

# DECIES

No. 47

Spring 1993

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1792.

FOR BARBADOES.



THE good Ship **COUNTRESS** of **HADDINGTON**, of *Greenock*, **JOHN LONARSON** Master, Burden about 200 Tons, is now lying in the *River Suir*, and will take on Freight Goods for *Barbadoes*, or any of the *Windward Islands*. She will be ready to sail in a few Days, and has good Accommodations for a few Cabin Passengers.

For Freight or Passage apply to the MASTER, on Board, or **JOHN BROWN**, Merchant.

WHO HAS FOR SALE,

Three Hundred Barrels **SCOTCH HERRINGS**, just received by the above Ship, from *Greenock*.

*Waterford, November 22, 1792.*

TO BE LET,

FOR SUCH TERM AS SHALL BE AGREED ON,  
FROM THE FIRST OF NOVEMBER NEXT,

**TWO EXTENSIVE BUILDINGS**, on the North Side of the *River Suir*, opposite the City of *Waterford*, well situated, either for the **CORN** or **MALT BUSINESS**.

Proposals to be made to **Mr. ALEXANDER ALCOCK**, or **Sir SIMON NEWPORT**.

*Waterford, October 13, 1792.*

## CONTENTS

	Page
Editorial	1
Waterford Two Centuries Ago:..... The <i>Waterford Herald</i> for 1792-3	Jack Burtchaell 3
Landlords and their Minerals c. 1850: Two Waterford Case Studies	Des Cowman 16
As Others Saw Us: Waterford in Kohl's <i>Travels in Ireland</i> (1844)	22
The Down Survey Maps of Co. Waterford: III. The Barony of Uppertird (part 1)	29
Waterford Diocese, 1096-1363: V. Religious Foundations in the Diocese of Waterford	Sr Assumpta O'Neill 42
Review Article: <i>Waterford History &amp; Society</i>	Eugene Broderick 52
Reviews	58
R.H. Ryland, <i>History of Waterford</i> (reprint)	Julian C. Walton
Richard McElwee, <i>The Last Voyages of the Waterford Steamers</i>	Anthony Brophy
Dermot Power, <i>The Ballads &amp; Songs of Waterford</i>	Julian C. Walton
Michael Fewer, <i>By Cliff and Shore</i>	Des Cowman

All original contributions are the copyright of the contributors.

*Hon. Editor:* Julian C. Walton, M.A., F.I.G.R.S.,  
The Coachman's House, Woodlands, Halfway House, Waterford.

*Editorial Committee:* M.N. Cassidy, Des Cowman, Fergus Dillon, Liam Eachthigheirn.

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

941.9/2710453

## EDITORIAL

In many ways 1992 was, if not exactly an *Annus Horribilis*, at least an *Annus Difficilis* for Waterford. A quarter of the way through 1993, the difficulties are far from resolved, but there are hopeful signs: Waterford Crystal lives on, the new City Square shopping centre is developing rapidly, and the regional airport is again operating a passenger service. From the local historian's point of view, the most exciting event has been the formal reopening of City Hall following extensive renovation; the event coincided with the launch of York Archaeological Trust's proposal for the development of Waterford's heritage potential. This dramatic plan, which will cost over seven million pounds, offers exciting possibilities for Waterford's future as a centre for historic tourism.

So far, Waterford has not celebrated any great centenaries or millennia as some other Irish cities have done. Various suggestions have been put forth. The Corporation has adopted a proposal to begin preparations for celebrating the millennium of Reginald's Tower in 2003. This is all right, so long as the year 1003 is recognised as a purely notional date for the foundation of the tower, being apparently plucked out of the air in the mid-18th century without any documentary support. As a city, Waterford is at least a century older, while the existing structure of Reginald's Tower is considerably later. Dublin invented a millennium - surely Waterford can do better. Anyway, ten years seems rather a long time to wait.

A second and perhaps more attractive suggestion has been to remember in 1995 the eighth centenary of the earliest known reference to a mayor (or, more accurately, a provost) of Waterford - evidence that a municipal structure was already in existence in 1195. At the same time we could celebrate the fifth centenary of the successful defence of the city against Perkin Warbeck in July 1495. This victory is evidence of a sturdy independent-mindedness and self-reliance which, heaven knows, we need as much now as we did five hundred years ago. Moreover, the Warbeck cannon dredged from the Suir is a unique relic of this event, which of course also gave the city its motto.

Meanwhile, events of more recent occurrence are being remembered. December 1992 saw the seventy-fifth anniversary of the sinking in 1917 of the *Formby* and the *Coningbeg* (we review Richard McElwee's book on the subject in this journal), and in March of this year the Jail Wall Disaster of 1943 was fittingly commemorated. April will see the bicentenary of the foundation of Waterford's first bridge across the Suir, and we hope to include an article on the bridge in our autumn issue. A plaque formerly on the bridge and now in Reginald's Tower reminds us that 1793 was also the year in which the Catholic Relief Act was passed - an act which removed most of the remaining restrictions on Catholics in public life and was more far-reaching in its effects than the more famous Emancipation Act of 1829. According to the plaque, 1793 was 'a year rendered sacred to national prosperity by the extinction of religious divisions'. It was no such thing, and more's the pity, but the act was an important landmark for all that.

Another bicentenary occurring this year is that of the Catholic cathedral, which was begun in 1793. It was the last work of our local architect John Roberts, who had already built the Church of Ireland cathedral and much else of beauty in the city and county. It is no ordinary building, for it was the first cathedral in these islands to be constructed specifically for Roman Catholic worship since the Reformation, and Roberts's plan was unique. It says much for the self-confidence and resourcefulness of Waterford's Catholics that they embarked on such a venture at such a time. The building was completed and consecrated in 1893, so it celebrates a double centenary this year.

A tercentenary in Waterford's history is that of the official recognition by the Corporation of the city's Huguenot community in 1693. The Huguenots were Protestant refugees (mainly French) who had fled from persecution in their own lands. Many of them were thrifty, hard-working and ambitious artisans and merchants, and it would have been understandable if their arrival in the city had been viewed as a threat to existing interests. But they were made welcome, encouraged to take leases of houses on favourable terms, and given the chancel of the old Franciscan friary as their place of worship (hence the name 'French Church').

In the game of centenary-spotting, one has to be quick. No one thought in time of marking the death in December 1892 of William Charles Bonaparte-Wyse, the Provençal poet, who was born on the Mall in 1826. When steps were being taken to commemorate the birth (probably in 18 William St.) on 26 September 1793 of William Hobson, first governor of New Zealand and creator of the important treaty of Waitangi, the parish register inconveniently showed that he had actually been born in 1792. And even as we go to press we ought to be remembering the death at about this time in 1593 of that remarkable Waterford man, Sir Nicholas White, who to his cost endeavoured to moderate the harsh measures of his fellow members of Queen Elizabeth's Irish Council.

The happy discovery last year of a volume containing the *Waterford Herald* for the year 1792-3 gives us an unexpected insight into the lives and concerns of Waterford people exactly two hundred years ago. Its contents form the subject of an absorbing article in this journal by Jack Burtchaell.

Waterford city and county have much to remember this year. Last but by no means least, 7 December 1993 will be the centenary of a meeting held in City Hall at which a resolution was passed formally establishing the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society - the lineal predecessor of our own society. Cork historians and archaeologists celebrated the centenary of their society with considerable style in 1991 (helped, no doubt, by having a Waterford man to give the keynote address). I hope that the Old Waterford Society will do the same.

## WATERFORD TWO CENTURIES AGO: THE WATERFORD HERALD FOR 1792-3

by Jack Burtchaell

The *Waterford Herald* has been described as a short-lived newspaper 'of no recognisable politics or polemics'. It made its first appearance on 3 February 1791, and the last issue so far located is that of 10 March 1796. The National Library has good runs of the paper for June-November 1791, nearly all of 1792, and January-October 1793; the births, marriages and deaths for these years were published in *The Irish Genealogist* (1980-82). Waterford Municipal Library also possesses a bound volume, formerly owned by Canon Power, containing many issues for the years 1791-3. So far, virtually no issues have been discovered for 1794-6.

This article originated in the chance discovery of a volume containing virtually the whole of the second year's run of the *Herald*, from February 1792 to February 1793. We are indebted to the owner, Mrs Mary Galloway of Annestown House, for allowing it to be used. Its condition is fragile, but it has been microfilmed and may be consulted in that form at the National Library of Ireland and Waterford Municipal Library.

The *Waterford Herald* was published three times per week, on Saturday, Tuesday and Thursday, and comprised four pages for a price of 2 1/2d. Its printer and publisher was Mr Nicholas Byrne and its offices were 'near the Quay'. It was sold throughout the city and through agents in Cork, Limerick and Kinsale. The volume contains the issues of the newspaper from Thursday 14 February 1792 (no. 162) to Thursday 7 February 1793 (no. 317). Four issues are missing from the volume, those of Saturday 25 February, Tuesday 27 February, Thursday 22 March and Saturday 25 March. Some twelve issues are partly missing or damaged. The layout of the *Waterford Herald* is quite typical of newspapers of the late eighteenth century. Each page was of four columns. Page One was usually half advertisements, some of up to six months standing, and half 'Foreign Intelligence' from places as widespread as Paris, Vienna, Hanover, Berlin, Quebec and New York. The accuracy of this international news was highly questionable and varied between political propaganda and purely sensational gossip. Page Two was usually concerned with the happenings on the political scene in London. Page Three held reports on the Irish political scene, with long quotes from parliamentary speeches and some news from Dublin, Cork or Limerick. Usually between a quarter and a half of one column was allotted to Waterford news, the remainder being either births, marriages, deaths and bankruptcies, ships' news, or up-to-date advertisements. Page Four was devoted to anecdotes, poetry etc. and news not filled in elsewhere. Illustrations were uncommon except for advertisements for ships.

The events on the international scene of the year 1792/3 included the progress of the French Revolution towards the execution of King Louis, the Wilberforce anti-slavery campaign in England, and the impeachment of Warren Hastings in London. Britain and Ireland went to war with France in February 1793, a war which was to last until the defeat of Napoleon a generation later. However, this article concentrates on local news in the neighbourhood of Waterford, and will largely ignore the momentous events of the outside world except where they had a direct impact locally.

## I

One of the most interesting features of the newspaper is the regular ships' news section. Though it is by no means comprehensive, does not appear in every issue, and does not detail every movement of every ship, it does provide a wealth of information on the maritime trade of Waterford during the heyday of its role as a provisions port. The column lists the dates of arrival and departure of ships, their origins and destinations, the captains, and a summary of the cargoes. Some 868 voyages are detailed, and an accurate picture of Waterford's maritime trade is obtainable from the tabulation of these details. Some 117 ports were linked to Waterford. Fifty-one ports had only one voyage link with Waterford; a further twenty had two mentions. Thus over 60% of the ports linked to Waterford had only a very tenuous relationship - fifteen ports had more than ten voyages and made up 617 voyages or 71% of the total.

Liverpool with 119 voyages was Waterford's chief linkage. Liverpool ships called to Waterford for provisions en route to southern Europe and further afield. Waterford's principal export to Liverpool was oats, as well as pork, butter and beef in small quantities. Liverpool sent coal, salt, earthenware and merchants' goods to Waterford and Ross.

Whitehaven was second in the table of linkages for Waterford; it was a coal port and it sent only coal to Waterford. All the colliers returned to Whitehaven in ballast. Small quantities of oats and oatmeal, butter, bacon, fish and hides were dispatched to Whitehaven.

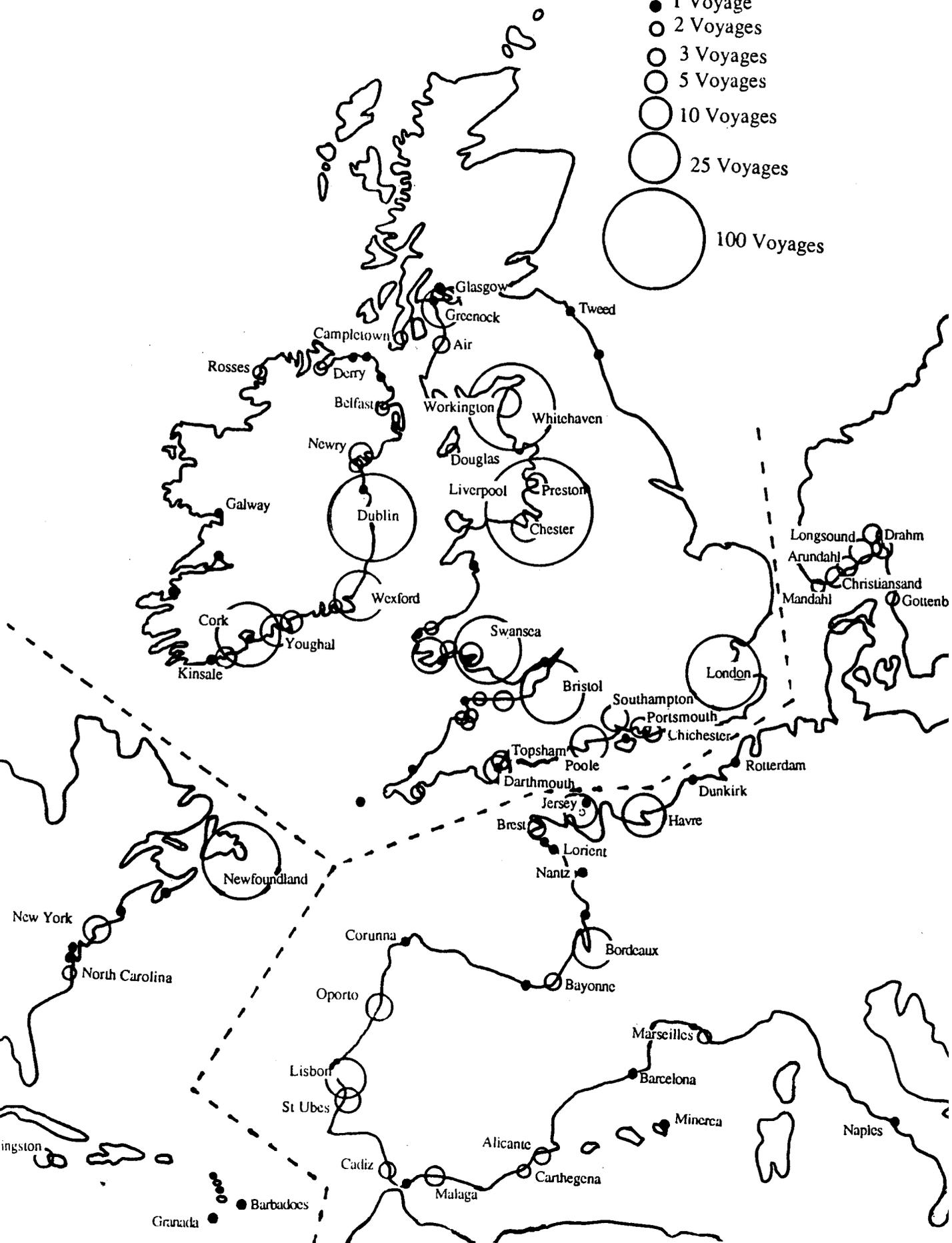
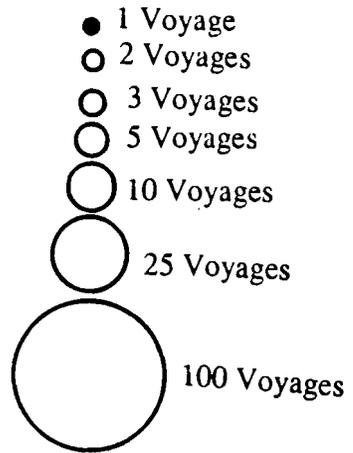
Dublin with sixty-nine voyage linkages was the third port in Waterford's trade. Many of the ships from Dublin were in ballast; others carried imported merchants' goods such as tea, sugar, wines, spirits and manufactured goods. Waterford sent a large variety of goods to Dublin, such as pork, ash timber, salmon, oatmeal, flour and malt. Waterford was also called upon by ships from North America with flax seed bound for Dublin. Potatoes from west Cork were sent by coaster to Dublin, calling at Waterford en route.

The ideal situation of Waterford Harbour in the days of sail is underlined by its frequent use as a harbour of refuge into which ships could scurry before the south-westerly gales. Many a ship bound from Bristol or south Wales to Wexford, unable to enter Wexford Harbour, rode out the storms at Passage East.

In terms of the value of trade and its role in the local economy, Newfoundland with at least 56 voyages was of primary importance. The Newfoundland fishery soaked up large volumes of salt provisions, manufactured goods, and (most importantly) surplus labour. Ships began to gather in Waterford Harbour in early March and set sail in early April. The *Chamont*, which arrived in the harbour on 26 February from Poole and sailed for Newfoundland under Capt. Shepard on 10 April with provisions and passengers, was sitting at anchor (probably at Passage) for over six weeks. She sailed that day with sixteen other ships and at least one thousand fishermen for the fishery grounds. A total of 24 ships had sailed by the following evening, Wednesday 11 April 1792. While the April sailings carried passengers, by June ships were being dispatched with stores and provisions only. Captain O'Brien, who departed Waterford on 22 May with stores and provisions aboard the *Two Sisters*, was the first to return, arriving back on 28 July with a cargo of herrings, oil and staves. The *Mary* under Captain Flahaven was the last ship to depart for Newfoundland, on 2 September. The ships began to return from the fishery with fish oil and chests in November and continued right up to Christmas. They brought with them news of the death of over one hundred fishermen in a squall one day during the fishing season. The *Fogo* under Captain Shansy was the last ship home, missing Christmas and arriving in Waterford on 2 January.

# Waterford's Maritime Links 1792/'93.

(Placenames spelt as in newspaper)



London was the fifth port in terms of its number of linkages to Waterford, with 55 voyages recorded. Oats, butter, pork, bacon and beef were the goods exported, while merchants' goods such as tea, rum, tobacco and sugar, as well as porter, beer and hops, vinegar and iron barrel hoops were imported. London was also the source for fashion wear and industrial goods.

Swansea in south Wales competed with Whitehaven as a supplier of coal to the Waterford market. As with Whitehaven, the colliers returned to Swansea in ballast. Captain Tedball completed at least fifteen crossings in the year between Swansea and Waterford with coal, returning each time in ballast to Swansea, with one exception when he took the *New Blessing* to Minehead in Somerset with a cargo of bacon. It was her first appearance in the port and she had probably not yet been converted to a collier. On each subsequent occasion the *New Blessing* left Waterford in ballast. Captain Tedball also commanded the collier *Neptune* on several occasions throughout the year.

By the 1790s Bristol's role in Waterford trade had declined in the face of competition from Liverpool and London. Earlier in the century Bristol had been the premier port of Waterford overseas trade, but it had now declined to seventh place. The fact that three times as many ships arrived from Bristol as departed for it may point to a lack of demand for Waterford provisions in Bristol or to the fact that London and Liverpool were more lucrative markets. Merchants' goods were the primary import from Bristol.

Cork and Wexford were the next two important ports as regards voyages. However, real trade with Cork and Wexford was slight, and the linkages reflect the movement of 'seekers', which were ships requiring a cargo, and the use of Waterford's harbour as a safe haven for storm-tossed shipping, unable to complete their voyage to one or other port. A small number of ships from England dropped cargo in both Waterford and Cork. Empty casks were traded from Cork to Waterford.

Le Havre and Bordeaux were the tenth and eleventh most important ports respectively. In both instances the vast majority of voyages were outward bound. All ships that came from Le Havre to Waterford were in ballast, while wine and fruit came from Bordeaux. Wheat and flour dominated Waterford exports to all French ports, but small amounts of salted provisions were also exported. The premier Scottish port was Greenock, which sent herrings to Waterford and took oats in return, with some beef and pork.

A number of Scandinavian ports supplied Waterford with timber and deal. Some took butter in return but most ships returned in ballast. A number of south of England ports supplied bark to the Waterford tanning industry.

Lisbon was the premier Iberian port, with fifteen voyage linkages - nine arrivals and six departures. Imports were salt, fruit and wine; exports beef, butter, pork and wheat.

Eight Mediterranean ports traded with Waterford, of which Malaga and Alicante were the most important. The others were Cartagena, Marseilles, Barcelona, Minorca, Naples and Gibraltar. Besides Newfoundland, Waterford had few links with transatlantic ports. New York was the most important, sending flax seed and staves to Waterford and taking Waterford glass and emigrants in return. Kingston (Jamaica), North Carolina, Barbados, Boston, Grenada and Virginia had tenuous trading links with Waterford.

The shipping patterns of the port of Waterford are especially interesting for the year 1792/3. It is after the enactment of free trade and just before the war with France, which was to disrupt trade economics and politics for the generation. These trading links are illustrated in Fig. 1.

## II

The *Waterford Herald* advertised the letting and sale of houses and land throughout the year, sometimes with detailed descriptions of the premises concerned. Gaulstown near Glenmore was to be let or sold from 25 March. The St Patrick's Day issue advertised a house in William St. where the widow Team dwelt, consisting of a parlour, kitchen, back kitchen and six bed-chambers, with closets, coal holes, etc.; applications to John Courtenay. The Rev. Roberts was letting or selling his home in Lady Lane from 1 May. The premises of William Kiles, watch maker, deceased, and his equipment were advertised for rent on 27 March. Mr Samuel Newport put his house in Tramore up for sale on 31 March. It comprised two good parlours, five bed-chambers, a kitchen, larder and butler's pantry, servants' quarters, stabling for eight horses, coach houses, a large wine and store cellar, extensive gardens, two pumps, and a one-acre field behind, for the yearly rent of £28.07.00. The oakwoods of Mocollop, 'called Araglin', of 50 years growth also came on the market in May. Arthur Barker, merchant, put his pleasure yacht on the market in June. The house where Captain John Howard lived at the corner of Goose Gate Lane (Henrietta St.) and the Quay was put on the market to be let from 29 September. Interestingly, it included cellars, whereas no cellars exist in the houses now situated there. Forty-five acres of Ballygunner lately occupied by Mr Edmond Power were for letting for six months. A lease for three lives or 31 years was offered to anyone interested in the distillery at Dungarvan in August. Richard Chartres Esq. was offering 24 acres of Gracedieu fronting the river for lives renewable forever, and mentioned it as a fine situation for building. The corn stores in Ferrybank were placed on the market in October; applications to Alexander Alcock or Sir Simon Newport.

In October we get an excellent pen portrait of a gentleman's farm of 200 acres, when the farm of Garryduff near the Blackwater came on the market: a barn 50 feet by 20 feet, with a planked floor for threshing, above which were two large granaries; a cowhouse with beds for 40 cows; stabling for six horses; a good pump at the door, a well stocked pigeon house, a good lime kiln and good lime house, granary and linney adjoining it; all offices were slated. There was a comfortable thatched dwelling-house, consisting of parlour, drawing-room, four bedrooms, servant's hall, kitchen, two cellars, coal hole, and many other offices. One out-office was a lodge of five beds in two rooms for servants. The land comprised meadowing and two walled paddocks, the remainder being divided by double ditches, mostly quicked. To be set with the farm was a large piece of slob ground near Templemyhill sand quay, for the enclosing of a quay for the use of the farm. The lease was for three lives, with a covenant to change any one life or 'add a new life for any that drop in the first ten years'. Proposals for the farm were to be made to Thomas Garde at Ballincurra, Midleton, until 1 November, after which he was to be in York St., Dublin.

Christopher Frederick Musgrave nearby was seeking a tenant for his corn store, which was of nine thousand square feet of flooring, and a kiln eighteen feet square. Any amount of land was available to the suitable tenant. Also on the Blackwater, three hundred acres of land at Dromore were placed on the market in November 1792; the length of tenancy was negotiable, and it was planned to let it in subdivisions. The proprietors were Francis Wyse of John St., Waterford, Thomas Wyse of Dromore, Tallow, and Matthew Barron, Carriglea, Dungarvan. Richard Barrett of Snugborough was seeking a tenant or tenants for fifty acres of Monatray near Youghal from 1 May 1793; he advertised as early as 29 November 1792.

The former meeting house of the Quakers in Bowling Green Lane came up for auction on 10 December 1792. It had 910 years on the lease, at a rent of 26 shillings per year. Samuel Davis and Benjamin Moore were available to show the premises. The auction was held at the Merchants' Exchange. The house and lands of Fruithill near New Ross were available for letting from 13 December 1792. They comprised 80 acres of land, including an apple and cherry orchard. The house was 'modern and in thorough repair', consisting of a parlour, drawing-room, six good bedrooms, two bedrooms for servants, and stabling for fourteen horses. John Glascott was the vendor and a Mrs Glascott was resident at Fruithill. Newtown House and demesne in Tramore came on the market in late December. The house was stated to be twelve years old. Among the other attractions of the property were two acres of walled garden, the enclosing wall being sixteen feet high, fruit trees, turf rights and a private cove. The tenancy was to be forever, but an entrance fine was to be levied. Twenty to fifty acres of ground were available to the new occupier. Mr Edward Lee of Newtown was the vendor.

The Boltons of Faithlegg appear to have had trouble making ends meet, for in January 1793 they put on the market for letting part of Faithlegg and building lots in Bolton (Checkpoint). 150 tons of upland hay were for sale at Faithlegg, and 150 tons of well burned bricks, plus cows, sheep and agricultural implements. George Trayer, the steward at Faithlegg, would show the items.

### III

The month of February 1792 saw the beginning of one commercial enterprise we still have in the city: William Strangman commenced brewing in Mary St. A notorious jail breaker was still at large, having escaped from jail on 15 December 1791. He was William Butler, a carpenter of about 50 years, who was jailed for robbery and burglary. He was about 5ft 7inches, round-shouldered with a small stoop, a little bow-legged, smooth-faced with a cut on his nose, of sallow dark complexion, dark-haired, very ill-looking, and wore a bob wig. There was a 100-guinea reward for his capture. Perhaps Butler was responsible for the burglary of Alex Taylor's shop in Patrick St. on Sunday 12 February, when 22 guineas were stolen. Beyond the municipal boundary, such matters would have been dealt with by John Congreve, the newly appointed high sheriff of the county. Outside the scope of Mr Congreve, but still with matters illegal, Mr Robert Johnston, excise officer in Thomastown, captured four cars laden with smuggled spirits and port after a chase of two days and a night. Valentine's Day was marked by the publication of a poem:

#### *The Kiss*

Some for the sake of titles grand  
Oft kiss a sovereign's royal hand.  
Others at Rome will stoop so low  
To kiss the Holy Father's toe.  
But I exceed them all in bliss  
When Flora's balmy lips I kiss.

In late February the political news story was the long debates in the Irish parliament concerning Roman Catholic relief. In the middle of these momentous debates Mr Henry Alcock, M.P. for the city, was blessed by the arrival of a son. Meanwhile, the Theatre Royal was in full swing with comedies and benefit nights, not for local charities but for local notables who organised these events themselves.

March started with very windy weather; no mail boats arrived for almost a week. On Sunday 4 March a lighter laden with rock salt sank on her way from Waterford to Carrick. The weather had improved by 10 March as the mails had arrived from London in the remarkable time of

only sixty hours. Plans were afoot at this time also to establish a direct mail car service to Dublin. Mr John Greene of Greenville, Kilmacow, was appointed high sheriff of County Kilkenny for the ensuing year. A public meeting was held in Tipperary to organise a boycott of West Indies produce until slavery was abolished. Another burglary occurred, this time at the premises of Messrs Firth and Peete on the Quay, and 100 guineas were stolen. There was an outbreak of crime in Upper Grange also, where two ash trees, the property of Robert Shapland Carew, were cut down. Was the hurling season about to commence? A ten-guinea reward was advertised. The Theatre Royal announced that plays would be performed nightly during the coming assizes. One of the unfortunate accused during the assizes was Patrick Ryan alias Dwyer, who had been a servant to Mr Doran, publican in Ferrybank. He was convicted of robbing his employer of £100 in cash and notes, and was sentenced to be executed on Saturday 24 March. Two women, Frances Burke and Catherine Carthy, were transported for stealing silk handkerchiefs. William Massey was luckier: he received a £50 fine and one year's confinement for stabbing James Brown, a servant of Cornelius Bolton.

A charity sermon in Christ Church to build a home for lunatics at the House of Industry raised only £40. The Corporation and freemen of the city were in dispute with the ferrymen over the free movement of cattle, servants and carriages over the river. It was decided the former must use their own boats.

At the end of the month Mr Philip Fitzgibbon died at Chapel Lane in Kilkenny. His profession was Mathematician, but he had also compiled a 400-page Irish dictionary. He forgot, however, the letter S. His papers were left to the Rev. O'Donnell in Kilkenny.

Urban sanitation, or the lack of it, hit the headlines with a letter about the corner of Peter St. and Cook Lane. After complaining about the 'fetid effluvia' about the area, the writer went on to detail his morning's 'entertainment':

'Every morning I have the opportunity of contemplating a few individuals who, with the most intrepid effrontery, and without the least respect to decency, place their bodies in the gentle curve, for a purpose your sagacity will readily discover; such a sight may be natural, but I own it is rather unpleasant to my neighbours and myself, who all earnestly conjure you to remove the nuisance'.

This activity, while bad enough, was followed by 'the daily accumulation of dead dogs, cats and cabbage'.

April began with very bad storms, which caused considerable damage to thatched houses. The spire on the Exchange was blown down, and vessels at Passage were driven from their anchors. Three lighters were sunk on the river with the loss of one life.

The mood of the lower orders matched the weather: 'The mechanics of the city have taken to idleness and outrage due to the tankard and the glass.' A gang of shoemakers fought a pitched battle with the crew of a warship over a drink bill in a local pub. Violence erupted on the Quay and stones and firearms were used, but no one was killed.

On the political front, there was throughout April a rising tide of anti-French propaganda. At home the Roman Catholics met in the New Rooms under the direction of Bartholomew Rivers and James Wyse to issue a declaration of loyalty and petition for religious freedom.

The body of an infant boy was recovered from the mud at the ferry slip on the Quay; infanticide was strongly suspected.

May began with the recovery of another body from the river, that of John Nealer, the servant of the gunner aboard *HMS Spitfire*, who drowned by falling overboard. His body was recovered at Granny and he was buried in St Peter's churchyard.

Mr Murphy held a spectacular fireworks display over the river on Wednesday 8 May. Celebration was also the order of the day among the Catholic clergy of the city, who gratefully acknowledged the gift of ground around the Great Chapel for the building of a future cathedral. This was the start of the cathedral in Barronstrand St. A week later the first call was made for the construction of a bridge over the river Suir similar to the one in Derry.

Traffic problems reared their head in May also, and a one-way street system was proposed for Colbeck St. and Goose Gate Lane (Henrietta St.), for carriages to avoid congestion at Christ Church. Accompanying this call was agitation to pull down the Goose Gate, one of the city wall gates in Henrietta St. The work was carried out a little later. On the political scene, the Belfast Volunteers were roundly condemned for toasting the health of Mr Thomas Paine. Mr Paine was as odious to respectable citizens as Mr Ghadaffi would be today.

22 May saw the introduction in Waterford of one of the most wonderful of medicinal substances. Dr James's Fever Powder was the original one-stop shop - it cured 'fevers, agues, measles, influenzas, colds, coughs, asthmas, St Anthony's fire, dysenteries, suppression of urine, rheumatisms, intermittants, smallpox, sore throats, childbed fevers, whooping cough, pleurisies, bilious complaints, painter's cholic and inflammation of the bowels. It was obtainable from Thomas Wright near the bridge in William St. for 2 shillings and 6 pence. Shoppers not interested in this great value could purchase the cargo of the *Fanny* of Boston, lately stranded at Woodstown. It consisted of pine, oak and maple timber, tar, turpentine, lathwood and barrel staves. The rigging, gear and hull of the ship were also on the market.

For the person who had everything, Messrs John and Isaac Carroll had the ideal gift idea: from their timber yard at Leitrim in the west of the county, they had on offer 830 Buenos Ayres buffalo hides of 46 lb weight each. And one man who really had everything celebrated his birthday on Monday 4 June, when bells were rung throughout the city to mark the birthday of King George III. The owners of the ship *Barbadoes Packet* had little to celebrate on the same evening, for her stern struck a rock near the smelting house (Gyles's Quay) and she sank next morning. She was laden and bound for Newfoundland, and efforts to break her deck to float the cargo were in vain.

In late June, work commenced on the hay harvest, which was considered very abundant. Deep gratitude was expressed by the Methodist Society in the city to the bishop and Church of Ireland clergy for the latter's payment of debts on the meeting-house. Sir Simon Newport was elected mayor and Thomas Backas and Samuel Boyce sheriffs at the quarterly meeting of the Corporation at the end of June.

Mr Robert Shaw, a Waterford architect, was 'unfortunately' drowned at Dungarvan Ferry in early July. William O'Connor, William Butler and Jeremiah Kavanagh were also less than fortunate in that they were lodged in jail by the Rev. Jabez Henry for possession of counterfeiting instruments; they were eventually acquitted. Even less fortunate was the poor man who fell into a tun of porter at the brewery in Cork, who despite every effort drowned on 19 July. The porter was thrown into the sewer.

A Grand Dinner was held at the New Rooms, attended by Marquis Townsend, Lord Tyrone, Lord John Beresford and 140 other persons. Counsellor Hobson and Sheriff Backas

officiated. This function seems to have been an anti-emancipation affair, as the more liberal civic dignitaries were notably absent. Mrs Donovan of the Globe Inn directed the serving of dinner. It seems that more than dinner was served, as the coach carrying Marquis Townsend and the Marquis of Waterford had an accident on the way home to Curraghmore. A proclamation appeared on 28 July to those wishing to settle in Upper Canada. On 31 July the *Herald* was printed on unstamped paper; the publisher promised to make good the deficit to the Exchequer.

Sporting activities occupied the first days of August. A regatta was held in the city, the course being from the mouth of the Pill (Canada St.) to Granny and back. Among the winners was Mr Farrell's lighter. A boxing match was held at Newtown between Connolly, a porter, and Roach, a baker; it was a very severe contest of one hour's duration and Connolly won.

#### IV

Mr Matthew Burke, writing master, expressed his gratitude to the teachers of the city for his suit of clothes. He was seeking retribution from Blarney, Co. Cork. His departure from Blarney had been hurried, and his remuneration seemed to have been overlooked.

A smuggling sloop, the *Mary Ann*, under Captain Quin of Dublin was captured near Tuskar by H.M. cutter *Pigmy* under Lt. Inman and was brought into the river. Its cargo comprised 36,792 lb of tobacco and 549 gallons of geneva (gin). August also saw the appearance in the river of a 'grampus' (porpoise); it was harpooned but survived.

The noxious corner of Peter St. and Cook Lane was the site of a mugging of a gentleman by two sailors with knives on Tuesday 14 August. On the same night another gentleman was robbed of 15 shillings in John St. Much more serious, however, were the violent outbreaks at Coolroe near Dungarvan on the same day. For twelve hours the mob of between 600 and 1,000 men ravaged the country between Coolroe and the iron mines, levelling the ditches of Mr Fitzgerald and Michael Welsh. Roger Dalton Esq., other gentlemen and troops failed to disperse them. Notices to assemble had been sent to Catholic chapels the previous Sunday. The dispute was over the enclosure of turf commons; they were restored to the people shortly after.

In the last days of August the sloop *Fan* of Wexford was wrecked in Tramore Bay. Matthew Parl, the owner and master, was destitute after the wreck and charitable donations were encouraged.

September appears to have been the smuggling month in Waterford. Mr Henry Sargent, excise officer at Bunmahon, was particularly busy. On Friday 7 September he brought in 40 bales of captured smuggled tobacco to H.M. stores. Next day an armed smuggling lugger escaped capture on the Waterford coast. Mr Sargent recovered some of its cargo near the city and lodged it safely. One week later Mrs Donovan, the noted cook of the Globe Inn, informed the public that she had received a very fine turtle from the West Indies, which would be dressed on Tuesday 18 September. The reports of the harvest were good; however, the weather broke in early October and up to one-third of the harvest was feared lost.

October began with smuggling headlines also. The sloop *Two Brothers* of Fowey (Cornwall) under John Lee was captured near Tramore after a twelve-hour chase. She contained 297 ankers of rum, brandy and geneva and 37 bales of manufactured tobacco. The speed of the *Rutland* revenue cruiser was instrumental in her demise. Also speedy was the officer of the 64th Regiment who walked from Geneva Barracks to the city centre in 1 hour 8 minutes.

The slaughtering season commenced in the city in the middle of October; this was the busiest period of the year, processing the provisions for the next year's trade. The prospects for that trade were quite good as large orders were placed for salt provisions, supposedly for the French army and fleet. Mr Richard Burke, son of the famous Edmund Burke, was fêted at a grand ball in the city in mid-October also. And another case of infanticide came to light in the city, this time in New Street.

Dr Saint John (of whom more later) proposed that on the completion of the proposed bridge in the city, a quay lined with trees should be laid out on the Ferrybank shore and a church or public building erected on Cromwell's Rock.

The ecclesiastical court met in the city in the first week of November and provided much grist to the gossip mill. The Rev. Dr Fell sat in judgement on two suits for divorce: the Rev. Mr Drapes sought to divorce his wife for adultery, and Mrs Drapes sought to divorce her husband for cruelty. The evidence was long and tedious, and the cases took four days. The clergyman judge dismissed the Rev. Drapes's case for want of proof. He likewise dismissed the case of Mrs Drapes as to cruelty: he didn't believe her as she had returned home following the alleged incident. The Rev. Drapes immediately lodged an appeal to the archbishop.

The first week of November also saw a food crisis in the city. On Monday 4 November large numbers of working people assembled and went to the office of the chief magistrate, complaining of the high price of meal and potatoes. Not having got satisfaction, the crowds repaired to Cheekpoint to stop outward-bound vessels carrying meal or potatoes. They boarded and searched several vessels, but found nothing. They then returned to the city, whereupon the mayor assured them that prices would be lowered, and they dispersed quietly. A meeting of merchants was called for that evening. Tension was high in the city for a number of days and the Strangman Brothers, provisions exporters, were verbally abused by a mob in the city some days later. To defuse the situation, the mayor called a general meeting of inhabitants in the New Rooms at noon on Tuesday 13 November. In the following week the mayor called a meeting of the corn exporters. They agreed to cease exporting corn, and claimed that they had exported no potatoes. They also formed a committee to investigate the state of the country and to report to Sir Simon Newport, mayor. The merchants were also noted to be contributing money to the poor for the purchase of food. However, it was the sheriff who received the credit for 'putting down the spirit of riot'. Interestingly, this was the first time this gentleman had been mentioned in reference to the entire affair. Further distress was caused by a coal shortage in the city during November, but this was relieved at the end of the month by the arrival of several coal boats. One brighter news story was the appointment of Mr Alexander Pope of the city to the post of Master Extraordinary of the High Court of Chancery of Ireland in late November.

Social disorder continued into December. On the night of Saturday the 8th, large numbers of people paraded through the city with an effigy. On arrival in Christ Church Yard (Cathedral Square) they sat in judgement on the effigy to the shouts of 'Liberty Equality'. On finding the effigy guilty they moved his place of execution to Lady Lane and dispersed. Stones were later thrown at the sentinels at the custom house, and the soldiers returned fine, injuring an innocent watchman on the Quay. At first these incidents were thought to be connected; however, the stone-throwing incident, it emerged, was apolitical, having erupted over prostitutes. The mayor called another general meeting at the New Rooms, and declarations of loyalty to the constitution were read. A charity dance was organised at the same venue for the provision of fuel to the poor; tickets were 2s. 8 1/2d.

The extent of deprivation in the city is highlighted by the large number of volunteers for the Royal Navy in November, and several regiments of the army were actively recruiting in the city in the same month. However, the proposal to form a militia for the preservation of public order was not proceeded with.

Smuggling continued apace, and again Henry Sargent of Bunmahon was most active in countering it, making two large seizures early in December. His zeal was no doubt connected with the fact that the family business was the legitimate importation of drink and tobacco.

Early in December the report of the merchants' committee into the state of the country was presented. It found that there was plenty of wheat in the limestone districts, but yields were poor on the stiff clays. Oats were found to be poor in quality and quantity. Potatoes were good on dry ground, but yields were bad on wet ground. The committee found that less wheat had come to market due to the wet season; little had been threshed, as farmers were trying to till wet ground before the winter. They also gave a report on the corn exports of Waterford port for the year ending 29 September 1792:

94,406 barrels wheat  
 95,125 barrels oats  
 81,136 cwts flour  
 14,615 cwts oatmeal

The committee went on to explain that when the American wheat had hit the French market last January and February, orders for Irish wheat had been cancelled, leading to a collapse in the prices. Farmers withheld grain from market, hoping that prices would increase. Much of this wheat was unfit for milling later, due to poor storage conditions. The prevailing low prices of wheat encouraged distillers to distill huge quantities of 1791 wheat in the spring of 1792. Hence, when the demand in France materialised in the autumn of 1792 and market supplies were low due to weather conditions, prices soared. The committee felt that the arrival of American wheat in France after Christmas would reduce demand and price for Irish wheat, and they felt no need to halt exports until 25 December, 'when a better judgement can be made'. Incidentally, on their own admission profit margins would decline shortly afterwards anyway.

Monday 10 December saw a jail break of six prisoners from the county jail, two of them due for transportation. Their descriptions give us a good picture of the dress of working-class males in late eighteenth-century Waterford. A reward was offered of 10 guineas each, with the accompanying details:

William Lineen: 40 years old, slender, 5 feet 8 inches, black hair, brown coat and waistcoat, leather breeches.

Michael Dowling otherwise Fitzgerald: about 25 years, heavy eyebrows, down look, about 5 feet 5 inches, light brown hair, green olive coat with large brass buttons, speckled velveret waistcoat, corduroy breeches.

John Callaghan: about 28 years, large bodied, about 5 feet 8 inches, fresh coloured, large cut on left cheek near eye, short black hair, light coloured surtout, blue jacket, long trousers.

James Grady: about 23 years, slender made, 5 feet 6 inches, marked by smallpox, tender eyes, short light coloured hair, light coloured frieze coat and waist coat.

Jeremiah Kavanagh: about 32 years, about 5 feet 5 inches, brown curled hair, pale and remarkably delicate, blue coat, black satinet waistcoat, thick set breeches.

George Wallace: about 50 years, about 5 feet 6 inches, brown great coat, long grey hair, blind of one eye.

Two items of infrastructural development were announced on 20 December. The trees on the Mall were to be cut down, and the wall around them was to be removed. The Mall as we know it today dates from this event. More importantly, it was revealed that the ferry rights had been purchased from Mr Grogan for £13,000, thus clearing the way for Waterford's first bridge.

On the broader political scene, Mr Fox spoke proposing Catholic emancipation unopposed in the British House of Commons. The financial troubles of Cornelius Bolton continued: he advertised the sale of bloodstock, sheep and cattle at Faithlegg on 1 January.

The new year came in as the old one went out, necessitating patrols of the city by loyal citizens. Rumours spread that the Marquis of Waterford was reputed to support a more equal representation of the people in parliament. The sheriffs of the city organised a meeting to lobby M.P.s to support emancipation.

On Thursday evening, 24 January, a Swedish vessel laden with hemp and iron was found on the rocks at Brownstown Head. Her crew had deserted her. Fishermen boarded her and got her off the rocks and sailed her into the city. Her crew turned up in the city on Friday night. In the same week news arrived that 104 volunteers from Waterford for the Royal Navy, feared lost on the cutter *Pilote*, were safe and well in Scilly.

The end of January saw news of the execution of the French King Louis XVI. Locally the subscription for the new bridge was declared full on 2 February, and the Corporation were seeking to borrow £8,000 at an interest rate not exceeding 5%. The mail coach service to Dublin, promised eleven months previously, was now promised before April.

## V

No article on Waterford in 1792/3 would be complete without mention of the man whose name most often appeared in print in the pages of the *Waterford Herald*. This man is either the most underrated and forgotten genius of eighteenth-century Waterford or else the most brazen-faced chancer in the city's history; in either case he should not be forgotten. The one and only Dr James Saint John, M.D., had an opinion and 'expertise' on a range of subjects that was truly breathtaking. We meet him in the first issue of the volume discoursing upon the cromlechs near Sugar Loaf Hill. Within the week we are informed he has discovered new chapters of the Old Testament and translated them. These were not his only literary endeavours, for in early March we discover he has published *Letters from France* in two volumes and *Coronet and Plumage: A Poem*, and is now publishing *Memoirs*, also in two volumes. He is receiving subscriptions at his house in Peter St. By mid-March the intrepid Doctor is discoursing at length on fevers and their remedies in the pages of the *Waterford Herald*. His next dispatches some days later are on the medicinal qualities of love.

At the end of March he launches a new opera 'The Siege of Waterford', based on the Norman capture of the city. It was performed on several occasions throughout the year in the Theatre Royal. By mid-April his publications have turned to the industrial sphere, particularly sugar refining. Literary criticism is his next endeavour in mid-May, when he reviews Dr Johnson's journey to the Hebrides. Between performances of his own opera for his own benefit, he has had time by early June to compose an essay, *Thoughts on the French Revolution* (for the record, he was against it). On Tuesday 12 June a man drowned from the Clonmel barge on the Quay, and 'Dr Saint John assisted'. Despite his lack of success, he published the following Saturday a long article on the treatment of drowned persons. Further thoughts were added on 30 June.

In early July the Doctor turned his mind to industrial matters again, publishing a tract on brewing malt liquor. In the same week he composed a poem denigrating the Irish Volunteers. He returned to alcoholic matters a week later with a proposal to produce 'Waterford wine'. The following week he was back to malt liquor, however. By the end of the month he had commenced a long series of articles on the Royal Irish Academy and education.

He may have taken a rest in September, as his intellectual interjections do not grace the paper, but he is back in the operatic business in October. He cancels a performance of 'Venice Preserved' and 'The Siege of Waterford' for one week. In the interval he publishes *Osheen's Poems* and a parody on the execution of the King of France. In the same week he publishes an essay on politics and military tactics, and another on building a bridge over the Suir. Three days later he announces he is having 'The Siege of Waterford' printed with engravings, including Waterford and the adjacent countryside.

In early November he returns to bridge building and proposes a statue of Strongbow to adorn same. Matters military activates his mind again in November, with detailed medical notes to the Admiralty on the substitution of charcoal instead of salt in provisions.

Matters medicinal animate his thoughts some days later, when he prescribes injections of strong warm punch to revive drowned persons, along with hot pans applied to the feet. Opium he vouches for in most other ailments, and as an aside he forwards a theory of planetary evolution. He also finds time in the ensuing 48 hours to compose a long poem entitled 'Waterford'.

On Monday 12 November Dr Saint John recanted the errors of the Church of Rome and conformed to the established religion. His postponed benefit play was fixed for the following night. It was a roaring success, but he inserts a reminder for those who attended to pay for their tickets.

Before his publication of 'Finn Mac Cumhal's Song' in the paper of 4 December, he returned to home brewing and wine manufacture. Town planning next interested him, proposing the extension of the Quay to Bilberry and Newtown. He suggested building a barracks on Cromwell's Rock and hoisting a royal ensign on Reginald's Tower to summon the troops into the city when their presence was required. Suicide was his topic for 15 December, along with an article on childbirth.

Never has the city known such an expert on such a variety of topics, and never has such an expert been so willing to share his knowledge with the populace at large. The informed readers of the *Waterford Herald* in 1792/3 could only have been delighted. Imagine having to listen to this man!

## LANDLORDS AND THEIR MINERALS c. 1850: TWO WATERFORD CASE STUDIES

*by Des Cowman*

It would seem to be axiomatic that the Irish landlord class should be as willing as anyone else to seek fast, easy profit should the opportunity present itself. Surviving records from two locations in Waterford show far more complex reactions to the possibility of mineral wealth being discovered on their lands. The first example given here is from the Uniacke estate at Stradbally and the second is from Henry Villiers Stuart's property on the highlands west of Dungarvan. Both landlords went about developing their supposed mineral wealth in a way which would have been self-defeating if their local mineralogy had permitted it.

### Richard Uniacke's copper 'mine'

In the early 1840s Richard Uniacke's attention was drawn to copper showings on his land. He decided to set up a company to exploit what he assumed would be a mineralised zone running parallel to the rich Knockmahon lodes. He offered the workers on his estate shares in his new Stradbally Mining Company, even though, as he admitted, they had little more than the savings of their weekly wages.<sup>1</sup> His agent George Dormer was also a shareholder, as was an articulate farmer from Kilmacthomas who assumed that rich ore could simply be dug out of the ground at a total capital cost of about £20 and they would all be rich. A number of miners from Knockmahon, headed by the chief clerk there, James Power, were also persuaded to part with their savings and steady jobs in order to develop Stradbally. The new company lasted five months, from February to August 1842.<sup>2</sup>

Over that period a shaft was sunk 150 feet deep and, according to Uniacke, 'a very satisfactory lode' found, which was 'followed for some distance'. He does not explain why another poorer shaft was then sunk and ore 'of a still superior quality' found, nor exactly why the entire enterprise was then abandoned. He blamed at first there being 'too many managers' but then decided that the problem was having 'no directing manager'.<sup>3</sup> Most likely the real explanation is that they had not the capital to pump out these holes in the ground, which flooded before they could get at any worthwhile copper. Such ore as had been extracted was simply left on the ground and the mine offered for sale, 'the company who opened it not being able to work it', as their advertisement says.<sup>4</sup>

There were no takers. Uniacke now decided to try another tactic and the following year he contacted the manager of Lackamore mine in Tipperary, which was also for sale.<sup>5</sup> He enquired about buying the pump from there and at the same time seemingly decided to raise no less than £10,000 capital by setting up the Waterford Mining Company, to exploit 'a supposed extension of the Knockmahon lodes', as the sceptical editor of the *Mining Journal* puts it. The editor assumed that when as much of this capital as possible was gathered, 'having paid off its directors, etc., it will quietly fold up'.<sup>6</sup> The pump from Lackamore was, however, purchased. How he raised the

1 Uniacke Papers which were held privately in Stradbally until recently but have now gone to the National Archives. Undated draft and copy of letter with no addressee setting background to the company.

2 *Mining Journal*, 4 February 1842, letter signed 'An Irish Farmer, Kilmacthomas' enthusing about the enterprise. Dormer's name is mentioned in ad re closure on 22 August in *ibid*.

3 As ref 1, draft and copy of letter.

4 *Mining Journal* 22 August 1843, ad.

5 For details see Des Cowman, 'The Metal Mines of Tipperary' in *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1992), p. 110.

6 *MJ*, 1845, p. 44, editorial. I assume this company to be Uniacke's.

necessary £950 is not stated, but by the spring of 1845 the pump was installed. However, he could not get it to work!<sup>7</sup> The sequel is not recorded, nor the amount of money raised, but seemingly the Waterford Mining Company did quietly fold up. Six years passed before Uniacke actively considered mining again.

Something of a mining boom took place in the immediate post-Famine years and numerous 'bubble companies' were set up to exploit supposed mineral riches.<sup>8</sup> In 1851 two promoters contacted Uniacke with this in mind. One was a Joseph Donnell from Liverpool who expressed a 'long interest' in Stradbally's potential. He would set up a company if Uniacke pumped out the shafts first. Uniacke was interested but said that Donnell would have to pump the mine.<sup>9</sup> Apparently no more happened about this, but shortly afterwards Uniacke had a visit from a London promoter named Richards, who made the following offer:

[Stradbally] mineral property . . . would very well suit a good mining company as a spot to commence their first operations. I have a favourable opinion of it and I shall speak of its capacity in my reports on Irish mines. A party of gentlemen in London proposed raising a capital of £50,000 this winter to open the Waterford mines if we can obtain the patronage of Lord Ormond.

It seems that Uniacke sensibly did not reply to this empty offer.<sup>10</sup>

Two further years passed before more serious interest was shown in Stradbally's potential. The Mining Company of Ireland, which worked Knockmahon lode, had recently found a rich vein at a depth parallel to this at Tankardstown, to the east.<sup>11</sup> The possibility that such also existed at Stradbally to its west had also to be investigated. The company secretary wrote to ask whether they could carry out tests there. Uniacke, however, must have had some antipathy to the company, possibly resulting from the events of ten years previously, when he had lured a number of their miners into his short-lived Stradbally Mining Company. His draft reply to the secretary was terse: 'Sir, I beg to decline the offer.'<sup>12</sup> Richard Uniacke died later that year and the estate was inherited by his cousin, Col. George John Beresford.<sup>13</sup>

Five further years passed before the Mining Company of Ireland tried making another approach. This time they got a positive response from the Colonel and a detailed agreement was drawn up, clearly establishing the terms under which exploration and subsequent mining could take place, as well as the rights of both parties concerned. At last it seemed that proper mining at Stradbally would commence and the company were happy to be at last able to inspect 'the Stradbally mine about which we had been told such wonderful things', as they subsequently ironically put it.<sup>14</sup>

The result was an anti-climax for all concerned. Having spent a mere £10-2-8d inspecting the mine shafts, the company concluded that Stradbally was

- 7 Uniacke Papers, letters from Curry of Lackamore, 19 November 1844, quoting price, and 25 April 1845, telling him that the mechanism at the bottom of the pump must be clogged and instructing him how to clean it.
- 8 See Cowman and Reilly, *The Abandoned Mines of West Carbery* (GSI, 1988), especially chap. 9, 'The Anatomy of a Bubble Company fraud'.
- 9 Uniacke Papers, letters from Donnell, 9 Aug. and 27 Sept. 1851, with draft reply to latter on its fold sheet.
- 10 *ibid.*, C. S. Richards to Uniacke, 15 Nov. 1851. He ('C.S.R.') has an equally windy article in the *Mining Journal*, 1851, p. 546, entitled 'The Mineral Wealth of Ireland, I'. There are no subsequent parts.
- 11 See Des Cowman in *Decies*, no. 46, p. 12.
- 12 Uniacke Papers, letter from R. Purdy Allen to Uniacke dated 16 May 1853, with his record of reply on fold leaf dated the following day.
- 13 *ibid.* includes the undertaker's bill. See also relevant entries in *Burke's Landed Gentry* and *Burke's Peerage*.
- 14 *ibid.*, Captain Paul from Knockmahon to Beresford, 20 Oct. and 20 Nov. 1858, plus printed draft contract with hand-written addenda.

The most unpromising concern we ever saw . . . We did feel quite disgusted with ourselves and everybody else [i.e. formerly involved] . . . We cannot recommend the company to spend any more money here.<sup>15</sup>

There the matter should have rested, except that inexplicably the Mining Company of Ireland appear to have tried again some four years later. In 1862 they drew up a very detailed twelve-page agreement with Beresford, but since there is no record of them actually doing any further tests here, this may merely have been a ploy for selling mineral leases they had acquired.<sup>16</sup>

Thus Uniacke's misplaced efforts to exploit the copper on his lands would have come to nothing anyway. It is possible that the same would have happened at Drumslig, west of Dungarvan, but the odd behaviour of Henry Villiers-Stuart and his solicitor never allowed such to be established.

### The iron 'mine' at Drumslig

The first specific record of iron being worked on the bleak highlands of Slievegrin is by Richard Boyle in the mid-17th century.<sup>17</sup> About a hundred years later 'large pits' were still visible by the roadside there, out of which 'iron ore was formerly dug'.<sup>18</sup> They would seem to have been worked again in the early 19th century, though nothing survived except four shafts indicated on the 1840 O.S. map and the view that iron 'abounds' there.<sup>19</sup> The location centred on the townland of Drumslig, but included the adjoining townlands of Pulla and Monamine (=bog with mines?). A survey of the mineral potential there in the 1850s referred to 'numerous veins of richest iron ore . . . varying from two to six feet' interspersed with manganese ('one specimen 67% manganese oxide'),<sup>20</sup> and this is apparently confirmed by a survey of 1908 which refers again to the rich iron ore and manganese with values of 50-60%.<sup>21</sup> This section, however, is about the mine working on this rich ore-body that didn't happen.

This non-event took place in 1858-9 at a time when the owner of the area was Hon. Henry Villiers-Stuart, first Baron Stuart de Decies, Lieutenant of the City and County of Waterford and much acclaimed hero of the Catholic Association some thirty years earlier. His dealings in relation to this iron/manganese deposit show him in a somewhat different light. Indeed, his ineptitude about basic matters such as getting his marriage properly certified was revealed after his death and was to cost his family its hereditary title.<sup>22</sup> Whether it was he or somebody else who took the initiative in deciding that the ore-body at Drumslig should be developed is not recorded, as the earliest surviving documentation has him, apparently, preoccupied with the form that a mining lease should take if granted to a Mr Levick of Blaina Iron Works, Newport (Wales). While the dealings with Levick are usually signed by Villiers-Stuart's solicitor, a Mr Lawrence Dennehy of Cappoquin, it has to be assumed that these had the full approval of that landlord (otherwise, serious questions would have to be asked as to why he did not take personal responsibility).

15 *ibid.*, 20 Nov. M.C.I.'s half-yearly reports to their shareholders, second rep., 1859, give the sum spent.

16 *ibid.*, 12-page MS entitled 'Heads of Agreement', 1862. The M.C.I. reports make no further mention of Stradbally.

17 T. P. Power, 'Richard Boyle's Ironworks in County Waterford' in *Decies*, No. 7 (June 1978), p. 35.

18 Charles Smith, *Antient and Present State of Waterford* (Dublin, 1746), p. 73.

19 6" OS. Map, 1840, Waterford, sheet 22. Jonathan Binns, *The Miseries and Beauties of Ireland*, (London, 1837), I, p. 314.

20 Undated and unprovenanced report in Villiers-Stuart papers, microfilm in Waterford County Library, Lismore, T3131, m/21, item 7 (henceforth V/S Papers).

21 Geological Survey of Ireland, typescript 005MABVA, being 'Extracts from a Prospectus' with notes by G. M. Hollingsworth.

22 See *Burke's Irish Family Records* (London, 1976), p. 1067.

By early 1858 it seems that heads of agreement had been arrived at by which Levick would begin work that was expected to continue over the next two and a half years.<sup>23</sup> Locally, it seems, this generated 'a great deal of unwarranted excitement and exaggeration'.<sup>24</sup> The negative adjective here proved to be well justified as Villiers-Stuart began to give priority, not to exploiting the ore body, as it seems, but to exploiting the potential of Levick's company by making it difficult for them.

Levick's solicitor, a Mr Rawcliffe, had to explain to Dennehy that his clients are large consumers of iron ore and it is their object to work the mines to their fullest extent. All they seek is adequate and proper protection in the laying out of their money and a power to relinquish the mines in case they should prove unproductive.

Five items of correspondence on what seem to be trivial details then follow before Dennehy reports that Villiers-Stuart has developed qualms about how his 5% royalty is to be assessed. Another three letters cross, and nine pages of legal memoranda explaining standard procedures for weighing ore.<sup>25</sup> Meanwhile, it seems that equipment had been moved onto the site and testing had begun, but this seems to have spurred Villiers-Stuart into new extremes of obstructionism.

First he demanded 'way leave through the land of every *other* proprietor whose mines Mr Levick might take'. Dennehy tried to 'justify' this extraordinary demand by explaining that 'his lordship considers security .... to be of vital importance to him'. Then there were queries from Dennehy on the technicalities of transmission of the mining lease, and other matters follow, with Rawcliffe patiently trying to accommodate the various demands. Five months thus pass before Levick expresses himself in February 1859 as being 'discouraged by the delay' and ominously states his apprehension at 'the great expense of mining from [*sic*] almost impenetrable rock and water'. In relation to the tests he says that 'results have been disappointing', hinting that he may have to abandon the enterprise. This may, however, have been a ploy to speed up the process, and within a week Dennehy had replied, stating that he was working on a final draft of the lease and this would conclude their correspondence.<sup>26</sup>

It didn't. Three weeks later, Rawcliffe got back the draft lease about which there had been so much correspondence. Instead of the amendments which had been so painfully agreed on, entire sections of the original had been deleted (i.e., erased rather than being crossed out). For example, Villiers-Stuart had demanded the right to use 'any canals, railways, tramways, waggons' etc. built by Levick 'upon his making due and proper payment'. These last seven words, however, were no longer visible on the lease, so Levick's solicitor returned it.<sup>27</sup>

Dennehy responded to this by 'denying most emphatically the foul implication' that he had altered the draft. The reply stated that while no insult was intended, the fact was that somebody *had* altered the draft. Dennehy responded by return of post: 'You repeat the insinuations contained in your former letter... [which] are offensive and untrue'. Rawcliffe coldly wrote back: 'I have never insinuated but have always distinctly asserted... the alterations... must have been made in your office'. He ominously added that this new delay might well result in loss to Levick which

23 V-S Papers, loc. cit., item 8, Dennehy-Rawcliffe (solicitor for Levick) item 8, 11/2/1858.

24 As ref. 20 above.

25 V-S Papers, loc. cit., item 8, Dennehy-Rawcliffe correspondence 12 July, 8 Aug. 1858 and following.

26 *ibid.*, 1 and 6 Aug. 1858 et seq. A copy of Levick's remarks is included with Rawcliffe's letter of 22 Feb. 1859 with Dennehy's reply dated 28 Feb.

27 *ibid.*, 17 March 1859 (dispatch of lease from Dennehy) with further 2, 5, 7 and 11 April 1859. The 31-page draft lease, or a copy of it, is enclosed with letter of 5th to Dennehy.

would require compensation.<sup>28</sup> Correspondence between the solicitors then broke off, but Villiers-Stuart straight away wrote directly to Levick expressing 'regret' at what had happened. However, reposing every confidence in Dennehy, he 'beg[s] to add that I have in my possession documentary evidence of the utter falsehood of the imputation cast on him by Mr Rawcliffe in this particular instance, evidence which, whenever produced, will, I apprehend, be found ...etc'. He hoped that Levick himself would come to Ireland so that an agreement could be made 'between two gentlemen'.<sup>29</sup>

Levick was unable to come himself but was willing to send his son instead. He did point out to Villiers-Stuart: 'I am very much pained at the course this negotiation has taken just when it was on the point of completion'. He wondered why Dennehy had not communicated the 'evidence' directly to Rawcliffe and pointed out that 'the tone of Mr Dennehy's letters [is] little more than a simple denial or expression of anger', being neither 'candid or explanatory'. Levick also indicated that he was responding to Villiers-Stuart immediately he had received the letter, the delay being caused by the Baron using the wrong address.<sup>30</sup>

Somebody meanwhile had contacted the *Mining Journal* and told them of the rich potential of Drumligh and adjoining townlands.<sup>31</sup> Against this background young (?) Frederick Levick arrived here in July 1859 and signed a very vague 'gentlemen's' agreement with Villiers-Stuart. Levick then went to Ardmore (possibly the ore was to be shipped from there) and inexplicably rescinded the arrangement:

I have now determined to abandon the further search for minerals on your lordship's estate. I have laid out a considerable sum, and the search so far gives no prospect of any probable result. There will therefore be no possibility of any further negotiation.<sup>32</sup>

To judge from Villiers-Stuart's reply, this apparent turn-about was not entirely unexpected, and he responded straight away, calling for surrender of possession and suggesting that Levick should now proceed to Clashmore to meet Dennehy 're his demand against you for professional services'. Levick was just about to leave Ardmore when this was delivered to him, and he replied immediately: 'Your Lordship must be aware that your solicitor has rendered me no professional service', but suggested, presumably with irony, that Dennehy contact Rawcliffe and his demand 'will be promptly attended to'. Levick also pointed out that he could not surrender the lease until his equipment had been removed.<sup>33</sup> He then left, and that was the end of Levick's attempt to mine iron at Drumligh.

By way of postscript to this episode, Dennehy did have the temerity to write to Rawcliffe demanding costs. Rawcliffe replied that Dennehy was 'entitled to nothing' but then offered him £50, apparently to put off the nuisance. Dennehy accepted 'this paltry sum', adding that 'for prudent motives' Levick had abandoned the mine but had been left off 'generously'. Rawcliffe denied such imputations but sent the £50 and requested a receipt. Dennehy used this opportunity to get in the last word by claiming that if the matter had gone to court he would have won.<sup>34</sup>

Meanwhile, Villiers-Stuart was trying to interest others in the site, using as an agent a Mr Geoghagan. Mining engineer Warrington Smith inspected the site in October 1859 and ventured the rather ambiguous opinion that the lode was 'still undiscovered'. He was offered the lease on the same terms as Levick. No further correspondence follows! Somebody else (signature page

28 *ibid.*, 7, 11, 13, 20 April 1859.

29 *ibid.*, Villiers-Stuart to Levick 22 April 1859.

30 *ibid.*, Levick to Villiers-Stuart, 28 April 1859.

31 *Mining Journal*, 1859, p. 456, Dublin Correspondent citing iron values of 43-46% at Drumligh.

32 V-S Papers, loc. cit., copy of agreement signed by F. Levick 20 July 1859 and letter from FitzGerald's Hotel, Ardmore, two days later. The tone suggests that it may have been Levick senior who came.

33 *ibid.*, both letters being dated 22 July 1859.

34 *ibid.*, 13 & 25 Aug. and 5 & 10 Sept. 1859.

missing) from Clane, Co. Kildare, inspected Drumslig in early 1860 and was reported to have suggested it had potential, but again no more follows. Geoghagan then tried to interest Dublin Chamber of Commerce and the engineer William Dargan in the prospects, but did not get beyond their secretaries.<sup>35</sup> Somebody was again testing the site that August, when it was visited by the inspectors of the Geological Survey of Ireland. No more is heard about the tests, nor had the inspectors anything very positive to say about it.<sup>36</sup>

While the site was, as has been mentioned, inspected again in 1908 and a favorable report drawn up on it, the reality probably is that rich surface indications might not be borne out at depth. Iron as a low-value ore would need to be shipped out in huge quantities to be remunerative, and bulk transport to either Ardmore or Dungarvan could prove extremely expensive. It is possible that Levick did not appreciate the remoteness of the site until he (or his son) visited it in July 1858, and that they had been merely relying on surveys giving ore values.

More significant, however, is the limited vision of Henry Villiers-Stuart, sometime high-profile nationalist and still an influential person both as landlord, peer and lieutenant of the county. His priority obviously was not to create industrial employment for either his tenants or the people of Waterford whom he purported to represent. His solicitor Dennehy was at best pusillanimous; Villiers-Stuart not alone employed him but continuously promoted the interest of this man, whose values presumably reflected his own. Perhaps further research on other aspects of Baron Stuart de Decies, herald of Catholic Emancipation, will cast a kinder light upon him. Richard Uniacke at least took personal responsibility for his own actions and would also have been a loser if it had transpired that there were commercial quantities of copper in Stradbally.

35 *ibid.*, letters from Geoghagan 12, 14, 27 Oct. 1859 plus undated one which follows the letter from Clane of 5 April 1860.

36 *Memoirs of the Geological Survey* (sheets 188-9, Cork-Waterford), HMSO, 1861.

**AS OTHERS SAW US:**  
**WATERFORD IN KOHL'S**  
***TRAVELS IN IRELAND (1844)***

Johann Georg Kohl was born at Bremen in 1808. After studying at various universities and serving as tutor to the children of several noble families, he settled at Dresden in 1838 and from there visited many countries in Europe. His books of travel were mostly compiled between 1842 and 1851. His tour of Ireland in 1842 was published in 1843 and an English translation appeared the following year. In 1854 he went to America, where he prepared a series of maps for his government. He later became city librarian at Bremen, where he died in 1878. Constantia Maxwell wrote of him: 'This German was a very good observer, and his judgement is excellent. His book on Ireland alone bears witness to this, and written as it is with German thoroughness is a mine of information for the historian.'<sup>1</sup>

Having toured England, Kohl left Holyhead for Ireland on 22 September 1842. His itinerary commenced (inevitably) with Dublin, and included Limerick, Killarney, Cork, Kilkenny, Waterford, Wexford, Avoca, Glendalough, Dublin again, Drogheda, Belfast, and the Giant's Causeway. Having spent just over a month in this country, he embarked at Belfast for Scotland at the end of October.

Like all travellers of his day, Kohl remarked on the swarms of beggars, the overwhelming poverty of the masses, the evils of absentee landlords and subdivision of tenant farms, and the greater prosperity of Ulster. However, he was an entertaining as well as a candid observer, and tended to seek out noteworthy events and personalities: he visited the Edgeworths on his way from Dublin, travelled to Kilrush to hear Father Mathew (who impressed him enormously), visited Bianconi's car and harness factory at Clonmel, attended the races in Kilkenny, and heard the Liberator speak in Dublin (Kohl regarded him as an extraordinary man rather than a great one). His anecdotes and comments are always worth heeding, and the slight quaintness of the English translation adds to their entertainment value.

From the local historian's point of view, Kohl is a little disappointing, for whenever he seems about to launch into the kind of topographical description one would like to read he uses the local scene as a vehicle for describing an aspect of the general condition of Ireland. As for his experience of Waterford city and county, he passed through Lismore on his way from Cork to Kilkenny but barely mentions it, and his visit to Waterford is used as an opportunity for comparing the populations of Irish towns. The best value in this section of his book is the highly entertaining account of his journey from Waterford to New Ross by paddle steamer, though alas, he fails to pass on to us the racy comments on local gentry families so eagerly poured into his ear by his ecclesiastical companion.

Kohl's book describes Ireland on the eve of the Famine. Three years after his visit, catastrophe changed the country drastically and permanently. Kohl 'was determined to see and know as much as possible, and though one reads his book more for profit than pleasure, his opinions must always be treated with respect, for they are those of a well-educated and much-travelled individual who is singularly free from prejudice.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *The Stranger in Ireland* (London, 1954), p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, p. 295.

We present here chapters XX and XXI and part of XXII of Kohl's *Travels in Ireland*, from his departure from Kilkenny en route to Waterford until his departure from New Ross en route to Wexford. The text has been slightly amended to accord with modern usage, and a short section on Irish placenames has been omitted.

## I

### FROM KILKENNY TO WATERFORD

*'Look, Your Honours, There's Misery!' - Castle Rackrent - Late Harvests*

From Kilkenny to Waterford, the traveller rolls down the hills with all the waters of the country. The three greatest rivers in Ireland (after the Shannon) - the Suir, the Nore, and the Barron [*sic*], all flow in this direction, and meet at Waterford; and as they bring down along with them clear waves, fruitful soil, and fresh green fields, they collect in the country around this city a multitude of charms.

At six o'clock in the morning we mounted our diligence-car to roll down into this country. It was still rather dark, but yet light enough to enable us to distinguish a party of dusky figures that surrounded our carriage. They were of course poor Irish women, whom hunger had already driven from their beds. Their chorus of lamentations was heartrending. Each recounted her sufferings, the number of her children, the misery of her husband, with as much zeal and emulation as the showmen on the Kilkenny racecourse had proclaimed their rarities. With the most humble supplications they earnestly entreated, if we would not each give something, that we would at least jointly contribute a sixpence, which they would afterwards divide among themselves. When they saw that our hearts remained unmoved, they at last led forward a poor old blind woman, and brought her close to our carriage, so that in the twilight we could behold her empty eyesockets: 'Look, your honours! there's misery for you! Only look at this poor unfortunate woman! Give her something - only one penny, your honours, and God will prosper your journey. God will protect your eyes, and carry you home safe to your families!' When this wretched creature, whose hand they held close to us, had received something, the others appeared somewhat satisfied, and no longer supplicated so noisily for themselves. I have often remarked among the Irish beggars, that even the most miserable modestly retire before those who are supposed to be still more miserable than themselves.

A traveller in Ireland can never dwell too strongly on the extraordinary misery of the poorer classes, in order as much as possible, and from every quarter, to contradict the opinions of those Englishmen who *will not believe* in the misery of Ireland - who *deny it*, who *laugh at it*, and call him a fool who speaks of it and believes in its existence. Ruin, decay, rags, beggars, and misery are to be seen all through Ireland - not merely in the wild districts of Clare, Donegal, Mayo, and Kerry, where, in truth, they present themselves in the greatest and most appalling forms - but equally throughout the most beautiful and most fertile plains. And why is this the case? Because it is not the poverty of nature that is to blame, but men - the men of England on account of their severe laws, and the men of Ireland on account of their laziness and want of industry. Thus, even this beautiful district, as far as Waterford, displays the usual richness of Ireland in poverty, the usual abundance of want, and the great profusion of indigence. A vast quantity of land in this fertile district is said to be under the management of middlemen, and there are here, therefore, many poor villagers and farmers whose rents have been screwed to the very highest, or who, as the Irish express it, are 'rackrented'. A landowner who exacts from his tenants an excessive rent is called a 'Rackrenter', and the mansion in which this tormentor dwells is a 'Castle Rackrent'.

Having met with a gentleman proceeding to Waterford on foot, I resolved upon travelling the latter part of my journey in the same manner, especially as my companion promised to guide me to the city through some of the by-roads of the country. On our way we took a look at the works on a new road, visited some poor farmers, and examined the ruins of a little Danish castle, called Dunkitt, amid whose walls the blackberry-bushes were in blossom at this late period of the season. As the climate of Ireland neither forces the blossoms rapidly forward, nor brings the fruits quickly to maturity, a few blossoms are always to be seen here throughout the entire year. The corn ripens so slowly that, although the summer-seed is sown six weeks earlier, the harvest is almost six weeks later than in those continental countries of Europe which lie under the same degree of latitude. In the North there are countries in which the life of nature blazes up into a bright flame for a brief summer, and then again sinks into dust and ashes. In Ireland, this life always feebly glimmers, like a lighted sod of turf, and is never entirely extinguished.

We soon after beheld the valley of the Suir, the lofty picturesque shore of rock on both its sides, and the beautifully-situated town of Waterford, like a pearl in its mouth.

## II

### WATERFORD

*English and Irish names of places - decrease and increase of the population of Irish towns - exportation of grain - Repeal-rooms - the east of Ireland - wounds inflicted by Cromwell*

Waterford and Wexford were both founded by the Danes, and, with the surrounding country, were held by them longer than any other part of Ireland. Hence their names are not Celtic, but Germanic. In the geography of Ireland there are multitudes of these Germanic names, which were introduced by the Danes or the English. They are easily known by the terminations - ford, town, borough, berry, &c., as for example, Maryborough, Mitchelstown, Thomastown, Castletownsend, Rosscarberry, Bearhaven, and many others.

Waterford is the sixth city in Ireland, and has about 30,000 inhabitants. For the last twenty years the amount of its population has been nearly stationary, having increased little more than a thousand during that period. It is remarkable that this has been the case with nearly all the towns of the south of Ireland; thus Waterford, which in 1821 had 28,676 inhabitants, in 1831 had 28,821; and Wexford, which in 1821 had 10,580, in 1831 numbered only 10,673. In other towns the increase is extremely slow; thus Cork, in 1821, contained 100,658 inhabitants, and 107,016 in 1831, being an increase of only six per cent. Kilkenny, with a population of 23,230 in 1821, increased about two per cent in ten years; and Youghal and Cove seven per cent during the same period. Some of the southern towns seem even to retrograde in the amount of their population, as Clonmel, which in 1821 had 15,590 inhabitants, and in 1831 only 15,134; and Bandon, which in 1821 had 10,179, and in 1831 only 9,917. During the same period the general increase of population in Ireland was fourteen and a half per cent. Nearly all the towns of the south fall short of this general increase: Tralee, Thurles, and a few more insignificant places being the only exceptions. The greatest increase of population is in the towns of the north of Ireland. Belfast, in the last ten years, has increased its population forty-two per cent; Galway twenty, Londonderry sixteen, and Newry thirty per cent. This is a remarkable fact, the causes of which it would be somewhat difficult to explain. The entire average increase of population in all the towns of Ireland, in this period, was eleven and a half per cent, being three and a half per cent less than that of the entire country. Thus it appears that the principal increase of population does not take place in the towns, but in the country. In this respect Ireland differs from England and Scotland, where the population of the towns increases much more rapidly than that of the country.

Though the population of Waterford has increased so little during the last twenty years, its exports have not remained equally stationary. On the contrary, as is proved by the official returns, its exports have been doubled. The same number of men, therefore, must have nearly twice as much to do now as they had formerly. The principal article of export from Waterford is the grain of the surrounding country, which is shipped to England. This trade has been constantly increasing during the last forty years, and is now almost five times as great as it was before that period. In the year 1802 the entire quantity of grain exported from all Ireland to England amounted to 461,000, or nearly half a million of quarters, at which it remained till about the year 1808, when it first exceeded half a million of quarters, and amounted to 656,000. From that year it slowly increased, till in 1818 it amounted to over a million, being then 1,200,000 quarters. In 1825 it was two millions, and in 1837 three millions. In 1838 it was higher than it ever was before, namely, 3,474,000 quarters of corn, mostly oats, which is the principal grain of Ireland. From this year it has somewhat fallen off, but has ever since been more than two millions.

Waterford possesses two prominent features which are of the greatest advantage to its trade: first, one of the most wonderful quays in the world; and, secondly, one of the finest harbours in Ireland. The quay is a mile long, and so broad and convenient withal, that it must be invaluable to merchants and mariners. It is skirted by a row of elegant houses; and the scenery on the opposite side of the river, which is here a mile and a half wide, is extremely picturesque.<sup>3</sup>

The embouchure of the river Suir, which forms the harbour, is wide and deep, without islands or sandbanks, and affords all possible security and convenience to ships. I have already said that Waterford harbour has a great similarity to the bay of Cove, near Cork. Cleaving the land in a similar manner, it runs from the sea, taking with it the sea water, for ten or fifteen miles into the country. At its upper end it divides into two branches, one of which runs west, and the other northwards, while at New Ross it receives the Barrow and the Nore. All this extent of land and water, as far as Waterford and New Ross, and then somewhat farther up the Suir, Barrow, and Nore, is one of the most beautiful and charming districts in Ireland.

I took tea in Waterford, at an hotel which had a separate room for the friends of repeal. On the windows of the apartment the words 'Repeal Rooms' were displayed in large characters. Similar rooms are met with in many Irish towns, where the friends of repeal are always to be found, perusing the opposition papers of England and Ireland, which are taken for their use.<sup>4</sup> Most of the provincial papers of Ireland are, of course, opposition papers. In Waterford alone, three of them are published. The *Dublin Evening Mail* is the leading Tory paper of Ireland, and I did not find it in any of the repeal rooms I visited. I am inclined to think that we Germans, were we ever so zealous repealers, would sometimes read the *Evening Mail*, if it were only to ascertain what our adversaries said of us. English parties, however, are always so completely absorbed in their own interests, that they merely read the papers of their party, and appear not to give themselves the slightest trouble about the arguments of their opponents. In this respect they rely implicitly on the commentaries of their own journalists, who sometimes apprise them of the 'disloyal and outrageous machinations' of the opposite party.

At Waterford the east of Ireland commences. As the nations of the south - the Phoenicians, the Spaniards, and the French - chose their landing-places at Bantry, in Kerry, Clare, and other places in the south-west; so those sailing from the east, as the Danes, the Welsh, and the

3 Kohl's estimate was somewhat over-generous- the actual width is about a furlong!

4 In the 1820s Irish political life was dominated by O'Connell's sensational and successful campaign for Catholic emancipation. During the 1830s he collaborated with the Whig government to achieve a series of reforms. The fall of the Whigs in 1840-41 led him to embark on a massive campaign for the repeal of the Act of Union and the re-creation of an Irish parliament. The Repeal campaign was in full swing at the time of Kohl's visit. Within a year of his departure it had reached its climax and begun to collapse; it received the *coup de grâce* with O'Connell's death in 1847.

English, first arrived near Waterford, which town, with Wexford, the Danes first possessed and longest retained. The Welsh Strongbow effected his landing between Wexford and Waterford. The English King Henry II landed at Waterford, and there commenced his conquest of Ireland. Here Cromwell also landed, and from hence he marched into the heart of the land, to conquer it once more. The city, even at the present day, exhibits abundant proofs of the exploits of this ruthless warrior, and mighty oppressor of Ireland. Every citizen can point out to the traveller the rock, opposite the town, from which he battered it with his cannon; and there yet stands, at the end of the quay, an old ruined tower, which bears traces of a breach made in it by Cromwell's artillery. How many similar breaches made by Cromwell in Irish walls still remain, as apparent as when his soldiers left them - and how many wounds inflicted by him on the political condition of the country are yet unhealed!

Cromwell's time was almost contemporaneous with our Thirty Years' War, and may, in many respects, be justly compared with it; but the injuries inflicted on Germany by the latter have long been healed and forgotten; its devastating effects have long disappeared, and everything has again long resumed its former aspect. It seems as if there were something peculiar in the nature and condition of Ireland that prevents her wounds from ever healing: she is constantly bleeding from a thousand wounds and sores; and although still clinging to life with too much tenacity entirely to die away, she never at any moment possesses energy enough completely to achieve her freedom, or restore herself to a more healthy state of existence.

### III

#### FROM WATERFORD TO WEXFORD

*The repeal ship - Waterford Harbour - the ruins of Dunbrody - Irish jig - the banks of the Barrow - New Ross.*

On the following morning, when I came to the river, it was exactly low water. Several vessels were lying on their sides in the mud, as if stranded. Above the beautiful bridge, the Suir seemed almost entirely drained, and the banks were slimy and muddy. But as the tide rolled in, the sand-banks were covered, the ships righted themselves and danced upon the waves, the artery of the river was filled, and the landscape again reflected in its restored mirror. The sun mounted high in the heavens, and our steamboat, the *Repealer*, rushed forth through the waves. What is there to be found in Ireland that has not some connexion with repeal? I was informed that the repealers go almost exclusively by this boat, and hence it was also called the People's Steamer. On the flag which waved from the quarter-deck were the words 'Hurrah for the Repeal of the Union!' O'Connell can now, at his meetings, truly boast that the repeal cause is progressing with the rapidity of steam. In this corner of the earth, indeed, steam does not go very far - only to the town of New Ross, fifteen miles distant, whither we were bound. Nor does it afford any exclusive advantage to the repealers, as the anti-repealers also employ steam in their cause. Another steamboat, bound to the same place, splashed alongside of us, in opposition to ours. In England one never gets rid of this opposition; it follows him everywhere.

Had I not been in Scotland, and sailed down the Frith [*sic*] of Clyde, I would pronounce this trip on the arms of Waterford Harbour to be the finest in the United Kingdom. Or, were there not much that is beautiful out of the United Kingdom, I could also say that it is the most delightful journey I ever made in my life. But it is sufficient to affirm that the landscape on the shores of these waters is as picturesque, pleasing, and diversified in its kind as any other in the world. The waters flow through the deep and convenient bays somewhat more quickly than through a lake; and as its entrance from the sea is concealed from the spectator by a very sudden turn, he actually believes he

is on an inland lake, and is astonished at the large ships which ascend it, seeking harbours hidden far in the heart of the land. At times the shore is a hill, sloping down to the water, which, like almost every river-bank in the United Kingdom, is studded with charming seats and pleasure-grounds; at others, it juts out in steep, rocky, and wooded headlands, which the *Repealer* almost grazes as she speeds past.

At no great distance below Waterford are seen, in the background of a bay, the immense ruins of the far-famed Abbey of Dunbrody, one of the most celebrated and beautiful ruins of Ireland, which are here held in about the same estimation as the ruins of Melrose are in Scotland. Alas! they are now, like the times of their grandeur, in the far distance; and the *Repealer* has too much to do with the opposition steamer, which is walking close upon her heels, and forces her to keep her straightforward way, to turn from her course, and give the traveller a look at the ruined abbey. In truth, it afforded us no little amusement to see our rival, as she was about to turn into the mouth of the Barrow, run aground on a sand-bank, where, as our captain drily observed, she must stick till the tide would rise somewhat higher, and float her off. As for the *Repealer*, being obliged to be at New Ross by a certain time, she soon left Dunbrody far behind, and splashed away with the flowing tide up the Barrow. The British Islands must reap important benefits from the double alternating currents, one landwards, the other seawards, of the navigable rivers. In no other country do the waters of the sea flow so far inland, bearing ships into the very heart of the country.

On the deck of an Irish steamer there is seldom a want of entertainment. On the quarter-deck the company is twice as talkative as on that of an English steamer; and the fore-castle resounds even with music and singing. To the music, which, of course, was that of the bagpipes, we had dancing. Since Paddy, as I have before remarked, generally uses only an old door, or a couple of boards laid close together, for a dancing-floor, he naturally finds it impossible to leave unoccupied the beautiful space which, on the deck of a steamer, remains vacant, between butterfirkins, flour-bags, egg-boxes, hen-coops, baskets of turkeys, tied-up cows, and a confused heap of grunting pigs. He therefore lays aside his stick, and throws his cares and his sorrows to the winds, with much greater ease than can be done by the rich man of five thousand a year who is looking at him; with good-humour in his face, he seizes a struggling maiden, and, in a merry and lively jig, or Scottish reel, he shakes his rags as if they were the bell-tipped lappets of a fool's dress. The splashing paddles of the steamer beat the time for him, and the lovely banks of the Barrow give to this spectacle a decoration which the ballet-dancers on the boards of Covent-garden of Drury-lane cannot boast of.

The evening was wondrously calm, and even the fishes, though still poorer than Paddy, jumped in the water for joy. I planted myself beside the captain, on the high platform in the centre of the vessel, and, while I observed the grave and serious rich on the quarter-deck, and the merry poor in the fore-castle, I could not refrain from praising the justice of God, who, while he makes man poor, at the same time renders him more capable of taking delight in the most trifling things.

The beautiful seats of the Powers,<sup>5</sup> the Asmonds,<sup>6</sup> and other families which lay along the banks, are all so charming that one would like to take a sketch of each separately. Near Castle Ennis,<sup>7</sup> in a broad beautiful meadow, stands the largest, most lordly, and picturesque oak I ever saw. One looks on these mansions with increased interest, if, as I had, he has an Irish priest as *confessant* at his side, who, from being intrusted with the private affairs of the families that reside in them, can give him a sketch of the history of each. While I listened to my priestly *confessant*, I

5 The mansions of this wealthy and prolific family of Powers were at Bellevue and Snowhill (Co. Kilkenny) and Faithlegg (Co. Waterford). For genealogical details, see *Burke's Irish Family Records* (1976)

6 Presumably the allusion is to Ringville, then occupied by Lady Letitia Esmonde, only daughter and heir of Nicholas Devereux of Ringville and widow of Sir Thomas Esmonde, 8th Bart.

7 Castle Annaghs was built by the Murphy family, who had made their fortune in Cadiz. At this time it was rented by Thomas K. Carr from Thomas Fitzgerald.

---

was somewhat amazed at the *extra*-ordinary things which happen in the usual every-day life of these families. In one of these mansions there yet dwells an old lady, the widow of one of the most distinguished of those rebels who were beheaded by the English during the last rebellion in Ireland.<sup>8</sup>

As we passed a rock, our cannon were fired, in memory of a sailor, who, some months previously, had fallen overboard at this spot, and was drowned. The reports were re-echoed from the rock, and the *manes* of the dead were no doubt highly gratified by the honour thus conferred upon them.

We anchored at New Ross, and as this place is the extreme end of the Barrow navigation, and the brightest gem in the entire landscape-gallery of the neighbourhood, it would no doubt have well repaid us to pass this delightful evening here. It is at once apparent that New Ross is an old town, since it does not present that picturesque grouping which is peculiar to new regular towns; at the same time it is also a fallen place, for it is said once to have possessed a great part of the trade which Waterford has now entirely drawn to itself. It no longer dispatches a single ship to sea, and merely sends agricultural produce to Waterford, to be from thence exported. Beyond New Ross the waters, which had hitherto been broad and deep, seem entirely to lose themselves in a thicket of woods and rocks. In this thicket there are said to be most beautiful scenery, splendid landscapes, and waterfalls. Yet it was not granted me to explore these beauties any further. As I found my travelling companion disposed to avail himself of the beautiful moonlight night to continue his journey, at eleven o'clock we troubled an Irish horse and a little jaunting-car to take us over to Wexford, about twenty miles distant.

---

8 Who was she - and why doesn't he tell us?!

## THE DOWN SURVEY MAPS OF CO. WATERFORD

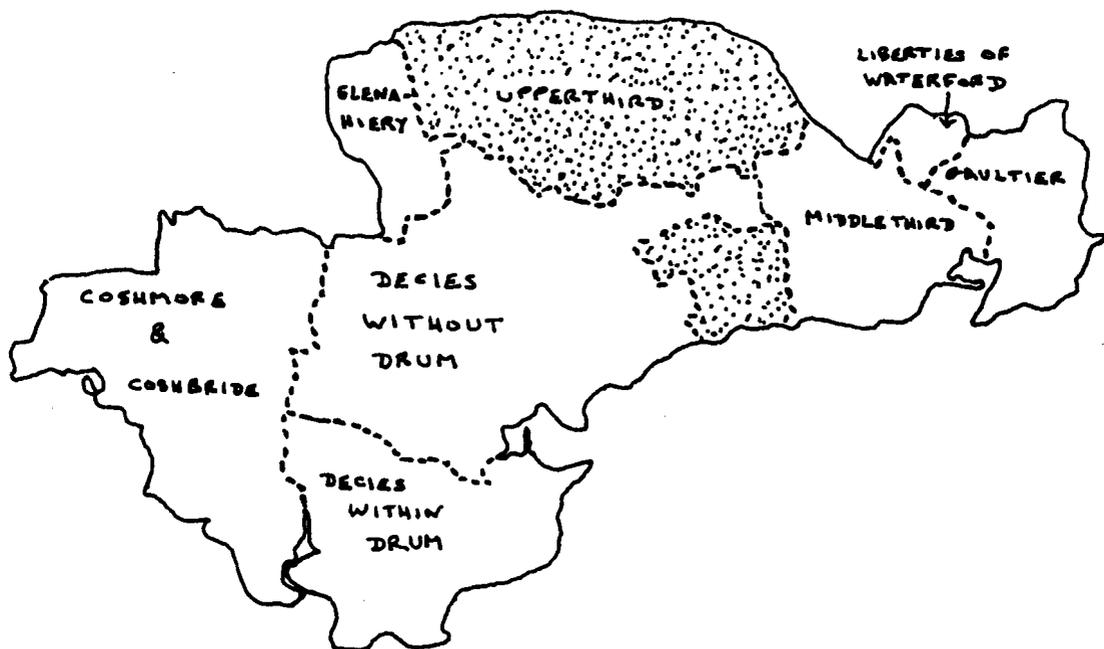
### Part Three

#### THE BARONY OF UPPER THIRD (i)

In Part I (*Decies* no. 44, 1991, pp 23-38) we presented a brief introduction to the Down Survey, together with the maps and terriers of the parishes of the barony of Gaultier. Those of Middlethird were published in Part II (*Decies* no. 45, Spring 1992, pp 13-33). We now present the maps and terriers of part of the barony of Upperthird, as copied in 1787 for the then Surveyor-General. Once again we thank the Trustees of the National Library of Ireland for permission to reproduce them; also Michael Moore, archaeologist with the Office of Public Works, for obtaining the copies we have used.

The barony of Upperthird comprises roughly the territory south of the river Suir between Clonmel and Kilmeaden. This was the north-western part of the *Paorach* or Powers' Country, and most of the gentry, being Catholic, forfeited their lands in the 1650s - hence the need for detailed mapping at parish level. Prior to legislation passed in 1836 to rationalise the barony boundaries, Upperthird also included a detached portion to the west of Middlethird, comprising three entire parishes (Kilbarrymeaden, Monksland and Ballylaneen) and part of a third (the Kilmacthomas section of Rossmire). In the mid-19th century this area was transferred to Decies Without Drum, but in the 1650s it was part of Upperthird, which is fortunate for the local historian - most of Decies belonged to the Fitzgeralds of Dromana, and was therefore not forfeited, and thus not included in the Down Survey.

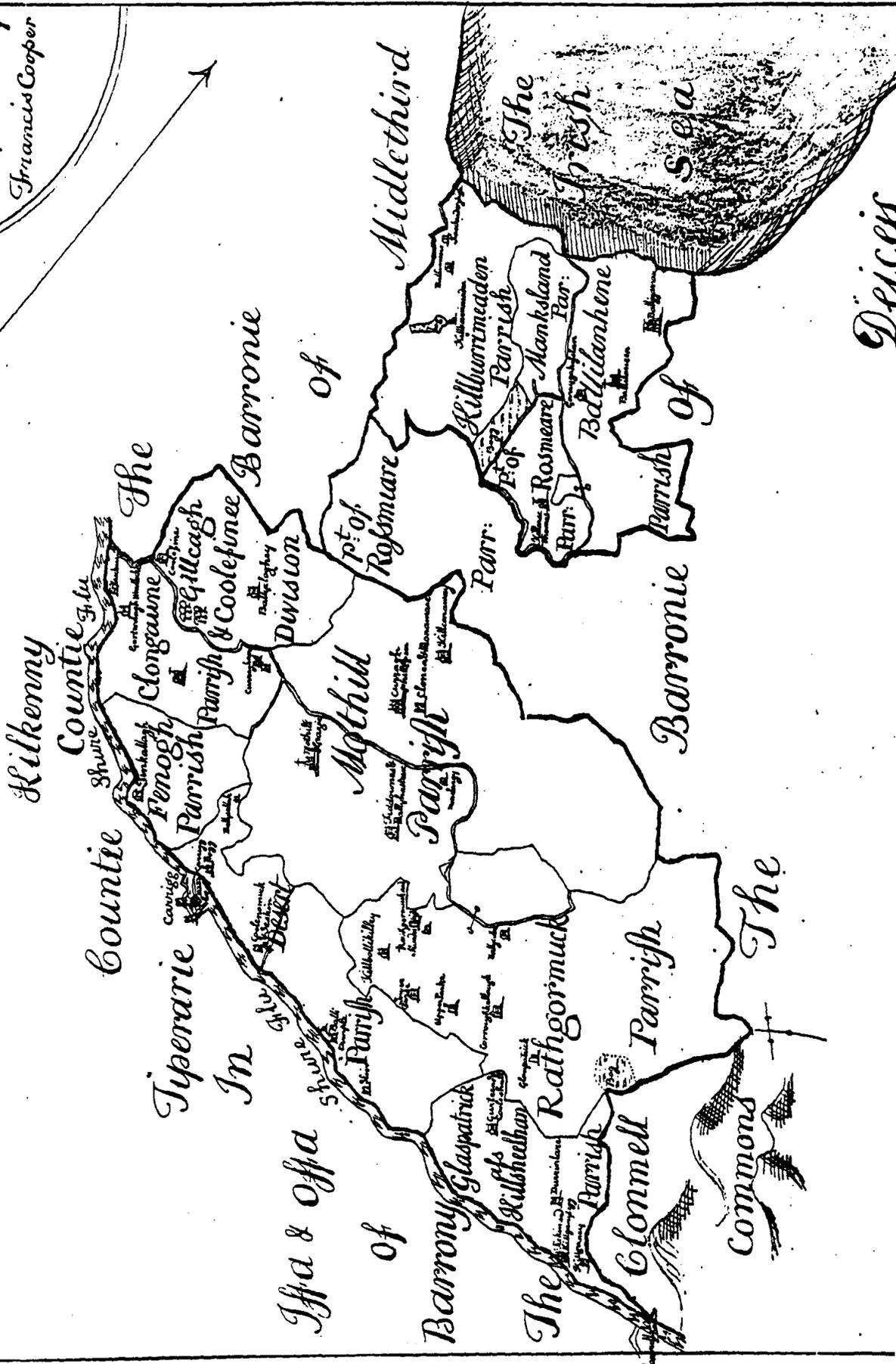
In this instalment we include the barony index map and the maps and 'terriers' (i.e., descriptions) of the first five parishes: Kilbarrymeaden (the modern Kill), Monksland with part of Rossmire (Kilmacthomas), Ballylaneen, Mothel, and Rathgormack. The final instalment will deal with the remaining parishes of Upperthird and those of the small and mountainous barony of Glenahier.



Barony map of Co. Waterford, showing 17th-century boundaries of Upperthird



The Barony  
of Upperthird  
In the County of  
Waterford - By  
Francis Cooper



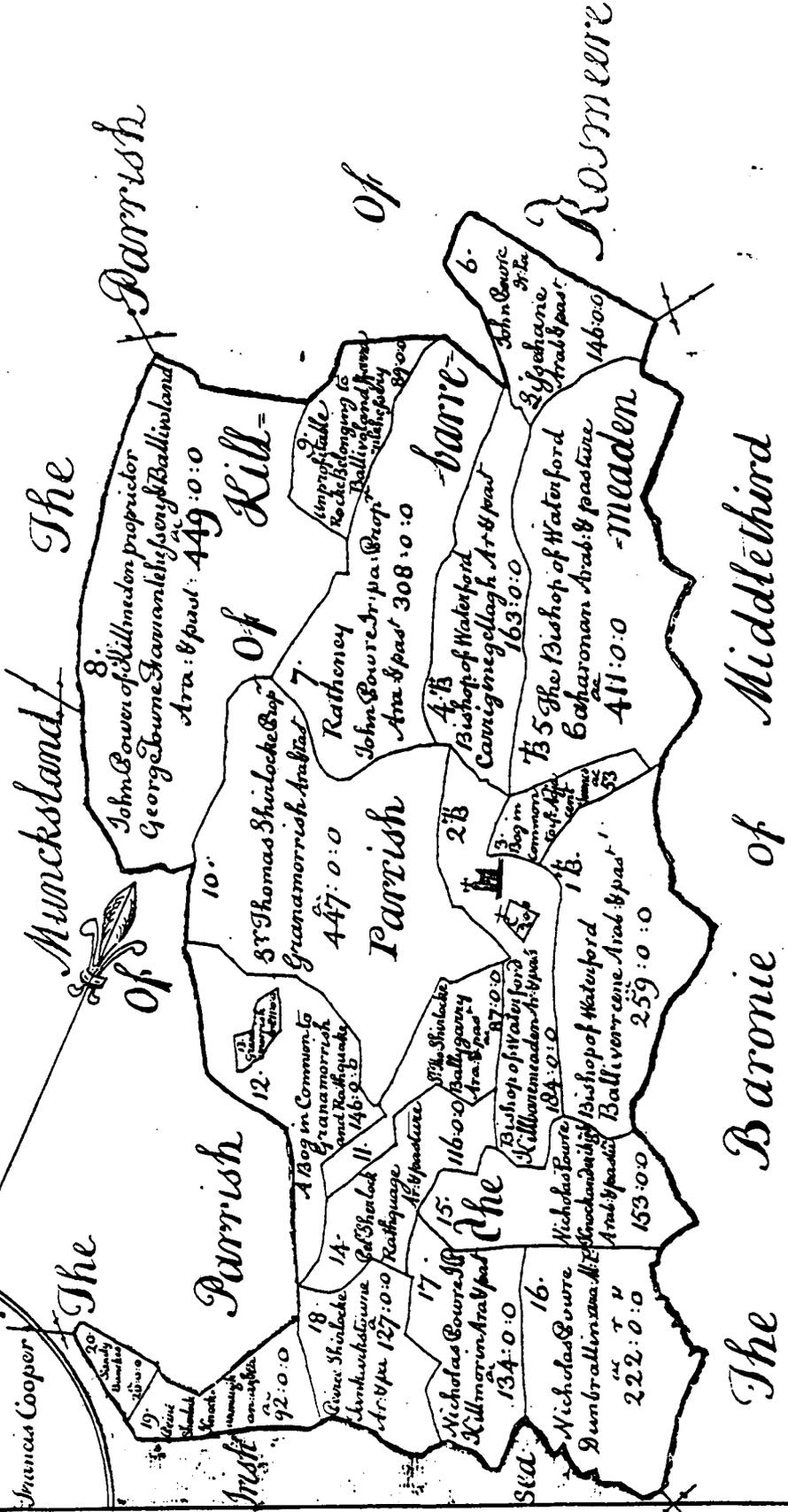
Deices

# The Parish of Kilbarrymeaden

Is bounded on the North East with the Barony of Middleburgh on the North & West with parts of Kofmeane, on the South East with the Sea and on the South West with the Bish. of Wulmchobland. The Soyle is for the most part Arable and Pasture with some Unprofitable Bog Rocks Sandy Banks. It contains in it the Emising Townes Sands viz: Ballyverrym, Kilbarrymeaden, Ballymeene & Cahavonan barniginglagh Lyschane Northney Javranil hejvery Ballyroland Strandmorrish Ballygavry Rathquage Knockandevyhigh Drumbrillin Killyverry Sarncaidbowne Knockan and Maughan. There is Att Ballyverrym. A Chimney House and Some Cabbins Att. Kilbarrymeaden is a Mill and a Church out of Repair and some Cabbins Att Lyschane a Chimney House and some Cabbins, Att Knockandevyhigh a Chimney House and some Cabbins and noe other Improvement is thereon but few Cabbins

Number in 17th Cent	Proprietors Names	Denominations of Land	Number of Acres by Admeas <sup>r</sup>	Sanded Profitable	Unprofitable
1 <sup>B</sup>	The Bishop of Waterford	Ballyverrym 1/2 pland	259 : 0 : 0	Arable 259 : 0 : 0	
2 <sup>B</sup>	The Bishop of Down	Kilbarrymeaden 1/2 pland	184 : 0 : 0	The same 184 : 0 : 0	
3	Glebe in	The same	002 : 0 : 0	The same 002 : 0 : 0	
3	Bog Common to Killyverry and Cahavonan	Killyverry and Cahavonan Ballymeene	053 : 0 : 0		053 : 0 : 0
4 <sup>B</sup>	The Bishop of Down	Carniginglagh 1/2 pland	163 : 0 : 0	The same 163 : 0 : 0	
5 <sup>B</sup>	The Bishop of Down	Cahavonan 1/2 pland	411 : 0 : 0	The same 411 : 0 : 0	
6	John Owen of Killyverry	Lyschane 1/2 pland	146 : 0 : 0	The same 146 : 0 : 0	
7	John Owen of Killyverry	Rathmonee 1/2 pland	308 : 0 : 0	The same 308 : 0 : 0	
8	The same	George towne Farnack hejvery Ballyroland 1/2 pland	449 : 0 : 0	The same 449 : 0 : 0	
9	An Unprofitable Rock belonging to James Morris	Rathmonee	089 : 0 : 0		089 : 0 : 0
10	The same	Stranmorrish 1/2 pland	447 : 0 : 0	The same 447 : 0 : 0	
11	The same	Ballygavry	087 : 0 : 0	The same 087 : 0 : 0	
12	Bog Common to James Morris	Ballygavry	446 : 0 : 0		446 : 0 : 0
13	The same	Stranmorrish	011 : 0 : 0	The same 011 : 0 : 0	
14	John Owen of Killyverry	Rathquage 1/2 pland	116 : 0 : 0	The same 116 : 0 : 0	
15	Nicholas Owen of Killyverry	Knockandevyhigh 1/2 pland	153 : 0 : 0	The same 153 : 0 : 0	
16	The same	Drumbrillin 1/2 pland	222 : 0 : 0	The same 222 : 0 : 0	
17	The same	Killyverry	134 : 0 : 0	The same 134 : 0 : 0	
18	John Owen of Killyverry	Stranmorrish	127 : 0 : 0	The same 127 : 0 : 0	
19	The same	Knockan Maughan	092 : 0 : 0	The same 092 : 0 : 0	
20	Sandy Bank belonging to James Morris	Knockan Maughan	020 : 0 : 0		020 : 0 : 0
The total of Corpted Land is			3619 : 0 : 0	3311 : 0 : 0	308 : 0 : 0
whereof of Glebe & Bishops Land			1072 : 0 : 0	1019 : 0 : 0	53 : 0 : 0
			80	80	80

The Parrish of  
Kilbarneaden  
in the Baronie of  
Upperthird By  
Francis Cooper



# The Parrish of Munchsland

Is bounded on the North East, East & South East, with the parish of Kilbarrymedon, on the North with the parish of Rosmeere South with y<sup>e</sup> Sea, and on the South West and West with the parish of Ballylanheene  
The Soyle is all Arviable and Pasture,

It Containes in it the Ensueing Townelondes (that is to say) Kildowan, Ballygrist Ballynagiglagh Ballysiselly Ballyvadyn and Carrigarvagh.

There is att Ballysiselly an Old Church and Mill out of Repaire and four Cabbins and noe other Improvement thereon

Number in the Plot	Proprietors Names	Denominacions of Lands	Numbers of Acres by Admeasmt	Sanded Profitable	Unprofitable
21	Sandy Banckis	Kildowan	017 : 0 : 00		Sandy Banckis 017 : 0 : 00
22	John Sherlocke; pap	Kildowan 2 p <sup>ts</sup>	141 : 0 : 00	habled put 141 : 0 : 00	
23	The same	Ballygrist	159 : 0 : 00	The same 159 : 0 : 00	
24	The same	Ballynagiglagh	369 : 0 : 00	The same 369 : 0 : 00	
25	The same	Ballysiselly p <sup>ts</sup>	117 : 0 : 00	The same 117 : 0 : 00	
26	The same	Ballyvadyn p <sup>ts</sup>	172 : 0 : 00	The same 172 : 0 : 00	
27	The same	Carrigarvagh p <sup>ts</sup>	246 : 0 : 00	The same 246 : 0 : 00	
The totall of Confuted Land is			1221 : 0 : 00	1204 : 0 : 00	17 : 0 : 00

# The Parrish of Rosmeere

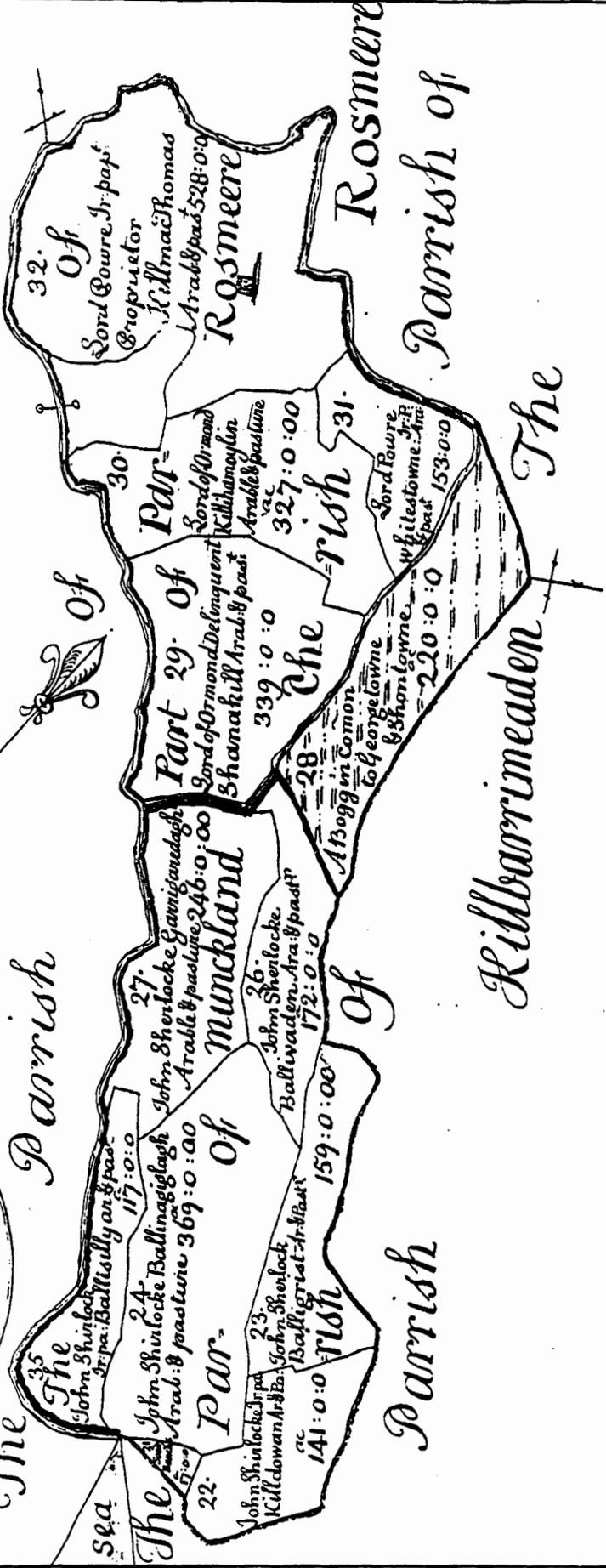
Is bounded on y<sup>e</sup> North and North East with the Parrish of Rosmeere, on the South with the parish of Munchsland on the West with the parish of Ballylanheene and on the South East with the other p<sup>ts</sup> parish of Kilburrimedon.

The Soyle is Arviable and pasture some Unprofitable Bog  
It Containes in it the Ensueing Towne Sanded W<sup>th</sup> George Towne, and Shontowne Shonakittle Killhamoyline Whitstowne, and Kil m<sup>r</sup> Thomas.

There is att Kill m<sup>r</sup> Thomas two Mills in Repaire A Castle in Repaire and severall Cabbins in Ech Parrish and noe other Improvement thereon.

28	Dog Comontolpege	Shontowne	220 : 0 : 00		Bog 220 : 0 : 00
29	Lord of Ormond Delug	Shonakittle 1/2 p <sup>ts</sup>	339 : 0 : 00	habled put 339 : 0 : 00	
30	The same	Killhamoyline p <sup>ts</sup>	327 : 0 : 00	y <sup>e</sup> same 327 : 0 : 00	
31	Lord Cowe & pap <sup>r</sup>	Whitstowne	153 : 0 : 00	The same 153 : 0 : 00	
32	The same	Kill m <sup>r</sup> Thomas p <sup>ts</sup>	570 : 0 : 00	The same 570 : 0 : 00	
The totall of Confuted Land is			1609 : 0 : 00	1389 : 0 : 00	220 : 0 : 00
			8 <sup>x</sup>	8 <sup>x</sup>	8 <sup>x</sup>

The Parrishes of Munchlands & part of Rosmeere in the Baronie of Upperthird. By Francis Cooper

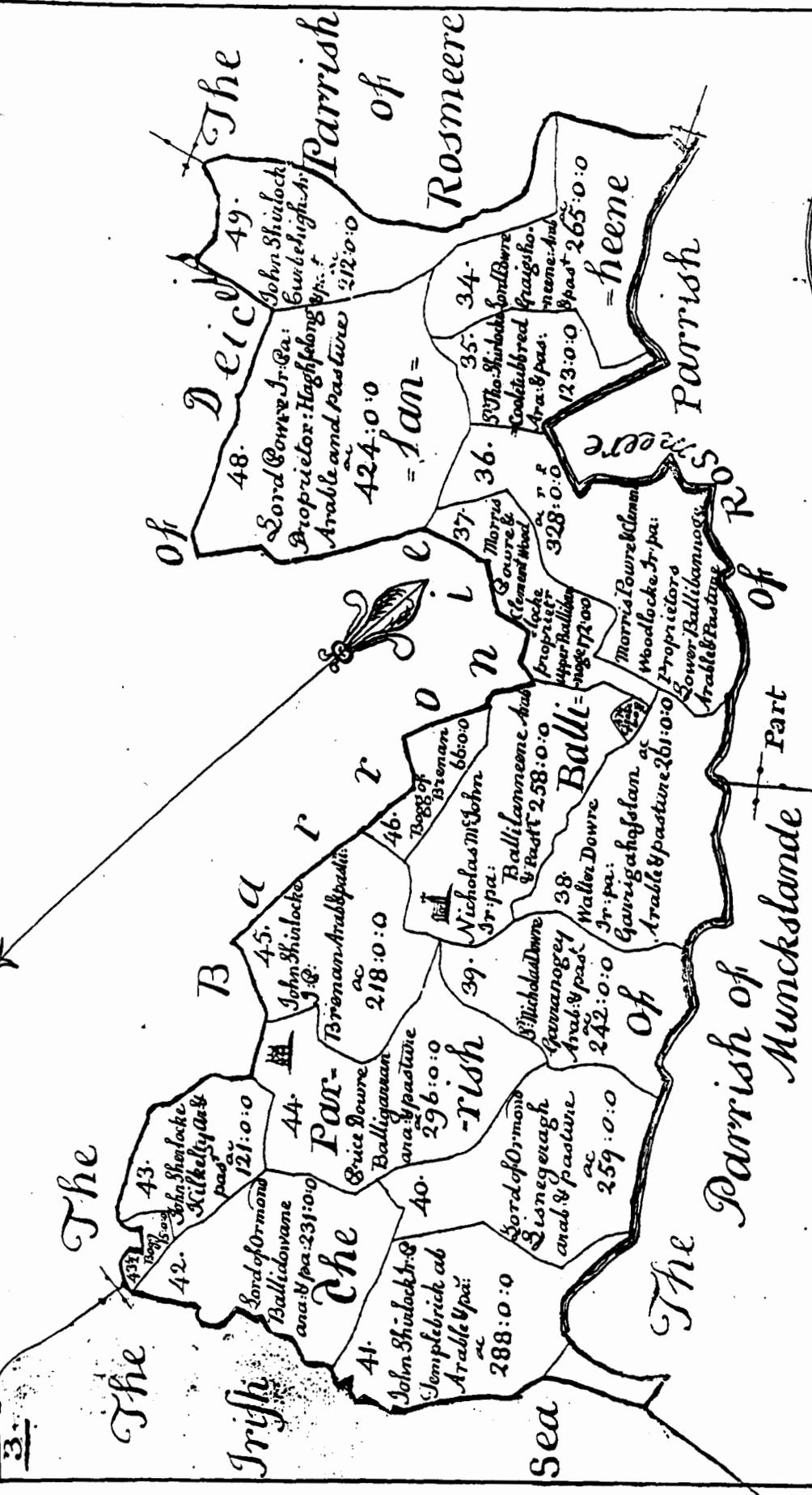


80	76	72	68	64	60	56
A Scale of 80 perches in an Inch						

# The Parish of Ballylanhene

Is bounded on the East with the parish of Mucklesland and part of the parish of Kismere, on the North with the parish of Tojmen on the South with the Sea, and on the West with the Barony of Deices. — The Soyle is Arvle and Cuswre and some Unprofitable Bogg: — It Contains in it the Ensuing Towns & hamlets Viz. Gushoneene Coolto bred Ballybanoge Curviga hoslan Gavranogey Liffenegerath Templebrick Ballydovane Killy Ballygavran Brenan Ballylanhene Baghselone and Curbe high. — There is at Curviga hoslan a Stone House Thatched and some Cabbins, At Liffenegerath a Chimney House, At Ballygavran a Chimney House and some Cabbins At Ballynaneene a Church out of Repair and some Cabbins with some Cabbins dispersed in the parish.

Number in the Plot	Proprietors Names	Denominations of Land	Number of Acres by Abstract	Number of Acres by Assessment	Denominations of Land	Unprofitable
34	Scrivener & Sons	Grasshoney	265:0:0	265:0:0	Arable 22:265:0:0	
35	Thomas Shrivlock	Coolto bred	123:0:0	123:0:0	The same 123:0:0	
36	Horrobone and Cunt	Downhill bange	328:0:0	328:0:0	The same 328:0:0	
37	The same both	Upp. Ballybanoge	172:0:0	172:0:0	The same 172:0:0	
38	Miller Down & Co	Carviga hoslan	261:0:0	261:0:0	The same 261:0:0	
39	St. Nicholas Down	Gavranogey	242:0:0	242:0:0	The same 242:0:0	
40	Sord of Ormond	Liffenegerath	259:0:0	259:0:0	The same 259:0:0	
41	John Shrivlock	Templebrick	288:0:0	288:0:0	The same 288:0:0	
42	Sord of Ormond	Ballydovane	231:0:0	231:0:0	The same 231:0:0	
43	John Shrivlock	Killy	121:0:0	121:0:0	The same 121:0:0	
43 1/2	By belonging to St. Moresaid	Bourne	015:0:0	015:0:0	The same 015:0:0	By 15:0:0
44	Deice Down	Ballygavran	296:0:0	296:0:0	The same 296:0:0	
45	John Shrivlock	Brenan	218:0:0	218:0:0	The same 218:0:0	
46	By belonging to	Brenan	066:0:0	066:0:0	The same 066:0:0	By 66:0:0
47	Nicholas St. John	Ballylanhene	258:0:0	258:0:0	The same 258:0:0	
47 1/2	Of the same	Same	006:0:0	006:0:0	The same 006:0:0	
48	Sord of Ormond	Baghselone	424:0:0	424:0:0	The same 424:0:0	
49	John Shrivlock	Curbe high	212:0:0	212:0:0	The same 212:0:0	
The total of Corrected Land in Church Land			3785:0:0	3785:0:0	3704:0:0	81:0:0
			80	80	80	80



The  
**PARRISH**  
 of  
**Ballinaneene**  
 In the Baronie of  
 Upperthird By.  
 Francis Cooper

3.	16.	24.	32.	40.	48.
----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

# The Parish of Mothill

Is bounded on the North West & North with the parish of Deane on the West with the parish of Rathgormucke, on the North East with the parishes of Donagh & Clonaganue, also on the North East with the Division of Culeagh and Cooleme, on the South East with the parish of Coomee, and on the South with the Barony of Deice. The Soyle is Arable and Pasture Generally with some Unprofitable Rocks and Mountains.

It contains in it these Ensuing Towns Landed (viz.) Mothill, Gloney, Coolenolinguddy, Coolenohorny, Knocktorony, Lomea and Nonamane, Mill Conny, Ballyjerrinbeg, Fole, Ballydurinmoore, Glanbeg, Glanflow, Knockmuckeg, Curraghphill, Whitestowne, Mothill, Old Grange, Bridge Towne, Ballydrohit, Ballyneyle, Monerlagge, Rose, Clannuell, Thomastowne, Fiddens and Ballyhasleene, Ballyknarin, Ballygavett, Ballyknapp and Ballynacur.

There is all Mothill, a Chimney House and some Cabbins also at Lomea and Nonamane a Castle in Teppe and some Cabbins There is All Curraghphill, a Chimney House in Teppe, There is All Whites Towne a Chimney House in Teppe, There is at Mothill and Old Grange an Old Decayed Abbey, A Church and A Mill and some Cabbins At Monerlagge, A Chimney Stone House House in Teppe, There is All Clannuell, Hill in Teppe, All Fiddens and Ballyhasleene the Stumps of an Old Castle At Ballyknarin is A Chimney House and there is All Ballygavett a Chimney House and the other Improvent Shewon.

Number in the Plot	Proprietors Names	Denominations of Land	Number of Acres	Hydro Measure	Some of the Land	Unprofitable
50	Unprofitable Rocks, Mountains, and Mothill, Coolenohorny, and Rose.	2445: 0: 0				
51	Reice Bourne, Ballygavett, Mothill, Gloney.	0863: 0: 0	0187	00873	0: 0: 0	011: 40: 0: 0
52	Jeffrey Bourne, Ballygavett, Coolenohorny, and Rose.	0254: 0: 0	0054	0054	0: 0: 0	0054: 0: 0: 0
53	The Same.	0216: 0: 0	0016	0016	0: 0: 0	0016: 0: 0: 0
54	Sand Course.	0320: 0: 0	0020	0020	0: 0: 0	0020: 0: 0: 0
55	The Same.	0920: 0: 0	0020	0020	0: 0: 0	0020: 0: 0: 0
56	The Same.	0730: 0: 0	0030	0030	0: 0: 0	0030: 0: 0: 0
57	The Same.	0299: 0: 0	0029	0029	0: 0: 0	0029: 0: 0: 0
58	The Same.	0217: 0: 0	0017	0017	0: 0: 0	0017: 0: 0: 0
59	The Same.	0199: 0: 0	0019	0019	0: 0: 0	0019: 0: 0: 0
60	The Same.	0245: 0: 0	0024	0024	0: 0: 0	0024: 0: 0: 0
61	The Same.	0367: 0: 0	0036	0036	0: 0: 0	0036: 0: 0: 0
62	The Same.	0045: 0: 0	0004	0004	0: 0: 0	0004: 0: 0: 0
63	Lord Bourne.	0134: 0: 0	0013	0013	0: 0: 0	0013: 0: 0: 0
64	Nicholas Bourne, Mothill, Gloney.	0463: 0: 0	0046	0046	0: 0: 0	0046: 0: 0: 0
65	Rudick Shinnock, Mothill, Gloney, and Old Grange.	0140: 0: 0	0014	0014	0: 0: 0	0014: 0: 0: 0
66	Clade in Mothill.	0001: 1: 0	0001	0001	0: 0: 0	0001: 1: 0: 0
67	Lord Bourne, Mothill, Gloney, and Old Grange.	0231: 0: 0	0023	0023	0: 0: 0	0023: 0: 0: 0
68	The Same.	0150: 0: 0	0015	0015	0: 0: 0	0015: 0: 0: 0
69	Lord Bourne, Mothill, Gloney, and Old Grange.	0496: 0: 0	0049	0049	0: 0: 0	0049: 0: 0: 0
70	Jeffrey Bourne.	0314: 0: 0	0031	0031	0: 0: 0	0031: 0: 0: 0
70 <sup>2</sup>	The Same.	0089: 0: 0	0008	0008	0: 0: 0	0008: 0: 0: 0
71	The Same.	0348: 0: 0	0034	0034	0: 0: 0	0034: 0: 0: 0
72	The Same.	0500: 0: 0	0050	0050	0: 0: 0	0050: 0: 0: 0
74	John Bullen, Mothill, Gloney, and Old Grange.	0343: 0: 0	0034	0034	0: 0: 0	0034: 0: 0: 0
75	Lord Bourne, Mothill, Gloney, and Old Grange.	1050: 0: 0				
74 <sup>2</sup>	John Bourne, Mothill, Gloney, and Old Grange.	0005: 0: 0	0005	0005	0: 0: 0	0005: 0: 0: 0
76	Richard Bourne, Mothill, Gloney, and Old Grange.	0070: 0: 0	0007	0007	0: 0: 0	0007: 0: 0: 0
77	Patrick Shinnock, Mothill, Gloney, and Old Grange.	0034: 0: 0	0003	0003	0: 0: 0	0003: 0: 0: 0
78	Major John Bullen, Mothill, Gloney, and Old Grange.	0408: 0: 0	0040	0040	0: 0: 0	0040: 0: 0: 0
The total of Corfeils Landed is		9292: 1: 0				134: 0: 0
whereof is		1: 1: 0				1: 1: 0
		80				80
		80				80

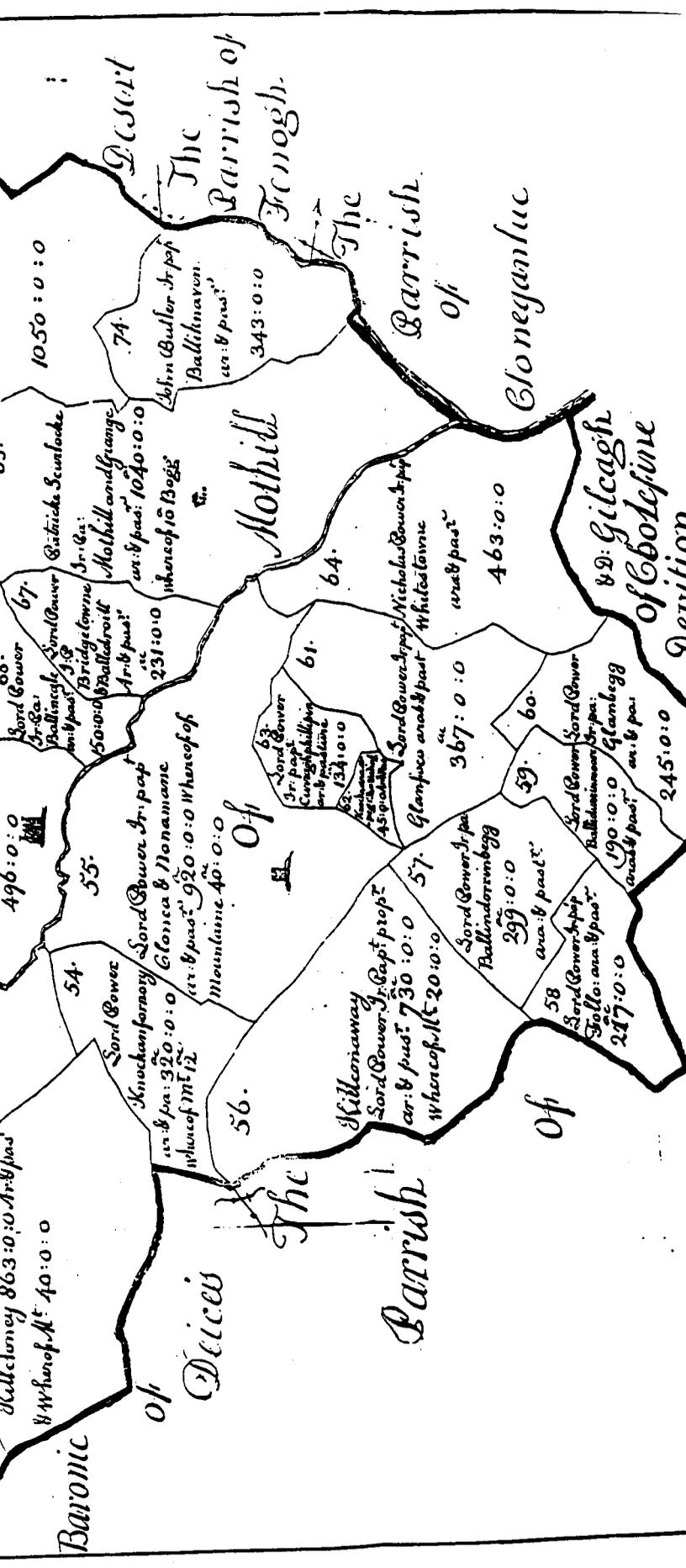
The Parish of Mothill in the Barony of Upperthird By Francis Cooper

The Barony of Deices The Parish of Clonanganic

Barony of Deices The Parish of Clonanganic

The Parish of Rathgormucke

The Parish of Clonanganic



# The Parish of Rathgormuck

Is Bounded on the North and North West with the parishes of Deseride, On the East with the Parish of Mull on the South with the Barony of Deers and on the West with the Parish of Glaspatrik and the County of Glonmell.

The Soyle is Aviable and some Rocks and Mountaine. It Comteth in it the Ensuening Towns andes: Viz. Kilballykilly Ballywhymagh and Carshuligh Shamackill Bally Cloghay Grogadally, Millcracke Knockne Craughy Rathgormucke Monachy Knocknafally, Cluiche, Clone Donnell Bally Gullaine Curwehere Knockanogherin, Glannore Carroughkullough Glanpatrick Bragavally Clondonn and Knockanree.

There is all Kilballykilly a Stone House, there is all Ballywhymagh and Carshuligh the Barony of Rathgormuck; There is all Knocknafally a Chimney House, all Lower Carke, A Chimney House all Upper Carke, A Chimney House, all Bally Gullaine, A Chimney House, all Carrighkullough, A Chimney House, and noe other Improvement. &c.

Number in the Roll	Proprietor's Name or Names	Denominations of Lands	Number of Acres by Measurement	Value of the Lands	Unprofitable
79	Nicholas Bourne	Kilballykilly	577	£ 577 0 0	
80	Reince Bourne	Ballywhymagh Carshuligh	196	£ same 196 0 0	
81	John Ashward	Shamackill	166	£ same 166 0 0	
82	Reince Bourne	Bally Cloghay	210	£ same 210 0 0	Stake 20 0 0
82 1/2	The Same	Upper Bally Cloghay	199	£ same 199 0 0	Stake 20 0 0
83	William Bourne	proport. Grogadally	400		
84	Reince Bourne	Monachy	343	£ same 343 0 0	
85	John Ashward	Knockne Craughy	095	£ same 095 0 0	
86	William Bourne	proport. Rathgormuck			
87	Nicholas Bourne	Knocknafally	210	£ same 210 0 0	
88	James Bourne	Lower Carke	167	£ same 167 0 0	
89	John Ashward	Upper Carke	370	£ same 370 0 0	
90	Reince Bourne	Clone Donnell	386	£ same 386 0 0	
91	Nicholas Bourne	Bally Gullaine	069	£ same 069 0 0	
92	Reince Bourne	Curwehere	772	£ same 772 0 0	
93	Unprofitable	Rock & Mountaine in Common			
	Common	Bragavally			
	Cloughy	Curwehere			
	Glanpatrick	Glannore and all 1154			
	Knockanogherin				
94	William Bourne	proport. Knockanogherin			
95	Nicholas Bourne	Glannore	556	£ same 556 0 0	
96	The same	proport. Bragavally	437	£ same 437 0 0	
96 1/2	The Same	Glanpatrick	687	£ same 687 0 0	
97	Begin	Glannore	096	£ same 096 0 0	Stake 19 0 0
98	Begin	Knockanogherin	031	£ same 031 0 0	Stake 31 0 0
99	Lord of Ormond	proport. Knockanogherin	741	£ same 741 0 0	
	The total of the profits	and is	6308	£ 6308 0 0	187 0 0
			£ 20	£ 20	£ 20



# WATERFORD DIOCESE, 1096 -1363

by Sr Assumpta O'Neill

## Part Five

### RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS IN THE DIOCESE OF WATERFORD

The religious houses in medieval Waterford were six in number. The oldest of these, St Katherine's priory of Augustinian canons, is generally accepted as pre-Invasion. The Benedictines may also have been there before the Normans came. The Templars and Hospitallers were introduced into Waterford, as into Ireland, by the Normans, and the friars, both preachers and minors, set up houses there before 1250.

#### The Augustinian canons

The house of the Augustinian canons, called St Katherine's Priory, stood on the site of the present Waterford courthouse, and its ruins were in existence there down to 1820. It seems to have been the earliest religious house in Waterford. We have no written evidence for the date of its foundation or the name of the founder. Ware says it was founded by the Ostmen and was therefore in existence at latest by the middle of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> One writer suggests 950 as the foundation date,<sup>2</sup> but such an early date seems unlikely. The first dated reference to the house occurs in 1207, when royal letters of protection were issued.<sup>3</sup> An undated document of about the same date mentions 'S. prior of St Katherine' among the witnesses.<sup>4</sup> In trying to estimate the date of the foundation, it is perhaps noteworthy that the hospital of St Gregory, founded at Canterbury by Lanfranc, was in existence there since 1087. At first a college of secular priests and hospital, it became in 1123 an Augustinian priory for thirteen canons.<sup>5</sup> Malchus, first bishop of Waterford, was consecrated at Canterbury in 1096 when this hospital was nine years old. He was, no doubt, aware of the revival of regular canonical life which was a feature of Gregory VII's efforts to encourage the observance of clerical celibacy, and of the custom then prevailing of staffing cathedrals and large urban churches with regular canons.<sup>6</sup> As a leader of the reform movement, Malchus was quite likely to organise the canonical life in his own diocese. There were certainly regulars attached to the Dublin Christchurch in the days of Samuel, a contemporary of Malchus, and St Anselm was determined that they should remain there. Moreover, Anselm assumes that in this he can count on the support of Malchus.<sup>7</sup> It seems therefore reasonable to expect that Malchus himself would have introduced regulars to serve in the Waterford Christchurch, and this may have been the origin of St Katherine's priory.

In 1210, the canons of St Katherine's appealed to the pope for protection in their property, an appeal which was answered by Innocent III on 14 May of that year.<sup>8</sup> In his letter, the

1 Ware, *Antiquities*, p.270.

2 Egan, *Waterford Guide*, p.531.

3 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, i, no.338.

4 *Black Book of Limerick*, p.115. See chapter 4, note 5.

5 Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p.132.

6 *ibid.*, p.17. There was a reaction against this in the twelfth century in favour of secular canons. See G.J. Hand, 'The Medieval Chapter of St Mary's Limerick' in *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.*, p.75.

7 *S. Anselmi opera omnia* (ed. Schmitt, O.S.B.) iv, Letter 277.

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

pope confirms to the prior and canons 'such property as they already hold or shall justly acquire in the future', on condition that they constitute themselves a house of Victorines,<sup>9</sup> i.e. of regular canons following the rule of St Augustine as laid down by the constitution of the abbey of St Victor at Paris. St Victor's was the famous abbey founded by William of Champeaux in 1108.<sup>10</sup> It became a centre of piety and learning, and many houses of regular canons were founded or reformed from it, including the priory of St Thomas of Dublin.<sup>11</sup> The re-founding of religious houses was an accepted feature of religious organisation in medieval times.<sup>12</sup>

The papal letter is informative, since it sets out in detail the possessions of the priory, commencing with 'the island outside the walls of Waterford on which their church was built'.<sup>13</sup> This was on the site of the present Waterford courthouse, which site was then practically an island surrounded by marsh and by meandering tributaries of the Suir.<sup>14</sup> The position of the priory is marked on maps of the medieval city.<sup>15</sup> The ruins were in existence almost in entirety up to 1820, when a portion was knocked down to clear the way to the bridge over John's River then built.<sup>16</sup> About forty years later the remainder was taken away when the site was being cleared for the building of the present courthouse.<sup>17</sup>

The remainder of the possessions of St Katherine's Priory consisted of a dwelling-house and six acres of land, as well as two curtilages between the island and the city walls; the churches of Killotteran (partly in the liberties), Dane's Island (barony of Decies without Drum), Killaloan, Kilgrant, Blackgrant, and Ballyclerihan (barony of Iffa and Offa East, Co. Tipperary), Fiddown (baronies of Iverk and Knocktopher, Co. Kilkenny) and probably Kilmocomoge (barony of Carbery, Co. Cork).<sup>18</sup> In addition, the priory owned three fisheries, and at Dane's Island a dwelling-house with its garden and some land donated by Elias FitzNomarm for the construction of a grange. Finally there was a chapel at Ratlagenan<sup>19</sup> and some ecclesiastical benefices at 'Odagatha Omilim' which may be a rendering of Uí Deagha and Uí gCroinn, now barony of Ida in Co. Kilkenny, where at the dissolution the priory held the rectories of Kilcolumb and Kilbride.<sup>20</sup>

The priory does not appear to have played any great part in the life of Waterford from the Norman invasion onwards. On 25 May 1290, the king granted to the prior and convent of St Katherine the deodands which should accrue to him in Ireland. The grant was made 'for the relief of the priory and for the completion of a house there, begun as is said by John, formerly king of England, the king's grandfather'.<sup>21</sup> A deodand was 'a personal chattel which had been the immediate accidental cause of the death of a human being'. In practice, the law which declared

9 ' *In primis siquidem statuentes ut ordo canonicus qui secundum Deum et beati Augustini regulam atque institutionem fratrum domus sancti Victoris Parisiensis in eodem loco institutus esse dignoscitur perpetuis ibidem temporibus inviolabiliter observetur.*

10 *Cath. Encycl.* (1912), xiii, 338. St Victor's was in existence until the Revolution.

11 *Register of the Abbey of St Thomas, Dublin* (ed. J.T. Gilbert) p. xi.

12 Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp 56 and 234.

13 Sheehy's identification of this is manifestly incorrect. See *Pont.Hib.*, i,143, note 2.

14 See Power 'The town wall of Waterford' in *R.S.A.I.Jn.*, vol.73 (1943), p.122.

15 See, e.g., map in Ryland's *History of Waterford*, p.109. A list of extant maps of Waterford is given in Downey, *Waterford Guide* (1918), p.118.

16 Egan, *Waterford Guide*, p.531.

17 *ibid.* and Downey, *op.cit.* p.31.

18 Identifications as in Sheehy, *loc. cit.*, with the exception of the island, which he erroneously identifies with 'Little Island on the Suir River about a mile east of Waterford'.

19 unidentified.

20 Sheehy, *loc.cit.* For the priory possessions at the dissolution, see Newport B.White, *Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions*, p.346.

21 *Cal.docs. Ire.*, iii, 326, no.656.

deodands forfeit to the crown was widely applied. If a man fell from a cart and was killed, the cart and its load became a deodand. Similarly if someone was drowned by falling overboard, the vessel and its cargo could be considered deodands.<sup>22</sup>

Brother John Laurenny was prior of St Katherine's in 1292, but we know nothing of him beyond his name.<sup>23</sup> In June 1349, the Black Death, which had reached Kilkenny in Lent,<sup>24</sup> struck Waterford. Pestilence in midsummer in a medieval city would claim many victims, and Philip, prior of St Katherine's, was one of those who succumbed.<sup>25</sup> Not until nine years later was a move made to fill the vacancy when Ralph, archbishop of Cashel, petitioned the pope to provide 'David, canon of the same'. According to the papal register, the petition was granted. The canons do not appear to have accepted the provision, and Andrew Edward became prior. When the latter died in 1363, David Bossher was elected by the canons and the pope was asked to confirm the election.<sup>26</sup> This may be the same David who was papally provided five years earlier.

In 1352, the prior and canons paid 100 shillings for permission to acquire a rood of ground with its appurtenances in Kilmacsaury and the advowson of the church of St Nicholas there.<sup>27</sup> Lynch gives an account of a grant to the priory which he says was made by Richard Fraunceys who was bishop of Waterford from 1338 to 1348. Since the grant includes churches which were in the possession of the priory as early as 1210, it seems likely that it was made, not by Richard, but by Robert, who was bishop from 1200 to 1204.<sup>28</sup>

The church of St Thomas, outside the walls, is said to have belonged to the priory.<sup>29</sup> Both were situated in what is now the parish of Trinity Within.<sup>30</sup> The ruin of St Thomas's church, consisting of a single wall with a Romanesque chancel-arch, stood on Thomas's Hill until its demolition in 1967, carried out by a private owner in order to clear the ground for a squash-court.<sup>31</sup> Such was the inglorious end of 'the most ancient ecclesiastical structure in Waterford'.<sup>32</sup> The name of St Thomas's lives on in the neighbourhood in Thomas's Street and Thomas's Hill. It is believed that the church was built by Henry II in reparation for the murder of St Thomas á Beckett.<sup>33</sup>

The name of St Katherine's survives in Waterford in Katherine Street, beside the courthouse grounds, and less obviously in Upper and Lower Grange.<sup>34</sup>

22 *Oxford English Dictionary*.

23 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, iii, no.1078.

24 *Clyn's Annals*, p.35.

25 *Cal.papal petitions*, p.331.

26 *ibid.*, p.467.

27 *Liber Munerum*, i, pt. iii, p.35.

28 See chapter 4 for the provisions of this grant.

29 Egan, *Waterford Guide*, p.510.

30 Power, *Waterford and Lismore*, p.278. The title Trinity Within is applied to this parish to distinguish it from another city parish - Trinity Without. Originally one parish (of Holy Trinity), the former was the portion contained within the city walls, the latter lay outside them.

31 Now located behind the premises of H. Downes and Co.

32 Power, *op.cit.*, p.278.

33 Downey, *Waterford Guide* (1918), p.42.

34 Power, *St John's and Ballygunner*, p.10.

## The Benedictines

The Benedictine priory of St John the Evangelist is generally stated to have been founded by King John on one of his visits to Waterford,<sup>35</sup> but though he endowed it with lands and took it under his special protection, it seems to have been in existence before his time. In August 1204, the prior and monks of the Benedictine house at Bath in Somerset offered five marks for the king's confirmation of the hospital at Waterford'.<sup>36</sup> On 26 August the king granted the petition and listed the terms of hospital (of Waterford) by Brothers Osbert and W. sent to Bath, give their house to the convent of Bath and become monks thereof.<sup>37</sup> The prior and monks of Bath on their part promise to maintain the hospital at Waterford and to devote to that end one tenth of bread, meat, fish, cheese, drink and clothes of the monks. The prior of Waterford shall be named by the prior and convent of Bath, 'and so long as he bears himself meekly and becomingly, is obedient to the prior of Bath and faithful and useful to each house, he shall govern his priory'. All monks received at Waterford were to go to Bath, be professed and promise obedience.<sup>38</sup> Thus the house at Waterford was constituted a dependent priory or cell of the house at Bath.<sup>39</sup> Such a course of action would seem to denote a long-established house where perhaps numbers had dwindled or discipline deteriorated, rather than a newly-founded priory, as it would have been had it been founded by King John. It can be considered at least a possibility that the house at Waterford belonged to the congregation of the Schottenkloster, a Benedictine congregation with its headquarters at Ratisbon.<sup>40</sup> We know that there were houses of this congregation in Ireland and that by the thirteenth century they showed need for reform.<sup>41</sup> 'The distance and dangers of the journey' made it impossible, for example, for Irish novices to travel to Ratisbon to make their profession, and the abbot of Ratisbon obtained papal permission to 'commit to any of the priors subject to him the reception of Irish novices.'<sup>42</sup> Only two of the Irish houses have been identified - Rosscarbery, Co. Cork, and Cashel, Co. Tipperary.<sup>43</sup> I would suggest that Waterford was another, and that it became affiliated to Bath when its relations with Ratisbon weakened, leaving it independent but isolated.

King John's charter of protection and privilege to the hospital at Waterford was given prior to the union with Bath.<sup>44</sup> This charter gives notice that 'the brothers of the almshouse of St John of Waterford, together with their retainers, property and possessions, are in the guardianship and protection of the king', and grants to the monks privileges of buying and selling, freedom from tolls, dominion over the water from St Katherine's church to the Old Bridge, and permission to hold their own court.<sup>45</sup> A second charter from John followed shortly on the first.<sup>46</sup> By this second

- 35 Smith, *State of the County and City of Waterford*, p.123; Ryland, *History of the Co. and City of Waterford*, p.122.
- 36 *Cal.docs. Ire.*, i, 33, no.219.
- 37 'Bath Abbey was founded in 676 and re-founded about 965. It became a cathedral priory in 1088 and was dissolved in 1539. The average number of monks twelfth-thirteenth century seems to have been about forty. The monks had two hospitals in Bath, and dependencies in Dunster, Cork, and Waterford'. (Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p.59)
- 38 *Rotuli Chartarum*, p.136b; *Cal.docs.Ire.*, i, 33, no.220.
- 39 For an account of such 'satellites to the independent houses', see Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, pp 134-6.
- 40 See Binchy, 'Irish Benedictines in Medieval Germany, in *Studies*, xviii (1929), 194-210.
- 41 *Cal.papal letters*, i, 251; Sheehy, *Pont. Hib.*, ii, 147-8
- 42 *Cal. papal letters*, i, 251; Sheehy, *Pont. Hib.*, ii, 146-7.
- 43 See A. Gwynn, 'Some notes on the history of the Irish and Scottish Benedictine Monasteries in Germany' in *Innes Review*, (1954) 5ff.
- 44 Sweetman dates it 1202-3. (*Cal.docs.Ire.*, i, no.173.)
- 45 *Chartae, Privilegia, et Immunitates*, p.9.
- 46 *ibid.*, p.10.

grant, the monks received Baliowod'm with all its appurtenances. Perhaps this is identical with Baliadam alias Balidermot, alias Poltomartyn, modernly called Adamstown.<sup>47</sup> William Wace, bishop of Waterford from 1223 to 1225, made a grant to the priory. This is not extant, but from the confirmatory grant of his successor we learn that the priory now acquired, besides 'the church of Balleode with eighty acres of land thereto belonging by ancient right', the ecclesiastical benefices of Credan, Ballydavid, Liscelty, Kilcaragh, Kilcohan, Kilcop and Dominagh.<sup>48</sup> In 1315 Edward II issued an inspeximus and confirmation of the original charter of John.<sup>49</sup> Attached to the priory at Waterford was a 'house of St John in the diocese of Cork' which was subject to the jurisdiction of the prior of Waterford.<sup>50</sup> The house in Cork was situated at Youghal, in the present High Street.<sup>51</sup> There seems to have been a second unimportant dependency at Legan, Co. Cork.

The almshouse attached to St John's was known as St Leonard's.<sup>52</sup> The use of the word hospital suggests that besides the regular inmates of the almshouse - the Brethren and Sisters of St Leonard - there was accommodation for pilgrims and travellers. Most medieval religious houses has such hospitals attached. In Benedictine houses the duty of hospitality was enjoined by rule,<sup>53</sup> and in some cases was considered a *raison d'être* for new foundations.<sup>54</sup> A hospital was a serious need in a population centre such as Waterford.

In the thirteenth century St John's gave two bishops to Waterford, both former priors. On 20 August 1227, the king gave his assent to the election of Prior Walter,<sup>55</sup> and after the latter's death in 1232, he was succeeded by Prior Stephen.<sup>56</sup> In 1334 John de Axebrugge, monk of Bath, became prior.<sup>57</sup> Presumably John was a native of Axbridge in Somerset about twenty miles from Bath. At this date the annual value of the priory is given as twenty marks.

The ruins of St John's church may be seen between Castle Street and John's Lane, but they are uncared for. The site of the surrounding cemetery is largely included in the small public park which has been laid out there.<sup>58</sup> Some tombstones are piled in a corner. As far as I am aware, the inscriptions have not been transcribed.

The situation of the priory, as distinct from the church, cannot be fixed with certainty. It cannot be assumed that it adjoined the church, and it has been noted that the walls and buildings surrounding the church ruins have no trace of ancient materials.<sup>59</sup> A site on Prior's Knock in the grounds of the present convent of the Good Shepherd has been suggested, since it is known that the Wyse who became the new owners of the property at the suppression were living on the site about a century later. The suggestion is that they were, in fact, living in the old abbey buildings.<sup>60</sup> It is

47 See chapter 4 under Kilmøaden.

48 Record in the Green Book of the Wyse family papers, quoted by Power in *Waterford Arch.Soc.Jn.* ii, (1896), 83-4.

49 *Cal. charter rolls*, iii, 282.

50 *Cal. papal petitions*, p.42.

51 *Waterford Arch.Soc.Jn.* i, 89-90.

52 Inquisition of 1536, Great Parchment Book of Waterford, printed and translated by Power in *Waterford Arch.Soc.Jn.*, viii(1902), 115ff. 'The infirm of the house of Leonard' are mentioned in Pipe roll xii Ed. II (in *42nd Report D.K.R.* pp 26, 35, 56).

53 *Rule of St Benedict*, ch. 53.

54 Knowles gives Reading and Battle as examples. (*The Monastic Order in England*, p.479)

55 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, i,233, no.1547.

56 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, i,297, no 1996.

57 *Cal.papal petitions*, p.42.

58 Park as yet unnamed (1969).

59 Power, 'The Town Wall of Waterford,' in *RSAI.Jn.* vol. 73 (1943),129.

60 *ibid.*

possible to suggest a different location nearer to the John's River area. A grant of 1300 mentions 'the hospital of St John without the walls of Waterford near the southern bridge'.<sup>61</sup> A glance at a map of the city shows that the bridge here referred to can only be the present St John's bridge, near which in medieval times stood St John's Mill.<sup>62</sup> It is also noteworthy that the place-names in Waterford which derive from St John's are located in that area.

## The Knights Templars

The Knights Templars were a military order founded during the Crusades for the protection of pilgrims to the Holy Land. At their foundation they bound themselves under the rules of the Augustinian canons, with vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The order included two grades of members. The knights were men of noble birth and were engaged in military occupations. They wore a white habit and were not allowed more than three horses. The esquires (*fratres servientes*) wore black or brown and were engaged in agricultural and domestic work.<sup>63</sup> In 1173, Pope Alexander III exempted them from episcopal jurisdiction and granted them freedom from tithes, with permission to visit churches once a year and make a collection for the Holy Land.<sup>64</sup>

The Templars were introduced into Ireland by the Normans, who founded and endowed many religious houses. Henry II gave them lands in Ireland, including 'mills in Waterford, Crock with ten carucates of land, the vill near Waterford called St Barri's and a small marsh near the town.'<sup>65</sup> From a confirmation of the grant in 1290, we learn that the marsh was 'between the king's houses and the sea', and that the mills were 'on the water near Waterford, which water is called Polwaterfoure' and 'on the water near Waterford, which water is called Innermictam'.<sup>66</sup> The places mentioned are easily identified as Crook in the barony of Gaultier overlooking the estuary of the Suir, and Kilbarry, which was within the city liberties. The small marsh is still a familiar feature of the Waterford landscape, known locally as Kilbarry Bog, adjacent to Kingsmeadow. It is not possible to say with certainty where in Waterford the mills were situated, and it is rather surprising to find no mention of them in a list of the possessions of the Templars in Waterford just over a hundred years later. On the other hand, the Benedictine priory was in possession of two mills in 1536.<sup>67</sup> A map of the city in the seventeenth century shows three mills: St John's Mill beside St John's Bridge, Cole Pit Mill near Reginald's Tower, and Barry's Strand Mill approximately where the present Barronstrand Street opens onto the Quay.<sup>68</sup> Mills were lucrative holdings in medieval times, where not only tenants (who were bound to do so) but also neighbours came to have their corn ground. The Templars enjoyed the royal favour for themselves<sup>69</sup> and for their chattels and holdings.<sup>70</sup> So we find the king, in 1244, issuing a mandate to the justiciar that 'if any mill has been erected to the damage of the Knights Templars in Waterford, he shall cause it to be prostrated. No mill shall be built in Waterford to the damage of the Templars' mills'.<sup>71</sup> For such and other favours, the Templars came to the king's aid when he was in financial difficulties.<sup>72</sup>

61 *Chartae, Privilegia, et Immunitates*, p.39.

62 Map of Waterford in 1673, in Ryland, *History of Waterford*, p.109.

63 Wood, 'The Templars in Ireland' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, C (1907), 327 ff.

64 Rymer, *Federa*, i, 334.

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

66 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, iii, 329, no.666

67 *Waterford Arch, Soc.Jn.*, viii (1902), p.115. (Inquisition, 1536)

68 Map printed in Ryland, *History of the Co. and City of Waterford*, p. 109.

69 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, i, 26, no.163.

70 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, i,57, no.386.

71 *ibid.*, i, 396, no.2658.

72 *ibid.*, ii, 149, no.891.

In each city the Templars were allowed one house free of tolls. Some of their Waterford tenants hoped to escape the payment of tolls on the ground that their houses belonged to the Templars. The result was that the king commanded the justiciar not to permit the Templars to acquire houses or possessions in Irish cities without the king's special licence.<sup>73</sup>

In 1287, a dispute arose between the abbot of the Cistercian house at Dunbrody and the Master of the Templars, concerning five carucates of land at 'le Crok'.<sup>74</sup> A protracted lawsuit followed, the abbot basing his claim on an undated grant made by Gilbert of Essex, the Master at the same time displaying Henry II's grant. The final outcome was that the abbot relinquished his claim, and was paid by the Master '100 marks for this acknowledgement'.<sup>75</sup>

By the end of the thirteenth century the Templars had become degenerate, largely through their wealth and their independence. They repudiated a suggestion by Pope Nicholas that they be united with the Hospitallers.<sup>76</sup> In February 1308, the Templars in Ireland were arrested by surprise and imprisoned in Dublin Castle. In 1312 they were papally suppressed and their possessions, including Crooke and Kilbarry, passed to the Hospitallers. A full list of their possessions at Waterford was drawn up at the confiscation, and has been printed by Gearóid MacNiocaill in *Analcta Hibernica*, no.24 (1967). A translation is given in Appendix D.

## The Hospitallers

The Hospitallers, officially called Knights of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, were, like the Templars, founded during the Crusades. They originated in the efforts of a group of Italian merchants to care for the sick at Jerusalem, but they gradually extended their action to protecting the pilgrims on their way to the Holy Sepulchre, and finally became a military and monastic order of knights like the Templars. The Normans introduced them into Ireland and Strongbow granted them Kilmainham.<sup>77</sup> We cannot say with certainty when they came to Waterford, but they had been established there before 1216, when the justiciar was ordered to restore to the Prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem of Waterford certain lands at Baligoghin near Dungarvan of which he had been deprived by the bishop of Norwich.<sup>78</sup> Kilmainham was the administrative centre of the order in Ireland.<sup>79</sup> At Dublin they had 'a stone house near the church of the Holy Trinity on the north side'. Here their tenant kept for them a free hospital, where he would find for them, whenever they went to Dublin, 'decent candle, fire, litter, and cooking utensils'.<sup>80</sup> Killure seems to have been their original foundation in Waterford. They were certainly in possession of it before the suppression of the Templars.<sup>81</sup> From the latter they took over Crook and Kilbarry, Drummannon and Islandkeane. In the seventeenth century, Faithlegg and Kilsaintlawrence are also returned as belonging to the preceptory of Killure.<sup>82</sup> In 1326, when William de Fyncham was prior of Kilbarry (recently acquired from the Templars), the Hospitallers obtained a lease of 'Colbecke's mill with adjoining islands'.<sup>83</sup>

73 *ibid.*, i, no. 3168, and no. 1916.

74 *ibid.*, iii, nos 622, 666.

75 *ibid.*, iii, no.666.

76 *Cal.papal letters*, ii, 48, 132, 198.

77 Gilbert (ed.) *Historic and Municipal Documents*, pp 498-9.

78 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, i, 107, no.695.

79 Falkiner, 'The Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Ireland'in *P.R.I.A.* 26C (1906-7), 276.

80 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, iii, 361, no 787.

81 See chapter 4.

82 *Repertory Patent Rolls, James I*, p.466.

83 Power, *Waterford and Lismore*, p.296.

The order of Hospitallers gave two bishops to Waterford, who held the see from 1254, when Walter de Southwell was elected, to 1286, when his successor, Stephen de Fulburn, was translated to Tuam.

### The Dominicans

The friars preachers came to Waterford in 1226.<sup>84</sup> Nine years later the citizens sought and obtained leave from the king 'to construct an edifice for the use of the Dominicans in a vacant space under the walls of their city'.<sup>85</sup> The priory, whose ruin still stands at the northern end of Arundel Square, was erected under the invocation of the Holy Saviour.<sup>86</sup> Its situation, inside the city walls, was an unusual one for a Dominican foundation, for the houses of the friars preachers were nearly always built outside the walls.<sup>87</sup> Some of the building-materials for the Waterford house were imported, for the window-mouldings have been identified as Caen stone.<sup>88</sup> The low square tower, still standing, is typical of Dominican buildings of those years.<sup>89</sup>

Like the friars minors, who came to Waterford fourteen years later, the preachers were given a small sum of money as royal alms.<sup>90</sup> The house at Waterford flourished and the completed priory consisted of 'a church, chancel, and belfry, a chapel called Our Lady's Chapel, a cemetery, close, dormitory, chapter house, library and hall with two cellars beneath same, a kitchen and bakehouse, a chamber called the doctor's chamber, and a cellar adjoined to the same, a chamber called the baron's hall with three cellars beneath it'.<sup>91</sup> Provincial chapters were held in Waterford in 1277, 1291, and 1309.<sup>92</sup>

Within the first century of its existence the Waterford community included at least one scholar of repute. His name has come down variously as Geoffrey or Godfrey, or, as he signed himself in Norman-French 'Joffroi de Waterford de l'Ordere az Freres Precheurs'.<sup>93</sup> Friar Geoffrey was an expert, not only in Latin, but in Greek, Arabic, and French.<sup>94</sup> Three of his works of translation have come down, the most notable being the *Secretum Secretorum*, supposed to have been written by Aristotle for Alexander, and treating of the principles and practice of royal government. Geoffrey's translation of this work into French is of very great linguistic interest<sup>95</sup> and has besides some interesting sidelights on French viticulture in the Middle Ages.<sup>96</sup> It was translated into English in the fifteenth century. A manuscript of Geoffrey's works is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Included in this manuscript are some anonymous prose-sermons which from their content and style are thought to be also the work of Geoffrey.<sup>97</sup> Preaching in his day was a neglected art by all but the friars, whose eloquence and sincerity swept

84 De Burgo, *Hibernia Dominicana*, .207.

85 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, i, 334, no.2249.

86 De Burgo, *op.cit.*, p. 208. The present priory in Bridge St. has the same invocation.

87 Pochin Mould, *The Irish Dominicans*, p.28.

88 *ibid.*

89 *ibid.*

90 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, ii, 42; iv,149.

91 Newport B. White, *Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions*, p.351.

92 Coleman's Appendix to O'Heyne's *Epilogus Chronologicus*, p.43.

93 de Burgo, *op.cit.*, p.538.

94 In 1255, the Master-General, Hubert de Romans, writing to all the Dominicans, says that their missionary work is hampered by ignorance of languages and adds: 'If any find himself ready to learn Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, or any other barbarous tongue, let him write to me about it'. Next year he announced a magnificent response to his appeal. See Bennett, *The Early Dominicans*, p. 109.

95 See Pinchbeck, 'Maurice de Sully' in *Romanic Review*, April 1943, 109-15.

96 Pochin Mould, *op.cit.*, p.25. Miss Pochin Mould states that Geoffrey 'was not a native Irishman'. De Burgo, however, states that Geoffrey of Waterford was so called a *natali sua civitate*.

97 Pinchbeck, *loc.cit.*, quoting Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, i, 467-9.

men of all classes under their influence.<sup>98</sup> The secular clergy of the time were lacking in the necessary theological knowledge, and this was true even of the small proportion whose pursuit of secular learning had earned them the title of 'Magister'.<sup>99</sup> Nor were their morals such as to lend weight to their exhortations. The papal letters of the time bear eloquent testimony to this. No wonder that the obvious integrity and dedication of the early friars appealed irresistibly to the people. No wonder either that the secular clergy resented this deflation of their prestige, a very natural reaction which helped to bring about a notable improvement in the standard of parish sermons even before the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>100</sup>

## The Franciscans

St Francis died in 1226, and it has been suggested that already before his death certain of the brethren had set up houses in Ireland.<sup>101</sup> Of this, however, there is no documentary evidence, and 1231 or 1232 seems to be the more generally accepted date.<sup>102</sup> The friars came to Waterford in 1240, according to the four Masters.<sup>103</sup> The same date is given in the list of Franciscan foundations which is written on a fly-leaf of O'Clery's Book of Genealogies<sup>104</sup> and in a manuscript at Brussels<sup>105</sup> written by Brother Michael O'Clery giving a chronological list of the foundations of the Irish Franciscan province. Obviously these three sources are merely three records from a single source, on which, however, the Four Masters relied. The Brussels manuscript adds that the founder of the Waterford house was Sir Hugh Purcell, to which Luke Wadding adds that Sir Hugh's tomb was at the right-hand side of the high altar in the Franciscan church at Waterford.<sup>106</sup> Franciscan foundations in those early days were marked with the utmost simplicity. A centre of spiritual life was established in a disused schoolroom, an empty cellar, or some such obscure shelter. The founder was then a benefactor who provided a site, or made a large contribution for building a permanent church and monastery.<sup>107</sup> None of the sources states whether the date 1240 refers to the first arrival of the Franciscans at Waterford or to the first arrival of the Franciscans at Waterford or to the donation by Sir Hugh Purcell of material aid, two distinct events with a time-lag of unknown length between them. At London, fifteen years elapsed between the arrival of the friars and the building of their church. The same applies to Oxford, while at Cambridge there was a delay of eight years.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, we know that at Waterford the friars preachers were fifteen years living there before a permanent building was provided for them.<sup>109</sup> Consideration must also be given to the fact that if we accept the date 1240 as referring to the first coming of the Franciscans to Waterford, we are allowing eight or nine years between their first coming to Ireland and their arrival in Waterford. This seems an inordinately long time in a period of such rapid expansion. The

98 Stenton, *English Society in the Early Middle Ages*, p.240.

99 Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century*, ch. viii, explains the ignorance of the clergy on grounds of (a) lack of opportunity, (b) scarcity and expense of books ('Even the cheapest bible must have cost something like £50 in modern money'), (c) length of the course leading to a degree in theology, which was sixteen or seventeen years.

100 Moorman, *op.cit.*, p.81.

101 St Francis visited Compostella about 1213 and there was, says Fr Donatus Money writing in 1617-8, a tradition that some friars came from Compostella to Ireland in 1214. See *Analecta Hibernica*, no.6 (1934), p. 15. Fr E.B. Fitzmaurice, who died as guardian of the Waterford friary in 1913, accepted this tradition and had hoped to establish it as a fact. See Fitzmaurice and Little, *Franciscan Province of Ireland*, p.v.

102 *ibid.*, pp xii, xiii, xiv.

103 A.F.M. 1240. Also Ware, *Antiquities*, p.279.

104 Edited by Pender for Irish MSS Commission in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 18 (1951).

105 Printed in *Analecta Hibernica*, no.6 (1934), p.193.

106 *Annales Minorum*, iii., 46.

107 Little, *op.cit.*, p.xiv, says that a schoolroom served at Centerbury, a house at Cornhill, and a cellar at Mulhausen in Saxony.

108 Moorman, *op.cit.*, p.386.

109 See above.

Dominicans came to Waterford two years after their arrival in Ireland, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the Franciscans did not postpone for more than two or three years the establishment of a *locum* in so important a centre.

As early as 1244, a royal mandate was issued governing the election of friars minors to bishoprics in Ireland.<sup>110</sup> The see of Waterford came twice under the rule of bishops who had been friars minors. One of these was Walter Fulburn<sup>111</sup> and the other was Roger Cradock, the last bishop of Waterford.

On 15 October 1345, the king granted the sum of twenty pounds yearly to provide a hundred habits for the friars minors of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Drogheda, Athlone and Kilkenny.<sup>112</sup> In November of the same year, the king decided to add five marks to the twenty pounds, the latter having been found insufficient.<sup>113</sup> The friars seem to have appealed to have the money devoted to a different purpose, as in December the king ordered that the whole alms, thirty-five marks in all, should be employed in enlarging and better building the house of the Franciscans at Waterford. The same use was to be made of it in the following year.<sup>114</sup>

Two brethren of the Waterford community became famous for holiness of life and are mentioned in a catalogue of saintly Franciscans compiled about 1335.<sup>115</sup> Nicholas of Waterford foretold to his brethren the day on which he was to die, while John of Waterford acquired fame through the miracles wrought at his tomb. There the sick were cured and the dead restored to life and health. According to Wadding, both these eminent men were buried at Waterford.<sup>116</sup> Not until 1250 did the Franciscans obtain permission to bury any but their own brethren in their cemeteries.<sup>117</sup> In 1267, a certain Richard, son of Robert, expressed in his will a desire to be buried in the Franciscan cemetery at Waterford beside his brother, and for this he bequeathed to the friars the sum of five marks (£3.33).<sup>118</sup> This was quite a handsome donation in terms of thirteenth-century finance.

The generosity of funeral offerings in the Middle Ages made the question of burials a cause of conflict between the friars (both preachers and minors) and the secular clergy, resulting in 'unedifying squabbles for the possession of corpses.'<sup>119</sup>

In 1317, the provincial chapter of the Franciscans was held at Waterford.<sup>120</sup> The ruin of the Franciscan church is in an excellent state of preservation and is classed as a national monument. It is described and illustrated in the *Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, i (1894-5), 202ff. Since that time the tombstones have been raised from the floor and fixed to the wall in order to preserve the inscriptions.

110 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, i, 406, no. 2722.

111 Fr Donatus Mooney claimed Walter's famous brother 'Frater Stephanus Fulbornius' as a friar minor (*Analecta* no.6 (1934), p. 185). However, on his first coming into Ireland in 1270, Stephen is expressly stated to be a Hospitaller (*Cal.docs.Ire.*, ii, 144, no. 86.). A.G.Little, on the other hand, omits the name of Walter Fulburn from his list of friars minors elected or appointed to Irish sees during the second half of the thirteenth century. See *op.cit.*, p.xxi. According to Ware, Walter was 'a Franciscan Frier'. (*Irish Bishops*, p.532).

112 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, i, 414, no.2776.

113 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, i.416, no.2788.

114 *Cal.docs.Ire.*, i, no. 2787. One mark = 67p.

115 Quoted in Fitzmaurice & Little, *op.cit.*, p.12.

116 *Annales Minorum*, iii,46.

117 Bull of Innocent IV, 25 Feb. 1250.

118 Fitzmaurice & Little, *op.cit.*, p.32.

119 A.G.Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History*, p.110.

120 *Clyn's Annals*, p.13.

## Review Article

## WATERFORD HISTORY &amp; SOCIETY

*reviewed by* EUGENE BRODERICK

**WATERFORD HISTORY & SOCIETY: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County**, edited by William Nolan and Thomas P. Power; Associate Editor, Des Cowman. Dublin, Geography Publications, Kennington Road, Templeogue, Dublin 6W. 1992, hardbac, pp xxiv, 754. £38.

*Waterford History & Society* is the fifth volume in the Irish County History series. It contains 28 essays, which are interdisciplinary in character, and include contributions on archaeology, history and folklore. Aspects of Waterford life from the earliest years to modern times are discussed.

The first essay, by Michael Moore and Professor Peter Woodman, is concerned with the prehistory of the county. This is an illuminating, though by no means an easy read. The writers observe that the south-east in general has been relatively neglected by archaeologists and as such is frozen in the perspectives of the 1930s. While Waterford has been inhabited for over 8,000 years, there is a dearth of artefacts relating to the area. For example, no Iron age La Tène material has been documented. Woodman and Moore trace the prehistory through the various ages, using such evidence as is available. At times they have to resort to speculation, in the absence of the preferred and essential activity of the archaeologist - excavation.

Three essays discuss facets of the medieval history of County Waterford. The great monastic settlements of Lismore and Ardmore are examined, though from two very different perspectives. Lismore was founded in 638 by Carthach. Sarah Sanderlin highlights its reputation as an intellectual centre. Three texts date from the early period of its history. *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae* was written in 655 and sought an explanation of certain biblical phenomena from a scientific point of view. The two other works - the *Apigitir Chrábaid* (Alphabet of Piety) and the *Cosc* - are tracts on Christian conduct. Whatever about the present, medieval Waterford had a university of distinction!

There is a description of the architecture and sculpture of Ardmore in Tadhg O' Keeffe's essay. The round tower and cathedral are two of Ireland's most important Romanesque monuments. Architecturally, the 12th-century cathedral is an interesting mixture of forms and concepts, of native and overseas origin. The author interprets its impressive display of sculpture. Plentiful use of illustrations - there are eight drawings and fourteen photographs - contributes to the reader's enjoyment and enlightenment.

Adrian Empey deals with the county between the years 1200 and 1300. He comments on the disappointingly small volume of printed sources, yet succeeds in giving an overview of Waterford's history within his selected dates. The importance of the manor is emphasised and the Anglo-Norman achievement of establishing a cohesive system of administration is treated in some detail.

If the county lacks the fruits of archaeological survey and the availability of a significant body of printed sources for the middle ages, the city does not. Excavations of a 6,000 square metre area in the centre of Waterford between 1987 and 1990 have revealed much about the city's medieval inhabitants. Maurice Hurley focuses on the years 1000-1200 and describes his essay as a preliminary statement on the major aspects of housing, defences and urban layout. His discussion

of housing is particularly detailed. His observations on St Peter's Church will be of interest to many readers: it may be the first example of an innovative architectural style which produced Cormac's Chapel and influenced a century of Irish architecture. Excellent illustrations ensure that the non-archaeologists will understand and appreciate the significance of these discoveries.

John Bradley and Andrew Halpin recount the topographical development of the city in medieval times. Already a substantial town on the eve of the Anglo-Norman invasion, Waterford gradually expanded westwards in the succeeding centuries. It developed as a major sea port. The defences, suburbs and industries are discussed, though the latter might have been accorded more space, so interesting are the facts given. The churches of the city receive much attention, the 13th-century cathedral ranking with those of Dublin as the finest in Ireland.

'Mayors and Merchants in Medieval Waterford City 1169-1495' is the title of an essay by Eamonn McEneaney. He makes an impressive use of sources to record the history of the city during some of its most important and interesting years, including its 'golden age' at the end of the 13th century. As the essay title suggests, the city's government and merchants were central to its development. In 1215, a charter of King John gave Waterford royal status, and the support and protection of successive English monarchs was crucial to its prosperity. A sophisticated system of municipal administration was established, with the mayor at its heart. This ensured the confidence of merchants, and Waterford had become one of the most prosperous ports in the colony by 1300. The combined exports of Waterford and New Ross were more than the total of the other nine ports.

The history of the 16th and 17th centuries is the subject of two contributions. Julian Walton's 'Church, Crown and Corporation in Waterford 1520-1620' is a thoughtful account of a difficult period in the city's history, years which were dominated by the Reformation and the issue of religion. In essence, it was a time when Waterford displayed loyalty in its politics but recusancy in its religion. While citizens were faithful to the King, they also wanted to remain faithful to the Pope. The reforming bishop, Marmaduke Middleton, complained of 'the stiffnecked, stubborn, papistical and incorrigible people of Waterford'. Serious tensions, which had their origins in matters religious, arose between the crown and the corporation, culminating in the revocation of the charters in 1618 by King James. Calm and harmony were restored with the accession of Charles I in 1625 and the granting of the great charter a year later.

Catherine Ketch examines that invaluable historical document, the Civil Survey of 1654, as it related to the county. This is a demanding read in that it is dealing with much information, often of a complex nature, on land and people. What facilitates the reader's understanding is the writer's considered use of maps and tables, which act as effective summaries of the text.

The electoral politics of the city between 1692 and 1832 is treated by Thomas Power. He recounts how a small number of families dominated the struggle for parliamentary representation. The corporation became a key instrument in the maintenance of familial political influence. Freemen were a crucial element in the restricted electorate, and their nomination was a prerogative of the mayor and city council. Therefore, control of the mayoralty and corporation gave a family the ability to influence an election by the simple expedient of nominating freemen favourably disposed to its cause. A most significant part of this essay is where the author shows that the Catholic vote had been mobilised to effect as early as 1807 - long before 1826 and the Beresford Stuart election.

While Power's essay deals with the corporation as a political entity, Kenneth Milne examines its economic and administrative role in the 18th century. He portrays an institution that was in effect a self-perpetuating group of councillors, serving the needs of influential citizens before that of the population at large. The corporation was inefficient, even corrupt. Its lands were leased

to members or protégés of leading families, thus minimising potential revenue. Details of the city rental were only made available to members of the council. Throughout the century, the corporation's role in the provision of public services was limited, though expanding.

The families that dominated the county's social, political and economic life in the 18th century are discussed in Henry Morris's 'The Principal Inhabitants of Waterford in 1746'. It is an impressive work of research and a valuable source of reference.

The maritime history of Waterford has been neglected. John Mannion's 'Vessels, Masters and Seafaring: Patterns of Voyages in Waterford Commerce 1766-1771' seeks to redress this deficiency and is a pioneering work in many respects. He details the contribution of ships and shipping to the city's economic life in a five-year period. The port was one of the busiest in the British Isles, with 88 vessels recorded as belonging to it. Merchant activity focussed on the south of England, especially Bristol and London. The other significant route was south-west France and Iberia.

Newfoundland was described by an observer in 1859 as 'merely Waterford parted from the sea'. This association with the island was one of the consequences of the county's maritime tradition. Cyril Byrne gives a fascinating insight into the impact of the county's exiles on their adopted home. For example, they brought with them their language and culture. Irish persisted in some considerable strength throughout the 18th century, and only died out in early 20th century. An ability to speak Irish was a crucial factor in the selection of James O'Donel as Prefect Apostolic in 1784, while an interpreter had to be employed by a court in 1789 because the defendants in a murder trial could only speak Irish!

For the student of Waterford's history in the last century, Jack Burtchaell's 'Typology of Settlement and Society' provides a wealth of information essential to a proper understanding of the county. It includes a discussion of surname geography and the distribution of demesnes. A section on 'big' houses reveals that there were 25 such establishments with a rateable valuation greater than £50, while 100 smaller mansions were valued between £20 and £50. The distribution of strong and small farmers is detailed, as is that of cottiers.

Related to the above study is Lindsay Proudfoot's 'The Estate System in Nineteenth-Century Waterford'. The author concerns himself with the valuation of estates, their concentration and ownership by ethnic origin. He is particularly interesting on the estate of the duke of Devonshire. The sixth duke did not fit the image of the traditional landlord in that he managed his lands in a manner designed to achieve harmonious relations with his tenants. His agent calculated that he spent up to £8,000 annually on improvements. It is a pity that this essay did not concentrate more on this important estate, so interesting were the recorded facts.

However, not all tenants were so fortunate as those of Devonshire, as Maurice Kiely and William Nolan reveal in 'Politics, Land and Rural Conflict in Co. Waterford, c. 1830-1845'. The experience of many was one of hardship due to the notoriously cyclical nature of agricultural employment, population increase and land hunger. One of the responses to economic upheavals was violence. The essay contains an excellent account of agrarian conflict and of one family in particular, the Connerys of Bohadon. This family became, in the author's words, 'potent symbols of agrarian violence' and were 'among the great Irish social rebels of the decade'.

Aspects of the economic history of Waterford in the 19th and 20th centuries are addressed by four contributors. There is a thought-provoking essay by Des Cowman entitled 'Trade and Society in Waterford City 1800-1840'. These were years of apparent prosperity. The trade statistics attest to this fact. Entrepreneurs were active, such as the Malcomsons. Four mining

companies began operations in 1824. In the mid-1830s, the city had four viable banks. Yet the social evidence negates this impression of economic success. There is a chilling description of the housing of the poor in the 1830s. An epidemic of typhus in 1836 was blamed on urban squalor. In fact, the social evidence, according to the author, points to economic decline, which began in 1815, after the Napoleonic Wars. He attempts to explain the decline and advances many reasons, including an alteration of trading patterns, over-reliance on traditional enterprises and the inability of businessmen to adapt to changing markets.

The trade of the port of Waterford is the subject of a study by Peter Solar. Around 1830, the city accounted for 20%-25% of total Irish trade in agricultural exports. This included a half of all bacon and 60% of flour exports. However, the port's fortunes seemed to turn with the century. By 1900, the port's total agricultural exports had fallen to 15%. There are many tables and appendices accompanying this work, which are evidence of much research. The author observes that the statistics raise many questions, some of which he lists. It is a pity he did not attempt answers.

Economic performance between 1932 and 1962 is deemed to have been impressive by Martin Hearne in his well-considered 'Industry in Waterford City'. The pace of industrial development was facilitated by government intervention. In particular, Waterford benefited from the 1948-1951 coalition government, which was responsive to the needs of peripheral regions. For example, ACEC was located here because of government instigation. The city did well in the 1950s, with strong export-orientated industries such as Clover Meats and Waterford Glass. But it did not respond well to the favourable economic climate of the 1960s. The author attempts to account for this in terms of a unique combination of events: political and economic complacency, dubious industrial relations, and a discriminatory industrial grants policy.

Proinnsias Breathnach's history of the dairy industry in the county is a refreshing account of progress and successful development. The first co-operative was established in Gaultier in 1894. By 1964 the various co-operative societies had amalgamated to form Waterford Co-Operative Society. This has played a key role in the modernisation of dairying in Waterford. To-day 1,000 farmers and 500 employees benefit from the activities of W.C.S., and it is the largest corporate entity in the industry in Ireland. The steps by which this was achieved are well documented in the essay.

Poverty and hardship have been features of the county's life and have elicited various responses. Two are described in this volume. One is official; the other an example of self-help. Workhouses were established under the 1838 Poor Law to alleviate the sufferings of the destitute. Waterford had three by 1844 - in the city, Lismore and Dungarvan. Christine Kinealy's essay on the workhouse system as it operated in the county is a revisionist study in many ways. What emerges is a picture of local administrators doing their best to be humane in the application of a statute which reflected the worst aspects of dogmatic Victorian social policy. During the Famine, the guardians of Waterford's workhouses did a very good job in terrible circumstances. In Dungarvan, for example, they used their personal security to get a loan to fund relief.

Trades councils were expressions of workers' desires to improve their conditions, and these are examined by Emmet O'Connor. The first one was established in Waterford in 1862, but it was not until 1909 that an enduring body came into existence. Industrial promotion has been one of their long-standing concerns, as has been the advocacy of other aspects of Waterford's welfare. Working in conjunction with other groups, co-operation and consensus has been the preferred approach. However, the author argues convincingly that the trades council concept is not an unqualified success, not least because of an ill-defined role in the context of the national labour

movement.

John O'Donovan, who visited Waterford in the course of his research for the Ordnance Survey, wrote that 'this is the most Irish county I have yet traversed'. The 1851 census revealed that Waterford ranked third in the county in terms of Irish speakers measured by proportion of the population. Reflecting the importance of the language and Gaelic culture in the history of the county, four essays are concerned with Irish and folklore. 'Scríobhaithe Phort Lairge' is a work of record and reference, relating to Irish manuscripts written in Waterford between 1700 and 1900. A number of facts relating to each document are given: the location in which it is kept, its number in the collection, the nature of the material, its place of writing, and an account of the writer. Ordinary people preserved them: In the words of the author, Eoghan Ó Suilleabháin: 'Ba sheoda luachmhara acu iad lena gcoinneáil go cúramach i dtaisce agus lena bhfágaint le huacht' (they were their rich jewels to be kept safe for posterity). The writer is continuing a proud tradition of respect for a rich literary heritage.

'Seanchas Ó Chnoc na Faille' by Diarmaid O hAirt contains material extracted from tape-recordings made by Máire Ní Chaoimh (1890-1973) of Knocknafalla, a townland near Mount Melleray Abbey. The essay, in the author's words, 'may pass on to future generations some of the rich treasure house of traditional lore of which she was a living repository'. One of its most welcome features is the attempt to preserve for the reader some of the more notable elements of the Déise dialect. It is a beautiful read.

Ríonach Uí Ógáin's 'The Folklore of County Waterford' gives a flavour of a rich folk tradition. We are reminded by the writer that much material which relates to the county has been collected. One individual, Nioclás Breathnach, for example, collected 7,500 pages. The tales, beliefs and concerns of ordinary people are the subjects of folklore and this is what makes this essay so important.

By the 1900s there was an awareness in Ring that Irish was declining and a belief that this trend should be reversed. A bilingual programme of instruction was introduced into the local national school in 1908. This programme and its application in the Waterford Gaeltacht between 1904 and 1922 is the concern of Thomas A. O'Donoghue. Bilingualism aimed at the achievement of literacy and numeracy in both languages. By 1922 it was being used in four schools - Ring, Bohadon, Grange and Modeligo. Only in Ring was success enjoyed. The reasons for this, and for parental and managerial attitudes, are discussed in this illuminating study.

One biography is included in this volume - Daire Keogh's 'Thomas Hussey, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore 1797-1803, and the Rebellion of 1798'. It is a revisionist work and all the more interesting for that. Hussey has often been characterised as a rebel bishop. Keogh rejects this label. Rather, the bishop was a conservative and averse to revolution. He was, however, less deferential than his episcopal contemporaries. He was not afraid to espouse the cause of Catholic Emancipation. In a controversial pastoral in 1797 he condemned the plight of the Irish Catholic soldiers in the British army, who were compelled to attend Anglican services. Hussey's more aggressive approach towards the government was due to a sense of confidence which he had acquired as a result of years of service as chaplain in the Spanish embassy in London. His actions and statements have been over-simplified by later generations, but this essay sets the record straight.

*Waterford History & Society* is the product of sound and meticulous scholarship. While not a definitive history, it is a most comprehensive work. There are omissions. For example, the religious history of Waterford is relatively ignored, while the 20th century might have received more attention. But these are minor criticisms. In any case, one must recognise and acknowledge the constraints of space and the availability of contributors. It is a publication which will encourage and

facilitate the endeavours of future scholars, who will see these essays as the foundations of their own researches. And these same endeavours will be greatly assisted by the inclusion in the publication of Donald Brady's 'A Select Bibliography of County Waterford', which details monographs relevant to the history of the county.

Yet this is also a book for the general reader. It is a book about Waterford for the people of Waterford. Indeed, one of the most significant features of the volume is that the contributors are concerned with the lives of our 'ordinary' ancestors. Thomas Carlyle's contention that 'the history of the world is but the biography of great men' is rejected in favour of Shakespeare's observation that 'there is a history in all men's lives'. Those women and men who lived, worked and died in the city and county provided the subject matter of essays, and these same essays are, in a sense, a monument to them.

This publication highlights the importance of studies in local history. Patrick Kavanagh, questioning the value of apparently insignificant local events as an inspiration for his poetry, concluded:

Homer's ghost came whispering to my mind.

He said: I made the Iliad from such a local row.

The local historian might keep these words in mind. All great events have a local beginning or a local dimension. What happened locally may have been the seeds or the mirrors of revolutions, the fall of dynasties, or a cultural renaissance!

*Waterford History & Society* is a magnificent work. It is a tribute to the scholarship of the contributors, the commitment of the editors, and the professionalism of the publishers. A great debt of gratitude is owed to them all. Clio, the Muse of History, has been well served by these her Waterford acolytes

## REVIEWS

In past years, *Decies* carried reviews of publications of local historical interest. Feedback from readers indicates that they were well received and that their non-appearance in recent issues is regretted. The spate of publications within the last year or so dealing wholly or in part with Waterford city and county is impressive, but it is also bewildering both in quantity and in diversity. The general reader needs a guide to what has been written and what may be expected from it. Accordingly, we include a Reviews Section in the current issue and hope to make it a regular feature of the journal.

The purpose of a *Decies* review is to inform readers about a recent book or periodical which contains material of interest to members of the Society. It begins with the basic publication details. It may outline the historical background which gave rise to the book being compiled, or the circumstances in which it came to be written. It should make the reader aware of the author's purpose, and estimate how successful he or she has been in achieving it. A review is user-orientated, and must help the reader answer the question: 'How useful will this book be to me?' The reviewer should stress the positive aspects of the book, while not misleading the reader as to its shortcomings; perfection does not exist this side of the grave, and negative criticism for its own sake is to be avoided. It is important that a book be judged according to the claims made on its behalf - it is pointless to use the same standards for a major historical production as for a work of local *pietas*.

In the current issue we review five works of very different types. *Waterford History & Society* is of sufficient importance to merit an article to itself. Ryland's history is nearly 170 years old, and even the reprint has been out for ten years, but the recent reissue of the latter calls for an assessment of the author's place among Waterford's historians. Richard McElwee's book on the sinking of the *Formby* and the *Coningbeg* is of local and topical significance. Dermot Power's *Songs & Ballads of Waterford* and Michael Fewer's *By Cliff and Shore* contain historical elements which should be of interest to our readers.

**THE HISTORY, TOPOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY AND CITY OF WATERFORD**, by Rev. R. H. Ryland. John Murray, London, 1824. Facsimile edition by Wellbrook Press, Kilkenny, 1982. pp 419. £19.95.

The establishment in 1894 of the journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society brought to the fore a talented and prolific group of writers, and the quantity of publications on Waterford history since then has been impressive. Up to that date, however, the historiography of Waterford largely depends on the works of Charles Smith (1746, reprinted with much extra material in 1774), R. H. Ryland (1824) and P. M. Egan (1894). Needless to say, these have been out of print for many years and command a high price in the antiquarian book trade. However, a thousand copies of Ryland were reprinted in 1982 by Wellbrook Press, Kilkenny. Ten years on, Waterford Book Centre bought up the unsold stock and put it on the market at a very reasonable price.

There have been many reprints of Irish local histories, not all of them successful. This is one of the good ones. Wellbrook Press made an excellent job of the text and illustrations, and the book was efficiently bound by John F. Newman & Son (now Library Bindings) of Dublin. There is a brief introduction by the Right Revd Michael Olden, and Intacta Print provided a sober but pleasing dark-green dust-jacket, on the back of which is depicted the decorated arcading at Ardmore Cathedral.

The illustrations are of a high quality. At the beginning is a map of the county with coloured borders. Reginald's Tower of course makes an appearance, and there is a fine panorama of the quays of Waterford. The majestic view of Lismore Castle begs comparison with that given in Smith. There are two pictures of Ardmore (the round tower and the decorated arcading at the cathedral), a geological section of Bilberry Rock, and several smaller illustrations.

For me, however, the most fascinating illustration is the pictorial map entitled 'Waterford, as it was in the year 1673'. Where on earth Ryland found the original of this map, and what has happened to it since, is a mystery, but there is no doubt that it is genuine. We are given a bird's-eye view of the city, showing its streets and houses and gardens and public buildings. A key provides the names of nearly fifty places. This is the city of the recent archaeological digs, the Urbs Intacta as it was at the end of the Middle Ages, still virtually confined within its battlemented walls. Waterford was then on the threshold of its transformation into the city we know today - few of the buildings shown on the map now survive in recognisable form. The cartographer caught the magic moment, and Ryland passed it on to us.

Richard Hopkins Ryland belonged to an old Dungarvan family. His father was a Church of Ireland clergyman, and Ryland followed in his footsteps. When he compiled his history of Waterford he was the curate of Trinity parish, but a few years later he was appointed chancellor of Waterford diocese, a post he held for nearly forty years. As a minister he was both active and conscientious - he founded a Sunday school and a temperance society and published various religious tracts. As a historian he certainly had his limitations; he lacked Smith's painstaking if pedantic scholarship and Egan's exuberant accumulation of detail. However, his polished style gives his book a readability lacking in Smith. Moreover, he was motivated by devotion to his subject and a burning desire to correct the erroneous impressions of his native county given by other writers.

Ryland's original intention had been to correct and update Smith, but luckily for posterity he decided instead to compile a completely new work. Smith's history is of course a tremendous achievement, and Waterford is lucky to have had such an able historian at so early a period. But like all pioneers he made mistakes. Every historian dreads writing something utterly foolish which will be quoted for evermore, and unfortunately Smith mistook the word RE-EDIFIED carved over the chancel arch of Blackfriars for a mysterious set of initials, the meaning of which had been lost; Ryland firmly put him right. He could be less patient with other writers, for instance with Wakefield, who gave the width of the Suir at Waterford as nearly a mile - 'an error which has been literally copied by all succeeding writers'.

Ryland's work is full of fascinating anecdotes, and some of the best known and best loved of Waterford legends first appeared in print in his book. Good examples are the defence of Faithlegg Castle by the Aylwards, and the mug of buttermilk handed to the master gunner at Dunhill Castle. I particularly like his account of the founding of the Leper Hospital. The sons of King John, he tells us, 'during the time they remained at Lismore, were so feasted with the fine salmon and cider of that place, that they lived almost entirely on them, which caused eruptions to break out on their bodies, supposed to be the leprosy; of which the king being informed founded the

Hospital for persons labouring under leperous complaints.' A pity to spoil the story by pointing out that King John's only son (the future Henry III) was born twenty-two years after his father's visit to Lismore, and was only nine years old at his father's death.

Ryland's descriptions of historic buildings as they were in his day are useful, though they can be exasperatingly vague. His castles all seem to have massy walls, winding staircases, orifices for the administration of boiling oil, and magnificent views from the battlements - but precise detail is lacking. Moreover, archaeology was then still in its infancy, and Ryland was no more than a man of his time in attributing the erection of dolmens to the druids. As for the origin of round towers, debate was then raging fast and furious, and Ryland writes with humour of the vigour with which scholars exerted themselves to demolish each other's theories, so that 'it becomes necessary to abandon all idea of determining what these edifices were, and to rest satisfied with knowing what they were not'.

As a clergyman, Ryland was mainly interested in churches, schools and charitable institutions, and accounts of these occupy a prominent place in his work. He was less concerned with trade, commerce and politics, about which he has little to say. He writes with some bitterness of the destruction of the medieval Christ Church not long before he was born: 'It is a matter of sincere regret to many who recollect the ancient edifice, that the profane hands of the last generation should have violated this beautiful remnant of antiquity.' However, he had only praise for its successor, 'a light and beautiful building, entirely in the modern style'.

With admirable generosity of spirit he is equally complimentary in his account of the Catholic cathedral, which he describes as 'remarkable for lightness and grand simplicity'. And in his section on Waterford schools he makes no secret of his admiration for the achievement of Edmund Rice, which he describes as 'a splendid instance of the most exalted generosity..... These schools have been of incalculable benefit.'

One of Ryland's main contributions to our knowledge of Waterford's past is in what he says about the events and topics of his own lifetime - the wreck of the *Sea Horse*, the construction of Dunmore Harbour, and the practicability of banking-in the back strand of Tramore, for instance. His final chapter is a treatise on the condition of the peasantry of Co. Waterford, which is unfortunately lacking in the factual details which the historian demands, but then Ryland was no statistician.

One can read Ryland again and again and discover something new each time - I recently came across his account of a plot to assassinate the local yeomanry officers in 1798, which was hatched at a pub in Johnstown; a servant of the Dean was one of the conspirators, and nightly meetings were held in the medieval cellar beneath the deanery. One of the conspirators was 'Carey, a stone-cutter'; was he the father of the Waterford-born sculptor John Edward Carew, creator of the bronze bas-relief of the battle of Trafalgar at the base of Nelson's Column in London?

Ryland died in 1868 and was buried in the Protestant Cemetery on John's Hill. Egan stated in 1894 that the mortuary chapel there had been built 'with funds contributed to perpetuate his memory; but no record to this effect has been set upon it'. It is high time amends were made! Ironically, two years after his death his fellow-citizen Joseph Hansard brought out a new history of Co. Waterford, incorporating Ryland word for word, with the addition of much admittedly useful new material, mostly relating to the Dungarvan area. Hansard is often given the credit which rightfully belongs to Ryland, and most of his information dates from 1824 not 1870.

---

**THE LAST VOYAGES OF THE WATERFORD STEAMERS**, by Richard McElwee.  
The Book Centre (Waterford) Ltd, 1992, pp 196, £7.99.

Within ten days of Christmas 1917 the *SS Formby* and *Coningbeg*, en route for Waterford, were torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine, the U-62. Eighty-three people died, sixty-seven of them from the Waterford area. Richard McElwee's book was published to mark the seventy-fifth anniversary of this double tragedy. At last we have a definitive work on these sad events. It is comprehensive in its scope and compassionate in its treatment - in short a worthy commemoration of one of the worst human disasters to afflict Waterford and environs.

At the turn of the century most Irish ports had a weekly general cargo service to Liverpool. At the time Liverpool was a great trans-shipment centre, with shipping connections world-wide. Waterford was not alone linked with Liverpool but boasted services to Glasgow, Fishguard, Bristol, Plymouth, Southampton, Newhaven and London. Liverpool, however, was the principal service from Waterford for the Clyde Shipping Company. The 'Clyde' had taken over the Waterford Steamship Company in 1912, and with the Great Western Railway (Fishguard) dominated sailings from Waterford.

The importance of the Liverpool service was marked by the deployment of two ships on the berth. During World War I the ships plying the service were the *Formby* and *Coningbeg*. The *Coningbeg*, formerly Waterford Steam's *Clodagh*, was built in 1904 and the *Formby* dated from 1914. They were modern for their day and well fitted for a busy, prestige route. They plied the Irish Sea with a clockwork routine and became integral if moving parts of both cities.

It is against this background that the double tragedy of 1917 must be viewed. Despite the dangers of war the service proceeded with its customary regularity: that is until U-62 ended their careers and plunged two cities into mourning. Most of the victims were from Waterford and McElwee entitles his book *The Last Voyages of the Waterford Steamers* to bring home that very point.

McElwee builds up to the sad centrepiece of this work with a useful background on World War I and, in particular, an absorbing analysis of the submarine warfare in the conflict. His tracing and assessment of Allied and German strategies in the naval arena make compelling reading. He puts forward a valid argument that the outcome of the war was determined by Allied victory over the U-boat menace. Equally, he suggests that an even more vigorous U-boat campaign could well have altered the outcome. The importance of the war at sea is brought home by many illustrations of the perfidy and crassness inherent in violence; the use and abuse of neutral shipping is a case in point.

The analysis of World War I sets up the double tragedy as an outcome of conflict. Here, once and for all, the author overcomes any suggestion that one of the ships was a storm victim. Proof is accomplished by excellent research and reference to German war records - and the gripping memoirs of Ernst Hashagen, master of U62. The robustness of both *Formby* and *Coningbeg*, and above all the skill and experience of their respective masters (Charles Minards and Joseph Lumley) and crew, are additional and traditional factors thrown in to 'sink' the storm theory.

McElwee's treatment of the human side of the tragedies is the highlight of the book. The 83 innocent victims are justly honoured in name and some detail, with a few personal angles bringing home the full horror of the losses. A chilling episode describes growing anxiety in Waterford as the message of well-found overdue ships led on to silent fear.

In a macabre contrast McElwee picked up a similar fateful silence on U-62 as noted by Ernst Hashagen in the tension-filled stalking of the *Coningbeg*: 'It is rather dreadful to be steaming thus alongside one's victim knowing that she has only ten or perhaps twenty minutes to live, till fiery death leaps from the sea and blows her to pieces. A solemn mood possesses the few upon the bridge. The horror of war silences us. Every one of our orders, every movement, every turn of a wheel is bringing death nearer our opponent. All is exactly settled in advance. We, too, have become part of fate.'

The book is enhanced by numerous illustrations, copies of correspondence, and maps. It is a fitting tribute to those lost, and a graphic message on the waste and suffering of war. If stark tragedy stuns us to silence, we should not be silent in the condemnation and prevention of violence, no matter on what scale.

Richard McElwee has spoken out in this fine work - a commemoration of courage and a condemnation of war. We will remember them - the more so for reading this book.

Anthony Brophy

**THE BALLADS & SONGS OF WATERFORD FROM 1487**, collected and edited by Dermot Power. Volume I. Printed by the Munster Express, 1992, pp 193, £7.99.

Songs play such an important role in our sense of national and local identity that it is astonishing there should be no quintessential Waterford song to make an exile in far-away Brooklyn or Sydney or Kilburn collapse weeping into a pint as a Corkman might do on hearing 'De Banks'. In fact, there are few well-known Waterford songs at all: 'Master MacGrath,' 'Dungarvan my home town', 'Na Connerys' and 'Sliabh geal gCua' are four that achieved fame in different ways and for different reasons. Dermot Power's book is therefore especially welcome. Several old favourites are to be found here, but the main interest of the book is in the wealth of songs by local composers which are virtually unknown beyond the walls of the local pub or the columns of the local newspaper, and are here presented to the singing public, often with the musical notation provided.

The songs are arranged thematically - the sea, sport, rebellions, elections and so on - and the interest of some categories for the local historian should be obvious. Shipwrecks provided a happy hunting-ground for many balladeers, and the *Sea Horse* (1816) and *Kinsale* (1872) are featured here. 'The Banks of Newfoundland' and 'The *Flying Cloud*' are also songs of local significance. I found the songs associated with election campaigns particularly interesting. Songs in the Irish language are printed in an attractive letter-press which adds greatly to the pleasure of reading them. Literal translations are provided, verse paraphrases being wisely avoided as a matter of policy.

The final section, 'Ancient Ballads,' contains three items. 'The Mayor of Waterford's Letter' is a late fifteenth-century ballad castigating the men of Dublin for supporting Lambert Simnel in 1487; it is an important historical record and its inclusion here is very appropriate. However, acknowledgement should have been made to the source from which text and notes were reproduced

(the poem has in fact been published several times). The other two items commemorate executions, those of Bishop John Atherton in 1640 (see *Decies* nos 11 and 39) and the highwayman William Crotty.

With the publication of this book Dermot Power has fulfilled, he tells us, a lifelong ambition. His zeal in locating the words and music of so many songs deserves the greatest credit; composers and singers were painstakingly tracked down and recorded, folklore collections and old newspapers were perused for material. It is to be hoped that singers and audiences for many years to come will derive enjoyment from all his hard work. For the non-performer, it is a pleasure to browse through these pages, for there is an abundance of old photographs which will give the book a value even to the tone-deaf.

Will there be a Volume II? I hope so. In that case, some lessons could be learned from Volume I. In the first place, the 'index' is not an index at all but a list of contents; there is no index, and there should be (at the back). There should also be chapter headings in appropriate places. Secondly, the approach to punctuation and syntax is slapdash, there are too many misprints in both the English and Irish texts, and the phrasing of some sentences is unfortunate; all this could have been avoided by careful proof-reading. Dermot Power's achievement lies in the collection and arrangement of the material, but behind every author there must also be an editor.

Julian C. Walton

**BY CLIFF AND SHORE: WALKING THE WATERFORD COAST** by Michael Fewer.  
Anna Livia Press, Dublin, 1992, pp iii+179, £7.95.

This is a book that can be judged from its delightful cover. It does not pretend to focus on history and therefore, strictly speaking, should not be reviewed here. However, it is a celebration of Michael Fewer's vision of what is and what remains along the Waterford coast, including the estuary right up to the bridge. Neat little maps introduce each of the eight consecutive stretches from Youghal eastward and a host of telling line sketches brings them to life.

Michael Fewer has a marvellous eye for detail encapsulated in many of the sketches but also in the prose. Early on he describes the mill at Piltown (near Youghal), adding 'the ruins of the tiny cottages where the mill workers lived lined the narrow road overgrown with a shroud of ivy, elder and brambles'. He does mention a 17th-century graveyard nearby, and one wonders about his source for dating this burial site. Likewise one wonders how 'the foundations of the (round) tower (at Ardmore) were opened up for examination' while the tower still stands, and who reached the conclusion that 'the graveyard had been in continual use for a thousand years at least' when other evidence would add nearly 500 years to this vintage.

---

Thus unspecified mythology is mixed with recorded history. One would hope that Mr Fewer's historical collage on 'Illaunobrick' will not be seen as definitive, and would wish that 'a Waterfordman named Wise (he obviously was)' had been more accurately identified as the very interesting Thomas Bullocks Wyse [*sic*] who mined nearby. However, these are small matters, and as the writer gets closer to the estuary he adds much interesting reminiscence, anecdote and local tradition, as well as having a greater range of written historical information to draw on.

Therefore, while a caution has to be entered about some of the traditional 'history' given, the strength of the book lies in its being a record of contemporary history. This is due primarily to Mr Fewer's delight in telling detail, including the rich bird life he encounters. Vignettes on the various places he dropped in on during his journey and the people he met are most evocative. Anybody, for instance, who knows a certain pub in Bunmahon would immediately recognise it from his description, even if it had not been named in the text. Not alone have we been given such detail along the length of the late 20th-century Waterford coast, but we have presented to us, in a most enjoyable way, much of the mixed beliefs, attitudes and aspirations that make up our society. Mr Fewer has done us all a service in capturing them, and his publishers have done him proud in the fine production, particularly of his line drawings.

Des Cowman

# OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

## Programme for Summer 1993

Sunday afternoon outings will depart from City Hall at 2.30.

Evening outings will meet at venue at 7.30.

- |                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| Sunday 2 May        | Outing to Faithlegg and Cheekpoint.<br>Guide: Mr Julian Walton (start at Faithlegg Church, 3 p.m.)           |
| Sunday 16 May       | Annual coach trip. Venue: The Burren.<br>A separate notice will be sent to members.                          |
| Sunday 13 June      | Outing to Graiguenamanagh and St Mullin's.<br>Guide: Rev. Sean O'Doherty (member).                           |
| Thursday 24 June    | Evening visit to City Hall and the Theatre Royal.  |
| Sunday 11 July      | Outing to the Hook and environs.<br>Guide: Mr Billy Colfer, N.T.   |
| Thursday 22 July    | Walk through medieval Waterford.<br>Guide: Miss Orla Scully, City Archaeologist<br>(meet at Railway Square). |
| Sunday 12 September | Outing to Early Christian sites at the Glen of Aherlow.<br>Guide: Mr Des Cowman                              |

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

### Annual General Meeting

The Society's A.G.M. for 1993 will be held at 8 p.m. on **Friday 16 April** in Garter Lane ONE, O'Connell St., Waterford. Separate notification will be sent to members.

### Lecture

Members are reminded that the last lecture of the season, entitled 'Paradise in Ireland: Houses and gardens open to the public', will be given by Mr Richard Wood at 8 p.m. on **Friday 23 April** in Garter Lane ONE, O'Connell St., Waterford. Venue will be confirmed with A.G.M. notice.

### Subscriptions

The subscription for 1993 is £10.00. Payment should be made to the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs Renee Lumley, Formby, 28 Daisy Terrace, 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 1-46 (1976-1992), 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.

## OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE FOR 1992-93

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

**FOR BARBADOES.**

—

 **THE** good Ship **COUNTESS** of **HADDINGTON**, of *Greenock*, JOHN LONARDSON Master, Burden about 200 Tons, is now lying in the River Suir, and will take on Freight Goods for *Barbadoes*, or any of the Windward Islands. She will be ready to sail in a few Days, and has good Accommodations for a few Cabin Passengers.

For Freight or Passage apply to the MASTER, on Board, or JOHN BROWN, Merchant.

WHO HAS FOR SALE,

Three Hundred Barrels **SCOTCH HERRINGS**, just arrived by the above Ship, from *Greenock*.

*Waterford, November 20, 1792.*