

DECIES



SPECIAL - THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF WATERFORD

DECIES

DECIES XXIII.

MAY 1983.

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Cover:

Archaeological work in progress at newly discovered medieval gateway - see feature on pages 41 - 72. Photograph by Mr. Terry Murphy with thanks to him for its use and to Mr. Sean O'Brien for his help.
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E D I T O R I A L

Perhaps the most important lesson of history is the necessity for flexibility in the face of external circumstances. This is by way of excuse for deferring once again publication of the O.W.S. Survey of sites of historical interest. The first section of it, covering the easternmost parishes of Co. Waterford is almost ready and is proving very bulky. Production costs dictated a choice between publishing it or beginning our archaeological series dealing mainly with the newly discovered gate towers at Spring Garden Alley. The topicality of this latter together with the widespread public interest in, and support for, the preservation of the ancient gateway dictated priority (see feature).

Similarly deferred from DECIES XXII was in intended Archive Series which we are pleased now to present as an aspect of "flexibility". While this will appeal more to the active rather than the passive local historian, it too is dictated, we think, by external circumstances. The photocopier and microfilm, combining with a greater public and institutional awareness of the importance of historical material (evidenced locally by the enlightened decision of Waterford County Council to employ a fulltime county archivist), has resulted in a lot of valuable documentation becoming available for the first time, often from unexpected locations. Thus the first item in the series calendars a collection which has turned up in Stradbally, Co. Waterford; items two and three have become available thanks mainly to the initiative and consideration of Dr. Malcomson of the P.R.O.N.I., Belfast.

To him and to our other contributors most appreciative thanks are due. Once again S.E.R.T.O. and Waterford Corporation have provided essential help. Particular gratitude goes to Mrs. Eileen Johnston, Mrs. Nancy Dunphy, Mrs. M.riam Holman and Miss Mary O'Sullivan who graciously volunteered their skills when they were most needed. And thanks again to that gallant band of assemblers and distributors (the latter co-ordinated by Mrs. R. Lumley). DECIES is the publication of and by the Old Waterford Society in far more than the formal sense.

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY'S A.G.M..

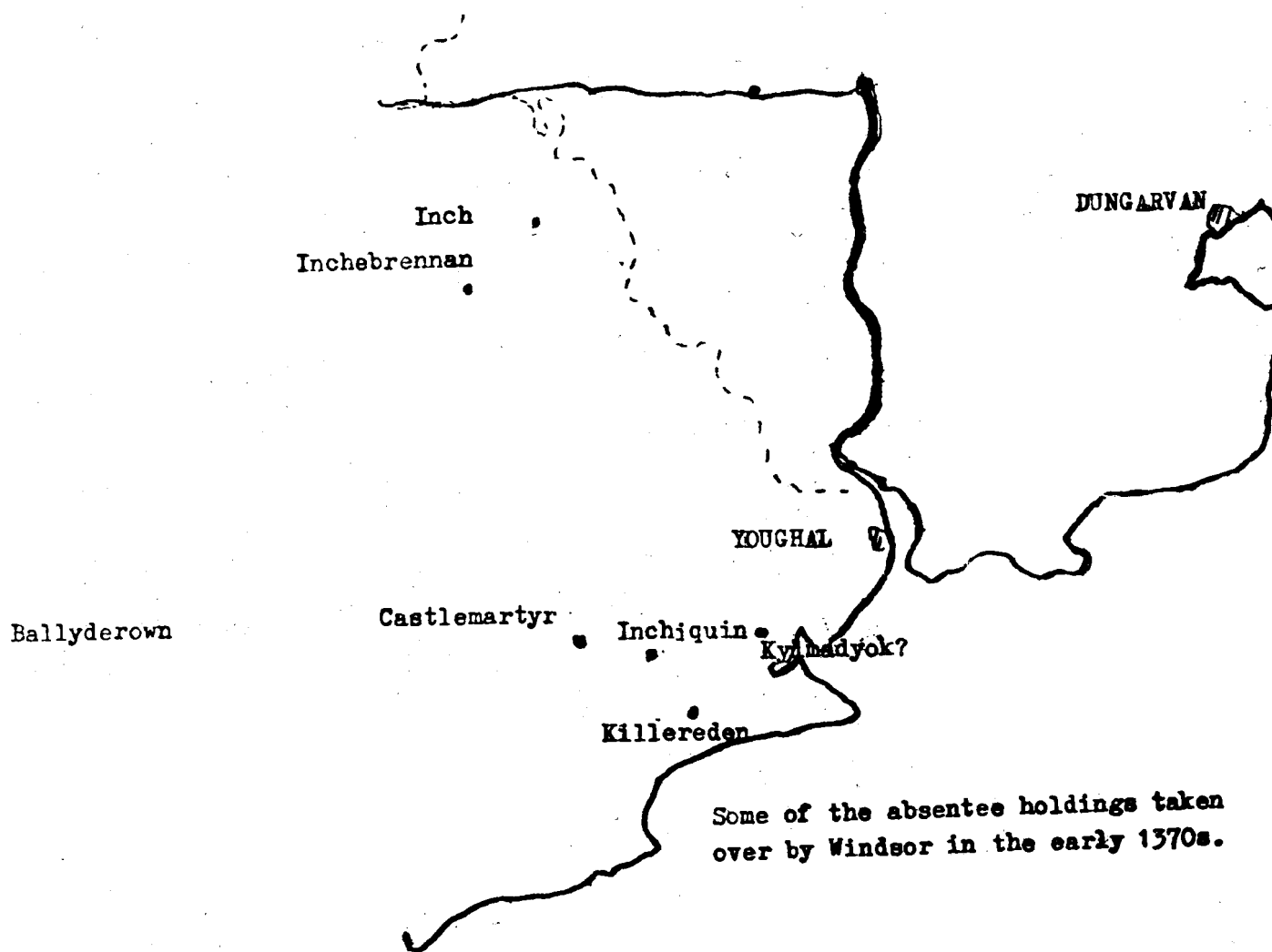
At the Annual General Meeting of the Old Waterford Society held on 8th April 1983 the following officers and Committee were elected :

CHAIRMAN:	Mr. Noel Cassidy.	
VICE CHAIRMAN:	Mrs. L. Gallagher.	
HON. SECRETARY:	Mrs. N. Croke.	
HON. TREASURER:	Mrs. R. Lumley.	
HON. PRESS OFFICER:	Mr. P. Kenneally.	
COMMITTEE:	(Messrs.) Stan Carrol.	Frank Heylin.
	Des Cowman.	John Hodge .
	Fergus Dillon .	Tom Nolan .
	Dan Dowling .	Jim O'Meara.

It was decided that the annual subscription to the Old Waterford Society should remain unchanged at £5 for 1984.



WATERFORD - as it might have appeared in March 1375 when Irish and English rebels, "having breached the walls in several places, rampaged through the town and pulled down the great clock in the market place". (see page 13)
 (from Francis Place's painting of 1666 when Waterford still had most of its medieval characteristics. Redrawn for DECIES by Mrs. S. Brophy)



THE ABSENTEE PROBLEM IN WATERFORD & EAST CORK DURING WILLIAM
OF WINDSOR'S ADMINISTRATION, 1369-1376.

By Sheelagh H. Harbison

INTRODUCTION:

The prosperity of the area between Waterford and Youghal which is known as the Decies had reached a low ebb by the time William of Windsor was appointed King's Lieutenant of Ireland in 1368. In earlier times it had been a prosperous region and a source of profit to the Crown. Dungarvan, lying mid-way between the two towns, was an important seaport as far back as 1175, when it was claimed by Henry II in the Treaty of Windsor. On King John getting a quit-claim of it from Donald O'Faolain, chief of the Decies, the town became a royal Honour. The revenues from it for one year came to over £354 and as such formed part of the appanage* of the Lord Edward in 1254, providing a small portion of the 15,000 marks with which Henry III promised to endow his son prior to his marriage to Eleanor of Castile. 1

Edward I granted Dungarvan to Thomas Fitz Maurice in 1292 and on the creation of the Desmond earldom in 1329 a further grant of the remission of 200 marks rent was given to the earl. After the rebellion of Maurice fitz Thomas all three towns of Waterford, Dungarvan and Youghal suffered a severe decline in trade and general prosperity. This was caused partly by the indiscriminate attacks on the settlers, both by the Gaelic Irish and by the rebel English and to an even greater extent by the destructive activities of the earl of Desmond, whose 'rout' terrorized the countryside.² Probably, because of these unsettled conditions, the wool custom, once one of the most lucrative sources of income to the government, now produced practically nothing. In fact, shortly after Windsor's arrival in 1369, a special custom on fish, wine, beef and pork yielded only £16-3-9 from the city of Waterford.³ In view of the difficulties faced by the trading community of that city, this was hardly surprising! It is on record that in 1368 'the mayor was brought back to the city all beaten and cut to pieces by battle axes after a sea fight with the O'Driscolls and Poers' who had sailed into the port 'on account of its fidelity to the crown and good government of the townsmen, who attempted to oppose the invaders, but were beaten'. Luckily for the inhabitants on this occasion, the O'Driscolls suffered such heavy losses that they withdrew without attempting to take the city.⁴

The situation was no better in Youghal. A report sent to the King by its citizens in January 1373 paints a gloomy picture of the state to which this once busy port had been reduced. In it they complain that the rebels 'are continually spoiling and slaying our lieges' and as a result the townsmen are 'so impoverished that they shall in no account be compelled to pay subsidies, or to find footmen or horsemen unless they consent'. Instead, they suggest to the King that he pay them subsidies, with which to build up the defences of the town, so that they may be able to defend themselves against their enemies.⁵

*Appanage - a grant of revenues in maintenance of King's son or any cadet member of family (i.e. cousin or other relative).

These events give us some idea of conditions prevailing in the coastal area between Waterford and Youghal at the time of Windsor's arrival in Ireland, and indeed throughout the rest of his stay in the country. What made Windsor's position even more difficult was that he inherited a situation of mutual distrust between the Anglo-Irish and the English born officials who were sent over to administer the country. This feeling became so bad that the Kilkenny parliament of 1366 had to legislate **in an attempt to** improve the relations between the two groups.⁶ Moreover, there was yet a third group who incurred the displeasure of the lieutenant and the animosity of the loyal settlers, themselves desperately trying to retain their lands in the face of a mounting Gaelic revival. There is no doubt but that Windsor put the problem of this last group, the absentees, high on his list of priorities when he took up office.

The Absentee Problem:

The problem had been a cause for complaint from as far back as 1297 when it was stated that on account of the continuing absence of so many great lords from their Irish lands 'many marches were destroyed or for the most part ruinous'.⁷ Nothing had been done about it since Clarence departed in 1366, though the gradually deteriorating situation in the lordship was exacerbated by the refusal of the absentees to return or pay for the defence of their Irish lands. The matter was brought to the notice of the king and council in February 1367, when representation was made by the prelates, nobles and commons that 'if a remedy were not soon provided, the country would be lost to the crown'.⁸ As a result of this plea, the king summoned a parliament in May 1368, where the whole question of the defence of the country was to be debated.⁹ In the opinion of this parliament, there was only one solution to the problem: the absentees must be compelled to return and bring with them a sufficient number of well armed men to force back the Irish and to regain their possessions. Influenced by this report, and possibly by the imminent resumption of war in France, Edward III took decisive action on 28 July 1369 at Guildford. An order was sent to Thomas de Roos of Hamelak:

upon his allegiance, to array himself to go to Ireland with men and arms to the utmost of his power, so as to be there at Easter, to dwell upon his lands and because the business is near to the king's heart, to be before the king and council at Westminster at the quinzane of Michaelmas next to give information concerning the lands which he now has claims to have in Ireland, their value and whether he will go to Ireland, or send others in his name for the safety of the same, or no. So that in case he will not do so, in order to avoid the hurt, peril and dispersion which is like to happen to the king and his land of Ireland if speedy remedy is not applied, the king may, in his default, take such order concerning the said lands and lordships as the law will and need requires in this emergency for the safety of Ireland and the king's lieges there.¹⁰

Furthermore, the ordinance threatens that 'in case they will not do so, the king will take the same into his hand and give them, at his pleasure, to others who will there dwell upon the defence and conquest thereof.' Similar instructions were sent to Edmund, earl of March and fifteen others to likewise return and defend their lands.

It was pointed out to them that the lands had been granted to their ancestors on the understanding that they lived there and that their absence was one of the main causes for the loss of the land.¹¹ De Roos and March were not singled out for special censure but as the Pembroke, de Manny, Clifford and Atholl lands - to mention but a few - were not situated in or near the Decies, their fate does not concern us here. Thomas de Roos's lands, are however of interest as they were located in the vicinity of Youghal and Inchiquin.¹² Moreover, the events leading up to their forfeiture are so well documented that we can clearly follow the efforts of their lord, who was in France at the time, to retain his Irish property, despite his absence abroad. But before going into details about the affair, it is necessary to outline something of the political situation which existed, not only in Ireland at the time, but between England and France prior to and during Windsor's term of office.

Invasion Scare, 1368:

Primarily the most effective excuse advanced by an absentee, and the one which was almost invariably acceded to, was that the person in question had provided, or was prepared to provide, men and arms for service in France. Paradoxically enough, it was the threat from France that lay behind Windsor's appointment in the first place and one of the reasons for his dispatch to Ireland with a larger than usual army under his command in March 1369. It had never been England's policy to lavish money on Ireland while she herself was involved in a continental war, but a treaty concluded between France and Castile in July 1368 had put at the king of France's disposal the powerful Castilian fleet which gave to him the use of a navy capable of harassing the south coasts of England and Ireland, and of invading either country if circumstances should prove favourable.¹³ For many years past the English had lived under the threat of a French invasion, and after a brief incursion by a French raiding party in 1360, the king wrote that in his opinion they would attack southern England if they knew it lacked adequate defences. Messages were sent all over the country at the time of this French landing with orders to prepare for attack from the sea.¹⁴ At the end of the decade panic once more seized the administration at Westminster, but this time some of its ordinances were directed towards Ireland.

The danger from France seemed very real in 1368 and every precaution was being taken to deal with the possible threat to the south coast of Ireland. First of all a royal service was proclaimed,¹⁵ then in November a clerk of the wages was appointed to organize and pay the men who were sent, under the command of the bishop of Limerick, to defend the ports of Waterford and Wexford.¹⁶ And on the 24th of the month instructions were sent to the mayor and bailiffs of Cork to build up the walls of the city, and to repair the harbour which was to be made functional once more.¹⁷ The motive behind this unusual interest in the defence and fortifications of the Irish ports becomes evident in a letter written by the king a few months later, in which he lays emphasis on the danger ~~then~~ facing the country 'because the French have made ready a great fleet of ships and galleys upon the sea coast in divers parts, hastening as speedily as they may to invade the realm'.¹⁸ Lastly, the king appointed sergeants-at-arms on 29 November to bring all the ships they could lay their hands on around Bristol up to Liverpool, to transport Windsor and his men over to Ireland 'for the defence and safekeeping of the island'.¹⁹

In view of this invasion scare and because of the unsettled state of the lordship, the king next made one final attempt to get the absentees back to the country. On December 1st he ordered the earl of Desmond - Windsor did not take up office until March - to summon a parliament which would enforce the decrees against the absentees. This parliament gave the defaulters until Easter 1369 to comply with the ordinances under pain of forfeiture if they failed to obey. Moreover, the king wanted to be informed as to the number of absentees likely to return, the quota of men-at-arms and the equipment that each was to bring with him.²⁰ But by 20 December it must have become apparent, that, with the exception of William de la Zouche, who sent his son to represent him, none of those ordered to return and defend their lands had the slightest intention of doing so.²¹ It was probably because of this refusal to come to Ireland, or to send men over to assist the new lieutenant that he (Windsor) was forced to send 200 men-at-arms and 300 archers on ahead of him, as an advance force before his own arrival in June.²² And as Windsor himself held no land in Ireland at the time, he had to be compensated for forgoing the rewards of the French campaign. Part of this compensation was the grant of the manor and castle of Dungarvan, then considered to be worth 200 marks yearly.²³

Windsor's attack on Absentees:

The fact that he had given up the prospect of foreign service in order to go to Ireland may explain why Windsor showed such determination to enforce the ordinances against those who were not prepared to forego the rewards of a French campaign. One of his first acts after taking up office was to summon a parliament at Dublin, where he announced the forfeiture of lands belonging to some of the largest landowners in the country. Amongst these was Thomas de Roos, whose lands had originally belonged to the earl of Desmond but which had come into the possession of the de Roos family through the marriage of his father, William, lord Roos of Hamelak, to Margaret, one of the four sisters of Giles de Badlesmere, who died in 1338. The other co-heiresses were Maud, wife of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, Elizabeth, wife of William de Bohun, earl of Northampton and Margaret, wife of John, lord Tiptoft.²⁴

For some years past de Roos had been making strenuous efforts to avoid the forfeiture of his Irish estates. In May 1366 he had enfeoffed 'his faithful squire', William de Hampsterly, of a quarter of the manor of Inchiquin, together with a fourth part of the advowson of the church of Youghal.²⁵ This manoeuvre seems to have had the desired effect for in May 1367 the Earl of Desmond, Clarence's successor as justiciar, was ordered to return all their lands to de Roos and his wife as "the king was willing to show them special favour".²⁶ But the king's special favour does not seem to have lasted very long. In the following year came the Statutes of Guildford with de Roos's name heading the list of absentees ordered to return and defend their lands.²⁷ Two months after Windsor's arrival de Roos made yet another attempt to retain his property by seeking protection for de Hampsterly to go to Ireland as his attorney and to act there on his behalf, whilst continuing himself to reside in England.²⁸ But this ploy did not succeed, for we know that an inquisition, which was held at Adare on 14 October 1370, resulted in the seizure of a quarter of de Roos's lands. Prior to this orders had been issued to the sheriff of Cork to find out just how much the lands at Inchiquin were worth and to whom the issues and profits were paid. Coupled with de Roos's name in the inquisition was that

of another absentee called William de Caunton, whose lands, in neighbouring Ballydarwin, had already been over-run by the Irish and yielded no revenue. With de Caunton's lands now lost to the crown and the possibility of de Roos's estates being next in line for attack, Windsor ordered the Sheriff to seize both properties.²⁹ It was not necessarily the value of the lands, but their proximity to parts recently re-captured by the Irish, which lay behind his decision to take them into the king's hands.

De Roos was in France at the time fighting under John of Gaunt, who had appointed him Seneschal of Limousin,³⁰ and on hearing the news of the seizure he appealed to John Neville of Raby, then steward of the household, to intercede with the king on his behalf. Because of Neville's intervention and despite Windsor's mandate to have the lands taken into the king's hands, de Roos's property was once more restored to him.³¹ However, it seems probable that this was only done on de Roos reverting to his old tactic of quit-claiming* his rights to his share of Inchiquin and Youghal to William de Hampsterly which had proved so successful on a previous occasion when ordered to return and defend his lands. We know from a deed sealed at his castle of Hamelak by de Roos on 1st October, 1371 that de Hampsterly was put in seisin** of the Irish lands and that in December of the same year the latter sought protection to go to Ireland, where he remained with Windsor for one year.³²

The Consolidation of East Cork:

The situation in the area was now becoming so grave that the authorities in Co. Cork were ordered to have their men arrayed and on the defence against a possible Irish attack. It was common knowledge that the Munster Irish, under O'Brien of Thomond's leadership, were making preparations to renew the war. Their activities so alarmed the Dublin government that the earl of Desmond and other magnates were ordered to go to their lands around Limerick in an attempt to hold the rebels at bay.³³ To make matters worse, Ormond, who now owned a half share in the manors of Inchiquin and Youghal, and whose lands marched alongside those of de Roos, was about to set off for England, accompanied by most of his fighting men, en route for the French wars.³⁴ These lands had been acquired by him as a result of the policy pursued against absentees, first during the lieutenancy of Clarence and secondly by William of Windsor. It has been suggested that this was the reason behind Thomas de Vere's disposal of his portion to the 2nd earl of Ormond in November 1367 as 'it had become merely an embarrassment to him'.³⁵ Likewise, the other quarter, which had belonged to Robert Tiptoft, and was finally quitclaimed by his widow, Margaret, in favour of Ormond and his wife, Elizabeth, in 1372, after a period in the hands of John Hankyn, the king's sergeant at arms, became the Earl's property.³⁶

Orders had already gone out in March to the Mayors of Youghal and Waterford to arrest shipping for the transportation of Windsor and Ormond over to England where the lieutenant had been summoned by the king at the instigation of the Anglo-Irish because of his alleged extortions.³⁷ Ormond only agreed to go on condition that Windsor's retinue remained behind to guard his lands.³⁸ But this did not work out in practice, for many of the men had already returned to England, or were about to do so because their wages had

* i.e. effectively, abandoning legal claim to ownership

** i.e. possession.

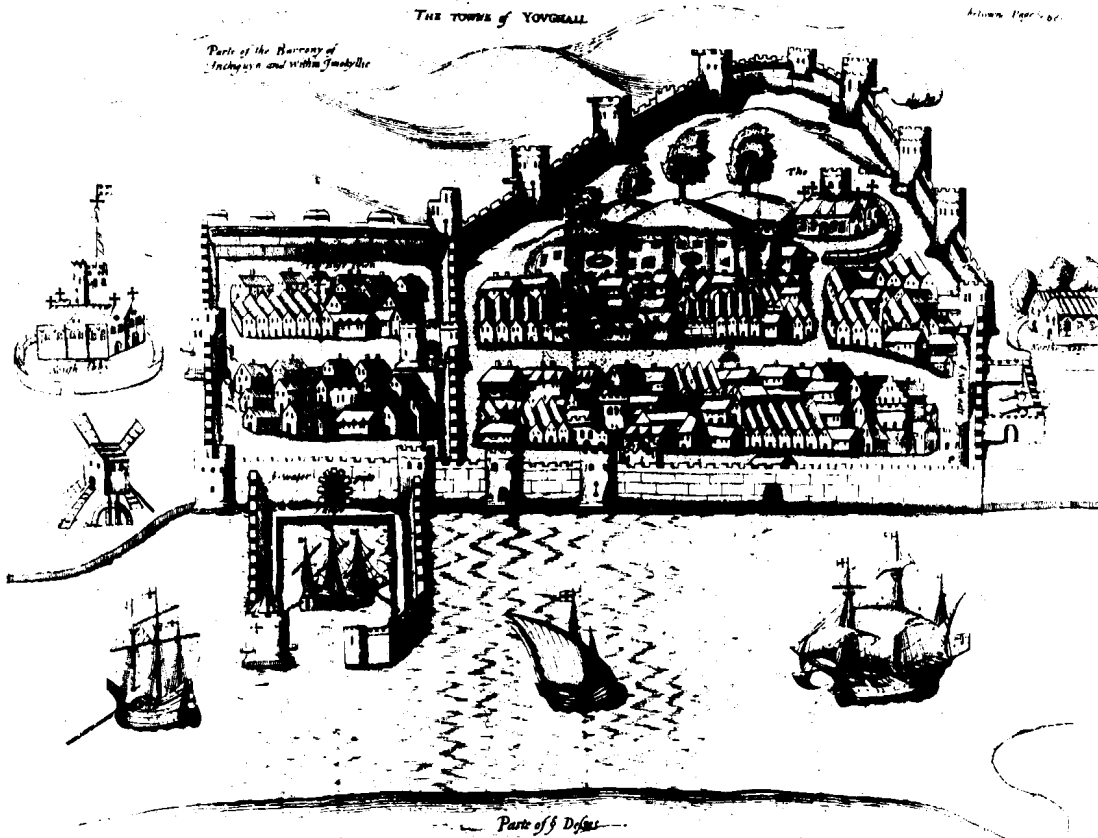
not been paid.³⁹ This meant that neither Windsor, Ormond nor any representatives of the de Roos estates would be left to defend that part of Munster against the Irish.

It is evident from his subsequent actions that Windsor was fully alert to the dangers of the situation. If the de Roos lands were not to go the way the de Caunton lands had gone, then decisive action was called for before the two leaders set out for England. Realising that further Irish encroachment was inevitable if absentees like de Roos continued to evade their responsibilities, Windsor took matters into his own hands and on 18 March he acted. Whether pressure was brought to bear on de Roos, or whether his squire, de Hampsterely, submitted as a way out of a difficult situation, we shall never know, but whatever the reason, de Hampsterely granted Windsor his quarter share in the manor of Inchiquin, 'together with homages, and services of free tenants and knights fees and a fourth part of the advowson of the church of Youghal.' On the same day, the 18th March 1372, Windsor appointed his brother-in-law, John Duckett, and Thomas de Holihurst, one of his men-at-arms, to receive full seisin of the manor.⁴⁰

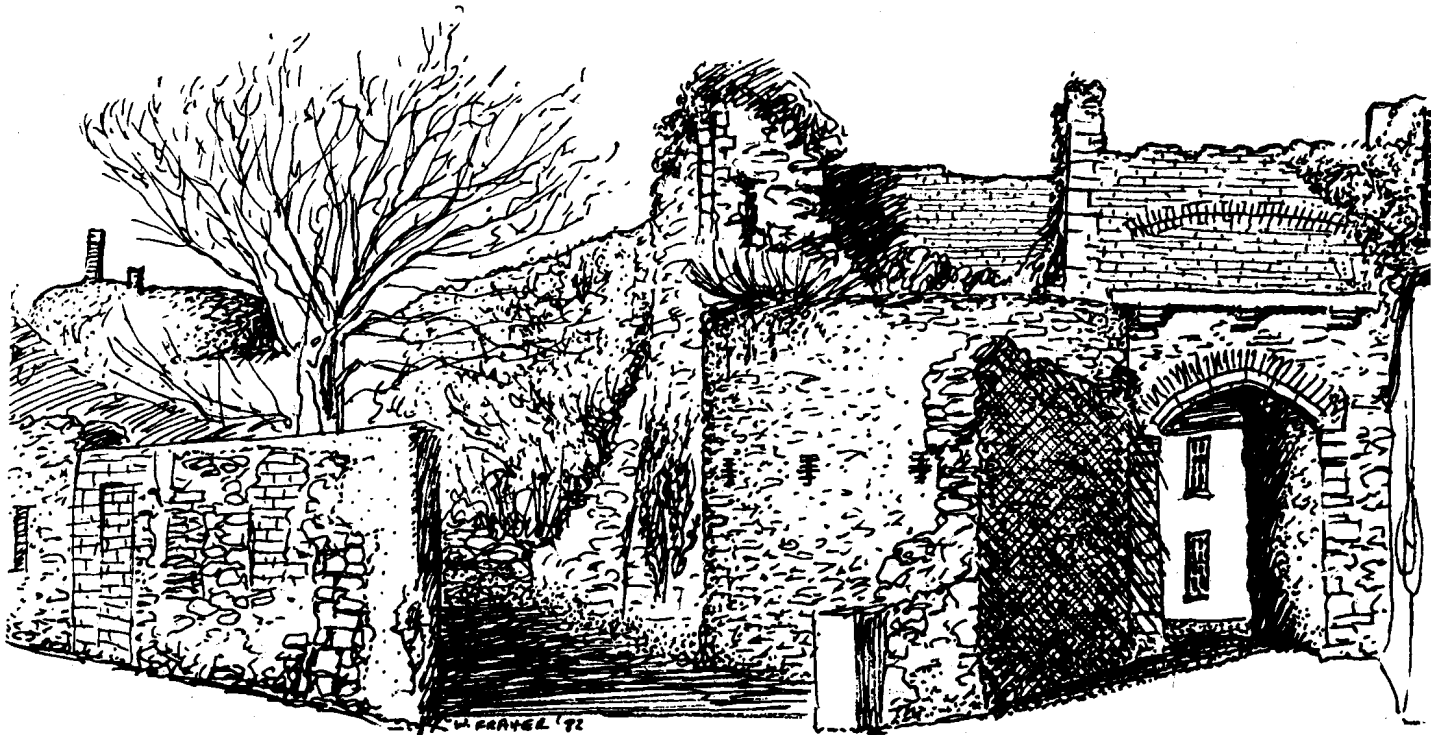
We know from the details of an inquisition held in 1385, after Windsor's death, that the estate was quite a considerable one, comprising not only Inchiquin and the town of Youghal but 'the services and homage of Thomas Unack for two knights fees in Offeras; two knights fees in Inchebrennan and Killereden and the homage of Maurice Fitz Richard for half a knight's fee in Kylmadymok, and for one knight's fees in Rath, of homage and service of Richard Power for two knights' fees in Saugard, the homage and service of Gregory Walsh for one knights fee in Roselan and the homage and service of David Capella for two knights fees in Offeras.'⁴¹

There were sound reasons for Windsor's actions at this particular time. Not only were the Irish rising in rebellion, but the war in France was no longer going in England's favour and the superiority of the joint French and Castilian fleets made the Bay of Biscay hazardous for English shipping, thereby making the south coasts of England and Ireland as open to the danger of constant raids as they had been in 1368.⁴² It is interesting to note in this regard that immediately after Thomas Holihurst and John Duckett had been given seisin of a fourth part of the manor of Inchiquin, the former was appointed custodian of the Munster ports, which would suggest that he was to be responsible for maritime operations and defence, whilst Duckett was to command the land forces in the area.⁴³

All the available evidence suggests that Windsor was attempting to bring into his own hands a stretch of coastline radiating from Youghal which could be adequately defended by his own men. We know that he already held lands in the area, for the king had granted him the castle and manor of Dungarvan in March 1369, when it was said to be worth 200 marks yearly.⁴⁴ The castle of Martry had been granted to him at some date prior to 14 May 1374, when we know that he received £5-6-10⁴ overdue rents.⁴⁵ As the grant of 1,000 marks made to him in March 1369 was to be made up from lands or rents in Ireland, it seems probable that Martry was part of that grant and was given to him around the same time. Martry is obviously the present-day Castlemartyr which lies ten miles S.W. of Youghal: de Roos's lands lay about fifteen miles in a westerly direction. By acquiring and defending the port of Youghal, and the lands lying between it and Dungarvan, Windsor would be in a position to repel any raiding parties from the sea or Irish incursions from the hinterland within a radius



YOUGHALL - centre of Windsor's attempts to regain control of west Waterford and east Cork. Inchiquin is identified in the background.
 (from early 17th century map in Pacta Hibernia, first published London 1633, republished Dublin 1810, Vol. II, p.681-2)



DUNGARVAN CASTLE - granted to Windsor in March 1369. By the 15th century, "wasted and ruined by — negligence". The same may be said of its present appearance! (Sketch by W. Fraher)

of thirty or forty miles in either direction. That his first act after being seised of de Roos's lands was to put Ducket and Holihurst in charge suggests that he had defence in mind and that the latter was appointed custodian of the Munster ports indicates that Youghal was to be the centre for his activities.

Encouraged by his successful forfeiture of de Roos's lands, Windsor seems to have been determined to pursue this policy even further. Whether his subsequent action was intended to consolidate his own position as an extensive landowner, or to safeguard and defend the region against the king's enemies, we have no way of knowing. Whatever his motive, Windsor next turned his attention to the remaining quarter of the manor of Inchiquin and Youghal which now belonged to the greatest of the absentees, Edmund Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, who had inherited it from his grandmother, Elizabeth, the third daughter of Bartholomew de Badlesmere.⁴⁶ Pressure had clearly been brought to bear on Mortimer, as it had on de Roos, either to defend his Irish lands or to dispose of them. That so powerful and wealthy a man as the earl of Ulster - grandson to the king - was unable to pay for the defence of these lands, is hard to credit. But why then did he grant all his lands in Inchiquin and Youghal to John Ducket, Ralph de Beltisford and Thomas Holihurst as he did on 6 February, 1374?⁴⁷ There is a certain significance in the fact that he consented to do so at a time when he was under pressure, both from the Anglo-Irish and from the king, to replace Windsor, who had been recalled. By this time it was evident that no one wanted to go to Ireland, irrespective of the capacity in which he was sent. Windsor was equally reluctant to return for a second term. The thought suggests itself that perhaps some bargain was agreed to between the two men. If Mortimer would agree to grant his lands in Inchiquin and Youghal to Windsor and his men, he would not be forced to go to Ireland - Windsor would go in his stead. We know from a statement made by Sir Robert Hollywood that 'the council of our lord the king could not find a sufficient person who would undertake the governance, except the said Sir William who undertook it after being persuaded with great difficulty and urgency'.⁴⁸ One cannot but suspect that the handing over of these lands to John Ducket, who was married to Windsor's sister, may have played a large part in the persuasion. Of course, it is quite possible that Mortimer had decided on a policy of retrenchment where his Irish lands were concerned and was reluctant to waste time and money on the retention of estates so far distant from the caput of his inheritance at Trim in Co. Meath.

Reorganization of Customs:

Defence may not have been the only reason for Windsor's seizure of de Roos's estates and for the grant of Mortimer's lands to Ducket, Beltisford and Holihurst in 1373. The efficient and profitable collection of custom dues may have been partly responsible for his decision to bring the region under his control. Shortly after receiving seisin of the de Roos lands, Holihurst was appointed collector of the customs in Waterford.⁴⁹ This new custom, imposed by Windsor in July 1369, had been a bone of contention between the administration and the merchants and commons since his arrival in Ireland. As it had been levied 'contra assensum et voluntatem communium et mercatorum terre predictae', its collection was bitterly resented and no doubt evaded.⁵⁰ The available evidence suggests that Windsor was dissatisfied, both with the receipts of the custom, and with their method of collection. After Windsor's re-appointment

* "Contrary to the wishes and without the consent of the commons and merchants of the said land".

in 1373, Holihurst was confirmed in the office of collector, but it was not until after the former actually came back to Ireland in 1374 that we find references to a new and improved method of custom collection. This new departure permitted the local merchants to pay their dues on the spot in the Youghal area, rather than having to undertake the long journey to Limerick as they had done in the past, in order to comply with the law.

Holihurst's efficiency as controller of customs is amply borne out from the figures given in an entry dated 1376, in which the custom receipts from Waterford were given as £40, together with 100 marks from Co. Waterford. Most significant of all were the returns from Cork, where the revenue collected under the new system yielded 100 marks from the city, and two separate sums of 336 marks and £805-6-8 from the county, together with £40 from Youghal, where Holihurst had his headquarters.⁵¹ There is no evidence of custom dues having been collected in the Youghal area since before Clarence's time; it is of course possible that no record was kept of receipts after the years 1340 to 1347, for which period the total sum collected came to £224-1-9.⁵² John Duckett was probably the instigator of the new policy, as he had been prominent amongst the councillors who had encouraged Windsor to impose the customs.

Towns under Attack, 1375:

There is evidence to suggest that Windsor was planning to re-settle other lands on the south coast right up to the time of his final re-call in 1376. A mandate had been sent to the sheriff of Cork in 1375-6 directing Thomas de Roos to deliver to him his remaining manors of Inch and Kynall.⁵⁴ In the same year, a grant of the manor of Donoughmayne and of lands near Fermoy was made to Roger Gernon, on condition that he would not enfeoff an Irishman and that he 'would build a competent fortalice within twenty years' in return for the nominal rent of 6s./8d. and a rose at mid-summer.⁵⁵ The fact that no Irish were to be enfeoffed of the manor reflects the near siege mentality which gripped those of the Anglo-Irish who still retained a precarious foothold in the locality, and goes a long way to explain the governor's attitude to the absentees.

Both parties had good reason for alarm. In March 1375 a series of events occurred which must have seriously alarmed the local people and hardened Windsor in his resolve to have the area adequately defended. During that month of March the city of Waterford had been subjected to attacks from both Irish and English rebels. Most of the town's leading officials, including the mayor, bailiff, sheriff and coroner, had been killed. The enemy, having breached the walls in several places, rampaged through the town and pulled down the great clock in the market place. Not surprisingly, the citizens appealed to the king for assistance and in their petition for aid pleaded that 'they had become so poor that they could not stay there any longer, unless relieved'.⁵⁶ Apparently, they no longer possessed ships to carry on the trade which was vital to their prosperity, as these had all been captured at sea and their contents seized. Unfortunately, we have no information as to the nationality of the pirates who captured their ships, but they may well have been of French or Castilian origin.

Similar conditions existed in nearby Youghal. In April of the same year the town was under attack from the Roches and Glengibbons (I imagine this should read 'fitz Gibbon'), both rebellious Anglo-Irish families, who by this time had become just as troublesome as

the native Irish. The town was virtually besieged by them and the resultant food shortage became so severe that Windsor was forced to order one of its prominent merchants, John de Vygyne, and Richard Hore, the master of the barges to go to ports in Dublin, Louth and Meath in order to buy corn and other foodstuffs for the relief of the town.⁵⁷

The Final Irony:

Despite the serious state of affairs in the lordship, William of Windsor was recalled to England in April 1376, leaving behind him the still unsolved problem of the absentees. In August 1379 he appointed two attorneys to look after his Irish property and before joining the Breton expedition of 1380 he sought permission to be excused from going to his lands in Ireland on the understanding that he was prepared to contribute to their defence.⁵⁸ It is evident from this undertaking that Windsor was determined to impress on the absentees the duties and responsibilities which he had tried to enforce while acting as governor. It was around this time that orders were issued to those who did not reside on their lands 'to repair their castles, of which so many are now in ruins, that the land is greatly enfeebled and the marches wasted.' They are accused of 'taking the profits out of the land, leaving it without guard, order or government, thus permitting the Irish to encroach and make conquest daily'⁵⁹

After Windsor's death in 1384, his nephew, John de Windsor attempted unsuccessfully to obtain possession of all his uncle's Irish lands.⁶⁰ However, he did manage to retain the property around Inchiquin and Youghal until 1413, when he granted it to Arthur Ormsby, who in turn granted full seisin to Ormond of all the lands in that area which had at one time belonged to William of Windsor.⁶¹ His estates in Co. Waterford, (which probably included Dungarvan castle), were granted to Margaret, wife of John Duckett, 'his nearest heir and of full age', and to his other sister, Christina, wife of Sir William de Moriers.⁶²

Neither of these men appear to have made any attempt to retain the castle of Dungarvan or to keep it in a defensible condition. Eventually, it, and other castles, were taken into the king's hands and placed under the care and defence of the earl of Desmond for a period of 60 years 'in consequence of their being wasted and ruined by the negligence of those lords to whom they had belonged'. Desmond, who had never been an absentee, was granted the customs and tolls, the proceeds from which he was ordered to save for the repair and maintenance of the walls and fortifications of the town.⁶³

In disposing of his Irish estates, John de Windsor was following the practice of so many of his fellow countrymen at the time. They no longer considered it worth while to hold property in the lordship because of the increasing pressure from England to contribute to its defence and the apparent futility of attempting to retain lands in such close proximity to the resurgent Irish. It is ironical to think that the lands acquired by William of Windsor as a result of his policy towards the absentees, should be forfeited by his family because of that very policy. If he had been left in Ireland to pursue his policy in the Decies and elsewhere, rather than being recalled to England for reasons which had little or nothing to do with the governance of Ireland, the story might have had a different ending. But with little or no support from the king and council, he was

fighting an uphill battle against the great English lords who held lands in Ireland. Such men were not prepared to render anything in return for whatever rents and profits were reluctantly yielded up from their Irish lands. Not surprisingly, they reaped the reward of their own negligence.

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NOTES :

1. E. Curtis, 'Sheriff's Accounts of the Honor of Dungarvan, of Twescard in Ulster, and of County Waterford', P.R.I.A., XXXIX C (1929), p.12.
2. C.D.I., 1293-1301. No.55; C.P.R., 1327-30, p.463; A.F.O'Brien, 'The Territorial ambitions of Maurice Fitz Thomas, first earl of Desmond, with particular reference to the barony and manor of Inchiquin, Co.Cork,' P.R.I.A., XLII C (1982), p.79.
3. James F.Lydon, Later Middle Ages, p.63.
4. Smith: Ancient and Present State of Waterford (1746), pp.125-6.
5. Richard Caulfield, Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal, (Guildford 1878), p. xxvi.
6. E.Curtis and R.B.MacDowell, eds. Irish Historical Documents, 1172-1922, p.52
7. ibid. p.32.
8. Sir William Betham, Dignities, Feudal and Parliamentary and the Constitutional Legislation of the United Kingdom, (London, 1830), p.302.
9. Statutes and Ordinances and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland, King John to Henry V, ed.H.Berry (Dublin, 1907), p.470-1.
10. C.C.R., 1364-68, pp.482-3.
11. Rymer, Foedera, iii, pt.2, p.848.
12. P.R.O.I., Ferguson's Extracts from the Mem.Rolls, pp.335, 343; In 1371 the Sheriff was commanded to take into the king's hands 'the quarter of the manor of Inchiquin with its appurtenances, the property of Thomas de Roos and the manor of Ballyderwan, the property of William de Caunton, of which land they had been disinherited because they did not come in person before Easter 1370 into Ireland, nor send a sufficient number of men to defend the same'. (N.L.I., MS. 14720 Inchiquin MS.) .
13. C.F.Richmond, 'The War at Sea' in The Hundred Years War, ed. K. Fowler, p.101.
14. C.C.R., 1360-64, p.101; H.J.Hewitt The Organization of War under Edward III (Manchester, 1966), p.17.
15. A.J.Otway-Ruthven, 'Royal Service in Ireland', in J.R.S.A.I., XCVIII (1968), p.44.
16. P.R.O.I., RC 8/30, p.106; E.101/245/3, m.30 .
17. C.P.R., 1367-70, p.185
18. C.C.R., 1369-74, p.36.
19. C.P.R., 1367-70, p.177
20. C.C.R., 1364-68, p.448
21. C.P.R. 1367-70, p.207
22. E.101/20/1; H.G.Richardson and G.O.Sayles, The Administration of Ireland, 1172-1377, (Irish MSS Comm., 1963), p.90.
23. C.P.R., 1367-70, pp.221, 223; P.R.O.I., Ferguson Coll., i. pp.335, 343 (Mem.Roll).
24. O'Brien, op.cit., pp.23, 24 and 45. As the complicated history of the Badlesmere lands has been gone into in great detail by Mr.O'Brien in his article, there is no point in my attempting to do so here.
25. Calendar of Ormond Deeds, ed.E.Curtis (Irish MSS Comm., 1932-43 ii, p.94

26. C.C.R., 1364-68, p.326
27. Rymer, op.cit., iii., pt.2., p.848
28. C.P.R., 367-70, p.23.
29. Walter Harris, Collectanea, Vol.III, Pt.2, p.88.
30. R. Barber, The Life of the Black Prince, p.131
31. C.P.R., 1370-74, p.27.
32. Cal.Ormond Deeds, ii, p.124; C.P.R., 1370-74, p.162.
33. A.J.Otway-Ruthven, A History of Medieval Ireland (London, 1968), p.300.
34. Harris, op.cit., iii, p.89.
35. O'Brien, op.cit., p.80.
36. ibid, pp.50,51.
37. Rymer, op.cit., iii, pt.2., pp.924,925.
38. C.C.H., p.84
39. Otway-Ruthven, op.cit., p.300.
40. E.101/33/34; Ormond Deeds, ii., p.125.
41. C.C.H., p.129 No.57; I have not been able to identify any of these places; perhaps someone who lives in, and knows, the locality might be able to help me as to their location.
42. G.H. Holmes, The Good Parliament (Oxford, 1975), p.21; P.E.Russel, The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of Edward III and Richard II (Oxford, 1955), Chapter XI.
43. C.C.H., p.81, No.19. 44. C.P.R., 1367-70, p.222.
45. E.101/245/7, mm.2,7; this castle is probably the one known as Inchiquin castle, situated in the neighbourhood of Castlemartyr and reputedly built around 1300.
46. O'Brien, op.cit., p.82.
47. Cal.Ormond Deeds, ii, p.128, no.187; de Beltisford was treasurer of the household and had been granted the prebend of Ossory by Windsor in 1370. He was one of those militant clerics, more soldier than priest, whose name figured regularly in the accounts as receiving payments for wages and maintenance of soldiers and hobblers for at least twelve years after that. C.47/10/23; C.C.H., p.116, no.23.
48. Holmes, op.cit., p.94. 49. C.C.H., p.95, no.179.
50. M.V.Clarke, Fourteenth Century Studies, (ed.L.S.Sutherland and May McKisack, Oxford, 1937), p.223.
51. P.R.O.I., 368/145, Trinity Record, mm.4,4d 49 Edward III.
52. N.L.I., MSS.761 (Betham's Extracts from the Pipe Rolls, i, ii, iii.)
53. Clarke, op.cit., pp.222-3.
54. P.R.O.I., Ferguson Coll.i, p.343 (Mem.Roll).
55. C.P.R., 1374-77, p.340. 56. ibid., p.145.
57. C.C.H., p.96, nos.223-4. 58. C.P.R., 1377-81, pp.379, 506.
59. Harris, op.cit., p.23.
60. D.N.B., xxi, p.649. John de Windsor, the son of William's brother John, was a professional soldier whose tomb in Westminster Abbey bore witness as much to his uncle's fame as to his own valour.
61. O'Brien, op.cit., p.83. Ormsby is erroneously described here as the grandson of William of Windsor. In fact, Windsor died childless. The girl, Joan Despaigne or Southereye, referred to in the Dictionary of National Biography as "seeming" to have been Windsor's daughter was in fact a boy, John de Southery, the natural son of Edward III and Alice Perrers. Alice subsequently became Windsor's wife. (Margaret Galway, 'Alice Parrer's son John', E.H.R., vi, 1951, pp.242-6.).
62. O'Brien, op.cit., p.82.
63. N.L.I., Robert O'Brien MSS. no.2289.

WILLS RELATING TO WATERFORD.

BY JULIAN C. WALTON.

VI. A COLLECTION OF WATERFORD WILLS IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY.

The National Library of Ireland possesses a collection (call number: D.9248-9413) of Wills relating almost entirely to the Waterford area. Excluding duplicates, there are testamentary documents relating to 153 individuals. Though described in Hayes' Calendar as covering the period 1770-1910 the wills date mainly from the second half of the 19th century: only one is of the 18th century, another 25 are of the first half of the 19th, 10 date from the early years of the present century, and one is undated. In other words the great majority are the wills of the grandparents and great grandparents of the older generation of people alive today.

The wills are in most cases copies kept or made by Solicitors. They vary greatly in character: some are only drafts, others are fair copies, and many are official transcripts written on parchment of original grants in the Public Record Office. There are six cases of administration intestate. We give below an index to the testators or grantees, with the years in which each will was written and proved and the name of the court to which it was presented. The significance of these courts was explained in the introduction to this series (Decies No.XVI., pp.35-38). It may be assumed that the originals of all these wills were destroyed when the Public Record Office was blown up in 1922. Today's PRO has duplicates of all District Registry Wills from 1858, but the National Library collection probably contains the only copy of any will in the list below marked "P.R." (Principal Registry) or proved before 1858.

LIST OF WILLS.

<u>Testator</u>	<u>Date of Will</u>	<u>Date Probate/ Admon.</u>	<u>Court</u>
Ahearne, John, Waterford	1889		
Alcock, Rev. Alexander, Waterford & Boulogne (draft)	1872		
Alcock, Ven. John, Archdeacon of Waterford	1880	1886	Wat.
Alladin, James, Ballyvoholane, farmer	1880	1883	Wat.
Armstrong, Elizabeth, Leamington Priors, Warwicks., spinster	1880-81		
Aylward, Mary, Knockmore, Co.Kilk.,widow	1887	1892	Kilk.
Aylward, Nicholas, Waterford, mason	1825		
Aylward, Rev.Patrick Joseph, Collingwood Australia	1888		
Aylward, Philip, Knockmoylan, Co.Kilk. gent.	1867	1867	Kilk.
Backas, Robert, Butlerstown, Esq.	1854	1855	Prerog.
Baker, William, Ballinvoher, Esq.	1881	1884	P.R.
Barron, Sir Henry Winston, Bart,London	1869		
Blain, William, Waterford, Esq. (probate only)	1870		Wat.
Blake, John Aloysius, Waterford & Dublin	1864	1888	P.R.
Bowers, Thomas, Gragavine, Co.Kilk. gent. farmer (draft)	1880		
Bowles, Helena	1850		
Boyd, John William, New Ross, Physician	1893	1894	P.R.
Brophy, John, Waterford Spirit Merchant	1849	1849	Prerog.
Brown, Johanna, Waterford, widow	1894	1897	Wat.
Brown, Thomas, Waterford, merchant	1878	1879	Wat.
Burkitt, James, M.D. (admon)	-	1833	Prerog.
Burtchaell, David, Brandonvale, Co. Kilk., Esq.	1862		
Butler, John Parkeenaclough, farmer	1890		
Butler, John, Kilcanavee, farmer	1893		
Byrne, Anne, Dublin	1859		P.R.
Carew, Robert Shapland, Castle Boro, Co. Wex., Esq.	1815	1829	Prerog.
Carew, Rt.Hon.Robert Shapland, Lord	1869	1882	P.R.
Carew, Lt.Col.Robert J., Ballinamona	1900		

Chapman, George, Waterford & Ballindud merchant	1878	1878	Wat.
Cleary, Ellen, Newtown & Kilmacow, widow	1898		
Coman, Daniel, Tramore, gent	1876	1877	Wat.
Conway (See Grant)			
Cooke, Edward, Kilkenny, Esq.	1858-9		Kilk.
Cooke, James, Kilkenny, Esq.	1816	1816	Prerog.
Corr, Elizabeth, Tinvane, Carrick-on- Suir, spinster	1912-3		
Dalton, Mary, Waterford, widow (draft)	1871		
Dalton, Patrick, Waterford, soap & candle manufacturer (admon)		1845	W. & L.
Delaney, John, Waterford, retired labourer	1893	1894	Wat.
Denn, Thomas, Ballinamintra, farmer	1894	1895	Wat.
Denny, Abraham, Waterford, Esq. (draft)	1856		
Dobbyn, John, Mullinavat, dealer (admon)	-	1844	Ossory
Doran, Matthew, Dunkitt, farmer & carpenter	1894	1896	Kilk.
Dower, John Robert, Dungarvan, brewer	1868		
Duggan, Mary, Tramore, widow	1860		
Duggan, Thomas, Farnogue, Co. Kil., farmer	1875		
Dunne, William, Knockroe, farmer	1895	1895	Wat.
Dunphy, Laurence, Polrone, Co. Kilk., farmer	1897		
Edgar, William, London, Esq.	1867-9	1869	P. R.
Egan, Michael, Tramore, gent	1883	1886	Wat.
Egan, William Patrick, Waterford, merchant (draft)	1894		
Fennessy, Richard, Waterford, nursery seed merchant	1860	1865	Wat.
Fenton, James, Haggard, Co. Wex., farmer	1895	1899	Wat.
Fitzgerald, William, Rocklands, Wat., Esq.	1869	1874	Wat.
Fitzhenry, Samuel	1849	1864	Wat.
Flahavan, Ellen, Glenhouse (Portlaw) widow	1896		
Flynn, Michael, Newtown, farmer	1897	1897	Wat.
Foran, Rt. Rev. Nicholas, R. C. Bishop of Wat. & Lismore	1848	1855	P. R.
(also disclaimer by Thos. Meagher, Bray, Esq. 1869)			
Foster, John, Waterford, grocer	1829	1838	W. & L.
Freeman, Loughlin, Waterford, merchant	1884	1887	Wat.
Furlong, Michael, Cullenstown, Co. Wexford, merchant	1863		Wat.

Gaule, Michael, Lismore, farmer	1863	1869	Wat.
Goouch, Thomas, Waterford	1856	1856	W. & L.
Goouch, William, Waterford, shopkeeper	1850	1854	Prerog.
Goouch, Sarah, Waterford	1855		
Grant, Dora, London, spinster	1858	1861	Wat.
Grant als Conway, Ellen, Waterford married woman (admon)	-	1855	Prerog.
Greene, John, Rockview, Co.Kilkenny	1869	1871	P.R.
Griffin, Maurice, New York & Waterford gent.	1872	1887	Wat.
Hannigan, Michael, Waterford, mason	1882		
Hanly, Catherine, Kill, widow	1875	1876	Wat.
Harney, Michael, Ballykinsella, farmer	1892	1894	Wat.
Harris, Mary White, Waterford, widow	1895	1899	Wat.
Hayes, Thomas, Killea, farmer	1905		
Hines or Hyens, Roger, Waterford, tanner (admon)	-	1851	Prerog.
Hogan, John, Carrick-on-Suir, shopkeeper (admon)	-	1851	P.R.
Hunt, Thomas Newman, London, Esq.	1884	1884	P.R.
Ievers, Eliza, Limerick, widow	1894		
Jones, Charles Pinley, Waterford, sadlier	1884		
Keeffe, Patrick, Kilronan, farmer	1884		
Kehoe, Lizzie Gabrielle, Paris, widow	1879	1881	P.R.
Keily, Catherine, Waterford, spinster	1894-1908		
Kelly: (See Power)			
Kirby Mary Amber Hill. Widow	1907	1909	Wat.
Knox, Eliza Joseph, Waterford, spinster	1887		
Lane, Matthew J., Seaville	1819	1820	Prerog.
Lannigan, Thomas, Waterford, gent	1871	1885	P.R.
Lawson, Rev. James, Dunmore East	1878	1885	Wat.
Lynagh, Honora, Polerone, Co.Kilk.	1880		
Lyon, Frances, Tramore, widow	1827-8		
McDonald, Catherine, Ballynaboley , Co.Kilk. widow	1873		
McEnergy, John, Waterford, merchant	1885	1885	Wat.
McGrath, Rev. Michael, Benvoy R.C.C.	1898	1900	Wat.
McMurre, Samuel Edward, Clonea & Dublin	1886	1887	P.R.
McKee, Henry, Moneyhaw, Co.Derry, farmer	1881		P.R.
McKee, Susan Penelope, Rathgar (Co.Dub.) & Duncannon (Co.Wexford) widow	1891	1897	Wat.

McKenny, Sally, Waterford, spinster	1887	1888	Wat.
McNeale, Daniel, Navan, Co.Louth, Esq.	1773	1773	Prerog.
Mackey, Andrew, Kilmacow, miller	1866	1873	Kilk.
Maher, Andrew, Jordanstown, Co.Kilk.Esq.	1883	1884	Kilk.
Malcolmson, Joseph, Mayfield, Esq. (drafts)	1884-94		
Marchant, William, Kiltra, Co.Wex. Esq.	1821	1852	Prerog.
Meagher - (See Foran)			
Merry, Robert Anderson, Waterford, Esq. (draft)	N.D.		
Moran, Michael, Doornane, Co.Kilkenny farmer	1893	1893	Kilk.
Morris, Shapland Carew, Harbour View, Waterford, Esq.	1855	1857	Prerog.
Murphy, Anne, Clonamery, Co. Kilk. spinster.	1901	1901	P.R.
Murphy, Catherine, Waterford, widow	1884	1891	Wat.
Murphy, John, Christendom, Co.Kilk. merchant.	1901		
Murphy, Michael, Carrickavrantry, farmer	1890	1890	Wat.
Nugent, John, Dromina	1868		
O'Brien, Michael, Ballyetra, Esq.	1843	1865	P.R.
O'Donnell, Rev.Edward, Crooke, P.P.	1866	1881	Wat.
O'Keefe, Mary, Barristown, spinster	1890	1890	Wat.
O'Meara, Anne, Waterford, widow	1866	1866	Wat.
Palmer, Rev.Henry Gordon, Tramore, clerk	1902	1903	Wat.
Petit, Catherine, Wexford, widow	1862	1862	P.R.
Phelan, John, Tramore, hotel keeper	1870	1870	Wat.
Phelan, Rev.Nicholas, Tramore, P.P.	1840		W. & L.
Phelan, Richard, Graig, Co.Kilk.Surgeon	1861	1883	Kilk.
Phelan, William, Forenaught, farmer	1908		
Power, Catherine, Waterford, widow	1867	1884	Wat.
Power, Catherine, Ballytruckle, widow	1878	1878	Wat.
Power, Catherine, Ballydrislane, widow	1916-26		
Power, Edmond, Waterford, saddler	1857	1857	Prerog.
Power, Edmond, Belvedere, Waterford merchant	1890	1892	Wat.
Power, Ellen, Waterford.	1896-1904		
Power née Kelly, Eliza, Tramore widow	1890	1891	Wat.
Power, John, Seafield	1856	1856	W. & L.
Power, Maurice, Kilmagemouge, farmer	1863	1863	Wat.
Power, Maurice, Coxtown	1907		

Power, Michael, Waterford master cooper	1881	1884	Wat.
Power, Patrick, Bellevue, Co.Kilkenny Esq.	1836		Prerog.
Power, Patrick, Williamstown farmer	1889	1889	Wat.
Power, Robert, Gracedieu & Bawnfune, farmer	1867	1867	Wat.
Quinn, Ellen, Waterford, spinster	1889	1889	Wat.
Rea, Rev.Joseph Christian, Christendom Co. Kilkenny clerk.	1829		
Ryland, Ven. J.F.	1896	1897	Wat.
Scanlan, Laurence, Waterford, cork manufacturer	1846	1846	W. & L.
Shelly, Alice, Knockboy, widow	1879	1879	Wat.
Stafford, William, Stafford Lodge, Esq.	1864	1877	P.R.
Strangman, Joshua, Waterford	1834	1837	Prerog.
Thompson, Grace Louisa, Ballingarry Co.Tipperary	1898		
Tobin, John, Waterford, gent	1885		
Tracey, Rev. Thomas, Bonmahon, C.C.	1872	1872	Wat.
Vass, William, Carrick-on-Suir, gent	1815	1816	W. & L.
Walsh, Thomas, Cross, farmer	1894		
Walsh, Walter, Waterford, merchant	1892		
Welsh, William, Devonport & Waterford militia sergeant	1867	1891	P.R.
Whelan, Thomas, Mahon Bridge, Farmer	1879	1879	Wat.
White, Henry, Harbour View, Esq. (drafts)	1884-88		
White, ^{John} Newsom, Rocklands, Co.Kilk. Esq. (drafts)	1914		
White Joseph, Waterford, Merchant	1828	1829	Prerog.
Whitney, Henry, Oxford	1856	1866	P.R.
Williams, Mary, Seafield, widow	1847	1850	W. & L.
Wilson, Richard, Waterford, gent	1830		
Woods, John, New Ross, shopkeeper	1860	1861	Wat.

CORRIGENDUM: ABSTRACTS OF OSSORY ADMINISTRATIONS.

In the first article in this series, I stated (Decies No.16, p.38) that there are no abstracts of diocesan administrations. In fact there is a series of abstracts by T.U.Sadlier of Ossory Admons. 1738-1804, in the Public Record Office (call number, 1A.37.33).
Mea Culpa!

(CONCLUDED)

DOUGLAS PYNE M.P., "PRISONER" IN LISFINNY CASTLE, 1888.

Mr. Pyne receiving the morning papers



THE STATE OF IRELAND: MR. DOUGLAS PYNE, M.P., LOWERED FROM HIS GALLOW TO RECEIVE A DEPUTATION, AT LISFINNY, WATERFORD.

(see page following)

LAND WAR EPISODE AT LISFINNY

from Matt Gough.

The illustration facing has come into the possession of the County Library, Lismore and appears to be from the Illustrated London News of 1888, the caption referring to a Mr. Douglas Pyne at Lisfinny. A brief account of the episode depicted is given in Egans Waterford Guide (Kilkenny, c.1894), p.582 and further detail lives on in local tradition. While the full story must await research in the police files in the State Paper Office, much can be inferred from a superficial knowledge of the political and agrarian climate of the late 1880's.

Jasper Douglas Pyne inherited Lisfinny House on whose ground stood the 16th century tower house of the Fitzgeralds. He was elected Home Rule M.P. for West Waterford in 1885 or '86 and became involved with John Dillon and William O'Brien in the "Plan of Campaign"- largely a device to win publicity for the extremist views within the Nationalist/Land League/Fenian alliance. The "campaigners" activities were condemned by the Pope and earned swift retribution from the new Chief Secretary, Arthur ("Bloody") Balfour who, though liberal in many respects declared "I shall be as relentless as Cromwell in enforcing obedience to the law."

As a result of this policy a number of incidents took place exacerbating tensions. The most unfortunate of these was at Mitchelstown where the police fired into a hostile crowd killing three people in September 1887. Excitement rose in the west Waterford - east Cork area as Balfour defended police action and "Campaigners" such as Pyne increased agitation backed by a wave of public sympathy. The police were given instructions to implement the Crimes Act by arresting Pyne and other leaders of the "Plan of Campaign". For some reason he chose to betake himself to the tower on his estate.

Tradition has it that he stocked the tower with ample provisions, including a goat to provide himself with milk. He blocked the mural stairway with barbed wire, ploughs, harrows and hawthorn. From the top of the tower he arranged the pulley system depicted. Its main function, it seems was to have himself lowered to meet his supporters.

The police did come to arrest him but found the tower too formidable an obstacle. They therefore concentrated their attention on capturing him when he had come down by pulley but never succeeded. Apparently the siege lasted several months and Pyne's position was hardly comfortable. Eventually he decided to escape and the following plan was devised.

One dark night an effigy was sent to the top of the tower. On the next moonlit night a diversion was raised by stampeding cattle on the fields around the tower to confuse the police. However they saw what they took to be Pyne being lowered by the usual method and rushed to arrest him. By the time they had forced their way through the confusion of cattle and people to discover the dummy they were too late. Pyne had already been lowered down the other side and was on his way by jarvey car along the Fermoy road to Cork harbour where a fishing boat eventually smuggled him away to France.

ARCHIVE SERIES

This series presents some source material on local history which might otherwise not be known or put to use.

It is intended over the next few issues to introduce a diverse range of such material, the format of which will vary in accordance with the nature and accessibility of the source.

1. THE WOODHOUSE, STRADBALLY PAPERS - 1668 to 1904

by H.R.R. Peacock.

This collection of family documents is at present in my custody in Stradbally having been loaned to me by Mrs. Nicola Minihan (nee Beresford). The bulk of the material concerns the Woodhouse estate at Stradbally, Co. Waterford which has been successively in the possession of the FitzGerald (to 1724) Uniackes (to 1855) and Beresfords. As most of this family material is of local reference, a full calendar of it is presented here.

- 1668 Indenture transferring Woodhouse, adjacent lands, and personal possessions, from Thomas FitzGerald to his wife Elizabeth FitzGerald alias Pigott. The back of this document was used in 1796, to write a receipt for one hundred pounds sterling; signed by Thomas FitzGerald, Bor Uniacke and Patrick Galway.
- 1671 Indenture between Margaret and Thomas FitzGerald, both of Youghal, and James Uniacke of Dublin; £100 paid for two stone houses in Youghal.
- 1696 Indenture: £243-6-3 paid by John Uniacke and Thomas Uniacke in discharge of debt to Matthew Jones(?)
- 1687 Document whereby Thomas FitzGerald of Woodhouse leases the farm at Kilminian to John Mason of Waterford.
- 1698 Lease of land in Stradballybeg by Elizabeth FitzGerald of Woodhouse to John O'Connor and four partners. Land lies southward of the King's Highway, leading from Ballyvoile to Woodhouse bridge. One sum of £16 and two sums of £8 are mentioned, presumably for various parts of the land leased.
- 1700 A list of deeds and titles relating to Woodhouse.
- 1720 The widow Walshe's retraction of her agreement, giving reasons and her new proposal.
- 1724 Indenture between Richard FitzGerald of Prospect Hall, Co. Waterford, and Thomas Uniacke of Youghal, Co. Cork, for £8,000 being the purchase price for Woodhouse. Provision made to pay mortgage due to Sir Theobald Butler.

- 1773 Copy of the Will of Thomas Uniacke of Youghal, Co. Cork; seven closely written foolscap pages - clearly a man of substance.
- 1737 Assignment of a Mortgage from Richard Uniacke to his mother, Mary Uniacke.
- 1768 Sworn statement by Robert Bor Uniacke, re. disposition of Woodhouse estate.
- 1775 Appears to be a legal opinion concerning a Mortgage and interest payments thereon. Persons involved; Mr Cage, Mr FitzGerald and Wm. Atkin.
- 1770 - 1776 Bor Uniacke's wine account with J Swayne. Total over six years = £697-13-2 $\frac{1}{2}$. Hogshead (= 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ gals) of claret billed at £18, £19 or £20, and 1 doz bottles of port billed at 17/-.
- 1787 Personal letter from John Beresford to Col R. Uniacke.
- 1790 - 1853 Certificates of births, marriages and deaths of various Uniackes.
- 1802 Lease of Buildings, grounds and village of Stradbally by Robert Uniacke to Beresfords.
- 1802 'Copy of Exhibit A', produced at the King's Court in a legal action in which Robert Uniacke was summoned by John Claudius Beresford for payment of £2,000. No indication of details of this debt -- only, evidence of steady refusal to pay.
- 1803 Writ summoning Robert Uniacke's heirs to appear before the Court of Exchequer, Dublin.
- 1804 To representatives of the late Robert Uniacke for payment of £19-16-11 $\frac{1}{2}$ for goods (coal and barley) supplied by Thomas Thompson (Dungarvan).
- 1804 A barely decipherable legal document, mentioning "Annette Constantia Uniacke, widow of plaintiff"; relating to a Court of Chancery action against George Patton (?).
- 1806 Quotation of £48-14-2 for work to be done at Woodhouse, from Thomas Broderick, mason.
- 1807 Writ from Master of Rolls calling off a legal action between R. Nayne - wife - John Claudius Beresford and John Uniacke against a Mr. Grady.
- 1819 and 1823 Two letters from the Duke of Wellington concerning George John Beresford's nomination as a cadet to the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. Wellington says that the lists are long and young Beresford may be disappointed.
- 1823 - 1825 Three lengthy letters from John James FitzGerald Uniacke (son of Robert Uniacke and brother of Robert John Uniacke) who emigrated to New South Wales in 1823 and died there in 1825. Each letter is addressed to his mother, and urges her to use her influence in London to secure for him a profitable appointment in N.S.W. He was eventually made sheriff of the Colony in June, 1824, but died prematurely the following January of a 'bilious remittent fever'. He called at Cape Town on the outward voyage; he makes comments on social conditions and employment and wages in N.S.W. A letter from H.M. Registrar of the Supreme Court in N.S.W. addressed to the young man's uncle, the Bishop of Kilmore, describes in extravagant and flowery language the emigrant's brief career and the circumstances of his death.

- 1825 Personal letter written at Brighton from Lord Beresford to the Revd. Chas, Wm Beresford of Ballyconnell.
- 1837 Copy of Jane Uniacke's Will, written at Woodhouse, in delightful naive and non-legal style. "As I am now going to leave this dear and peaceful place.....I never made a will before therefore am unacquainted with the form.....My watch I leave to Fanny Uniacke if she has not got one - if not to Jonisas(?)".
- 1839 Receipt for £86-11-7 paid to the Duke of Devonshire, Lismore, for one year's rent, for sundry denominations in the parish of Stradbally. Fourteen items - farms - and 25% deducted, presumably as commission.
- 1839 i) A letter from Anne Uniacke, dated 3 March 1839, addressed to Robert Uniacke of Woodhouse, giving notes on the Uniacke pedigree from c. 1500.
ii) The pedigree arranged as a family tree, probably based on the information supplied in i). Period covered: 1500-1864.
- 1847 Letter from Col Edward Kerrison, to Robert Uniacke, who served under him in the 7th Hussars in the Peninsular War. The letter briefly refers to a claim for war medals.
- 1847 A printed letter (a circular?) from the Duke of Wellington, listing twenty-six actions (1806-1814) in the Peninsular War, for which medals had been granted.
- 1849 Letter from the Horse Guards to Robert Uniacke transmitting medal and and clasp awarded by Queen Victoria in 1847.
- 1850 (probably) Three personal letters written by Robert Uniacke at Clifton, to his son Robert concerning the management of the estate. Reference to *letting and to the mines*.
- 1852 Copy of Will of Robert Bor Uniacke.
- 1853 Undertaker R.W. Champion's account for the funeral of Robert B Uniacke; £15-19-6, paid by Mr Hunt, agent for the Woodhouse property.
- 1853 Memo of Rentals and Arrears of Woodhouse estate:
26 farm tenants (21 in arrears)
29 house tenants (10 in arrears).
- 1853 Memo of cash lent to Capt. G J Beresford on account of sale of stock; signed by Louisa and Mildred Uniacke.
- 1853 Letter from the Revd. Edward Groome, of Drogheda, requesting Mr. Hunt to pay from Woodhouse estate £119-10-0, money owing to him and overdue.
- 12 Sept. Letter from Edward Groome to Mr. Hunt acknowledging receipt of
1853 £20 and asking for the balance of £99-10-0. Groome says that the original sum of £571-8-6 was advanced in 1845. No indication of the origin of this debt.
- 15 Jan. Letter from Edward Groome to Mr. Hunt to thank him for an
1854 "unexpected remittance".
- March Letter from a Mr. Hearn to Col Beresford concerning the proving
1854 of R.B.Uniacke's will. Reference is made to the possibility of the colonel being called to serve in the Crimea; also to Mr. Hunt's ability to look after the Woodhouse estate.
- 1854 Two letters from the 3rd Lord Waterford to Col. Beresford resigning claims on Woodhouse on condition that Nanette Uniacke is given an annuity.
- 1859 Extract from a letter from Miss C. Uniacke offering to forgo the £275 arrears due to her from Woodhouse, and to be content with the interest only. But, should the estate be sold, she would claim both interest and principal. A Mr. Chapman agrees to do likewise.

- 1858-60 Account for £46-4-9 addressed to Col. Beresford for legal costs in assignment of Mortgage, cost of assignment of judgement re Mortgage, registering fees, etc.
- 4860 Copy of a letter from the Admiralty accepting Col. G.J. Beresford's offer to build a boathouse at Stradbally and to let it to the local Coast Guard for £5 p.a. during his lifetime.
- 1861 Memo of payments made annually off the Woodhouse estate.
 10 to dependents and family friends..... 695- 1-2
 11 to others, including the Vicar (£300)
 Col. Beresford Trust Mortgage (£200)
 and tenants in need (e.g. widows)..... 673-17-7
 11 to others, including rates, agent,
 quit rent, insurance and school..... 340- 6-3
£1709- 5-0
- 1862 Letter from John Hunt to Beresford concerning sale of Knockadrumlea; a reference to Capt. Purvis; also to a horse "Paddy Stock."
- 1844-1862 Agreements and letters concerning Minès:
 a) 26/4/45 Curry to R. Uniacke about inspecting the site at Woodhouse
 b) 19/11/48 Mr. Curry of Lackamore Mine gives rough estimates and calculations on opening a mine.
 c) 9/7/51 Joseph Donnell writes from Windermere about mining prospects.
 d) 15/11/51 Mining engineer writes from London about prospects.
 e) 27/8/51 Joseph Donnell, on prospects.
 f) undated - sketch of letter by R. B. Uniacke, reviewing mining prospects.
 g) 16/5/53 The Mining Company of Ireland asks for "the usual mining lease, say, for forty-one years at a twentieth of the produce of the minerals upon the property."
 h) 15/10/58 Beresford complains to Capt. Paul about the abandonment of the mine, that he has been kept uninformed.
 i) 20/10/58 From Capt. Paul of the Mining Company of Ireland, saying that mining is to be abandoned.
 j) Two draft and one complete 'Articles of Agreement' between the Mining Company of Ireland and Col. G. J. Beresford.
 k) Map of part of Woodhouse estate showing position of Copper mine.
- 3 Oct. Letter from Walter Gyles(?) to Beresford re bonds for £200 held
 1862 by W.G. on Woodhouse lands.
- 1874 Commission of the peace granted to Robert Henry Beresford.
- 1882 Private letter from J.G. Beresford, from 30 Kildare Street, Dublin,
 19 Nov. to Mr. Hunt, asking him to raise £2,500 for investment in a cattle ranching company in Wyoming, U.S.A. Beresford had just returned from the States and was wildly excited about the prospect of making a fortune in cattle ranching.
- 1882 John Hunt's reply from Dungarvan, tactfully telling Beresford not
 20 Nov. to be a fool.
- 26 Oct. Letter signed by 18 tenant farmers informing R.H. Beresford, J.P.
 1885 that they "are utterly unable owing to the present great agricultural depression to pay the present rents in full." They ask for a reduction of 30% in rent, citing as an example Sir John Kennedy, a neighbouring property owner, who "has allowed an abatement to his tenants."

- 3 Nov. Beresford's draft reply for Mr.Hunt's guidance. He maintains
1885 that rents have not been raised and in fact,in 1882,were reduced. He therefore cannot accede to the tenants' request. Hunt presumably passed on this decision.
- 18 Nov. The eighteen tenant farmers reply to Hunt. They express surprise
1885 and disappointment; they again press for the 30% reduction.
- 4 July, Letter from Lord Waterford,aboard the yacht Ceres at Harwich, to
1886 R.H.Beresford re the sale of Knockadrumlea. The price mentioned is 20 years purchase of the net rent. Reference is also made to Waterford's mortgage on Woodhouse.
- 18 May Receipt from Marq.of Waterford for R.H.Beresford's payment of
1887 £103-10-0,being interest of mortgage referred to,for the year ended 21 Dec. 1886.
- 1888 Irish Land Commission takes R H Beresford to *Court for payment of £149-17-0 arrears.
- 13 July, Irish Land Commission informs John Hunt, agent, that arrears
1888 of £151-10-1 must be paid in full at once; on compliance, legal proceedings will be stopped.
- 18 July, John Hunt's letter to Beresford, mentions i) sale of
1888 Knockadrumlea,and ii) payment of Lord Waterford's interest, adding that nothing has been paid to him since Dec. 1886,and iii) the petition in Chancery referred to above*.
- 1902 Estimate from George J. Briscoe for repairs to Woodhouse(£165-4-0).
- 1902 Indenture: R. H. Beresford leases Woodhouse, stables, three loose boxes, loft, ground floor of coach house, and harness room to the Hon. Claude Anson, for five years, for £100 p.a.
- 1904 Lord Waterford and John Beresford exchange letters concerning interest payable on a mortgage; they argue about ½%. Beresford's letter is slightly 'testy'.

II THE CHATSWORTH PAPERS.

Calendar of Devonshire and Burlington Papers, 1693-1812. P.R.O.N.I., 1982.

While this massive listing of papers at Chatsworth is not exclusively Irish, it does contain much of specific west Waterford interest. Thanks to the consideration of its compiler, Dr. A. P. W. Malcomson a copy of the full calendar with introduction and classification scheme has been lodged in the Waterford County Library, Lismore. What follows is a very brief chronological summary of the main county Waterford material to serve as a guide to the main Calendar, with P.R.O.N.I. numbering following (for ease of consultation). The original material is still at Chatsworth, Derbyshire, but the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland have photocopied the main Irish estate and viceregal correspondence (their reference, T 3158) and their calendar comprises both summaries and substantial extracts.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SYNOPSIS</u>	<u>PRONI number</u>
1727	Complaint from Protestants of Dungarvan,	1689
1755	From agent William Connor on "miserable conditions".	665-
1755	General comments on Lismore, etc. and listing of lands there.	821-8;903-7.
1756-'58	Dungarvan,Lismore and Tallow electoral boroughs	1409; 1438-'42; 1467-'72
1759	W. Connor on political possibilities.	1614-16
1760	Anonymous letter to the electors of Lismore.	1628

1761	re election result.	1631
1763	Tallow elections	1648-'50
1766-'78	Tallow,Lismore and Bandon boroughs	1652-69
1790	Richard Musgrave on bad condition of Devonshire estate under Connor.	1692-5
1791-'92	Charges and counter charges about Connor's management of estate,borough representation,tenancies, etc.	1696-1722
1793-'94	Miscellaneous, including Tallow elections.	1724-8
1795	Tenancies in the Dungarvan borough	1729-32
1795-'97	Electoral matters in Lismore,Tallow and Dungarvan	1733-47
1798-'99	The disturbed state of west Waterford.	1748-98
1800-'01	Tallow and Lismore boroughs; compensation for their disenfranchisement after the Union.	1799-1825
1801-'03	Attempts by Devonshire's agents to get electoral control over Dungarvan.	1826-49
1803-'06	Miscellaneous on politics,etc..	1850-67
1806-'07	Details on rebuilding of Dungarvan to create 40/- freeholders who will vote for Devonshire nominees.	1868-83
1807-'08	Dungarvan election details - won by Devonshire nominee. Appealed. Purchase of further building land in Dungarvan.	1884-1917
1808-'12	Re Youghal and bridge,Dungarvan.	1919-36

The number of letters in each section above may be deducted from the right hand column. However, the synopsis conveys little of the wealth of local social and political detail which the P.R.O.N.I. Calendar reveals. In the next issue of DECIES it is hoped to carry an article of the post-Union origins of modern Dungarvan,based mainly on this Calendar.

III. THE VILLIERS - STUART PAPERS.

Introduction,Summary List and Detailed Calendar,compiled by A.P.W. Malcomson, P.R.O.N.I. (ref.T3131) 1982.

These papers deal with the families which have been in possession of Dromana and its various estates since Norman times. Although the descent has been unbroken it has on three occasions between 1662 and 1824 been through the female line. Catherine Fitzgerald,last of the original grantees,married Edward Villiers in 1677. By 1739,the sole heir was Elizabeth Villiers who had married Aland Mason of Waterford. Their sole grandchild,Lady Gertrude (Mason-) Villiers married Lord Henry Stuart,fifth son of the Marquess of Bute. Their eldest son was Henry Villiers-Stuart, who became M.P. for Waterford and champion of Catholic Emancipation in 1826. James Villiers-Stuart of Ballinaparka is his direct descendant and by his kind permission the family papers have thus been catalogued by Dr.Malcomson on behalf of the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland.

Copies of this comprehensive listing and calendar are available in the City Library,Waterford and the County Library,Lismore and include not alone the Ballinaparka papers but further Villiers-Stuart material deposited in the National Library. Dr.Malcomson has also assisted the County Library in the massive task of microfilming the entire bulk of Ballinaparka papers,maps,etc. and these may now be consulted in Lismore. It is intended that the valuable records relating to Waterford city,mainly appertaining to the Aland and Mason families, will be available on microfilm in the City Library. Local historians here, therefore, owe a debt of gratitude,first to the initiative of the P.R.O.N.I.; then to the active goodwill and cooperation of Dr.Malcomson; further to the amenability of Mr. and Mrs. Villiers-Stuart; and finally to the enlightenment of Waterford County Council and of the County Librarian,Mr.Donal Brady.

While the earliest medieval references in these papers go back to 1215, many are more modern translations or transcriptions. An interesting original from about 1500 throws light on contemporary pronunciation and indeed on the development of the English language. Letter from John Hale of London:

"I hertely have me commendyde onto youe and I thanke youe for my good chear. I praye youe thynke noe unkyndnesse that I cum nott to London accordyng to my promysse for I have dyverse letts, wone is that I can gett no monye to bare my charys. Another is the payne that I have in wone of my hyppes howebe it that shalle nott have lett me though I had byn too dayes in comyng, but where monye lacketh ther wantythe a freynde, for if I had that I wolde nott be in case as I am. Notwithstandyng I praye youe take the paynes to go to (?) (? gate) with this my quyttance and resayve my pencyon which youe knowe is xx(?s) and gyffe hym a grote to drynke and I will paye youe agayne at your comyng whome as God knowyth who ever keape youe att Kensworthe this Passyon Sunday by yo(? ur) assured to his lytell powre."

Although much of the 16th century material comprises legal records, deeds and law suits there are also valuable papers for the social historian such as royal letters on the right to hold fairs at Dromana and Whitechurch (1606), interesting transactions with Youghal merchants, and lists of West Waterford landholders pardoned by the King after the Desmond Rebellion 1569. Many of the names and places are long since forgotten (such as Ilanhobor and Castleianshanagh) and the mention of a watermill worth a half mark for rent in Rynogonay is really puzzling. An interesting insight on the non-use of money in the 16th and 17th centuries arises from the number of times "sheep, cows and fat oxen" are made over as security.

Some papers originated with the Mason and Aland families in East Waterford and among these we find a detailed list of tenants in the town of Passage in 1652. Names such as Murphy, Aylward, Sinnott and Wyse predominate. Descriptions of dwellings seem to suggest that many of the houses were in a bad state of repair: "all wast and old walls except one house wherein John Murphy liveth, the house is verie much gone to ruine" ---- "Darby Malone in a house, Denis Casse in an Irish caben and Marie White in an old tower".

A late 17th century survey puts the total acreage of the estates at 39,993 Irish acres. This is accompanied by detailed maps of the various parishes. There are also some other papers on the Mason lands after the Act of Settlement and Explanation in 1664 but the remaining 17th century material is less important historically. Much more detail on West Waterford is found in the 18th century material, especially in the *Estate Papers and Correspondence of the 1st Earl of Grandison* 1708 - 1766. These contain letters from Maurice Ronayne of Clashmore, the agent 1724 - 1744: 7/12/1729 "I must blame the weather for it for the people can't trash or carry their corn to market - - - the winter sowing is in a bad way."

7/3/1728 "It is difficult to get the ploughs working because the cattle are so weak after the severe winter" (ploughing with oxen)

Later in the century letters from another agent, Christopher Musgrave of Tourin, contain references to the establishment of a linen industry in Villerstown and many references to Whiteboys who were so active in West Waterford in the 1760's. There are very interesting letters on Irish politics, particularly on Primate Stone and on Henry Boyle, important men in 18th century politics. Otherwise the material is mostly made up of legal and financial papers; much of the property was mortgaged as several of Grandison's agents mis-managed his affairs - Amusingly many of them seem to blame the weather for their lack of funds, for bad crops and for their inability to collect rents.

Naturally we have much more material on the 19th and 20th centuries particularly relating to the Villiers Stuart estate and finances as well as political and personal papers to 1908. The early 19th century material contains many interesting letters between Sir William Homan, land agent and Henry Stuart prior to 1820 on estate affairs and plans for development in Ring. Homan lived between 1810 and 1814 in Stuart's summer house in Helvic and many letters from him concerning rural disturbances are found among the State Papers in Dublin. It was at this time that Shapland Graves of Cappoquin came to Helvick as sub-agent to Homan.

There are long lists of leases to tenants on Slievgrine in the 1820's, uninteresting in themselves perhaps, but important for two reasons. Firstly, this area had been regarded as a commonage by the local people and the Stuarts were obliged to assert their ownership in the courts. Daniel O'Connell and Lalor Shiel were council to Villiers Stuart. Secondly, Henry Villiers Stuart granted freehold rights to several hundred of the tenants prior to the 1826 election. The Caravats or local agrarian societies became involved and called out several hundred people to level fences and enclosures on more than one occasion.

The remainder of the 19th century material concerns Henry Windsor Villiers Stuart - his attitude to Home Rule and the education question and the House of Lords case where he failed to secure the Stuart De Decies peerage in 1876. Most significant of all perhaps is his Labourers' Cottages and Allotments Bill of 1882 during his time as M. P. for Co. Waterford (1880-1885). The collection contains a letter from Parnell to Stuart in 1883. Finally from mid 19th century there are hundreds of rentals and account books.

The fact that these documents are now available is a great boon to local historians. As there is quite an amount of folklore concerning the Stuarts both in English and in Irish the documents will throw further light on the stories. The family have always been regarded as good landlords who showed compassion and understanding to their tenants and the State Papers in Dublin as well as the documents now available bear witness to this.

Silvester Ó Muirí.

ITEMS OF LOCAL HISTORICAL INTEREST.

John Turpin, John Hogan, Irish Neoclassical Sculptor in Rome,

Irish Academic Press 1982.

This is a biography and catalogue of the work of Co. Waterford born sculptor John Hogan (1800-1858). Many articles have been written about him but this is the first detailed account of his life and work. It traces his early life in Tallow and Cork, his period in Rome and his final return to Ireland.

In 1796 Hogan's father, a builder from Tallow, married a Francis Cox whom he met while building an addition to Richard Gumbleton's house near Tallow and their son John was born on October 14th at nearby Coolieshal. Although the family then moved to Cork John was sent back to Tallow for his schooling until he was 14. He then went to work for a Cork Solicitor, but, as he says, "I constantly availed myself of every opportunity to amuse myself with sketching the different orders of architecture and everything related to it". So in 1818 he was apprenticed to Thomas Deane (1792-1871), a leading Cork Architect and here he became interested in carving. He gradually made a name for himself and plans were made to send him for further study in Rome. The author describes his life there from 1824 with background on his contemporaries there.

Overall this is an interesting life for Hogan, covering not only his earlier years but giving a detailed catalogue of his work, well illustrated. Hopefully it will help us appreciate this local and unique talent.

W. Fraher.

Maurice Craig, The Architecture of Ireland from earliest times to 1880.

London 1982.

Following the success of his previous books Dr. Craig now undertakes the formidable task of encapsulating all major trends in Irish architecture to 1880 in a single volume. No doubt he will be criticised for the amount of space given to some periods, for the scant mention of certain building types, for the omission of interior decoration and of vernacular architecture. Yet, selectivity was essential and his descriptions are scholarly, interesting and often interspersed with witty observations.

The author devotes particular attention to the late 16th and 17th centuries which he says have been neglected periods. There are also of course substantial sections on classical architecture in Ireland including essays on Robinson, Pearce and Gandon. A further section is devoted to late 18th and 19th century church building, much of which has been destroyed by insensitive modernisation. The last part of the book contains much interesting information on town planning, bridges, shops, industrial architecture, etc..

Dr. Craig deals with a number of items relating to Waterford including a photograph of the Church at Castlequarter listed by An Foras Forbatha as of International Importance. It was destroyed in 1980. He provides a ground plan of the proposed town of New Geneva (redrawn from James Gandon's original plan) showing that it was to have had an enormous crescent, 2,750 feet wide, facing out to the harbour. Dungarvan he counts as among

those towns outside Dublin where the greatest visual success of town planning was achieved. Many of the important buildings in Waterford City are included and there is a good account of Gandon's old Courthouse (1784), a section on architect John Roberts and a description of St. Patrick's church which he calls "the oldest and best (of its kind) in any Irish town".

This book contains about 278 black and white photographs as well as many plans and elevational drawings. It is an interesting, valuable and timely reappraisal of our architectural heritage.

W. Fraher.

Norma R. Jessop, and Christine J. Nudds (ed.) -
Guide to Collections in Dublin Libraries : Printed Books to 1850 and Special Collections . (Dublin 1982, £1.50).

This guide compiled by two specialist librarians at University College and Trinity College, Dublin respectively, describes the main holdings of pre-1850 printed material held in thirty institutions in and near Dublin. Manuscript sources are noted only in so far as they relate to the main printed collections. The better known libraries of course are all represented here, but the type of institution covered is very varied indeed ranging from the holdings of religious bodies like the Quakers, Dominicans, Franciscans and Discalced Carmelites to hospital libraries like Dr. Steevens'. Many of the libraries are private like those of the Freemasons, and King's Inns, while others like the Irish Theatre Archive are specialist in nature.

In addition to listing the holdings of each library the guide gives much useful information of a practical kind. Addresses, times of opening, bus route numbers where applicable, terms of admission and so on are given for each institution concerned.

What is there in the guide of direct Waterford interest? We learn that the Dix collection of pamphlets in Pearse St. Library includes Waterford paintings from the 1630's as does the Dix series in the National Library. Part of the extensive library of the Provençal poet William Charles Bonaparte-Wyse (see DECIES 14, 1980) is now in T.C.D. Library, the collection containing over 1,250 volumes - some of them by the poet himself. Out in U.C.D. Library in Belfield the library of Rev. Patrick Power (1862 - 1951), the noted historian of this region, is deposited. The Department of Folklore in the same university has in its custody the library of Seamus O'Casea who wrote on many subjects relating to Waterford. Finally it is interesting to note that the National Library photographic collection includes that of H. Poole which is of particular Waterford interest.

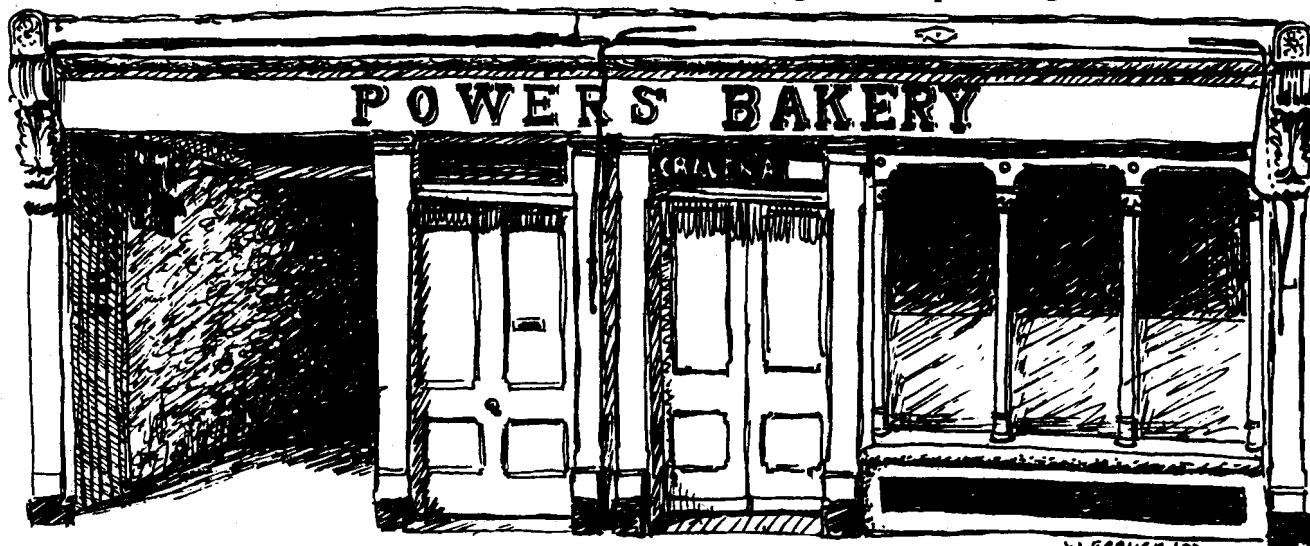
The guide is available from either of the editors (prepaid orders only of £2.00) by post or from Dublin bookshops.

T. Power.

William Fraher - Dungarvan: An architectural inventory. (Unpublished) 1983.

The main aim of this report is to "provide a detailed visual record of buildings in Dungarvan and to help encourage an appreciation of them which may hopefully lead to their conservation". It comprises "an illustrated inventory - (including) individual buildings, shopfronts and groups of buildings which may not be of any great interest individually but taken as a whole make an important contribution to the townscape".

Most visitors are struck by how potentially magnificent Dungarvan could be with its great Square from whose corners half-seen streets run off to unknown quarters. Somehow this sense of grandeur and secrecy is not quite realised as the facades now stand. Mr. Fraher does not set out to bewail the depredations of the past few decades but sets out a positive blueprint for the future, backing his comments by a beautifully executed series of drawings and concentrating his attention on the architectural strength of the town which should form the core for consideration during future planning.



Unspoiled Shopfront with detail from same.

Amongst these strengths are the quiet balanced shopfronts still very much a feature of those "secret" streets and not (yet!) plasticised. Dungarvan is indeed fortunate in still having a good proportion of frontages such as Powers (illustrated here) still unspoiled. Mr. Fraher is sympathetic, however to the problems of house and shop owners faced with the task of replacing period windows, doors, etc. and choosing colour schemes without reference to the entire streetscape. In discussing the Square, for instance, he suggests, "The owners of the houses need to be informed regarding the importance of the area and advice should be available about restoration, colour schemes, etc." What is needed, he suggests "is an Advice Centre. Each area should receive a report on their street showing possible improvements which could be carried out, also information (given) on the architectural importance and history of their premises with advice on restoration and colour schemes. Drawings of the buildings etc. could be displayed in the Centre and future development (plans)---



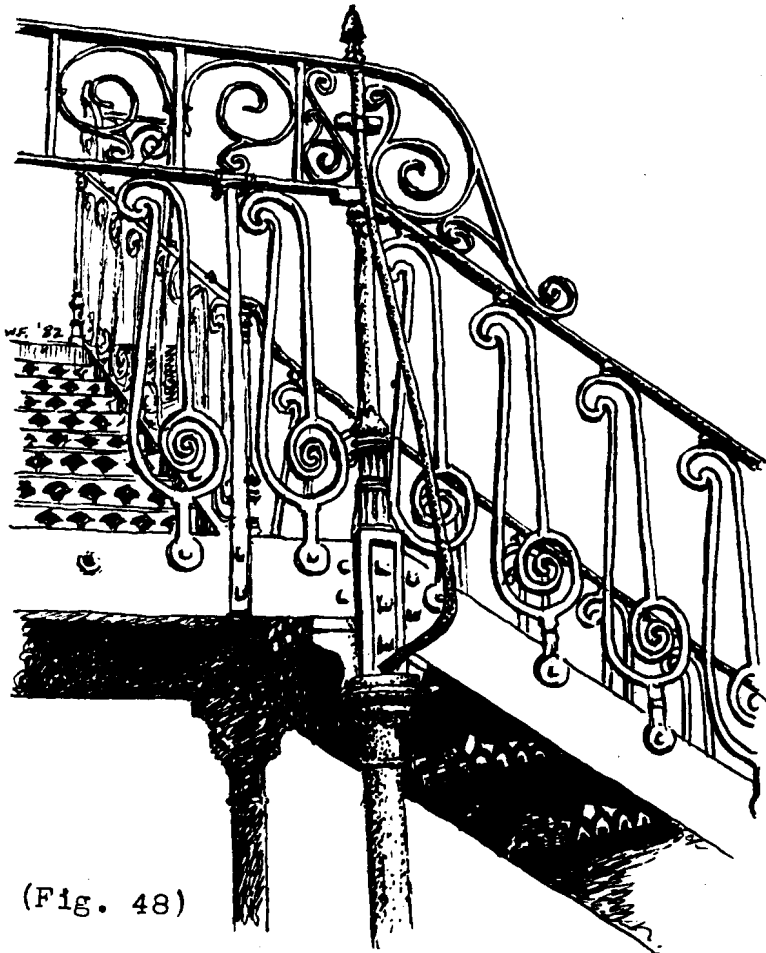
To encourage an awareness --- it would be a good idea to initiate an awards scheme ---".

He does include in these remarks, private houses, many of whose owners are replacing windows and doors with "modern" insertions out of character with the houses themselves or with their neighbours. However a good number of unspoiled facades remain and a range of them is illustrated in the Inventory with superb observations and draughtmanship affording us with the opportunity patterns and details through the eyes of a sensitive observer.

Included here, of course are Dungarvan's institutions and public buildings, some of which are accompanied by a brief history. While the listing ranges over a variety of features such as paving slabs, railings, trees and hedges, the "very attractive" iron-work is singled out for special mention.

Overall therefore, this report provides a blueprint which could transform Dungarvan into one of the most attractive towns in Ireland. It has been done as a labour of love by Mr. Fraher who has presented copies of it to the relevant local authorities. Their role is clear: they should set up the planning service as suggested here. That, however, is only half the battle. The creation of a public awareness is even more important but far more difficult. A substantial start would be made if this Inventory were available, not only to the citizens of Dungarvan but for those in other towns and villages who can draw analogies from this work applicable to their own streetscapes.

It is important, therefore, that this inventory be published.

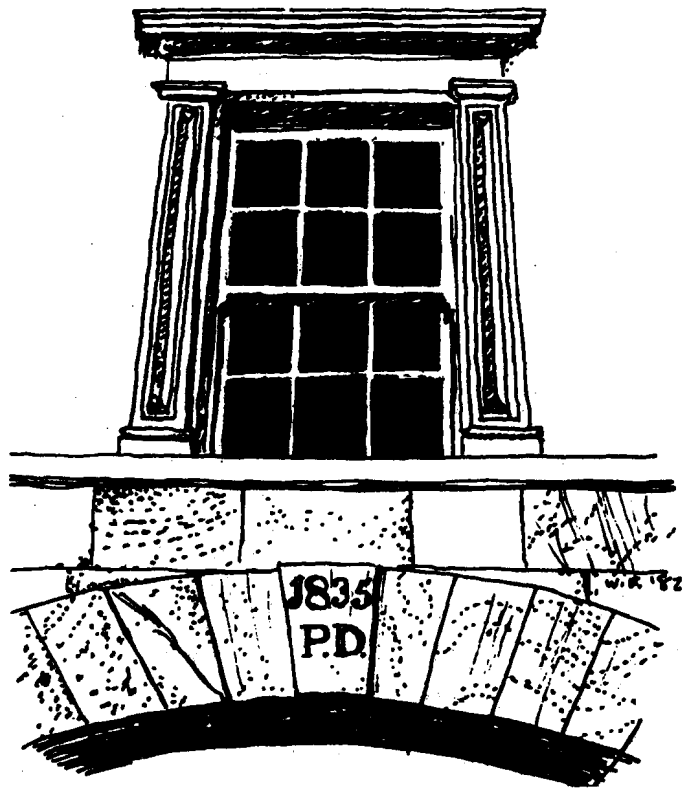
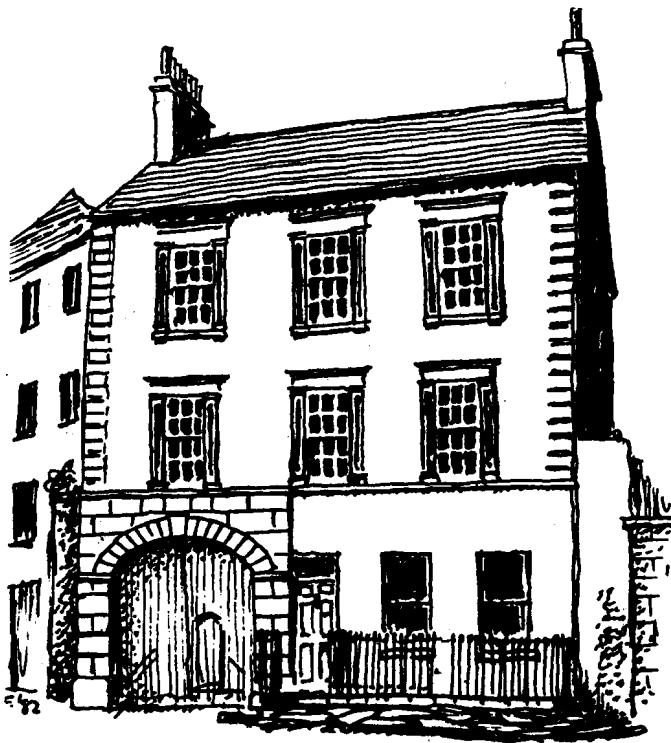


(Fig. 48)

Exterior staircase, C. B. S. Dungarvan.



Above: Portion of Square, Dungarvan.
 Below: House on Quay, Dungarvan and detail from same.



Lord Shannon's Letters to his Son - A calendar of letters written by the 2nd Earl of Shannon to his son, Viscount Boyle, 1790-1802. Edited by Esther Hewitt, P.R.O.N.I., 1982.

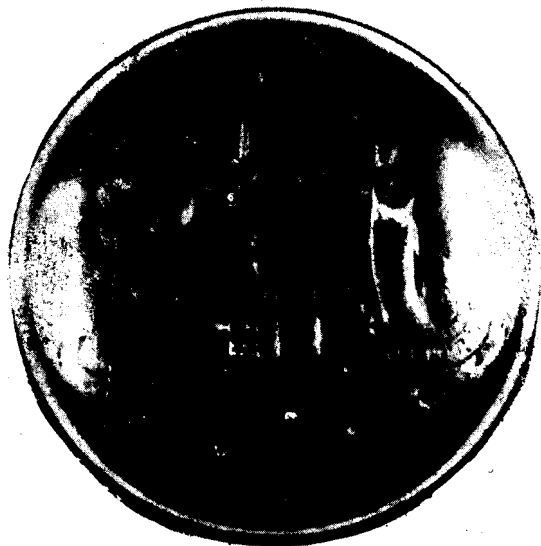
The Earls of Shannon were "younger sons of younger sons" related to Boyle of Lismore, the Earl of Cork. The Second Lord Shannon inherited Castlemartyr, Co. Cork, in 1764 which had been the family seat. This series of candid letters starts when he was 62 years old and comprise an intriguing mixture of contemporary comment, political commentary, social gossip and rumours. This last is particularly significant in the months preceding June 1798 when Shannon, well placed as he was in the Administration, found it difficult to sift what was really happening, towards formulating courses of action and indeed his daily letters to his son over this critical period are most revealing. Two letters in particular relating to Kilkenny stand out:

12 May '98 he quotes a letter written by Lord Clifden saying he has burned 50 houses on his estate near Gowran, "being more severe on his own tenants than other people's, and has written to know whether he may shoot a few --"

21 June '98 he reports on a conversation with William Ponsonby that, "the only quiet barony he knows is Iverk and the reason is there is not a soldier in it".

However, the correspondence does cover a period of 12 significant years in Irish and European affairs and Shannon relates the latest news/gossip (or lack of either) to his son. While he is not a impartial observer, he is far more humane than many of his contemporaries and his comments pursue their own logic. Many of the letters, moreover, are sprinkled with humour and homely wisdom, some dealing with the affairs of the Castlemartyr estate as well as political manoeuvrings in the east Cork area. Others relate news of the great Ascendancy figures of the time, called here by nicknames such as Brandy, The Bog, Feugle, Lepus, Piggy, etc.. Amongst the amusing incidents related, for instance, is an account of the visit of the unpopular Lord Lieutenant, Westmoreland, to Waterford city in 1790.

It seems that Lord Waterford was most anxious that the Lord Lieutenant should be given a civic reception and all the marks of public esteem. This dignity passed through the city on his way to visit New Geneva without any sign of such.



Lid and base of gold "freedom box" presented to visiting dignitaries to contain a folded certificate of freedom, the box being 6.7 cm. diameter and 3.3 cm. high. The lid (left) shows a version of the city arms. This was in fact presented to Shannon, post 1783, hence his arms are on the lid, quartering those of Ponsonby (his wife's family) with the badge of the Order of St. Patrick. Reproduced from Shannons letters, p. 206.

On his return it was discovered that the mayor had departed, but his deputy, Sir John Newport was present. However, he too ignored this eminent visitor. Lord Waterford then opened a subscription list to try to provide some form of entertainment for him but was reduced to accepting "even shopkeepers". The Lord Lieutenant himself tried to win popularity by offering "knightships on several, who declined it". His wife tried to meet local society through inviting herself to breakfast with the bishop's wife, "but no company attended. After a solitary cup of tea, she was conducted to the glass house ---".

This therefore is very much a book to be dipped into and relished - a process facilitated by the excellent footnotes to each letter with cross references. There are also two introductions, one fittingly whimsical. The other gives a detailed and well documented family background and political significance of Shannon's career which puts much of the material in these letters into perspective. The book is generously illustrated, and has glossary, index and two appendices. One of these last has an interesting and well footnoted listing of contested and uncontested elections in Dungarvan, Tallow and Lismore 1727 to 1807.

At £10.50 sterling it is excellent value for lxxx + 273 pages, large format and hard cover, beautifully produced. The Public Record Office of Northern Ireland are to be congratulated on the liberality of their publishing policy and thanked for the service they have done for local historians in this region by making material of importance to this area available (see Archives Series, II and III, this issue).

"The Subsidy Roll of County Waterford", presented by Julian C. Walton in Analecta Hibernica, No.30, I.M.C., 1982.

From 1662 a tax, or "subsidy" of 20p per £1 valuation of land and nearly 14p per £1 on all possessions (excluding clothes) was levied. The list, or "roll", of persons liable to such tax was available up to 1922 when the "patriots" blew up the P.R.O.. Fortunately a copy of the roll for Waterford for 1662 had been made but lay in the archives of Waterford Corporation where it was discovered by Mr. Walton in 1979. In the introduction he explains the background, the circumstances of their transcription and something of their significance. He then reproduces the listing for each barony in the county as well as for the city and liberties - a total of 1,353 names.

The listing in most baronies is broken into parishes, with name, status and townland plus valuation of land/goods and tax due on them, although Coshmore and Coshbride lack townland identification with Middlethird also lacking parishes. However, the Waterford city listing usefully includes occupations. A sampling will indicate how interesting they are:

NAME	OCCUPATION	VALUE OF PROPERTY			TAX DUE		
		£	s	d	£	s	d
Valentine Gretrex	Esquire	4	-10			18	
John Murphy	Victualer	10	-10		1-	8	
Edmund Everard	Shopkeeper	6	- 2	- 6		16	- 4
Edmund Power	Butcher	5				13	- 4
John Kelly	Baker	4	-10			12	
Christopher Treneman	Brewer	7	-10		1-	0	
Teigh Dunn	Chandler	3	-15			10	
Thomas Bolton	Tanner	24			3-	4	- 3
Robert Corker	Weaver	4				10	- 8
Richard Welsh	Maulster	7				18	- 8

Apart from the intrinsic interest of such a list, it is also possible to follow up many of these burghers from other printed sources. Thus, checking on brewer Christopher Treneman, in Council Books of the Corporation of Waterford 1662-1700, (I.M.C. 1964) we find that he was in fact sheriff of Waterford in that year (1662) with details of his Corporation activities plus supplementary information about leases, etc. held by him. From The Civil Survey (Vol. VI, I.M.C., 1942) we can locate his house and brewery on Peter St. - "A dwelling house to the street, stone walls and cadgework, slated" (24 feet by 60) with "A brewhouse backwards, stone walls and slated" probably recently built at a cost of £28-16-0.

Once again we of the O.W.S. are indebted to fellow-member Julian Walton for thus making available to us the fruits of his extensive research.

"Decie".

Mackey, P., By Hook or by Crook, Carraig Publications, Waterford, 1983.

Any tourist guide to this area is to be welcomed, particularly from Mr. Mackey who has already four local tourist guides to his credit. This is sub-titled "Six Touring Routes - Fifty Places to See: Holiday driving in south Wexford and Waterford". It is a booklet of 50 pages, nicely produced and generously sprinkled with photographs.

While local historians here may suggest that Mr. Mackey relies too heavily on 19th century sources and fails to take account of more modern research, the sub-title does make clear the aim and it is a good basic view of popular history. Others may criticize the lack of adequate location maps of the sites introduced here, but it is certainly to be argued that they should be better signposted in the first place.

Nevertheless, this will be an asset to the casual tourist and a worthwhile acquisition by local historians for the modest expenditure of £1.

T. Nolan .

A Tale of Three Bridges - Special Exhibition at Reginald's Tower.

This exhibition covers a much wider field than the history of the Bridges which have joined the north and south banks of the Suir at Waterford. Well chosen maps, pictures and text show the cultural, social and economic history of the City, with particular emphasis on transport. Much of the material is exhibited for the first time.

Until the late 18th century the only method of communication across the river was by Ferry. Lemuel Cox's timber bridge was opened in 1794 and was succeeded by Redmond Bridge in 1913, which is now being replaced. It is surprising that there is no mention of future developments - have plans for the High Level Bridge been abandoned?

Researched and designed by Mr. Tom Ryan, the high standard set by last year's award winning Thomas Francis Meagher Exhibition is more than maintained. A visit to Reginald's Tower is a must for anyone, be they native or visitor.

M.N.C.

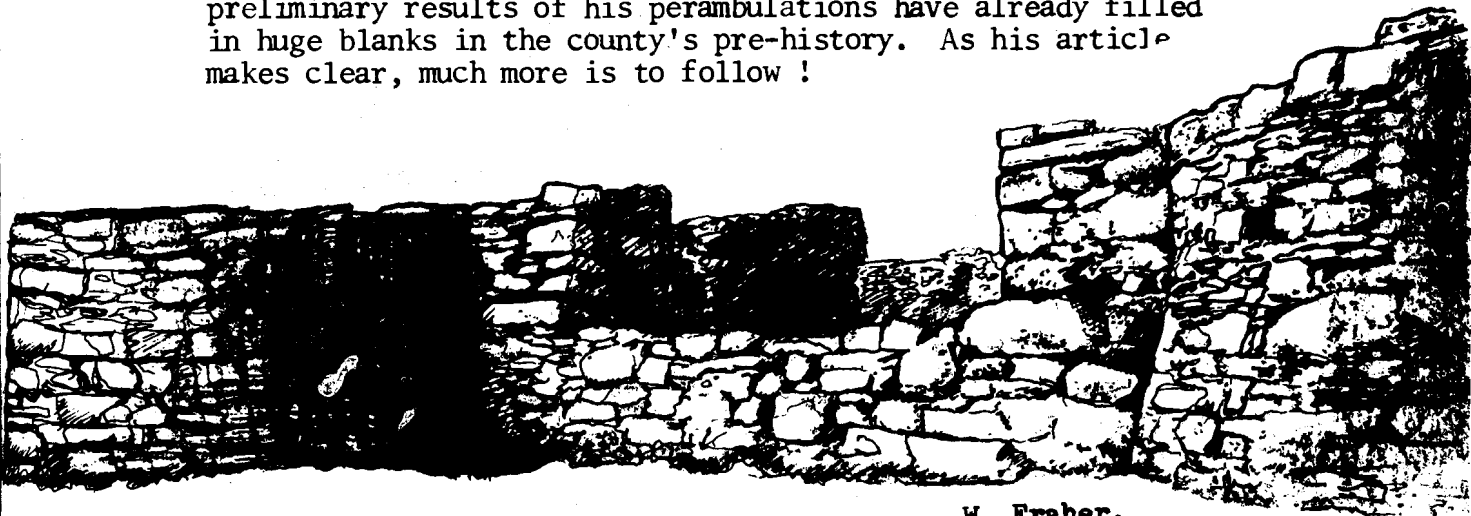
THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF WATERFORD

INTRODUCTION

The joint Old Waterford Society/An Taisce action to prevent the destruction of the gate towers might well have failed had not the citizens of Waterford made up their minds that they wanted the towers saved. Details of a crucial few days in January 1983 must be told elsewhere but the important feature was the support of thousands of people who turned up at the site and pledged their desire for preservation. Dozens of others also took individual initiatives, the Corporation responded and the towers were saved.

The moral seems to be that once people are informed they are sympathetic. At the time we had little positive to say about the gate towers as their exact significance was not yet clear - but we did tell people they would be informed as soon as possible. Hence we are most pleased to be able to start our archaeological series with three items which we think will do just that. Dr. Barry sets the historical context in which the gate towers existed; Mr. Moore, the archaeologist in charge, presents his analysis and interpretation; Mr. Tracey relates Waterford's archaeological future to that of other cities in Ireland and the U.K.. We would hope that more will follow !

Finally, Professor Woodman introduces a different aspect of local archaeology - stone age settlement. He and his team from U.C.C. have been most generous with their time and expertise in introducing members of the O.W.S. to that most enjoyable of archaeological exercises, fieldwalking. The preliminary results of his perambulations have already filled in huge blanks in the county's pre-history. As his article makes clear, much more is to follow !







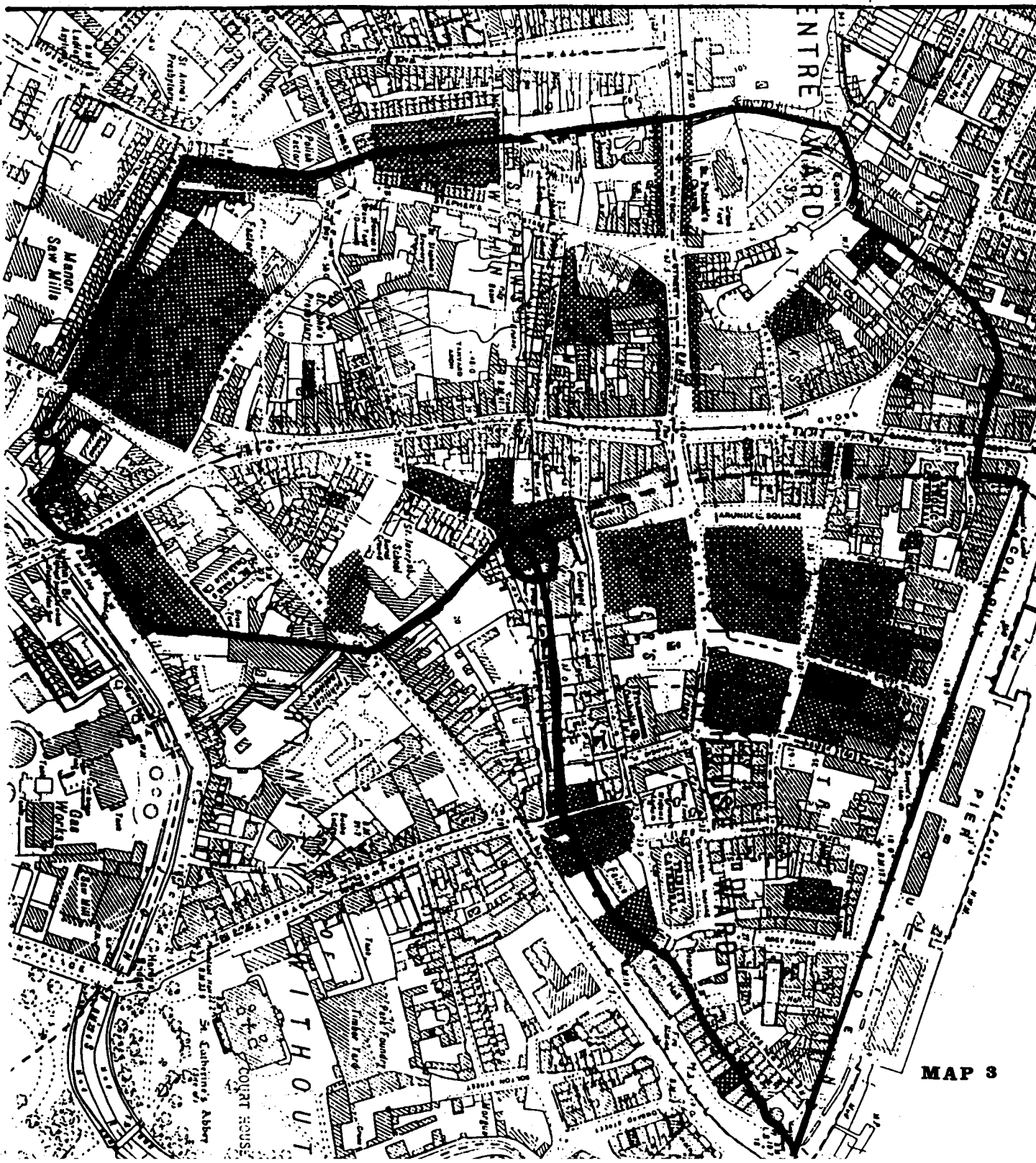
W. Fraher.

CONDITION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPOSITS WITHIN THE WALLS 1982

(TO ACCOMPANY ARTICLE ON PAGES 62 TO 72)

ing area at centre of map shows position of gate towers near junction of Viking defences and Norman extension.

-  Excavated
-  Archaeologically Destroyed
-  // Under Threat
-  Relatively Safe (Short Term)



MAP 3

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF WATERFORD:I : The Archaeological Potential of Waterford

by T. B. Barry.

Historical Introduction

As is the case with the other major Viking ports on the east coast of Ireland, such as Dublin, Wexford and Cork; the exact origins of the port of Waterford is obscured by the lack of contemporary documents. There was no such doubt in the mind of one of the earlier historians of the city, Ryland, when he wrote confidently of the settlement being founded in 853 A.D. by one "Sitiracus", a Norwegian.¹ This Sitric (to give him his proper Norse name) is a very shadowy historical figure so that it would be very difficult for modern scholars to securely attribute the foundation of the city to him. Perhaps a more secure historical date would be the year 914 A.D. when we learn from the Fragmentary Annals of Ireland:

"A great fleet of Norwegians landed at Port Láirge,
and they plundered Northern Osraige and brought great
spoils and many cows and livestock to their ships."²

This foundation date of either 914 or 915 A.D. is also accepted by scholars such as Duignan,³ and from the Old Norse name given to the settlement, meaning "weather haven", we derive the modern English name of the city.

It is impossible to accurately gauge the size and importance of this Norse port by reference to historical sources alone because of their lack of quantitative details. But the city's strategic importance can be seen in 1137 when Dermot McMurrrough of Leinster, supported by Norse allies from Dublin and Wexford (two of Waterford's main commercial competitors) blockaded Waterford by both land and sea, and forced the city to overthrow its allegiance to Munster in favour of himself.⁴ But it must be stressed that the city itself was never captured by Dermot and his supporters.

With the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in 1169-70 we possess another historical source on the importance of Waterford. Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald de Barry), the principle authority on the Anglo-Norman invasion, described an attack by the citizens of Waterford and their Irish allies on the fort of Raymond Le Gros, one of the Anglo-Norman leaders, at "Dundunnolf" in south Co. Wexford in 1169.⁵ Giraldus numbers this force at 3,000, which is probably an exaggeration as is common among medieval writers of this period. Nevertheless, it does indicate that the contingent from the city was very sizeable which, in turn, suggests that Waterford city in the 12th century must have been a large settlement to have spared such a force of fighting men. It is in Giraldus's description of the battle that we first learn that the city had walls around it - urbis muralibus - probably constructed of stone, as the citizens crossed the R. Suir to the east of them to attack the Normans in Co. Wexford.⁶ Later on in his account Giraldus emphasised the importance of Waterford by talking about the "noble city".⁷ The existence of pre-Norman city walls is also revealed in a later passage of Giraldus's book in his famous account of the capture of Waterford on 25th August 1170 by Raymond Le Gros and Strongbow. The strength of these walls is attested in that it took the Anglo-Normans three assaults to capture the city. In the end, the only way they could force an entry into it was by knocking down the wooden prop supporting a house which overhung the "town wall", thus creating a breach in the perimeter defences.⁸

As can be seen in the Corporation's map of the city walls the triangular-shaped area, of about 8 hectares in area, bounded to the west by Turgesius's Tower (probably under the A. I. B. building on Barronstrand Street), to the east by Reginald's Tower, and now on the south by Saint Martin's Tower (recently uncovered by the excavation at Spring Garden Alley - see below), was probably the original Scandinavian extent of the city. This was obviously re-fortified by the Normans as a matter of priority when they occupied the city to avoid it being re-captured from them in turn. It must be remembered that there were very few Anglo-Normans in the initial invasion force, and they were in the midst of a very hostile environment until they had consolidated their conquest later on in the century.

During the reign of John in the early 13th century the walls were extended both southwards and westwards as the city grew in size and economic importance. This large extension to the walls of the city was paid for by regular murage grants to the burgesses of Waterford by the Crown throughout the 13th century. The first recorded grant dates to 1224 when Henry III allowed the burgesses to raise a custom on a large range of goods including wine, honey, timber, hides, skins, furs, wool and cloth.⁹ These must have been among the principal trading commodities of the medieval port.

But nowhere is the commercial importance of Waterford more apparent than in the surviving customs returns on wool products from 1275 to 1333. A study of these reveal that Waterford and New Ross paid over half of this custom on the wool staple, a fair indication of their dominance of Ireland's international trade at that time.¹⁰ Waterford was also well placed as an entrepôt, and in 1300 we learn that the major part of 3,000 hogsheads of wine was re-exported through the city from English-controlled Anjou to the armies of Edward I in Scotland.¹¹

The city was also presented with a series of Royal charters throughout the Middle Ages, the earliest being the one granted in 1215 by King John which gave liberties and free customs to the burgesses similar to those enjoyed by the burgesses of Dublin.¹² The existence of such a series of charters is indicative of the importance of the royal borough of Waterford to the Crown. An eminent English historian, E.M. Carus-Wilson, has also emphasised the economic power of the port when she wrote of the "extensive quay of half a mile (where) no less than sixty vessels could anchor."¹³ And, finally, Professor Lydon has drawn my attention to a 16th century map of the British Isles which shows only the four most important cities of these islands - London (the capital of England), Oxford (the University capital), Edinburgh (the capital of Scotland), and Waterford.¹⁴

Archaeological Potential

As can be seen above, the surviving historical sources confirm the political and economic importance of Waterford to the Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages. But it is to archaeology that we need to turn for information about the lay-out of the streets, houses and trading concerns of the city, in order to secure some idea of the everyday life of its inhabitants. To show how this can be done it is valuable to summarise the archaeological excavations that have been carried out in Dublin since 1961.

Even here where there has been the most sustained series of excavation in the State it is salutary to remember that only about 10% of the area of the medieval walled city has been investigated. The excavations were only undertaken as a response to various re-development schemes in the inner city area and were, therefore, not part of a planned programme or urban archaeology. Thus the excavations have not revealed either the exact location of the original Viking longphort or investigated the growth of the suburbs in the Later Middle Ages.

What the excavations did reveal, however, was the great economic importance of the city and port of Dublin from the 10th to the 13th centuries. Because the archaeological horizons were often water-logged many artefacts and structures were preserved which would otherwise have been destroyed. Thus the foundations of many stave-built as well as post and wattle houses, wooden pathways, fences and wood-lined pits of the Hiberno-Norse and early Medieval period were revealed by the archaeologists of the National Museum. The pottery sherds and other small finds located during the excavations conclusively revealed the thriving trading links between Dublin, W. Britain, E. France and the rest of N.W. Europe in this period.¹⁵

Perhaps the site which had most immediate interest as an indicator of Waterford's potential was Wallace's excavation at Wood Quay, in Dublin, the large area to the immediate north of Christchurch Cathedral. Here Wallace proved archaeologically that the stone city wall which crosses the site in an east-west direction was probably erected around 1100 A.D., 69 years before the Anglo-Norman invasion.¹⁶ This date bears out Giraldus's description of the capture of Dublin in 1170 where, as at Waterford, he mentions the existence of defensive walls.¹⁷ Wallace also located two earlier defensive earthen banks to the south of the wall, and to the east of them a sequence of 10th to 11th century wooden houses of wattle and daub, and stave construction. Finally, he was able to precisely date the construction of the successive medieval wooden quays into the R. Liffey which gave their name to the area. This was accomplished by the use of dendrochronological (tree ring) dating. Surely, an excavation somewhere along Waterford's impressive quays might reveal the same rich deposits and structures?

Thus an excavation can reveal the lay-out of a city - its houses, workshops and pathways. It can also reveal evidence of the trades which dominated certain areas of a city, such as the bone-comb makers, the metal workers and the tanners of Dublin. The names of these crafts or industries are also sometimes preserved in the street names which survive to the present day, such as Winetavern Street in Dublin!

The Archaeology of Waterford

Medieval Waterford would also have possessed its specialist trades, probably concentrated in different areas of the city. Indeed, one artefact found during the recent excavation at Spring Garden Alley - a medieval bone comb with dot and circle decorations and fine metal teeth - might possibly have been made in the city. Waste antler tines, the raw material for these combs, were also found on the site.

Waterford should be investigated archaeologically as soon as possible, before its centre is re-developed on a large scale. Excavations in the city would also be crucially important to the advancement of scholarship in urban archaeology. The structures and artefacts unearthed in Dublin would then be seen in their true Irish perspective. It is all too easy to over-estimate their true importance when they are the only substantial archaeological evidence for urban life in medieval Ireland.

As there are several cleared sites within the Viking core of the city it was a difficult task to initially decide which one would be the most archaeologically rewarding. However, the sites on either side of Bishop's Palace on the Mall offered great potential. This was especially the case with the larger one, to the south-west of the Palace, which had been cleared to the base of its cellars. Here there was a good possibility that the medieval horizons of the city would be found immediately below this level. The fact that the Mall area had been a water course until the post-medieval period would also have aided the survival of organic and leather artefacts. Thus an excavation would have been able to test the depth of archaeological deposits, might have even located medieval structures within the wall, and possibly dated the construction of the city wall at that point to see whether it, too, had a pre-Norman

origin. Eventually the sum of £10,000 was forthcoming from the O.P.W. for an excavation, but the site had, by then, been filled in mainly for safety reasons, as it had lain open for some time with an unprotected drop of up to 17'. But, as can be seen below, the excavations at Spring Garden Alley from late 1982 to early 1983 have fully justified my hopes for the archaeological potential of Waterford city.

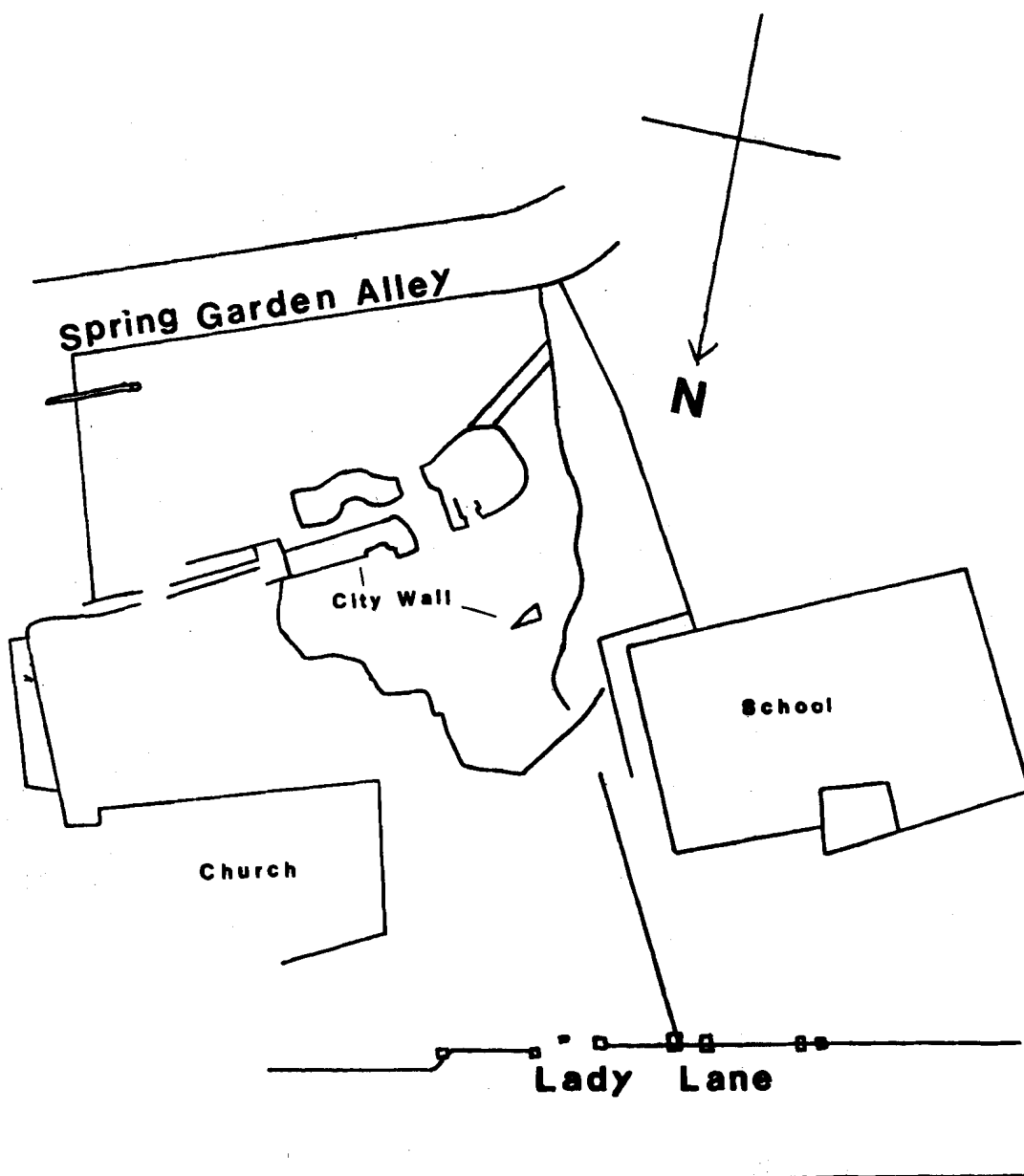
The City has also one of the most complete lengths of medieval walks and towers, along with Athenry and Youghal, in the country. The Corporation, with its limited resources, has been able to remove some of the later buildings which encroach on the wall, as well as to embark on a modest programme of repairs. But I am sure that either the Council of Europe, or a U.S. Foundation, could be successfully approached to finance a much more comprehensive programme of repair and presentation of these important walls to the public. Also, some of the fine medieval church-remains, such as the French Church, would well repay further conservation works by the Office of Public Works to help restore some of the former glory to what Professor Lydon called "the second city of Ireland" in the Middle Ages.¹⁸ Perhaps it is not too much to hope that in the 20th century Waterford could be the first city in Ireland for the protection and conservation of its rich archaeological and historical heritage. This would be especially important now that one of the city's medieval gateways and the foundations of one of its first houses (?) have both recently been uncovered at Spring Garden Alley.

FOOTNOTES:

1. R. H. Ryland, The History, Topography and Antiquities of the City of Waterford (1824), p.109
2. J. N. Radner (ed.), Fragmentary Annals of Ireland (1978), p.181.
3. Lord Killanin and M. V. Duignan, The Shell Guide to Ireland (1967), p. 454.
4. Ibid., p. 454.
5. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (eds.) Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis (1978), pp.57-59.
6. Ibid., p. 57. 7. Ibid., p.59. 8. Ibid., p. 67.
9. H. S. Sweetman (ed.), Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, Vol. I (1875), p. 177.
10. B. J. Graham, "The Towns of Medieval Ireland", in R.A. Butlin (ed.), The Development of the Irish Town (1977), p.39.

11. G.H.Orpen,Ireland under the Normans,Vol.IV (1920),pp.275-6.
12. E. McEneaney, "Waterford and New Ross trade competition, c.1300", Decies 12 (1979), p.16 .
13. E.M. Carus-Wilson,Medieval Merchant Venturers,(1967),p.14
14. J.F.Lydon,"The City of Waterford in the Later Middle Ages", Decies 12 ,(1979),p.5 .
15. P.F.Wallace,"Anglo Norman Dublin:Continuity and Change", in D.O'Corrain (ed.), Irish Antiquity (1981),pp.254-258.
16. P.F.Wallace,"Recent Discoveries at Wood Quay",Bulletin of the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement,5 (1978),p.24.
17. Scott and Martin,op.cit.,pp.67-69.
18. Lydon,op.cit., p.5.

CITY WALLS AND GATEWAY AT SITE OF ST.MARTIN'S CASTLE



SITE MAP

by Michael Moore to accompany article pages 50-61 following.

CITY WALLS AND GATEWAY AT SITE OF ST.MARTIN'S CASTLE

by Michael Moore.

INTRODUCTION:

The "site of St. Martin's Castle " has been marked on the Ordinance Survey maps of Waterford but until 1979 St. Martin's Orphanage, attached to the Convent of the Sisters of Charity, occupied the site and obscured its earlier history. Even while the orphanage existed there were visible indications that the remains of an earlier stone building stood intact on the site. Egan¹ records that the buttresses of two towers were visible beneath the walls of the laundry in 1894 and Power confirms this fifty years later.²

We have to examine earlier seventeenth and eighteenth century maps of this part of the city to elucidate further evidence of the appearance of St. Martin's Castle. Although the earliest map of Waterford is that of Francis Jobson in 1591³ it is merely a stylized sketch although bearing some reference to reality in that it shows a wall running from the site of St. Martin's Castle to Turgesius' Tower as well as other details such as the market cross which stood in Michael St. . We have to wait until the late seventeenth century before we have maps with the degree of proportional accuracy which allows us to recognise individual features of the urban landscape.

In relation to the site of St. Martin's Castle the evidence of the maps is at first rather contradictory. The Ryland map ,the original of which does not survive, but which purports to date from 1673 shows a large building called the Green Tower on this site. The Green Tower is probably so called from the garden adjoining it inside the town wall. (Both garden and term "Green Tower" were still in use up to the 1820's.⁴)

Philips, who made a map specifically of the defences of the city in 1685; does not show the gate or any building but shows an L-shaped sleeve or double wall at the junction of the Danish and Anglo-Norman walls. Goubet, whose map was produced between 1690 and 1704 does show two towers projecting from the line of the wall while the Norman wall by-passed the west tower and headed directly to a tower on the north side of Lady Lane. There is a short connecting wall between the west tower and the Anglo-Norman wall.

Richards and Scale's map of 1764 shows the Danish wall terminating in a large building with two roughly rounded projections to the south and two square projections to the north. This provides our first map reference to "St. Martin's Castle". Leahy's map of 1839 shows St. Martin's Castle as a large building with two definite semi circular projections to the south and two more to the north.

These are the principal maps referring to the area and since the large building with four towers does not make its appearance before Richards and Scale's map of 1764 we can assume an early to mid eighteenth century date for this building. Even though Philips certainly, and Goubet possibly, were military cartographers,

concerned only with recording the defences of the city, it is unlikely that they would overlook a large building straddling the defences, had it been there. Goubet, having gone to the trouble of recording the two towers would certainly have added the rest of the building. Philips, finding the gateway blocked up, could be forgiven for ignoring it as a feature of the defences.

The name St. Martin's Castle is first applied by Richards and Scalé to the large building when it first appears but the remains of the gateway had acquired this appellation prior to this date since the minutes of the Corporation⁵ refer to a lease of St. Martin's tower in 1674 and again in 1693. Likewise, an indenture of 1712 refers to "ye tower, commonly called St. Martin's Tower". However the name is a misnomer since the edifice was never anything but a gateway and it is possible that the eastern tower had become delapidated to such an extent that only the western tower was a useable building by the seventeenth century. "Castle" and "Tower" are both inapplicable to the remains on the site and are corruptions which crept in before the seventeenth century - but we are still left with "St. Martin". This is a name which must have survived from earlier centuries and it may be that the gateway which was cut through the city walls at this point was called St. Martin's.

In view of all the documentary and cartographic evidence which is available, it was with some degree of anxiety that concerned people in Waterford in December 1982 watched clearance work begin in preparation for the building of a school for the moderately handicapped on the site. At a meeting on the site on the twentieth of December, the writer was employed by the Office of Public Works to record any feature of archaeological interest revealed. At that stage the outline of the two towers was clearly visible beneath the remains of the orphanage. Ultimately the Corporation was persuaded by strong representations from the Old Waterford Society and other local bodies to halt the work on the school and the monument is no longer threatened.

THE SITE:

The site is located in a very crucial area since the original Viking and later Anglo-Norman towns with their defences meet here. Both parts of the town were defended with stone walls but all these, including those around the Viking town, could be ascribed to the Anglo-Normans. The evidence of Geraldus Cambrensis is open to various interpretations and only an archaeological investigation of the walls can resolve the centuries old question about the Viking defences of Waterford.

Briefly the site can be described as an irregular area measuring roughly 50m. north to south and 40m. east to west, at its maximum (map, p.49). It lies between Lady Lane and Spring Garden Alley. Close to Spring Garden Alley the city wall coming from the direction of Reginald's Tower runs on to the site and, from a point beneath a later gateway, turns northwards towards Turgesius' Tower. There is no indication of the walls surrounding the Anglo-Norman town

which approach the site from the south on the other side of Spring Garden Alley.

The monument is a complex one representing many phases of construction. Some of these are fairly recent but still of interest. Because it wasn't possible to examine the associated stratigraphy I can only date three phases of construction relative to each other and positive dates can only be given for some phases. I must emphasise that these dates are relative and we can only postulate about the length of time which elapsed between the completion of one phase and the commencement of another. At least three phases can be identified and these are, the construction of the city wall, the construction of the gateway through the city wall and the re-construction of the eastern tower of the gateway above with the incorporation of all these earlier features into a later building.

THE CITY WALL:

The line of the city wall from Reginald's Tower up towards St. Martin's Castle is well known. Indeed a stretch of the city wall was known to be standing on the site just adjacent to the east tower of the gateway, between it and the concrete steps. This stretch is still surmounted by modern masonry associated with the orphanage. The work conducted by mechanical excavator on the site in December 1982 and January 1983 afforded an opportunity to examine the back of this wall for its full exposed length.

The length of the surviving city wall is 9.30m. and for most of this length it is 1.80m. wide. Its height varies from 40cm. to 1.60m. The varied height is not entirely due to the survival of the wall but to the fact that the wall was not built all on the same level. At its eastern end it has been cut very neatly into the natural yellow boulder clay to a depth of 40cm; rising to rest directly on this soil. 8.50m. from its east end there is a construction break in the wall and from there on the wall was built on a deposit of loamy clay some 70cm. deep. The wall is also narrower from this point on, the back of it being recessed some 50cm. This is of considerable importance when we come to consider the western end of the wall.

At its eastern end the wall has been cut very neatly into the natural clay, so neatly that no cutting for a trench could be noticed. This trench would have been cut with perfectly straight sides and the stones of the wall just pushed in against the sides of it. Since the trench was cut so neatly into the boulder clay, we cannot determine if it was cut merely into this clay or whether it was cut through the archaeological deposits above. Since the wall to the west of the construction joint was built on 70cm. of deposit its quite likely that the rest of the wall was cut through this deposit but what this deposit contained we will never know now.

The quality of the stonework at the back of the wall is rather variable (Pl.1). At the east end the stones are quite large and regular with average dimensions of 30cm.x15cm., though smaller stones are present. As it approaches the construction joint the walling becomes more irregular. The stones are smaller with average dimensions of 5cm.x10cm. and they do not present a fresh surface, rather as if they were never exposed either to view or weather erosion.

PLATE 1. View of the city wall from the north showing the later wall built over it (centre) with the overhang in the city wall below it.



PLATE 2. View of the city wall from the north showing the construction joint and the narrower city wall (built on a clay deposit) truncated by the return wall of the east tower.

PLATE 3. View of the city wall from the south showing construction joint, original footing and rebuilding at base of wall to right of picture. In the left foreground is a wall of St. Martin's Castle, incorporating the rebuilt east tower. In the near foreground is part of the raft of oak on which this wall was built.



Some 2m. from its eastern end and three courses from its base the stones begin to curve outwards to the north, overhanging the lower courses. This curve reaches a maximum overhang of 30cm. and gradually returns again. It is difficult to place an interpretation on this curve. One suggestion might be that the wall has become displaced since it was built and this might have been caused by the construction of a later wall which runs from the eastern tower of the gateway, northwards over the city wall at a point exactly in the centre of the bulge. A more likely interpretation is that the wall was re-built from this level upwards and more than one stage of re-building might be represented since only a few courses bulge in this manner. The wall then returns to the vertical although it does still slightly overhang the lower part of the wall at its eastern end.

Beyond the vertical join the wall continued for at least 7.20m. but we only have indications of the wall here because when the gateway was built the wall was in places totally removed and masonry associated with the gateway almost entirely obscures what remains of it. The best indication of the wall is seen beneath the faced wall of the west side of the entry where a piece of the ragged remains of the city wall can be seen disappearing beneath the west tower of the gateway. (Pl.2) Here the wall is 1.30m. wide, the same width as it has west of the vertical joint.

From a point beneath the west tower the wall turned northwards but unfortunately, the orphanage which had a mortared stone wall with deep foundations running east to west just north of the city wall and the west tower has totally removed all trace of the town wall here. One small section of it remained 7m. north of the west tower. This section was just 1m. long and 2.20m. wide. This piece of the wall was dismantled by hand: the charcoal and ash layers beneath it were likewise dug but neither the wall nor the layers produced any dateable finds.

The south-facing or exterior of the city wall presents quite a contrast to the back of the wall. (Pl.3) It has a batter and the stones are longer, more regular and well-placed. The stones are around 30cm. x 10cm. but some stones can be as big as 75cm. x 30cm. This face is as composite as the back of the wall. Beginning from the west where it emerges from beneath the west tower it is totally absent for 4.60m. where the gap of the gateway and the return wall of the east tower have destroyed it. The surviving face is 7.80m. long and the first 4.60m. of this was built on a footing which projects up to 10cm. out from the wall proper. At a point where the wall of the later eighteenth century building was built over the city wall this footing disappears and merges into the wall further east. Beyond this same point the wall has been re-faced at a fairly recent date and even the area beneath the original base of the wall was exposed for the first time since this part of the wall, as well as the very top of the wall here contains some red brick.

This re-building and re-facing took place during the third period of construction, probably in the eighteenth century. It is difficult to know what is the original wall here and perhaps none of it is. Certainly the lower portion is modern but above that the wall could be an older re-facing. It is unlikely that it is original since the footing has disappeared. Two of the stones in this area are of old red sandstone and it is worth recording that at the back of the wall there are only three old red sandstone

stones and these are at the top of the wall which I have postulated may be a re-building. The use of old red sandstone is a prominent feature of the gateway and it may be that the top of the city wall was re-built then and that it was re-faced outside at the same time.

About 50cm. from the western end of the surviving wall on the south face there is a vertical construction joint. This is barely 70cm. west of the breach in the back of the city wall and it is unusual to find construction joints at the front and back of the wall placed so close together. To the west of this joint the wall has been slightly re-aligned, running a little further south than the rest of the wall but keeping it in line for its disappearance under the western tower of the gateway. It must be recorded that there are four old red sandstone stones around this construction joint and this seems to run counter to what I have postulated about the use of old red sandstone. These stones may have been specially selected for the joint and in any case these stones are so rare in the city wall that they do not alter its character which is largely determined by shale and limestone stones. The core consists of these stones mixed with sand with a little mortar through it. This makes a very durable core. The back of the city wall, allowing for over-hang is vertical while the front of the city wall has a batter everywhere.

THE GATEWAY:

The gateway, consisting of two towers conjoined at the front by a threshold wall, was conceived of and built as a unit. Although the character of the two towers is quite different this is due to the almost complete re-building of the east tower in connection with the third phase of construction when it was re-faced and the top of it re-built. The top of the west tower may have been re-built at this time but we have no evidence of this. What remains of the west tower is entirely original.

The city wall, as we have seen, is a composite monument with one or two phases of re-building. The wall as it appeared in the thirteenth century had been built in three sections of varying width and it was through the narrowest part of this wall that a gateway, defended by two towers, was cut. To do this a gap was cut in the wall and the walls on either side of this gap must have been considerably lowered.

The foundations of the towers were cut at least 1.40m. deeper than those of the city wall and this maximum depth was cut at points furthest removed from the city wall. It is possible that these foundations were shallower as the masonry of the towers approached the wall itself. This was the case where the west tower returned towards the north-bound city wall, though we cannot determine if this was the case in the east tower because of later re-building.

In the east tower, where the masonry is 1.40 deeper than that of the city walls, the core is merely the natural boulder clay. This is an important point in that it demonstrates that the original city wall did not have a ditch or moat immediately outside it.

Despite the fact that the foundations of the east tower were cut into the boulder clay, the builders felt it necessary to lay a raft of timbers beneath the masonry and these can be seen protruding from beneath it (Pl.4). These are re-used oak timbers and may have

been in use elsewhere for hundreds of years before being placed under the tower so they cannot help us to date the construction of the tower. Their deposition beneath an almost entirely re-built tower must raise the question of whether this raft was laid with the original tower or with the re-building phase. There is no evidence that the west tower was ever built on such a raft.

The west tower is roughly circular in plan with one flat side forming the side of the entry. The north side is also flat and this might not be entirely due to the orphanage wall which was just north of it. There are no faced stones along the north edge and the faced wall approaching from the west has a straight sloping edge 1m. high. This edge might be where the tower masonry was built over a pre-existing city wall. From the line of the few pieces of north-bound city wall left on the site, the city wall should have emerged from the north side of the west tower just where the faced wall of that tower ends.

It is impossible to distinguish anything which might be the city wall in the rugged masonry which is protruding from the core of the tower. If the city wall emerged from beneath the tower here it must have been of the narrower (1.30m.) width and not the 2.20m. width (which it achieves as it runs northwards) since if it were of the greater width it would obscure the northern entrance to the west tower. Alternatively the wall would have to be altered and re-built above the level of the entrance to the tower. This would not be a great problem since the wall had probably been lowered at this point for the building of the gateway.

We have no evidence that the north-bound city wall was maintained as a defence after the erection of the gateway and the Anglo-Norman walls surrounding the expanded city. However I would submit that the wall was maintained because a gap in the medieval defences would otherwise occur at this point since the walls which were built around the expanded city are not directly linked up with the earlier city walls.

The west tower survives to a maximum of 1.60m. above the present ground surface although as much again survives beneath it. The facing stones can be quite large averaging about 40cm.x20cm. but there are quite a number of smaller slate stones. It is noticeable that the larger stones are set together as if different people worked on it on different days or different sources were available at different times. About half of the larger stones are of old red sandstone and this is in marked contrast to the material of the city wall.

The top of the tower gives us an indication of what the superstructure would have been like (Pl.5). There is an ill-defined hollow there which is partly due to some later walls which dug their foundations into the core of the tower. Along the north and east side of the tower, however, there are walls which rise to a maximum of 55 cm. above the core. There is an entry from the north, 1.15m. wide through these and the eastern wall broadens from the entry, where it is 80cm. wide, to 1m. at the point where it fades into the core of the tower. These walls form a chamber in the tower and the thickening of the east wall was an attempt to make the chamber circular, although contained in a D shaped tower.

PLATE 4. West side of the entry, showing the portcullis niche and the original city wall disappearing beneath the west tower.

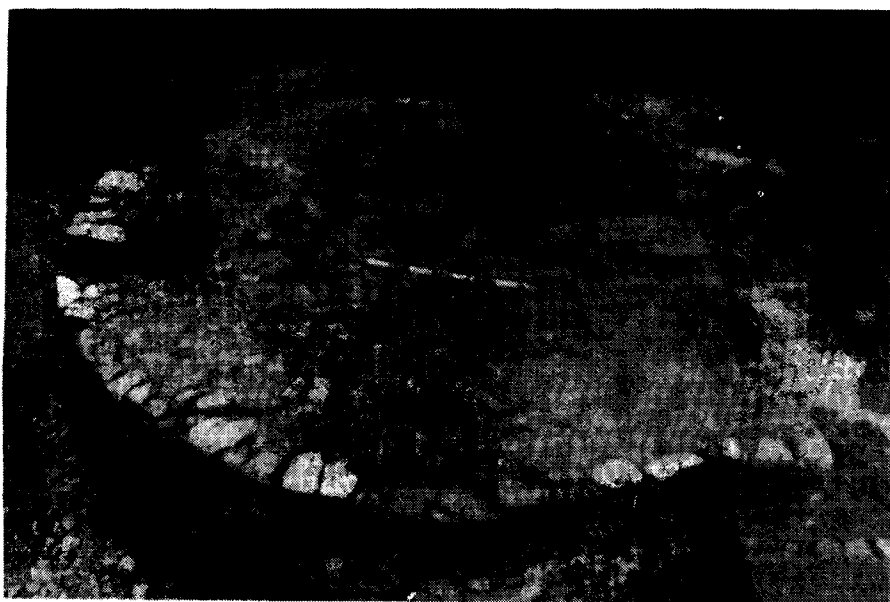


PLATE 5. The west tower from the south, showing the entrance from the north and the collapse in the south-west.



PLATE 6. View of the east tower and city wall from the south showing construction join and footing of city wall as well as the bonding of the east tower with threshold and trigger walls.

Against these walls and blocking the entry there was a sealed deposit of compact organic clay with sand which accumulated when the tower was in use and contained a collection of medieval pottery sherds including Chester and Bristol wares as well as French and local wares. The finds, which included the rim and spout of a jug which had probably been made in the Bristol area, can securely date the early use of the tower to the thirteenth century.

In the South-west quadrant of this tower a breach occurred and some of the core collapsed. This breach was never repaired. Instead it was allowed to fill up with a loamy clay and the finds from this deposit demonstrate that the collapse occurred in the seventeenth century. The finds included shards of a Belarmine jug from Germany; gravel-tempered ware of the same date; fragments of clay pipe stems and two brandy bottles. Both bottles are of roughly the same size, squat, with diameters of 14cm. to 16cm. and one of them has a complete neck with a ring and a full height of 15cm. Both are made from a thick green or brown-tinted glass in which air bubbles can be seen. Both bottles have dimpled bases.

The west tower is connected to the east tower by what I will call a threshold wall since the top of this wall is the threshold of the gateway. (Pl.6) 60cm. of this wall survives above the present ground surface and its foundations go as deep as do those of the west tower. This wall is 3.70m. long and is firmly bonded to the west tower. Above the threshold two trigger, or projecting, walls were built from each tower into the gateway. That on the west side of the gateway survives to height of 80cm. and is an intrinsic part of the west tower.

The purpose of these trigger-walls is to restrict access to the gateway and to square-off the circular form of the towers so that the entry has straight sides. The entry is in two parts: The outer part is 2.40m. wide and 2.26m. long and has provision for a portcullis close to its centre. (Pl.4) This is in the form of a niche in the wall, 15cm. square which would hold firm the frame of the portcullis, lowered from the superstructure in times of distress. Unfortunately this feature survives only on the west side. Beyond the portcullis the entry widens out to a width of 3m.

The original entry would probably have been roughly paved but this survives only close to the threshold wall where it had been preserved by a later masonry wall which was used to block up the entrance. The entrance sloped upwards from the threshold by 60cm. as can be seen by examining the base of the faced wall of the entry.

The east tower is not in as complete a condition as the west tower and practically all of what is visible today is a re-building. Its foundations are as deep as those of the west tower and its original core is the same as that of the west tower, a jumble of stones mixed with sand and mortar over natural clay. This tower was built against and over the city wall. This is demonstrated by the fact that the outer face of the City Wall was preserved by the core of the tower which was built against it.

The coursing of this tower is more irregular than that of the west tower. There is the same combination of larger stones, up to 50cm. by 20cm., many of them of old red sandstone and smaller slate stones averaging 10cm. by 5cm. In addition: the entire face of this wall was plastered in a very hard mortar which is still clinging to it and gives it a white appearance.

The tower survives to a height of 1.60m. and most of what is now visible is re-built. This can be seen by examining the core where the mortared material can be seen lying on top of material bonded with sand and a little mortar.

The east tower has a greater batter than the west tower, particularly at its west side. The batter does not necessarily indicate different periods for the towers just perhaps different topography of the ground beneath. The bonding of the east tower with the trigger and threshold walls of the gateway is not as well done as that on the west side of the gateway. Indeed, it might be said that they were'nt bonded at all but closer examination shows that stones from the trigger and threshold walls are interlocked with stones from the tower although it appears as if the trigger wall was built on to the tower.

A further portion of the east tower remains in the northern part of its return wall which cuts off the city wall. (Pl.6) This wall is built over the remains of the city wall but its northern end would have been built on the same deposits as the city wall itself. This was judged insufficient to support the weight of the tower and a wall was built beneath this northern extremity of the east tower. The rest of the tower did not project so far northwards and must have used the city wall as foundation and indeed above the height of the surviving city wall the two would have been built as a unit.

The projecting return wall of the east tower indicates that the entrance to the chamber of the tower was from the north close to this wall, as is the case in the west tower. The doorway used the remains of the city wall, which here is recessed, as a doorstep. The back or north side of the wider city wall was used as the back of the tower but the threshold provided by the recessed city wall was too wide for their purposes - 1.60m. - so they had to narrow it by continuing the back of the wider city wall past the back of the recessed city wall, effectively hiding it and allowing an entrance only 85cm. wide into the town itself.

ST. MARTIN'S CASTLE :

This is the third stage in the surviving monument and is represented in the re-faced east tower, in the facing of the base of the city wall, in the blocking of the gateway and in the mortared stone wall which runs northward from the east side of the east tower, over and into the city wall.

It is impossible to say when the gateway went into disuse but, probably early in the eighteenth century, it was decided to incorporate the remains of the gate towers into a habitable building. The east tower was in such a dilapidated condition that it had to be re-faced and the top of the core consolidated with a mass of mortared stone, 1m. of which still survives,

Three beams, which have since decayed leaving moulded channels, were laid in this core. Two of them protruded through the re-faced tower, although they were probably cut off flush with the wall. The most westerly beam stopped short of the face and this refutes the theory that these channels were putlocks or scaffolding holes. Putlocks are holes left in faced walls so that beams can be fixed in them temporarily to support scaffolding whenever repairs were

needed. The patlock theory is further refuted by the length of them - up to 1.70m. - and the fact that the central channel radiates from dimensions of 12cm. by 9cm. on the outside to a maximum of 12cm. x 20cm. on the inside.

Bonded to the re-faced east tower was a mortared stone wall containing red brick which ran northwards and was partially cut into and built over the original city wall. This wall which was 75cm. thick had a footing or foundation which went almost as deep as the foundation courses of the east tower. The foundations of this tower are much deeper than those of the original city wall so to prevent the latter from collapsing it had to be rebuilt beneath its original base and red brick present in this facing of what is certainly natural clay, testifies to its recent date. (See Pl. 3)

This wall encountered the same difficulties of swampy ground which the original tower met with and the builders solved the problem in the same way with a raft of two oak timbers under the corner of the foundations. These timbers were still fresh, and, probably cut for the purpose, so that dendrochronology should provide us with an accurate date for this construction phase.

Timbers were also included in the masonry of the wall and one of these was extracted. It is a re-used oak beam, 1.90m. long and 20cm. square with several mortices cut in it to accept tennons from other beams and was once part of a very complex timber construction of an earlier date than that of the building in which it was incorporated. Another timber was exposed in the foundation but could not be extracted.

Perhaps at this period the gateway itself was blocked up with a mortared stone wall 1.10m. thick, positioned over the threshold wall. Although this wall was removed by hand nothing was found to confirm this date. This building is undoubtedly the St. Martin's Castle referred to in the maps from 1764 on. All trace of its northern towers, which were probably built in similar dimensions to the gate towers, has been obliterated by the orphanage which was built on the site after 1839 and the more recent work of the mechanical excavator.

At this point I should mention a feature which is probably earlier than the building of St. Martin's Castle and which is no longer visible on the site. This is a mortared stone wall, surviving to a height of over 1m. running in a tangent from the most southerly point of the west tower in a south-west direction, disappearing off the site at a point where the west boundary of the site meets Spring Garden Alley. This wall is made of cut old red sandstone blocks and is 1m. wide. I interpret it as a late piece of city wall, possibly erected in the seventeenth century, bridging a gap between St. Martin's tower and the Anglo-Norman walls which approach the site from the south on the far side of Spring Garden Alley.

To the north of this wall black silt built up in a channel which ran northwards off the site underneath the school. This channel or ditch would have run parallel to the city wall and was bordered on its east edge by a line of posts driven into the silt. The finds from the small portion of this ditch which was excavated ranged in date from the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries.

One would expect that a ditch or moat would have run past the gateway with either a ramp or, more likely, a wooden bridge providing access to the city. Indeed Goubet's map shows such a water-filled ditch running from the St. John's river, outside the Anglo-Norman wall, past the gateway down as far as Colbeck gate but no trace of such a feature was found, though it must be stressed that no cutting was opened in the area immediately south of the gateway and those trenches which were opened were to explore the masonry of the trenches and not to explore the possibility of a moat which would have been dug deeper than those foundations.

There are several questions which this account of the monument raises and indeed fails to answer. Chief among these is that of the absolute date of the city and its phases of construction. The fact that the walls follow the known boundaries of the Viking town should not prejudice us into thinking that the Vikings built it since the Anglo-Normans could have undertaken the fortification of the city prior to the thirteenth century expansion which was also defended with walls. A careful comparison of the masonry wall with that of comparable monuments may yet throw light on this question. All we can say at the moment is that the wall was in existence prior to the building of the gateway which was certainly in use in the thirteenth century.

Another question which this description raises is how the Anglo-Norman walls surrounding the western part of the city were linked with the earlier defences. Could it be that the ditch, already noted as running parallel to the north-bound city wall, was contemporary with it and proved impossible to back fill and build over or was judged sufficient defence and the Anglo-Norman wall stopped at a point adjacent to the gateway or perhaps followed the ditch as far as Lady Gate? This gap must have been a weak spot in the city's defences but it was not until a later date that this gap was closed.

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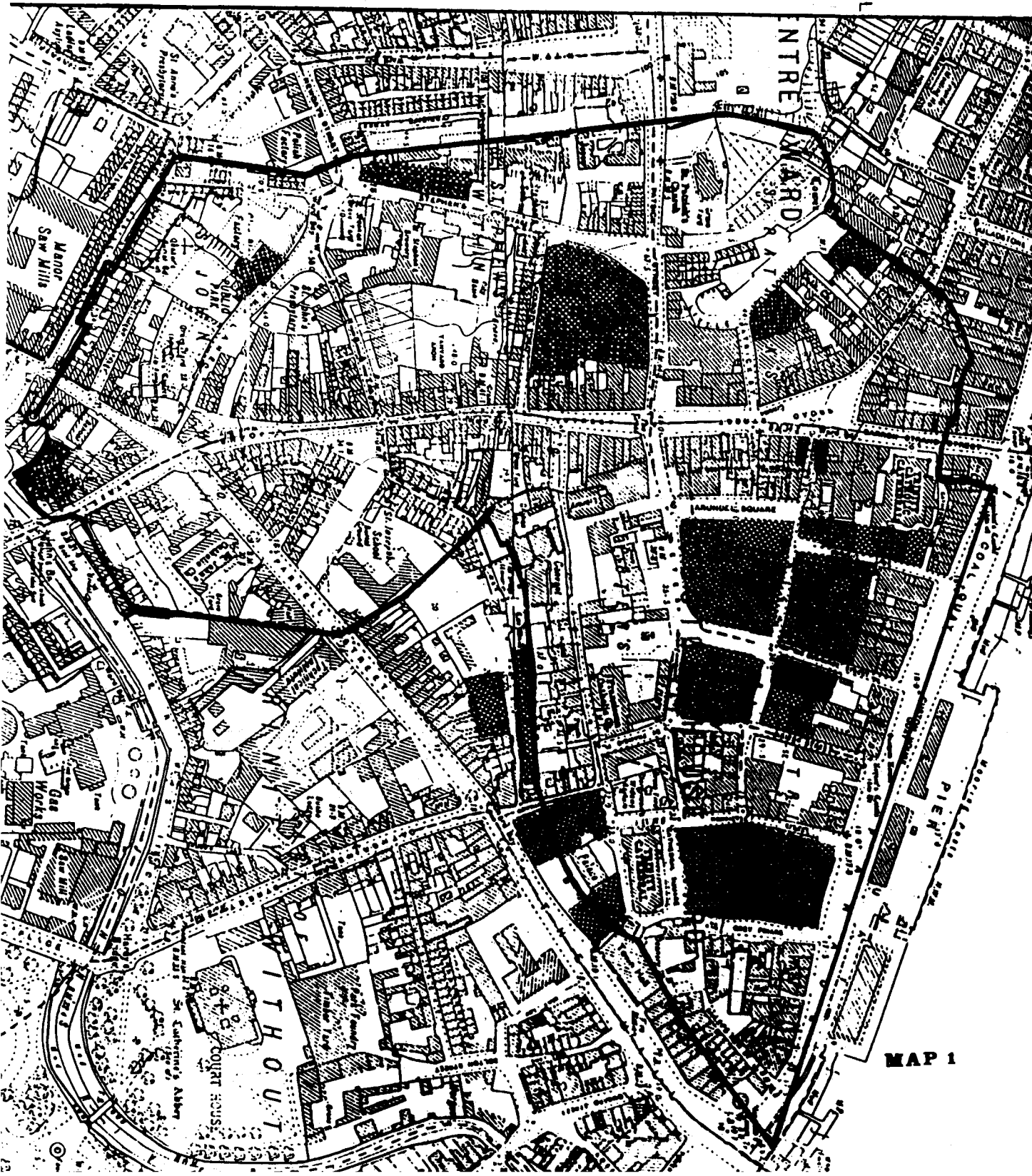
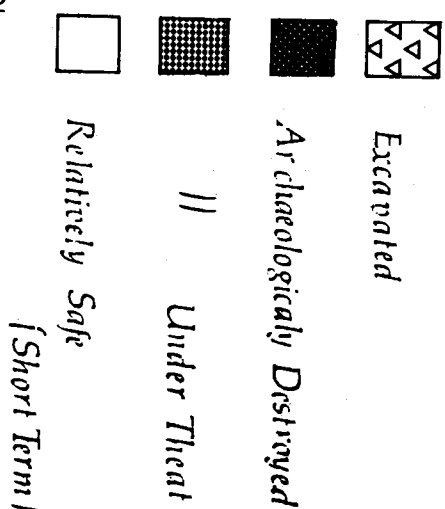
1. Egan, P.M. History, Guide and Directory of County and City of Waterford. Kilkenny. 1894, p.518-19, 534.
2. Power, Canon P., The Town Walls of Waterford. J.R.S.A.I., LXXIII (1943) p.124 - '25.
3. Photo reproductions of all the maps referred to in this paper can be viewed in the Waterford Room of the Municipal Library in Lady Lane.
4. Shown in Waterford Corporation lease, No.333, map surveyed Feb.1821. Copy in Municipal Library.
5. Pender, S. (ed.), Council Books of the Corporation of Waterford, 1662-1700 together with nine documents of 1580-82. I.M.S. 1964, No.1020, p.142; No.2095, p.340.
6. Waterford Corporation lease, No.386, dated 16th Dec. 1712. Copy in Municipal Library.

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Waterford

CONDITION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL
DEPOSITS WITHIN THE WALLS

1976



III. A Planning Consideration in Urban Development :

WATERFORD CITY - A CASE STUDY.

by Ciaran M. Tracey

Preface & Introduction.

This paper was originally presented at a one-day seminar entitled "Problems of Urban Development" which was hosted by the Lord Mayor, Mr. Alexis Fitzgerald, T.D. in the Mansion House, Dublin, on May 17, 1982. The seminar was organised by the Archaeology Department, University College, Dublin. The recent happenings at the site of St. Martin's Castle, Waterford City, have altered the survey findings which are outlined in this paper. It is interesting to note, however, that at the time of preparing the paper the site was identified as being Archaeologically under threat, and that the terms of the permission to develop the site were also cited. The paper was introduced with a brief historical resumé of Waterford City, which has been omitted in this published version as the readership of Decies would be more familiar with Waterford's history than the audience to whom the paper was originally delivered.

The quantity and quality of archaeological deposits in the area of Waterford City must be quite significant. Waterford City has more of its Viking and Norman walls still standing than any other city in the Republic. It is also thought, given the historical background of the city, that the material remains within the city may be more exciting and rewarding than that already uncovered in the Dublin excavations.

The State of Archaeological Deposits:- WATERFORD 1976.

The condition of Archaeological deposits within the walls of the city are illustrated in Map No.1. In this paper, I have concentrated on the area defined by the line of the city walls. The purpose of doing so was to enable comparison with work already done on the same subject within a number of walled towns and cities in the country. Confining attention to the already historically defined area enabled me to carry out a limited exercise in assessing the state of archaeological deposits and any development threat without first having to define the extent of the area in which archaeological deposits may be found e.g. Medieval Sub-urbs.

As can be seen from Map. No.1, by 1976, no archaeological excavations had been carried out. Three sites have been identified as having been destroyed. These are (a) the Northern corner site on the junction of Broad Street, and Blackfriars Street, (b) the Southern corner site on the same junction and (c) a site at Exchange Street.

These sites were identified through the following process - (1) Examination of the Register Maps in the Planning Dept. This examination disclosed 371 applications with the walled area since the commencement of the 1963 Local Government (Planning and Development) Act. (2) Examination of the Register itself disclosed the nature of the proposed development. Of those applications pre-dating 1.1.1976, seventeen were for construction works. (3) On examination of the full drawings and details of these proposals the three sites were identified as having development proposals with significantly deep foundations or basements.

The areas which are designated for 1976 as being "under threat" were identified as the obsolete and re-development areas as defined in the City Development Plan.

Therefore, in 1976, the condition of Archaeological deposits, within the 20.5 hectares of the City walls, based on this limited survey, fell into the following breakdown of categories.

a)	Archaeologically Excavated	0.0%.
b)	Archaeologically Destroyed	0.4%.
c)	Archaeologically Under Threat	13.92%.

State of Archaeological Deposits in Selected Cities 1976.

How did the above figures for Waterford compare with other cities with historic cores within Ireland? For comparison purposes Dublin, Galway, Cork and Drogheda are selected to give a good example of various sized cities and walled historic cores.





DUBLIN.

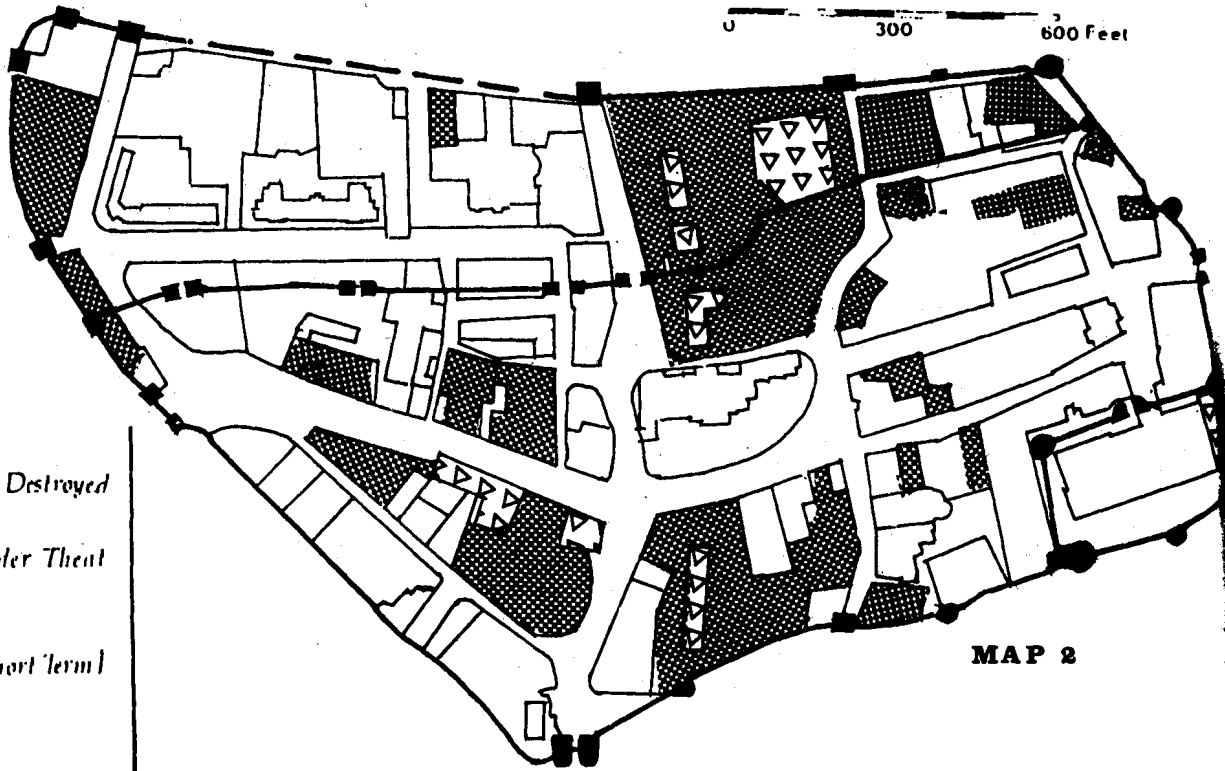
In 1976, I carried out a similar if somewhat deeper survey of the state of the deposits within the line of the old Dublin City walls. The findings of this survey are shown on Map.3.(p.42). The survey showed that 0.98 hectares or 5.5% of the area within the walls had been archaeologically excavated. No areas had

Dublin

CONDITION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPOSITS WITHIN THE WALLS

1976





-  Excavated
-  Archaeologically Destroyed
-  // Under Threat
-  Relatively Safe (Short term)

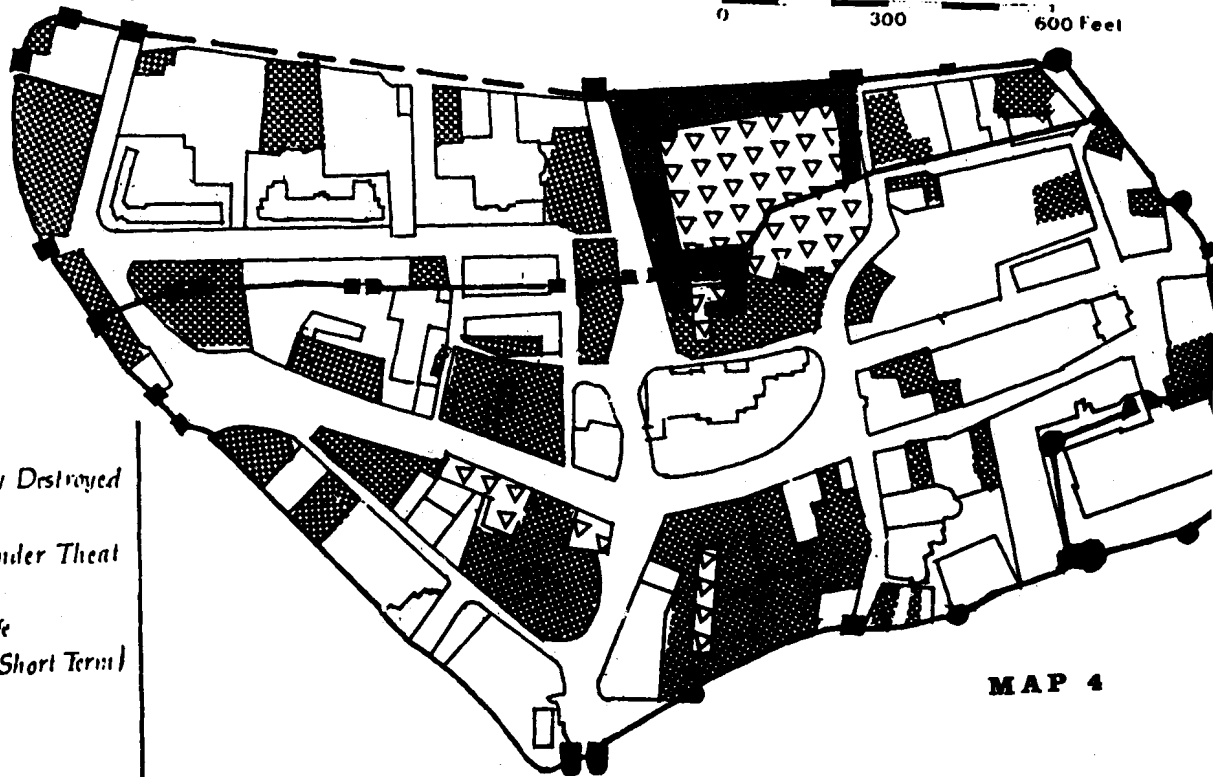


Dublin

CONDITION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPOSITS WITHIN THE WALLS

1980

-  Excavated
-  Archaeologically Destroyed
-  // Under Threat
-  Relatively Safe (Short Term)



been archaeologically destroyed since the introduction of the 1963 Planning Act, as New development in the area at the time had been very limited and not of a scale that would significantly disturb the archaeological remains. Based on re-development proposals however, 2.7ha. or 13.92% of the area was under threat. (see Table 2). The areas falling into each category are illustrated in Map. No.2.

CORK, GALWAY and DROGHEDA.

Sketch surveys of the above cities and medieval town were also carried out by myself in 1976. Table No.1 outlines the findings of these surveys.

TABLE 1.

AREAS IN HECTAIRS.

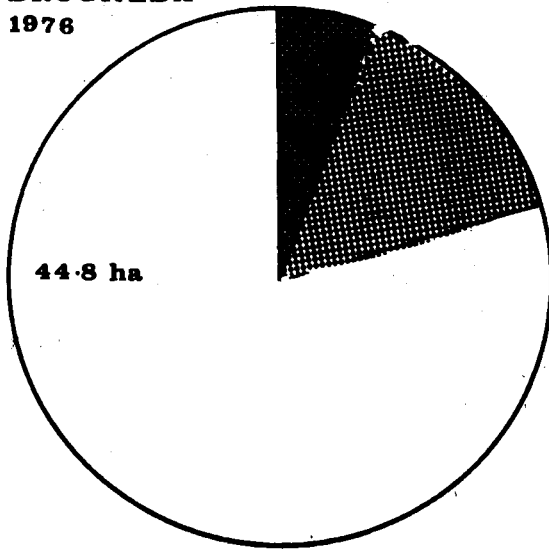
	TOTAL AREA	ARCHAEOLOG. DESTROYED.	THREATENED.	REMAINDER.
Drogheda	44.81	2.75 (6.14%).	6.625 (14.78%)	35.435 (79.08%)
Galway	10.22	1.03 (10.39%).	3.5 (34.42%)	6.66 (55.19%)
Cork	12.58	0.93 (7.45%).	1.28 (10.18%)	10.37 (82.37%)
TOTALS	67.61	4.75 (7.00%)	11.41 (16.88%)	51.45 (86.12%)
Dunbarton	24.00	6.72 (28.00%).	4.00 (16.60%)	13.28 (55.40%)

N.B. % in brackets are % of "Total Areas".)

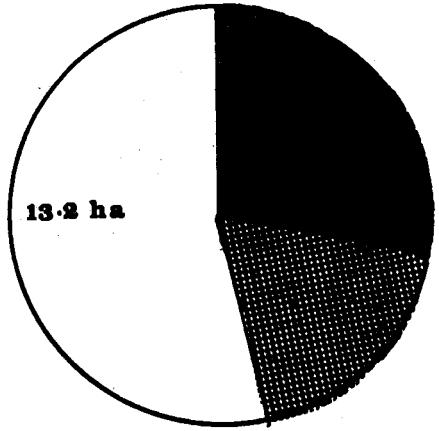
This table does not detail the extent of excavated areas as, in the case of these centres, only Cork had had excavation and these were limited to two small areas (2+3).

From the details outlined in the above, Galway would appear to be subject to greatest threat. This may, however, be accounted for by the fact that it has the smallest walled area of the cities selected and also that its commercial centre lies within this area. Therefore, the generation of new development within a busy commercial core is reflected in the figures returned. The commercial centre of Cork does not currently lie within the previously walled area. Dublin also falls into the same category as Cork with its medieval core lying to the west of the present Central Business District. Waterford city, however, is not in this position and might therefore have been expected to be subjected to a similar level of threat to its remains as Galway. This, however, does not appear to have happened.

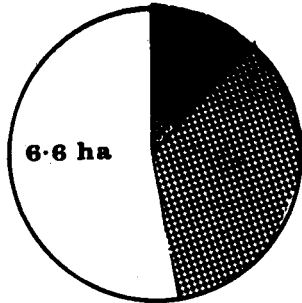
DROGHEDA
1976



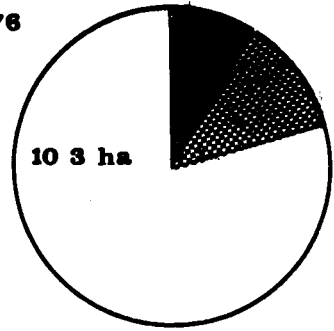
DUNBARTON
1972



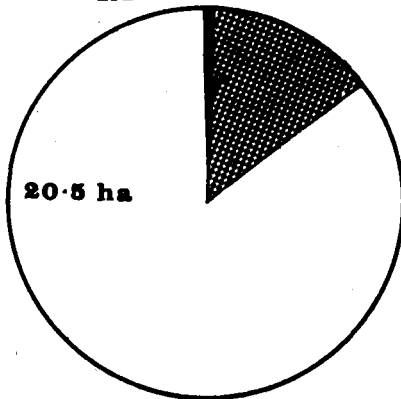
GALWAY
1976



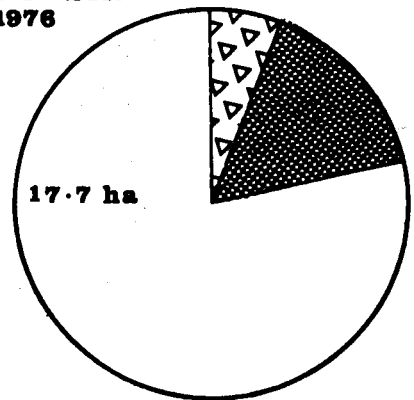
CORK
1976



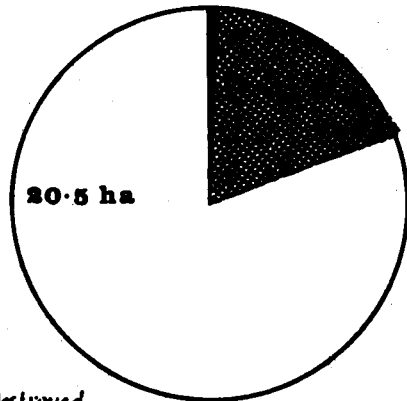
WATERFORD
1976



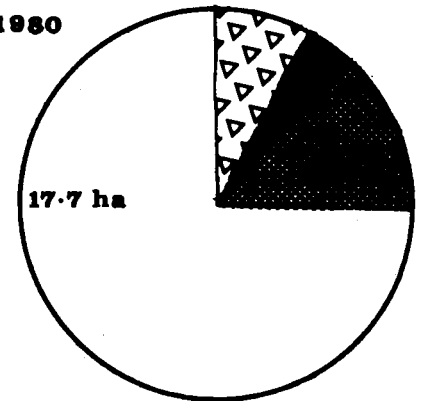
DUBLIN
1976



1982



1980



Excavated



Archaeologically Destroyed



Under Threat



Relatively Safe
(Short term)

DUNBARTON - Overseas Comparison.

The Scottish Medieval Burgh of Dunbarton (4) has been included in Table No.1. While Dunbarton is, to some extent, an extreme example, it does illustrate how, due to the absence in Ireland of post-war redevelopment of the type experienced in Britain, Irish cities have relatively large areas of undisturbed archaeological remains. For comparison purposes the findings of these surveys are illustrated in the pie charts.

State Of Archaeological Deposits - WATERFORD 1982.

The current state of affairs is shown on Map. No.3. (page 42). This survey shows that there have been no new developments which have destroyed archaeological deposits. This was determined by examining those 26 selected files which post dated 1.1.1976. Those proposals which have destruction potential have not yet commenced. No new areas of archaeological destruction therefore have been registered on this map.

The areas which are classified as being under threat have, however, changed. The overall area threatened has increased from 13.92% to 18.74% of the total area under study (see Table 2).

These changes are due to the classification of new redevelopment areas in the current City Development Plan.⁽⁵⁾ Also included in this classification are the preliminary results of a derelict sites survey carried out by Waterford Corporation. One can see, therefore, that the level of threat has increased as efforts, through the Statutory Development Plan, to encourage re-development are more vigorously pursued by the Planning Authority.

Having reviewed the state of archaeological deposits in Waterford City, it is clear that while little has been destroyed, there are large tracts of land within the city walls under threat. It is not within the scope of this study to determine the destruction of or threat to archaeological remains outside the city walls where such remains obviously exist (medieval suburbs etc.) This would need to be the subject of further investigation.

TABLE 2.

DUBLIN

	'76		'80	
	AREA	O/O	AREA	O/O
EXCAVATED	0.98	5.5	1.06	6.9
DESTROYED	0.0	--	0.56	3.2
THREATENED	2.7	15.18	2.55	14.38
SAFE	15.07	79.32	13.6	75.52

W'FORD

	'76		'82	
	AREA	O/O	AREA	O/O
EXCAVATED	0.0	--	--	--
DESTROYED	0.08	0.04	0.08	0.04
THREATENED	2.85	13.92	3.84	18.74
SAFE	17.57	86.04	16.58	81.82

State of Archaeological Deposits - DUBLIN 1980.

The condition of deposits shown on Map. No.4 are taken from the results of a survey carried out by Thaddeus C. Breen.⁽⁶⁾ The published format of these results was readily adaptable to the survey technique already described and used by myself. What is clearly shown here is that the rate of destruction of archaeological remains within the city walls has rapidly increased between 1976 and 1980. While the area under threat, as a percentage of total area is still approximately 15%.

ANALYSIS.

The underlying trend as shown would appear to be that within city areas, a designated re-development rate of about 15% of the walled areas are in need of or subject to objectives for re-development. A need to devise a scheme which would allow for the re-development to take place without destroying the remains, is evident and should be investigated.

Planning Authorities' Experience.

The formal statement of development objectives lies in the written statement of the City Development Plan. The statement on Conservation and Amenity includes references to items of Archaeological and Historical value. The city's buildings of Viking, Norman and Medieval origin, which still exist, are listed for preservation. The last paragraph of Section 7 of the Development Plan states:-

- 7.13 Opportunities for urban archaeological excavations will be encouraged by the Planning Authority on sites in or close to the former Viking and Norman walled city; whether on public or private property. Care will be taken when demolishing derelict buildings in such areas to allow for site investigation archaeologists, historians or by Corporation Officials.

This clearly indicates the Corporations' willingness to facilitate the recovery of Archaeological deposits within their functional area. The Corporation has also been involved in a number of projects which also show a healthy interest in the archaeological heritage of the city:-

(a) In 1976, the Corporation produced a wall chart entitled "City Walls of Waterford". This poster is still available from the Corporation.

(b) In February, 1979, the Corporation invited the Office of Public Works, National Monuments Branch, to supervise the clearance of debris from within the Double Tower. No archaeological artifacts were uncovered during this clearance but there is an indication that, at this location, current ground level may be 8 ft. or more over ground level when the tower was originally built.

(c) It was hoped to have a site at the Bishop's Palace excavated. This is Corporation property. This excavation has not gone ahead as financial backing for the archaeologist involved has not materialised.

(d) Since the inclusion of Clause 7.13 in the City Development Plan a condition relating to archaeological deposits and their protection has been attached to one permission. This permission related to the development of class rooms at a school adjoining the line of the Viking City Walls. This condition reads as follows:-

CONDITION.

Care should be taken when demolishing the old school building and in subsequent excavations so as not to damage or destroy and Archaeological remains and to permit excavation of the site by the Planning Authority.

REASON.

The old school is on the remains of St. Martin's Castle - a Medieval Anglo-Tower on the old City Walls.

In order to adequately preserve and scientifically recover the Archaeological remains which lie under the streets of Waterford, a full knowledge of what lies there, as well as the level of threat to these, would need to be gained. In order to gain this knowledge the following would need to be carried out:-

(a) A full archaeological and historical survey of the condition and extent of the existing deposits. The methodology of this survey would need to be highly refined and far more comprehensive than the sketch surveys outlined already in this paper. The methodology used in the "rescue" study of London entitled "London - a future for our past"⁽⁷⁾ is readily adaptable to Irish conditions. This study includes a large number of overlays showing the level of knowledge (existing at the time of publication) on the different periods in the development of London.

(b) Trial excavations should be carried out in selected locations in order to determine the depths of archaeological strata within the city area.

(c) A survey of all existing buildings, especially pre-1963, to identify those which may have extensive basements where archaeological deposits have been disturbed or destroyed by Victorian and earlier builders.

(d) A comprehensive survey of building Age and Condition. The condition of the building, however, is probably a far better guide to it's likely re-development than the age of the building itself.

However, it is not only the Local Authority which has a role to play. The private developer also has a role. Private enterprise should be encouraged to participate in the process. The commercial benefits of facilitating and indeed supporting archaeological excavations should be highlighted. One does not necessarily need to go abroad to places like York and Chester to see good examples of this. To an extent, the commercial benefits of this have already been recognised in Waterford.

The following are three good examples of this:-

- (a) The highlighting of the sally ports within Reginald's Bar.
- (b) The very use of the name "Reginald's" for the Bar itself.
- (c) The naming of a Restaurant after the King Sigtrygg :- "Citric's Rooms".

CONCLUSION.

The archaeological remains while currently in a healthy state are increasingly coming under threat from urban re-development. A concerted campaign to increase public awareness of this rich "invisible" cultural heritage should be mounted. The use of Reginald's Tower Civic Museum for the display of finds from the suggested trial excavations would generate Civic pride and Public support, and would generate a climate in which, Planner, Archaeologist and private developer could work hand in hand in uncovering "treasures" of the past.

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- | | |
|--|---|
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| 3. O'Kelly, Prof. (Ed). | "Cork, Our Heritage". Pub. Archaeology Dept., U.C.C. May, '73. |
| 4. Council for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. | "Scotland's Medieval Burghs:- An Archaeological heritage in danger". Pub. Edinburgh, 1972. |
| 5. Waterford Corporation | Waterford City Development Plan, 1978. |
| 6. Maxwell, Nicholas (Ed). | "Digging Up Dublin:- a future for our past ?". Pub. O'Brien Press, Ltd., 1980. P. 25-30. |
| 7. Biddle M et al | The Future of London's Past. Rescue Publication No.4 London, '73. |

THE EARLY PREHISTORY OF WATERFORD

by Peter C. Woodman.

Our traditional view of the prehistory of the southern half of Ireland is that it is an area which was inhabited for the first time at a relatively late point in Ireland's prehistory. In fact it has usually been assumed that this part of the island was only occupied as the island gradually filled up with people, i.e. occupied as an afterthought. It was also assumed that any attempt to find traces of early settlement would be frustrated by two problems - lack of a contemporary shoreline and good raw materials for the manufacture of stone tools.

While we may think of an island such as Ireland as being geologically stable since the end of the ice age, there have been small but significant changes in the amount of water in the oceans and a certain degree of flexing of the island within the earth's crust. The result is that while in the northern half of the island one can find shoreline deposit of 5,000 b.c. above present day sea shores, round the southern coasts earlier shorelines are usually buried below present day sea level. We know of early peat deposits, which had to be laid down in non marine environments and are in turn now buried well below present day sea level. Therefore it has been presumed that there would be little chance of finding coastal sites where our earliest inhabitants, i.e. Mesolithic (middle stone 7,000 - 3,500 b.c.) hunter gatherers, would have lived. As these people had no domesticated animals and had no knowledge of farming, they would have relied extensively on fishing as well as hunting and so the loss of the areas along the coast where they might have spent a part of the year would have been a substantial blow to archaeologists.

Archaeologists have also been impressed by the fact that there is a vast quantity of flint in N.E. Ireland and, as this was the best raw material for manufacturing stone tools, settlement was more likely to be in the northern half of the country. Areas such as Munster, where flint was scarce, were therefore not deemed to be attractive to early settlers.

All the work of the last few years seemed to confirm this. Early evidence of both hunter gatherers and farmers (the Neolithic from 3,500 b.c.) was found in the north but recently M. Ryan of the National Museum had found a Mesolithic site at Lough Boora in County Offaly which could be as early as any in the north, while Ann Lynch now of the Office of Public Works found some indications of early agriculture in Co. Kerry.

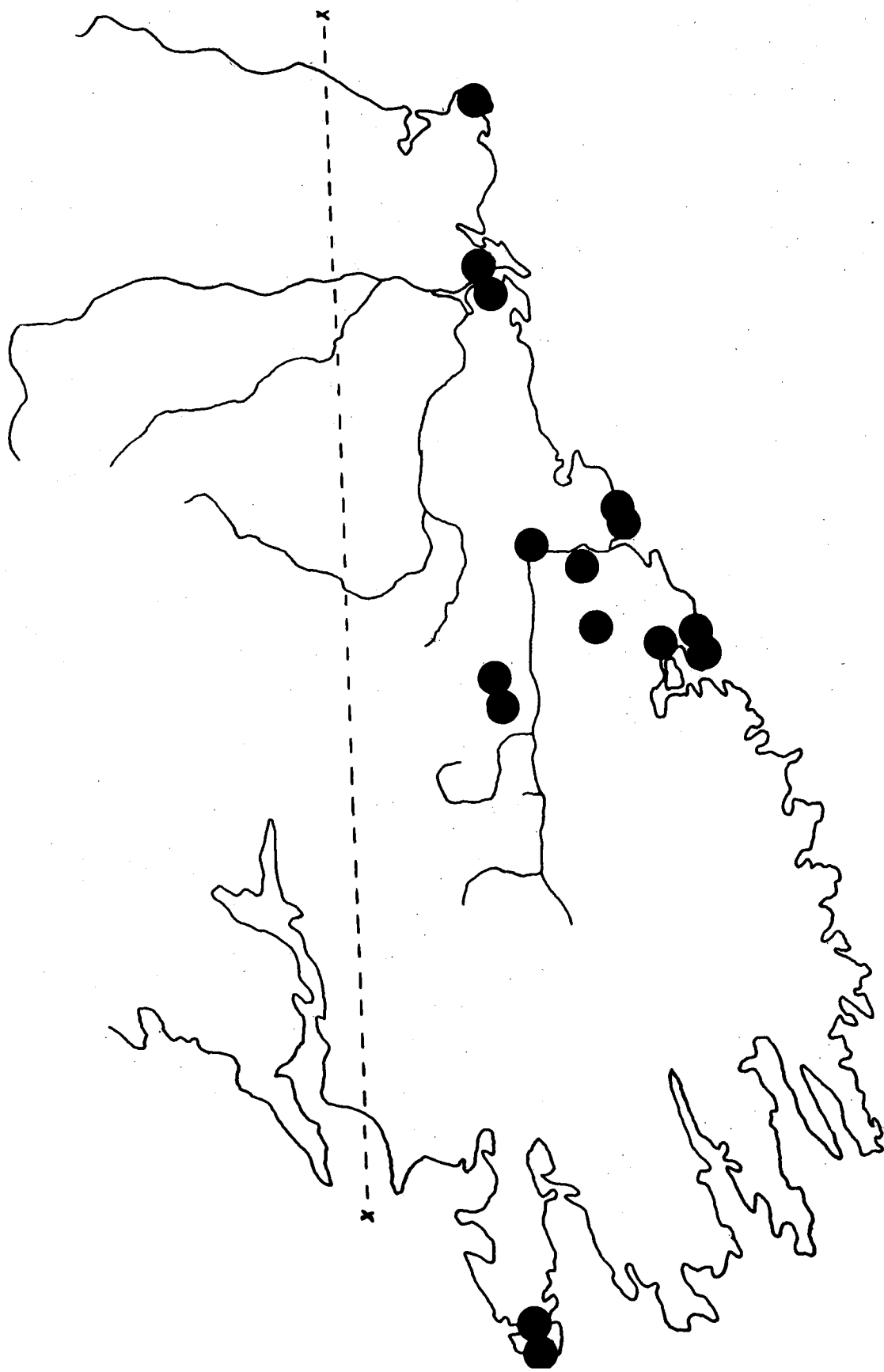
Recently I was approached by two colleagues, Prof. Stan Green of University of South Carolina and Dr. Marek Zvelebil of Sheffield University who were interested in carrying out a study on the change between hunter-gatherer and farming economies. It was therefore with some trepidation that I suggested that they might help us re-examine the whole question of when and how man arrived in the Province of Munster. My fears were based on the problems outlined above, i.e. that there may not be much evidence of occupation and what little there was could be difficult to find.

As part of a broader project, certain river valleys were selected for study. In County Waterford, these were the Blackwater and the Waterford Harbour area. The latter example and the Barony of Gaultier was suggested as an area for study by Stan Green and Marek Zvelebil. The estuaries had two particular attractions. They were each rich in fish and other resources and while variations in sea level could seriously effect the open coast, sea level change and erosion would have a lesser effect on likely areas for prehistoric settlement in a river estuary.

This left two problems - whether there was any evidence of human settlement and whether they were making tools out of raw materials which would leave something for the archaeologist. One obvious advantage of south Waterford was the presence of Megalithic tombs which suggested a Neolithic occupation but the only way of finding early sites was by field walking. This is a process of walking ploughed fields looking for the stone artefacts and characteristic industrial waste from their manufacture. On several occasions, teams from U.C.C. together with members of the Old Waterford Society went out on chilly winter Sundays.

These trips have revealed a surprising amount of evidence of stone tool manufacture in South Waterford; Fig .1 records some

FIG. 1. Locations of recently discovered stone age artefacts in south Munster and Wexford.

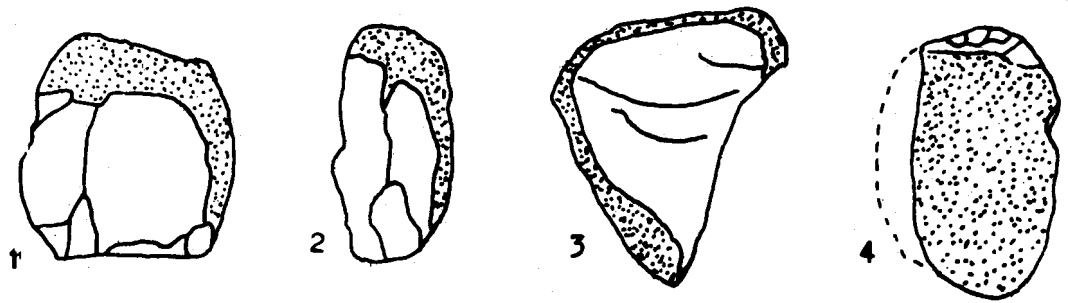


of the locations in South Munster and Wexford . No trip has so far returned empty handed. We also appear to be finding evidence of both Mesolithic and Neolithic sites. So far material has turned up on both the Waterford and Wexford side of the harbour and sites have been found on the coast as well as on the Blackwater.

Most of the sites are just small scatters of flint flakes like those Fig. 2. 1 - 6, 10, 11. These are later prehistoric as is indicated by the presence of small scalar pieces such as Fig.2.6, 11. There are a number of finds which could suggest earlier occupation. (1) Blades which have been smoothed in the sea - perhaps after being washed up from a lower buried and earlier shoreline (Fig.2. 12) (2) Backed and single edged blunted blades which are usually not found on Neolithic sites, e.g. Fig.2.13,14. (3) Large blades of Rhyolite. The latter group are rather reminiscent of later Mesolithic blades found in N.E. Ireland and these were usually found as strays away from concentrations of Neolithic or Later material. Fig.2. 7-9.

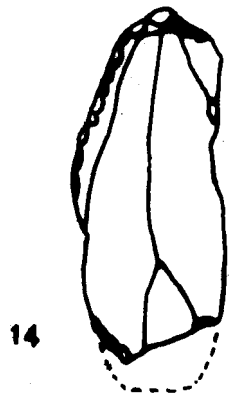
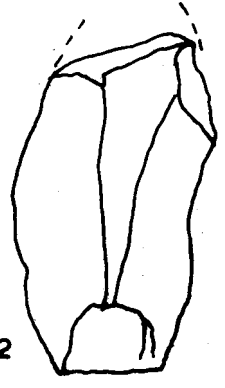
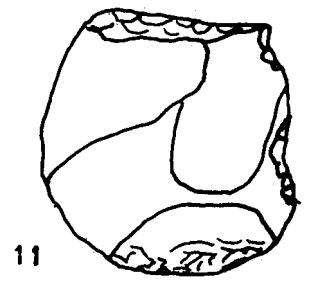
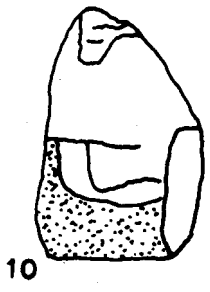
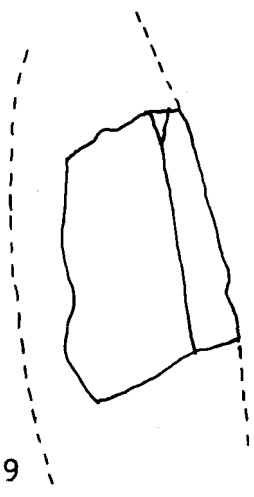
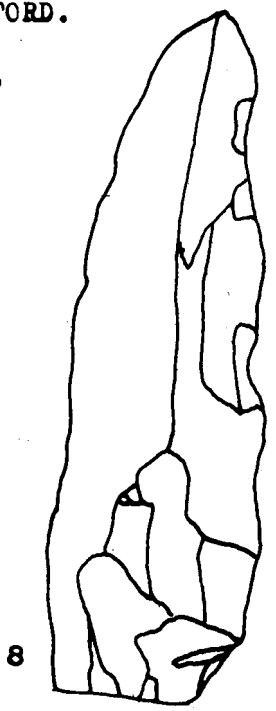
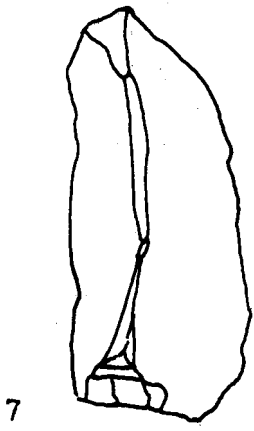
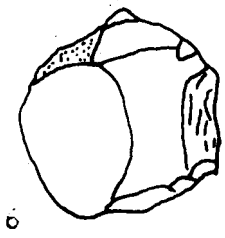
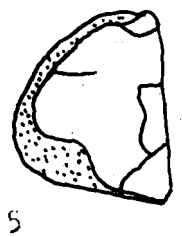
While none of these finds indicates with certainty that Mesolithic man did live in County Waterford, they suggest it very strongly. Hopefully joint field work between the Old Waterford Society and U.C.C. on the one hand, and South Carolina and Sheffield on the other, will eventually show that Waterford and other parts of the South coast of Ireland were occupied as early as the rest of Ireland.

FIGURE 2.



FLINTS RECENTLY FOUND IN WATERFORD/WEXFORD.

Nos. 1-6, 10, 11 are later prehistoric.
 Nos. 7-9 and 12-14 are earlier (some possibly mesolithic).



Old Waterford Society

PROGRAMME , June - October 1983.

- June 19th: Outing to Inistioge, led by Mr. Michael Hanrahan.
Depart City Hall 2.30 to arrive at Square, Inistioge 3.30 p.m..
- June 30th : Evening visit to Newtown School where Mr. Maurice Wigham will
speak on "Edward Jacob (1842-1924) and the Quakers". Assemble
at school, 7.30 p.m..
- July 24th: Outing to excavations at Tintern Abbey, Co. Wexford, conducted
by Dr. Anne Lynch (archaeologist)
Depart City Hall 2.30 to arrive Tintern 3.30 p.m..
- August 21st: Outing to Fiddown, Owing and Piltown conducted by
Mr. Michael O'Donnell.
Depart City Hall 2.30 to arrive at bridge, Fiddown 3.00 p.m..
- September 11th: Outing to Gallowhill and Dungarvan conducted by
Mr. Ciaran Tracey and Mr. William Fraher.
Depart City Hall 2.30 to arrive at Square, Dungarvan 3.30 p.m..
- September 23rd: Lecture in A.T.G.W.U. Hall, Keyser Street at 8.00 p.m..
"John of Slieverue" by Mr. Frank Heylin.
- October 14th: Lecture in A.T.G.W.U. Hall Keyser Street at 8.00 p.m..
"William Earl Marshall, Lord of Leinster" 1189-1219 by
Mrs. Margaret Phelan.

The public are invited to these outings and lectures and to join the Society.
Alternatively, intending members may send their £5 subscription for 1983
membership to the Hon. Treasurer:

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

Enquiries re. DECIES to :

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