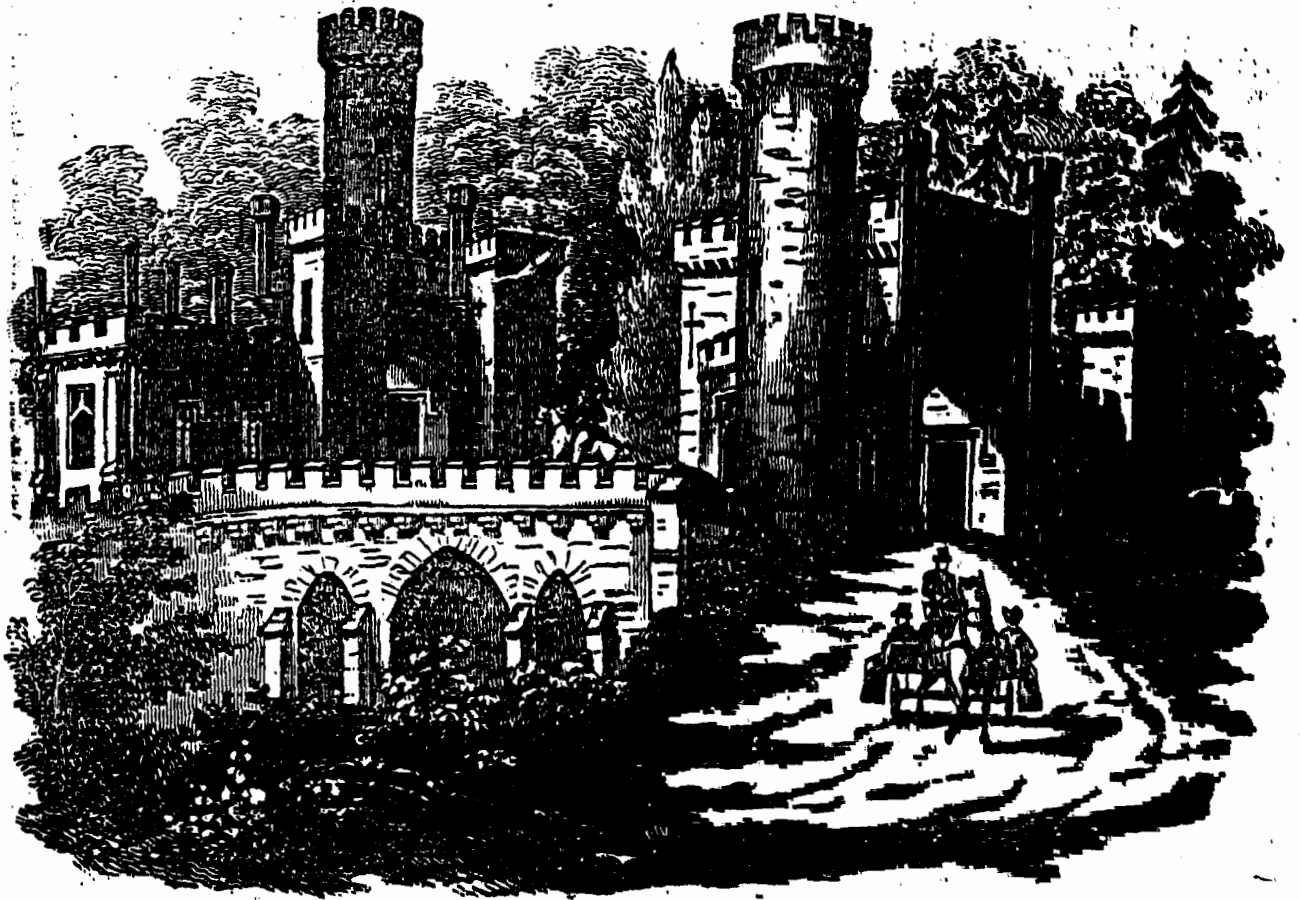


*Old Waterford Society*

# DECIES

**XXVII**

**AUTUMN 1984**



# DECIES

Number XXVII

Autumn 1984

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### COVER

Engraving of towered bridge on avenue leading to Ballysaggartmore "castle", one of the extravagances of Arthur Kiely-Ussher. First published as the title page of the Dublin Penny Journal, 13th December 1834. (see also page 4).

E D I T O R I A L

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The retirement (again!) of the present editor presents the opportunity to review (once more!) the evolution of DECIES. In January 1976 we started with a "Pilot Issue" comprising five sheets of stencilled paper stapled together. While the following issues, growing progressively bigger, acquired card covers, the craft of editorship was learned more slowly, the hard way and through mistakes. By number XIV, however, various editorial options had emerged and were outlined in the editorial of that issue. These, and a restructuring of editorship were put to the A.G.M. of the Old Waterford Society in 1980. The result was an Editorial Committee on which the previous ( and present) editor was to serve ex-officio.

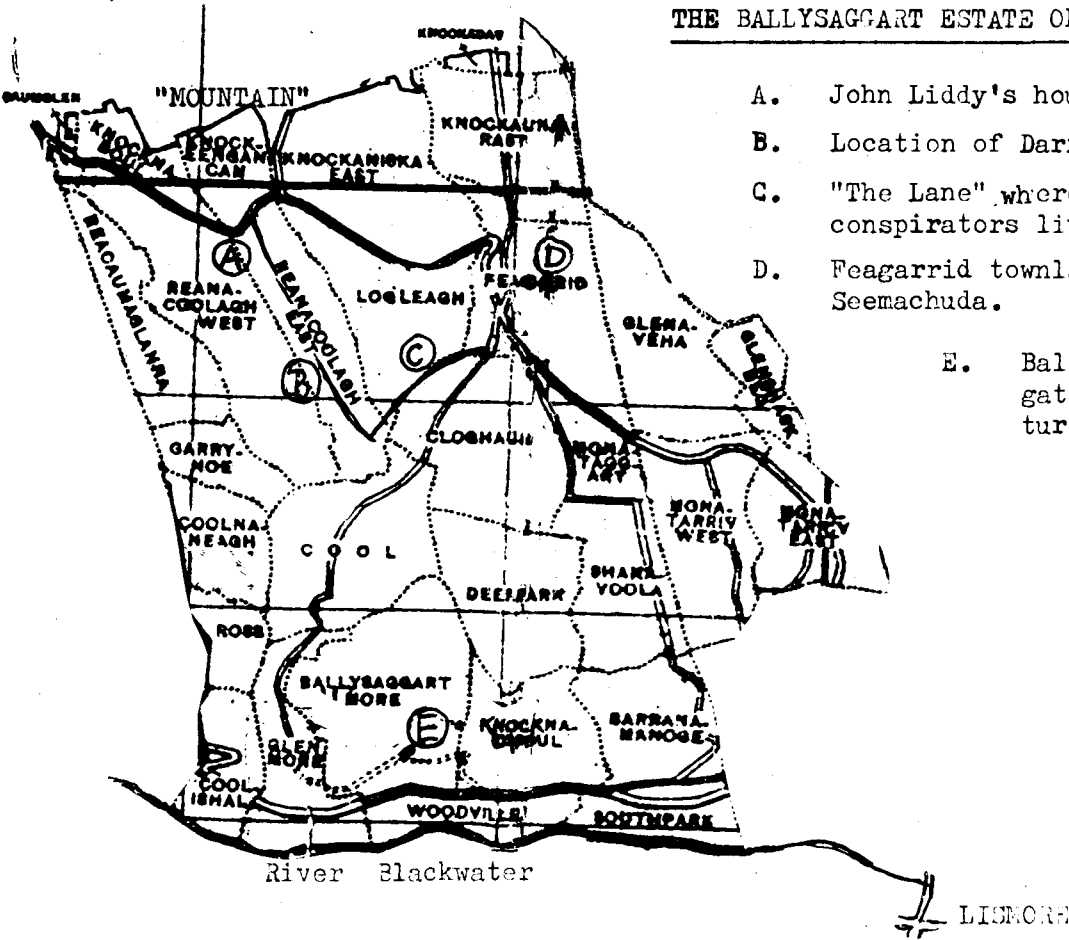
Over the following four years the members of the editorial committee took turns at editing (the previous/present editor finding himself once more doing likewise) and met from time to time to co-ordinate policy. By 1982 it had become apparent that by concentrating on academic research we were losing popular appeal. Attempts were made to rectify this by improving presentation and making more generous use of illustrations. An active policy was also pursued of promoting local researchers and of helping them to present and annotate their researches in conformity with the standards of an academic publication. The question increasingly arose, therefore, whether DECIES was being published for the benefit of active historians (i.e. those of us involved with universities in research projects) or for the greater number of people whose interest in history was more casual. Failing to reconcile the two, the Editorial Committee came up with the compromise which was outlined in DECIES XXV, Jan. 1984. This was then put to the A.G.M. in April and effectively rejected, with the Editorial Committee being asked to reconsider its proposals.

The Editorial Committee met the following week. Expressing their regret at the rejection of their recommendations, five of the seven conveyed their inability to remain actively involved. In expressing their good-will towards the future of DECIES the members drew up a memorandum, based on their editorial experience, outlining the functions which editors have been performing and suggesting a six-fold division of labour. This was conveyed in writing to the 1984/'85 Committee of the O.W.S. .

The present editor was among the resignees but to facilitate transition he offered whatever help might be required with the September '84 issue - and wound up editing it! This therefore is the end (definitely!) of an involvement with DECIES stretching over twenty seven issues. However, change is to be welcomed with the opportunities for new directions to be pursued. Yet there are regrets for the things that remain unfinished. The urgent importance of collecting that most fragile of sources, oral history, has been stressed over various issues, but to date, insufficient has been done. The question of an index must also be considered. Then there is the Survey of historical monuments, the first portion of which was published in DECIES XXIV but pressure of work, time and space has dictated continued postponement of publishing the other material collected. All such material will be passed on to the (as yet) unselected permanent editorship of future DECIES.

To our replacement(s) we of the previous issues express our best wishes. While we offer no prescriptions we reiterate the irony expressed in many editorials - i.e. that issue after issue appears without any acknowledgement or comment from the vast majority of members. Editors have therefore been working in the dark. Perhaps now that a change of editorship is taking place members of the O.W.S. may take the opportunity of making their views known about the type of publication they would like. Out of that, hopefully, a vibrant concensus policy will emerge towards a readable and relevant DECIES.

Des Cowman.



- A. John Liddy's house.
- B. Location of Darrageen Road.
- C. "The Lane" where many of the conspirators lived.
- D. Feagarrid towland includes Seemachuda.
- E. Ballysaggartmore gatehouse and turreted bridge.

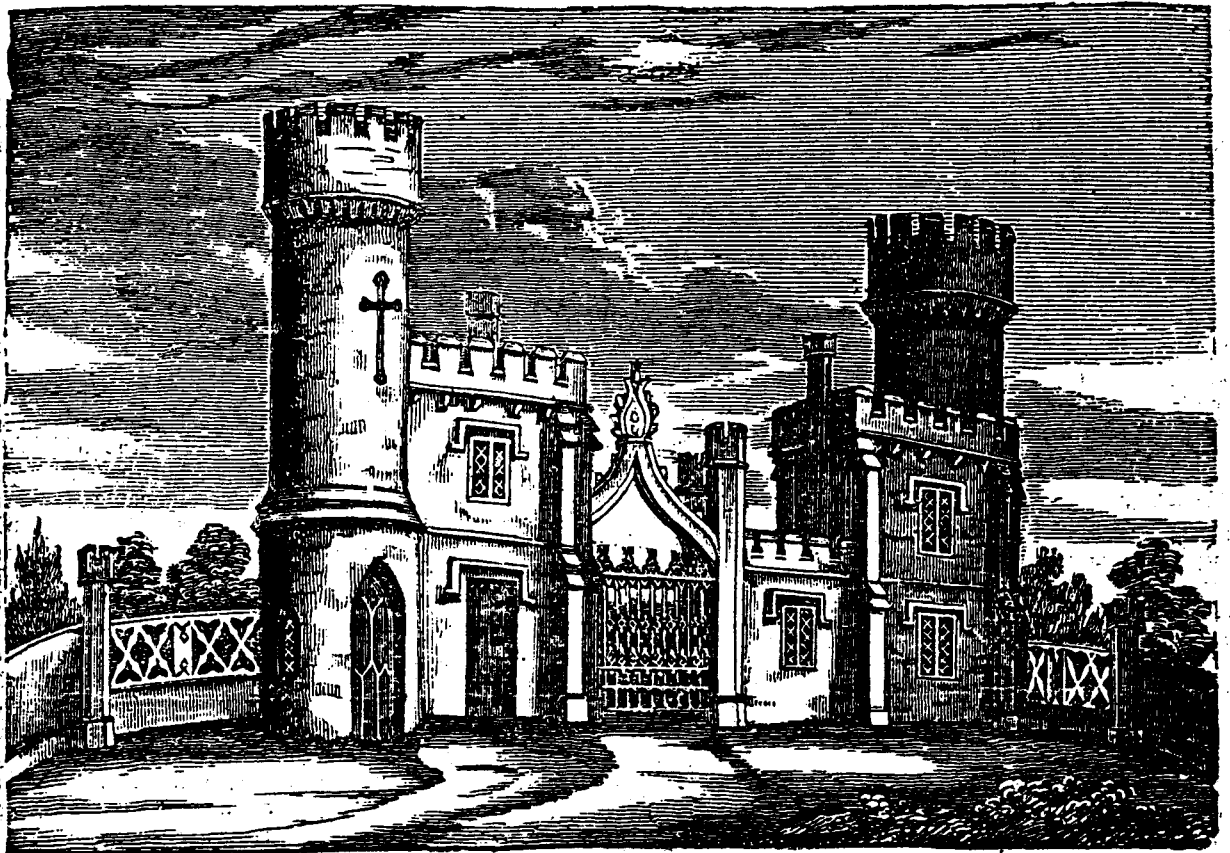
# DUBLIN PENNY JOURNAL

CONDUCTED BY P. DIXON HARDY, M.R.I.A.

VOL. III.

DECEMBER 13, 1834.

No. 123.



GATE-HOUSES OF BALLYSAGGARTMORE CASTLE.

BALLYSAGGART ESTATE : EVICTION, FAMINE, AND CONSPIRACY.

---

by Patrick Feeney.

Introduction:

In October 1849 six men from Ballysaggart (plus one from Araglen) were deported to Van Diemen's Land. They had been charged with conspiring to kill their land lord Arthur Kiely-Ussher by hiring a "hit man" named John O'Keeffe from Araglen. Kiely-Ussher is better known as the man who built the grand lodge and towered bridge which is now such a tourist attraction at Ballysaggartmore. What follows is an account of a more unpleasant side of his character, particularly of his activities during the famine by which he drove the tenants to desperate measures.

Arthur Kiely-Ussher - (1) Builder:

The Kiely family was from the Knockanore area. Brothers Arthur and John married two sisters named Martin from Ross townland. John leased or bought Strancally and built a spectacular imitation castle there. Arthur had been in the Napoleonic wars and on his return built a house at a place he named Jiles Court (possibly the present Glencairn) west of Lismore on the south bank of the Blackwater. Local tradition still recalls that 10 men were drowned while crossing the river to work on the house - an ominous presage of future developments. At about the time he decided to adorn the plebian name "Kiely" with the addition of "Ussher".<sup>1</sup>

In 1817 or 1818 he purchased the Ballysaggart estate from George Holmes Jackson. While a few of the tenants on the estate had life tenancies, the majority had short leases.<sup>2</sup> The new landlord was thus able to clear about 40 families (according to local tradition) from the site which he had selected on which to build a house. Over the next fifteen years or so he seems to have been continuously building.

The mansion built by Kiely-Ussher was later described as "unpretending" though "well built and commodious" within " a large quadrangle enclosing a court 150 feet by 103". (possibly the feet should read "yards"). This report for the Landed Estates Court goes on ; "Upon the first floor there are two drawing rooms, each 35 feet by 25 and 16 feet high opening into each other and terminated by a handsome conservatory which opens into the pleasure - grounds. The dining room is 40 feet by 20 feet with billiard, morning room and study .....". Upstairs were " eleven good bedrooms with nursery and school rooms and seven well appointed water-closets and baths".<sup>3</sup>

These latter conveniences were well ahead of their time. However, a later occupant of the house, Clodagh Anson, commented unfavourably on the absence of corridors, halls or passages in the original house or in a later extension so that one had to continuously pass through rooms. She says that Kiely-Ussher had located the house in a courtyard behind high walls " to prevent people shooting at him".<sup>4</sup> However the court comprised also the servants quarters, laundry, coach house, etc., with fruit and vegetable gardens plus peach-houses, vinery which " with their connecting vestibules extended 300 feet in length."<sup>5</sup>

6

Little of this now survives except a courtyard wall with a later outer court yard. What now attracts attention is the spectacular gate lodge and the grandiose towered bridge. Later commentators suggest that Kiely-Ussher ran out of money after building them and never built a mansion.<sup>6</sup> This is an understandable mistake because no road now connects the grand entrance with the court-yarded house and the original avenue was nearly three miles long due to the way it was made to bend and twist over what otherwise would have been about a mile's distance.

The grand entrance was only one of a number of approaches to the estate but presumably was the most frequently used one being on the Lismore side. It was completed by 1834 being the subject of a laudatory article in the Dublin Penny Journal of that year. The accompanying sketch of the bridge indicates that another tower was added to it subsequently on the east side (it still clearly stands independently of the rest). They were built of local stone at a cost of £2,000<sup>7</sup> with gates made by a local craftsman at a cost of £150<sup>8</sup> (these have not survived). The object was, of course, to impress the visitor, and presumably entertainment on a suitably grandiose style was also provided. Most of this had to be paid for out of the rents collected from the tenants.

#### Arthur Kiely-Ussher - (ii) Landlord:

The estate purchased by Kiely-Ussher in 1817 or 1818 comprised 8,541 acres of which little more than one thousand acres were farmable. The rest comprised (from south to north) the boggy flood-plain of the Blackwater and the often steeply rising land up to a moorland plateau (called "Mountain") used only for turf and summer grazing.<sup>9</sup> Over the next 30 years or so, he seems to have adopted a policy of appropriating the good land for his own demesne by shifting the tenants from it on to the poor land. One of them, Tim Hallahan, for instance, had been a tenant since about 1805 but his lease ran out shortly after Kiely - Ussher bought Ballysaggart. This is his reported description of what happened:

"I had twelve cows, a pair of horses and forty sheep ..... The (new) landlord took the best of the land from me and planted it with trees, he left me a plot towards the mountains and put me to the cost of building a house there. He then promised me a lease but did not give it to me. In about nine years after he removed me out to the mountain altogether and made an agreement to give it to me for the first seven years free, for the next seven years for five shillings an acre, and for the last seven years at 12/6d. .... (it now comprised) eight acres of the bog ..... eleven acres of mountain .. (and) about ten acres of middling land but it was all black mountain heath and turf when I went there".<sup>10</sup>

Others had similar stories to tell. Maurice Murphy's mother and grandmother had been born on the estate but he found himself evicted about 1835 from good land which was then added to the demesne and he was given part of the mountain instead. A solicitor from Lismore, Joseph Ryall, summarized the experiences of many who had been given mountain land, "and promised leases of a term of 21 years. He allowed them to remain in possession for some years, during which period they had succeeded in reclaiming the heretofore barren and unproductive mountain, but the moment it was able to produce a crop, he refused granting them a lease.." <sup>12</sup>

The only tenants that had any security were those who had obtained leases from the previous owner. None of the others obtained a lease and remained merely yearly tenants. Supervision of them was given to a Mr. Smith as steward in the 1840's. He lived on what was called a "tillage farm" of about 150 acres of land which had been thus reclaimed. He, presumably, also had charge of the reclamations of the

swampy land by the river through the building of a sod embankment, and this too was added to the demesne.<sup>13</sup>

By about 1850, therefore, the 8,500 acre estate consisted of 1,500 acres of best land forming the demesne; 4,500 acres of "improved and improveable" land due to the efforts of the tenants, and 2,500 acres of "mountain pasture, turfbog and moorland." Even this last was profitable to Kiely-Ussher, as summer grazing there reportedly had commanded "much higher rates than for the surrounding estates" (why, not reported).<sup>14</sup> The position about turfing rights isn't clear, but it looks as though only oral agreements were made about what turf tenants could take, but such could be then rescinded at Kiely-Ussher's convenience.

According to one view, therefore, this was an improving landlord who used a number of perfectly legal ploys to get the maximum work out of his tenants. The human cost that lay behind such "improvement" did not reach the public eye until Kiely-Ussher pushed his philosophy to its logical conclusion during the famine.

#### Famine and Eviction :

Tenants who had been working to reclaim mountain land, once their first seven rent-free years had passed, had no further legal rights to benefit from their reclamation work, and were particularly dependant on the landlord's benevolence should they ever fall behind with the rent. Tim Hallinan, then aged about 80, recounted his attempt to appeal to Kiely-Ussher's better nature.

What do you want?, says he.

After spending my whole life on your property, says I, will you let me die of hunger?

Have you not land ?, he then asked.

What good is it to me, sir, says I, when it has failed on me and on the world ?

Give it up, says he, and go into the workhouse.<sup>15</sup>

Another tenant, James Fitzgerald, had got twenty acres of mountain in 1835 but hadn't been able to pay the rent since the potato crop failed. In May 1847 Kiely-Ussher came and took all his oats and rye, so that his family of six hadn't even enough food for their supper. He also took their horse and ordered them out. Maurice Murphy had had his cattle seized the previous August but had borrowed the money to pay the rent and had redeemed them. However, he then had to sell cattle and sheep to pay back the money and hadn't enough to pay the rent due in March '47. He says, "The Missus had to bring a blanket to town and pledge it for 4 - 6d. That was the first time she went to such a place and I was as much ashamed as if I stole it. I was bred and born in Ballysaggart and if Mr. Ussher can say if I ever defrauded him of a ha'penny, I am willing to give it all up to him."<sup>16</sup>

All the evidence seems to indicate that these were decent hard-working people. A local solicitor pointed out that the estate "has been at all times remarkably free from crime or disturbance of any kind".<sup>17</sup> In all there were about 700 people living there by the mid 1840's, all of whom were reported to be under threat of eviction by May '47. Sixteen families had recently been evicted, comprising 87 people. This does not include an unknown number of labourers, only two of whom are recorded. These lived in a cabin on a tenant's farm whom they paid by labour. Mr. Smith ordered the tenant to pull down the cabin. They erected two sheds alongside a ditch but these also were levelled by Mr. Smith.<sup>18</sup>

By March 1848 a total of 284 people had been evicted<sup>19</sup> and by April 1851 a total of 700 had gone over 12 townlands compared to the population in 1841. How many of these were directly attributable to evictions is not known, but at best some policy of re-settlement is evident. For instance the southern portions of Deerpark townlands show a drop in population of nearly 300 people (435 down to 139) whereas Deerpark North (i.e. the "mountain") increased by 188 (71 to 259, or from 10 houses to 46). A few other moorland townlands showed slight increases (Knockeengancam, Knockhooricham and Knocknacoppal together increased from 3 inhabitants to 43) but the dramatic changes were on the good land. All 22 people in South Park were cleared and only 2 houses were left out of 16 in Coolishel (59 people down to 16). Coolaneagh lost 104 of its 129 inhabitants and only 1 family survived out of the 10 in Glenmore (67 people down to 5).<sup>20</sup> Such statistics, however, convey little of the wilful policy of the landlord or the human misery of his tenants.

Apparently Kiely-Ussher saw the famine as an opportunity to clear 'superfluous' tenants for non-payment of rent. One way of ensuring that the tenants could not pay the rents was, it seems, to forbid them selling the turf from the bogland and this he did from the gale or rent day, 25th March, 1847. Tenant Maurice Murphy had an oral agreement with the landlord that he could draw a load of turf for every barrel of lime he put on the land. The steward then would not allow him to take the 91 loads of turf he was owed in 1846 so that by May 1847 he was destitute.<sup>21</sup>

Kiely-Ussher, had a further cruel twist to add for evicted tenants, according to the reported evidence from one of them, John Walsh:

"Walsh told me the agent promised him £5 if he unroofed his own house and assisted in levelling the walls. Neither submission or entreaty could avert the decree of the landlord and the poor farmer at last consented to destroy the only shelter that the family possessed and the only refuge in the neighbourhood they could hope to obtain, for the landlord, I was informed, has threatened the heaviest displeasure on any of his dependent tenants who would afford shelter, even for only one night, to any family evicted from their own homes. .... (They were therefore) obliged to spend the night in the miserable shelter of the chimney corner of the ruined house...." When they applied to the landlord for the £5, he "indignantly repudiated the obligation until they should clear themselves altogether from his property."<sup>22</sup>

Thus hardworking farmers were reduced to hopeless destitution. The workhouse in Lismore had been built to accommodate 500 but by July 1847 held 569<sup>23</sup> and by the time the famine ended held 898 people.<sup>24</sup> Since the workhouse faced so many, if there was room, it is no wonder that some were driven to possible measures of desperation.

### The Conspiracy :

The first step the tenants took was to consult the parish priest, Dr. Fogarty (later Bishop of Waterford & Lismore). He referred them to a solicitor named Dennehy (a man who played a dubious role in other proceedings). He implied that the tenants had a case, but that they would need to collect money amongst themselves so that he could present a case for them in Dublin.<sup>25</sup> Many tenants were presumably sceptical about the possibility of the law declaring quickly in their favour in view of their lack of leases. However, a precedent had been set in that money had been collected for their common cause and one tenant, John Liddy saw alternative possibilities.



Liddy was under immediate threat of eviction and called a meeting of neighbouring tenants in the same condition at his house at the top of the Daraheen Road ( still standing and up to recent years lived in by Michael O'Brien-Moran) . Men gathered there on May 9th 1847 to make practical decisions. There had been some preliminary discussions at Kiersey's public house in Lismore (probably the present "Burgundy Boutique" on the corner of West Street) and other informal discussion beforehand about what the money collected could best be used for. A consensus had been arrived at that their only solution was to have Kiely-Ussher killed. Why John Keeffe from Mountain Barrack, about 8 miles away, was selected for the job hasn't emerged, but he was present at the meeting on 9th May where the money was collected to pay him. John Liddy himself contributed £1 as did a Michael Lombard; John Clancy gave 10/-, James Liddy (brother of John) 7/-, Bat. Lawton 5/- and Pat Meyrick 2/-, but he was to come up with another 13/-. Money was held by John Liddy and was to be paid to Keeffe after the killing of the landlord.<sup>26</sup>

Over the next three days Keeffe was seen on various parts of the estates, apparently familiarizing himself with the layout. He borrowed a file from a local smithy to ensure the smooth working of his gun.<sup>27</sup> Once he was confident of his procedures he placed himself near the grand lodge to await the return of Kiely-Ussher. The following is a newspaper summary of Kiely-Ussher's account of what happened :

"He was driving along the road and saw a man as if sitting on(Glenthairin) Bridge: When he got near to the man he stood erect and walked past, quite close to him. He immediately heard a crack and said to himself " By Jove I'm fired at". He put his hand into his own pocket and drew out a double barrellled pistol but the person ran off. The man had a blue frock coat with a dirty looking trousers (and) did not speak a word while the entire thing was taking place".<sup>28</sup>

It seems therefore that Keeffe's gun misfired, apparently because it had been loaded too long.<sup>29</sup>

Presumably a hue and cry was quickly put up but Keeffe slipped away. A week passed and no information came to light about by whom, or why the attempt had taken place. A committee of local "gentry" then decided to offer a reward of £100 for information leading to the arrest of those responsible.<sup>30</sup> For most of the threatened and destitute tenantry this sum represented more than survival but a positive future for them and their families. Understandably, therefore, once a rumour circulated of one being about to turn informer and claim the reward, others driven by desperation gave evidence as well, presumably on the basis the names were going to be disclosed anyway.

Thus Pat Meyrick who had contributed 2/- came forward and thereby saved his farm. Others too came forward resulting in the arrest of Liddy and Keeffe and in the summer Assizes of 1847 they were put on trial at Waterford County Court.<sup>31</sup>

### Trials and Appeal:

The trial took place on Friday 16th July before a jury of twelve. Main witnesses for the prosecution were Kiely-Ussher himself, Patrick and Maurice Meyrick, while five other tenants also gave evidence. Sole witness for the defence was the parish priest, Dr. Fogarty, whose main contribution was to outline the background and say of Liddy that he was " a peaceful, honest, industrious and hard - working man." The two were found guilty and their sentence was transportation for life.<sup>32</sup>

Back at Ballysaggart, however, a determined attempt seems to have been under way to root out whoever else had been involved in the conspiracy. In this Kiely-Ussher had the support of a local magistrate and contributor to the reward fund, E.F. Curry. By what appears to have been a process of bribing witnesses they came up with evidence against five more tenants. These were - James Liddy (brother of John) aged 30; James Brien aged 30; Bartholomew Lawton aged 25; John Clancy aged 45; and Michael Lombard aged 49. Since there had not been enough evidence to try these at the same time as Keefe and John Liddy (i.e. in July '47), in October & November '47 the same witnesses (mainly the Meyrick brothers) were it seems persuaded by Curry and others to remember new 'facts' which would obtain a conviction.<sup>33</sup> The Resident Magistrate, P.C. Howley was extremely sceptical about the procedures and wrote to the Under-Secretary in Dublin Castle that, "..... beyond long statements and letters written to Mr. Ussher ..... I could obtain no facts useful for the prosecution". These letters were apparently from one Bartholomew Liddy, a third brother of the family. John Liddy's daughter Bridget wrote too - the R.M. was even more sceptical about her motives.<sup>34</sup>

Liddy and Keefe were meanwhile being held prisoner pending the trial of the other five which took place during the Waterford Spring Assizes in 1848. To, what seems to be, the consternation of Dr. Fogarty and of their solicitor, Joseph Ryall of Lismore, the five were also sentenced to deportation for life. The latter wrote a passionate letter to the Lord Lieutenant asking for clemency and on the 11th April '48 got the following notice from Dublin Castle: ".....the Lord Lieutenant after most careful investigation into all the circumstances of the case has decided that the law must take its course".<sup>35</sup> Thus in October 1848 all seven were placed on board the "Pestonjee Romanjee" bound for Van Diemen's Land.

#### Sequels :

It appears that Arthur Kiely-Ussher's tactics in estate management did not suffice to meet his expenditure as his entire house and lands were offered for sale under the Encumbered Estates Act in 1853. There was no buyer. It was then offered for sale in eight lots but again no buyers came forward. Presumably, at the time of the third attempted sale in 1861 the price had been dropped sufficiently to attract buyers.<sup>36</sup> Local folk-lore remembers the later 19th century owners thus: House, gardens, immediate surroundings and land to the north - Mr. Woodriffe; rest of Ballysaggart townland - Mr. Young; Shanavilla - Mr. Fisher; Coolisheal & Clogheen - Mr. Slattery; Baramnamanoge & Ballyivainyinch - The Duke of Devonshire. Arthur Kiely-Ussher had died by then leaving a son John, who local tradition says was a pleasant, likeable and fair-minded person. What eventually became of him is not recalled, although he was still living in Ballysaggart in 1862.<sup>37</sup>

Of the seven who were transported, the fate of only Bartholomew Lawton is known as he returned to Ireland and died aged 79 in Lismore workhouse in 1903.<sup>38</sup> Both James O'Brien and John Clancy's descendants are still living in Ballysaggart. The Liddys, Lombards and Meyricks have gone, however. Nevertheless traditions of what had happened on the estate under Kiely-Ussher remained strong in the neighbourhood up to recent years and the general accuracy of this memory has been borne out by the documentary evidence.

Local tradition also recalls a clash between Dr. Foley and Kiely-Ussher over the latter's refusal to allow a school to be built on his land. "There'll be a school here when the Kiely-Usshers are no more in Ballysaggart" is reported of the priest. And so it came to pass. Likewise, Kiely-Ussher had opposed the building of a road through the estate to Araglen, but that too was built. His house was occupied by the Anson family ( of Clodagh Anson, authoress, fame) around the turn of the century, but was burned down around 1922 and any removeable, useable material removed from the site by a firm of builders' providers after the last war. All that visibly remains associated with Arthur Kiely-Ussher is the gate-lodge and towered bridge, often called "follies" - an understated summary of his attitudes and actions, appropriately enough.

#### S O U R C E S:

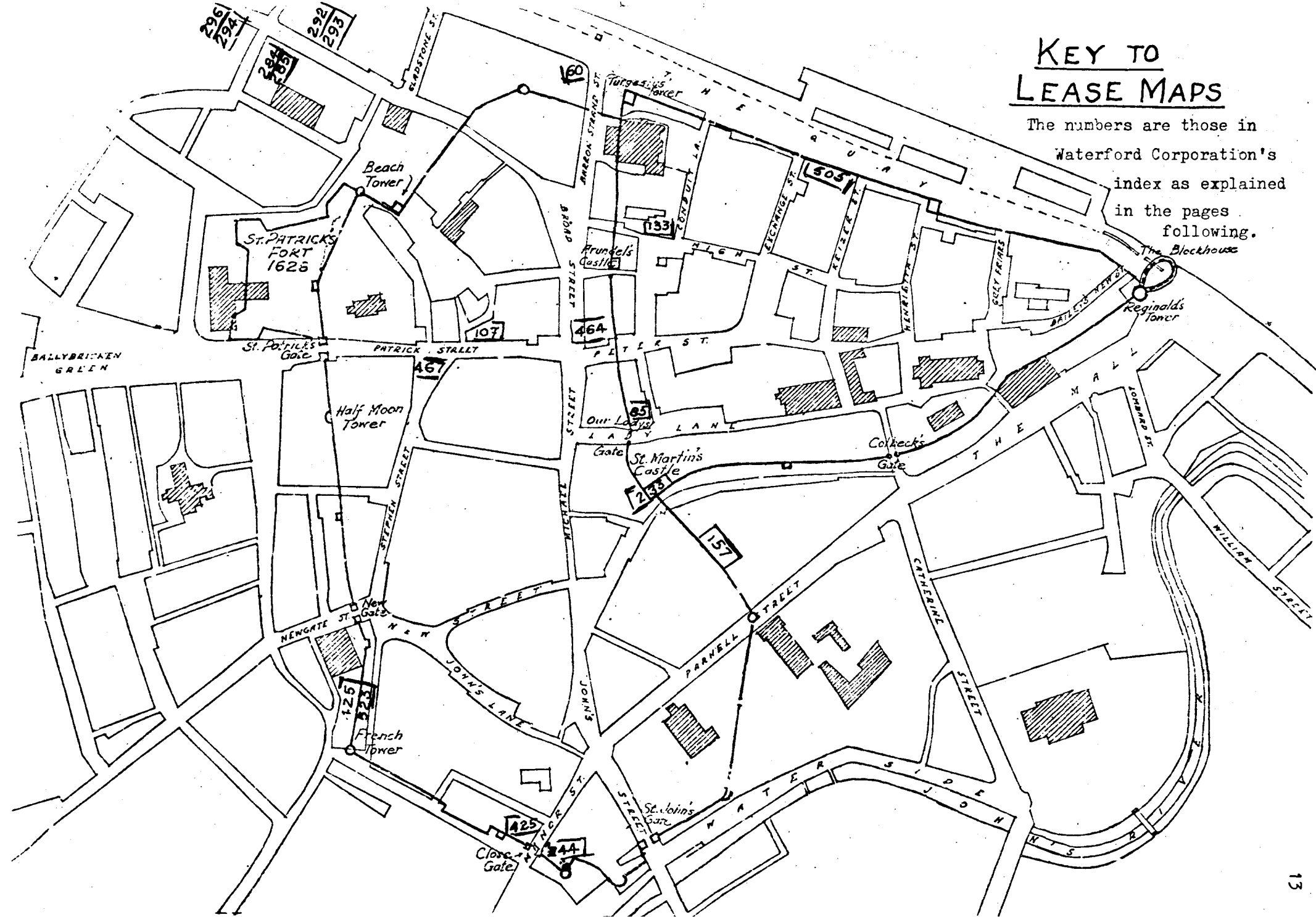
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1. Mainly based on oral traditions. Some of this is in typescript form in the County Library, Lismore, having been collected by a German student in the 1950's.
2. As is apparent from rentals in Landed Estates Court Documentation in P.R.O.I.
3. *ibid.*
4. See "Book" by Clodagh Anson.
5. L.E.C. Rentals, *op.cit.* .
6. e.g. de Breffny and ffoliot, The Houses of Ireland, London 1975, p.194
7. L.E.C. Rentals, *op.cit.* .
8. As stated by O'Flanagan in The Blackwater in Munster.
9. L.E.C. Rentals, *op.cit.* .
10. In May 1847 the Cork Examiner sent a reporter to cover the notorious activities of Kiely-Ussher. His interviews and comments were published in that paper and were then in 1946 collected together into pamphlet form and published by the Dungarvan Leader. This is the Exam. Rep. interview with Tim Hallahan.
11. *ibid.*, Maurice Murphy
12. The relevant Outrage Report 1847 and Convict Reference 1848 files (No. L - 9) in the S.P.O. contain a great range of material including newspaper cuttings, letters memoranda, etc.. This is a testimonial from Ryall.
13. Details in L.E.C. Rentals, *op.cit.* .
14. *ibid.*
15. *Exam. Rep.*, Hallahan interview, *loc.cit.* .
16. *ibid.*, interviews with Fitzgerald and Murphy.
17. *Outrage Reps.*, Ryall testimonial, *loc.cit.* .
18. *idem.*
19. *ibid.*, Dr, Fogarty's testimonial.
20. Census of Population 1851, Parish of Lismore.
21. *Exam. Rep.*, comment & interview with Murphy.
22. *ibid.*, interview with John Walsh.



# KEY TO LEASE MAPS

The numbers are those in  
Waterford Corporation's  
index as explained  
in the pages  
following.



ASPECTS OF 18th and EARLY 19th CENTURY WATERFORD CITY  
FROM 23 CORPORATION LEASE MAPS.

---

by J. S. Carroll.

In the 18th and early 19th centuries the attachment of maps to leases was by no means a universal practice. In fact, it seems to have been the exception rather than the rule. Of course, in those days it meant making an original survey since there were no published maps of a scale large enough for conveyancing purposes. This was the position until the appearance of the Ordnance Survey town plans which were at a scale of 1/1056 or 60 inches to a mile. Those for Waterford were first published in 1871. Plans for some towns were published at the exceptionally large scale of 1/500.

Manuscript plans of towns with a population over 4000 had been produced by the Ordnance Survey between 1830 and 1848 (Waterford in 1841) but these, unlike the 6" maps of the same year were not published and were available to government departments and local authorities only. Except for such cases in which surveyors acting for solicitors might have had access to these plans (and there is no evidence to show that they had) it may be said that all lease maps before 1871 were based on original surveys. The writer investigated all those previous to 1841 from amongst the collection of 628 expired leases in the Corporation Estate Office and copied those lease maps which he felt would be of interest. He wishes to express his thanks to the City Estate Agent for permission to reproduce them.

The reference numbers in the following are those in the Corporation index which is arranged alphabetically according to location. Here they are in chronological order. All maps referred to may be seen in the Waterford Room.

1779 (No.425)

A plot of ground bounded on the north by an extension eastward of the former Well Lane described as "Lane leading to Mary Murphy's Well"; on the south by the part of Bowling Green Lane (Castle St.); on the east by the present Brown's Lane; and on the west by "Passage leading from Hennessy's Road to Newgate".

The name "Bowling Green Lane" was commonly applied to the present Manor St. (see Richards and Scale') while the present Castle St. was generally called "The Ramparts" or "Rampart Lane".

The French Tower is described as "Cushlanevolah Castle" - a description not found in Power's "Place Names", but presumably meaning just "The Castle on the Wall".

1779(Nos.284 & 285)

Two portions of the "Tenth Garden" - east lott and west lott - extending back from King St. (O'Connell St.) to the City Basin, leaving a 20ft. wide strip between them "designed for the use of the water pipe". These plots were from 122 to 125 feet long.

The Thomas's Hill basin was one of several spring - fed open reservoirs. It was

No. 425

Lane leading to Mary. Murphy Well

Passage leading from Henesy's road to Newgate.

Burkers lane

Bowling Green lane

Town wall



Part of Tenth Garden — set to William Henesy Esq

West Loft

Part of Tenth Garden design for the use of the Water pipe — No. 284

King street

Ed. Sumner of the East Hill

Part of the Tenth Garden the whole of the ... of the City of Waterford ... and City extending from King Street on the North to the City Mason on the South ... from that part of the Tenth garden design for the use of the Water pipe on the West to that of the ... on the East ... January 11. 1879

Part of Tenth Garden design for the use of the Water pipe — No. 285

East Loft

King street

15

26-6

No. 285

Corporation ground

City Mason

located near the bend in Thomas's Hill at its junction with Meeting House Lane.

1779 (No.107)

The "Black Boy" at Patrick St. This famous inn had a frontage of about 33 ft. extending up Patrick St. from the entry to O'Brien's Terrace. It extended 109 feet back towards "the Carrigeen" otherwise known as the Cow Rock. It was leased to Samuel King for a term of 99 years.

1781 (No.245)

This plot represents the site of now-demolished houses in Castle St. backing on to the city wall and extending from Manor St. to beyond the Double Tower. Manor St. is here described merely as "Passage leading to John Street."

1789 (No. 60).

This was the leasehold of William Bell, having a frontage along Barronstrand Street and returning westward along the Quay. The interesting feature is that the southern boundary of his plot was the "Town Wall" which is shown as 91'-2" back from the intersection of the frontages at the present New Ireland offices and 96'-2" back measured from a point 79'-8" from the intersection. This puts the location of the wall beyond doubt.

1790 (Nos.294 &296)

Two plots of ground extending from King St. back to Alderman Barker's extensive garden at Thomas's Hill. No. 294 is identifiable as having "Mr. Gaffney's Lane" as its eastern boundary. The lane is still there though the cottages it served are gone. This plot had a frontage of 48'-6" and a depth of 182'-0". The rearmost portion would have adjoined the east side of the City Basin. No.296 was to the east of No.294 and separated from it by "Mr. Gaffney's Concerns".

No. 294 was to become the E.S.B. showrooms, later to be replaced by Greenshield Stamps.

1790 (No.133)

An awkwardly-shaped piece of property bounded on the north by "Black-friars" and on the east by Carrion Row. The latter seems to have been the lane that ran towards Blackfriars from the north-east corner of Arundel Square (which was a square occupying only the northerly portion of the larger rectangular area that goes by that name). The 1841 map shows it as Arundel Lane while the present lane of that name is shown as Arundel Row.

1791(No.467)

A lease of the former "island" at the junction of Stephen St. with Patrick St. Stephen St. proper terminated at the point where the present street begins to widen. Here it branched into two lanes - one 14' wide, called Well Lane, running straight on to Patrick Street, the other East Lane, running at an angle of about 35 degrees eastward. The well in question was St. Patrick's Well. According to Canon Power it occupied the middle of the triangular space and was closed in "about a century since", i.e., about 1807.

1794 (No. 523)

A lease to William Penrose of what is described as the Rampart Ground, being a 24' wide strip of ground outside the city wall at the top part of Castle St., the French Tower, and a strip 30' wide between Wickam's Lane (now Browne's Lane) and the city wall. The strip along Castle St. is described as the City Ditch and that along Browne's Lane as the Rampart. Opposite New St. and outside the city wall was a brewery.



Big Patrick street

M<sup>r</sup> O'Connell's Concerns

Carrigeen

Same leading to the Carrigeen

107

Castle

Parliament street

245

60

Quay

4 houses & shops

N<sup>o</sup> 1 & 2

4 houses & shops

Harronstrand street

King street

King street

296

Passage leading to Dublin city

M<sup>r</sup> Wick's concern

294

M<sup>r</sup> Coffin's Concerns

M<sup>r</sup> Gaffney's Lane

M<sup>r</sup> Gaffney's Concerns

M<sup>r</sup> Barker's Concerns

M<sup>r</sup> Barker's

Big Patrick street

N

S

M<sup>r</sup> Robt Barker's Concerns

City Gate

Brewery

Mechanics Lane

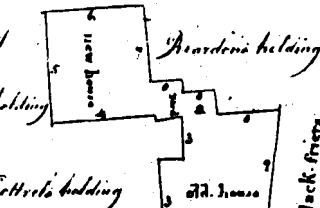
City Ditch

N

S

Old Mill Street

Grants Concerns



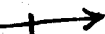
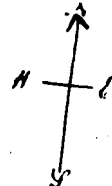
Carrion tower

133

467

City Ditch

523



1796 (No. 297)

A survey of Alderman William Morris's property on the south side of King St. from Love Lane (Bridge St.) to Thomas St., intersected by "Mr. William Penrose's Lane". This extensive property stretched southward to the rear of properties on the north side of Anne St. including the Willow Garden, a tanyard field, Mr. Wallace's concerns, Mr. Sparrow's concerns and Mr. Jacob's Hall. The Willow Garden is indicated on the Richards and Scale map of 1764 by a peculiar form of hatching. This section of King St. was later renamed Queen Street.

1801 (No. 559)

One of a number of lotts on the north side of Sparrow's Lane (Anne St.) auctioned by the Corporation and taken by Messrs Alexander and Wallace, a prominent firm of merchants and shippers of the period.

1804 (No.464)

Survey of a plot in Peter St. running 82'-9" back along same from Broad St. and 42'-4" down the latter. Peter St. has since been widened. This plot would have been occupied by the Guildhall. Built in 1704, it later became the County Court House and remained such until replaced in 1784 by Gandon's Courthouse at the top of Patrick Street.

The northern boundary is marked "Town Wall" and is shown as running back at right angles to Broad St. for a distance of 62'-0". This was not, in fact, part of the town wall but had been the northern wall of the Guildhall.

1806 (No.157)

A plot of land running southward from Spring Garden Alley held by Recorder Dobbyn. This map is of interest because of the "Round Tower" indicated in the south-west corner. The width at Spring Garden Alley and the alignment of the eastern and western boundaries tally with the 1841 map, so there is no reason to doubt the given length of these boundaries. Accepting them, then, places the tower on the line of the Norman wall about where it would have been intersected by the east side of Parnell Street, not then laid out. Richards and Scale confirm that there was a small semi-circular tower projecting from the wall 30 feet or so south of the angle.

The line of the "City Ditch" running from this tower roughly parallel to Parnell St. rather than following the line of the city wall is surprising but again, Richards and Scale show that the ditch in question was a major drainage channel running towards the Mall (and presumably culverted under same) constructed with a view to drainage of the flat land that stretched from Spring Garden Alley in the north to Grubb's Quay (Waterside) in the south and from Catherine St. to the city wall. It would appear from the map that all this land was used for growing crops.

1808 (No.244)

This lease to Samuel Penrose is of a right-angled portion of land that included the watch-tower at Railway Square, a section of the city wall, or "Parrapet" as it is described, 84 feet long running from same towards Manor Street, as well as a section of the wall running at right angles towards John St., and indicated as being 104 ft. long. This is not understood, because the wall turned abruptly towards John's Pill at a distance of only about 60 feet from the tower. The width of 14 feet is not clear, either, since the wall was only 7 or 8 feet wide at the base.

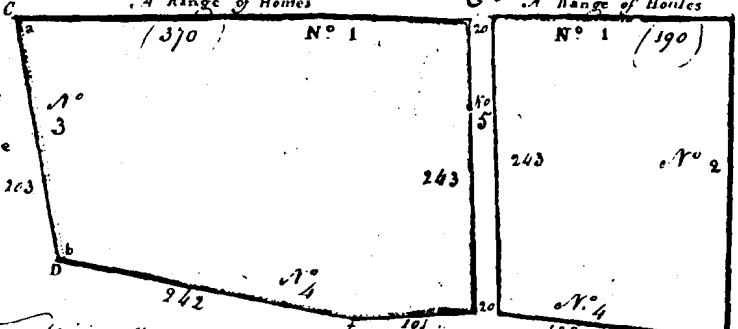
The city wall was normally excluded from leases. This case of leasing the wall itself, with a margin each side, is very unusual.

# KING STREET



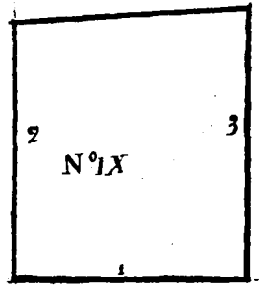
A Range of Houses

Love Lane



Thomas Street

Messrs Alex and Cor Wallace's Concerns



James's street

559

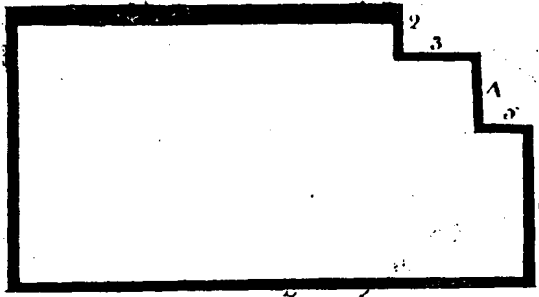
Sparrow's Lane

A MAP

297

Town Wall

Broad Street



M. Boltons Concerns

Palmer Street

464

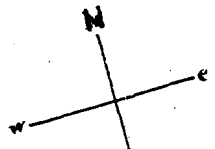
157

Spring garden Alley

A R P  
0.1.30%

Town Wall

244



Town wall

Dean and Chapter holdings

Round Tower

City Ditch

Messrs Strangers  
Messrs B  
Messrs C

Messrs D  
Messrs E  
Messrs F  
Messrs G  
Messrs H  
Messrs I  
Messrs J  
Messrs K  
Messrs L  
Messrs M  
Messrs N  
Messrs O  
Messrs P  
Messrs Q  
Messrs R  
Messrs S  
Messrs T  
Messrs U  
Messrs V  
Messrs W  
Messrs X  
Messrs Y  
Messrs Z

1813 (No. 144)

Part of Corporation lands at Cleaboy bounded by "Military Road" on the south side and on the east by "Lane from Military Road to Commons". Acreages are given in Plantation measure.

"Military Road" is now Slievekeale Road. The lane is that which adjoins the west side of the De La Salle football pitch. The "Commons" is not identifiable.

1817 (Nos.292 & 293)

These are maps of 4 lots of a number on the north side of King St. disposed of by the Corporation. It is not clear how many there were or how they identify with present-day house numbers except that we know from the census of 1821 that Dr. Thomas Hearn lived in No.25.

Dr. Hearn took up lots 4 & 5  
 Mr. Ben Moore took up lots 8 & 9  
 Mr. Prosser " " lot 10  
 Mr. Richard Fogarty took up lots 18 & 19  
 Dr. Hammond " " Lot 21  
 Mr. Richard Fogarty " " lots 22 & 23.

1712 & 1821 (Nos. 386 & 333 )

The first of these is a 99 year lease to the Reverend Alexander Alcock of "the Tower commonly called St. Martin's Tower situate within the said City near Our Lady's Gate, with all ways, passages, cellars, vaults and appurtenances whatsoever to the same belonging, and with liberty to build on the wall betwixt the said Tower and the said Gate". Unfortunately, there is no map attached to this lease.

The second is a lease in favour of Lady Sarah Alcock of a roughly rectangular area of land with a frontage of 146 feet to Spring Garden Alley and a depth of from 46 to 51 feet. The northern boundary is part of the Town Wall and the outward curve of two towers, one of which is St. Martin's Tower. The two "castles" are shown as being incorporated into a smaller rectangular area measuring about 70 ft. x 20 ft., probably representing a dwelling house.

Kisby's Lane is shown as coming into Spring Garden Alley opposite what appears to be the Norman wall. This lane began opposite St. John's Avenue and followed the line of the east side of the Apple Market. Between Michael St. and Kisby's Lane was built-up.

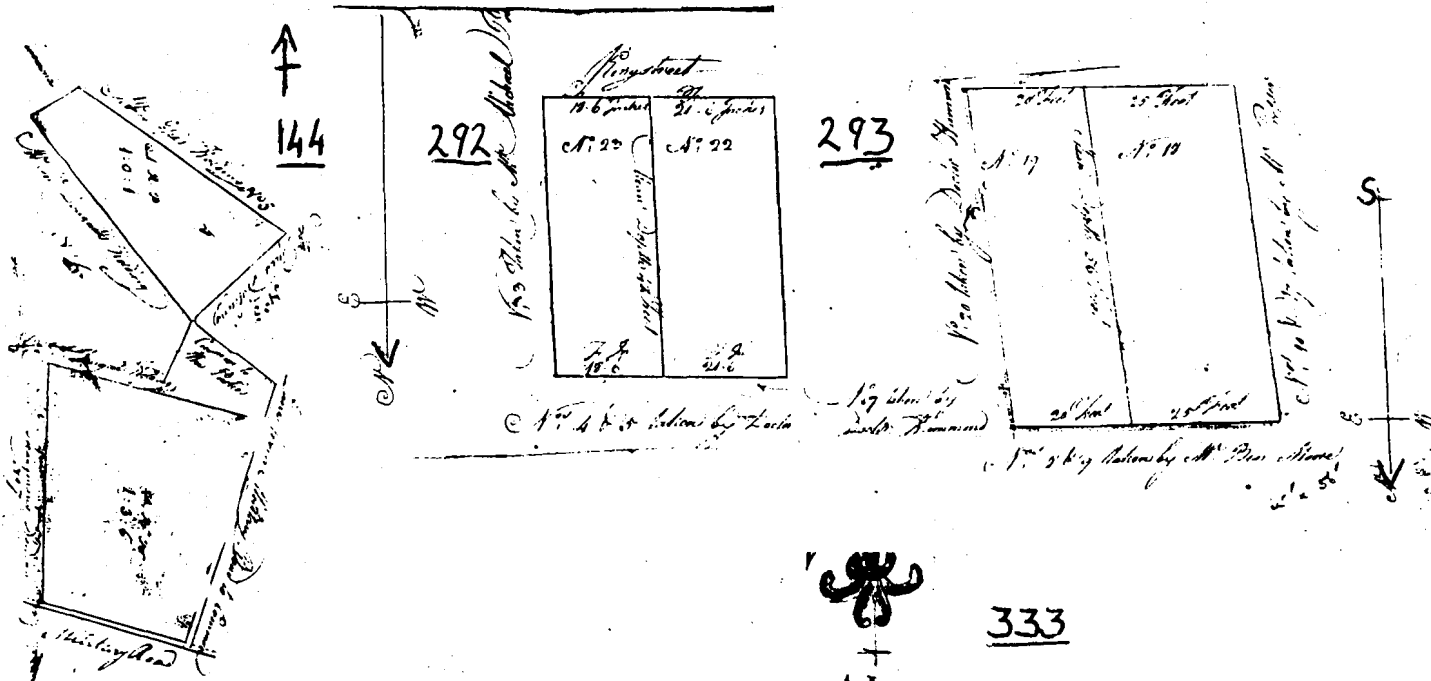
The site is indicated as forming part of Cawdron's Garden, a name which appears on several leases of land between Spring Garden Alley and the city wall where it runs behind the Lady Lane houses. Very probably the land was allotted by the Commonwealth Commissioners to George Cawdron, who was one of three Inquisitors appointed by them to carry out the Civil Survey of 1654 in the County of Waterford and the City Liberties.

1823 (No.85)

This is the site of the Municipal Library. To the north was Dr. Poole's property and to the west was Sharp's forge. A strip of ground up to 7'-6" deep is marked "Ground to be thrown into the Lane". The western boundary is the Town Wall, part of the continuation of which on the other side of Lady Lane has recently been revealed.

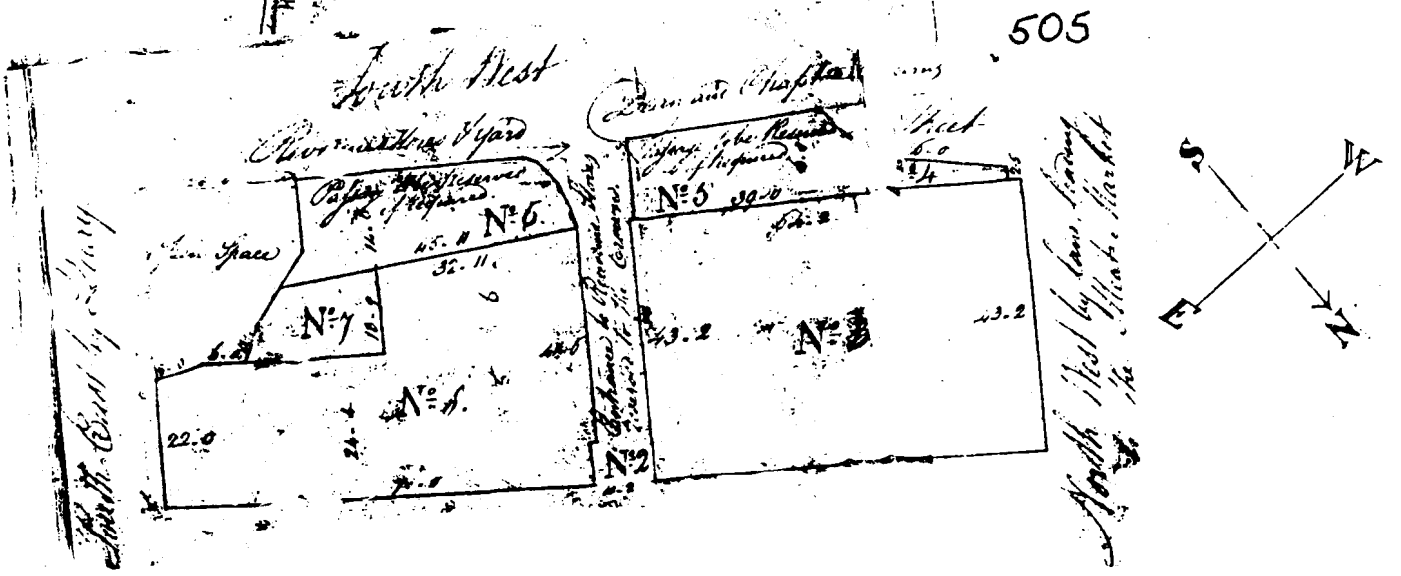
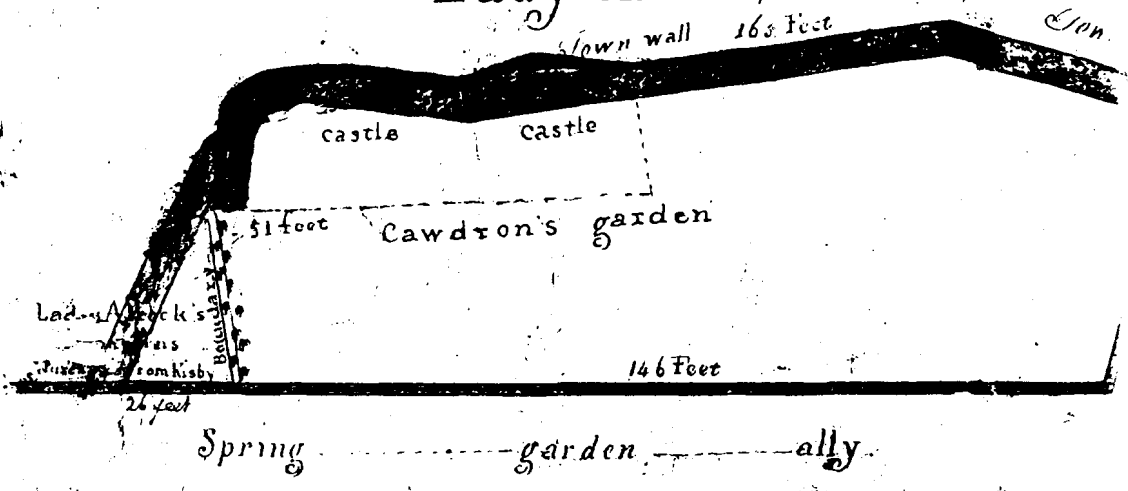
1823 (No.505)

The site of the old Custom House and the old Exchange on the Quay which are prominent features in the Van der Hagen painting in the City Hall. The Custom House had a frontage of 70'-0" and the Exchange 65'-10". They had both been fine buildings but they must have been in decay by 1823. A 10'-0" passageway between the two buildings leading to the Revenue Stores was reserved to the Crown.



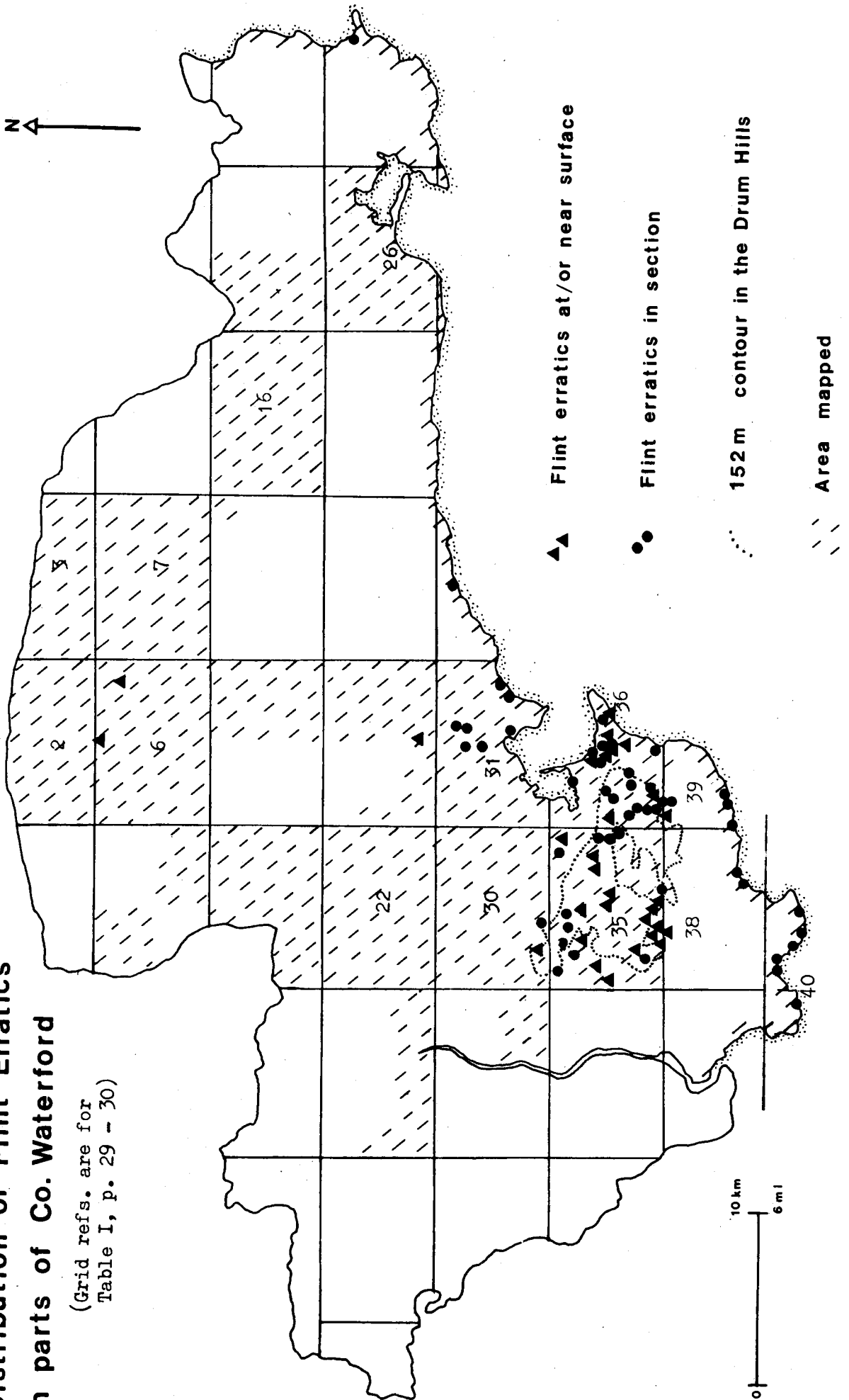
Lady Alcock's concerns

Michael's Church-yard



# Distribution of Flint Erratics in parts of Co. Waterford

(Grid refs. are for  
Table I, p. 29 - 30)



DISTRIBUTION OF FLINT ERRATICS  
IN PARTS OF  
COUNTY WATERFORD

by

Irene M. Quinn

Introduction:

Flint in geological terms is a variety of chert which occurs primarily in the Upper Cretaceous and as detrital pebbles in the Tertiary. It is distinguishable by its concoidal fracture. With regard to county Waterford, the nearest outcrop of either Cretaceous or Tertiary rocks occurs off the south-eastern coast of Ireland in the south Irish Sea. (Dobson, 1977). Finds of flint nodules far away from the nearest outcrop may be ascribed to two possible sources:

- a. either the flint is a lag deposit, or,
- b. the flint has been introduced to the area i.e. has been transported to its present location and is not in situ.

The first option, although possibly true for other parts of Ireland, is not applicable to county Waterford given the nature of the distribution of flint erratics which includes finds in areas of positive geological relief dating back to pre-Cretaceous time, the type of flints found which include stone artifacts (Green and Zvelebil, 1983) and the absence of any other associated lag deposits.

Flint Transport and Destination:

Flint nodules, roughly spheroidal to elliptical in shape and approximately five centimetres in diameter, occasionally more, although usually less, may be found quite frequently both at the surface and in section in various parts of county Waterford. These erratics may have reached their current positions via human, marine or glacial transporting agencies. It is possible

that the history of emplacement of a particular flint nodule may have been the result of any one or a combination of the above agencies.

In the course of research into the glacial sediments of county Waterford a survey of the distribution of flint erratics was carried out. The survey was concentrated on the distribution of flint erratics which were found in section i.e. which occurred in sediments at depths greater than one metre from the surface, in order to avoid the possibility of the stones being introduced or disturbed by human agency. Suitable sections for this purpose are created by fluvial or marine erosion or in the course of drainage and construction. Finds of flint in the upper metre or in areas which had been cleared for afforestation or cultivation were also recorded and mapped only in those areas in which flint was found at depth, with the exception of three finds at Clondonnell, Deelishmountain and Kilbrack. (See figure I.). Thus the thirty listed finds of flint at or near the surface as recorded in this study are by no means comprehensive or representative of the total county and are restricted chiefly to the Drum Hills area south of Dungarvan.

#### Type of Flints Found:

The survey was carried out at the 6-inch O.S. scale and all finds which were found in section were identified by means of appearance and conchoidal fracture. Location of individual finds was subsequently plotted on the 6-inch topographic maps and recorded in field notebooks. The majority of flints which were found at or near the surface in the Drum Hills area were nodules and showed no signs of being worked by man. The only flints which showed some evidence of being worked were the isolated finds of flint flakes at Clondonnell, Deelishmountain and Kilbrack on the sandstone slopes of the Comeragh Mountains. (See Table I). No attempt was made to distinguish between flints of different types as such because both grey and brown (a more weathered version of the former) flints are found alongside each other in the various sediments encountered in the county and are therefore useless as a means of distinguishing between sediments of different types.



### Flint and Associated Deposits - Previous Literature:

The occurrence of flint erratics in glacial sediments in county Waterford has been noted at least twice previously. Flint was included in a list of boulders from the marly boulder clay in Whiting Bay. (Wright and Muff 1904). They distinguished between grey and black flints in their paper on the pre-glacial raised beach of the south coast of Ireland and attributed the provenance of the grey flint to "Antrim or possibly bed of Irish Sea" p. 268. The second and subsequent reference to the flint erratics of county Waterford is unpublished and is to be found in the personal field notes of Prof. Mitchell:

1. Two Larnian flints are recorded in the seven metre section at Knockavelish visited on the 5/3/68 and 23/3/68.
2. Occasional flints are recorded in the exposure of grey-brown calcareous loamy till in Whiting Bay on the 16/3/54, i.e. in the same deposit as noted above by Wright and Muff (1904).
3. Two flints were recorded from the Drum Hills area on the 8/6/64.

No flint erratics were recorded in three publications on glacial sediments in county Waterford which appeared since 1904. Writing in 1907, Reed, in a detailed description of the Knockavelish section, failed to identify the presence of very occasional flint erratics in the glacial sediments exposed at that point. (Reed, 1907). Subsequently, both Stevens and Watts described among others the glacial sediments west of Ballyvoyle Bridge. Neither author included any reference to the occurrence of flint erratics either in the upper or lower glacial sediment at that location. (Stevens, 1959, Watts, 1959).

### Flint and Associated Deposits - Present Study:

Flint erratics have been recorded by the present author in many types of sediments in county Waterford. Flints found in section at fifty localities ranged through the stratigraphic column as first proposed by Wright and Muff from their observations along

the south coast of Ireland. (1904):

5. Upper Head (frost-shattered and/or soliflucted material - usually angular stones which may include a reworked version of the underlying sediment)
4. Till of Inland Provenance (termed the Ballyvoyle Till - material which has been laid down by ice which advanced southward over the Irish Sea Till).
3. Irish Sea Till (glacial sediments, usually calcareous marine muds containing shells and flints, which have been deposited by ice from the Irish Sea).
2. Lower Head (as above i.e. indicative of periglacial conditions - in this case the onset of glaciation).
1. Raised Beach (approximately 3-5m. O.D. and sometimes contains erratics of northern provenance possibly derived from an earlier glaciation. The beach itself is taken to represent interglacial conditions and rests on a raised rock platform).

#### Modern Beach:

Flints are also found as constituent, occasional clasts or stones in modern beaches along the coast. The flints may have been washed out of the older marine or glacial deposits which are in many localities undergoing rapid erosion. Alternatively, material which has been eroded from other more distant sites may be transported by longshore drift or marine currents. Some erratics may conceivably have been introduced by floating seaweed or ice. The distribution of flints was not included in the survey for this reason. It may be noted however, that the frequency of flints in the modern beaches is fairly low as based on casual observation.

### I. Raised Beach:

The number of flints found at any one locality or within any single sediment type may vary appreciably. Of the eighty sites listed in Table I, only one of these finds was associated with raised beach material. This frequency is comparable with that observed by Wright and Muff (1904). The remainder of the listed finds may be associated with three broad categories of sediment type:

- i. Flints occurring in head or soliflucted material.
- ii. Flint erratics in till of Irish Sea origin.
- iii. Flint erratics in till or gravels of inland origin.

### 2. Head:

Flints found occasionally in head-type deposits extend at rare intervals along the western half of the coast of county Waterford from Ballykilmurry to Ballyvoony (the most easterly locality, apart from the isolated instance of Knockavelish, at which flint was found) and inland around the Drum Hills area where depth of drift is so shallow in most places as to render a distinction between till and soliflucted till (glacial material which has been subsequently reworked by periglacial and/or subaerial movement of deposits downslope) impossible.

### 3. Irish Sea Till:

Flint erratics associated with the glacio-marine muds of Irish Sea origin are found most commonly where the latter assumes predominance in the stratigraphic column i.e. to the south-west of Dungarvan. This group is entirely confined to the coastal strip and embayments around Ardmore (Ballyquin to Crobally Lower), Ardoginna, Whiting Bay (Cappagh and Ballysallagh) and Caliso Bay (Monatray East). This sediment type has an approximate altitudinal limit of less than fifty metres. It seems to have survived possible subsequent erosion either by hillslope processes or advance southward of inland ice owing to its protected position in the lee of a 'pre-glacial' marine cliff. It is also probable that the subsequent movement of south-bound ice into the Drum Hills may not have been particularly powerful or erosive as indicated by the survival of many flint erratics in that area.

#### 4. Till of Inland Provenance:

The group of flint erratics associated with the Ballyvoyle Till (first described by Watts in 1959 and formally type-sited by Mitchell in 1973, although, not on the basis of the occasionally contained flint erratics) extends westward from Ballyvoyle Bridge where it was observed to overlie till of Irish Sea origin in the summers of 1979 and 1980 by the present author and by Watts (1959). It is no longer visible owing to the introduction into the area of large blocks in order to arrest coastal erosion. This group extends southwards into the Drum Hills where it appears in similar relatively small but consistent quantities. The suggestion put forward by Wright and Muff in 1904 to explain the presence of flint erratics in the till of inland origin at Ballycraheen in county Cork still holds true; namely: that the till of inland origin acquired the characteristics of the underlying till of Irish Sea origin over which it subsequently passed in its journey south to the sea.

#### Conclusions:

Owing to the very infrequent finds of flint in the marine sediments along the coast of county Waterford, the till of Irish Sea origin is considered as the prime transporting agency of flint nodules onto the Waterford landmass. These may, particularly in the Drum Hills area, have become reentrained in southbound ice which may have relocated the northerly limit somewhat to the south. Alternatively, in a few restricted cases, flints may be derived from either of the above sediment types by solifluction processes; in which case their present location and distribution reflects a slightly lower altitudinal range than would previously have been the case given a purely glacial origin. Naturally, their destination as determined by the transporting ice is much higher than would have been at the bed of the Irish Sea. The above conclusions refer to the finds of flint erratics in section. The frequency of finds is much lower than those reported for worked flints found at the surface in the Bally Lough area by Green and Zvelebil (1983): eighty localities yielding an average find of one to three flints per locality (infrequently more); as opposed to twentynine sites yielding a total of seven hundred

worked flints i.e. an average of twenty-four finds per site. Comparable frequencies for the finding of flints in section could only be encountered (and then with difficulty) in localities occupied by till of Irish Sea origin as described above. These localities are restricted areally to the western coastal strip of county Waterford and must represent the nearest feasible source of raw materials for any Mesolithic or Neolithic flint industry in the Bally Lough area.

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TABLE I: DISTRIBUTION OF FLINT ERRATICS IN PARTS OF CO. WATERFORD.

<u>Townland</u>	<u>Map</u>	<u>No. Sites</u>	<u>No. in Section</u>	<u>No. on Surface</u>
1. Ardoginna	40NW	3	3	0
2. Ballycurrane	35SW	1	0	1
3. Ballycurreen N.	36SW	1	1	0
4. Ballintaylor Lr.	30SE	1	1	0
5. Ballykilmurry	39SW	2	2	0
6. Ballynacourty	36NW	1	0	1
7. Ballynagaul More	36NE	2	1	1
8. Ballyquin	38SE	2	2	0
9. Ballyreilly	36SE	1	0	1
10. Ballysallagh	40NW	1	1	0
11. Ballyvoony	32NE	1	1	0
12. Barranastook	36SW	5	4	1
13. Barranastook Upr.	35NW	1	1	0
14. Cappagh	40NW	1	1	0

TABLE I: CTD.

<u>Townland</u>	<u>Map</u>	<u>No. Sites</u>	<u>No. in Section</u>	<u>No. on Surface</u>
15. Carronhyla	35NE	I	0	I
16. Clashbrack	35SE	I	0	I
17. Cloghraun	35SW	3	2	I
18. Clondonnell	2SE	I	0	I
19. Clonea Lower	3ISE	I	I	0
20. Coolroe	36SW	I	I	0
21. Crobally Lower	38SE	I	I	0
22. Crussera	35NE	I	I	0
23. Cushcam	3INE	I	I	0
24. Deelishmountain	23SE	I	0	I
25. Faha	36SW	I	I	0
26. Garranbaun	3INE	I	I	0
27. Glenlicky	35SE	2	2	0
28. Gorteen	36SW	I	0	I
29. Gortnadiha Lower	36NW	I	I	0
30. Gowlaun	39NW	I	0	I
31. Kilbrack	2SE	I	0	I
32. Knockanpower Lr.	36NE	I	I	0
33. Knockavelish	27NE	I	I	0
34. Knocknaglogh Lr.	35NW	2	2	0
35. Knocknaglogh Upr.	35NW	2	I	I
36. Knocknagranagh	3INW	I	I	0
37. Knocknahoola	35NE	2	0	2
38. Knocknamona	30SW	I	0	I
39. Knockyoolahan W.	3INE	I	I	0
40. Lagnagoushee	36SW	3	3	0
41. Monagally West	35NW	I	0	I
42. Monageela	35NW	I	I	0
43. Monagilleeny	35SW	3	0	3
44. Monalummary	35NW	I	0	I
45. Monamraher	36SW	I	I	0
46. Monarud	3INW	I	I	0
47. Monatray East	40SW	I	I	0
48. Mountstuart	35NW	I	0	I
49. Moyng	35SE	I	0	I
50. Mweelahorna	36NW	3	3	0
51. Pulla	35SE	2	2	0
52. Rathnameneenagh	36SE	I	0	I
53. Scart	3ISE	I	I	0
54. Shanacloon	36NW	I	0	I
55. Shanakill	35NE	I	0	I
56. Shanakill	36NE	I	0	I
57. Toor North	35NE	I	0	I
58. Toor South	35SW	I	0	I
59. Windgap	35NE	I	I	0

Total: 80

50

30

THE REFORMATION BISHOPS OF THE DIOCESE OF WATERFORD AND LISMORE

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or

NOTES FOR THE ATHERTON FILE, c. 1540 to c. 1640.

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by Des Cowman.

Introduction:

On December 5th 1640 Dr. John Atherton, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore was hanged for (according to a contemporary pamphlet) "incest, buggery and many other enormous crimes, after having lived a vicious life". In an article in an earlier DECIES Dr. Aidan Clarke of T.C.D. postulated the possibility that Atherton was "framed" by interests that felt threatened by his attempts to recover lands that had been lost to the reformed church through various dubious practices. In calling his article "The Atherton File", Dr. Clarke stressed that the evidence was incomplete and hoped that more information might turn locally.<sup>1</sup> The indexing of the records of Christ Church Cathedral by Julian Walton<sup>2</sup> has thrown some light on the extent of the problem Atherton had to deal with in Waterford city and this is probably a reasonable analogy for the problem of alienation of church lands through-out the diocese.

Mr. Walton's researches have shown that the sale of long leases of church properties dates back to Bishop Nicholas Comyn who had been bishop of the united diocese since 1519. Between 1535 and '49 he had sold leases of three city houses for periods of 60, 100 and 120 years. Whatever he may have sold in the better endowed Lismore section of the diocese goes unrecorded as a convenient fire about 1550 destroyed the "black book" containing records of properties held and leased in the old Lismore diocese.<sup>3</sup> However, bishop Comyn retired in 1551 and was succeeded by another Waterfordman, Patrick Walsh. For reasons that have not emerged it seems that he initiated a major policy of obtaining immediate cash through the sale of long leases for reduced rents. This may have set a pattern by which the deans of the two cathedrals (Waterford & Lismore), as well as anybody else with the power to do so, sold for immediate return various rights to church land, and this continued under various bishops up to about 1620. However, the record of exactly what happened is complicated by the fact that the records of the eastern section of the diocese were reported to be "all burned, lost or imbezzled"<sup>4</sup> by the time a proper investigation took place. Matters became even more confused later, in Lismore part of the diocese, for reasons that will emerge.

The purpose of this article, therefore, is to look at the surviving evidence for the alienation of church lands over the century or so before Atherton's bishopric. In attempting to understand why his predecessors should have acted in such a short-sighted manner in relation to future church income, the question of the uncertainties and fluctuations accompanying religious changes over half a century must feature. However, the emphasis here is on the performance of the bishops as judged by what happened to church property over which they had control. Collectively, over the western section of the diocese, they brought about a situation where income of £1,540 p.a. from land rents and dues was reduced to a mere £34-7-4 p.a. within seventy years or so<sup>5</sup> as well as leaving many of the medieval churches in ruins.

PATRICK WALSH ; 1551-'79:

Bishop Comyn resigned on 24th June 1551. With suspicious and indeed controversial rapidity, Dean Patrick Walsh was appointed and consecrated Bishop.<sup>6</sup> He was born near Waterford city, was a graduate of Oxford and had become Dean of Waterford about 1546.<sup>7</sup> He seems to have been greatly respected - at least to judge from his reputation amongst the counter-Reformation clergy (whom one would have expected to be hostile) a generation later. One wrote of him as "a learned man, looked up to by all in the kingdom for his knowledge of doctrine and preaching," adding that the other Irish bishops waited to see what Walsh did about the religious changes before deciding themselves.<sup>8</sup>

These changes would have had little significance over the early years of his episcopacy, particularly during the short reign of the Catholic Queen Mary (1553-'58). With the succession of Elizabeth, however, and the Act of Uniformity (1559), a definite split between new and old orthodoxy began to emerge. Matters were rendered more complex by the civil disorder, particularly affecting the western part of the diocese, leading to the battle of Affane in 1565 and the Desmond Rebellion starting 1569. Then in 1570 Elizabeth was excommunicated and the implications of this were made clear by the Jesuits as well as other agents of the counter-Reformation preaching, particularly in the city.

Progressively, therefore from 1559 Bishop Walsh was confronted by choice between the new official religion coming from London or the new official thinking resulting from the council of Trent. Presumably he acceded to the former, but it may be significant that the record of his selling off of church lands begins in 1559 and over the next 20 years he disposed of about 17 properties in Waterford city for prices undisclosed so that the total revenue from them for his successors over the next hundred years or more was only about £10 per annum (see table). What else he sold isn't known - except for two eyries of hawks in Ardmore and Old Parish sold to Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond and some odd dealings in property around Carrick-on-Suir.<sup>9</sup>

Why Bishop Walsh engaged in such transactions hasn't emerged but it is possible that the civil and ecclesiastical upheavals of the time made difficult the collection of rents, tithes and other dues. He may have compounded hostility towards his own role by the presence of three of his children, although whether he married as Bishop, or whether he had been widowed before he took orders isn't clear.<sup>10</sup> His own family seem to have been divided in their religious affiliations, with one son conforming and becoming Bishop of Ossory ("killed by a kern") and his daughter marrying a well-known Catholic Waterford schoolmaster named Flaghy.<sup>11</sup>

Patrick Walsh was the last of the locally born and appointed bishops of the official church for some centuries. This, and his own personal prestige, may have protected him from the worst manifestations of the religious polarization of the 1570's. His successors, however, were royal appointees, generally outsiders and many of dubious religious commitment.

MARMADUKE MIDDLETON, 1579-'82:

- was such. He was a Welshman and one of the new breed of ecclesiastical opportunists, having been successively vicar of Coolock and Dunboyne, rector of Kildare and in May 1579 by royal appointment and unknown patronage became the new Bishop of Waterford & Lismore.<sup>12</sup> He wasn't exactly welcomed, being confronted with hostility from the dean of the cathedral and the Corporation who were



"contemptuous and obstinate" in their attitude to him while the citizens were deemed "the most arrogant that live within the state".<sup>13</sup> Little wonder, therefore, that by the end of the year he was looking for a transfer to Wexford, as "neither bishop nor preacher dare tarry in Waterford ", or as he put it, "Rome itself holdeth no more superstition than Waterford".<sup>14</sup> This was hardly the language of reconciliation and compromise, so it is not surprising that the burgers of the city reciprocated his animosity. They wrote complaining that he had "plundered" the cathedral and was leading a "bad life".<sup>15</sup> The surviving evidence for such depredations remains scant, but certainly he left enough for subsequent historians to be most disparaging about him. One of them says that Middleton had earlier been a serving man in Waterford cathedral and had been caught trying to rob the Treasury.<sup>16</sup> While this is hardly true, it does seem that formal proceedings of a criminal nature were taken against him by Waterford Corporation but that he was "acquitted with great credit".<sup>17</sup>

The only evidence of him abusing church property is his sale of three gardens near St. Patrick's. However, hostility towards him was so great that in Sept. 1581 he fled back to Wales where he succeeded in obtaining appointment as bishop of St. Davids the following year. He didn't exactly distinguish himself there, either, with charges being made against him of bigamy, abuse of charitable moneys, simony, and of altering a will in his own favour. The charge on which he was found guilty, however, was for selling off church land,

MILER McGRATH; (1) 1582 - '89:

Since Middleton had proved such a disastrous failure as bishop of Waterford & Lismore it would seem that royal officials sought someone with diplomacy, tact and the sensitivity of an Irish background. Apparently they failed to find such and as a temporary measure appointed a man who had these qualities (but other qualities too!) - Miler McGrath, Archbishop of Cashel. In the event no one else was got for seven years during which time the Jesuits established a definite mission in Ireland to counteract the Elizabethan compromise, the Fitzgerald lands in West Waterford were given to Sir Walter Raleigh, Mary Queen of Scots was executed, and the Spanish Armada met its doom in 1588. The passions generated by these events<sup>20</sup> made all attempts to reach compromise impossible. Probably Miler's contribution to non-aggravation was his absence. The only complaint re Waterford at this period was from a Protestant schoolmaster who complained that people in Waterford would not send their children to school to learn and "used him very evilly". Significantly, perhaps, he complained to the archbishop of Armagh rather than to Cashel.<sup>21</sup>

While it is possible that Miler was busily selling leases of Waterford & Lismore land at this time, the record for the city shows a very modest trade (see table). As archbishop of Cashel however, more serious charges were later laid against him - sale of ecclesiastical offices, selling episcopal manors to pay gambling debts, extorting contributions from the clergy by threats of demotion, felling trees (!), wounding a man .....etc., etc..<sup>22</sup> Presumably some of these activities affected Waterford & Lismore.

In 1588 Miler was instructed to present a survey of the state of Waterford & Lismore. He did so, but neglected any mention of church lands and incomes, confining himself to a listing of churches and clergy. However the document does make clear the failure of the Reformation to establish control over the parish structures in the diocese. Most parishes by 1588 had no clergyman and of those that did, some at least proved firmly papist.<sup>23</sup> Some months later Miler relinquished control over the diocese as a man deemed suitable for the bishop had, it seems, at last been found.

THOMAS WEATHERHEAD (alias Whalley); 1588-'92:

Weatherhead was warden of the Collegiate School in Youghal and had apparently been lobbying for the position of Bishop of Waterford & Lismore. The reaction of one well-placed observer was to pray that "the said Weatherhead may have no further footing in God's church" and claimed that the warden had been trying to get support by offering to sell his wardenship and if made bishop would sell the lease of Lismore.<sup>24</sup> Quite possibly Miler McGrath, as Archbishop was the one who finally secured his appointment despite the opposition of the Lord Deputy who referred to Weatherhead's "insufferable wickedness" claiming that as warden in Youghal he had sold off all his sources of income, " and suffered his honest wife and poor children to wander up and down, begging and ready to famish".<sup>25</sup>

This then was the new Bishop of Waterford and Lismore although definite records of his commercial activities here have not survived. However, in 1591 McGrath decided that he should claim compensation for losing the bishoprick<sup>26</sup> and later that year himself and Weatherhead illegally left the country. Charges were then preferred against each for doing so.<sup>27</sup> Apparently McGrath not only talked his way out of the charge, but, to the horror of the Lord Deputy,<sup>28</sup> returned the next year with the bishoprick of Waterford & Lismore restored to him. No more is heard of Weatherhead !

MILER MC GRATH;(ii) 1592 - 1608:

During McGrath's second episcopacy tensions within the country finally led to the northern chiefs coming into open rebellion and 9 years of warfare followed which had clear religious undertones. The possibility of a new Armada from Catholic Spain kept tension high in Waterford city where rumours abounded about the imminence of the invasion<sup>29</sup>. Queen Elizabeth personally believed Waterford Harbour the most likely target for Spanish attack and ordered the strengthening of defences.<sup>30</sup> This rumour was substantiated by the visible evidence of preparation for war - such as the new fort at Passage whose completion and defenses were the responsibility of the citizens<sup>31</sup> as well as the erection of signalling beacons at various points along the Waterford coast.<sup>32</sup>

By the 1590's too Waterford city had clearly rejected the Reformation in a way that left little room for compromise, one observer claiming that "they were the first that refused the (reformed) church", everywhere else following<sup>33</sup>. He blamed the Jesuits. A more hostile observer referred to "perverse recusants come out of England for the most part to Waterford, the sink of all filthy superstitions and idolotry ...."<sup>34</sup> Thus any attempt which Bishop McGrath might make to regulate the religious affairs of Waterford was likely to meet with hostility. This he found for himself when he visited the city early in 1600. He reported from there that he had suffered " many abuses" from the Mayor & Corporation, was " like presently to be banished out of Waterford" suggesting that no place was now safe for him to go.<sup>35</sup>

Against this hostility it is unlikely that tithes, rents or other dues were coming in to the deans & chapters of either section of the "reformed" diocese so that the only way to maintain their establishments was the continued sale of long leaseholds. Miler himself it seems sold off the bishop's fortified house in Lismore to Sir Walter Raleigh and presumably much else besides. Indeed Raleigh himself may not have taken too well to Miler's mercenary activities and petitioned the Lord Lieutenant for " a better sort of bishop"<sup>36</sup> Nonetheless McGrath continued as "temporary" bishop for the 15 years up to 1608. Church lands continued to change hands (see table), churches remained without pastors and

slowly deteriorated or were subjected to random vandalism, such as Lisnackill church which was destroyed by soldiers coming back from the Battle of Kinsale who tore out its roof timbering for firing.<sup>37</sup> Meanwhile, with the connivance of the majority of the people and their representatives, a new ecclesiastical organization was beginning to take shape based on the ideas of the Counter Reformation, so that by 1610 for instance, there were reported to be thirty priests administering from private houses in Waterford city.<sup>38</sup>

By 1606 McGrath had reached the age of 84. He had been beaten up in Lismore five years before but still seemed hale and hearty, ( he lived to be 100), so desperate attempts were made to get him to resign his bishoprick of Waterford and Lismore, which he only did on being offered the less sensitive Killala and Athenry instead.<sup>39</sup> Moderate attempts were now made to get the diocese back into some order.

#### BISHOPS LANCASTER (1608-'19) and BOYLE (1619-'36):

The diocesan registrar at the time of the latter bishop assumed that both men had set out to redeem the status of the reformed church and to reverse the sale of church properties.<sup>40</sup> In fact long leases continued to be sold in Waterford city up to 1620 (see table) but it is possible that they too were subjected to something like the extraordinary malappropriations which were reported to have made nonsense of the Lismore properties.

It seems that to prevent any further dealings in the property of Dean and Chapter of Lismore their seal wound up for safe custody in the Abbey Church, Clonmel. During the four years it stayed there (about 1611-'15) allegedly it was placed in a poor box to which there was open access. The box "might, with ease, be opened or shut with a nail, whereby many estates of the church revenue were counterfeited, ante-dated or forged".<sup>41</sup> If this is true, it is little to be wondered at that Church revenue and organization had little hope of recovery.

Exactly how bad the position of the reformed church was in 1615 is revealed by a report on the structure of the churches in both parts of the diocese commissioned by Bishop Lancaster. As these are already available in print,<sup>42</sup> there seems little point in reproducing them here except to note that over much of the countryside the old churches lay in ruins. The picture in Waterford city was nearly as bad and was reported on by the Mayor, Alexander Leonard, who seems to have taken a delight in reporting the failure of the Established Church to maintain the places of worship, the prohibitive cost of now putting them back in order, and paucity of their potential congregation.<sup>43</sup> It is understandable, therefore, if Bishop Lancaster (who had previously been chaplain to James I) and his successor (previously Dean of Lismore)<sup>44</sup> were dismayed at the enormity of the task which confronted them to restore both buildings and income - not to mention the impossibility of creating public acceptability.

#### CONCLUSION:

For the new Lord Deputy, Wentworth, the most logical way of salvaging something from the failure of the reformation was to make some attempt to restore church income. Church premises could then be repaired, clergy appointed, morale improved and hopefully public confidence would follow. Waterford was most desperately in need of drastic action following more than quarter of a century of episcopal corruption, so it is understandable that on the death of Boyle in 1636 the dynamic Atherton was promoted to the diocese of Waterford & Lismore.

Some of the legalistic tricks he used to recover church lands in the Lismore section have already been described in DECIES by Professor Clarke. In the eastern part he seems to have relied on a form of intimidation. For instance a lease of land & mill at Kilbarrymeaden had been sold by Middleton to John & Edmund Power in 1581 who paid £22-10/- p.a. rent for a huge area (from the present Kill-Ballylaneen area to the coast). Even though they had 22 years to go he threatened them with unspecified legal consequences if they did not accept arbitration. So "for the avoidance of suits in law" they accepted the Bishop of Derry who decreed they should hand back part of the land and accept the rest for next 22 years at the greatly increased rent of £74-10-0.<sup>45</sup>

Such tactics no doubt provoked bitter hostility, particularly amongst the many who had inherited long leaseholds from fathers or grandfathers and who must have seen the land as rightly theirs with Atherton trying to swindle them out of it. Together they must have formed a powerful vested-interest, and no doubt took grim satisfaction when the technicalities of law which he had used against them, were turned against himself, and the newly enacted penalty against homosexuality could get him out of the way for good.

What the sequel to all this would have been cannot now be judged as greater events swamped the problems of the Waterford & Lismore diocese. Much of the old order was overthrown following the 1641 Rebellion, and this in turn was overthrown by Cromwell who had little sympathy with the established church. Thus, in brief, little of the income was recovered, most of the churches continued to decay and their sad ruins now stand as silent rebuke to the likes of Middleton, Weatherhead and of course Miler McGrath.

#### S O U R C E S:

1. DECIES XI, May 1979, p.45-54.
2. Draft typescript index in Waterford Municipal Library.
3. Rennison, W.H., transcribed and annotated the temporalities of Joshua Boyle, in C.H.A. Journal, Vols.32,(1928) to 36,(1931). This ref. is in Vol.36,p.23.
4. Walton index, loc.cit., Records of Dean & Chapter,p.156, preface to Thomas White's inventory 1680.
5. Rennison, W.H., op.cit. C.H.A., Vol.36,p.23 & 24.
6. Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland, Vol.I, (Ed. J. Morrin), Dublin 1861, p.244, gives dates of Conyn's resignation as 24th July & Walsh's consecration as 4th Aug. However in Works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, Vol.I, Dublin 1809, p.537, the editor, J.Harris, chooses to contradict Ware's recounting of the latter date and says that Walsh had actually been given the appointment the previous year.
7. Athenae Oxoniensis, 1721, quoted by M.W.Ronan in "Waterford in the Reformation Period" published in Waterford News 29/12/1950.
8. Thomas Strange's letter in Spanish to Luke Wadding of 20th November 1629 in Wadding Papers, I.M.C. 1953, p.319. I am grateful to Mr. & Mrs. N. Doodey for their translation.
9. White, Newport B., (ed.), Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds, A.D. 1200-1600, I.M.C. 1936, - see pp.,201,202-3 and 225.
10. Ronan, loc.cit., suggests the latter. However the implications of this for the age of his children seems to make this unlikely (see next ref.).
11. Strange's letter, loc.cit., refers to these but not to their mother. Fl ghy, apparently, was still teaching in 1629 being referred to as "our schoolmaster".
12. Dictionary of National Biography, Vol.XIII, p.355.
13. Calendar of Carew Papers, Vol.II, Pelham to Walsingham, 7th Dec., 1579.

## (SOURCES)contd.

14. Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1562-'85, p.199 . Report from Captain York, 5/12/1579 and p.235 Middleton to Walsingham, 21/7/1580.
15. ibid., p.269, James Sherlock to Walsingham 18/11/1580.
16. Joshua Boyle, op.cit. in C.H.A. Vol.36, p.23, this apparently being Rennison's comment.
17. Calendar of Tudor Fiants, Eliz., No.3743.
18. Dictionary of National Biography, Vol.XIII, p.355.
19. Grattan Flood in W. & S.E.I.A.S. Journal, Vol.9, 1960, p.51, says that his imprisonment was for forging a will and that he died there.
20. The State Papers for the 1580's are full of rumours of a Spanish/Catholic invasion force being assembled. Many are from Waterford merchants and are relayed to Dublin Castle by the Mayor.
21. C.S.P.I. 1562-'85, letter John Sherman to Armagh, 12/7/1585.
22. see ibid., 1588-'92, p.418.
23. Published and edited by Canon Power in W.S.E.I.A.S. Journal, Vol.XII, 1909, p.155-161 and also given as Appendix VI in his "Compendious History ....."
24. C.S.P.I. 1588-'92, p.121-122, note from the Bishop of Cork to the Lord Deputy dated Feb.1589.
25. ibid., p.122, Lord Deputy to Burghley, 12 Feb.1589.
26. ibid., p.396, dated 3rd June 1591.
27. ibid., p.418, Lord Deputy to Burghley, 10th September, 1591.
28. The Lord Deputy's displeasure is reported by Ware (op.cit.), p.538 who says that an appeal against McGrath's restoration to bishoprick was over-ruled by the Queen herself in August 1592.
29. C.S.P.I. 1592-'94 and '94-'97 contain many reports from Waterford merchants about the likelihood of such an invasion.
30. C.S.P.I. 1594-'97, p.198, Queen to Lord Deputy, 1596.
31. See Walton, J., "Aspects of Passage East", Part I in DECIES X, Jan.1979, p.24 - 26.
32. C.S.P.I. 1594-'97, p.411, Fenton to Burghley, 5th Oct. 1595. These beacons were at Kilmacomb Hill, Templybrick, Helvic and Monatray.
33. ibid., p.487, Dowdall to Burghley, 9th March 1596.
34. ibid.? (A photocopy in State Paper file in Waterford Municipal Library, numbered p.15, 1596, lacks introductory provenancing).
35. C.S.P.I. 1597-1602, coded letter from McGrath in Waterford to Cecil, 28th Jan.1560.
36. Salisbury Ms. VI, Historical Ms. Commission 1895, p.166-167, Raleigh to Cecil, 3rd May 1596.
37. Visitation of 1615 published in W.S.E.I.A.S. Journal, Vol.XVI, p.116.
38. These are named in Canon Power's "Sundrie Priests and Friars" in W.S.E.I.A.S. Journal, Vol. XVI, p.123-124.
39. see, Archbishop Magrath, The Scoundrel of Cashel by R.Wyse Jackson for a general summary. The episode at Lismore in 1601 is given on page 63-64.
40. Joshua Boyle, op.cit., C.H.A. Journal, Vol.XXVI, p.234-124.
41. ibid., Rennison's unprovenanced account in C.H.A. Journal, Vol.XXXVI, 1931, p.24.
42. In W.S.E.I.A.S. Journal under title "Material Condition of Churches of Waterford" edited by Canon Power, Vol.XVI, p.113-121.
43. ibid., "Waterford City Churches", Vol.XIV, 1911, p.49-55.
44. O'Flynn, John, Two Centuries of Catholic Bishops of Waterford & Lismore, Waterford, 1917, p.43. He gives no source for this information about their backgrounds.
45. Some details are given by Boyle (loc.cit.). This is in C.H.A. Journal, Vol. XXIII, p.44-46.

TABLE OF SOME ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY IN WATERFORD CITY EFFECTIVELY SOLD TO  
LAY INTERESTS, c. 1580 - 1610.

(These are collated from the Calendar of Records of Christchurch Cathedral, Waterford compiled by Julian C. Walton - typescript copy in Waterford Municipal Library. From the calendar it is clear that the church had a great deal of other land but details of leasing are not available. The following list gives only leases of more than 100 years, this being effectively a selling off of the property usually on payment of a lump sum or "fine" after which only a moderate rent would be sought).

DATE	PROPERTY	ANNUAL RENT	NO. OF YEARS
<u>Leases sold under Bishop Walsh:</u>			
1559	House & Gdn. in St. Patrick's Parish	10-4d	120
1562	House & Yard in Christ Church Lane	13-4d	101
	Fair House & Garden in Barronstrand St.	3-6d	100
	House in John Lee's land called the "Treasure Money"	13-4d	100
	House in Key Lane	15/-	125
	House & stable in Patrick St.	13-4d	100
1564	Garden in Colepeck	(-)	120
	"Lime & Store" house in Key St. & cellars	13-4d	120
1565	2 slated Houses in High Street.	£1	160
1566	Waste ground in Barronstrand St. Park outside St. Patrick's Gate	3/- 6-8d	100 100
1567	House in Milk Lane	24/-	120
1568	House in High St.	10-4d	120
1569	House & garden "without Colepitt Castle"	8/-	100
	House in St. Olave's Parish	24-8d	60
1575	"several thatched houses" in St. Michaels	10-4d	120
1576	House in John Lee's Lane near Key "A certain void place called Outhall (?)"	4/- 13-4d	100 100
1579	Row of slated houses in Christchurch Lane and High Street.	13/-	101
<u>Leases sold under Bishop Middleton:</u>			
1581	Garden in St. Patrick's Churchyard	4-4d	101
1581	Garden near St. Patrick's	4/-	101
1581	Garden outside St. Patrick's Gate	2-6d	120
<u>Leases sold under Bishop Miler McGrath (except 1589-'92, Thos. Weatherhead)</u>			
1583	2 tenements near "Black Boy House next to Christ Church Gate.	4/-	100
1586	House & "backside" in Trinity Parish	13/-	100
1587	2 tenements in Michael St.	4/-	120
1589*	House in Key St. & in High St.	13/-	120
	"(?)* House in Christchurch Yd.	-	160
	"(?)* House in Old Shambles	8/-	160
1592 *	House & Yd. in Little Patrick St.	20/-	120
1593	House in St. Michael's Parish	13/-	120
1594	House in High St.	10/-	101
	4 shops in Trinity Parish	22-4d	144
1597	(Unspecified premises) to Robert Walsh	18/-	100
1602	House used as horse mill in Patrick St.	20/-	100
1606	"Void ground" near Chaunter's "Manse"?	2/-	140
1607	2 shops & garden near St. Stephens	26-8d	100
<u>Leases sold under Bishop John Lancaster 1608 - 1619:</u>			
1609	Gdn. "without St. Mary's Gate"	4/-	101
1609	3 gardens on Kilbary Road.	4/-	101
1610	House in High Street	30/-	160

\* These Leases could have been sold at the time of Bishop Weatherhead.

## HORSE RACING IN TRAMORE IN THE 19th CENTURY

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by Andy Taylor.

Equestrian contests were popular and well organised events in ancient times, although horse-racing as we know it today is comparatively recent. In this part of the world the patronage of British Royalty had a tremendous effect on the development of the sport, and the crossing of local stock with imported Arab stallions was the foundation of modern race-horse breeding. In the development of the thoroughbred, and of the sport generally, Ireland has played an important part. By the middle of the 18th century numerous race meetings were held throughout Ireland.

In his efforts to establish Tramore as the premier seaside resort Bartholomew Rivers started horse-racing on the strand. These race meetings were well established by 1793 as an advertisement inserted by Laurence Hickey Jephson in Finn's Leinster Journal (8th Aug. 1793) informs us that Tramore Races were to be held on the strand course with Mick Currabaun as clerk of the course. Prime venison and some excellent old wine were to be had at Mrs. Coughlan's Hotel, and a Ball was to be held at the Hotel in the evening. Even in those days it seems racegoers were partial to the finer things in life. These races were likely to have been limited affairs, as in the days before the horse-box (not invented until 1836) entries would mainly have been confined to local horses. Two-horse events for private wagers were quite common, such as the race for a purse of 20 gns. run over a four mile course on Tramore Strand on Wed. 10th June 1801, when according to the Waterford Mirror Mr. Carew's piebald pony True Blue beat Capt. Duncan's bay pony Jack.

By 1807 racing on the beach had become so popular that a six day event was held there from the 18th - 24th August. Edward Lee, Thomas Wyse, William Alcock, and Edmund Moriarty were appointed as stewards to run the meeting, while entries had to be registered six clear days before running with Mr. John Walsh of the Great Hotel. The meeting was a great success and the Waterford Mirror (26th Aug. 1807) reports that "A Band attended at the Racecourse each day, which contributed much to the beauty of the scene. There were two Balls during the week most numerous attended, where the stewards proved themselves equally well calculated to regulate the Ballroom as the Race-course". Mr. Scully's Madame Catalini won three races over the six days, a marvellous test of endurance and stamina when one considers that old fashioned heats of three miles were the rule in those days. The mode of conveyance from Waterford for racegoers was "The Sociable" which according to the Waterford Mirror took one and a half hours to complete the journey from the Commercial Hotel on the Quay to Mrs. Coughlan's Hotel in Tramore. The Sociable took six passengers inside at 6/8d. each, and one passenger outside at 1/1d.

Over the following decades these races appear to have flourished despite untoward incidents such as the reported poisoning of a mare belonging to William Sullivan, Esq., who was one of the stewards of the Tramore Race meeting. The Waterford Mirror (24th September 1814) published a notice of a reward for information leading to the capture of the culprit who administered the "Corrosive Sublimate" to the unfortunate animal. One of the reasons for the success of these races may have been the patronage of the local gentry (as is suggested by Ryland in 1824). Indeed this view is strengthened by the fact that Henry Villiers Stuart sponsored the 1825 meeting, a year before his famous Election victory (Waterford Mirror, October 26th 1825).

No race meetings seem to be recorded for the 1830's, but racing was held in 1841, and from a report in the Waterford Mirror (9th August 1841) we learn that "Despite the showery weather a large crowd patronised the Strand fixture. Four hurdles were erected on the strand to be taken twice. Shows, music, and dancing crowned the day." For many of the fox hunting gentry, however, the flat racing and hurdling which the beach facility provided held limited interest, and consequently John Delahunty provided a steeplechase course over his land at Ballycarnane (at rear of the old Graveyard). Not much information is available about this as there is a gap in the Municipal Library's holding of Local Newspapers between 1842 and 1855. The steeplechasing at Ballycarnane was still reported (Waterford News) in the latter year, so presumably there were two lots of Tramore races.

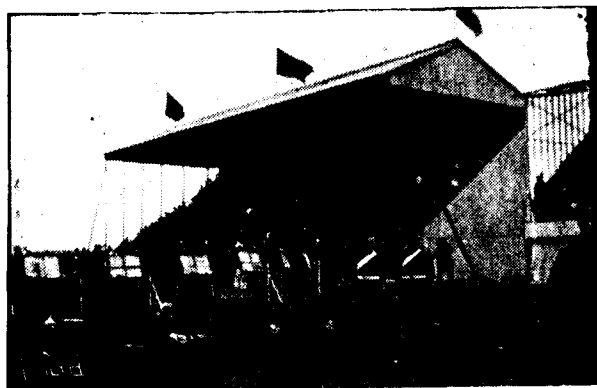
The coming of the Railway to Tramore (1853) opened up new possibilities for race promoters. John Delahunty seems to have taken the initiative along with Lord Doneraile of laying out a new racecourse in the vicinity of the Back Strand. As the reclamation and embankment of the Back Strand was not completed until the mid 1860's, this race course must have been rather limited in extent. Racing in Tramore was now controlled by stewards who certainly knew their racing - Lord Waterford, Lord Stradbroke, Viscount Doneraile, and James Delahunty. The initial meeting was not a success as the Waterford News (4th May 1855) reported "meagre attendances at the Tramore three day meeting", and the reason supplied by that newspaper was "that people did not know the course was on the low ground convenient to the Back Strand". Undaunted James Delahunty ran a further meeting in September of that year, when Lord Doneraile provided part of his sheepwalk for the occasion. (Waterford News - 14th Sept.). This meeting must also have been an unsuccessful event as "the Tramore business people complained the course was so far from the town that visitors will not enter it at all".

A year later perseverance paid off for Mr. Delahunty as the Waterford Mail (12th Aug. 1856) reported the Tramore Races "largely and fashionably attended by many from Limerick, Kilkenny and elsewhere". From that report in the Waterford Mail it appears that a stand-house had been erected to provide a comfortable vantage point for racegoers. The provision of such an amenity was a sure indication that this was to be the permanent location for racing in the area. The Waterford News reported the same meeting in a humorous vein - "At Tramore Races on the new course near the Back Strand thousands attended. Order was maintained by Tramore Zouaves wielding stout shillelaghs".

Despite the new racecourse occasional races continued to take place



Despite the new racecourse occasional races continued to take place at Delahunty's old course at Ballycarnane, but one reported on by the Waterford News (3rd June 1857) seems to have been in the nature of a private contest "between Mr. Wall's Perriwinkle and Mr. Sinnott's Jolly Mariner". Never the less, the same paper in the following month reported on a three day meeting at the new course, patronized by Lord Waterford and many sporting blades. The paper lavished praise on Mr. Delahunty for the wonderful improvements at the course. More plebian events also took place there it seems judging by the following report in the Waterford News (3rd June 1857): - "A body of police under the command of Sub-Inspector Jennings was called into active requisition to suppress numerous fights at intervals between racing. One unfortunate jockey, Hogan of Tipperary, had a bludgeon broken over his head by an assailant. Several medical gentlemen were prompt in their attention to the poor fellow.



RACECOURSE, TRAMORE.

It must be remembered that racing on Delahunty's old course and indeed on his new course at the back strand was quite open as enclosed courses were a rarity, but this changed when Martin J. Murphy sunk an entrenchment to enclose sufficient space for a course. This entrenchment was flooded on race days to keep out non-paying spectators. Later, according to Egan in his History of Waterford, a wooden paling was erected and corrugated sheeting attached for two miles along the distance enclosed. Through this barrier eight turnstiles and a carriageway afforded an easy entrance and exit for racegoers. Its appointments included three stands (A County Stand House, A Grand Stand and an Open Stand), as well as a weigh room, saddle room, dressing room, and 33 stables with sand-filled partitions to shut off noises from the animals.

In the closing decade of the 19th century the Racecourse at the Back Strand was indeed one of the finest in the country and we find Egan in his History (1894) enthusing over it as follows : -  
 "Tramore is now distinguished for having one of the neatest and best fitted race-courses in this country, while the annual meets are among the most enjoyable and attractive. Two features tend to enhance the Tramore course over most of its compeers in this country. One, for the visitors is the delightful pleasure of viewing with ease the race from start to finish; the other, for the owners of horses which is, that owing to the nature of the ground it must be always up to 'elastic' tension. The sandy strata prevents anything like a slimy or soft bottom, while if too hard, - a flux from the Back Strand will soon bring it to the consistency suited to 'going' ".

The making of a roadway and a stone wall along the beach at the beginning of the 20th century seemed to add a degree of permanence to racing in this part of the town, but the Atlantic Ocean had other ideas. In the early months of 1911 the embankment built by Malcolmson at the Back Strand was breached in a storm, and seemed to herald the death knell of racing in the locality, but prompt attention by Martin J. Murphy saved the day (Munster Express - 22nd July 1911), and the August three day fixture went on as usual with stakes valued over £1,000. Amongst the jockeys taking part were John Thompson (Champion 1911), John Doyle (a jockey with Tramore connections), J. Gallegos, and J.W. Widger. Then on Wednesday 13th December 1911 in a severe gale the sea broke through the embankment once more (Munster Express - 16th Dec. 1911). The race - course and adjacent golf links were inundated. Scottish Engineers working on the Bridge in Waterford put up a timber barrier, and piled up some sandbags, but all was to no avail. Lord Waterford put up £500 to save the course, and despite an overall outlay of £2,000 racing sadly came to an end in the Back Strand area. It seems that the Gracedieu Plate won by Lord Londonderry's Foxhunt with L. Brabazon in the saddle was to be the last event on the old sea-girt racecourse.

#### COUNTY WATERFORD WORKHOUSE RECORDS

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from Donal Brady.

The County Library, Lismore, has almost completed the task of assembling the surviving Board of Guardian Records relating to the four workhouses in city and county. While a few volumes are badly deteriorated most are in quite good condition. The bulk of these are minutes of meetings and supply an excellent insight into various aspects of contemporary society. A brief sampling was given in DECIES **XII**, Sept. 1979, p.31 for Kilmacthomas Workhouse in 1875, but it is hoped that further research will be done now that this important source of local study has become available.

### KILMACTHOMAS UNION:

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This was formed in 1850. Minute books have survived from 17th June 1858 up to 6th April 1876 with six month gaps in 1854, 1856, 1868, 1870-'71, 1872 & 1873 and twelve month gaps (i.e. two volumes) missing in 1858 - '59 & 1863 - '64). The run continues on 6th April 1868 continuing to 30th March 1920, generally using one volume per year. Missing are volumes for 1879-'80; 1885-'86-'87; 1889 - '90; 1892 - '93; 1895 - '96; 1898-'99; 1900-'01; 1910 - '11; 1913 ' '14. They comprise a total of 80 books, only 36 of which are currently in the possession of the Library but the rest are expected shortly. There is also a Personal Ledger or Account Book for 1924.

### LISMORE UNION:

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This was formed on 30th March 1839 and the Minute Books have survived almost intact from 24th March 1843 up to 23rd April 1924. These comprise a total of seventy seven books, each covering a period of about 13 months. There is only one gap in the sequence - between 13th August 1884 and 14th September 1887.

### DUNGARVAN UNION:

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This was formed on 26th March 1839 and Minute books have survived intact from 9th August 1849 to 3rd July 1900 and again from 28th January 1904 up to 14th February 1922. There are 113 books in all, each covering a period of six to nine months approximately. There are also five "rough" Minute Books, two of them dealing with period 1849 - '53; one with April-September 1855; one with October 1865 - May 1866; and the fifth spanning September 1878 - July 1884. Two letter books have survived for years 1843 and 1848.

### WATERFORD ( City ) UNION:

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This was formed on 20th April 1839. The Minute Books survive from 14th September 1848 to 5th May 1920 with the exception of two, from late 1849 to early 1850 and over most of 1902. There are 83 in all each covering a period of six to twelve months approximately. There is also a series of nine Letter Books covering the years 1847 to 1919, except for the years 1848, 1858, 1863, 1893-'94, 1898-'99, 1902, 1910 and 1917-'18. In addition there are two books of Commissioners' Sealed Orders for 1839-'50 and 1850-'60, also, a single Letter Book from Jan. to Dec. 1859 and a "Rough Minute Book" for 16th Sept. 1848 to 9th June 1849 .

Winter Programme 1984/'5.

Lectures will be held in Garter Lane Arts Centre, O'Connell Street, commencing at 8 p.m. .

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1984:

- Sept. 28th "Mid. 17th Century Tipperary with reference to Kilkenny and Waterford".  
Prof. Wm. Smith. U.C.C.
- Oct. 19th "Medieval Shelburne".  
Mr. Billy Colfer. N.T.
- Nov. 9th "5,000 years of Irish Art & Architecture".  
Mr. Peter Harbison.
- Dec. 9th Annual Lunch.

1985

- Jan. 25th "The Spailpin Fanach in the South of Ireland".  
Ms. Anne O'Dowd. National Museum.
- Feb. 15th "Place of the Waterford Colony in the Huguenot Settlement of Ireland".  
Mr. Raymond Hylton.
- March 22nd "Newfoundland and the Waterford Connection".  
Video Film and Talk by Mr. Aidan O'Hara. R.T.E. .
- March 29th A.G.M. of the Old Waterford Society.
- April 19th "The Ballylough Survey". (Recent flint finds in East Waterford)  
Dr. Stan Green. University of South Carolina. U.S.A.
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Enquiries regarding 'DECIES' to :

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

Membership of the Old Waterford Society is open to all. Subscription for 1984 is £5 and may be sent to :

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

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