there is little doubt that it is the place now known as Rathnaskilloge (*Rath na Sciollóg*) in the parish of Stradbally. From the Ormond Deeds, too, we know that William de Norrath, whose quit-claim of the land of Cnocmurny in the tenement of Balikeroc in Hanewys has been mentioned above, held lands in the parish of Stradbally.<sup>27</sup> We should expect, therefore, to find the lands of Cnocmurny, Balikeroc, Ballymoni (mentioned in the De Norrath grant) and Stradbally in close proximity one to another. We should further expect that the cantred of Hanewys or Ohenewys included all these lands. Following (as it would appear) Sir John Gilbert, who identified<sup>28</sup> the Slefgo of the Dunbrody charters with Sliabh Cua, 'now Knockmealdown in Co. Waterford', Dr St John Brooks has concluded that the cantred of Hanegus, Ohengys, &c., was the district lying about Cappoquin.<sup>29</sup>

How far to the west Uí Oenghusa extended I do not know. It is possible that it included the whole of what we now call the baronies of Decies within Drum and Decies without Drum. It is - to say the least - very doubtful that it included Cappoquin which, being part of the parish of Lismore, probably lay in Uí Eachach or in Uí Fhearghusa. Certainly the places named in the charters quoted above were not in the neighbourhood of Cappoquin. The editor of the Calendar of Ormond Deeds equates the Balymoni of the De Norrath grant with the modern Ballyvoony in the

18 *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, ii, p. 190, no. xxxii, 3.

19 *Ibid.*, no. xxxii, 4.

20 *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland*, ed. Sweetman, i, no. 57.

21 Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, pp 192, 193.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 207 (no. \*xxxii [7]).

23 *Ibid.*, p. 190 (no. xxxii, 4), p. 191 (no. xxxii, 5).

24 *Ibid.*, p. 192, no. xxxii, 6.

25 *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, ed. Edmund Curtis, i, no. 242, p. 96.

26 *Ibid.*, no. 657, p. 277.

27 See note 25 *supra*.

28 Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 193, note 3, 'De Slefgo'.

29 *Knights' Fees in Counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny*, Dublin, 1950, pp 157-8, note 4.

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parish of Stradbally,<sup>30</sup> and I think this identification may be accepted as correct. The Balikeroc of the Dunbrody charters is almost certainly Ballykeroge in the parish of Kilrossanty, while Carrigmoorna (Carraig Mhuire) which lies to the north of Ballykeroge in the same parish I take to be the Cnocmurny of the charter, the designation *cnoc* (a hill) being replaced by *carraig* (a rock). Since the land of Cnocmurny and Balikeroc is said to be near the land granted by Thomas fitz Anthony to the monks of Dunbrody, and since the land so granted is stated in the register of Dunbrody to be near the mountain of Slefgo, and since all the lands above mentioned are situated to the south-east of and in close proximity to the Comeragh mountains, very far removed, indeed, from Cappoquin and the Knockmealdowns, it follows that in this context Slefgo must mean not the Knockmealdowns but the Comeraghs.

We may sum up, then, by saying that we have sufficient documentary evidence to allow us to state with certainty that the ancient Sliabh Cua was not confined to the range of mountains now known as the Knockmealdowns; nor was it simply the elevated table-land stretching south from Clonmel in the direction of Modeligo and Affane which has borne the name of Sliabh gCua or Slievegoe since the seventeenth century. It included in fact the entire mountain mass stretching from eastern boundaries of Co. Cork to mid-Waterford, comprising the Knockmealdown, Monavullagh and Comeragh mountains. The name Sliabh Gua was in all probability applied in the first instance to the elevated tract of moorland lying between and linking the mountain masses of the Knockmealdown and Comeragh ranges. From this area the name was extended eastwards and westwards until it finally embraced the entire mountainous tract that lies between the Araglen river on the borders of Cork, Waterford and Tipperary, and the river Mahon in the county of Waterford. This usage eventually died out, and at the present day the name Sliabh Gua is restricted to the comparatively small area between Clonmel and Dungarvan comprised more or less in the united parishes of Seskinane and Lickoran with part of Kilronan and part of Modeligo.

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30 Op.cit., i, 411.

## SURVIVAL, STATISTICS AND STRUCTURES: KNOCKMAHON COPPER MINES, 1850-78

by Des Cowman

Some account of the first quarter-century of the Knockmahon mines (i.e. up to about 1850) has been given elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> One purpose of this article is to outline how they survived difficulties to produce a second quarter-century of output, as well as to give, as context, the statistics for the entire mining operation. However, for various reasons,<sup>2</sup> not nearly as much information is available on the mine's operation from 1850 as there is for the earlier period. Some of the sequels to the mines' closure in the late 1870s are adverted to but are not significant enough to warrant a full study. A secondary purpose of this article is to focus attention on this industrial aspect of our local heritage with a view to promoting the survival of some of its physical evidence.

The statistics of the Mining Company of Ireland's operation at Knockmahon over the first quarter-century from the first inquiries in 1825 (figs. 1a & 1b) illustrate the gambles that had to be taken by any mining company. The losses suffered between 1831 and 1834, along with decline of output, were caused by the company's decision to go for long-term investment and development rather than short-term profits. The graph indicates the dramatic return on this over the next four years.

However, careful planning of access shafts and levels would only produce ore if early promise proved fruitful. The fluctuating price of copper meant that expensive development work such as that at Knockmahon could quickly start losing money, with gambles being taken as to whether ore should be sold immediately or stored until the price improved. Figs 1 and 2 indicate how small variations in the price of copper could cause the profit/loss line to soar or plummet. The copper prices shown, however, are a theoretical average for each year and cannot take into account what were often drastic fluctuations between one month and the next.

These variations were particularly acute through the 1840s, though the trend was ever downwards, with particular lows being hit in 1848 and '49. The social consequences of this at a time of famine have already been dealt with. Little, however, emerges about the social consequences of the peaks and troughs of the next three decades or so. From about 1850 the bi-annual reports of the company's directors to their shareholders are sparse on detail and newspapers only tended to reproduce whatever hand-outs they got from the company. These include, in early 1850, reference to renegotiation of the leases under which the Knockmahon mines were held. While the promise of searches for new ore bodies was put forward, it had to be admitted in May 1850 that 'these searches have not, so far, led to any valuable discovery of ore'; though six months later shareholders must have been heartened to learn that 'increased searches .have already led to valuable discoveries', presumably at Tankardstown.<sup>3</sup> An anonymous note in the *Mining Journal*

1 See Cowman, 'Life and work in an Irish mining camp c. 1840: Knockmahon Copper Mines in Co. Waterford,' *Decies* XIV (May 1980), pp 28-42; some further contextual material in *Saothar*, vol. 9 (1983), 'Life and Labour in three Irish mining communities.'

2 The various government commissions such as the Poor Inquiry had all made their reports before 1845, and after 1852 the bi-annual reports of the Mining Company of Ireland (in NLI - henceforth MCI Reports) to its shareholders ceased to give details of individual workings, confining themselves mainly to financial statements. Waterford newspapers rarely concerned themselves with social or economic matters, and the prestigious London *Mining Journal* only gave or reacted to whatever news from Ireland it was provided with, which in the case of Knockmahon mines was little.

3 *MCI Reports*, May and Nov. 1850.

### KNOCKMAHON 1826-39.

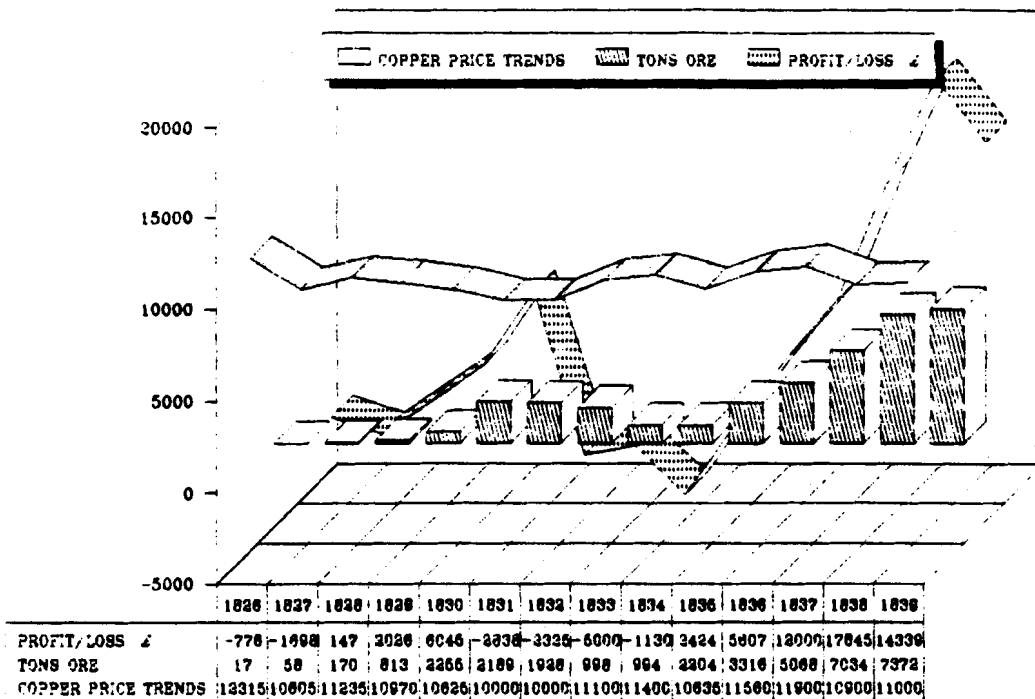


Fig. 1(a)

### 1840-'52

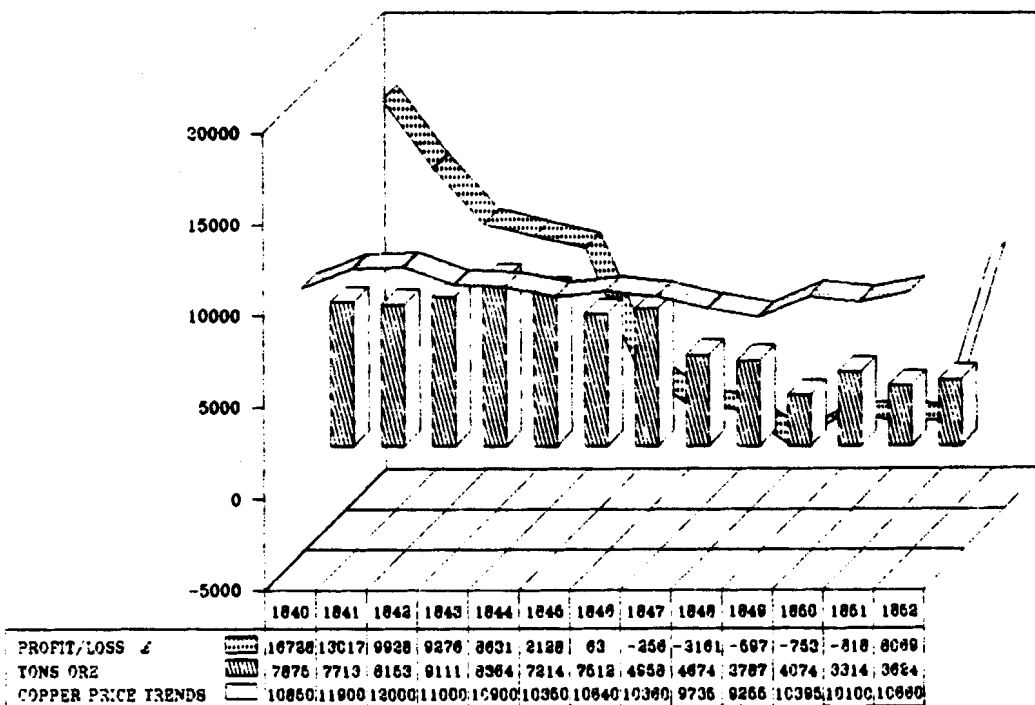


Fig. 1(b)

early in 1851 mentioned a discovery below the 600-foot level there.<sup>4</sup> However, the company's directors showed an extraordinary reluctance to inform their shareholders what was happening. In an independent later report it is explained that Tankardstown had already been worked but showed no particular promise until a depth of six hundred feet was reached, when the lode began to broaden and a band of rich copper struck up to 60 feet wide.<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps the directors' reluctance was based on the enormous cost of developing a mine like that at depth, the continuing expense that would be involved in pumping it, and the fact that some system would have to be developed to get the ore from there down to their dressing floors over a mile away. Even if all of this were done, there was no guarantee that the Tankardstown vein continued rich for any great distance inland nor at greater depths. It would seem that with collective fingers crossed, the directors took the gamble and quietly began to invest in laying open the wide vein, erecting a steam engine on the cliffs to pump it and constructing a railway with a gravity fall to the dressing floors. Meanwhile, their older mine was also being worked at ever-increasing depths, but they did warn shareholders in 1850 of 'a further outlay of considerable amount' which included the erection of a new engine house at Kilduane.<sup>6</sup> The company's accounts do not make clear how difficult the situation at Knockmahon was, but it would seem that the main reason it was able to survive over that uncertain period of unreliable copper prices in the early 1850s was the profits from the company's coal and lead operations.

While, as figs 1b and 2a show, an improved price of copper from 1852 led to increased profits from Knockmahon and ultimately to increased tonnages, shareholders were told nothing about what was actually being done there from late 1851. This silence apparently led to rumours by 1855 of the imminent failure of Knockmahon, with dire consequences for the future of the company, and of directors quietly selling their shares.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps there was some truth in this, but Knockmahon was saved by an increase in the price of copper which brought it to record heights in the mid-1850s. However, because of the systematic development of Tankardstown between 1853 and 1855, output was low over those years and development costs high.<sup>8</sup> By the time Tankardstown was in full production, copper prices had fallen somewhat. Nevertheless, the next ten years saw increased output and soaring profits for the company (fig. 2a). With its increased profits the MCI apparently decided on diversification. Much of the investment went into their smelting plant at Ballycorus, but near Ballylaneen they bought Carrick Castle corn mill in 1857.<sup>9</sup>

A decline in both production and profit in the late 1850s was explained in terms of the declining price of copper. That there may have been other difficulties also was intimated to shareholders by an unexplained reference to 'an interruption of the works for some weeks' in late 1860. This may possibly have been the start of industrial problems which came to a head in 1866 (q.v.), as the bland evasiveness of the 1861 report would imply: 'all departments of the company's business in a satisfactory position and do not call for any special report'.

By 1863 Knockmahon was heading towards record profits and contributed two-thirds of the MCI's overall profit of £15,000 approximately from all its operations. This of course made the decline that followed even more dramatic. As usual the company remained tight-lipped about the fall in production from 1864 and the even greater decline in profitability. By 1865 there were again strong complaints from shareholders about the lack of information on what was happening to Knockmahon. This apparently led to panic selling of shares and such was the level of concern that

4 *Mining Journal*, 1851, p. 23.

5 *Memoirs of the Geological Survey: Explanation of Sheet 17B*, HMSO 1865, p. 81, note by G. Du Noyer.

6 *MCI Reports*, May and Nov. 1850.

7 *MJ*, 1855, p. 536, letter signed 'A Shareholder'.

8 *MCI Reports*, Dec. 1853-Dec. 1855.

9 *MCI Reports*, 1857 and *MJ*, 1857, p. 484, Dublin Correspondent.

### KNOCKMAHON 1853-'66

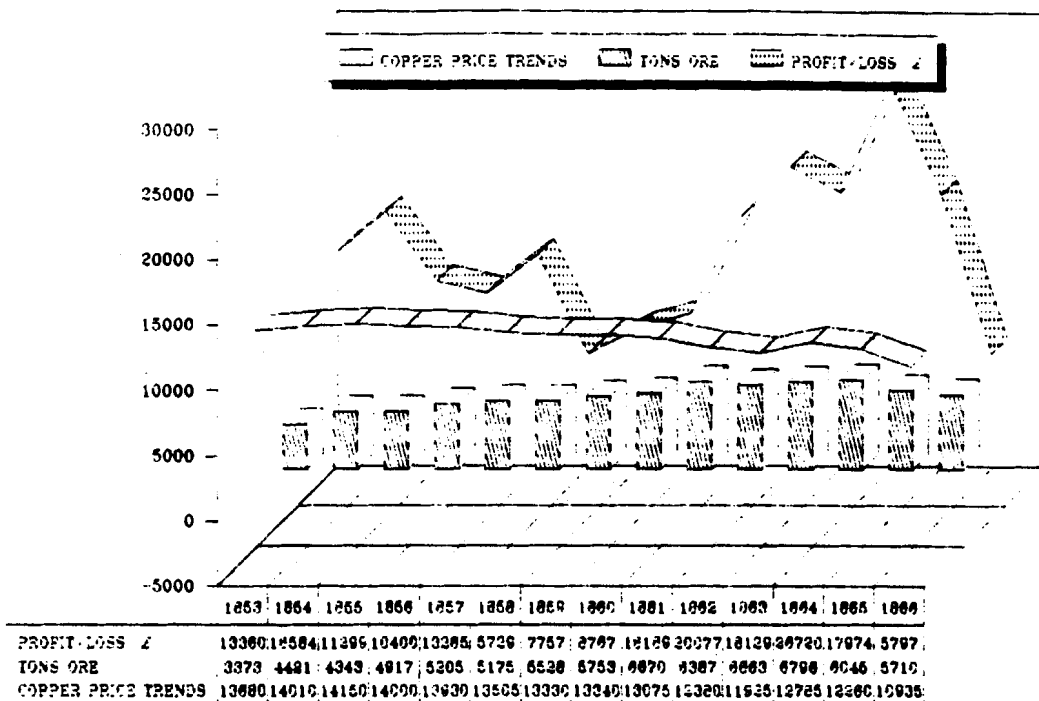


Fig. 2(a)

### 1866-'79

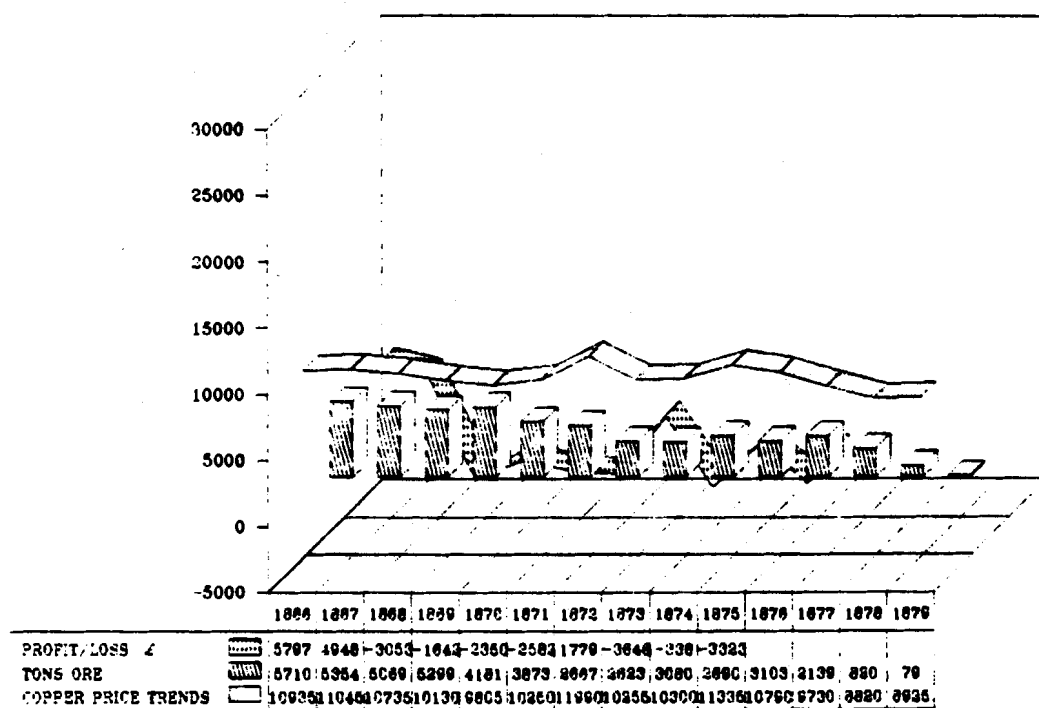


Fig. 2(b)

the directors were forced to call a special meeting that August to steady the market. Unfortunately, no report of this meeting seems to have survived, so we do not know what shareholders were told.<sup>10</sup> However, the reality probably was that as the mines worked to greater depths, extraction of the ore was becoming increasingly expensive. Meanwhile, new discoveries of rich sources of copper overseas, particularly in America, and decreasing transport cost due to the spread of railways ensured that the trend in copper prices was likely to be ever-downwards. Presumably the directors of MCI hoped for a sustained rise in copper prices and this never came. Evidence of this comes from their stockpiling of ore, with £29,000 worth held in reserve by the end of 1864, according to their own account.<sup>11</sup>

Something of what happened in 1866 is intimated in reports in the local paper but not conveyed to the shareholders of the company.<sup>12</sup> The immediate background to it must have been the beginning of the decline after the peak of production and profit reached in 1864 (fig.2a). A drop in copper prices, particularly in 1866, may well have led to retrenchments by the company. Whatever tensions there had been at the mine came to a head that July when the miners went on strike. Some who listened to the miners' explanation of their reasons professed themselves as unenlightened because there was not in 'their entire body a man of sufficient intelligence of attainments' to articulate their grievances.<sup>13</sup> However, someone was articulate enough to persuade the entire work-force of 1100 to come out on strike and remain out for nearly five weeks, presumably without strike funds. Someone likewise organized delegations to present the miners' case in Waterford, Dungarvan and Carrick as well as to negotiate with the directors who had hurried down from Dublin. The issues were probably too complicated for outsiders to grasp immediately as everybody below and above ground was on a form of piece-work. Earnings depended not only on the tonnage handled but on the quality of the ore and on the current price of copper. It was said that adult earnings could vary from a few shillings a week to as much as £7 but that the company was handing out fixed sums of ten to twelve shillings per week.<sup>14</sup> No doubt there was more to it than this; it is not reported whether settlement was reached. By the end of the fifth week of the strike it was reported that five hundred men had gone back to work, that many had gone to England and Wales, and that some were still holding out but expected to return. From this it would seem that the directors won.<sup>15</sup>

By 1868, therefore, the directors of the MCI had serious investment decisions to make. As it happened, amidst a flurry of recrimination and controversy in 1868-69, they made the disastrous decision to purchase Allihies copper mine in west Cork for £100,000. The die was then cast on any other endeavour that required investment.<sup>16</sup> At about the same time a last desperate attempt was made to find new sources of copper along the Waterford coast.<sup>17</sup> Knockmahon, however, was subject to the same forces that operated on Cornish and other traditional mining areas - the cheaply worked surface deposits had already been found and exploited and it was now the turn of new mineralogical areas to supply the market. The fact that the company survived at all is a tribute to the diversification of earlier years, with the lead mines of Luganure and smelter at Ballycorus generating some revenue.

10 *MJ* 1865, p. 28, reported complaints at half-AGM; p. 711, letter 'A shareholder'; similar querying in Irish Mining Stock Market report on same page; p. 577, Mining Notabilia re special meeting.

11 *MJ* 1865, p. 28; 1868, pp 9 and 496, each headed Irish Mining Stock Market with summaries of half-AGMs.

12 *MCI Report*, Nov. 1860 and 1861.

13 *Waterford News*, 20 July and 3 August 1866, reporting on a delegation from the miners to the mayor of Waterford.

14 *idem* and report 27th July.

15 *idem*.

16 For details of this see Alan Williams, *The Berehaven Copper Mines* (NMRS, British Mining, no. 42), Sheffield, 1991, pp 159-161.

17 *MJ*, 1870, p. 48, and 1871, p. 4, Reports of half-AGMs.



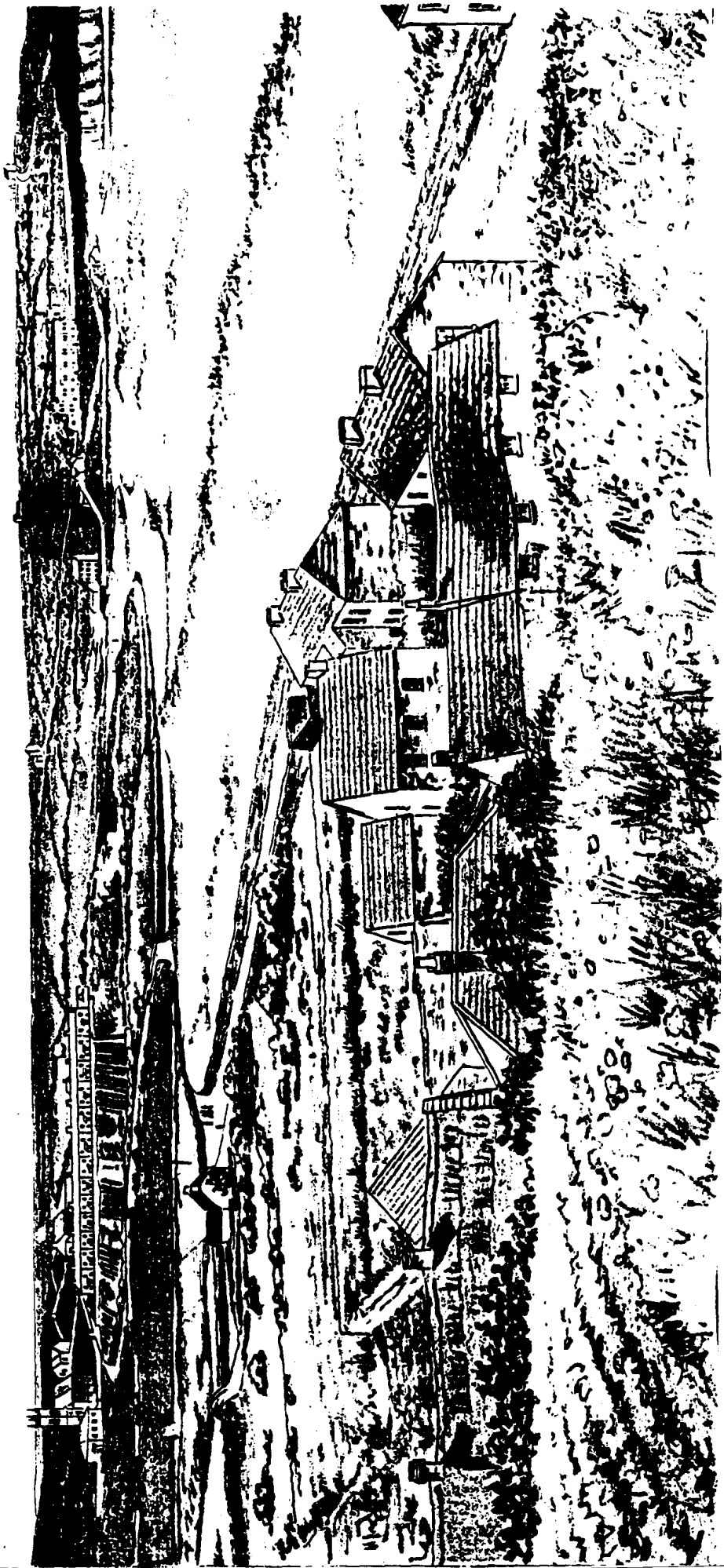


Fig. 3. 'Bird's Eye View of the Great Knockmahon and Tankardstown United Mines'

Meanwhile, there is little reportage on what was happening at Knockmahon. Shareholders were told in 1876 that 'abandonment ... of the mine would be calamitous' as there were 'probably large deposits' still there. However, the company had already begun to sell off its assets, beginning with the corn mill at Carrick Castle and continuing the following year with the removal of the railway line from Tankardstown. The final stroke, however, was the removal of the pumps in 1877, which allowed the mines to flood and ensured that there was little likelihood that they could ever be worked again.<sup>18</sup>

What of the work force? Fig. 6 gives the cold statistics of population movement between 1841 and 1881. An account of 1877 fleshes out something of the social cost. Whereas twenty years before there had been well over a thousand people directly employed at the mines, the area was 'now almost deserted and the misery and wretchedness of the people that survived painful almost beyond description. ... They are in a state of destitution to amount almost to starvation.'<sup>19</sup> It would seem that the bulk of the work-force had already gone, most of them apparently to Butte in Montana where the huge copper ore-field offered work to experienced mine workers not only from Waterford but from Cornwall, which was experiencing the same pressures and closures. For the pathetic few left at Knockmahon, the company rejected a proposal to pay them direct relief but did agree to pay £1 per ton for any ore gleaned from the old workings or from the waste-tips.<sup>20</sup>

This operation in fact turned out to be modestly profitable for the company. Something of its scale may be judged from ore sales in Swansea for each quarter of 1878 - 84 tons (sold for £231); 381 (£1653); 210 (£887); 145 (£313). There was no ore shipped from Bonmahon in the first quarter of 1879, a pathetic 76 tons (£158) in the second quarter, and the rest is silence.<sup>21</sup> The fact that the lease of the mine lapsed that summer presumably added an air of finality to the closure, as would the pulling down of the miners' houses which had taken place the previous year.<sup>22</sup> Over 1878-79, to meet its legal requirements the MCI compiled maps of the area showing the location of all shafts, and these were lodged as 'Abandoned Mine Plans' in the Geological Survey Office, where they still remain.

A geologist's report on the Knockmahon area in the mid-1880s held out little hope for it: 'The future of these mines is very obscure, as from appearances there seems to be no hope for them.'<sup>23</sup> However, it is part of the mythology of most abandoned mines that there is plenty of ore still remaining and that all that is needed is good-will and determination to get at it.<sup>24</sup> The assistance of late 19th-century technology in pumping, drilling and blasting would have been seen as a bonus. Possibly with this in mind, when the MCI went into liquidation in 1891 their mining

18 *MJ*, 1876, p. 127, and 1878, pp 104 and 788, Reports of half-AGMs.

19 *ibid*, 1878, p. 104, Report of half-AGM.

20 *idem*, 1878, with much of the local lore about Butte coming from the late Andy Kirwan, Bonmahon.

21 *MJ*, 1878, pp 561, 1151 and 1437, Quarterly Returns, the figures for the second quarter being calculated from the total for the year given in the annual *Mineral Statistics*.

22 The *Waterford News* has nothing whatever to say about the closure of the mines. The pulling down of the miners' houses is mentioned incidentally in a letter to the paper from C. Uniacke Townsend on 6 Sept. 1878, and the ending of the lease is mentioned on 8 Aug. 1879.

23 Kinahan, G.H., *Economic Geology of Ireland*, Dublin 1886, p. 106.

24 For Knockmahon this was given modern expression in the *Munster Express* Christmas Supplement, December 1978, pp 20-21, 'Bonmahon Mines - The strike and aftermath,' by Michael Walsh. There are many other inaccuracies in this article, including putting the strike at 1886 instead of 1866. Another popular expression of the same assumption is given in the article by Tom Tobin in the *Irish Weekly Examiner*, 28 Aug. 1978, p. 17 - 'Will the vanished wealth of Bonmahon be re-discovered?'. Local belief in the potential wealth of Knockmahon is recorded by J.J. Walsh in *Waterford's Yesterdays and Tomorrows*, Waterford, 1968, pp 21 & 22.

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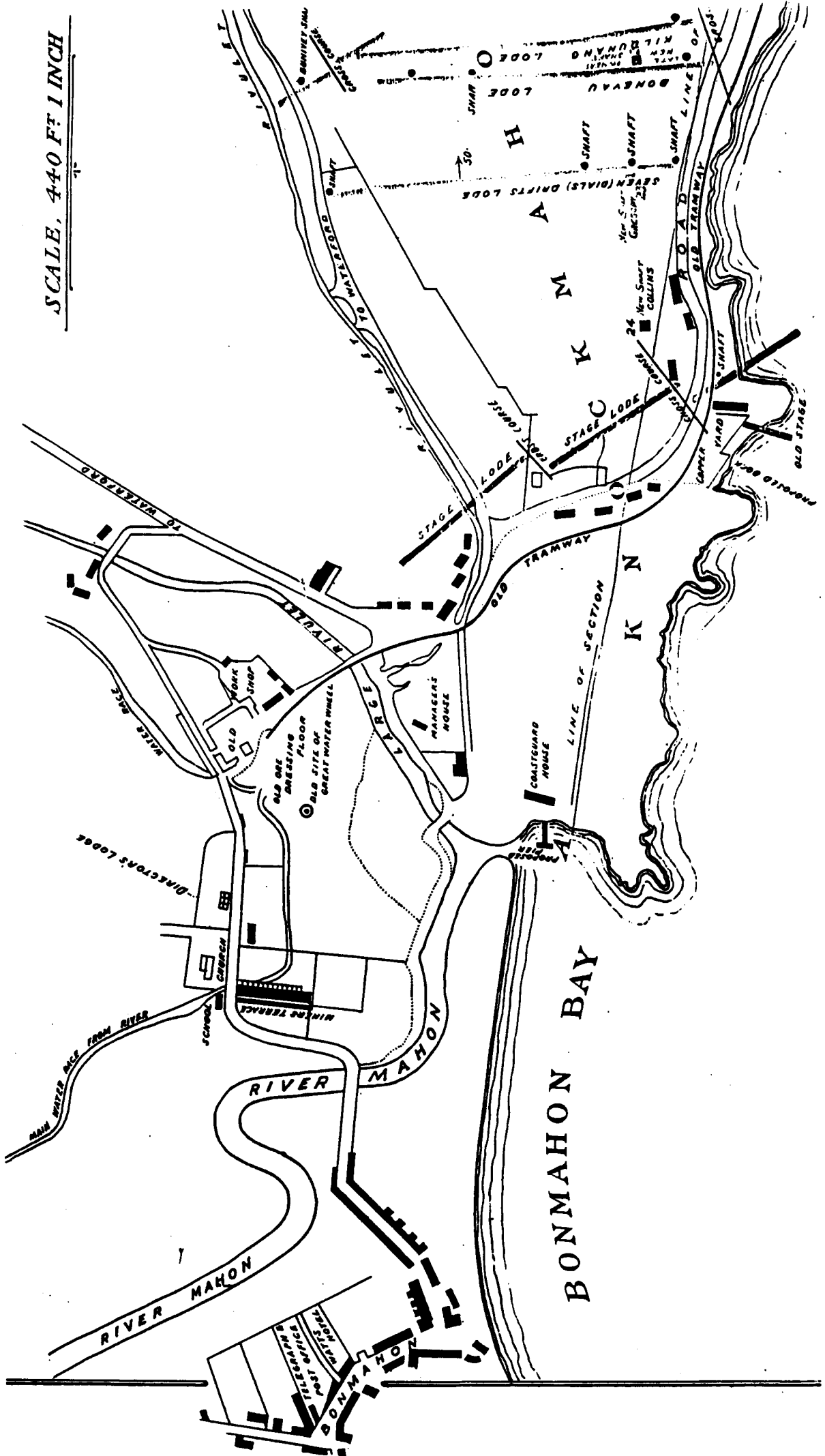


Fig. 4. Plan of the Knockmahon and Tankardstown United Copper Mine

rights were purchased by the Liverpool-based firm of international mining consultants, E. Spargo & Sons.<sup>25</sup> They seem to have done little with the disused working over the next seven years, their only reported activity being to send a mining expert to examine Knockmahon in 1896.<sup>26</sup>

Presumably, however, Spargos were behind the anonymous consortium calling itself United Copper Mines which may have arisen out of the 1896 investigation. This company launched a prospectus in 1898 extolling the potential of Knockmahon and showing vast new underground development intended for Stage Lode (see figs 3-6). It seems that there were few takers, and no more is heard about this enterprise.<sup>27</sup> Then about 1905 Spargos made a complex arrangement with a Mr M. J. Regan, and out of this it would appear that two companies were set up in 1906 to work Knockmahon at a time of enhanced copper prices (not sustained).<sup>28</sup>

One was called London Consolidated Trust Ltd., which reportedly concentrated its attention on Stage Lode. In charge of the operation seemingly was a local man returned from Butte, a Captain Keane.<sup>29</sup> While no further detail survives about this, the second company did manage to attract a great deal of publicity for itself in London.<sup>30</sup> It had a number of local people as directors, with the technical expertise coming from South Africa. Called the Bonmahon Copper Mines Development Syndicate Ltd, they concentrated on the Tankardstown area. Reportedly they pumped to a depth of 300 feet, which means that they got nowhere near the bottom of the old workings.<sup>31</sup> They did manage to extract 30 tons of ore but presumably for both companies the expense of getting at fresh ore flooded to depths of nearly 1000 feet proved unfeasible. Both would appear to have abandoned their enterprises by 1908. Although the area has been tested many times since,<sup>32</sup> it was brought to public attention in 1930 when the search for the missing Stradbally postman, Larry Griffin, was directed towards the mine-shafts down which it was assumed his body had been dumped.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, Knockmahon has not been worked again, nor is there any immediate likelihood of its being so. Apparently the tide now freely rises and falls within the old workings up to three-quarters of a mile inland, and geological attention has more recently focused on a possible inland extension of the lodes closer to the Comeragh mountains.<sup>34</sup> The current holders of the prospecting licence at Knockmahon are the Tramore-based group, Cobh Exploration.<sup>35</sup> However, all that remains at Knockmahon/Bunmahon and immediate hinterlands now are the sad surviving surface indicators of the days of Knockmahon's greatness.

25 GSO file 004MPBWA, letter signed Edmund Spargo to RDS, 9 April 1908, re Knockmahon and Ardmore.

26 *Waterford News*, 23 May 1896, report.

27 The Prospectus exists in GSO Waterford file M2529, but there is no correspondence or further detail.

28 Spargo, loc. cit. He says he sold two years previously. NLI NS 10,064, however, contains the Prospectus for one of the companies, mentioning seven sets of agreements between Spargo and Regan, both of whom had a beneficial interest in the new company.

29 The only source I have found for this is an article 'Bonmahon may boom again' in the *Cork Holly Bough*, 1955, by Liam Doody. He does not give the provenance of his information. Likewise, J.J. Walsh, op. cit., p. 20, referring to this, says: 'We do not propose to deal with [this] --- though we have much documentary evidence to go upon.' He does, however, reproduce some good photographs of both enterprises. There is no mention of either in the relevant indexes to the *Waterford News* in WML.

30 *MJ*, 1905, (i) p. 692; 1906 passim, e.g. pp (i) 112, 294-5, 449, 792 and (ii) 74, 166, 614.

31 idem. NLI MS 10,064 also has details of the shareholding of this company, along with Prospectus, reports and some correspondence of October 1906. Among the prominent local people involved were Sir James Power, mayor of Waterford, and Alan Downey. Henry Marks, late of the Transvaal, was the engineer in charge.

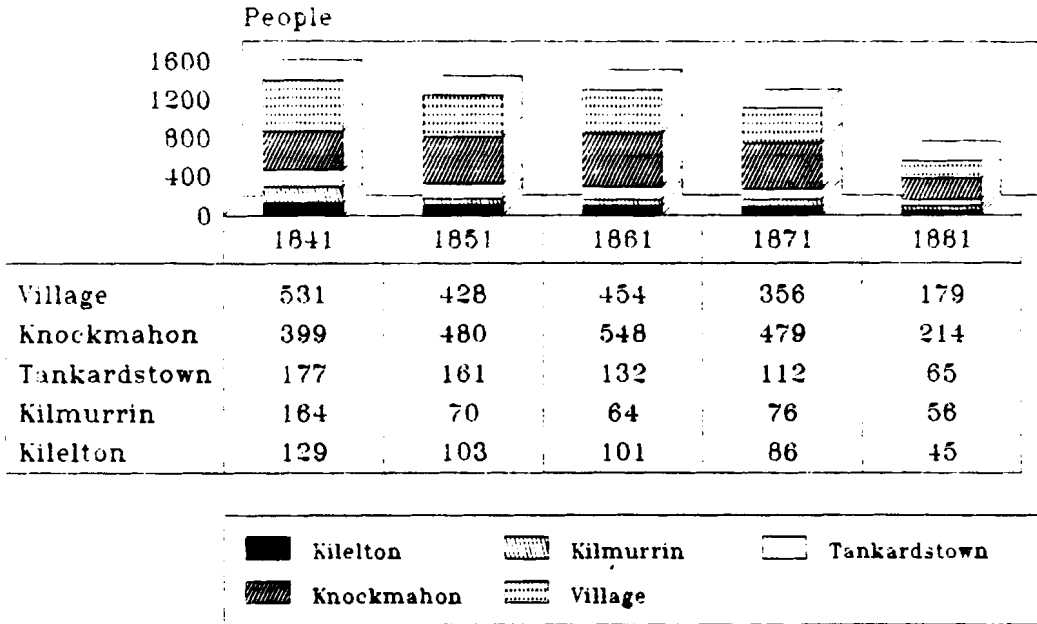
32 Some of these are given in Walsh, op. cit., passim pp 19-28. GSO files series INV/M/CU/WA has eleven reports on Knockmahon between 1917 and 1952. To these could be added the extensive drilling programme undertaken by the Denver-based company Amex in the 1970s under Jan Christofferson.

33 Walsh, op. cit., p. 25. In the *Cork Examiner* on 31 Jan. 1930 there is a photograph of the search proceeding, with an account of Bunmahon at the time by Waterford photographer Bertram Poole in *ibid.* 13 Feb.

34 The late Andy Kirwan and the late Patsy Fleming, both of the locality, obliged me with their memories of what the search for Larry Griffin revealed about the old workings. I am also grateful to my one-time neighbour, Jan Christofferson, for sharing with me his insights into the possible future of the area.

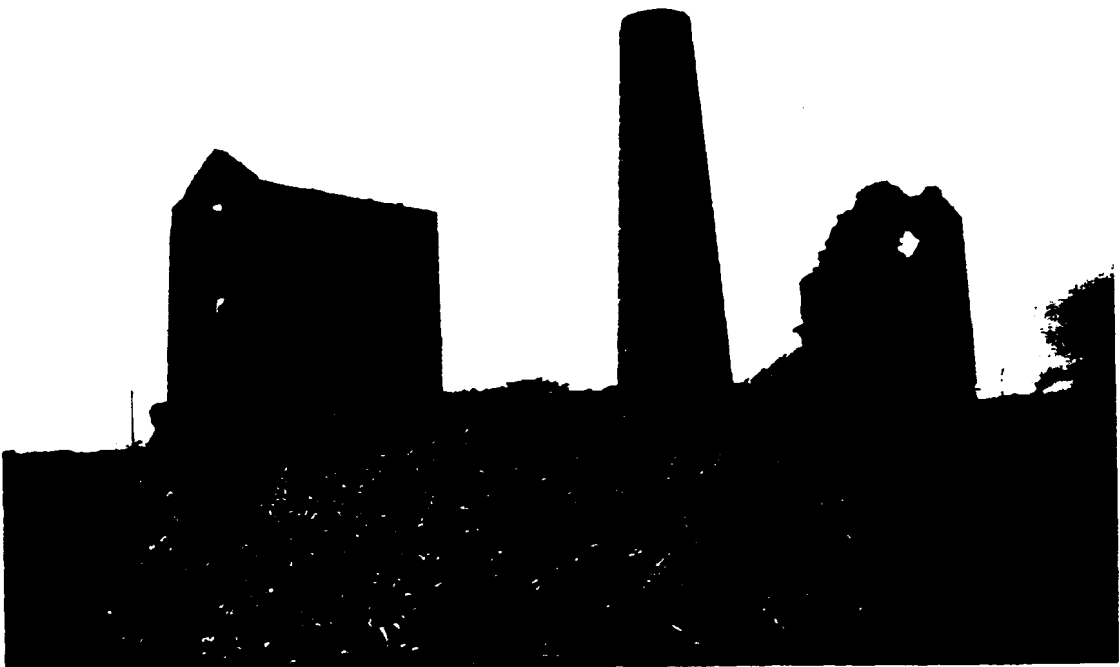
35 *List of current state mining and ... prospecting licence areas*, GSI, Nov. 1990, re area 3207.

## POPULATION TRENDS IN MINING AREA.



**FIG. 5.**

Source. Census 1881.



**Fig. 6.** This engine complex on the cliffs at Tankardstown was built in the early 1850s to allow the rich ore over 600 feet deep to be mined

It is not clear why it was deemed necessary to pull down the miners' houses in 1878, nor why by the end of the century the two engine houses at Kilduane had also gone. The heaps of crushed waste have served the people of the area as a source of coarse sand for over a century. Many of the stables, workshops and footing for the water-wheels survived for a similar period until about 1978, when they were casually bulldozed, reportedly for the construction of a caravan park which then failed to materialise. It is therefore important that the two remaining engine houses be preserved and at least some of the trackway and associated structures. Ideally all the remains of the mines overground should be surveyed and rational decisions made about what should be preserved and presented as part of Waterford's rich mining heritage.

## NOTES

Figs. 1 & 2: The figures for profit and loss have been taken from the MCI's bi-annual reports, as has about half the tonnage given, particularly for the later years. The remaining tonnage up to 1847 is taken from *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Great Britain*, Vol. II, part ii, p. 713, HMSO 1848, with later figures taken from the *Mineral Statistic* published annually by HMSO. None of these give the exact figures for each calendar year but they do show the trends. Likewise, trends only are shown in the copper prices which are here given as multiples of 100 of the 'copper standard' recorded by Hunt in *British Mining, A Treatise*, HMSO, 1886, p.892.

Figs 3 & 4 are from the prospectus issued by United Irish Copper Mines in 1898 in the Geological Survey Office (GSO), Dublin.

Photographs taken in late July 1992.



Fig 7. This engine house was probably built in the 1860s to pump the Tankardstown mine as it extended northwards

## WATERFORD DIOCESE, 1096-1363

by Sister Assumpta O'Neill

### Part Four

#### THE DIOCESAN CHAPTER AND EXTENTS OF THE DIOCESE

We have no contemporary documentary evidence of the foundation-date of Waterford's cathedral chapter. Neither can we say with certainty whether its members were regulars or seculars, though the presence of regular canons there around 1200 may suggest that they formed the original personnel. In the eleventh century there was a great revival of regular canonical life inspired by the Hildebrandine reform, and cathedral and urban churches were in many cases staffed with regular canons.<sup>1</sup> It is at least possible that a chapter of regulars was established at Waterford by its first bishop, Malchus, who had been trained at Winchester and was well acquainted with conditions in England immediately after the Conquest. There were regular monks attached to the Dublin Christchurch in the lifetime of Malchus, on whose co-operation Anselm relied in his efforts to keep them there.<sup>2</sup>

The grant made by Bishop Robert I to the church and canons of St Mary Oseney, near Oxford, was witnessed by Gilbert, dean of Waterford.<sup>3</sup> This grant was dated by Professor Curtis to 1195. It may be a little later.<sup>4</sup> Sometime between 1204 and 1206, the foundation-charter of St Mary's Limerick was signed by David bishop of Waterford and by T. archdeacon of Waterford.<sup>5</sup> Mention of the archdeacon, however, does not necessarily presuppose the existence of a chapter, since even in later times he was not always an ex-officio member, but rather the personal confidant and assistant of the bishop.<sup>6</sup>

Not until 1210 do we hear express mention of the 'dean and canons'. In that year, during the vacancy following the death of Bishop David, Innocent III issued a grant of protection to the dean and canons of Waterford.<sup>7</sup> It may not be without significance that a similar grant of protection was issued that year to the Augustinian canons of St Katherine's priory<sup>8</sup> and that King John was in Waterford that summer. According to a royal licence of 1463,<sup>9</sup> King John had

1 Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 17.

2 *S. Anselmi Opera Omnia*, iv, Letter 277.

3 *Cal. Ormond Deeds*, i, 7, no. 14.

4 See Dunning, 'Innocent III and the Waterford-Lismore Controversy' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xxviii (1961) p. 218.

5 *Black Book of Limerick*, p. 115. David became bishop of Waterford in 1204, and Matthew, archbishop of Cashel, who also signed this charter, died in 1206.

6 'Contrary to the practice which prevailed in the diocese of Lismore, the archdeacon of Waterford did not enjoy, in virtue of his office, a seat or vote in the chapter of Waterford' (Rennison, *Succession List*, p.44).

7 *Cal.papal letters*, i,36; Sheehy, *Pont.Hib.*, i, 144, no. 70.

8 *Cal.papal letters*, i,35.

9 Ware, *Irish Bishops*, pp 525-6; Hansard, *History of the Co. and City of Waterford*, p.148; Rennison, *Succession List*, p.35. This grant of 1463 was lost in the fire in the Record Office.

established a secular chapter and endowed it with land for the support of twelve canons and twelve vicars. Since the chapter was already established and in possession of certain lands before his second visit in 1210, its origin must be dated to his first visit in 1185. This would also be in keeping with the tendency in England at the time, where a move was begun in 1186 to replace the chapter of regulars at Canterbury by one of seculars, a move which had the active support of the king (Henry II).<sup>10</sup> If such a move was indeed made in Waterford in 1185, we would expect the intervening twenty-five years to have witnessed an uneasy situation between the regulars, now ousted from their position, and the newly established seculars. News of the forthcoming royal visit of 1210 may have prompted both bodies of canons to seek papal confirmation of their possessions, thus forestalling any attempt of the rival body to use the royal favour for the promotion of its own interests.

The papal grant of protection to the dean and canons is dated 26 June 1210, and confirms to them their possessions, 'especially the site of their church, the churches of Kilros, Kilmelassi, Cluoneda, Tibrada, Kilimelach, tithes of fish in Waterford, the townlands of Corbali, Ballikassin, Tacheten, the land of Kaldebech, and land of Robert de Franceis at Klinemilog'. The identification of these places is subject to the usual difficulty connected with Irish placenames as they appear in medieval papal documents.<sup>11</sup> Papal clerks did their best to give a phonetic rendering of a language of which they were ignorant. Later copyists had to deal with a difficult and often contracted script, and translators and editors were sometimes without local knowledge to guide them. The following identifications are based on those of two modern historians.<sup>12</sup>

**Kilros:** Kilrush, barony of Decies without Drum, now in the parish of Dungarvan, or Kilrossanty, barony of Upperthird.

**Kilmelassi:** Kilmolash, in the barony of Decies without Drum, in the present parish of AGLISH.

**Cluoneda:** Sheehy identifies this with Clonea, Decies without Drum. Canon Power, on the other hand, favours the present Coolfin, near Portlaw, where was an ancient church - Kilbunny.<sup>13</sup>

**Tibrada and Kilimealach:** Tubrid and Killemlly, barony of Iffa and Offa West, Co. Tipperary.

**Kilmaclig and Corbali:** Kilmacleague and Corbally, near Tramore, barony of Gaultier.

**Ballikassin:** Ballycashin, near Waterford City, barony of Middlethird.

**Tacheten:** Possibly Templetney, barony of Iffa and Offa East, Co. Tipperary.

**Klinemilog:** Kilmoyemoge, barony of Middlethird.

**Kaldebech:** Sheehy identifies this as 'possibly Kilbrack, barony of Upperthird, or Ballybacon, barony of Iffa and Offa West'. I would not consider either of these the correct identification. In 1228, a royal mandate mentions 'the land of Caldebec outside the walls of Waterford'.<sup>14</sup> I would conclude from this that it was close to the city, and is identical with the name that still survives in Waterford in Colbeck's Street. In 1576, we learn that the Hospitallers owned in Waterford, inter alia, 'a little garden in the franchises of Waterford in an island called Colbecke's'.<sup>15</sup> Smith, writing

10 See details in M.D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, pp 318-30. G.J.Hand says 'Almost everywhere they went in Ireland the invaders were to bring the secular cathedral system as they knew it in England'. (*Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn*, S.J., p.75). In Dublin the changeover led to the anomaly of two rival chapters, one of the regulars at Christchurch and the other of seculars at St Patrick's.

11 See Gwynn and Gleeson, *Diocese of Killaloe*, p.176.

12 Power, *Placenames of Decies*, pp 154-7, 147, 262, 119, 127, 335, 301; Sheehy, *Pont.Hib*, i, 144; Power, *Waterford and Lismore*, pp 340-4.

13 Power, *Waterford and Lismore*, p.341. For a description of Kilbunny, see P.Power, 'Kilbunny Church, Co. Waterford', in *R.S.A.I.Jn.* (1922), 77-80.

14 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, i, 242, no. 1615.

15 Fiant no. 2978 of Eliz. in *13th Report D.K.R.I.* p.23.



in 1746, tells us that St Catherine's Gate at the Mall end of the present Colbeck's Street was in his time called Colepeck Gate.<sup>16</sup> It is not without interest to note two villages in modern Normandy called Caudebec, both on the Seine, one above and one below Rouen.

The situation of some of the churches mentioned leads to the conjecture that they belonged originally to Lismore, though on the other hand, 'islands' of territory owned by other bishops were then common in many dioceses, and make the drawing-up of detailed diocesan boundaries difficult. If the churches in question here did in fact formerly belong to Lismore, they may have been seized in the time of Robert I or David, and the chapter now sought to give permanence to Waterford's tenure of them. Another possible explanation is that the chapter wished to strengthen their own position before the next bishop took up office. Similar situations are not unknown in medieval times. Giraldus Cambrensis, for example, tells us how he succeeded in compelling the bishop of St David's to restore property he had appropriated from the chapter.<sup>17</sup>

The four principal officers of a medieval chapter were the dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer.<sup>18</sup> The office of dean was usually elective; the king's licence was required and an oath of fealty taken.<sup>19</sup> The other three dignitaries were normally collated by the bishop.<sup>20</sup> The jurisdiction of the dean was next in rank to that of the bishop. According to Rennison, the corps of the deanery in Waterford consisted of Trinity, St Michael's, St Olave's, Kilcaragh, and Kilburn.<sup>21</sup> In the early fourteenth century the valuation of the deanery was given as eight marks (£5 6s 8d). When we compare this with the deanery of Limerick, valued at £34,<sup>22</sup> we can understand the frequent references to the poverty of Waterford. On one occasion the dean of Waterford came to such straits that his chattels were seized and sold.<sup>23</sup> Funds seem to have been particularly low at the time, when the Exchequer received '£13 6s 8d paid by Nicholas bishop of Waterford and the dean and chapter there, and he owes £523 10s 10 3/4d'.<sup>24</sup>

It is possible to compile a fairly full list of Waterford deans from about 1200 to 1363.<sup>25</sup> Five of these (including Richard Fraunceys whose chattels had been seized) were later elected bishops, and their biographies have already been given. Many of the others are little more than names. The last dean of Waterford of whom we hear before the union of the sees is Walter Reve, who succeeded Adam Lok in 1351.<sup>26</sup> His name is of interest as it suggests that he belonged to the same family as Bishop Thomas le Reve of Lismore who in 1363 became bishop of the united dioceses. Walter does not seem to have been on very good terms with his bishop Roger Cradock, and was said to have instigated the attack made on the latter by the archbishop of Cashel.<sup>27</sup> Walter held the deanery of Waterford for seven years with doubtful validity, but the doubt was removed when he received papal confirmation in 1358. On this occasion the value of the deanery is given as ten marks.<sup>28</sup>

16 *History of the County and City of Waterford*, p.125.

17 *Girald. Camb, opera*, i, 55.

18 G.J. Hand, 'The Church in the English Lordship' in *A History of Irish Catholicism* (ed. Corish), ii, 3, p.9.

19 *Close rolls of the reign of Henry III, 1247-51*, p.270, *ibid*, 1251-3, p. 107.

20 G.J. Hand, 'The Medieval Chapter of St Mary's Limerick' in *Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.*, p.78.

21 Rennison, *Succession List*, p.36.

22 *Cal.docs.Ire.*,V, pp 303 (Waterford) and 270 (Limerick).

23 Pipe Roll, xix Edward II, in *42nd Report D.K.R.* p.68.

24 *Ibid*.

25 Rennison drew up such a list (*Succession List* p.36).

26 *Cal. papal letters*, iii, 595.

27 See above, p.190.

28 *Cal.papal letters*, loc.cit.

A pre-Reformation seal of the dean of Waterford, formerly in Kilkenny Castle, is now in the National Library. It shows the Virgin and Child under a canopy with an ecclesiastic in an attitude of prayer before them.<sup>29</sup> Surrounding the design is the legend *S. Decani Eccl. Cath. Sti. Trinitatis Waterford.*

Next in rank to the dean were the precentor, chancellor, and treasurer. Their prebends around 1300 were valued at one mark, twenty shillings and forty shillings respectively.<sup>30</sup> There does not seem to be any record of the prebend held by the precentor. The corps of the chancellorship consisted of the rectories of Kilmacleague and Kilmacumb,<sup>31</sup> while the treasurer held the rectory of Lisnakill.<sup>32</sup> Few names survive of these three dignitaries and only one of them is known to have been elected bishop of the see. This was Matthew, the chancellor, who was elected in 1308.

The position of the archdeacon in a medieval chapter varied from diocese to diocese and indeed from time to time. In Waterford the archdeacon seems to have had an important place, if we judge by the relative valuation of this prebend and by his active part in several episcopal elections. Archdeacon Henry was elected bishop in 1250, and was succeeded in the archdeaconry by William de Bagkepus. The name, sometimes spelled de Bacquepuis, is undoubtedly of French origin. William, like many of his contemporaries, was a pluralist<sup>33</sup> and had besides an interest in the civil administration. He was escheator 1254-6 and 1257-71 and he served also as itinerant justice.<sup>34</sup> In 1258 he agreed to resign the archdeaconry of Waterford for 'another dignity in Ireland'.<sup>35</sup> This other dignity was probably the deanery of Kilkenny, which he is known to have held in 1268 and in 1271.<sup>36</sup> He was probably dead before 1276, when we hear of 'forty acres at Stacumny, which Master William de Bagkepuz formerly held'.<sup>37</sup> William was not the only one of his kindred to settle in Ireland. The name of Philip de Bagkepu appears as witness to several deeds about this time,<sup>38</sup> and we hear also of Sir Henry de Bagkepuz.<sup>39</sup>

Another pluralist who held the archdeaconry of Waterford was Fremund Lebrun. Originally rector of Graule in the diocese of Winchester, he was appointed a papal chaplain in 1259.<sup>40</sup> Later on we learn that he had secured several benefices without obtaining the necessary dispensation from illegitimacy, among them the archdeaconry.<sup>41</sup> In 1279, while he was still archdeacon of Waterford, he was elected archbishop of Dublin by one of the Dublin chapters. The election was disputed and the pope cancelled it on the grounds that Fremund was then holding four benefices, whereas he had dispensation for only three.<sup>42</sup>

It is obvious from the foregoing that not all the members of the chapter resided in the cathedral precincts. The daily round of liturgical worship, one of the chapter's foremost duties, was carried out by a part only of the total and by vicars who deputised for the absentees. This body of residential clergy enjoyed the use of the *communia* or common fund, as distinct from the individual

29 A drawing of the seal is given in Caulfield, *Sigilla Ecclesiae Hibernicae Illustrata*, plate 3.

30 *Cal. docs. Ire.*, v, 303.

31 Rennison, *Succession List*, p.40.

32 *Ibid.*, p.42.

33 *Cal. papal letters*, i,362; Sheehy, *Pont. Hib.*, ii, 228, no.462.

34 See relevant lists in Richardson and Sayles, *The Administration of Ireland, 1172-1377*.

35 *Cal. papal letters*, loc.cit.

36 Carrigan, *Diocese of Ossory*, p. 236, quoting Cotton's *Fasti* and the *Chartulary of Kells Priory*.

37 *Cal. Ormond deeds*, i, 82, no.197.

38 *Ibid.*, i, 63 no. 140; i, 106, no. 268.

39 *Ibid.*, nos. 141, 151.

40 *Cal. papal letters*, i, 367.

41 *Ibid.*, i, 389; Theiner, *Vetera Mon.*, p.88.

42 *Cal. papal letters*, i, 457.

prebends. The canons fell into three categories.<sup>43</sup> *Canonici reales* had a prebend, a stall and a vote, *canonici vocales* had a stall, while the term *canonici expectantes* is applied to those who were appointed canons, with a prebend reserved to them whenever it should fall vacant.<sup>44</sup> John Rede was so appointed in Waterford in 1391.<sup>45</sup> The career of John de Hothum, who held a canonry in Waterford early in the fourteenth century, is an interesting example of pluralism in its extreme form. When we first meet him, we find that he held, besides the canonry, two chaplaincies (also in Waterford), canonries in Dublin, Cashel, Emly, and Leighlin, two parishes in St David's and Dublin, and the archdeaconsry of Glendalough.<sup>46</sup> In spite of his many benefices, John was not financially happy. 'He has received nothing from the parish churches, and less than £10 from the archdeaconsry, the proceeds of the prebends and chaplaincies being not more than £29'. Pope Clement V in 1309 therefore allowed him to retain all ten benefices.<sup>47</sup> Three years later, at the king's request, 'in whose service he is', he was granted a further dispensation. From this second list, John appears as somewhat of a spectator in church holdings.<sup>48</sup> He began as rector of a parish in Bath and Wells, which he later exchanged for one in Dublin, where he also obtained the archdeaconsry of Glendalough and a canonry. Later on he acquired four more parishes, one each in St David's, Dublin, Ossory, and York. In addition he secured canonries in Leighlin, Cashel, Emly, Waterford, Kildare, York, and Chester. Someone seems to have cast a cold eye on the situation, for in 1312, John agreed to resign the archdeaconsry of Glendalough and the canonries of Waterford and Kildare, the proceeds of the remaining benefices amounting to £240.<sup>49</sup> This was no mean income at a time when the entire valuation of Waterford diocese was given as £125 17s 8d.<sup>50</sup>

In 1354, the pope gave permission to one Nicholas Disaart, B.C.L., to hold a canonry and prebend in Cloyne, though he already held canonries and prebends in Ferns, Ossory, Lismore, and Waterford, the whole amounting to £5 10s. 0d. His prebend in Waterford is named as Ballycashin.<sup>51</sup> Though King John endowed the Waterford chapter with sufficient land for the support of twelve canons and twelve vicars, only nine prebends are mentioned in the early fourteenth century taxation lists, and only four of those are named - Kilmacleague, Ballycashin, Corbally, and Rossduff.<sup>52</sup> In Dublin and Limerick, a canon had the privilege of disposing of the fruits of his benefice for a full year after his death '*pro anima sua sive pro debitis suis solvendis*'.<sup>53</sup> In view of the affinities between Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford, it is possible that the same privilege was enjoyed by the Waterford canons, but in the absence of evidence, this can be no more than conjecture.

As a body, the chapter had the important duty and privilege of electing to the vacant see. By the time the stormy career of Bishop Robert II ended in 1222 or 1223, the English common law procedure for the election of bishops had been introduced into Ireland. This procedure was laid down in the electoral decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, in King John's charter of 1214, and in letters of Pope Honorius III. On the death of a bishop, the chapter informed the king and asked

43 *Black Book of Limerick*, p.lxvi.

44 Rennison, *Succession List*, p.20.

45 *Cal. papal letters*, iv, 402.

46 *Cal.papal letters*, ii, 51.

47 *Ibid.*

48 'In the middle ages there was a tendency to regard a benefice much more as an estate than as a spiritual responsibility' (Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century*).

49 *Cal.papal letters*, ii,110.

50 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, v, 303. Since this valuation was drawn up for the purpose of a taxation, it should be regarded as a minimum.

51 *Cal.papal letters*, iii, 517.

52 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, v, 303.

53 *Black Book of Limerick*, p.lxxxii.

licence to elect.<sup>54</sup> In the meantime, the temporalities of the see were taken into custody by a royal official known as the escheator. The election was made by one of the approved methods of scrutiny, compromission, or inspiration. The bishop-elect had to obtain the royal approval and take an oath of fealty before he could recover the temporalities of the see. The election was confirmed by the metropolitan or the pope, and the bishop-elect was consecrated and received custody of the spiritualities, in other words the episcopal jurisdiction.<sup>55</sup> Papal confirmation was required if the chapter made choice of a person of illegitimate birth or if the election was a disputed one.

At the first election made by them under these regulations the Waterford chapter chose their own dean, William Wace, the election being made by compromission. William was the first of three deans of the diocese who were elected to the bishopric in the thirteenth century. The second was Philip, bishop from 1252 to 1254, and the third was Walter Fulburn, elected in 1286. Henry, archdeacon of Waterford, was elected in 1250. Of the five bishops of the independent see elected in the fourteenth century, four were members of the chapter. Matthew, the chancellor, who succeeded Walter Fulburn in 1308, was himself succeeded in 1323 by the dean, Nicholas Welified. Richard Fraunceys, also dean, succeeded Nicholas in 1338, and the second-last bishop, Robert Elyot, was one of the canons.<sup>56</sup> This picture is fairly typical of medieval Irish chapters, which have been described as 'local oligarchies' whose elections were normally ratified by the king and pope and who maintained the liturgical life of the cathedral and endeavoured to safeguard the lasting interests of the see.<sup>57</sup> Though Waterford and Lismore were formally united under one Bishop in 1363, they continued to have separate cathedrals and chapters down to the sixteenth century.<sup>58</sup> As late as 1588 the parishes of Waterford are still clearly distinguished from those of Lismore.<sup>59</sup> These facts, combined with a study of the taxation lists of the early fourteenth century<sup>60</sup> and the list of parishes in the Civil Survey of 1654,<sup>61</sup> enable us to trace the diocesan boundary and to enumerate with reasonable success the parishes of Waterford diocese. It becomes clear that the diocese consisted of the city and liberties,<sup>62</sup> the entire barony of Gaultier and about three-quarters of Middlethird, the whole corresponding with the district originally ruled over by the Danes. It was thus of such small area that there would be room in Ireland for 300 dioceses of like extent.

A glance at the map will show that Waterford diocese is bounded on three sides by water - the Suir and its estuary on the north and east, and the sea on the south. It is unquestionable that the remaining or western boundary must have varied from time to time in the years when the inter-

54 In 1298, the chapter of Limerick had to pay a fine of £200 for electing without royal licence. In some cases, the justiciar was empowered to grant the licence on the king's behalf, as for example after the death of Walter Fulburn in 1307 (*Cal.justic. rolls Ire., 1308-14*, p.38).

55 J.A. Watt has printed in *Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.* (pp 163-6) documents to illustrate (a) petition of dean and chapter for licence to elect; (b) licence granted; (c) notice to the king that the election has taken place and royal assent is being requested; (d) royal assent granted; (e) certification by the metropolitan of canonical confirmation; (f) notification to knights and tenants to hold the new bishop as their lord; (g) oath of fealty taken by new bishop.

56 Relevant sources given above in the biographies of the bishops.

57 G.J. Hand, 'The Church in the English Lordship' in *A History of Irish Catholicism* (ed. P.J. Corish), ii, 3, pp 14 and 16.

58 Power, *Waterford and Lismore*, p.11.

59 Miler Magrath's visitation, T.C.D. MS E.3.14, printed in Power, *op. cit.*, p.351.

60 For the dating of these taxations, see Hand, 'The dating of the early fourteenth-century eccl. valuations of Ireland' in *Irish Theol. Quarterly* 24 (1957), 271-4.

61 *Civil Survey*, ed. R.C. Simington, vol, vi.

62 The liberties of a city meant the territory outside the walls in which the inhabitants enjoyed the same rights and privileges as those within the walls.

diocesan dispute was at its height. In 1257, for example, the king intervened to settle the possession of the disputed lands of Ardmore, Kilmolash, Kilmeaden and Mothel, and ordered the lands in question to be restored to Lismore.<sup>63</sup> Half a century later, however, Kilmeaden belonged to the diocese of Waterford.<sup>64</sup>

Before proceeding to list the parishes of Waterford it may not be out of place to mention some points on the general organisation of medieval parishes. Their origin is a question that is much discussed by historians,<sup>65</sup> but without reaching any agreed solution. Fr Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., sums up the position when he says that 'all generalisation on a subject about which we have so little reliable evidence is better avoided'.<sup>66</sup>

A parish was in the care of a rector. If the latter could not undertake the cure of souls in the parish, e.g., if he were not in orders, he appointed a vicar, to whom he allotted one-third of the tithes. To every parish there was attached a small area of church land called a glebe.<sup>67</sup> Some parishes were impropriate in monastic houses, the community becoming rector with the right to appoint a vicar, in this case most often a member of the community. The parish of St. John's in Waterford, which was impropriate in the Benedictine priory of the same name, is an example of this type. Similarly, the parish of Islandkeane was impropriate in the monastery of the Templars of Killure.

Besides the parochial church proper, many parishes had chapels dependent on the mother church and served by a chaplain. The rights and privileges of these chapels were not to impinge on those of the mother church, and burials, baptisms, and marriages were, in theory at any rate, reserved to the mother church.<sup>68</sup> Hospitals generally had chapels to which the public were admitted and in some cases these chapels had full parochial status.<sup>69</sup>

The parishes and churches of Waterford may be conveniently divided into three: (i) those within the city and liberties; (ii) those in the barony of Gaultier; (iii) those in the barony of Middlethird.

63 *Cal. docs. Ire.*, ii, 87, no.529.

64 *Cal. docs. Ire.*, v, 303.

65 Power, *Waterford and Lismore*, p. 52, considers the parish boundaries as traditional tribal limits going back to the dawn of christianity and beyond. See also idem, 'The bounds and extents of Irish parishes' in *Féilscribhinn Torna* (Cork, 1947). A.J. Otway-Ruthven (*History of Med. Ireland*, p.126) suggests that parish organisation dates from the decree of the Synod of Cashel, 1172, ordering payment of tithes to parish churches. This view is contested by Fr Gwynn in his review of her book in *Studies* lvii (Summer 1986), 164-5. The map which forms the frontispiece of Begley's *Diocese of Limerick* seems to show that in one diocese at least the boundaries were traditional.

66 loc.cit.

67 Gwynn and Gleeson, *Diocese of Killaloe*, p.295.

68 In Dublin about 1320, a decree was issued concerning the offerings made in chapels and ordering them to be restored to the mother-church. Chaplains who refuse to obey this decree were to be suspended. See 'Provincial and diocesan decrees of the diocese of Dublin during the Anglo-Norman Period' (ed. A. Gwynn, S.J.) in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xi, i, 944. This decree is printed on p. 78. In Waterford in 1302, there is mention of the chapel of Crossmalgam, and in 1309, John de Hothum held two chaplaincies in Waterford.

69 The taxation-lists refer to 'the church of Faithlegge hospital with vicarage'.

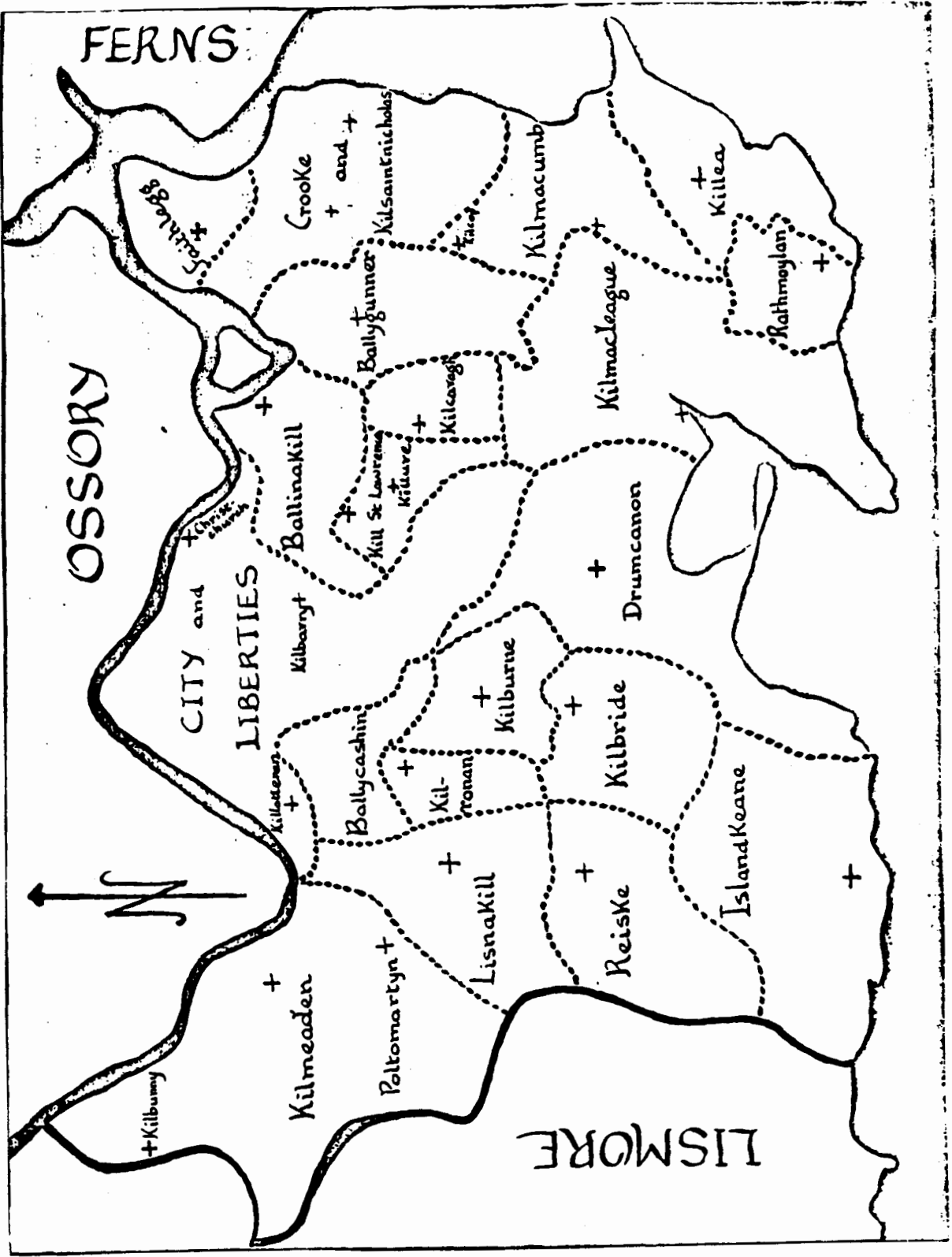


Fig. 1. The medieval diocese of Waterford

## CHURCHES WITHIN THE CITY AND LIBERTIES.

### The Cathedral of Holy Trinity.

The cathedral of Holy Trinity, popularly called Christchurch, is said to have been built during the time of Malchus, Waterford's first bishop,<sup>70</sup> or even to have been built before that and then erected into a cathedral.<sup>71</sup>

Its title Christchurch, meaning head or mother-church, has led to the conclusion that it was not the only church in Waterford at the time,<sup>72</sup> and that there may have been a church dedicated to St Olaf of Norway on the site of the present church of that dedication.<sup>73</sup> In Norman times, the Danish cathedral was enlarged, and the ground-plan and two views of the modified structure are extant.<sup>74</sup> These are of very great interest as exemplifying some of the architectural conventions of pre-Reformation times. An area approximately equal to that of the nave and situated behind (i.e. east of) the high altar is named Trinity Parish Church - a reminder that the cathedral proper was not always used as a parish church in Norman times, nor did the members of the chapter consider themselves bound by parochial responsibilities. This explains the presence of parish churches within the close of some medieval cathedrals.<sup>75</sup> Another interesting feature of old Christchurch is the presence of five chapels. At least one of these, St Saviour's Chapel, was founded as a chantry where Mass was to be offered for the soul of the founder and his family.<sup>76</sup> Such chantries were common in the thirteenth century.

A few details concerning the cathedral of Holy Trinity can also be gathered from references in the various rolls. We know, for example, that there was a cemetery attached to it, from which two gates opened, one 'towards Eymers house', the other 'towards the tholsel' (courthouse).<sup>77</sup> The postern gate of St Katherine, at the present Mall end of Colbeck Street, also led into the cemetery, and may be identical with one of the above.<sup>78</sup> Within the cathedral were various altars. That of St John Baptist has already been mentioned.<sup>79</sup> The guild of weavers kept twelve lights burning before the altar of St Martin, while the shoemakers paid a similar tribute to St Blaise. The citizens in general kept six tapers before an image of St Otteran, the patron of Waterford.<sup>80</sup> Burials within the church were permitted to certain families, who were 'to repair the same again with tile stones at their own cost by a month's end, at least, upon pain of 6s 8d to be employed to the reparation of the church'.<sup>81</sup>

70 Ware, *Irish Bishops*, p.525. Cotton, *Fasti*, i, 166.

71 Power, *Waterford and Lismore*, p.9.

72 Egan, *Waterford Guide*, p.499.

73 Ibid.

74 Ware, *Irish Bishops*, p.525.

75 A.H. Thompson, *Cathedral Churches of England*, p.211.

76 See 'Register of St Saviour's Chantry, Waterford' (ed. G MacNiocaill) in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 23 (1966).

77 *Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire. 1308-14*, p. 139.

78 Cotton MS. Vesp.B.xl, f. 127v, translated in Gwynn and Gleeson, *Diocese of Killaloe*, p.365.

79 See above, chap. 3.

80 *Tenth Report Hist. MSS Comm.* (ed. Gilbert) pp 320, 324.

81 Gilbert, 'Municipal Archives of Waterford' in *Tenth Report Historical MSS. Commission*, p. 317.

The *Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society* for July 1895 has a striking account of the building as it existed before it was pulled down about 1770.<sup>82</sup> The latter event took place, according to Egan, 'to make a job for a builder'.<sup>83</sup> Hansard tells us that those responsible for the demolition claimed it was carried out because the church was 'so much decayed as to be unsafe for the purposes of public worship'.<sup>84</sup>

The parish of Holy Trinity in the seventeenth century and probably for a long time before that included Key Street (now Exchange Street), Trinity Lane, St George's Street, Conduit Lane, Prentice Lane, Colbeck Lane, Christchurch Lane, and parts of Lady Lane, Milk Lane, High Street, Cook Lane, Patrick Street, and Stephen Street. Outside the walls, the parish embraced the townlands of Cleaboy, Rathfadden, Gibbethill, and 'several parks, gardens, and enclosures'.<sup>85</sup>

### St Olaf's

St Olaf's church, dedicated to a saintly Norwegian king, was a Danish foundation on the site of the present church of the same name.<sup>86</sup> It was, therefore, only a short distance from Christchurch and may have been a cathedral prebend. In Norman times, there was a parish attached, which must have been of very small extent. The seventeenth-century account of the parish says that it consisted at that time of Kempson Lane and parts of Cook Lane and High Street.<sup>87</sup>

### St Michael's

The church of St Michael stood behind the eastern side of Michael Street, where the ruin may still be seen in the grounds of the convent of the Sisters of Charity. Its position outside the Danish walls has led to the conclusion that it was built to serve the needs of the Irish outside the city.<sup>88</sup> Canon Power remarks that the christianised Danes had a particular devotion to St Michael and dedicated a church to him in every seaport they occupied.<sup>89</sup> The west gable of St Michael's, with its double window-ope, is all that remains of the building. An illustration of it appears in Downey's *Waterford Guide* (1925) p.46.

### St Peter's

St Peter's was a parish church from which the present Peter Street derived its name. There are no ruins now visible, though there were some slight remains down to the end of the last century.<sup>90</sup> There is mention of St Peter's in a roll of 1314, when at the justiciar's court at Waterford 'twelve jurors present that Henry Cas feloniously slew Symon le Harper and afterwards fled to the church of St Peter in the said city and escaped therefrom'. The practice of seeking sanctuary in churches was common at the time, and several cases of it are recorded in Waterford.<sup>91</sup>

82 Drew, 'The Danish Christchurches of Dublin and Waterford' in *Waterford Arch. Soc. Jn.* (July 1895).

83 Egan, *Waterford Guide*, p.499.

84 Hansard, *History of the County and City of Waterford*, p. 159.

85 Simington (ed.) *Civil Survey*, vi, 221-60 and 171. The parish was later divided into two parts, Trinity Without and Trinity Within (the walls).

86 Power, *Placenames of Decies*, p. 229.

87 *Civil Survey*, vi.

88 Egan, *Waterford Guide*, p.518.

89 Power, *op.cit.* p.229.

90 Egan, *Waterford Guide*, p. 505.

91 *Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1308-14*, p.314; Mac Niocaill, *Na Búirgéisí*, i, 33.



## St Stephen's

St Stephen's church is also remembered in the name of the street where it stood. Its site was approximately that of the present Kiely's Brewery. In post-Reformation times there was a leper hospital attached, but there is no evidence of a similar foundation there in medieval times.

## Kilbarry

From Norman times, the church at Kilbarry was in the care of the Templars, to whom it was granted by Henry II in 1199.<sup>92</sup> The name indicates that there was originally a Celtic church in the same place, founded by St Barra, who is sometimes identified with Fionnbarra of Cork.<sup>93</sup> The very insignificant ruins now to be seen there are, of course, those of the Templars' church. The cemetery attached to the church has long been closed. When the Templars were suppressed in 1308, an inventory of their possessions was made, and the church at Kilbarry was valued at one mark.<sup>94</sup> Such a valuation would denote a church of no great importance.

## Killotteran

Here, as at Kilbarry, the name indicates a pre-invasion ecclesiastical foundation. In this case, the patron was none other than the diocesan patron, modernly called Otteran. In medieval times, it is often spelled Odhran. It has been suggested that the name is really Fuararan, a name which appears four times in the Martyrology of Donegal.<sup>95</sup> To anyone not familiar with the Irish language, the name *Cill Fhuararain* would give no indication of the initial consonant, hence the anglicised version - Kilodhran. The church of Killotteran stood on the site of the present Protestant church.<sup>96</sup> Already in 1210 it belonged to the Augustinian canons of St Katherine's Abbey, Waterford.<sup>97</sup> It probably remained in their possession down to the Reformation and is no doubt identical with 'Killronan, impropriate in the aforesaid priory of St Katherine', mentioned in Miler Magrath's visitation of 1588.<sup>98</sup> In the seventeenth century, the church had been re-dedicated to St Peter.<sup>99</sup>

## Other churches in the city and liberties.

In addition to the seven churches already mentioned, there was a church of St Patrick at the Ballybricken end of the present Patrick Street, and one called St Mary's within the Walls which gave its name to Lady Lane.<sup>100</sup> There were also the churches of the Benedictines, Franciscans and Dominicans, which will be dealt with in the next chapter. Finally, there was the church of St Thomas, which belonged to the priory of St Katherine, and will be described later.

92 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, i, 13, no.85.

93 Butler, *Barony of Gaultier*, p.172.

94 G. MacNiocaill, 'Documents relating to suppression of the Templars in Ireland' in *Analecta Hibernica*, 24 (1967).

95 O'Donovan, *Ordnance Survey Letters (Waterford)* p.31. In Waterford diocese, this feast of St Otteran is celebrated on 27 October.

96 Power, 'Ancient ruined churches', in *Waterford Arch.S.Jn.*, i, 172.

97 *Cal.papal letters*, i, 35. Sheehy, *Pont.Hib*, i, 143.

98 Printed in Power, *op.cit.*, p.351.

99 *Civil Survey*, vi, 171.

100 Power, *Place-names of Decies*, p.230. *Analecta Hibernica*, 24 (1967), p.151.

## CHURCHES IN THE BARONY OF GAULTIER

Fifteen churches are known to have existed in the small barony of Gaultier. Eleven church ruins survive in varying states of preservation, and the sites of three others are marked on maps of the district. The remaining one - Kilcop - can be located from the details given in Power, *Placenames of Decies*, p. 203.

### Ballinakill

Immediately east of the city liberties, i.e. further down the river, we come to the parish of Ballinakill. The name is obviously of ecclesiastical origin - *Baile na Cille*. The parish, given as Ballymackill in the taxation lists, was of considerable size and ranked third in the barony.<sup>101</sup> In the early fourteenth century, the parish was cared for by a vicar, who, it is noted, received from the rector more than the required one-third of the tithes.<sup>102</sup> The parish included Little Island on the Suir. As long ago as 1841, O'Donovan wrote that no part of the walls had existed for thirty years.<sup>103</sup> There are still some few remains of the cemetery, where burials took place down to the end of the last century.<sup>104</sup>

### Ballygunner

East of Ballinakill lies the parish of Ballygunner, variously spelled Ballygмор and Balygenore.<sup>105</sup> The name is said to be of Danish origin, signifying Homestead of Gonar, a Danish chieftain.<sup>106</sup> According to Theiner, this church was originally dedicated to St Mochorog, confessor.<sup>107</sup> It seems to have been, at a later date, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, as the patronal feast was kept on 8 September.<sup>108</sup> The present ruin, measuring thirty-six feet by twenty, is not of great antiquity.

### Faithlegg

Where Gaultier stretches northward into the wide waters of *Cumar na dTrí nUisce*, looking to Ossory on the west and Ferns on the east, lies the parish of Faithlegg. The derivation of the name is uncertain. In medieval documents it appears variously as Foylinge, Fathely, Fyling, Balyfalyng. It has been suggested that the name derives from *Feidhlinn* (woodbine)<sup>109</sup> or from *Faithche*, a level field or playing pitch.<sup>110</sup> In the fourteenth century, we read of 'the church of Faithlegg hospital with vicarage'.<sup>111</sup> The present church ruins are in a fair state of preservation. The west doorway is of wrought sandstone, and the west wall, which also contains one window-ope, is topped by a belfry. The church consisted of nave and chancel. Burials still take place in the surrounding cemetery, where the modern church also stands. Opposite the church, on the other side of the road, is, or was, a holy well called St Ita's. Some years ago it was cemented over by workmen who were carrying out improvements to Faithlegg House. The elderly resident of Faithlegg who gave me this information remembers hearing in his youth of cures taking place at the well.

101 Ballygunner was first and Killea second, if we compare the valuations as in *Cal.docs.Ire.*, v, 303.

102 *ibid.*

103 O'Donovan, Ordnance Survey Letters (Waterford), p.4.

104 Power, 'Ancient Ruined Churches of Waterford' in *R.S.A.I.Jn.*, 1890-91.

105 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, v, 303,323.

106 Butler, *Barony of Gaultier*, p.156.

107 Theiner, *Vetera Mon.*, p.417.

108 Power, *Placenames of Decies*, p.185.

109 *ibid.* p.198.

110 This was suggested to me by Fr Benedict O'Sullivan, O.P.

111 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, v, 303.

## Kilsaintnicholas

The name of this parish prompted Canon Power to suggest that it was of Norman origin, 'for', he says, 'St Nicholas was to the Normans what St Michael was to the Danes'.<sup>112</sup> He also suggests that there may have been a pre-invasion church in the same place, as re-dedication of churches was then an accepted practice. This assumption would seem to be borne out by a roll of 1352, which gives the church of St Nicholas situated in Kilmacsaury.<sup>113</sup> The latter name is no longer in use. No ruins of this church remain, but the site is marked on the 1906 one-inch ordnance survey map. The foundations were measured by O'Donovan in 1841, and found to be thirty-nine feet long by seventeen wide.<sup>114</sup> In 1352 the Augustinian priory of St Katherine at Waterford acquired the advowson of the church<sup>115</sup> and so it remained down to the Reformation.<sup>116</sup> The well to the north-east of the church was also called St Nicholas's.

## Crooke

In the year 1199 or shortly before it, the Knights Templars were granted 'Croc with ten carucates of land'<sup>117</sup> and the church at Crooke was in the care of the knights until their suppression in 1308, when their goods were seized and given to the Hospitallers.<sup>118</sup> Crooke was the largest church in the barony in Norman times, measuring seventy-five feet by twenty-one.<sup>119</sup> It must have been also one of the most beautifully situated. The ruin stands in its cemetery overlooking the broad estuary of the Suir, with a view across the plain of Wexford from Dunbrody to *Rinn Dubhain*. The east gable has a triple-light window-ope, and there appears to have been a tower at the south-west corner. The surrounding cemetery is still in use. In a field nearby is the holy well of St John Baptist, where, says O'Donovan, a great pattern was held every year on June 24, 'before the year of the rebellion'. The well is now a watering-place for cattle.

## Kilcop

In the earlier of the two fourteenth-century taxations, the chapel of Kilcop, which belonged to the Benedictine priory of St John at Waterford, is stated to have an annual value of one mark.<sup>120</sup> The later taxation dismisses it as 'not worth the service of a chaplain'.<sup>121</sup> Neither ruins nor site can be found on any map, but Canon Power ascertained from local tradition that the church stood near the entrance to Kilcop House, on the other side of the road.<sup>122</sup> It was dedicated to St Copp, virgin, whose festival is given in the Martyrology of Donegal on 18 January.<sup>123</sup>

112 Power, *Placenames of Decies*, p.210.

113 'Abbreviatio Rot. Originalium', in *Liber Munerum*, i, pt iii, p.35.

114 Ordnance Survey Letters (Waterford) p.8.

115 *Liber Munerum*, loc.cit.

116 Miler Magrath's visitation, printed in Power, *Waterford and Lismore*, p.351.

117 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, i, no.85.

118 For their possessions in Crook, see Appendix D.

119 Ordnance Survey Letters, p.11.

120 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, v, 303.

121 *Ibid*, v, 323.

122 Power, *Placenames of Decies*, p.203.

123 O'Donovan, Ordnance Survey Letters, p.15.

## Killea

The ruins of Killea church stand on a hill overlooking the village of Dunmore East. The original church was founded by St Aodh, a disciple of St Declan, but was re-dedicated under the invocation of the Holy Cross.<sup>124</sup> Judging by the taxation-lists, it was one of the most important churches in the diocese. The present ruins are of the Norman building, and consist of part of the south wall and a three-storey square tower over an arched vault. The nave measured forty-two feet by twenty, and the choir approximately fifteen by eighteen.<sup>125</sup> The cemetery is still in use.

## Kilmacumb

Kilmacumb is stated to be the oldest ecclesiastical foundation in Gaultier.<sup>126</sup> A church was established here in the seventh century by St Mochuma, an Ossorian monk.<sup>127</sup> The Normans re-dedicated it to St Matthew, and the patronal feast was accordingly celebrated on 21 September. The present ruin is said to date only from the fourteenth century. The surrounding cemetery has not been used for more than a hundred years.

## Rathmoylan

The name is spelled Rathmolan or Rathmelan in medieval documents, but the older inhabitants of the place pronounce it very clearly as Rathwhelan, and believe that it was at one time a stronghold of the Uí Faeláin of Decies. The ruin, measuring fifty-four feet by twenty-five, stands on a hill overlooking a deep glen, which here runs out into the sea. It is in an excellent state of preservation, but so overgrown with vegetation as to be almost lost to view, at least in summer. The cemetery was in use down to about fifty years ago. Unlike most of the other ruined churches, Rathmoylan had no burials within the walls.

## Kilmacleague

The earliest mention of Kilmacleague occurs in 1210 in the list of possessions of the Waterford chapter, but the ecclesiastical foundation is said to date from the seventh century.<sup>128</sup> In Norman times, it was a cathedral prebend, held in the early fourteenth century by one Sir Nicholas de Balscote. As we would expect, he was an Englishman, a native of Balscott in Oxfordshire.<sup>129</sup> Like many of his contemporaries, he combined a place in the civil service with his ecclesiastical duties.<sup>130</sup>

The ruins of Kilmacleague are picturesquely situated on a headland which juts out into that part of Tramore Bay known as the Back Strand. The church consisted of nave and chancel, but the chancel arch has fallen. One unusual feature of the ruin is the sloping pier which supports the north wall - put there by the builders, says Canon Power, to rectify the wall when they discovered it was out of plumb.<sup>131</sup>

124 Power, *op.cit.*, p.204.

125 *Idem*, 'The ancient ruined churches of Waterford' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.* 1890-91, p.476.

126 Power, *loc.cit.*, p.475.

127 Butler, *Barony of Gaultier*, p.190.

128 Power, *Placenames of Decies*, p.214.

129 Richardson and Sayles, *The Administration of Ireland 1172-1377*, p.100.

130 *Ibid.*, pp 106, 107, 115.

131 Power, *op.cit.*, p.214.

## Drumcannon

The name of this parish is not of ecclesiastical origin. It is said to derive from Conan Maol of Fianna fame.<sup>132</sup> The church is not mentioned in the medieval taxations, for it belonged to the Templars, who were exempt from the tax.<sup>133</sup> The church was situated on a hill about two miles north-east of Tramore. The existing ruin is of two churches, one considered to be pre-Reformation, the other post-Reformation.<sup>134</sup> The whole is thickly covered with ivy, which obscures any interesting architectural features there may be.<sup>135</sup> The surrounding cemetery was, by order of the County Council, closed to burials from 1 April 1963. Within the ruin are graves of the Carew family of Ballinamona. From the walls of this ruin, the local people are said to have watched the smoke rising from the battle of Ross.<sup>136</sup>

## Killure

Killure is usually interpreted as *Cill Iubhair*, church of the yew tree.<sup>137</sup> It has been stated that the medieval church of Killure belonged to the Templars and subsequently passed to the Hospitallers.<sup>138</sup> I have not been able to find any evidence that it ever belonged to the Templars. It is not given in Henry II's original grant<sup>139</sup> nor in the subsequent confirmation of the grant.<sup>140</sup> Neither is it mentioned in the list of possessions of the Templars in Ireland taken in 1308.<sup>141</sup> We have, on the other hand, direct evidence that it belonged to the Hospitallers. In 1300, a case was heard at the justiciar's court in which the plaintiff was 'Brother Hugh, preceptor of the house of Killeur, attorney of the priory of St John of Jerusalem in Ireland'.<sup>142</sup>

The ruin of the church, covered with ivy, stands in a cultivated field east of the 'old' Waterford-Tramore road. When O'Donovan examined it in 1841, he gave its measurements as fifty feet by twenty-two. About forty paces to the south of the church, he saw the south gable of another building whose length extended north and south. This he took to be the dwelling-house of the Hospitallers.<sup>143</sup>

## Kilcaragh

The church of Kilcaragh was situated on the low ridge of rock overlooking Killure bog. Whatever remained of it about 1860 was entirely demolished by the farmer on whose land it stood.<sup>144</sup> O'Donovan interpreted the name as '*Cill Carthach*, church or cell of St Carthage, who was the founder and patron saint of Lismore'.<sup>145</sup> Butler, a native of Gaultier, translated it 'the church surrounded by a wall',<sup>146</sup> which seems to tally with the medieval spelling 'Kilcatherac'.<sup>147</sup>

132 O'Donovan, Ordnance Survey Letters (Waterford), p.29.

133 Power, *Waterford and Lismore*, p. 340, note 1.

134 *Waterford Arch. Soc. Jn.* (1894-5), p. 135.

135 'The belfry surmounting the west gable contains two oves of rude construction' (ibid.).

136 Ibid.

137 O'Donovan, Ordnance Survey Letters (Waterford) p.26. Power, *Place-names of Decies*, pp208-09. Butler, *Barony of Gaultier*, p. 169.

138 O'Donovan, loc.cit.; Power, loc.cit.

139 *Cal. docs. Ire.*, i, 13, no. 85.

140 Ibid.

141 G. MacNiocaill, (ed.) 'Documents relating to the suppression of the Templars in Ireland' in *Analecta Hibernica*, 24 (1967).

142 *Cal.justic.rolls Ire. 1295-1303*, p.300.

143 O'Donovan, Ordnance Survey Letters, Waterford.p.27.

144 Power, 'The ancient ruined churches of Co. Waterford' in *R.S.A.I.Jn.* (1890-1) 475-92.

145 Ordnance Survey Letters (Waterford), p. 25.

146 *Barony of Gaultier*, p. 182.

147 Pipe roll iii Ed. I, in *36th Report D.K.R.I.* p.30.

Canon Power, another native of the barony, gives a similar derivation - '*Cill Cathrach*, church with stone rampart'.<sup>148</sup> In the early fourteenth century taxation list, the value of the church is given as half a mark, from which we may conclude that it was of no great importance. Sometime before the seventeenth century, the bishops of Waterford built a country residence there, from which the name Bishops court became attached to a townland in the parish.<sup>149</sup> There is not any tradition of a cemetery attached to the church of Kilcaragh. Indeed, as Canon Power remarks, it would have been impossible to dig graves through the solid rock.<sup>150</sup>

### Kilsaintlawrence

As the name implies, the patron of this church in medieval times was Saint Lawrence, though the Irish word *cill* again indicates an earlier church on the same site. The church was part of the property of the preceptory of Killure.<sup>151</sup> The church was not a large one, being about thirty feet by fifteen.<sup>152</sup> When O'Donovan examined it in 1841, he remarked that the 'pattern' or patronal feast which was formerly held on St Lawrence's Day had been discontinued by order of the priest.<sup>153</sup> The reason for this may be indicated by what Canon Power tells us some fifty years later: 'The large graveyard attached was much used by the citizens in times of plague or epidemic. Some few years since, the cemetery was closed up, and, at the suggestion of the local sanitary authority, surrounded by a high wall. At present, except by using a long ladder, it is impossible to examine the ruin'.<sup>154</sup> Since this was written, the wall has been pierced by a doorway leading in from the roadside. This facilitates somewhat examination of the ruin, which can now be reached by making one's way through shoulder-high brambles and nettles. The result scarcely justifies the effort, for the ruin is in a poor state of preservation, and is besides completely enveloped in thick ivy.

### Corbally, Monamintra, and Rossduff

These three places are sometimes referred to as parishes, probably because the names occur in the medieval taxation lists. Corbally and Rossduff are, in those lists, called 'prebends', but there is not any evidence that a church ever existed in either of them. In other words, the tithes provided an income for the two prebendaries of the Waterford cathedral, but they were not parishes. Monamintra is called a 'portion', i.e. a part divided off and given over to provide an income for some individual cleric.<sup>155</sup>

## CHURCHES IN THE BARONY OF MIDDLETHIRD

### Kilmeaden

The parish of Kilmeaden stretched from the city liberties on the east to the borders of Lismore diocese on the west. This fact, combined with its relatively high value, made it a bone of contention between the two dioceses. In fact it seems to have alternated from one to the other, until in 1257 the king intervened and declared that Kilmeaden belonged by right to Waterford and should be restored to the bishop.<sup>156</sup> In the early fourteenth century it had the highest valuation of any church in the diocese.<sup>157</sup>

148 Power, *Place-names of Decies*, p.202.

149 Ibid., p.201. *Civil Survey*, vi.

150 Power, *op.cit.*, p.202.

151 *Patent Roll James I*, p.466.

152 Power, in *R.S.A.I.Jn.* (1890-1), p 479.

153 Ordnance Survey Letters (Waterford), p.29.

154 Power, *loc.cit.*

155 See Moorman, *Church Life in England in the 13th Century*, pp 7-8.

156 *Close Rolls of the reign of Henry III, 1256-59*, p.120.

157 *Cal. docs. Ire.*, v, 303.

No less than five churches are known to have existed in the parish. These were (1) Kilmeaden itself, (2) Kilbunny, (3) Kilmoyemoge, (4) Poltomartyn, (5) Crossmalgam. Kilmeaden, or *Cill mo-Íde-án*, is said to take its name from the holy virgin Ita, a member of the tribe of Decies, who was born in this district.<sup>158</sup> Of the medieval church of Kilmeaden, there is now not a stone upon a stone. It stood in the grounds of the present Protestant church, to the right of the pathway to that church.<sup>159</sup> Kilbunny church, the only one of the five to survive, has been fully described by Power in the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for 1922. The most interesting feature of the ruin is a romanesque doorway. The ruin and its surrounds have been cleaned in recent times and a signpost erected on the roadside. Kilmoyemoge, or *Cill-mo-Dhiomóg*, has now no trace of church or cemetery. O'Donovan saw traces of the latter in 1841, but remarked that 'it is now just effaced'.<sup>160</sup> According to Power, the church stood at the east side of the avenue leading from the railway to the public road.<sup>161</sup> Poltomartyn is a name that is no longer in use, but we can identify it from a fifteenth-century papal letter which mentions 'Poltomartyn alias Ballyadam'.<sup>162</sup> The latter name was later anglicised Adamstown. A fourteenth-century roll mentions 'Balidermot which is called Baliadam',<sup>163</sup> and a thirteenth-century list of the possessions of Waterford bishopric includes Ballydermot.<sup>164</sup> In 1337. 'Philip, rector of Poltomartyn', was one of the collectors of the subsidy given to Edward III 'for the war in Scotland'.<sup>165</sup> In the field formed by the forking Cork and Bunmahon roads, where the church stood, a holy well called St Martin's is marked on the 1906 one-inch Ordnance map. Still in the parish of Kilmeaden, we find mention of the 'chapel of Crossmalgam'.<sup>166</sup> This is usually identified with the modern name Clonegam, and the church is said to have stood on the same site as the Protestant church of that name.<sup>167</sup> The rectory of 'Clonemeham or Clonigam' belonged to the abbey of St Katherine, but it is not known when they acquired it.<sup>168</sup>

## Reask

The name of this parish is not of ecclesiastical origin, but derives simply from a boggy area which gave its name to the townland and the parish.<sup>169</sup> The church was a large one, measuring altogether sixty-eight feet by nineteen, and the walls were three feet thick.<sup>170</sup> Reask was an important church in medieval times, judging by its valuation, and there was a large cemetery attached to it.<sup>171</sup> In Norman times the church was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin,<sup>172</sup> and in 1337 Thomas, vicar of Reask, was to act, like Philip of Adamstown, as a collector of the king's subsidy.<sup>173</sup> The present ruin is of an ancient, possibly pre-Norman, building, and the ground around it has risen considerably from centuries of burials. An illustration of the ruin is given in the *Waterford Arch. Soc. Journal*, 1894-5, p. 163.

158 Power, *Place-names of Decies*, p.370. For a delightful account of the life and virtues of Ita, see Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, under date 15 January.

159 Power, 'Ancient Ruined Churches of Waterford' in *Waterford Arch. Soc. Jn.*, i. (1894-5) p.170.

160 Ordnance Survey Letters (Waterford) p.53.

161 Power, *Place-names of Decies*, p.371.

162 Theiner, *Vetera Mon.*, p. 417.

163 *Cal.justic.rolls Ire. 1305-7*, p.112

164 Pipe roll iii Ed.I, in *36th Report D.K.R.I.*, p.30.

165 Pipe roll xi Ed.III, in *45th Report D.K.R.I.*, p.51.

166 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, v, 303.

167 O'Donovan, Ordnance Survey Letters (Waterford) p.65.

168 *Repertory Rolls James I*, p.40.

169 Power, *Place-names of Decies*, p.375.

170 Power, 'Ancient ruined churches of Co. Waterford' in *Waterford Arch.Soc.Jn.* (1894-5), p.163.

171 *Ibid.*

172 Theiner, *Vetera Mon.*, p.417.

173 Pipe roll xi Ed. III in *45th Report D.K.R.I.*, p.51.

## Lisnakill

*Lios na Cille*, the Irish name, refers to the ancient circular church enclosure. A similar enclosure occurs in the same parish at *Seana Chill*, where was a second church.<sup>174</sup> Lisnakill was the treasurer's prebend.<sup>175</sup> In 1602, the soldiers of Mountjoy, returning from Kinsale, used the timbers of the church for firewood.<sup>176</sup> There is not any evidence of a re-edification after that date, and the ruins which have survived are in a very poor state of preservation. The measurements of the church are given by Canon Power as thirty-three feet by fifteen. There was a large cemetery attached.

## Kilronan

As the name implies, the patron saint of this church was one of the many Ronans who are named in the martyrologies.<sup>177</sup> O'Donovan in 1841 was unable to trace the foundations, nor were there any monuments to denote the existence of a burial-ground.<sup>178</sup> Towards the end of the last century, only the north-east angle of the building remained, and the font and possibly parts of the walls had been used in the modern church at Butlerstown.<sup>179</sup> In recent years the field where the church stood has been tilled, and some bones found there have been re-interred at Butlerstown.<sup>180</sup>

## Kilburne

The derivation of the name is uncertain. O'Donovan interprets it as 'church of the Rocky Place'.<sup>181</sup> Early in Norman times, and perhaps before, it belonged to the priory of St Katherine at Waterford. At some time in the thirteenth century, the cathedral chapter obtained it in exchange for other benefices.<sup>182</sup> and so in the early fourteenth we find the church of Boryn belongs to the *communia* of the dean and chapter.<sup>183</sup> The church was measured by O'Donovan and found to be forty-four feet long by eighteen feet wide.<sup>184</sup> There was a large cemetery attached, and incorporated in the fence is the famous Knockeen dolmen.

## Islandkeane

Islandkeane, which is not an island, takes its name from the owner of the townland. The church was part of the estate of the preceptory of Killure,<sup>185</sup> and hence does not appear in the taxation list.

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174 Power, *Place-names of Decies*, p.373.

175 Rennison, *Succession List*, p.42.

176 *Waterford Arch. Soc.Jn.*, xvi (1913), p.116.

177 Twelve saints of this name are given in the martyrology of Donegal.

178 O'Donovan, *Ordnance Survey Letters, Waterford*, p.35.

179 Power, 'Ancient ruined churches of Co. Waterford', in *Waterford Arch. Soc. Jn.*, i (1894-5), pp 166-7.

180 Information received from the present owner of the land.

181 O'Donovan, *Ordnance Survey Letters*, p.32.

182 See above, chap. 3.

183 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, v, 303.

184 O'Donovan, *loc.cit.*

185 *Patent rolls James I*, p.466.



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## Kilbride

The name Kilbride, meaning church of Brigid, is popularly believed to belong to a church which was erected here following a visit by St Brigid to this part of Waterford. It is sometimes said that the church was inappropriate in Killure,<sup>186</sup> but this may be a confusion with the 'hermitage called St Bride's in Colebecke's island' which was one of the possessions of the Hospitallers.<sup>187</sup> The ruin at Kilbride was measured by O'Donovan, who found the nave to be thirty feet by eighteen and the choir fourteen feet by thirteen.<sup>188</sup> The parish of Kilbride contained only three townlands, with portion of two others.<sup>189</sup>

(To be continued)

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186 Power, 'Ancient Ruined Churches of Waterford' in *Waterford Arch.Soc.Jn.*, i (1894-5), p.137.

187 Fiant no. 2978 of Elizabeth in *13th Report D.K.R.I.*, p.23.

188 O'Donovan, *Ordnance Survey Letters (Waterford)* p.36.

189 Power, *Placenames of Decies* pp 364-5.

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## SHIP-BUILDING IN WATERFORD

by Bill Irish

Waterford has had a proud tradition in ship-building, dating back at least to Viking times. Dr John de Courcy Ireland's lecture on Waterford's maritime history tells us that when the Vikings settled in Waterford it became a flourishing centre of trade, profiting from the Scāndinavian seamen's wide commercial contacts. The type of trading ship the Scandinavians used was favoured here and the tradition of boat-building was established.

In 1222 orders were sent to Dublin, Waterford and Limerick to cause galleys to be made in each port for the defence of the king's realm of Ireland. Early in the 14th century Waterford merchants owned such ships as *Skydie*, *Holy Ghost*, *Blessed Mary* and *Holy Cross*, all no doubt clinker-built, with one pole mast and a square sail, raised bow and stern, and that new invention the stern rudder. Of the 79 ships engaged in Bristol's import trade with Ireland in 1504-05, 35 were Irish, 12 being from Waterford; and of 82 ships in Bristol's export trade to this country in the same period, 39 were Irish, no fewer than 13 from the port of Waterford. In 1504 a boat called the *Magdalin* of Waterford, William Pembroke being the master, came to Bristol with a cargo of calf skins, salt skins, wild animal and rabbit skins.

On a new chart of Waterford by William Doyle (1735) an advertisement reads: 'Ambrose Congreve hath adjacent to the said city of Waterford a very convenient Dry Dock 160 feet long, 48 feet broad and 15 feet deep. It hath already received and will be kept in good repair for the reception and repairing of ships of considerable burthen.' Dr Emmet O'Connor's *Labour History of Waterford* states that a dry dock owned by the Congreve family existed near Newtown in 1745. A large and successful sail cloth works was established by the Huguenots in 1721. A vital industry for the time, it gave a boost to the city's maritime progress.

Early in the 19th century ship-building was revived and developed through the decades on a major scale. The late Stan Carroll, Tom Drohan and Anderson's *Sailing Ships of Ireland* are agreed that Pope & Co. were the first to open a yard on the Ferrybank side (about 1820). Emmet O'Connor states (p.37) that ship-building revived in the 1820s when Whites established a slip at Ferrybank. By the 1830s Popes had joined Whites at Ferrybank.

However, what is beyond dispute is that four ship-building yards existed on the Ferrybank side, skilfully building ships that were first-class examples of naval architecture. Between them a total of about 60 sailing ships (in the main) were constructed on the northern shores of the Suir. There were at least three yards operating at one period, 1858-1865.

## PENROSES' SHIP-BUILDING YARD

The Penroses were Quakers and innovators of glassmaking in Waterford. They opened up their yard in the 1850s; it was located at the pier head next to the flour mills, near the point where the last ferry berthed. Nick Flynn, born 1910, told me that as a boy he found several large lumps of chalk at this site. His father told him that as long as he dug there he would find more chalk as it was extensively used to mix with red lead and hemp for caulking the ships. Information is scarce about this yard but details of some of their ships have been gleaned from the custom house registers:

*M.E.C.*, built in 1860, a square stern schooner, 78 reg. tons and 69 feet long, owned by Jacob Penrose. She had 2 masts and 1 deck. Official no. 27849. She gave 31 years service before being stranded in Carnarvon Bay, 11 Nov. 1891. An advertisement for the sale of this new ship (1860) exists in the Waterford Municipal Library. It reads:-

For sale.

A clipper schooner, just launched  
and now ready for sea.

To be classed eight years A1 from July next.

Frame, beams, and knees of British oak,

Planks fastened at butts with yellow metal, from the bends to keel.

Registers 78.24 tons, & will carry about 120,  
on ten feet draught of water.

Her dimensions are:-

Length between perpendiculars - - 69 feet.

Breadth extreme from outside to outside - 18' 10 3/4".

Depth of hold - - - - 10 feet

For further particulars apply to

Henry Penrose,

Ferrybank, Waterford.

February, 1860.

*Heron*, built in 1870, a sailing ship, 35 tons, 52 feet long, for Robert and William Penrose (ship-builders), Rose Lane, Waterford. She was later sold to David Jones on 12 Feb. 1890.

*May Fly*, built in 1867, brigantine rigged sailing ship, 218 tons and 107 feet long, for Robert and William Penrose. Sold to foreigners on 1 Dec. 1869. It later became *Ville de Caracas*, a brigantine for French owners, L. Montaubin, Bordeaux.

*Alice*, built in 1849, a smack 50 feet long, for Jacob Penrose, Waterford. Built at Glasshouse Mills by Maurice Power. Broken up 1875.

Many of Penroses' ship models were displayed in Ned Fleming's corn store, Ferrybank, up to the late 1960s.

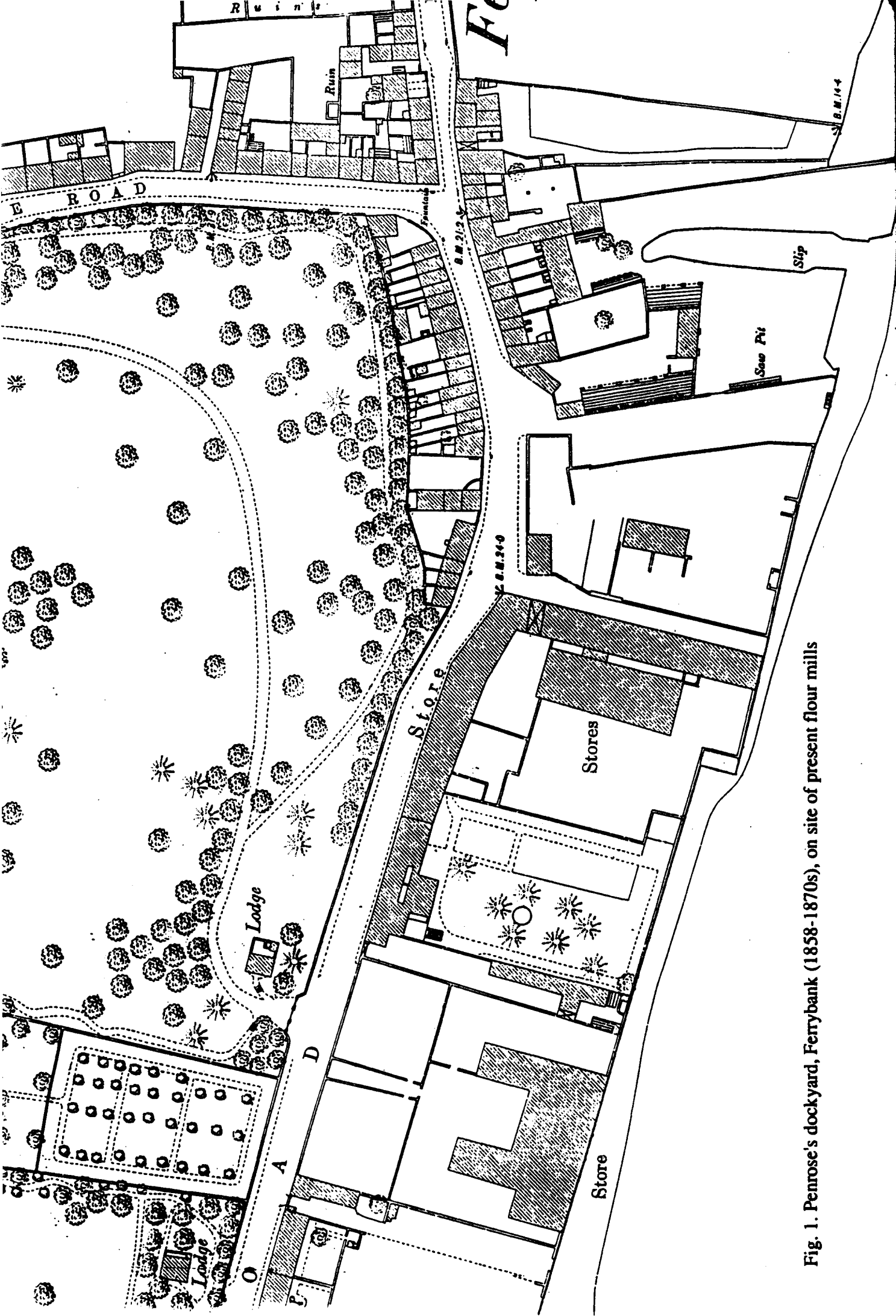


Fig. 1. Penrose's dockyard, Ferrybank (1858-1870s), on site of present flour mills

## CHARLES SMITH SHIPYARD

Located on the Ferrybank side of the Suir. Smith commenced ship-building in the 1850s. Smaller craft were generally built there, a vessel of 200-300 tons being launched annually. One of his first vessels, the brigantine *Jane Emily*, 173 tons, was built in 1856 for J. Mosley of Waterford. She was the fastest of her type, sailing out of this port for many years. Captain Price was her master.

On 1st May 1858 the beautiful little *Pathfinder* (313 tons, 132 ft long, breadth 26.5 ft, depth 14.8 ft) came off the stocks. She was employed in the copper-ore trade to the west coast of South America. This trade around Cape Horn was probably the roughest on both the sailor and ship, battling against the toughest elements known. She is described as follows by Basil Lubbock in *The Last of the Windjammers* under the heading 'The pretty little *Pathfinder*' (pp 386-88).

'One of the best known of the copper-ore men in the sixties and seventies was the *Pathfinder*, belonging firstly to Henry Bath & Sons and later to John Bowen of Swansea. Though she only registered 313 tons, this tiny ship crossed three skysail yards. This beautiful little vessel was built at Waterford in 1858, and most elaborately finished off with some wonderful wood carving at bow and stern.

'Her figure-head represented Fenimore Cooper's *Pathfinder*, standing full length on top of the stern head. The figure-head carver was careful to be correct in his portrait to the smallest particular. The *Pathfinder* was clad in fringed leggings of buckskin, embroidered shirt, coon-skin cap, and beaded moccasins, whilst about his middle were slung his powder horn and shot pouch, water bottle and hunting knife. Trailing his rifle from his right hand, he was leaning forward with his left knee bent, and gazing ahead with his left hand shading his eyes. This figure-head was the pride of the ship's company, and the greatest care was taken of it. At sea the arm carry ing the rifle was unshipped and hung up in the sail locker, ready to be bolted on when the ship made port again. The Chilean boatmen at Valparaiso used to greet this effigy with cries: "Viva Garibaldi!". They had heard of Garibaldi and possibly seen him, for he was a well-known sea captain as well as liberator of Italy, but they had no knowledge of Cooper's *Pathfinder*.

'Round the taffrail of this tiny skysailyarder an elaborate frieze showing the *Pathfinder* and the *Deerslayer* on the trail formed a setting for the ship's name. The trail-boards also were carved in like fashion. The carpenter of the *Pathfinder* had to be a master with his carving tools, in order to keep this delicate woodwork in repair, and the best artist in the ship had the job of keeping the gingerbread suitably painted and gilded.

'The *Pathfinder* was slow to follow new ways, and until well into the seventies she was still rope rigged from bow to stern, without a wire aboard her. Yet this little ship beat round Cape Stiff year after year, summer after winter, without any fuss. Of course she had many a strenuous time and many a close call, but that was all in the regular way of business aboard a copper-ore man.

'One of the *Pathfinder's* worst experiences was described by one of her crew in a shipping paper, and it is worth repeating, if only to show that "there were men in those days".

'The ship was homeward bound with her trunk full of heavy ore. Whilst running heavy off the Horn, the helmsman allowed her to swing off, then broach to with the usual result - the *Pathfinder* was swept by a monstrous sea from stern to stern. Bulwarks, deckhouse, galley, cabin skylight and half the wheel went over the side to leeward. As the ship dipped her head under, the jibboom went at the cap, and of course took the fore topgallant mast with it. After such a hint the captain hove, being afraid that if he kept his course he would run her under.

'For the next three weeks the *Pathfinder* lay hove to, with the great Cape Horn greybeards making a clean sweep over her gutted maindeck. The bulwark stanchions had been pulled out of the covering board when the bulwarks went, and the water proceeded to pour through the holes into the 'tween decks. At the same time the *Pathfinder* was straining at every seam, so it was a case of pump without ceasing. The men at the pump brakes had to be lashed to the main five-rail or they would soon have been taken overboard by the invading seas.

'And this condition of things lasted without a let-up for three weeks. It was winter time, and as the poor little *Pathfinder* hove to on the port tack, lay down to the screaming blast, blizzards of snow swept over her. The rigging was soon coated in ice from the frozen spray, for it was bitterly cold. All the tar was washed out of shrouds, stays and lanyards to high above the sheer poles, so that the lower rigging presented a grey-white appearance, which gave it a look of worn-out poverty-stricken age. And on the planking of the maindeck a sort of fungoid seaweedy grass began to grow.

'At last, what with the cold and the wet, the everlasting pumping, and sea cuts and saltwater boils, the men began to go sick, and even the mate went down. Then the captain decided to risk it, the ship was filled away on her course under foresail and main topsail. During the three weeks she had drifted well clear of the Horn, so that she was able to head up north for warmer weather, and in a very short while with the sun brightening the wave-tops the ship's company had forgotten their passage of the Horn.'

The wooden barque *Mohican*, 326 tons, was built in 1859. She was used in the West African trade and was very suited to navigate the many dangerous creeks and rivers that had to be entered in trade for palm oil.

The largest vessel to be launched from this dockyard was the *John Barden*. Built in 1857, she had the unique distinction of having a 'night launch'. According to the *Waterford News*, 1940, it happened this way. The firm (Messrs. C. Smith & Co.) had an unusually large sailing ship on their stocks and, owing to the vessel extending so far in-shore from the touch of the water-edge, they decided upon waiting for an abnormally high spring tide to grip the hull so that the vessel might be levered off by cables. Thus at 8 p.m. on the 22nd January 1858, the splendid clipper *John Barden* was 'christened' and sent on her world-journeying by the flares from tar-burning barrels fixed on shore and in floating barges.

This shipyard built the wooden lifeboats for the early steamers that came out of the Neptune yard.

## WHITE'S YARD

The dockyard of William White and Co. was situated between McCullagh's wharf and Timbertoes (see map). It built several large wooden barques and other fine sailing ships. The earliest mention of William White and Co. occurs in the *Waterford Herald* of 3 Feb. 1821: 'Launch at shipyard of William White. The new schooner *Erin* was launched on Thursday'.

The barque *Juverna*, 311 tons, left their slipway in 1838 for the Calcutta trade.

In 1839 the *Messenger* followed, commanded by Capt. Fall.

6 Jan. 1841 saw the *Curraghmore* leave the stocks.

1843: *Greyhound*, schooner, was built for Ludlow of Waterford.

1845: *Nora Creina*, schooner, 128 tons and 80 ft long, was constructed for Thomas Cusack of Waterford, and a smack *Mrs Caudle*, 33 tons and 48 ft long, was completed for Michael Dobbyn and Thomas Elliot of Waterford in the same year.

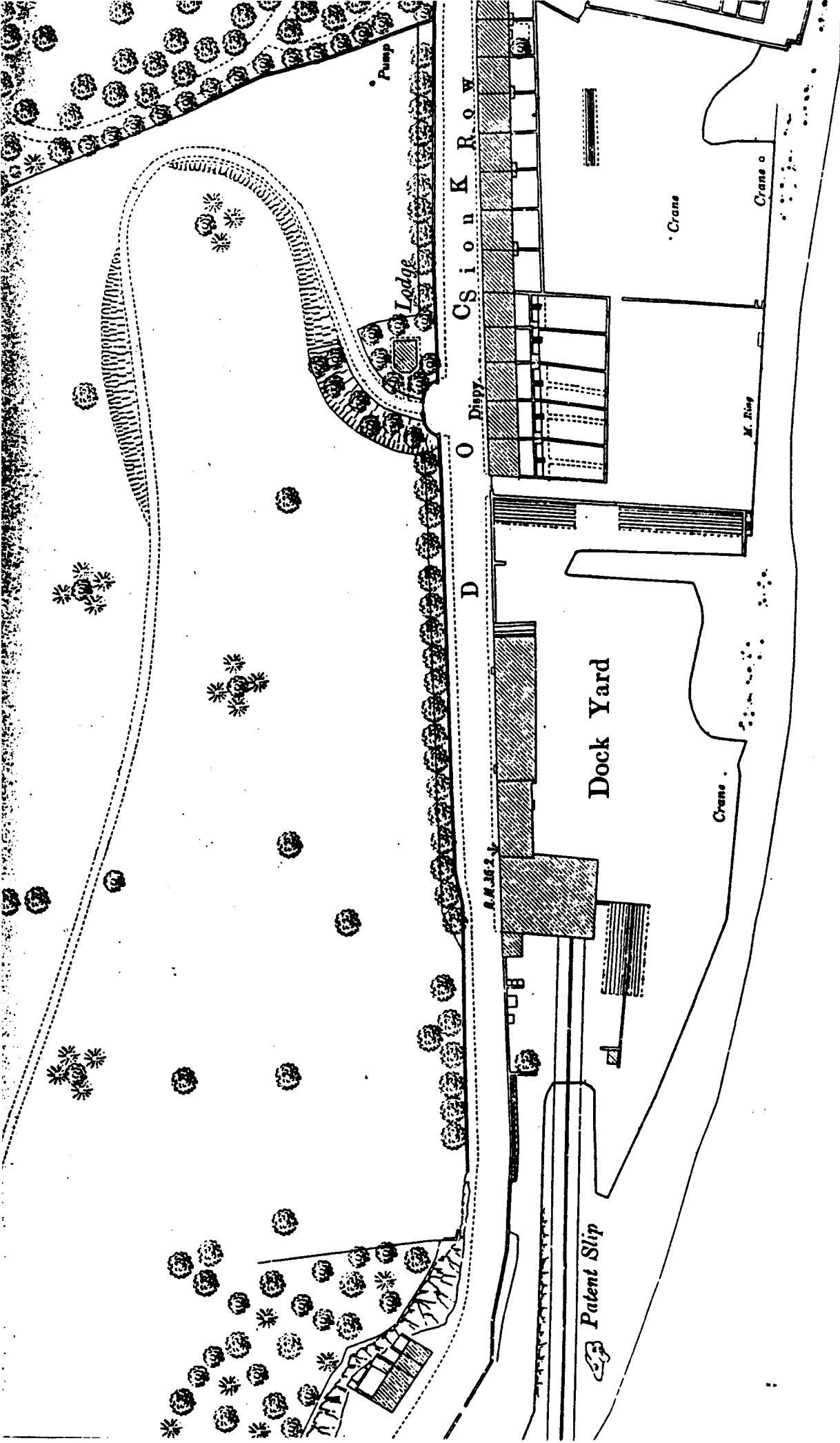


Fig. 2. Site of White's slipway and dockyard, Ferrybank (200 yards below Timbertoes)

- 1852 saw the 50-ft *Falcon* launched for the Corporation (called the Commissioners for improving the port and harbour of Waterford).
- 1853: *Thompson Hankey*, 682 tons, full rigged.
- 1854: *Madge Wildfire*, 846 tons, for James Beasley of Liverpool.
- 1855: *Avoca*, barque, 350 tons.
- 1856: *Merrie England*, 1045 tons, full rigged, J. Beasley of Liverpool for the Indian trade.
- 1860: *Island Queen*, brigantine.
- 1861: *Mary Curran* - 77 ft long.
- 1862: *Catherine Ellen*, schooner.
- 1863: *Kate*.

White's were gifted ship-builders and launched a number of beautiful barques and ships that were a credit to their yards. Two, the *Madge Wildfire* and the *Merrie England*, were built for James Beasley of Liverpool, the founder of the renowned British Shipowners Co. and an astute business man who never bought a bad ship. Both ships were employed in the Indian trade.

*Merrie England* was an exceptionally handsome ship and was much admired in Liverpool in her day. A print of that ship was hanging in W. P. Maher's Pub, Sion Row, Ferrybank, up to the late 1960s (W. P. Maher's father worked in this yard).

The houses in Salvation Lane, Sion Row, faced onto this shipyard and were built for the shipwrights/carpenters that worked there.

## POPE'S

A member of the Pope family was made freeman of Waterford as early as 1760. The Popes took up residence in Rockshire House early in the 19th century. They were merchants and ship-owners before they became ship-builders. Initially they built ships for their own use on the cross-channel trade in the 1820s, but later built for other local ship-owners.

Most of the vessels built by Pope and Co. were schooners and brigantines, one of their earlier ones being *The City of Waterford*, launched on 2 March 1829. This was followed by the schooner *Martha Pope* (1830), the *Victoria* (March 1831), and the schooner *Sarah Maria* (1832). In 1833 the *Liberator*, named after Daniel O'Connell, left this yard for Angel and Co. She ended up as a pontoon in this port. In 1839 the schooner *Challenger* came off the stocks.

Certainly the most famous ship built at Pope's was the steamer *Kilkenny* (1837), of 680 tons, with a horsepower of 280 and a boiler pressure of 10 lbs. The *S. S. Kilkenny* was sold to the East India Company's navy in 1839 and was renamed the *Zenobia*. She gave very good service and was one of two steamers still in use at the Bengal station in 1854. It is not generally known that a Waterford-built paddle was one of the first steamships to make the passage around the Cape of Good Hope to India, and this ship's record speaks well for the ship-building ability of Messrs Pope & Co.



## EVOLUTION OF STEAMSHIPS

The timber-hulled ship had been sailing the seas for thousands of years and the idea of an iron-hulled ship to replace it was quite revolutionary. For the steam innovator it remained an uphill battle, there being an intense conservatism in favour of sail, and until steam had conquered the oceans as well as coastal waters most travellers regarded the new power as a dangerous experiment. However, thanks to the progressive and ceaseless efforts of the early engineers ashore and at sea the marine engine proved itself safe and efficient to win the confidence of the public.

All the early paddle steamers had their hulls built of oak, and the proximity of the oak forests of the Weald ensured the prosperity of the Thames-side ship-building industry. However, the change-over from wood to wrought-iron in ship construction threatened their very existence because the raw material (iron) was all sourced in the north, hence the growth and eventual supremacy of the Clyde and the Tyne. John Wilkinson the iron master was responsible for building the first iron boat in 1787. A large crowd gathered to watch its launch into the Severn at Coalbrookdale - it floated, much to the surprise of the gathering, who expected it to sink to the bottom of the river. The first *iron* steamship that ever put to sea was built at Tipton in the Black Country by Horsely Coal and Iron Co. and named *Aaron Manby* after her designer. She left London in the middle of May 1822 with a cargo of 116 tons (linseed and iron castings) and arrived at Rouen in France on 27 or 28 May. Manby designed other early iron ships, one for the City of Dublin Packet Company.

In the early 19th century the steam engine makers were concentrated in the vicinity of London's river - men like Henry Mandslay and his partner Joseph Field of Lambeth, whose side-levered engines were judged the best and most reliable in the world in the 1830s; John Penn of Greenwich; John Hall of Dartford, who developed the trunk engine; and Robert and David Napier of Glasgow and Millwall, who more than any other were responsible for the success of the steamship on the short sea routes. The first steamship in the world to enter regular sea-going service was the *Rob Roy* (90 tons), launched in 1819, powered by a 32-HP engine built by Robert Napier. By the time Victoria ascended the throne (1837), cross-channel services were operating on a regular basis.

Right in the middle of all this early steamship development, Waterford had its first visit from one, the *Princess Charlotte*, built on the Clyde in 1814. She is recorded as being the first steamship to come up the Suir in June 1817 (*Waterford Herald*, 4 July 1817).

The shipwright's craft was not going to be replaced overnight and it impeded development of the iron ship by using outmoded, cumbersome construction techniques without taking into account the inherent strength of the iron plating itself. It actually cluttered the interior of the hull, and ultimately iron hull development depended more on the boilermaker than the shipwright.

At this stage it was believed that an ocean crossing was impossible under continuous steam, no steamship having the capacity to carry sufficient coal for the voyage. It wasn't until 1838 that this falsehood was dispelled, when the steamship *Great Western*, designed by I.K. Brunel, made the crossing from Bristol to New York in 15 days and 5 hours, and significantly had 200 tons of coal still left in her bunkers. It was in 1838 also that the first steamer to use the Archimedian screw principle for propulsion, the *Archimedes*, was launched from Rennie Bros yard at Millwall. The superiority of the 'screw' over paddle wheels was quickly realised by Brunel and he convinced

the Admiralty by arranging a celebrated tug-of-war between their identical sloops *Rattler* and *Alecto*. *Rattler* was fitted with screw propulsion and *Alecto* with paddles, and with both steaming full ahead the *Rattler* towed her rival away at the rate of 2.8 knots.

In this rapid revolution in ocean transportation, marine engineers and ship-builders from these islands played an outstanding part. Before the end of the 19th century, five out of every six ships in the world's sea lanes were built in Britain or in Ireland, elevating the industry they founded to the greatest in the world.

### MALCOMSON ORIGINS (A BRIEF OUTLINE)

It is assumed that the Malcomson family came from Scotland in the 17th century. Andrew, a weaver, married near Lurgan in 1680. His marriage produced two sons, Joseph and David, both in the linen trade. Joseph married Rachel Greer, a Quaker, in 1748 and they had had eleven children by the time Joseph died in 1774. Two of the children, John (13) and David (9), were sent to Clonmel. At the age of eighteen David worked as a clerk for his cousin Sarah Grubb in Anner Mills - he was dismissed for keeping late hours. John, his brother, set him up in the corn milling business by buying him a corn mill on Suir Island, Clonmel, for £3,000. At thirty years of age in 1795 David married Mary Fennel of Cahir Abbey, inheriting Crohane estate and his wife bringing a dowry of £1,500. Between 1800 and 1828 David's milling business prospered by the addition of several more mills and corn stores in Clonmel, Pouldrew (1824), and Carrick-on-Suir. By 1826 one quarter of the total flour exports from Waterford came from Malcomson Mills.

In 1825 David, now sixty years old, embarked on what was his most ambitious enterprise, the cotton mills at Portlaw. He had spent £60,000 before they were completed, building a canal alongside linking the river Clodagh with the Suir, thus allowing access to the mill by barge. Waterpower provided by three large waterwheels set the machinery in motion, although steam power using coal from Wales and later from their own Ruhr mine in Germany was also utilised. At the premises on the Green Island stood a foundry and mechanics shop supervised by manager Robert Shaw. Evidence has come to light to suggest that the shafts for the screw steamers were cast and machined there and then transported by barge to the Neptune Iron Works.

Just before the Famine in 1844, at 79 years of age, David died leaving eleven children - seven sons and four daughters. Joseph, the eldest, who apparently inherited much of his father's business astuteness, became head of the firm of Malcomson Bros. As well as corn and cotton, Malcomsons had controlling interests in shipping lines, railways, fisheries, peat works and coal mines. Against this backdrop of business enterprises it was a logical step to open up the Neptune Iron Works for the repair and maintenance of their growing fleet of vessels.

### A SIMPLIFIED ACCOUNT OF BUILDING AN IRON SHIP

Work begins in the drawing room or loft, which could be considered the brain or nerve centre of the shipyard. The lines of the vessel are laid out using 1/4 inch to 1 foot scale. In the moulding/drawing loft the construction of the ship is initiated by making a '1/2 model' using thin sheets of wood, and with practised eye judgement the curvature and shape are modified and corrected by extra action of the modellers' tools. Accuracy is fairly critical even here, as all 1/4" to the foot dimensions are multiplied 48 times and any error is also magnified in like manner.

As it is almost impossible to alter the shape and bevel of a ship's frame when on the stocks, it is crucial that these should in the first instance be absolutely correct. It was therefore the practice to 'lay the vessel down' a second time in the moulding loft, using the floor as a drawing board, and now the scale is *fullsize*. On the floor are drawn actual size the sectional lines of the

ship (i.e. the frames). From the completed drawing a thin wooden template or mould is made of each frame, taking in size, curvature, etc. When the size and number of plates and frames are known, the order for the iron goes to the iron manufacturer.

### IRON WORKERS' DEPARTMENT - BOILER SHOP

Included in the Neptune boiler shop was a plate and angle iron furnace used for heating the plate for forming. The forming was carried out on massive plates called levelling blocks, weighing several tons each, about 10 feet by 3 feet, having a large number of holes cast in them on these plates.

The form of the rib to be bent is marked from the wooden template and pins are placed in the holes. Heated long bars of angle iron are carried by several men to these blocks and there by use of hammers, tongs and hand spikes they are bent and secured by the pins, and are left to cool. All the ribs and arms of the ship are fashioned likewise to the correct form and are then taken to the punching press for holing.

Meanwhile the blocks are being laid in the shipyard and the keel stem and stern posts are being forged and drilled and set up. The first strake of plates are kept in their proper position by shores and ribbon pieces or pieces of narrow planking running from end to end of the ship and to which the frames are bolted.

The operation of plating then proceeds. They are first shaped in the plate-bending machine until the desired curve is achieved and then put in place one by one, preserving all the time the even curves of the ship. The plates are butted together and attached to the frames at this stage by temporary bolts or cotter pins. When the plater is satisfied with the fit and alignment of the plates, they are removed and punched for riveting.

Where a plate is fitted over a previously drilled frame or rib, the position of the holes on the plate to correspond with these is marked by inserting into the drilled hole a round plug of wood dipped in whitening paste. The exact position of each hole is thus imprinted onto the plate.

The work now becomes general all over the ship - riveting is in progress, the beams previously made and bent are put up, the flooring plates are put in, the bulkheads, stringer plates, keelsons, and crutches are added in succession until the full form of the ship is gradually developed.

### NEPTUNE IRONWORKS - OVERVIEW

The yard was opened by Joseph Malcomson Bros in 1843 as a repair yard for their considerable fleet of steam ships - they had control of both Waterford and Cork steam ship companies and were shareholders in the P&O line. By 1847 they had ventured into ship-building with the launch of the *S.S. Neptune*, a paddle steamer. Between 1847 and 1882, 40 steam ships were built there.

Aside from the ships that they built, several iron landing stages or hulks were constructed there for the Waterford Harbour Commissioners. The *Waterford News* of 1853 comments: 'Considerable interest was evinced by citizens when a new hulk built at the Neptune Foundry came floating up at the top of flood and took her position at what is, or used to be known as, the Liverpool Berth abreast of Parade Quay. The new structure is capable of using two stages and is the first of her kind in Waterford, replacing an old single stage hulk'. The Harbour Commissioners' accounts for year ending 31 March 1854 show expenditure for that new hulk as £624. In 1858 an iron hulk 100' long, 18' broad and 8' deep was built for the Harbour

Commissioners for £1,000, and at the same time 2 smaller hulks, each 50' long, were supplied at a cost of £900.

Under the guidance of Joseph Malcomson the shipbuilding developed and grew. He was very fortunate in securing an exceptionally talented ship-builder/engineer to manage the works in the person of John Horn and his son Andrew, who joined the works in 1849. Joseph Malcomson was no mere theorist and was very closely associated with the technical as well as the commercial developments in shipping. Very early on (in 1849) he was convinced of the advantages and superiority of screw propulsion and in fact changed the specifications of the *S.S. Mars* while she was on the stocks in 1849 to include screw propeller rather than paddles. Joseph had earlier purchased the steamer *Dublin* in 1847 for Malcomson Bros for employment in one of their London trades. She was the first screw steamer owned by any Irish company or firm and proved so successful that all subsequent steamers were fitted with screws (except river paddles). Malcomsons advised the P&O line (in which they were shareholders) and the promoters of the Inman Line to convert to the method of screw propulsion for the Atlantic trade.

An idea of the extent of Malcomsons' shipping interests, which were now on a continental scale, can be gleaned from a tale told of Joseph Malcomson. When in London he was taken round by a self-important Londoner to be shown the sights. Standing on London Bridge (when there was no Tower Bridge to obscure the view), the Londoner pointed to the lines of shipping on both sides of the river, remarking that it was a wonderful sight, the like of which could not be equalled in any other part in the world. 'Yes,' said Joseph, 'it is a very wonderful sight, but is it not more wonderful to think that there is not a vessel there that our firm is not directly or indirectly interested in?'

The Neptune went from strength to strength, from having about 100 people employed there in the early 1850s to between 300 and 400 at their peak in the 1860s. They achieved some remarkable successes, being among the first to build steamers with saloons amidship and constructing some of the largest vessels in Ireland, at the time of launching exceeding 300' in length and 4,000 tons deadweight. The list of vessels built varies from small river tugs and paddle steamers to cross-channel steamers and trans-Atlantic liners, with some classic steam yachts as well. Several of their ships became famous, but all were noted for their strength of hull and engines. It was one of their proud boasts that on the Liverpool-Waterford service extending over sixty years they never lost a ship or human life. In the early years orders came in mainly from England, but by the mid-1850s the first orders were coming in from continental owners. Soon afterwards orders from all over Europe came pouring in.

Joseph Malcomson's first love was shipping and he was a frequent visitor to the Neptune Works, where he apparently was well liked. In his late fifties he had a stroke, from which he seemed to recover well enough to pay it another visit. A chair was brought out into the yard for him and all the men came to speak to him and congratulate him on his recovery, but while he was there he had another stroke, from which he never recovered. Joseph died on 15 April 1858.

The ship-building was now at its peak, producing a large new vessel every 8-9 months. William Malcomson, Joseph's brother, took over the operation. Waterford became a leading centre of iron ship-building and it gave a great air of prosperity to the city. Neptune continued going from success to success under William, but external forces were about to cloud the Malcomson empire.

The first storm-cloud, the American Civil War of 1861 to 1865, depleted their raw cotton supplies because of a naval blockade of the southern ports. Consequently there was a two to three year slump in cotton supplies. This alone would not have ruined them. Other factors were that Joseph's widow withdrew her share from the business in 1858 and his aunt Rachel also withdrew

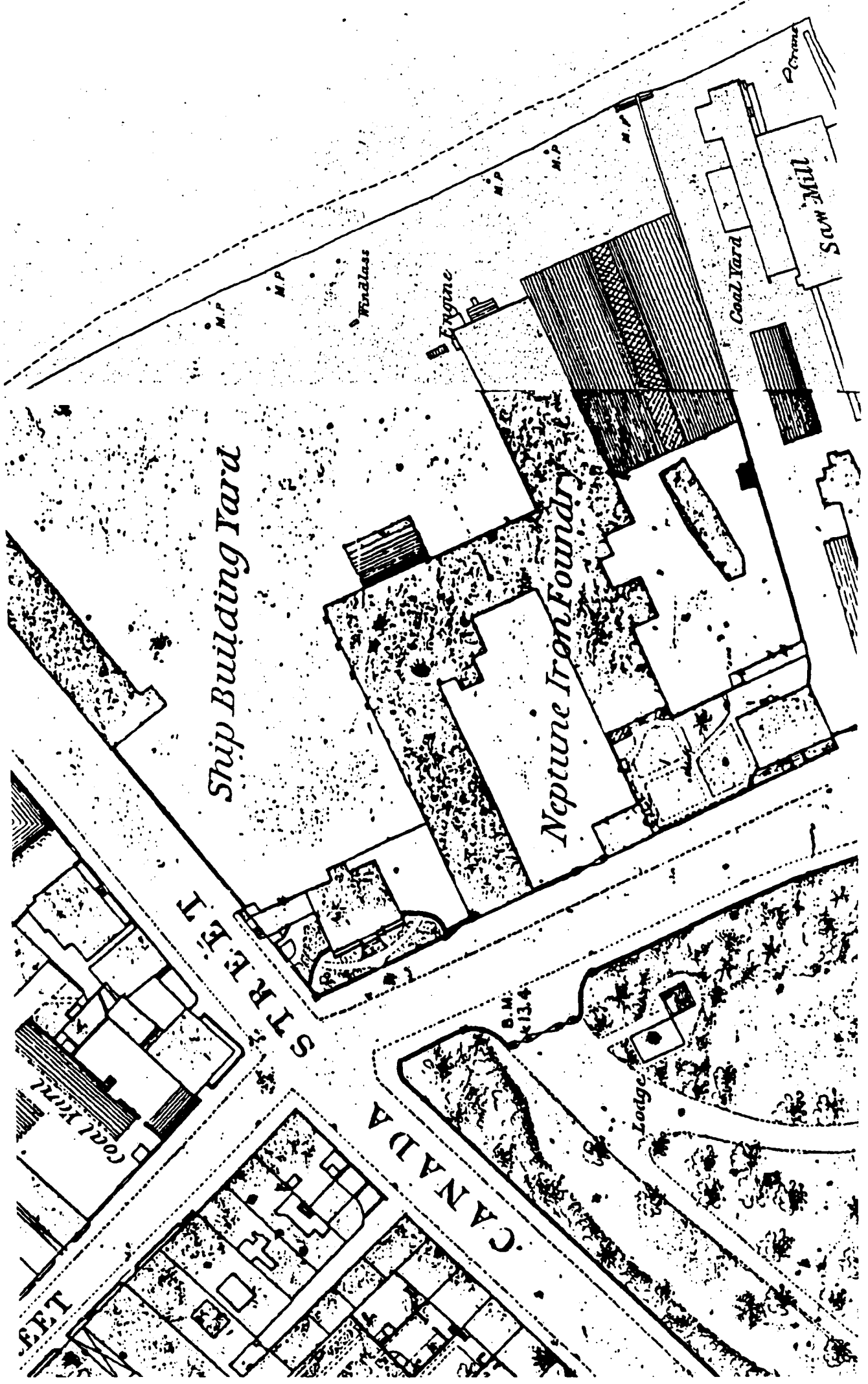


Fig. 3. Neptune Iron Foundry and Ship-building Yard, 1871

£10,000 (no limited companies then). Between 1861 and 1866 the Malcomsons commissioned the building of several houses - one in Dunmore East (now the Haven Hotel), three in Portlaw (Clodagh, Elva and Woodlock) and one in Clonmel (Minella) - all this while the American Civil War was still in progress. William was expending vast amounts of money on some extravagant, impractical schemes which came to very little. The blow that brought about the final collapse was when Malcomsons' bankers, Overund & Gurney of London, went bankrupt. The bank owed £13 million, some of this Malcomson money. In 1867 Joseph's eldest son David died of 'intemperance' at the age of 37. His widow proceeded through the courts to have their son's considerable share of £198,000 withdrawn from the business.

This was probably the final hammer-blow, and in 1877 Malcomson Bros declared themselves bankrupt. The Neptune Works completed their orders, seeing the last launch of a steam yacht, *Maritana*, in 1882. They then passed to the Limerick S.S. Co. and at the end in 1883 there were just 32 persons employed there.

### THE SHIPS THEY BUILT

The first vessel, *S.S. Neptune*, was built in 1847. She inaugurated the first regular service between London and St Petersburg. The St Petersburg S.S. Co. was founded by Joseph Malcomson and the *Neptune* was the first steamer to make the run. When she arrived at Kronstadt the mayor of St Petersburg came on board and as she steamed up the Neva, Czar Nicholas I met her in his state barge, the forts and warships fired salutes of honour and all merchant ships were covered in flags. To commemorate this important event the Czar commanded that whenever *S.S. Neptune* came to St Petersburg she was to be free of port and pilot dues. *S.S. Neptune* was 172' long (326 tons reg.) and built by D.R. Anderson. William Clarke was the master. In 1852 she was modified to 204' long and 535 tons.

Ship no. 2, the *S.S. Mars*, was built in 1849, again by D.R. Anderson, for the Waterford-Bristol-Liverpool run. Originally laid down on the stocks as a paddle steamer, her plans were altered and she became a screw steamer, the first screw steamer placed on the Waterford-Liverpool service. She was 184 feet long and weighed 373 tons. She suffered from a very obvious list, and on one occasion in 1859 heeled over leaving Waterford quay, killing a large number of cattle on board. She was returned to the yard and the list was remedied, but the cattle shippers still had no confidence in her. It wasn't until Captain Burns was put in command that she proved herself a safe carrier, regaining the cattlemen's confidence, and she quickly became a favourite boat in the trade..

A newspaper of the time wrote: 'We hear the Waterford S.S. Co. are reserving the *S. Mars* to take a large number of emigrants to Liverpool, from which port they will leave on one of the new greyhounds of the Atlantic, capable of making the crossing in 14 days.' The *Mars* rescued the American ship *W.D. Sewell* on 20 February 1861 as she was completely disabled off the West Nash Sands, her masts having been cut away to slow her drift toward destruction, and towed her safely back to King's Road.

Tragic circumstances wrecked the *Mars* in 1862 at Linney Head near Milford. She was bound for Bristol carrying 20 crew and 30 passengers, 327 pigs, 178 cows and 10 horses, her deadweight cargo being 6 barrels oats, 25 bales rags, 25 bales bacon, 45 boxes eggs, and 27 packages of poultry. Going into a heavy gale with thick fog, one must wonder how the 'live' freight affected the stability of the ship. It is hard to understand what the captain was doing with all sails set save one when she struck, and the ship was also way off course. Only four people survived - two firemen, a pig/cattle driver, J. Cane, and a small boy who had earlier crept seasick and frightened into a lifeboat and who was awakened to find his boat swept from the steamer's

deck. It says much for the generosity of Waterford citizens that they contributed £3,000 for the dependants.

Other ships built at the Neptune at this time were the *Nora Creina* (paddle, 1849), the *S.S. Sylph* (1853), the *S.S. Leda*, the *Nora*, the *Dutchman*, the *Abeona*, the *Cloda*, the *Gipsy* (river paddle) and the *Odessa* (built in 1857 for the Russian Steam Navigation Co.). The *S.S. Cuba* (built in 1858, length 240 feet) was the first four-masted steamship ever. She was a magnificent vessel. It is said one-quarter of the skeleton structure of her lay across the Park Road when being built. Unfortunately the vessel was totally lost off Lully on 17 November 1858, on her first voyage.

The *Gipsy* and the *Zephyr* were sister ships. The *Gipsy* was built 1859, with a passenger certificate allowing 229 persons in winter and 330 in summer. She is well remembered in Bristol, where she ran aground on the outward journey in the Avon on Sunday 12 May 1878. She struck the bank and a tug failed to move her. The passengers disembarked as the tide receded. On the next tide she was carried across the stream, failed to rise, and her stern became completely submerged. Salvage attempts were cut short by her back breaking. The wreck was stripped of cargo and fittings and it wasn't until the 4 June that demolition experts using dynamite finally cleared the wreckage to permit normal navigation.

The *Avoca* (1861, 250' long, 2,000 tons) was built for the Russian government. She was their first steam ice breaker.

The *Cella* (1862, 300' long) was the largest ship ever built in Ireland at the date of launching completed in just over ten months at a cost of £33,500, she was sold to owners in Constantinople and renamed *Sharki*. A seventeen-carriage train from Limerick (with Malcomson employees) lined Christendom for the launch of this steamer. (*Waterford News*, 12 September 1862)

The *Iowa* (1863, 318 feet long) was described as one of the best-equipped cargo ships afloat.

The *Macedonia* (1864) was a screw barque built for Henderson Bros of Glasgow. The Neptune never built a sailing ship, but they did construct a very handsome screw barque. She was the last big square-rigged vessel to be launched in Waterford, and was 315 feet long.

The *William Penn* was launched in 1865. 316' long, built for Malcomson Bros, she was sold in 1869 to Hughes & Nephew of Liverpool for their line between Liverpool and Bombay. She was lengthened by being given a fourth mast and renamed the *European*. For a while she was owned by the Allan Line and then chartered by Geo. Warren & Co. While in their service in the 1870s on the Boston to Liverpool route, she had the proud distinction of being the first steamer to bring to Liverpool an importation of American live cattle. During her launching, because of her length she stuck halfway, not enough slope being given on the slip, and hydraulic jacks had to be used to get her off.

The *Indiana* was the 27th ship to be launched at Neptune (1867). She was soon followed by the *Poitou*, built for the Maritime Steam Transport Co. of Marseilles. The *Lara* (1868, 238 feet) saw forty years service on the Waterford-Liverpool run. She had several captains (Lumley, Kavanagh, O'Toole) and was broken up in 1908. The ships built at Neptune in the 1870s were all steam yachts. The *Phoenix* (1873) is still in commission on the Shannon. A very deep-hulled vessel, her original steam engine was replaced with a diesel engine. The *Glowworm* and the *Miriam* followed in 1876, then the *Columbine*, and finally the *Maritana* in 1882. The latter was



Fig. 4. S.S. *Gipsy* (1859), wrecked in the Avon, May 1878



77 feet long and weighed 56 tons. Her owner was Thomas St Leger Atkins of Waterford. She won a prize for elegance at Cowes Regatta in 1884. She was sold in 1899 to Samuel Stevenson of Belfast.

### RIVER PADDLE STEAMERS

Malcomsons built five river paddle steamers to service the Suir, Barrow and Shannon estuaries. The steamers were *Gipsy* (1858), *Tintern* (1860), *Rosa* (1863), *Vandeleur* (1866) and *Ida* (1867).

The *Gipsy* is not to be confused with other *Gipsy* in the Avon. Not much is known about her; Captain Dick Farrell tells me that she was with the Limerick S.S. Co. and called to Waterford sometimes.

The *Tintern* was 125' long and was a smaller version of the *Ida* and the *Vandeleur*. She replaced the P.S. *Duncannon*, which had opened the Waterford-Duncannon service in 1837. She occasionally made cross-channel trips. The *Tintern's* skippers were Capt. Toole, who was succeeded by Capt. Jack Walsh and then by Capt. Jacob. She made some pleasure trips down the Suir. She featured in the aftermath of a rescue in the Suir, when passengers were transferred from the S.S. *Camilla* down river from Cromwell's Rock (where the accident occurred) and she returned to Waterford with them. The *Camilla* had run down a schooner just below Cromwell's Rock and cut her clean in two. All hands were saved by jumping on board the *Camilla*. The *Tintern* was built at cost of £4,282 in 1860. She was stripped in 1897, her empty hull being converted into a landing stage (where I don't know).

The *Rosa*, 130' long, was built in 1863 at a cost of £4,560. Owned by William Malcomson, she was built for the Shannon Estuary Service, where she spent most of her life. John Horn is named as the engine builder in *West Country Passenger Steamers*, but the Neptune account book tells us that he reconditioned the old P.S. *Duncannon* engine for her. The *Rosa* was also used as a stand-by steamer and made a monthly run to Youghal for pigs. On one of her trips from Youghal to Waterford with pigs, she collided with the *Ida* on her daily run to New Ross. It happened in the bight above Cheekpoint opposite Glasshouse and the *Rosa* ran ashore with a large hole in her just before the paddle box. John Hurley the Bristol shipbreaker bought her in 1892-3 and she was broken up.

The *Vandeleur*, built in 1868 and 147' long, was a sister ship of the *Ida*. She was in service on the Shannon estuary up to the mid-1870s. She was then transferred to the Suir, where she plied between Duncannon and Waterford and was known as the 'Duncannon Steamer'. At her launch she was described as a beautiful new river steamer with a very commodious saloon, fitted with all the elegance of a modern drawing room.

She berthed at the Duncannon hulk near the Clock Tower. The week before Christmas she brought loads of live turkeys for Flynn and Young's at High Street, poultry and fish merchants, from south Wexford producers. A newspaper account states: 'The birds were fallen into line by employees at the poulterers Flynn, Young, Power etc. and marched across the Quay to Conduit Lane and High Street'. Turkeys sold at 11/- for a hen and less for a cock. Other cargoes that the *Vandeleur* brought to Waterford were barley, pigs and sheep. Going down river were coal from McCullough's and whiskey from Strangman's. The famous fairs held in Ballyhack brought down buyers from Denny's, who would return with their purchases. A Waterford news report tells us that 'on Saturday afternoon on the quay a bustling throng surged around the Duncannon steamer which was getting ready to sail, taking on board the hundreds of Wexford shoppers who had come

up to the city for the day.' When financial trading difficulties became evident in 1874, the firm of Malcomson Bros had the *P.S. Vandeleur* mortgaged to the Merchant Banking Co. of London as collateral security for general advances. She was broken up in 1907.

The *Ida*, built in 1867 and 149 feet long, serviced the New Ross-Waterford run for 37 years. She was launched on 31 January 1868, and her maiden voyage on that date in bad weather was completed in 1 hour 10 minutes. A sister ship of the *Vandeleur*, she gave excellent service to the people of New Ross and Waterford and is remembered with affection by older inhabitants. On weekday mornings she left New Ross and returned from Waterford in the afternoon. The deck fare was 6d, with a cabin costing 1/-. Like the *Vandeleur* she carried pigs, sheep and turkeys up-river, but she moored close to Reginald's Tower.

Fondest memories of her in Waterford concern the Sunday trips or excursions down river. A Waterford newspaper reports: 'I have very pleasant memories of the shilling trips return every Sunday by steamer from Waterford to Dunmore East and the splendid tea for 8d at Galgey's or Shipsey's hotel at Dunmore. These trips were the best value that have ever been offered to Waterford residents. The boats *Ida* and *Vandeleur* left about mid-day or at 3 p.m. on alternate Sundays. We had 3 hours in Dunmore and reached Waterford at 10 p.m.

Captain Farrell, aged 92, told me he had sailed down the Suir on the *Ida* as a boy. A man by the name of Friday with one eye played a melodion box on the way down and up river. The hat was then put round for a collection. The *Ida* stopped in Duncannon for about an hour to allow people stretch their legs. Other regulars on Sunday afternoons were local 'beauties' the Boyce sisters of Boyce's shop - Lucy, Ethel and Maudie, with their mother. Along with the captain (Brennan, Murphy, Jacob) were the first mate, two men to handle ropes, two engineers, and two firemen. The *Ida* didn't have great power, but because the paddles could be set to go in opposite directions she 'could turn on a penny', which allowed her to manoeuvre with ease.

A special event occurred in 1870, when the Lord Lieutenant and Countess Spencer, accompanied by a large number of ladies and gentlemen, went down the river as far as Checkpoint in the steamers *Ida* and *Tintern*. Probably the best local 'touch' in excursions was told to me by Nick Flynn, aged eighty, who recalled that the Sunday excursions included an all-in price for barrels of beer on board. You could, as Billy Connolly might say, drink as much as you liked. A band, probably the Barrack Street, often provided music.

The *Ida* was withdrawn from service with the opening of the New Ross-Waterford railway line in 1904. One of John Hurley's (the Bristol ship breakers) last purchases was the *Ida* in 1908 and she was dismantled at Clevedon Pill.

## LAUNCHINGS

Malcomsons made big occasions of launch days, giving allowances to the foremen (£40 in the case of the *Abeona*) and also to the men at the launch, and bringing all their workers from Clonmel, Carrick and Portlaw to witness the event and wish godspeed to the newly christened ship. On these gala occasions the shipyard men and the mill workers roamed the streets in high spirits, mixing freely with the huge crowds that flocked in from surrounding areas. Their hard-earned money (probably leather money) was welcomed in the city shops and pubs of the time as they spent generously. The reprieve for the day from the hammer of the shipyards and the hand-loom of the mills liberated their spirits, much to the delight of the gin shop owners, who benefited enormously.

For the launch of the *Cella* a seventeen-carriage train from Limerick with hundreds of mill workers was parked on the tracks at Christendom. Close by, Cromwell's Rock was covered with people. The ferry that evening carried over and back no fewer than 1600 people. The shipping in the harbour had all their colours flying, the river steamers - suitably decorated in bunting - gave their passengers a close-up view, and crafts of all shape and size took to the river to witness the festive occasion.

## THE HORNS

John Horn came to the Neptune on 14 September 1849, replacing D.R. Anderson as Chief Engineer Ship-builder Manager. His wife Isabelle and children James and Andrew (the only ones known to me) lived in the Manager's house on site. His salary was £40 per month. He was in control of the Neptune works until 1870, when his son Andrew took over. Amidst all the successes, John had his own personal tragedies - his eldest son James at eighteen years of age was drowned in a bathing accident in Tramore Bay on 23 June 1859; he was buried in the Church of Ireland Abbey Church, Ferrybank.

Andrew succeeded his father as manager in 1870, at the age of twenty-five. He was an exceptionally talented ship-builder, building some classic steam yachts - one of them, *Maritana*, won a prize for elegance at the Cowes Regatta in 1884. Andrew also had tragedy in his life - his wife Emily died aged 33 years on Friday 13 June 1879. The only other information I have on the Horns is from the account of Captain Farrell, retired Harbour Master, Waterford, aged 92, in 1991. Willie Horn, Andrew's son, was Marine Superintendent for Limerick S.S. Co. but worked for a time in Neptune, then Marine Superintendent in Liverpool, and then a consulting engineer in Liverpool. Great rolls of very heavy drawing cloth with outlines of the ships built at Neptune Ironworks were in the possession of Willie Horn in Liverpool up to the 1940s. Unfortunately these were destroyed during World War II when more valuable data were rushed to safety during air raid alerts.

## SOME OF THE TRADES AND CRAFTS EMPLOYED

Platers, Platers' helpers (unskilled), Planers, Countersinkers, Riveters, Drillers, Caulkers, Smithies and their helpers, Coppermiths, Fitters, Turners, Engineers, Shipwrights (wood), Carpenters, Joiners, Wheelwrights, Sawyers, Riggers, Sailmakers, Patternmakers, Painters, Red Leaders, Boilermen, Furnacemen, Storemen, Watchman and general labourers.

## CONDITIONS AND RATES OF PAY

Carpenters working on the *Cella* in 1862 received 27 shillings per week; boys and labourers got 10 shillings each. No wonder these tradesmen kept their trade secrets when they were worth nearly three times the rate of a labourer. I am assuming from Grantham's book that the shipworkers worked a 10-hour day, 6 days a week. However, the workers in Clonmel, in Malcomsons' corn mills, worked from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m.(winter) and 6 a.m. to 7 p.m.(summer), with 45 minutes for breakfast and one hour for dinner at 2 p.m. That is 11 1/4 hours a day, at £1 per week for adults and 6-7 shillings for boys and girls.

Comparisons: c. 1820 artizans earned 20/- per week. Labourers subsisted on 6-8 pence per day (3/- to 4/- per week). Rates for skilled operatives in the non-mechanical trades varied between these bands.<sup>1</sup>

1 E. O' Connor, *Labour History of Waterford*, pp 4 -7.

## APPRENTICES

The apprentices served seven long years, the first five without wages or reward of any kind. Their working days were the same length as the tradesmen - 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. Sunday was the only period of relaxation for men and boys, but the latter had to report on Monday to their 'Gaffers' as to the manner in which they had spent the Sabbath!

It was in the Waterford ship-building yards, too, that the drastic and manifestly unfair rule had its birth of allowing only the son of a tradesman in a particular trade to be apprenticed to such trade. Thus generation after generation of shipwrights, riggers, fitters, engineers, boilermakers, etc., became a regular institution with the shipyards. Undemocratic and iniquitous as this rigid regulation would seem, there was this to be said of it: by its very conservatism it made a peculiar 'clannishness' with the yard trades general, which resulted in a standard type of journeyman growing up (as it were) in Waterford of whom the employers were justly proud. Believe it or not, men - aye, and women - are ever jealous of a monopoly in which they themselves become actively and personally interested, and so it followed that the 'ship' tradesmen held themselves so aloof from other trades in the city as to earn for themselves the imputation of being guilty of snobbery to a certain degree.

## CONCLUSION

Waterford retained a pre-eminence in ship-building by becoming a leading centre of iron ship-building, due mainly to the vision, initiative, enterprise and courage of the Malcomsons. They were entrepreneurs and innovators of the first order. At the Neptune Works within a short few years, with continental orders coming in fast, their stocks and quay accommodation were at times quite inadequate. Their achievements, as I've shown, were more than impressive.

Waterford, along with Cork, ranked as a leading centre of ship-building in 1841, when the census located 41% of Ireland's shipwrights in these cities,<sup>2</sup> and even as late as 1871 Munster still accounted for 579 of Ireland's 2,139 ship-building workers.

Each set of employees felt proud of their own yard and the keenest rivalry prevailed. The citizens in general naturally took pride in the yards, and on their Sunday 'saunter' would stroll along the quays and by the yards, where the jutting jibboom or round stern of a vessel on the stocks was the symbol of industry and wealth. At the Neptune Iron Works on one eventful occasion a quarter length of the skeleton structure of the four-masted steamship *Cuba* lay across the Park Road. On launch days, the workers of the firm putting the vessel off took a holiday, and for them the occasion not only meant freedom from toil but an opportunity to boast of their prowess as builders.

Between the years 1806 and 1880, ship-building was Waterford's chief industry and the five firms previously mentioned repaired or built all kinds of seagoing craft at their respective yards. Ships of sail or steam designed by Waterford's craftsmen earned the reputation of the port, unequalled by any in the British shipyards. At times the local yards experienced difficulty in keeping their staffs of skilled tradesmen at home, so keen was the canvassing of their English and Scottish rivals to grab the Waterford workers. The employers had no fear in this regard in their own country, for in no part of Ireland was there a ship or repair yard to compare with the up-to-dateness and the efficient equipment of the local builders. At the beginning and well beyond the middle of the last century, Waterford held the signal honour of being one of the principal ship-

2 O'Connor, *Labour History*, p 37.



Fig. 5. The *Phoenix* (1873), the oldest steam yacht in Lloyd's Register. Still in use on the Shannon. Photo taken at Killaloe in 1930s

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building centres of western Europe, and the clang of hammers, roar of furnaces, and dull thudding sound of boiler-making, with the 'heaving' and 'hauling' associated with the life of a busy shipping port, were heard all day, and sometimes all night - making music for the ears of the old-timers of 'Waterford of the Shippes'.

#### NOTE

Bill Irish is currently preparing a thesis on 'Waterford ship-building and its ancillary activities' and would be grateful if any reader could provide further information on the yards, their workers or the ships they built. His home address is : Sporthouse Road, Knockeen, Waterford.  
Phone (051) 76434.

## DECIES 1986-1992

### Index of articles in issues XXXI-45

*Compiled by Thomas G. Fewer*

This index continues from the point where that for 1981-85 left off in *Decies* 45 (Fewer, 1992). Since only one issue of *Decies* was published in 1990, both the single edition for 1991 and the first one for 1992 are included here, thereby covering the same number of issues as in the last index. The same style is followed, with the addition of one new section - book previews - the first two of which appeared in *Decies* 45.

As in the issues of the early eighties, most of the articles on the prehistoric period deal with descriptions of newly-discovered archaeological sites in counties Kilkenny and Waterford, partly due to the research of Thomas Conduit and Michael Gibbons of the Sites and Monuments Record. Two articles, one by Alan Hayden, the other by Helen King, describe a stray find from Co. Waterford. Thomas Butler provides a general survey of prehistoric Bannow, Co. Wexford, while an overview of the results of the Sites and Monuments Record for Waterford can be found listed in the miscellaneous section (it covers the archaeology of the county from prehistory to the 17th century).

The quantity of papers dealing with the Middle Ages has declined by about a third of the amount published in the early eighties, and the contributions of just two writers - Will Forbes and Sr Assumpta O'Neill - make up nearly three-quarters of the material written in the last six years. Most of the articles are historical rather than archaeological, with an emphasis on ecclesiastical history and Waterford's medieval contacts overseas. Although there are no excavation reports for this period, E. M. Kirwan (see miscellaneous section) discusses the antiquities of Drumlohan, near Stradbally.

The history of the 17th century has gained better coverage, particularly due to the work of Julian Walton (who edited a number of contemporary travellers' accounts relating to Waterford), though the 16th and early 18th centuries have received sparse treatment. Happily, some attention has been paid to the archaeology of the early modern period, with a discussion of the post-medieval pottery from Dungarvan by Heather King and a survey of the tower-house at Clonea-Power by Tom Nolan.

Waterford maritime history in the modern period has received considerable attention, including a shipwreck, a sea rescue, aspects of life at sea (viz., the articles by Capt. R. J. Farrell and Walter J. Farrell), and studies of shipping companies. From the broader perspective of transport history, there is also James Hartery's and Jack Phelan's research on local railways, with Patrick Cummins on aircraft and flying. As previously noted (Fewer, 1992: 68), the history of cars and Bianconi's early 19th-century coach services) has been ignored.

There are a number of biographical accounts of Waterford, Kilkenny and Tipperary men for both the early modern and modern periods. They represent a variety of careers in aviation, the military, the sea, politics, religion, music, antiquities, and mining. Alas, no individual woman has received similar treatment - a problem that is not altogether surprising when only 10% of the entries in Boylan's *Dictionary of Irish Biography* are of women.

Family history and genealogy remain weak, with only two article-length contributions

covering the modern period, from John Mannion on the Nevins family of Waterford and D. F. Ó Gráda on the Connerys of Bohadon, near Dungarvan. However brief treatments of the Carews of Ballinamona, the D'Esterras of Rossmagner Castle (Co. Clare), and the Porters of Ballydrislane are given by Julian Walton in his article on the monumental inscriptions at Drumcannon, near Tramore.

Aspects of 19th-century politics have been analysed by Martin Mansergh and L. J. Proudfoot, while elements of 18th- and 19th-century society in Waterford were treated by Jack Burtchaell and J. S. Carroll - with a contemporary visitor's account edited and presented by Julian Walton.

Archaeological surveys, archival reports, and gravestone inscriptions remain important features of *Decies*. These and multi-period articles (by, e.g., Dan Dowling, Catherine Ketch, and Ian Lumley) are listed in the miscellaneous section of the index, along with townland lists for both Kilkenny and Waterford.

There is a marked paucity of book reviews, which only appear in issues 42-45. Just one genealogical enquiry was printed since 1985 (as opposed to 12 in 1981-85). Losses experienced during this period include the deaths of three Society members, whose obituaries are included amongst the short notices. Finally, A.G.M. reports of the O.W.S. for 1986-88 and 1991 are listed under Society News.

The urban emphasis on research observed in the introduction to the previous index is less evident, except for the modern period. Some business history has been written, but the emphasis is on marine rather than terrestrial companies. The development of Catholic firms during the penal era and the impact on Waterford commerce of the 'Economic War' between Britain and Ireland during the thirties are examples of areas needing analysis.

Crime features more strongly than before, with medieval cases of embezzlement, theft, assault, and heresy treated by Sr Assumpta O'Neill in her chapter on Waterford Diocese in the 11th to 14th centuries. For the early modern era, the trial of Bishop John Atherton is reconsidered by Canon Robert Winnett. While Laurence Geary assesses the subversive political career and subsequent disappearance of Jasper Pyne in the late 19th century, the agrarian activities of the Connery family are examined by D. F. E. Ó Gráda. Finally, the fraudulent practices of P. J. Foley are discussed by Des Cowman, who also reviews M. C. Friedland's book on the alleged murderer Valentine Shortis.

Notable gaps in Waterford history remain. The historical experiences of women have been largely ignored, and David Fitzpatrick (1991 : 267) indicts the historians of modern Ireland for not engaging, until recently, in the history of gender. While he criticises what he calls 'one influential section of Irish feminists' for advocating the 'development of "separatist" studies, excluding rather than engaging male historians,' Fitzpatrick believes that the lack of men studying gender is largely due to 'male lethargy' (ibid., 268).

Brian McIlroy (1992) blames the influence of the Catholic Church on the education of many Irish historians for their lack of interest in the history of science in Ireland. He points out that since science had been dominated by Protestants in the 18th and 19th centuries, the drop in their number led to its decline in the late 19th and 20th centuries. An overwhelming concern with Irish language revival and literary censorship in the Catholic nationalist state after 1921 may have excluded Ireland from scientific developments that were occurring abroad. John Foster (1990: 62-3) notes that there were sixteen intellectual/scientific societies in 19th-century Belfast, dealing with



topics from natural history and astronomy to architecture, photography and statistics. He states that these societies would have been dominated by Protestants due to discrimination and economic inequality. Another possible factor in keeping Catholics away from science was 'the uneasy relationship between the Catholic Church and the study of Nature'.

What about Waterford? Des Cowman's researches on the county's mining industry in the 18th and 19th centuries constitutes a start, but there are other topics that could be studied. The holding of Waterford Corporation's archives, for example, could form the basis of an inquiry into the city's efforts to maintain health standards and disease control from the 19th century, as well as the activities of the Maternity/Child Welfare and Midwives Committees in the Corporation during the 20th century.

Perhaps the history of science and of other topics not hitherto covered by Waterford historians will follow the inroads already made into such areas as crime, aviation, the church, and maritime history.

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- \*\* = Documents/Sources printed
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Patrick J. Cummins, 'Corbett Wilson [d. ?1914] - aviation pioneer,' XXXV: 15-17.

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Fergus Dillon, 'General Sir William F. Butler [1838-1910] - the green Redcoat,' XXXX: 12-29.

Capt. R. J. Farrell, 'Working life on the *Zayda* in 1917,' XXXVI: 13-15.

Walter J. Farrell, 'Sea life [1878-1903] of Walter J. Farrell [b. 1862],' XXXIX: 29-33 [originally written in 1935].

Laurence M. Geary, 'The enigma of Jasper Pyne [(1847-?1888) nationalist politician],' XLIII: 35-39.

James Hartery, 'The Cork-Rosslare Express in the days of steam,' XXXIII: 50-53.

Maureen Hegarty, 'Dr. Richard Pococke [Bishop of Ossory, 1756-1765],' 11XL: 26-32\*\*.

Frank Heylin, 'The Waterford of Brother [Eduund Ignatius] Rice [1762-1844],' XXXII: 45-47.

ibid., '[William Vincent] Wallace [(1812-1865) composer] in a changing Waterford,' XXXV: 24-26.

ibid., 'Sean O'Donovan [(1809-1861) antiquarian],' XXXVI: 16-21.

John Mannion, 'The Nevins family, 1800-1840,' XXXVII: 8-19.

Dr Martin Mansergh, 'Parnell and the leadership of nationalist Ireland,' XXXVIII: 5-16; XXXIX 36-44.

Frank P. Murphy, 'The Clyde Shipping Company,' XXXVIII: 32-37.

Michael O'Donnell, 'The Waterford Steamship Company in the 1880s,' XXXVII: 30-33.

ibid., 'A fashionable Waterford wedding,' [between George W. Morris, J.P., of Rockenham, and Subella King of Mount Pleasant, Waterford, 1871] XLIII: 40 \*\*.

D. F. Ó Gráda, 'The Connerys: Heroic villains?,' XXXII: 12-18.

Jack Phelan, 'The Tramore Railway,' XXXIV: 25-34.

L. J. Proudfoot, 'Landlords and politics: Youghal and Dungarvan in the 1830s,' XXXIV: 35-47.

Julian C. Walton, 'As others saw us: Waterford in Inglis's *Journey throughout Ireland in 1834*,' 45: 2-11

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Donal M. Brady, 'The Lismore Papers [index of manuscripts in the National Library],' XXXII: 28-44\*\*\*.

Edmond Connolly and Gerard Greene, 'Gravestone inscriptions at Old Rathgormack Graveyard,' XXXVII: 34-46.

J. S. Carroll, 'Recent acquisitions to the Waterford Room collection at the City Library,' XXXI: 43-44\*\*\*.

Dan Dowling, 'Kildalton [Piltown, Co. Kilkenny] and its past [early medieval to 20th Century],' XXXII: 28-44.

Patricia Fanning, 'The Waterford Room [in Waterford Municipal Library]: Mr. Stan Carroll's bequest to the City,' XXXIV: 6-7.

ibid., 'The Waterford Room [discussion of its contents],' 44: 39-42 \*\*\*.

Thomas G. Fewer, '*Decies* 1981-1985: Index of articles in issues XVI-XXX,' 45: 67-75.

Michael Gibbons, 'The Sites and Monuments Record for Co. Waterford,' XXXV: 41-44.

ibid., 'A remote survey of County Waterford,' XXXX: 33-46.

Andrew S.R. Gittins, 'Investigation of Rathmoylan Church, Co. Waterford' (includes 'Appendix A - Inscriptions on gravestones at Rathmoylan church,' by Noel McDonagh), XLIII: 4-11.

Catherine Ketch, 'Settlement and colonisation in the Comeragh Mountains,' Part II, XXXI: 4-14; Part III, XXXIII: 36-49; Part IV, XXXIV: 61-72.

E. M. Kirwan, 'Drumlohan: A survey of its antiquities,' XXXV: 33-40.

- Richard Lahert, 'A glossary of old Waterford street names,' XXXIII: 21-35.
- Ian W. J. Lumley, 'The Georgian townhouses of Waterford: An architectural assessment,' XXXIV: 38-60.
- Carmel Meehan, 'Indexing parish records [includes inventory of Waterford registers],' XXXIII: 4-14 \*\*\*.
- Michael O'Donnell, 'The Ponsonby/Briscoe mausoleum in Fiddown [Co. Kilkenny],' XXXIV: 8-24.
- Hugh Ryan, 'Gravestone inscriptions at Mothel, Co. Waterford,' XXXVIII: 17-27; XXXIX: 45-53; XXXX: 47-55; 1XL: 46-51; 11XL: 33-43.
- Sites and Monuments Record Office, 'A townland list for Co. Waterford,' XXXVI: 39-49.
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- Julian C. Walton, 'The library of Christ Church Cathedral,' 1XL: 2-21 \*\*\*.
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#### BOOK REVIEWS

- Henry Boylan, *A dictionary of Irish biography* (2nd edn.); reviewed by Thomas G. Fewer, XLIII: 45-46.
- Annabel Davis-Goff, *Walled gardens. Scenes from an Anglo-Irish childhood*; reviewed by Elizabeth M. Kirwan, 44: 43-45.
- M. L. Friedland, *The Case of Valentine Shortis: A true story of crime and politics in Canada*; reviewed by Des Cowman, 45: 63-64.
- Emmet O'Connor, *A Labour history of Waterford*; reviewed by Dan Dowling, XLIII: 41-44.
- Patrick C. Power, *History of South Tipperary*; reviewed by 'Carrtacos,' 11XL: 45.
- Des Cowman, William Nolan, and Thomas Power, eds. *Waterford: History and Society*; previewed by Thomas P. Power, 45: 65-66.
- William Fraher, ed. *A calendar of the minutes and records of Dungarvan Town Commissioners and Urban District Council, 1855-1950*; previewed by William Fraher, 45: 76.

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**OTHER****Short notices**

Dominican nuns in Waterford, XXXV: 44.

'Plus ça change,' 44: 4 [extracts of newspaper advertisements from 1891 regarding emigration, marital advice, soap, a cure-all, a rat poison, and a lost heifer].

**Genealogical Enquiries**

Boate family of Waterford, XLIII: 12.

**Obituaries**

J. S. Carroll (1907-1986), by Fergus Dillon, XXXIV: 3-5.

Kitty Kelly (1906-1986), by Julian C. Walton, XXXV: 5-6.

Hugh Ryan (d.1989), by Michael Coady, 11XL: 44.

**Society News**

Reports of AGMs, XXXII: 4; XXXV: 4; XXXVIII: 4; 44: 46.

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## CELTWORLD

The present reviewer, after an hour in Celtworld, emerged impressed but puzzled into the evening sunlight. He had sat in a carousel which swung through six presentations of Irish 'history', starting with the daughter of Noah, proceeding through christianity and ending with the implication that what he had seen is still actively part of Irish folk tradition. It isn't. For the vast majority of the target audience, the immortal Tuan will be as unfamiliar a figure as the peoples he witnessed invading Ireland and the personages that fought therein.

Parthalonians, Fomorians and four other peoples are graphically presented to us as invaders. Spectacular effects call to our eyes their heroes, such as Balor of the Evil Eye and Lugh of the Silver Arm. All the good guys are of the handsome clean-limbed variety that those impressed by artist Jim FitzPatrick's sense of authentic history will admire. Inevitably other boats brought many of these invaders to Ireland - no hollowed out tree-trunks for them! Horned helmets and iron breast-plates adorn what were chronologically stone-age to bronze-age people. St Patrick puts in a personal appearance with a nice late medieval monastery in the background.

However, presumably Celtworld's market research told the promoters that such fine distinctions would not upset their target audience. The medium, it would seem, is the message; what is being sold is pace and presentation. To detail some of the best elements here would be to take away the surprise element and one should see them for oneself. However, watch particularly for the Tuath De Danann fleet, for Balor, and for the 3-D projections of Fionn and Oisín. These are particularly impressive.

This carousel presentation takes about 25 minutes, after which one is free to wander through the Celtworld display room. Here one is given a more leisurely opportunity to consider many of the same themes. There is, for instance, an inter-active questionnaire on some of the main personages and places. In another corner one walks a map of Ireland and screens light up to remind one of what we had been told about various localities. Decapitated heads hanging from a tree address the passer-by and threatening shadows loom at whoever mounts certain mystical steps. There is much more - all quite ingenious and most impressive.

As this reviewer emerged through the gift shop into the Tramore dusk, the puzzle intensified. Can the market-research people really be right in deciding that the best vehicle for contemporary electronic presentation is a late medieval version of origin-myths and hero-sagas? Anthropologically speaking, these are very interesting in giving insights into the mentality of those that once thought them important. That they should be preserved for continued research is of course good and there is no harm whatsoever in their being given more widespread public exposure.

In this, perhaps Celtworld is blazing a trail that others may follow; or perhaps this is a cul-de-sac to be elongated only as far as resources to give it publicity permit. Presumably the market researchers considered the option of using the same technology to present a more authentic contemporary understanding of our past. All around Tramore and scattered around the country is physical evidence of the pre-Celtic and Iron-Age peoples. That the presentation of such authentic material with its huge educational market should have been ignored in favour of such obscure mythology then puzzled this reviewer, as the evening sun cast shadows from the nearby dolmens of Knockeen, Gaulstown and Dunhill, shone across the passage graves near Fenor and Dunmore, and threw into relief the genuine Celtworld-embanked defences that lie in such profusion within a few miles of Tramore's 'Celtworld' high-tech fabrication.

# OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP

AS OF 1 OCTOBER 1992

Ahearne, Miss S., 8 Sweetbriar Park, Waterford.

Aylward, Rev. Fr J., Killea, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.

Barron, Mr.H.C.N., 3 Ravenscourt Square, London W6 OTW England.

Belfast Public Library, Royal Avenue, Belfast BT1 1EA, N. Ireland

Brazil, Mr. D., "Killard", John's Hill, Waterford. (Hon.)

Brennan, Mr.J., Main Street, Mooncoin, via Waterford.

Brereton, Miss J., 42 Grange Lawn, Waterford.

Brophy, Mr. & Mrs. A., "Bushe Lodge", Catherine Street, Waterford.

Burns, Mrs. G.W., 99 Park Road, Loughborough, Leicester LE11 24D, England.

Byrne, Mr. N., "Auburn", John's Hill, Waterford.

Byrne, Mrs. R., Ballyscanlon, Fenor, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

Carberry, Mr. M., Carrigdustra, Kilmeaden, Co. Waterford.

Carroll, Mr. P., "Greenmount", Croke, Passage East, Co. Waterford.

Carroll, Mrs. S., "Ardaun", Newtown, Waterford. (Hon.)

Cassidy, Mr. N., "Lisacul", Marian Park, Waterford.

Clonmel Museum, County Hall, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.

Cody, Mr. P., Portroe, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.

Colclough, Mr. B., 9 Pearse Park, Waterford.

Condon, Mr. S., 19 Beau Street, Waterford.

Condon, Mr. W., 31 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.

Cooney, Mr. T., 145 Rockenham, Ferrybank, Waterford.

Coulter, Mr. & Mrs. D., "Selby", 46 Lower Newtown, Waterford.

Cowman, Mr. D., Knockane, Annestown, Co. Waterford.

Cranley, Mrs. J., 6 Parnell Street, Waterford.

Croke, Mrs. N., 208 Viewmount Park, Waterford.

Crowley, Miss N., 45 Orchard Drive, Ursuline Court, Waterford.

Crowley, Mrs. M., "Fern Hill", Ballyvooney, Stradbally, Co. Waterford.

Curham, Mr. L., 19 The Folly, Waterford.

Dalton, Miss. P., 5 Airmount Villas, Waterford.

Dalton, Mr. P., 92 Calderwood Road, Dublin 9.

De la Poer, Mr. N.K., Brentwood Preparatory School, Middleton Hall, Brentwood, Essex, England.

Denn, Mrs. T., Newrath, Waterford.

Devine, Mrs. A., Colligan More, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

Dillon, Mr. F., "Trespan", The Folly, Waterford.

Doolan, Miss B., 25 John's Hill, Waterford.

Dower, Mrs. N., Mayor's Walk, Waterford.



Doyle, Mr. L., "Gants Hill House", Faithlegge, Co. Waterford

Dunne, Mrs. B., Faithlegge, Co. Waterford.

Dunphy, Mrs. M., Ballycashin, Waterford.

Eachthigheirn, Mr. L., Dún-An-Óir, Newrath, Waterford.

Enright, Canon J.N., 8 Seafield, Newtown Hill, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

Fanning, Mr. & Mrs. E., 50 St. Herblain Place, 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.

Fay, Miss E., 4 Lismore Park, Waterford.

Fewer, Mr. G., "Les Revenants", Corballymore, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.

Fewer, Mr. T.N., "Chestnut Lodge", Callaghan, Woodstown.

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Gallagher, Mr. G., 53 Upper Beechwood Avenue, Ranelagh, Dublin 6.

Gallagher, Mrs. L., William Street, Waterford.

Gallagher, Mr. L., 42 Dunluce Road, Clontarf, Dublin 3.

Garbett, Mrs. R., Benvoy, Annestown, Waterford.

Gaughan, Mrs. C., c/o Mrs. T. Denn, Newrath, Waterford.

Griffin, Mr. P., Ballindud, Waterford.

Grogan, Mrs. M., 10 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.

Grubb, Miss C., Roselawn, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

Hayes, Miss K., 2 St. Ledger Place, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

Hearne, Mrs. E., "Mossleigh", Summerville Avenue, Waterford.

Hearne, Miss M., 12 Spring Garden, Waterford.

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Heylin, Mr. F., Duagh, Tramore Road, Waterford. (Hon.)

Heylin, Mrs. M., Parnell Street, Waterford.

Hodge, Mr. J., "Avonlea", Ursuline Road, Waterford. (Hon.)

Holman, Mr. D., Ballygunnmore, Waterford.

Holland, Mr. D., c/o Clonmel Museum, County Hall, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.

Hoey, Mr. D., 24 Church Road, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.

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Ivory, Miss N., 40 Grange Lawn, Waterford.

Kane, Mr. & Mrs. R., "Spring Hill", Half-Way House, Waterford.

Kavanagh, Mr. G., "Rosedale", Ballinaneashagh, Waterford.

Kenneally, Mr. P., 16 Cork Road, Waterford.

Kennedy, Mr & Mrs. P., "Tristernagh", Clonea, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

Kelly, Mr. E., 48 Roanmore Park, Waterford.

Kelly, Mr. M., Green Street, Cappoquin, Co. Waterford.

Kilkenny County Library, 6 John's Quay, Kilkenny.

Killeen, Mr. A.K., 2 Endsleigh Villas, Priest's Road, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

Kirwan, Mrs. B., 112 Cannon Street, Waterford.

Kirwan, Miss E.M., 12 Vesey Place, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin.

Kinch, Mr. J.R., 4 Percy Terrace, Waterford.

Kelly, Miss M., "Bella Vista", Priest's Road, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

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Lahert, Mr. R., 51 College Park, Terenure, Dublin 6W.

Lincoln, Mrs. S., Ardmore, Co. Waterford.

Lucas, Miss E., Newtown School, Newtown, Waterford.

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Lynch, Miss M., 7 Grange Mews, Waterford.

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Madden, Mr. E.J., 18 Upper Leeson Street, Dublin 4.

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Maher, Mrs. M., "Carrig Eden", Newrath Road, Waterford.

Mahon-Smith, Mr. & Mrs. D., Springfield, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

Malachy, Bro., Belmont Park Hospital, Ferrybank, Waterford.

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Moloney, Miss T., 56 Viewmount Park, Waterford.

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Mullane, Sr. Virginia, Sacred Heart Convent, P.O. Box 291, Monze, Zambia.

Murphy, Mr. P., 198 Lismore Park, Waterford.

Murphy, Dr. M.D., 2 Sylvan Green, Grantstown Park, Dunmore Road, Waterford.

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- National Museum Of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin 2.  
 Newberry Library, 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.  
 Nicholson, Mr. R., 45 Manor Lawn, Waterford.  
 Nolan Farrell Goff, Newtown, Waterford.  
 Nolan, Mr. J., "Shalon", Cork Road, Waterford.  
 Nolan, Mr. T., "Greenville", Fenor, Tramore, Co. Waterford.  
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 O Caoimh, Mr. D., "Dunard", 8 Grange Lawn, Waterford.  
 O Ceadagain, Mr. C., "Farranlea", Dunmore Road, Waterford.  
 O'Connell, Mr. J., Ballydehob, Skibbereen, Co. Cork.  
 O'Connor, Mr. J.B., Island Lane, Ballinakill, Waterford.  
 O'Connor, Mr. S., 90 Acom Road, Dundrum, Dublin 16.  
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 O Dubhthaigh, Dr. B., Dept. of Education, Hawkins House, Dublin 2.  
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 O'Reilly, Miss E., 5 Railway Square, Waterford.  
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 Power, Mrs. M., Abbeylands, Ferrybank, Waterford.  
 Power, Mr. R., Ballygunnermore, Grantstown, Waterford.  
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- Roche, Sr. Madeleine, Good Shepherd Convent, Waterford.  
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Sheehy, Mr. P.J., 94 Lismore Park, Waterford.

South Eastern Education & Library Board, Windmill Hill, Ballynahinch, Co. Down.

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Sullivan, Mr. M., 5 Georgestown, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.

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Walsh, Mr. F.J., 74 Hawthorndene Drive, Hawthorndene, South Australia.

Walsh, Mrs. M., 82 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.

Walsh, Mr. P., 56 Barrack Street, Waterford.

Walton, Mr. J.C., "The Coachman's House", Woodlands, Halfway House, Waterford.

Ware, Mrs. A., 6 St. Laurence Terrace, Waterford.

Waterford Heritage Centre, Greyfriars, Waterford.

Waterford Heritage Survey, Jenkin's Lane. Waterford.

Whittle, Miss B., Clonea, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

Williams, Mr. L., "River View", Kilmacow, Waterford.

# THE OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

The Society aims to encourage interest in history and archaeology in general, with particular reference to Waterford and the adjoining counties, and to promote research into same.

Lectures on appropriate subjects are arranged for the autumn, winter and spring.

Visits to places of historical and archaeological association are arranged for the summer.

The Society's periodical publication *Decies* is issued free to all members. Back-numbers of issues 1-45 (1976-1991), when available, may be obtained from Waterford Heritage Survey, Jenkin's Lane, Waterford.

Membership of the Society is open to all. The subscription for 1993 is £10, payable direct to the Hon. Treasurer.

## REPORT OF ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, 1992

The Annual General Meeting of the Old Waterford Society was held on Friday 3 April 1992 at the Garter Lane Arts Centre, Waterford. After a discussion of the usual Society business, the following officers and committee were elected:

Chairman	Mr Liam Eachthigheirn
Vice-Chairman	Mrs Lisa Gallagher
Hon. Secretary	Mrs Nellie Croke
Hon. Treasurer	Mrs Renee Lumley
Hon. Editor	Mr Julian Walton
P.R.O.	Mr Eddie Fanning
Committee:	Miss P. Fanning, Revd Br. Malachy, Mr D. Cowman, Mr F. Dillon, Mr G. Fewer, Mr P. Kennedy, Mr G. Kavanagh, Mr J. O'Meara

## COVER ILLUSTRATION:

### LISMORE CATHEDRAL, by Fergus Dillon

'Lismore is one of Ireland's most romantically situated cathedrals. In its setting of trees, river and mountain it has a very special old-fashioned charm.'<sup>1</sup> The medieval cathedral of St Carthage was destroyed by the White Knight at the close of the sixteenth century. It was restored by the first Earl of Cork in 1633, then largely rebuilt in 1680-83 by William Robinson, architect of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham. The delightful Gothic plasterwork on the ceiling dates from the early nineteenth century, and the fine spire was added in 1827 by the Pain brothers. Today most visitors would agree with Thackeray, who reported in 1842: 'The church, with its handome spire that looks so graceful among the trees, is ... one of the neatest and prettiest edifices I have seen in Ireland.'

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1 Robert Wyse Jackson, *Cathedrals of the Church of Ireland*, Dublin, 1971, p. 75.

# OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

## Lecture Season 1992-93

Lectures will be held in Garter Lane 1, O'Connell Street, Waterford (NOT Garter Lane 2, as last year), commencing at 8 p.m.

### 1992

- 23 October 'Archaeology on land and under water: the role of the National Museum'  
Ms Nessa O'Connor, National Museum of Ireland.
- 20 November 'Excavations at Clonmacnoise'  
Mr Con Manning, O.P.W.
- 6 December Annual lunch  
Separate notice will be sent to members.

### 1993

- 15 January 'Commemorative lecture on sinking of the *Formby* and the *Coningbeg*'  
Mr Richard Mc Elwee
- 13 February (Saturday) 'The megalithic tomb at Knockroe: its broader significance'  
Dr Muiris O'Sullivan
- 12 March The origin-legend of the Decies'  
Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, U.C.D.
- 23 April 'Paradise in Ireland: houses and gardens open to the public'  
Mr Richard Wood

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

Enquiries regarding *Decies* to: Mr Julian Walton, The Coachman's House, Woodlands, Halfway House, Waterford.

Membership of the Old Waterford Society is open to all. The subscription for 1993 is £10.00. Payment should be made to the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs Renee Lumley, Formby, 28 Daisy Terrace, Waterford.