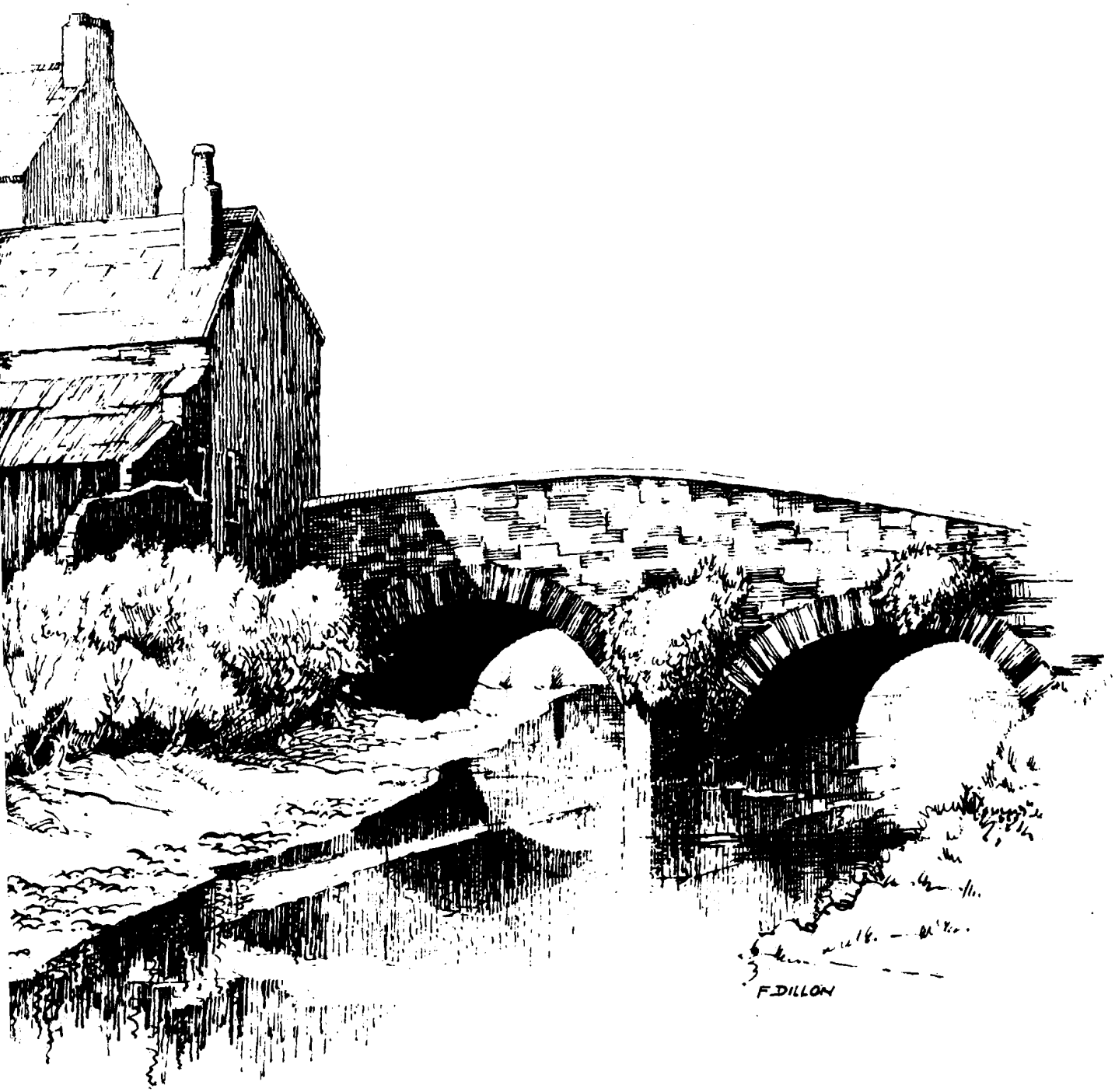
Old Waterford Society

DECIES

XXX

Autumn 1985



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FRONT COVER - JOHN'S BRIDGE.

This is Waterford's oldest bridge. The earliest structure on the site was probably one of timber built to give access to St. Catherine's Abbey (reputed to have been built in 1191) but it was of masonry by 1590. Ryland's map of 1673 shows a 4 - arched structure which is probably the upstream half of the present bridge, the downstream half of which was added in 1765. The end arches became submerged under roadway level when the river walls along John's Pill were constructed.

DECIES is published thrice yearly by the Old Waterford Society and is issued free to Members.

Editorial

According to its constitution, the first objective of the Old Waterford Society is to encourage interest in history and archaeology. This it does in an overall way by means of its lectures, its excursions and its journal, but it should also aim at encouragement of the individual where there is already evidence of interest. This should apply especially to teenagers. Efforts have been made in the past to stimulate their interest in local history through the agency of their teachers. That these efforts have borne little fruit need not surprise anybody having regard to the extent of present-day curricula and the pressure under which students have to work.

On the other hand, facilities for simple research were never better and young people are introduced to the idea of research by way of their school projects. Where the interest thus enkindled is sustained, very creditable work generally follows. The present issue contains an example of this from the pen of Mr. Edmond Connolly, a young man who is still of school - going age. One does not expect primary source material from beginners. That can come later. The important thing is to make a start.

We congratulate Mr. Connolly on his courage and on his production. We commend his example to those of our members, whether young or not so young, who may well have something worthwhile to contribute, but who may be reluctant to go into print, either through diffidence or through a mistaken belief that only weighty articles are welcome. Short articles are often more stimulating than long ones and we are always happy to publish comments and queries. So, no member should feel excluded from the pages of Decies.

J. S. C.

Volunteers required for the High St. Excavation.

Excavation work at the High Street - Exchange Street site is very near completion, but unfortunately funds are at a very low ebb, and staff have been cut back drastically. However, there is still a huge backlog of post-excavation work to be done (i.e. finds washing, labelling, and the sieving of soil samples for fishbone and seeds).

If anyone is interested in helping on a voluntary basis (even an hour or two would help!), please contact:

Sarah Stevens, at the Exchange Street "Dig" (opposite Telephone Exchange) c/o Bord Telecom.

(Dig is located behind concrete wall, through metal gate at top of Exchange Street.)

(between 10.00 - 4.00.)

The Desii Become Christian

Benedict O'Sullivan, O.P.

(In the early part of this article the author deals with the account given in our ancient annals of the descent of Cuan Cain Brethach, the earliest Chieftain of the Desii of whom there is mention. He contrasts this record with other genealogical accounts but condemns them all as being highly suspect, pointing out that the periods ascribed to certain individuals are chronologically impossible. He then proceeds as set out below:)

I have gone very fully into the history of the Desi in the period preceding the advent of Christianity to the territory. partly because, as far as I know, this has never been done previously and partly also to build up a picture of the transition period between paganism and Christianity. Though both the genealogies and the Annalistic account are confused and, in many places, contradictory,they are worthy objects of study and every Desi man and woman should be as keen to get to grips with them as the geologist is with the rocks laid down 500 million years ago or the ice sheet which covered our country a mile high 100,000 years ago.

The accepted story of the advent of Christianity to Ireland begins with the quotation from the Chronicle of the Roman writer Prosper of Aquitaine, to the effect that "In the year 431, Pope Celestine commissioned Palladius to go and preach the Gospel to the Irish who believed in Christ". A brief account then follows of this abortive mission of Palladius, who, after a brief period spent in endeavouring to preach the Gospel in the Co. Wicklow, was expelled from the district by the Chieftain who ruled there. He, thereupon decided to abandon his mission and sailed away to Scotland where he died. His brief story merely serves the purpose of an introduction to the epic tale of the advent of St.Patrick in the following year, 432, with the subsequent Napoleonic sweep of his mission throughout Ireland.

Now, from the standpoint of the historian of the Decies the most important item in this whole narrative is the statement that Palladius was sent to preach to the Irish who believed in Christ. In other words, there were Christians already in Ireland before he came and he was sent to organise them into a fully fledged church and to extend its limits beyond its previously restricted confines. This has always been the accepted doctrine among Church historians, but it has been so overlaid by a deposit of wild legend and, it is to be feared, a great deal of lying propaganda, that it is hard to know where the truth lies. A vast amount of labour has been expended by modern scholars on the task of blowing away the vast mass of accumulated chaff to bring to the surfact the small amount of grain concealed beneath.

The chaff has been collected from the lives of four of our early saints, all associated with the South. They are, St. Declan of Ardmore, St. Ibar of Wexford, St. Ailbe of Emly and St. Ciaran of Saighir. Our ancient annalists inform us that all four preceded St. Patrick and founded churches and preached the Gospel independently of him. Nay more, when St. Patrick came, armed with Papal authority and demanded submission from them in virtue of his primatial power, they at first

refused to obey and finally, when they did come to heel, they did so only with ill-grace. When we recall that the lives (sic) of these Saints were written in the 11th and 12th centuries at a time when Armagh was actively engaged in the assertion of its primatial rights over Ireland, one will have no difficulty in realizing the purpose lying behind their composition and the extent of credibility that attaches to them. The verdict must be - "very little".

This is the story of Declan as told by his very unveracious chronicler:
"Declan was of the race of the Desii who then dwelt in the Barony of the Desii in Waterford - his father, Erc, being the Chieftain of that tribe. The boy was baptized by a certain Colman and educated by Dimma, a learned and holy man who came to Waterford from foreign parts. By his advice Declan went to Rome where he met St. Ailbe and became a member of his community ! He also met St. Patrick in Italy and this meeting took place in A.D. 402 thirty years before this Saint came to Ireland. Having been consecrated bishop in Rome, Declan returned to his native country to preach the Gospel amongst his own kindred, and there founded the See of Ardmore on an eminence overlooking the sea. He also tried to convert Aengus King of Cashel, but failing in this attempt, paid a visit to Saint David in Wales."

The story of St. Ailbe follows similar lines. He was born in Ara Cliach (on the borders of Tipperary and Limerick) in the household of King Cronan who ordered the infant to be exposed under a neighbouring cliff. Here he was found by a man named Lochan who gave him to a family of Britons to be nurtured. These good people were Christians and they brought up the boy in the faith. In due course he went to Rome and studied Sacred Scripture there under Bishop Hilary who sent him to Pope Clement in whose presence he was consecrated bishop by the ministry of Angels.

Many of his countrymen followed Ailbe to Rome - twelve Colmans, twelve Kevins, and twelve Fintans - and they lived with him in community in the Holy City. He then went to preach the Gospel in the Cities of the Gentiles where he wrought many miracles and finally returned to his native country landing in the north where he founded a church in Co. Antrim. He is next found associated with Saint Brigid in Kildare and afterwards met St. Patrick in Cashel where he was staying with the King, Aengus. Afterwards, an angel brought him to the place of his resurrection in Emly of which place be became Bishop and in due course, Archbishop of the province of Munster with the concurrence of Patrick and of King Aengus. Declan was, at the same time, constituted Bishop of the Desii and became their patron forever.

St. Ibar was an Ulsterman, from Iveagh in Co. Down. After preaching the Gospel in Leix and Hy-Kinsella he came to Wexford and resolved to retire into solitude there. He took possession of a small island called Begerin (Little Island) in Wexford Harbour and built his oratory there in 485. But such was his fame that hosts of disciples thronged round him there, among them his nephew, St. Abban who became one of his most distinguished scholars. In a litany of Irish saints composed about 800 A.D., 3000 of the disciples of Ibar are invoked.

Ibar, wishing to go to Rome on pilgrimage, left Abban in charge of his monastery in his absence but the nephew earnestly besought his uncle to allow him to accompany him. Ibar refused, but an angel came and took Abban over the sea safe to his destination. A later notice says that Ibar preached the Gospel before Patrick came and on the advent of the latter, at first refused to acknowledge his authority. Patrick was angry with him and declared that he should

not rest in Ireland. "No" said Ibar, "but Begerin (Little Island) shall be my resting place". The writer states that he was 353 years old at his death,but this was no trouble to his biographer, seeing that the other three were allotted ages of 200, 300, and even 400 years.

Of St. Ciaran of Saighir in Leix (not to be confused with his namesake of Clonmacnoise), it is sufficient to say that he was a pupil of St. Finnian in the great school of Clonard in Meath which was founded in the year 520, nearly a century after Patrick came to Ireland. If he had been a preaching bishop in Ireland before 432, he must have been a rather late vocation to the scholastic ranks in Clonard 100 years later. Naturally this was no trouble to the inventive genius who wrote his life. He simply made him 300 years old when he died.

From the foregoing outlines, one can see that no reliance whatever need be placed on those "lives" - they are pure fabrications or if you like a mass of barefaced lies. The visits to Rome, the making them precede St. Patrick's advent to the country, the refusal to recognise his authority, are all mere inventions.

But, we know, that, at the back of every myth there is some element of truth and such is the case here. The strange story of the infant Ailbe being placed in the care of a family of Britons who brought up the child in the Christian faith , would seem to be an echo of an ancient tradition testifying to the presence somewhere in the South of a group of Christians who had received the faith from Wales before St. Patrick came. The holy man Dimma, from foreign parts who instructed the youthful Declan, might be a pointer in the same direction. The fact that the lives of the four saints are entirely unhistorical must not be allowed to obscure the other fact that there were Christians in Ireland before A.D.432. They did not owe their existence to Declan and the others who lived long after, but to a totally different agency.

Recall here the story of the Irish Colony in South Wales, established in or about 350 by a branch of the Desii who either broke off from the main branch in the course of their retreat from Meath to Waterford in the 3rd century, or sailed across the sea after they had settled in the Decies. The latter alternative is the more probable, as it is stated that the colonists in Wales were drawn from the Ui Liathain i.e. the people of East Cork, between Fermoy and Youghal, which at that time and for long after, pertained not to Cork, but to Waterford. In other words it was part of the Decies and supplied the hardy fighting men who settled in South Wales in the 4th - 5th Century.

We may be sure that close and intimate relations were maintained between the settlers in Wales and the parent clan in Decies during the succeeding centuries. Britain had been a Christian country for over a century before the settlement of the Deci in Wales and it is natural to postulate that the Irish who settled there were rapidly converted to the true faith not long after their arrival. They, one may suppose, lost little time in sharing their newly acquired gift with their relations in Ireland. That is how Christianity first came to our country. The Irish who believed in Christ to whom Pope Celestine sent Palladius in 431, were therefore most probably located in the Decies and the neighbouring areas who had been won for the Faith by their Christianised relatives in South Wales. There is therefore no need to postulate mythical pre-Patrician saints for this purpose -

the work was done by ordinary men, sailors, traders, soldiers, passing on their business between the two countries.

We have glanced at the apocryphal narratives which have been woven around the lives of SS. Declan, Ailbe, Ciaran and Ibar by the monastic propagandists of the 10th and 11th centuries. We have taken note of their alleged relations (mostly hostile) with Saint Patrick and have seen that these stories have no basis in real history. Before taking leave of the subject of the legendary account of the early period of Christianity in Desii, it might be well to explore the matter further. After all, myth and legend have their value side by side with historic truth; and we must never forget they they embellish and add a fresh, summer-morn charm to the sober-sided account of events which history sets down. Nor must we forget that the highest achievements of art are based on legend, whether in literature or music, in painting or sculpture, from the glories and grandeurs of Homer and Virgil, to the paintings of the great masters of the Renaissance, to the unparalleled grandeur of the music of Richard Wagner. So let us follow a little further the fabled journeys of St. Patrick through Decies.

I say "fabled", designedly, because modern scholars hold that the whole thing is a pure invention - in fact, many of them hold that St. Patrick never visited the South of Ireland - that he confined his attentions to the Midlands, the West and the North. The great shcolar Thomas O'Rahilly, as we know,held that there were two St. Patricks - an Elder and a Junior , the former being really the Palladius of whose abortive mission in 431 every schoolboy knows. According to O'Rahilly, his mission was not abortive, it lasted for 30 years and was confined to the South of Ireland which he actively evangelized till his death in 461. The other Patrick appears to have started where the "Senior" left off, confining his apostolate to the Midlands, West and North, dying at Downpatrick in 491. The fact that there is such an apparent hiatus between the accounts of the conversion of the North and South of Ireland and that two different dates are assigned for the death of the Saint lend strong confirmatory force to O'Rahilly's theory. Such well known scholars as Daniel Binchy and James Carney are its enthusiastic advocates, though it would seem that it has rather fallen into disfavour in recent years. My readers will decide for themselves the amount of credence they wish to attribute to the story that follows.

Everybody knows the highly dramatic story of the baptism by St. Patrick in A.D. 446, of the King of Cashel - Aengus Nat Fraoick. This was the monarch, incidentally, who granted Magh Feimin i.e. South Tipperary to the Deci and aided them to expel the men of Ossory from the territory. Naturally, his beneficiaries held him, thenceforward, in pious remembrance, and introduced him or at least,someone bearing the same name, into their genealogies as one of the seven sons of Eochaid, son of Cormac, son of Rus or Rossa, and belonging therefore to the Ui Rosa who held the country around Fermoy.

During the baptismal ceremony, we are told that Patrick in a moment of inadvertence, wishing to put his crozier aside in order to be free to attend to a solemn part of the ceremony, thinking he was driving the point into the ground, drove it, instead, through the foot of the King. The sufferer uttered no word of complaint and continued to endure the torture until, at the conclusion of the ceremony, the Saint reached out to reassume possession of his crozier and discovered what he had done. Overcome with remorse for his unwitting

infliction of such great suffering, the Saint proferred the most humble apologies but was comforted by the stoical monarch with the assurance that he did not mind what had happened - he had regarded it as a part of the ceremony!

Now Patrick, we are told, journeyed south from Cashel till he came to a spot near where Clonmel now stands called "Indeoin na nDesi", i.e. the "Hilltop of the Desi" which name still survives to this day under the form Mullaghanony which has been developed from the original by prefixing the term Mullagh to it. Here he met St. Declan and from the hilltop he pronounced a blessing over all the people of the Decies. During this same year, a Synod was held in Cashel at which St. Declan was confirmed as Bishop of the Desii. On this occasion Patrick is said to have composed the following couplet in Gaelic in praise of SS. Declan and Ailbe : -

"Ailbe umal, Padraig Mumhan, mo gach rath:
Deglan Padraig na nDeisi ag Deglan go-brath."

Which has been put into English by an 18th century schoolmaster as -

"of humble mind, but fraught with every grace,
Great Ailbe, the Patrick of Momonias' race:
Declan, the mitred hounour of divines
The deathless Patrick of the Desii shines."

It is stated that, at this Synod, St. Declan resigned his office of secular Prince of the Decies which he had taken over in 404 from his pagan cousin, Libaine, and was succeeded by Fearghail Mac Cormaic - his near relative. I have not been able to trace this individual in the genealogies: Several Cormacs are given but in no single instance does one of them happen to be the father of a person named Fearghail. This is a pity because if we could identify him it might help us to decide the question as to whether the numerous and highly respected families of O' Farrell in Decies today are descended from this prince or, as some say, are the posterity of soldiers of the Ulster Army who came South to fight Cromwell in 1649 and settled down here when all was over. The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick which, being late (9th - 10th century) and quite uncritical, cannot be relied on, speaks at this juncture, of a Dearg son of Sidhraide, Prince of the Decies, but there is no trace of either of these names in the genealogies. It is suggested that he was the son of Liebane who was supplanted in the Chieftainship by St. Declan and that St. Patrick,according to his custom as narrated again and again in the legends, pronounced a malediction on him and on his whole family, foretelling that never would there be a King or heir-apparent, or Bishop of the family of Lieban.

From malediction the Saint passed to Benediction. From the summit of Ardpatrick in Limerick he pronounced the following blessing on the people of Munster : -

The Desii become Christian.

" A blessing upon Munster;
A blessing on her woods;
And on her sloping places;
A blessing on her glens;
A blessing on her hills;
As the sand of the Sea under ships,
So numerous be her households,
In slopes, in plains,
In mountains, in peaks,

A Blessing."

From Limerick Patrick moved into Kerry whence in the following year, 448 he returned to Decies where he remained for seven years evengelizing the territory. It is stated in the unveracious Tripartite Life that at Kilmolaise, (which may be the ancient parish west of Dungarvan and north of Aglish or may more likely be a place of the same near near Clonmel) he asked Saints Iban and Ailbe to raise a dead person to life. The place mentioned, judging by the spelling - Molacha - may be the ancient parish of Molough in the great loop of the Suir, South-West of Clonmel. We are told of the Saints crossing the great ford on the Blackwater at Affane- the scene of the battle between the Earl of Desmond and the Earl of Ormond in 1562. Glenpatrick near Carrickbeg and Rathpatrick in Slieverue parish preserve the memory of his journeys in the Decies and the Liberties of modern Waterford in mid-5th century.

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From Ferrybank to Agra

The Story of an Indian Mutiny Veteran

from material supplied by Pauline Daniels.

Garrett Ronayne was born at Ferrybank on the 24th August,1833, and was one of a family of fourteen children. His father was a potter by trade but was also the proprietor of a licensed house "The Ship". At the age of 17 Garrett became a shipwright's apprentice in Mr. Albert White's dockyard and spent two years there. Becoming restless, however, he and three companions tramped to Cork with a view to enlisting in the Navy but instead of this he signed on as a member of the crew of a Swedish ship trading to the Mediterranean. After a single voyage he got his discharge at Cork and, making his way back to Waterford, he appears to have worked for a while for Malcomson Brothers at the Neptune Ironworks. After less than a year he was off again to Cork to join the Navy. He was passed by the doctor and ready to go on board a man-of-war when, with some of his friends in a local tavern, he seems to have fallen for the blandishments of the recruiting sergeant. At any rate,the four of them enlisted in what was then the Honourable East India Company's service on the 8th March, 1854. Here they were maintained in a public house awaiting transport to London.

Three days were spent there, after which they went to Whalley Barracks at Brentwood in Essex to begin a period of training for service abroad. After a stay of about 8 months at Whalley an order was given to prepare a draft of 300 men for India. They were marched to Gravesend where in November 1854 they boarded the sloop "Wesley Wellington" bound for Calcutta.

From Calcutta they were taken to a station at Dum Dum - a place rendered notorious as being that at which flat-nosed bullets were used. Thence they went to Chinsura, about 30 miles up the Ganges, where the 3rd Bengal European Regiment was then forming. They were about 900 strong and Garrett's number was 863 in No.3 Company. While at Chinsura he met with an accident. He does not give any details but it was serious enough to keep him in hospital for over 6 months. Later on, while he was convalescing in a more salubrious part of India the regiment, consisting mostly of young recruits, was ordered to march to Agra - a straight line distance of about 650 miles and probably about 900 in reality . Garrett was spared some of the horrors of this march since he was well enough to join the regiment at Allahabad, about two-thirds of the way to Agra . After a well earned rest in Agra the regiment had to march back eastward to Dinapore, near Patna, a distance of about 500 miles. They were here for about a year but had returned to Agra when news of the mutiny reached them.

It had been threatening for some time but broke out with sudden ferocity at Meerut in May 1857, when the Sepoys not only refused to obey their officers but overpowered and put them to death. The mutiny spread rapidly southward and south-eastward from Meerut,which is about 120 miles north of Agra. It encompassed both Delhi and Lucknow, and Agra lay roughly midway between them.

From Ferrybank to Agra - The Story of an Indian Mutiny veteran

The regiment, like many other units of the army, had been decimated by cholera, so that by the time the mutiny broke out their numbers were down to 550. This tiny force found itself responsible for the defence of the city of Agra and for the protection of about 8,000 Europeans - men, women and children who had fled there for safety.

The Sepoys, or the "Black Army" as Garrett calls them, surrounded Agra and were said by him to have numbered about 9,000. Their leaders, relying on such numerical strength, taunted the garrison to come out and fight them. Not only did the garrison accept the challenge but they routed the mutineers in a day-long battle at a place called Ducer about 5 miles outside Agra.

On the 10th October 1857 a troop of cavalry from Delhi linked up with those at Agra but, having encamped for the night, they awoke to find their horses gone - stolen, of course, by the mutineers. A great chase was quickly organised and the enemy was overtaken at Nerbudda where those not killed on the spot were put to flight. Horses, guns, baggage and treasure were all recovered according to Garrett's account. So far as treasure is concerned one might wonder what form it took and how the troops came to have it in the first place. It seems to have been real enough at any rate since Garrett and his comrades-in-arms expected a reward for recovering it and were disgruntled when none was forthcoming.

The mutiny was marked by terrible massacres and atrocities that continued over a period of many months. Order was not finally re-established until the autumn of 1858, when the governing power passed from the East India Company to the Crown. When it was over, Garrett's regiment returned to Calcutta via Cawnpore and Allahabad. At Calcutta he asked for and was given a good discharge. Two days later, on the 11th November 1859, he set out for England on the sailing ship "Great Tasmania". The passage lasted 4 months and 28 days. He records that about 50 men died and were buried at sea. Two hundred others who survived the terrible journey were taken to the Liverpool Workhouse Hospital suffering from various ailments,chiefly scurvy.

Garrett made his way to Earlestown,near the Haydock Collieries, where he met up with his parents who had emigrated there while he was in India. Many of his companions never left the Workhouse, others died in the street. None were pensioned. We do not know how Garrett maintained himself but he lived until 1917 and when he died, aged 84, his obituary in the "Earlestown Guardian" ran to three columns. He had for many years been recognised in the locality for his poetry when , in 1912, he wrote his autobiography, a notice of which appeared in the "Northern Daily Telegraph".

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Sir Thomas Stucley and the Maritime Importance of Waterford

John de Courcy Ireland,
Research Officer,
Maritime Institute of Ireland.

Thomas Stucley has been virtually eliminated from history books purporting to give a more or less objective and circumstantial account of events in 16th century Ireland and in the Britain of which he was a native. This presumably is because to English historians Stucley was a traitor and to their Irish counterparts a misfit Englishman. He gave conspicuous service and very sound advice to Philip II of Spain but his erratic behaviour where Spanish interests were concerned has led to the disappearance of his name from the text books of Spanish history also.

Yet in a period when capable seamen were proliferating in Europe few indeed could be found more capable than this man of Devon. He was a rogue. But a man who for nearly thirty years had given persistent headaches to the governments of three successive English monarchs, and for the last eight years of his life kept top officials in Ireland and England of the third (Elizabeth I) in a state of extreme nervous tension was clearly more than a simple rogue.

There seem no reasons to believe rumours which if Stucley did not originate them he certainly helped spread, that he was an illegitimate son of Henry VIII. He had the same dynamism, ambition, swashbuckling nature and love of adventure, and the same lack of scruples, as Devon contemporaries of his who have achieved secure niches in the pantheon of English Renaissance heroes, men who laid the first foundations of England's maritime greatness like the Hawkinses and Drake, Raleigh and Gilbert. He was indeed the pioneer English Tudor "sea - dog". It was only a twist of events that has denied Stucley the permanent place in the English hall of fame obtained by those others.

Stucley was serving as a soldier on the Scottish border late in Henry VIII's reign and under his successor Edward VI took part in the victorious English invasion of Scotland of 1547.

Next he turned up as King's Standard Bearer at Boulogne in Northern France, then under English occupation, where, perhaps, he began to ponder on the meaning of sea power. When a coup d'etat ousted the Duke of Somerset, Protector of the Realm for the young King, Stucley was involved in a plot to restore him. It failed, and he fled to the court of Henry II of France, in whose forces he served valiantly.

When the French King sent him to England with a personal message he promptly revealed a real or alleged French plan to seize English-held Calais. Suspected of being a double-agent, he fled again, this time to the Netherlands, then Spanish. In the Spanish service he showed himself not only a brave but also a brilliant soldier, particularly in the campaign of 1553 that culminated in a spectacular Spanish victory over Stucley's former French master at St. Quentin.

Sir Thomas Stucley and the Maritime Importance of Waterford.

By now Mary Tudor was monarch in England, and as she was the wife of Philip of Spain Stucley was welcomed back home. There he fitted out his first ships. In them for eight years he carried on a career as a licensed privateer,degenerating often enough into open piracy (the rules then were vague anyhow), like many another more respected Tudor West Country adventurer driven to desperate deeds by the steady inflation of prices that was threatening to ruin them.

During these years Stucley got to know as much about the tides and currents, shoals and seamarks, and the probable behaviour of the capricious winds, on all the sea from the Dover Straits to Spanish Galicia, as any man living. He also gained intimate knowledge of the coasts and ports of southern Ireland,where he came to dispose of captured cargoes. He was the first person clearly to appreciate the vital importance of Ireland's strategic situation in the newly-emerging Atlantic-orientated Europe of the mid-16th century. Ireland was no longer an island of marginal significance on the outer edge of an inward-looking Europe. It had become the key to controlling a Europe whose destinies had suddenly and irrevocably become dependent on the navigation of the Atlantic Ocean.

An expedition to seize and colonize Florida, recently discovered and occupied by Spain, which Stucley undertook to mount, was turned by him into a wholesale campaign against Spanish shipping as far south as the Canaries. Embarrassed by this, the English government, now under Elizabeth I, who was not anxious to quarrel with Philip of Spain, packed Stucley off to Ireland in 1565 with the able Henry Sidney, appointed Lord Deputy here.

By now, of course, Stucley was closely acquainted with Waterford, and his keen strategic eye had already recognized it as a city control of which could control the unrolling of history. His first visit, so far as I can ascertain, had been in the late summer of 1563, when he was supposed to be planting an English colony in far-off Florida. In one of the many inlets on the northern coast of Spain he had sighted two ships from La Rochelle in France, loaded with woollen goods from Flanders, and had sailed his little ship in, apparently another innocent trader, and then by a sudden stroke had seized them and plundered their cargoes as he did again to the cargoes of two large merchantmen spotted shortly afterwards out at sea. Those plundered cargoes were brought to Waterford, discharged there, and sold on the quayside. The Spanish Ambassador in London was furious, demanding redress. and Elizabeth's Secretary of State Cecil sent a bad-tempered note to the Lord Deputy in Dublin, then the Earl of Sussex, asking for an end to the scandal of the public sale of pirated marchandize in respectable Waterford.

In 1564 Stucley spent a long period successfully raiding merchant shipping, English as well as Spanish, off the coast of Cork, but he did pay a return visit to Waterford, and found a fellow pirate, Cobham, being entertained there by Black Tom, Earl of Ormonde, Queen Elizabeth's cousin. But next year Stucley came to Waterford in different circumstances. The whereabouts of his ship in the Lee Estuary had been betrayed to Sir Peter Carew, who had been deputed to deal with piracy off the South coast. While Stucley was ashore at the house of one of his cronies and agents, Viscount Barrymore,Carew had seized first the ship, then her master and his host. Lord Justice Nicholas Arnold was at Waterford, heard the news, and ordered Stucley and Barrymore to be brought to him at Waterford Town Hall.

Stucley now exerted all of his undoubted charm and won over Arnold and even the much tougher Carew,but not Secretary Cecil who,after three months had passed without Stucley being sent, as he had ordered, to London, lost his temper altogether. Stucley was packed off at last to the English capital, but when he arrived he

exerted all his charm again, and the Spanish Ambassador, though he had a full list of pirated wares sold by Stucley in Waterford, could get no witness to come forward and no support from Elizabeth's officials.

For Stucley was playing a new card. This was the year when Shane O'Neill had reached the pinnacle of his short-lived power in Ulster, scaring the wits out of Arnold in Dublin and Cecil in London. But Stucley had met Shane three years earlier during his famous visit to the court of Elizabeth, and the two - similar in many ways in character - had become friends. Before being shipped back to England Stucley had opened up a correspondence with Shane, and now he promised to use his influence with him for the Queen's benefit. Hence his attachment to Sidney's staff when that official was despatched here to take over the vacant Lord Deputyship.

Stucley met Shane and also Marshal Bagenal, in command for Elizabeth on the Ulster border. He seems to have begun thinking now how easy it might be to subvert the whole still flimsy structure of English rule in Ireland for his own benefit, even if he had to call in Spanish help. Anyway, be bought from Bagenal his office as Marshal and much of his property in Louth with some of the proceeds of his piracy, much to Elizabeth's horror when she heard of it.

For some months in 1566 and 1567, with the backing of Sidney, who recognized his great talents and thought he could press them into Elizabeth's service, Stucley's power in Ireland grew rapidly. He acquired great properties in Co. Wexford and turned his attention to the possibility of getting control over Waterford, which was not only then the second city in Ireland but an ideal base for the ambitious naval activities that Stucley was now envisaging.

Elizabeth and Cecil, however, grew more and more alarmed at the growth of Stucley's influence, and used the ambitions and jealousy of Carew to thwart him. Carew opened a legal case with their tacit backing, by which he claimed for himself the greater part of Stucley's newly acquired Wexford property. Carew landed at Waterford, and Stucley met him and tried in vain to win him over again. The feud between them progressed, and in 1569 Stucley endeavoured to ambush and assassinate Carew. He was arrested, but Sidney got him out on bail and Stucley went to Waterford. There a Venetian merchant, Alessandro Fidelis, a close associate of Stucley's, was now established doing business, and through him Stucley opened correspondence with the King of Spain.

Stucley now claimed to be sympathetic to Irish opposition to land-grabbing here by adventurers like Carew, and more important from Philip's viewpoint, to be in complete disagreement with the religious views and policies of Elizabeth and of her Irish officials. Most interesting of all, he unfolded plans showing how five hundred Spanish soldiers and a squadron of Spanish warships could turn Waterford into an impregnable base from which the Western approaches to the English Channel could be controlled and a successful invasion of England prepared. From then onward this theme of Waterford as a Spanish base dominated Stucley's thinking, and his detailed expositions, now, and later in Spain itself, of how Waterford could be used not only mark Stucley as a naval strategist of the first order but also indicate that he must have been absorbing with the utmost shrewdness the lessons of the various naval campaigns in the earlier history of the century.

Sir Thomas Stucley and the Maritime importance of Waterford.

Above all Stucley appears to have understood the significance of the unexpected but crushing defeat of a Portuguese naval force of big sailing ships in 1517 by a fleet of Arab galleys (backed by artillery ashore) in the narrows leading to the port of Jeddah. Stucley, as he was to show in 1574, had pioneer ideas about the structure and uses of the galleon, the standard advanced type of warship that was just beginning to make its appearance. But he had studied also the tactics of the old-fashioned rowed war galley, and proved to be an adept with them himself in 1571 when in charge of three of the King of Spain's galleys in the great battle of Lepanto against the Turks in the Mediterranean. He saw that a squadron of Spanish galleys based on Waterford could play havoc in the lower Suir Estuary with any force of English sailing vessels sent to attack the city, much as the Arab galleys had with Portuguese sailing ships at Jeddah, where the high shore deprived the sailing ships of a steady wind and left them becalmed and at the mercy of the manoeuvreable rowed ships of their opponents, a remarkable example of the perverse triumph of an obsolescent instrument of war over a new and normally much more efficient one.

While in Waterford exchanging letters through Fidelis with the Spanish authorities Stucley contacted a host of disaffected Irish land holders , Barrymore, McCarthys who, like Barrymore, had been agents for selling goods pirated by him off the coast of Cork, and James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald. He was also in touch with Ridolfi, the Italian banker in London plotting the overthrow of Elizabeth, with the Duke of Norfolk, upholder of Mary Queen of Scots as rightful sovereign of England, and with the Spanish Ambassador in London.

Eventually in April 1570, having secured a Spanish passport and a ship through Fidelis, and having bribed his keepers to free his ten year old son held as a hostage for his good behaviour, having also acquired horses and cannon (apparently brazenly stolen off the walls of Waterford) as presents for Philip, Stucley set sail down the Suir, assuring the English authorities that he was off to see the Queen. Seven days later, having crossed the familiar Bay of Biscay once again, he brought his ship into the little port of Viviero in Cantabria and disembarked to go to see Philip, proclaiming himself Duke of Ireland and champion of the Irish against English occupation.

Stucley's charm helped him to live down in no time his former (justified) reputation as plunderer of peaceful Spanish shipping, and within a year he was commanding that division of galleys in Philip's Mediterranean fleet.

Returning to Spain after Lepanto Stucley lingered in the Papal States and created for himself the beginning of those contacts in Rome that were to lead him into the last desperate adventure that ended his career in 1578. But four years before that he was back in Spain in high favour, and once again impressing on Philip and his government the paramount importance of Waterford.

1574 indeed was the year which nearly saw a Spanish Armada sail that would have been infinitely more likely to succeed than that which eventually set out in 1588, ten years after Stucley's death - for Dunkirk, to pick up the Spanish army of the Netherlands there and then invade England - though even in the early planning of that armada an echo of Stucley's long silent voice was heard, as Waterford was once again suggested as the main objective, then stupidly discarded.

Sir Thomas Stucley and the Maritime importance of Waterford.

But in 1574 the great Spanish admiral Menéndez, who had held the Caribbean intact for Philip and initiated the formidable system of the annual despatch to Spain of treasure ships protected by a guard of galleons (no Spanish treasure fleet was captured in the Atlantic in Philip II's reign) was back home in Spain after many years. He was working for Philip on an elaborate project to punish England for supporting the rebels against Spain in the Netherlands and permitting her seamen to make frequent attacks on Spanish seaborne trade and Spanish possessions. With the elaboration of this project Stucley was intimately associated.

Elizabeth's excellent intelligence service (spies) kept her informed of Philip's intentions, but not of course of how he proposed to carry them out. But Stucley's association with Menéndez was something the Queen would have wished avoided. She was well aware of the great competency of both. Her Lord Deputy in Ireland, now Fitzwilliam, was sending her long despatches every week betraying his acute anxiety and enclosing terrifying information passed on to him by the Mayor and other officials in Waterford about the imminent arrival of a fleet of galleons and galleys led by Menéndez with Stucley serving under him. "Divers of our town's birth have been much beholding to Stucley. Many are known to be waiting on him" one letter from Waterford passed on to London announced.

There is every reason to believe that Menéndez sought and used Stucley's advice about the construction of the ships to be used for the great enterprise of 1574. There is positive evidence of Stucley providing advice to the Spaniards two years earlier about alterations he thought necessary in the design of Spanish ships if they were to see prolonged service in the waters of Northern Europe.

As for Menéndez's final plan, which was approved by Philip, it so closely resembles Stucley's known thinking that it is hard not to see his hand in the drafting of it. The plan envisaged a double seizure by the Spanish fleet, of a base in southern Ireland - Waterford - and of the Scilly Isles at the very entrance to the English Channel, whose strategic importance Stucley had been emphasizing to Henry II of France as far back as 1552.

By July 1574 twenty-four galleons, 150 smaller warships and scores of supply ships were ready fitted out in the ports of northern Spain and Diego Ortiz a Spanish intelligence officer (spy) had safely returned home from Ireland ,where he had walked the streets of Waterford undetected and examined the city's fortifications.

Had the Armada of 1574 sailed, when the English fleet was still in many respects inferior to that of Spain, the destiny of these islands might well have been changed. But a double stroke of fate altered everything. News reached Madrid that the Turkish fleet, in no way daunted by its defeat three years earlier at Lepanto, was blockading Spanish - held Tunis and about to land troops to besiege the city (which indeed the Turks soon retook). It was decided that the Northern enterprise must wait, and Menéndez was sent from Madrid to Santander to hold his Armada till a clearer picture of the events in the Mediterranean presented itself. And in Santander the bubonic plague was raging and Menéndez caught it and died.

Sir Thomas Stucley and the Maritime importance of Waterford.

Philip could spare no other admiral, and indeed had none so experienced in Atlantic operations. He could not entrust a huge Spanish enterprise to an Englishman with a reputation for dubious loyalties, though from the purely military point of view Stucley could well have led it to success. The great plan was abandoned.

Stucley now departed for Rome, used that remarkable charm to persuade Pope Gregory XIV to provide him with a ship, an arsenal of weapons and a force of experienced Italian soldiers which he was to bring to Ireland, coordinating his activities with those of James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald and other Irish exiles in Spain.

Once again Stucley suggested the seizure of Waterford. But when off the Portuguese coast sailing to rendezvous with James Fitzmaurice, Stucley suddenly decided that he should first join in the "Crusade" being planned by the mad King Sebastian of Portugal which was to begin with the conquest of Morocco and end with the complete overthrow of Islam wherever it flourished. Waterford could wait.

Stucley must have regretted his rash decision. It is known that he gave careful practical military advice to Sebastian, but it was ignored, and he, the King and the flower of the nobility of Portugal lost their lives in consequence on the disastrous field of Alcazar Kebir on August 4, 1578.

In an age which has seen prominent statesmen like de Gaulle and Willy Brandt proclaimed traitors by their governments, as Stucley was by his, it is not really safe to proclaim a final judgement on this extraordinary man. How sincere he was in his reversion to Catholicism and his proclamations of a desire to see justice done in Ireland we can never know. But of his abilities there is no question, and an extraordinary verdict was given on his career by the citizens of the very capital where he was proclaimed a traitor but the imagination of which had been fired by his flamboyant career - a rip-roaring play, "The Life and Death of Famous Tom Stucley", was put on in London within two years of his demise, and played to full houses.

One thing we can be certain of - no man in military or naval history has been more concerned with the importance of Waterford than Thomas Stucley , "Duke of Ireland".

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Twenty Kings of Déisi

Tom Nolan

In his excellent article[1] in Decies XXIX Benedict O'Sullivan O.P. traces the rise of the Deisi and their kings from earliest times to the coming of Christianity. To that, I wish to add a few notes on the men who subsequently held the title "King of the Deisi", and to compile in one short article their names, date of death and deeds attributed to them, as may be found scattered through the pages of the "Annals of Inisfallen"[2] between the years 632 and 1209. In these Annals there are many long periods of time when no mention is made of the Deisi so my short account does, in no way, give a complete succession of rulers.[3] Also, while there are many other references to the Deisi in the Annals, I have concentrated solely on those that mention people holding the title "King of the Deisi."

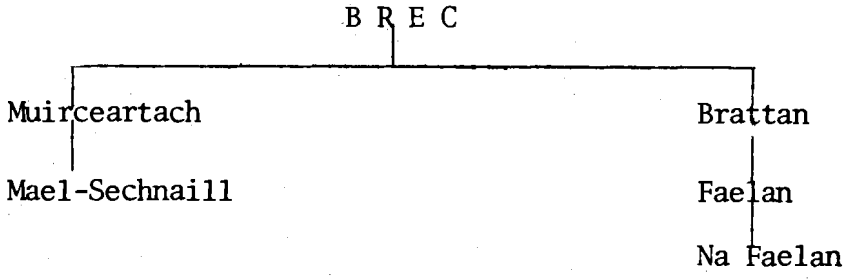
Under the date 632 is recorded the death of Cobthach, and his successor was his son Mael Ochtraigh who died in 645. Next comes Bran Finn and with him the first hint of violence, for it is recorded that he was slain in 671, and he is described as son of Mael Ochtraigh. In the year 731 the death of Cormac, son of Rus, is mentioned and in 828 another Cormac this time son of Domnall, is recorded as "resting in Christ." A third Cormac then appears and he proves to be no ordinary run-of-the-mill local chieftain, but comes across as a very ruthless and ambitious person. In 897 he killed Mael Beannachta and became "King of the Deisi". It is not recorded if Mael Beannachta was King and that Cormac killed him and seized the Kingship, or if he was a man whose claim to the Kingship was as good as Cormac's and therefore had to be removed. By 920 Cormac has added to his list of titles for he now is also Bishop and vice-Abbot of Lismore, Abbot of Kilmolash and chief counsellor of Munster. He has also made enemies because in that year he was killed by Ui Fhothaid Aiched. Twenty-one years later (941) it is recorded that a battle was fought between the Deisi and Cellachain,King of Cashel. It was a bad day for the Deisi, as they lost 400 men and their King, Celechair, son of Cormac, (could he possibly be a son of the King-bishop-abbot mentioned in 920 ?!).

The death of Domnall, son of Dornchad is recorded in 952, and Faelan,son of Cormac died in 966. Domnall, son of Faelan, was King in 985. In that year he went cattle-raiding westwards, as any self-respecting King would do to prove his valour. His raid was a success and he "bagged" 300 cows. His mistake was that they belonged to friends of a rising young Dalcassian named Brian, son of Cennetig (who is now remembered in history as Brian Boru). He pursued Domnall, who wisely abandoned the cows and fled homewards. Seeing that Brian had no idea of giving up the chase until vengeance was exacted Domnall decided to make for the safety of Portlairge, and it is interesting to see that the Vikings were quite content to shelter the fleeing Irishman. Meanwhile Brian devastated the Deisi territories.

The entry for the year 1009 records the death of Aed and 1031 hints at dynastic troubles in the area when the Annals state that there was " a battle between the Deisi and great slaughter was inflicted on both sides."

Twenty Kings of Deisi.

The problems that arose between 1051 and 1059 may be more easily followed if we examine the small "family tree" attached :



In 1051 Muirceartach, son of Brec, King of the Deisi was slain by Faelan, son of Brattan, son of Brec. This Faelan is described as "Royal heir of the Deisi". Shortly afterwards (also in 1051) Muirceartach's son, Mael-Sechnaill murdered Faelan "in the stone church at Lismore". Mael-Sechnaill then sought sanctuary there, or as the Annals describe it, he surrendered himself to Mo-Chutu". It is not recorded how long he remained there but in 1059 (when he is described as "King of the Deisi") he was murdered by Ua Fealan. The Annals say he was killed by a "miracle of Mo-Chutu " but the Four Masters say "he was smothered in a cave by Ua Faelan" (buried alive ?).

The Annals of Inisfallen make no mention of Malachy O'Faelan who was King of the Deisi during the Norman attack on Waterford. It is claimed[4] that he joined forces with Reginald in the city's defence and that he was captured and in danger of execution, but he was saved on the plea of Dermot MacMurrough. This act of mercy did not win over the Deisi Kings to the Norman side, for in 1189 we find Ua Fealan combining with Cuilen Ua Cuilein of Ossory to destroy Tibroughney Castle and Lismore " and the castles of the whole of the Deisi and Osraigh,and great slaughter was inflicted on the foreigners this year".

In 1203 the death of Art Corb Ua Fealan is recorded and in 1206 we find that the Deisi Kings are beginning to accept that the Normans are here to stay. In that year Domnall Ua Faelan is on a posting to Cork with the Justiciar, Myler FitzHenry, and he died there. No foul play is suggested by the Annals, but one wonders if the Deisi fold had their suspicions about the case, or is it just a coincidence that the last entry dealing with the Deisi records that in 1209 (just over 3 years after the Cork episode) "Ua Faelan slew the foreign bishop". And it so happens that the "foreign bishop" was David the Welshman, bishop of Waterford and a kinsman of Myler Fitz Henry.

SOURCES:

1. Decies XXIX, May 1985, p.5 - 10.
2. Annals of Inisfallen, translated by Sean Mac Airt, M.A. 1951.
3. For Deisi Genealogies see "Journal of W. & S.E. of Ireland",1910. p.44,82,153.
4. Ringrose Atkins, M.A. A lecture "Old Waterford, its History and Antiquities." J.W.S.E.I. 1910, p.24.

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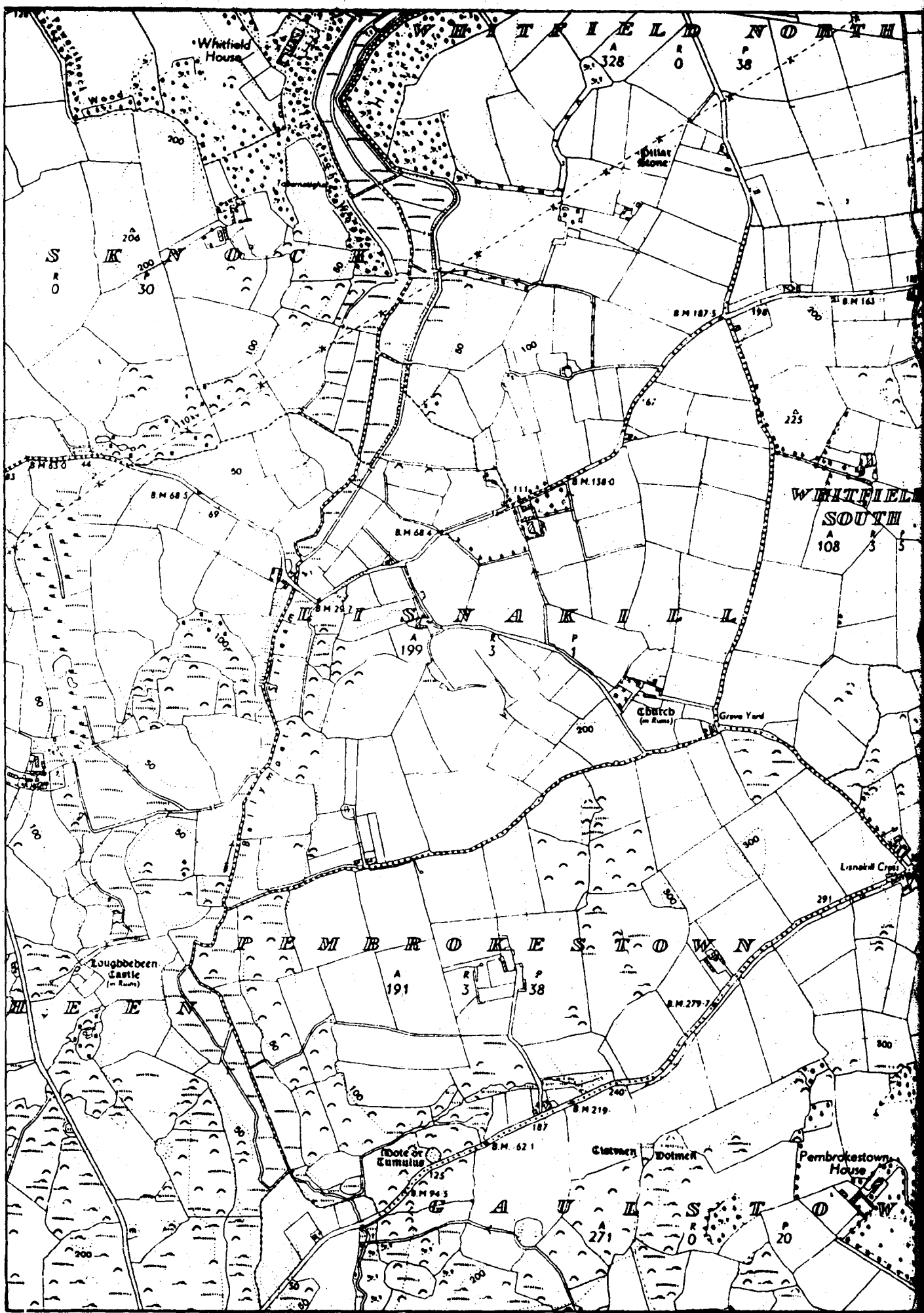


The Antiquities of Lisnakill Parish

J. S. CARROLL.

The Civil Parish of Lisnakill lies in the north/central part of the Barony of Middlethird. It is bounded on the north by the river Suir,on the south by Reiske Parish, on the east by Killotteran, Kilburne and Kilronan, and on the west by Kilmeaden. It comprises seven townlands, viz, Gaulstown, Lisnakill, Loughdeheen, Pembrokestown, Shinganagh, Slieveroe and Whitfield.

The antiquities listed by Power are :

(a) a dolmen in Gaulstown,
(b) an ancient circular church enclosure in Lisnakill,
(c) the ruin of a 17th century dwellinghouse in Loughdeheen,
(d) the foundations of a primitive church within a circular enclosed space, also in Loughdeheen,
(e) a mote in Pembrokestown, and
(f) a pillar-stone in Whitfield.

Gaulstown Dolmen: Grid reference (based on townland index map) XVII. 9/5

This well-known dolmen stands on the land of Mr. Sean O'Keeffe and is approached (with landowner's permission) by a sign-posted laneway off the road that runs south-westward from Lisnakill Cross on the upper road to Kill. It is in the care of the Office of Public Works.

It consists of a capstone supported by two upright stones, one at each end. The capstone slopes upward from the entrance, which is at the east end. There is a transverse stone about 1m back from the entrance, as at Harristown. The side stones are maintained in position by a concrete wall about 0.6m high by 0.4m wide put there by the Office of Public Works.

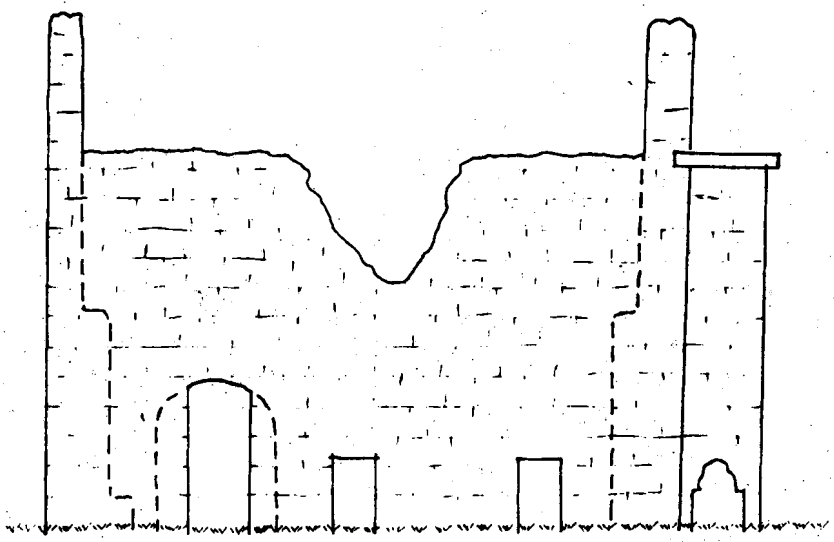
There is a stone similar to a capstone lying on the ground about 10m away.

There is a fine ring fort to be seen about 300m south-west of the dolmen and another about 500m south-south-west of it.

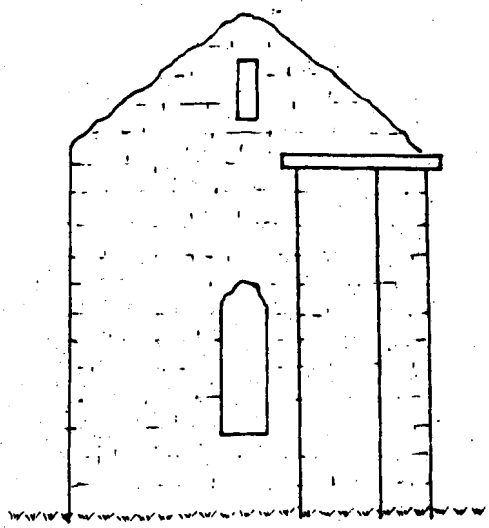
Church Enclosure at Lisnakill: Grid reference XVII. 9/2.

Power suggests that the lios of Lios-na-Cille may not have been a lios proper but "the ancient circular church enclosure still partly traceable in the field on the north side of the cemetery". The enclosure is no longer traceable.

LOUGHDEHEEN CASTLE



N:W. ELEVATION



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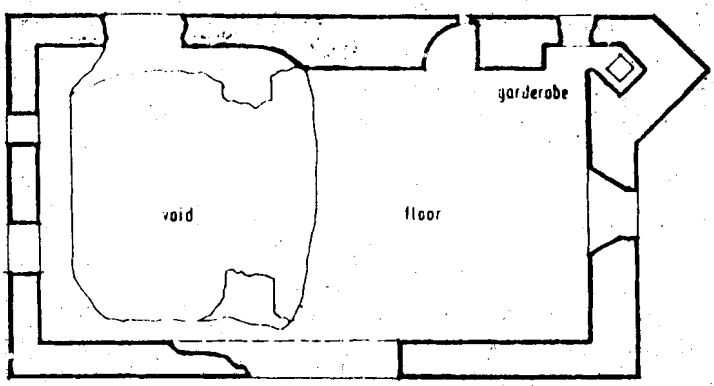
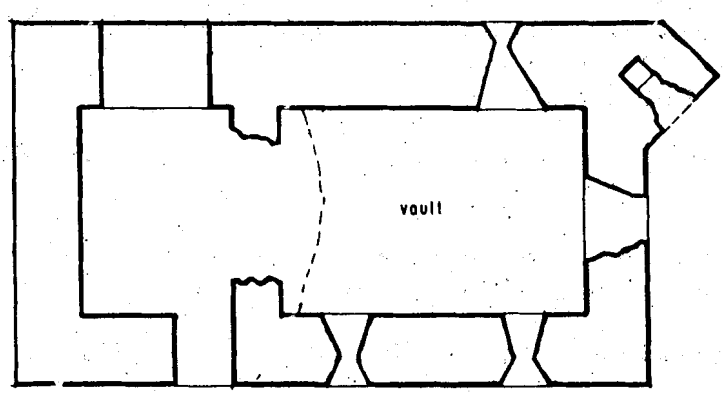


FIRST FLOOR PLAN



GROUND FLOOR PLAN

LOUGHDEHEEN CASTLE

SURVEYED AUG'82
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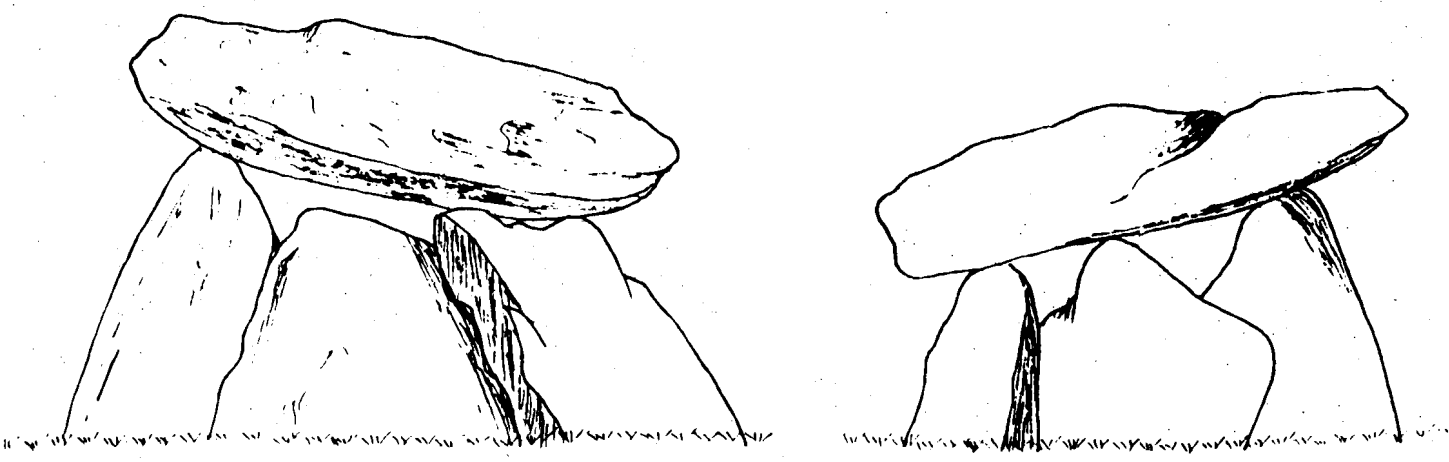
DOLMEN AT GAULSTOWN



NORTH ELEVATION

SOUTH ELEVATION

Loughdeheen "Castle": Grid reference XVII. 9/1.

This so-called castle stands on land belonging to the Raher family of Dunhill. It can be approached (with landowners' permission) from the adjoining field on the south-east side.

It is described as a stone house in the Civil Survey (1654). Power describes it as a 17th century dwellinghouse but the existence of what can only be a garderobe that projects diagonally from the northern corner would suggest an earlier date.

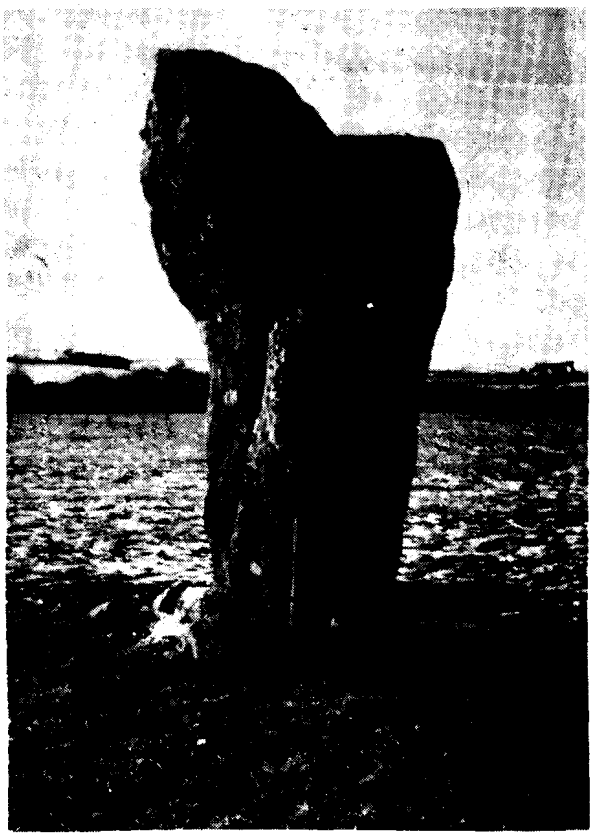
It is recorded as having been in the possession of Sir Thomas Sherlock in 1640 and in 1654. It is heavily overgrown with ivy but is not under any immediate threat. There is an adjoining garden enclosure bounded by thick masonry walls.

Old Church Site (Seana Cill), Loughdeheen: Grid Ref. XVI. 12/6.

This is the remnant of an ancient church, described by Power as measuring 30'x12' and standing within a circular space bounded by a double earthen wall. The site is located on the western slope of the 322' summit (see 1" map) and can be approached from a gate near Mr. Melvin's cottage on the road located to the south of this summit. It is on land belonging to the Hanley family.

Because of heavy growth on the bank the interior of the site is not accessible without forming a breach. It would not appear to have been surveyed since the fifties when a Dublin archaeologist looked at it in company with the late Dr. Vincent White, after having had clearance work carried out.

Lying among the ruins is a bullan stone.



The Harp Stone

Pembrokestown Mote: Grid Reference XVII. 9/5.

This earthwork adjoins the road from which branches off the lane leading to the Gaulstown dolmen, the mote being approximately 425m south-west of the lane. According to the delineation of the site on the 1/2500 map it consists essentially of an embankment in the form of a ring rather than a circular mound. Unfortunately it is so heavily overgrown as to be no longer visible from the road. There is no access to it. The outside diameter of the mote would appear to be about 30m.

Pillar-Stone at Whitfield: Grid reference XVII 5/2.

Sometimes known locally by the name of the "Harp Stone", this exceptionally fine standing stone consists of a monolith 3.7m high. It is divided vertically by a fold or cleavage line and when viewed from the east the upper half of the left hand portion extends outward and upward, thus giving one a fanciful impression of a harp.

It is accessible from a boreen branching westward off the northern portion of the narrow road that runs from the Cork Road to Lisnakill cemetery.

19th Century Society in County Waterford

Jack Burtchael.

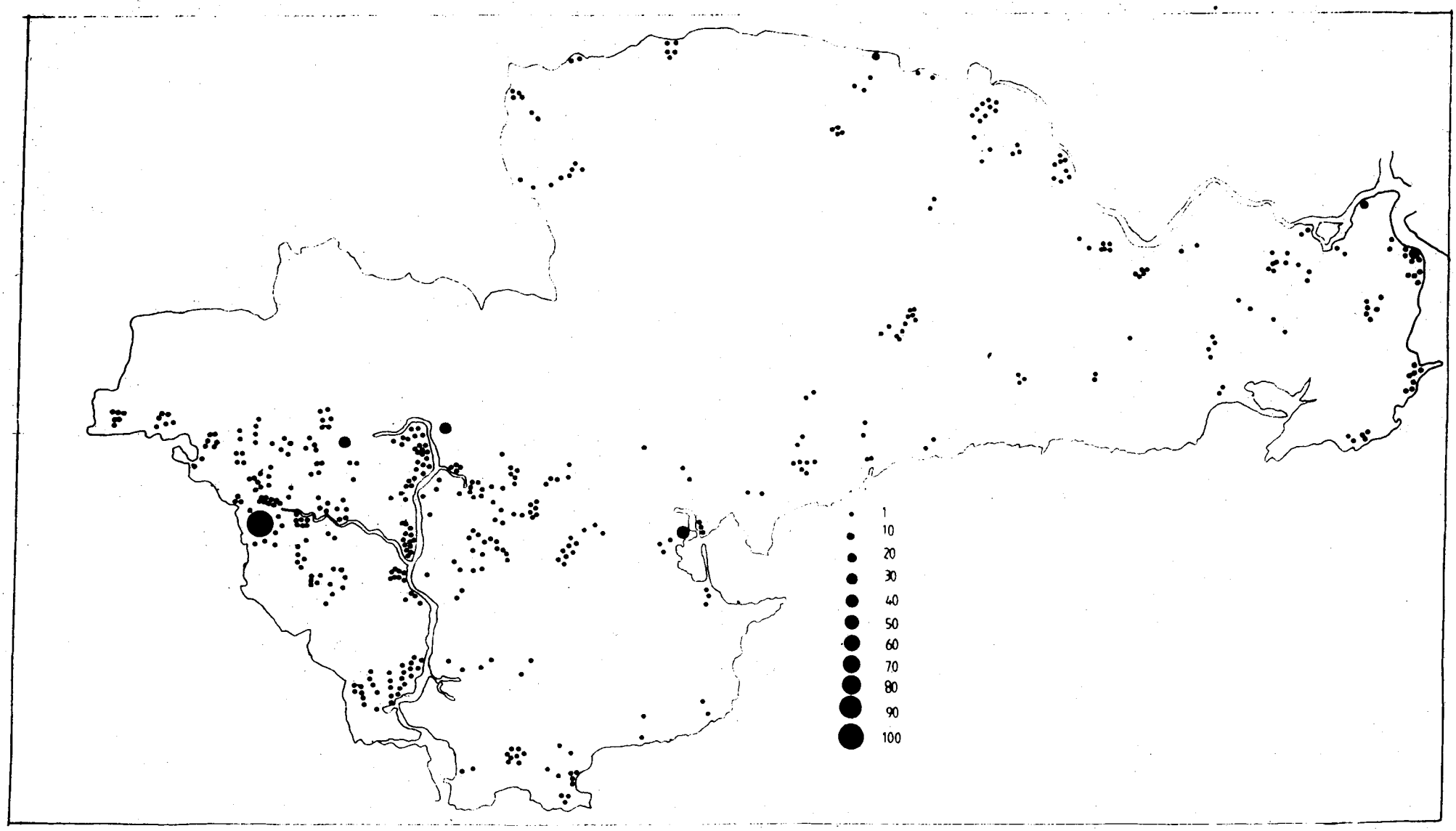
In this article the main themes of 19th century society are dealt with, the economic trends, the social hierarchy and its operation, the estate system and the importance of kinship.

THE ECONOMIC SCENE:

Ireland in the early 19th century was sprinkled with half-enclosed local economies, a product of the exploitive and local mercantilist economic system. The emergence of capitalism diluted the local focus of industry and trade, and washed away the protectionist walls of mercantilism. With this decline in localism in trade the rural industry of Waterford evaporated, unable to compete with the mass production of Dublin and British firms. Local brewing survived the 19th century due to its special position. Local industries, such as the distillery at Clashmore, cotton spinning at Cheekpoint and woollen spinning at Carrick-On-Suir, declined with the removal of tariff walls after the Act of Union. Even Waterford Glass was unable to face competition from the mass-produced factory product that became increasingly available. Tied to this process was the independent craftsman. For a period in the 18th century economic forces were on his side, due to the pool of labour provided by the family. *Spinners and weavers were brought from Ulster to Villierstown in the 1730's to promote the industry on the estate of Lord Stuart De Decies. Now the tide was* running against the independent weaver or spinner, due to the shift of production from the home to the factory, on the harnessing of sufficient power. Had it not been for the aid of the landlord, Lord Stuart De Decies, the community would have disappeared; he integrated them into farming and employed them in the governing of his estate.

The pre-eminence of agriculture is increasing as we progress through the 19th century, an agriculture increasingly commercial in nature.[1] It depended on communication and a village structure as most of the produce of the land was exported through the port of Waterford. The industries that lingered until the second half of the 19th century were those intimately connected with agricultural production such as brewing at Waterford and Dungarvan, milling at Carrick-on-Suir, Dungarvan, Youghal and Waterford, tanning at Dungarvan and Portlaw, and bacon curing at Cappoquin, Dungarvan,Clonmel and Waterford.

The late 18th and early 19th centuries were a time of tillage boom; this boom collapsed after the defeat of Napoleon as stock farming became once more the most profitable occupation for larger Irish farmers and farmers on poorer soils. The tillage boom had been due to Britain being cut off from its traditional sources of grain due to a blockade by France. When France was defeated in 1815, a recession followed; government spending was cut and the



Planters in Co. Waterford

Source: Census of Ireland c. 1659

demand for Irish grain declined. This meant a massive reduction in employment opportunities for farm labourers and it was they who fuelled the massive migration from Waterford to Newfoundland in the period from 1815 to 1818. Dairying became more important for farmers especially in areas within reach of the Waterford and Cork Butter Markets, and on soils not ideally suited to tillage, whether due to altitude, drainage, fertility or friability. Waterford has traditionally been in that belt of land that partakes of both traditions in Irish Agriculture, that of tillage, epitomised by Counties Wexford and Carlow, and the pastoral tradition as seen in County Limerick.

Commercial farming, while of importance, was not the only type of farming in Waterford. The majority of farmers in Waterford in the early 19th century were occupants of holdings of less than 20 acres. These small farmers formed the overwhelming bulk of farmers in parishes such as Kilgobnet, Modeligo, Lickoran, Kilrossanty, Tullow and Templemichael, and were an important proportion in the areas of greatest concentration of strong farmers such as Kilmolash, Affane, Whitechurch, Rathgormuck, Fews and Mothel. These small farmers were only partially commercialised and grew almost all their own food requirements. Many of them were part-time migratory labourers also, especially in the parishes of Modeligo, Seskinane and Lismore. They prepared their fields for planting and left for the rich lands of the Golden Vein in Tipperary to work at the sowing there, while their wives and sons did the sowing at home. They worked as farm labourers in Tipperary till the harvest; when finished, they returned home to the slopes of the Commeraghs and Knockmealdowns to harvest their own crops, which were later to mature due to the poor environmental conditions. They brought more than money home; they also brought some of the class hatred of Tipperary and it is interesting to note the diffusion of the Whiteboys over the mountain was probably by such part-time farmers, part-time labourers. In early 19th century Waterford there were also areas of purely subsistence farming[2] such as most of the parish of Ardmore and much of the "Nier". But subsistence farming was not restricted to these areas, where it was the norm: It was widespread all over the County among the people who worked for strong farmers and rented a small plot of conacre from him. Rents were as high as £6 per acre while wages were 6d a day to pay it off.[3] It is a startling fact that the areas with the best land and largest farms had the highest number of class 4 houses in the 1841 classification. These people never bought anything outside their immediate requirements and rarely handled money.

While there was a swing away from tillage in the post-Napoleonic depression Waterford continued to be a tillage-orientated County, particularly at both ends, the middle portion of the county being more pastoral in nature.

THE SOCIAL LADDER:

At the top of the social ladder in 19th century Waterford was the landlord. Persons such as Lord Stuart De Decies and the Marquis of Waterford had power we could scarcely imagine possible now, barely 100 years later. Their influence was felt everywhere in the County but their imprint on the landscape, physical and social, was not uniform. It depended very much on the interest taken by the landlord in his estate. There is a distinct estate landscape in such areas at Mothel and around Portláw, neat farmsteads facing the world from the top of an avenue, three windows above - two below encasing a front door that is never used. These houses of strong farmers built with the aid of the landlord, seem to shun the agricultural sloppiness from which they derive their opulence. These houses are, in fact, apeing the architectural aesthetics of their betters.

19th Century Society in County Waterford.

As the 19th century progressed, the landlord became increasingly alienated from his tenantry. This must be seen in the context of an increasing literacy and the evolution of a national consciousness with the tenant farmer as a backbone.

LANDLORDS:

Landlords were not uniform in nature, they varied according to their ethnic origins, their religion, and perhaps most importantly, the size of their estates. While the vast majority of landlords were alien in race and religion from the bulk of their tenants, there were important exceptions, such as the Kielys of Kilcocken who were of Irish descent, as was Sir Richard Keane, while the De La Poers of Upper-third remained Catholic and held 13,000 acres, albeit mountain. An old classification of landlords was according to whether they were resident or absentee. Resident usually was equated with good and absentee with bad. This simplification does not hold true for Waterford, some of the resident landlords being the most unpopular, while the absentee Duke of Devonshire was considered by all to be a model landlord. The Duke, although absentee, patronised the only Agricultural Society in the County. He allowed certain leeway in rent payments (one gale-day's payment had to be paid before the date the next one fell due). He compensated for improvements and, most importantly, he did not allow the houses to go for "cant", that is, verbal bidding for a lease that was falling out. Almost invariably the Duke left his tenants in possession after the 21 years lease had expired.[4]

The Duke owned in all 198,572 acres in 14 counties of Britain and Ireland.[5] His Lismore estate comprised 16,892 acres at a valuation of £19,753 and he had 285 tenants. He had a further 10,591 acres scattered throughout County Waterford, but this was submerged beneath middlemen such as J. Bagge, W.H.R. Jackson and R. Parker. Since 1810, old leases had been dropping out and the middlemen had to face being reduced to the status of tenant farmers or being forced to quit landholding altogether. The great estates in the West of the County like those of Sir Richard Keane, Lord Stuart De Decies or the Duke of Devonshire comprised such an amount of land, much of it mountain and waste, that excess population would be deflected to it from their tiny townlands in the valley. Mountain land was given rent free for seven years.[6] It was only when landlords such as the Usshers began to demand excessive rent that bad feeling ensued.[7] In the East of the County where the estates were smaller, middlemen and, consequently, " bad landlords" were more common. The Poer-O'Shees of Gardenmorris, Kill, (burned out 1923) were holders of 4,995 acres but this realised only £2,941 a year.8 Outward appearances had to be kept up; past spending had been lavish and debts were mounting. With these pressures, such landlords had little room to manoeuvre.

The late 18th Century was a golden age for Waterford's landlords as rents rose rapidly and agriculture boomed. In many cases the landlord was being deprived by middlemen of the extra money to be made. The landlords borrowed "in expectation of plenty" when the middlemen leases were up. But the golden age did not last. The post-Napoleonic depression and the mounting pressure on the land in the two decades before the famine deprived them of their expected riches. They were plunged into debt (e.g. the Kielys of Kilcockan) and they remained so until rescued by the Encumbered Estates Act of 1850.

19th Century Society in County Waterford.

The sprawling 39,883 acre estate of the Marquis of Waterford was essentially the old Power estate that had not been greatly disturbed in the 1650's. Here the excess population could not be shunted into the marginal lands since the Comeraghs present a steep scarp. The excess population was drained away from agriculture into the Malcomsons' mills at Portlaw and Carrick-on-Suir, and, of course, to the trans-Atlantic fishing booley of Newfoundland.

The landlord's position can be described in the early 19th century as privilege without responsibility, but most of those who were able to do so did take responsibility, at least until the Catholic Church took over the role of social service in the latter half of the century. The landlords of the whole County, and of West Waterford in particular, built roads, bridges, [9] schools, churches of both denominations and the houses of their estate villages. Even by 1900, hardly a house stood in Lismore that the estate did not pay for or construct. Similarly, almost all the property in Cappoquin was built by Sir Richard and, later, Sir John Keane. Naturally, the landlords interest was greatest in the core of his estate and the periphery tended to be overlooked. For instance, one could cite the refusal by Lord Stuart De Decies to aid in the construction of a pier at Ring in the 1850's. The landlords invested in their estates, not just in their "great houses" since they represented a positive investment in the future. They also invested in their tenants' houses, out-buildings, fences and land. These "country houses" were of architectural importance and portrayed the confidence held by their builders in their position in society. It is clearly visible today by the remnants of estate improvement that the landlords felt more at home in the West of the County. The cluster of "country houses" around Waterford City represent the merchant elite of the city growing fat on the provisions trade to Newfoundland. A large number of big farms in Gaultier and around the city have houses on them of vastly greater size than would be expected if agriculture had been the sole pursuit of the occupier. John Stephens, Esq. held 50 acres but the buildings were valued at £24 in Ballycanvan Big, parish of Kill St. Nicholas. Similarly, James Anderson, Esq. held 92 acres but his buildings were valued at £49 in Ballindud, parish of Kilbarry. These were, in reality, country retreats for the urban upper class and the adjoining land was little more than a playground rather than a farm. The suite of country houses downstream of Waterford City on the River Suir, including such houses as Woodlands House, Ballycanvan House, Blenheim House, Blenheim Lodge, and Spring Hill House are the best example of this merchant demesne phenomenon. The "country houses" are representative of a great European tradition in architecture of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. All over Europe the gentry moved away from their battlemented fortresses and into more comfortable and picturesque surroundings. In this respect the Blackwater can be seen as the Loire of Munster as the Boyne is in Leinster.

The crucial factor in the different types of landlord was the size of his estate: if the estate was large or multi-locational he could afford leniency that the smaller estates could not. This could be outweighed by the intimacy of relationship with the local proprietor or a person-to-person relationship between landlord and tenant, as was the case in the Woodhouse estate in Stradbally. But the circumstances prevailing as the century progressed made this increasingly unlikely. The traditional explanation why landlordism was more acceptable in the East of Ireland is that here they were resident while in the West the landlords were absentee. In 19th century Waterford, 35% of the land was held by absentees and relations between absentee and tenant were no better or worse than with residents, especially if administration of the estate was efficient. If it was not sub-letting and disputes arose. [10]

19th Century Society in County Waterford.

The landlord has played the part of demon in Irish historiography but in many cases he signed away his "birthright" in the 18th century, only to inherit in the 19th century the harvest of ruin and hate which was not entirely his due.

MIDDLEMEN:

The middleman played an important, if declining, role in 19th century Waterford society. Throughout the first half of the century their importance was declining as they came under pressure from both above and below. The big farmers, with the aid of the landlords, progressively squeezed them out. Very often the middlemen had been the owner of the property previous to the confiscations of the 17th century as was the case with the Mc Graths in Sliabh gCua. Some of the parish of Ardmore belonged in the 17th century to the Walsh family. The Civil Survey states that Sir Nicholas Walsh owned the townlands of Crushea and Garranaspick. In 1850 we find Astle Walsh acting as middleman for the townlands of Ballinroad, Ballynaharda, Carrigeen ,Garrynagree and Gates.

A typical example of the middleman system is the townland of Shanakill in the parish of Aglish. [11]

Townland of Shanakill, parish of Aglish. Area 303 acres.

T. Fitzgerald owned all of Townland

6 labourers — Edmund Dower — Rented all 303 acres; Farmed 153 acres; Sub-let 150 acres

J.Bransfield	M. Meskill	J. Byrne	J. Morrissey	Ed.Dower
34 acres	38 acres	10 acres	45 acres	13 acres
1 labourer				

Edmund Dower also sublet to three women,probably widows of former labourers. He had buildings on his property valued at £9.10.00 while the average value of the property on his labourers' holdings was 13 shillings. Edmund Dower is typical of the middlemen surviving on the smaller estates of an absentee which had been cleared out of the larger estates earlier in the century.

Much of the violence of 18th and 19th century Waterford can be traced to the pressure applied to the middlemen and labourers from the "strong farmers". Mid-Waterford was always the area most disturbed; the poilíní and the gaibhnthe long disturbed the peace of the area. This was also the area where the middleman system was most entrenched among the small absentee estates and on the fringes of the bigger estates such as Curraghmore. The landlords and strong farmers combined to rid themselves of the middlemen. But the middlemen were the friends of the cottier and labourer and as the farmer was pushing the landless labourer and cottier to the wall each social group can be seen as being in conflict with that directly above and below it, thus,

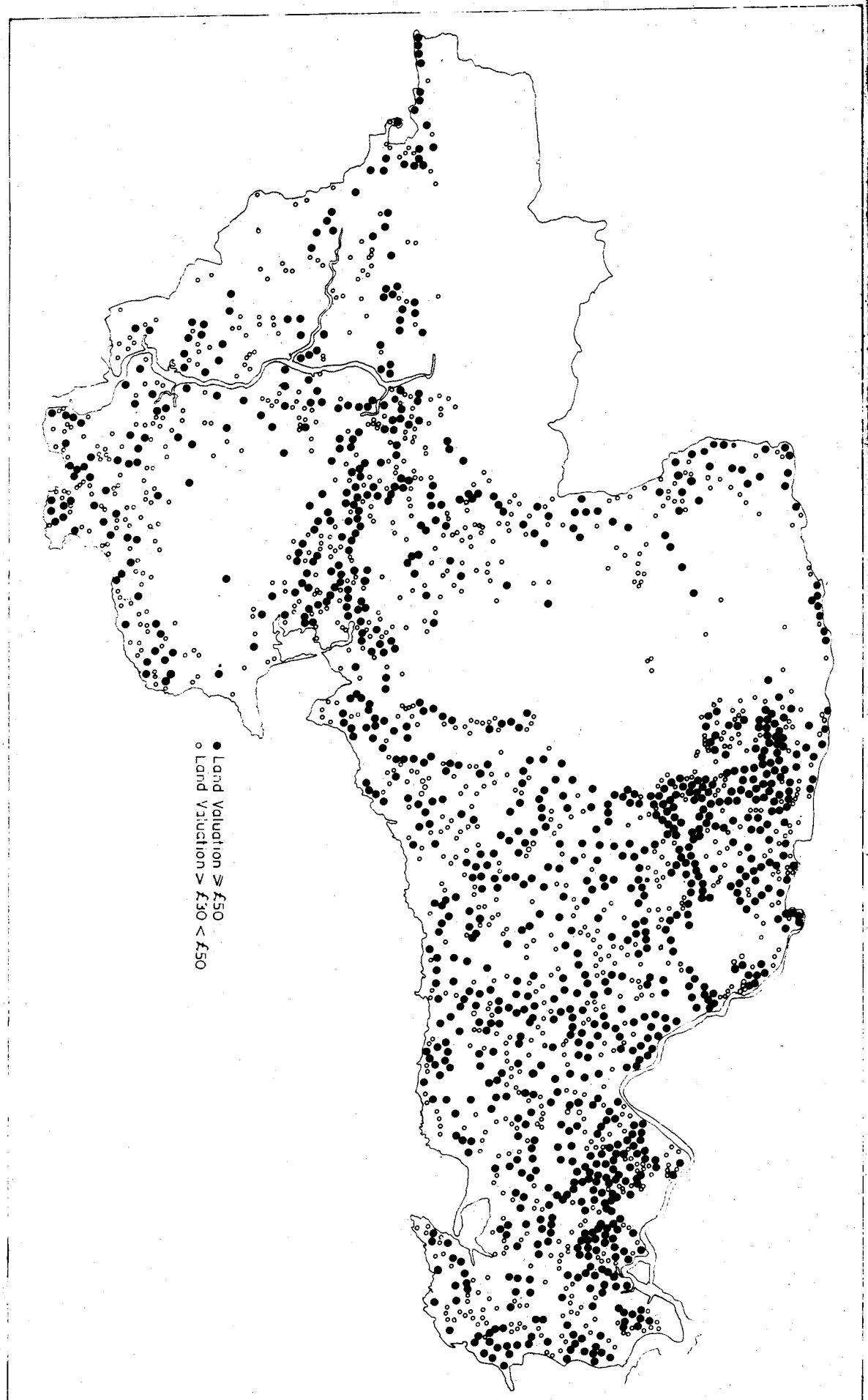
19th Century Society in County Waterford.

Landlord	+
Middleman	-
Strongfarmer	+
Cottier and Labourer	-

Much of the Whiteboy disturbances of the 18th century were with middleman connivance; Fr. Sheehy of Clogheen (executed in 1766 in Clonmel for Whiteboy activity) was from a middleman family in Bawnfune parish of Kilronan.[12] The middleman system usually evolved under an absentee or remote landlord anxious to secure a steady income but unable to establish a management system on his estates.[13] The middleman derived his income from letting land at current values while paying rent for it at the rate frozen since the lease commenced. "This land holding system deprived the landlord of much needed income and weakened greatly his control over the estate".[14] In Waterford these middlemen were often connected to the Catholic merchant families of the city and generally transferred to trade as they were squeezed out of the landholding system.

The system had precedents in the Gaelic landholding system and P.J. Duffy notes "duty work" and "duty turf" occurring in 18th century Monaghan. This closely resembles the "coyne and livery" practised during the era of bastard feudalism in the transitional areas. In Waterford remnants of such duties remained in the "goodwill gift" to the middleman, usually a pig. The custom survived until the famine in the Bride Valley.

Middlemen themselves were absentees occasionally, especially when they held large acreages or (on older leases) where the son or grandson of the original lessor had given up agriculture altogether. Middlemen have been derided by traditional historiography but this is because the strong farmer triumphed eventually in 19th century Ireland and history has been written from his point of view. Had the landless labourers prevailed, the accepted point of view of the middleman might be different. As the 19th century progressed native middlemen were gradually replaced by foreign agents whose primary interest was in efficiency. The middleman represented paternalism while the agent was the standard bearer of capitalism. The middlemen supported native culture, often being patrons of the poets. The areas where such poets as Seamus ui Srona, Tadhg Gaelach and Donnacha Ruadh lingered were precisely the areas where middlemen were strongest, e.g. Sliabh gCua and the Power country. With the rise of the strong farmer came the demise of the poetic tradition and the poets of former times were reduced to being hedge school masters and later national teachers. In the cold commercial climate the three R's were of more relevance than the "exploits of Fionn". The middleman was native, sympathetic, integrated and familiar. He played the role of social and cultural leader. The agent was often a foreigner, was unsympathetic to local conditions, held no land and was not integrated into the local community. The middlemen were the essential lubricant to ease the racial friction between Gael and Gall and the social friction between owner and occupier. The middleman system also played a decisive role in the demise of the landlord. The people became more radical in middlemen areas, due to three factors. They suffered more acutely during depressions. The landlord was sufficiently remote to be blamed for all evil, and the system survived longest on the estate fringes where landlord control was least and often the land was worst.



Strong Farmers in Co. Waterford.

Source: Griffiths Valuation

STRONG FARMERS:

The hero and the ultimate winner in the 19th century Ireland was the strong farmer. At the beginning of the century the strong farmers made their first stand in the Stuart election. By voting for a candidate in favour of Catholic Emancipation they stood directly against the landlords. In public polling stations, where the elector had to declare to all which man he favoured, it seemed that it could not be done. But many strong farmers at that time were cushioned from the wrath of their landlords by sympathetic Catholic middlemen. With the demise of the middlemen the strong farmer dealt directly with the landlord, thus achieving a position in society hitherto unattainable. The landlords realised that the fewer the tenants on his estate the more rent could be collected and the better would be the standard of living for those comfortable farmers. Sir Richard Musgrave on his lands in Aglish parish forbad, under threat of eviction, any of his tenants to sub-let.[15] The tenant-landlord relationship has been stressed as one of conflict and, broadly speaking, this is so, but the interaction of strong farmer and landlord affected both, particularly the strong farmer. He adopted, increasingly as the century progressed, the language, dress, and moral stance of the landlord. It is almost as if the social leaders of late 19th century were learning from the social leaders of the past centuries. There definately was a downward trickle of fashion: the naming of many large farmsteads after the town-land (such as Carrickharrahane House, parish of Stradbally, and Creadan House, Parish of Killea), illustrates the apeing by big farmers of their betters. This process was far more common among "strong farmers" of planter origin who were in more intimate contact with the landlord. These strong farmers of planter origin were most common in the Baronies of Gaultier and Coshmore-Coshbride. They made up 24% of the Knockanore area but this is not the heart-land of the strong farming area in Waterford. In Gaultier planters made up 14% of strong farmers. These planter strong farmers lived in a more lavish style than their Gaelic counterparts. These "planters" too, were bypassed by the events of the late 19th century. They may have been kingpins in the estate structure but the decline and disappearance of the estates over much of the Eastern portion of the County brought their decline also. When the sheltering wing of landlordism was removed, these people, who had clung to its culture, religion and values, disappeared over much of the County or were assimilated into a Catholic Gaelic population of vastly superior numbers and were not fossilised by sectarian hatred as was the case in other parts of the country. The big farmer in the 19th century, by bypassing the middlemen and over-riding, with the help of the landlord, the "ancient rights" of the Cottiers and Labourers (such as communal grazing), emerged victorious in the 19th century. The emergent culture of Catholocism and Nationalism had its roots, leadership and ideology in this class.[16] Day movement, which achieved success in 19th century Waterford, had as its backbone the Gaelic Strong farmer. The Catholic Church, the Parliamentary Party, and the Land League all drew their support and leadership from the strong farmer or rural shop-keeper and the urban middle class which was closely connected to the strong farmers. The triumph of the strong farmer was aided by agricultural developments such as the emergence of commercial dairying and, of course, by the provisions trade to Newfoundland. The strong farmer had surplus to sell to the merchant and the monetary income derived from this trade was of importance in the education of younger sons for the priesthood or the civil service. The fact that these large farms were not subdivided is important in the preservation of these units and their owners as social leaders in the society. Land in 19th century Waterford was not, by and large, a saleable commodity. Inheritance was only by one's immediate family and so the same families retained local importance throughout the century. Class consciousness was very strong among these people and they rarely, if ever, married below their station. Thus we find certain families that are usually strong farmers such as the Veales, the Mulcahys and the Kellys. The strong farmers as a class were almost unaffected

by the great disaster of the famine. In the Griffith's valuation books we find no large farms vacant, unlike the case of the tiny plots of the labourers. The labourers and cottiers were to a large degree wiped out by the famine; those that survived lost their identity as a class. The strong farmer of the late 19th century submerged class consciousness in the need to achieve national unity, thus emphasising the homoegenity of the Irishman. Such was the political standpoint, while in day-to-day living the "strong farmer" was more aware than any other group of his class identity.

STRONG AND MIDDLING FARMERS:

How old an institution in Irish society is the big farm ? A study of their distribution may reveal a lot. I have plotted their distribution by townland for the county. I have made a classification according to rateable valuation of the land. The greater than £50 valuation is found in the rich farming areas while the £30 to £50 is more common in the marginal areas. These lesser-valued farms would fulfill the function of strong farmers in these areas and could be described as middling farmers in the prime areas. Holdings with no house were excluded as these were deduced to be grazier holdings. Holdings with a valuation on the buildings of greater than £15 were also excluded as these "farmers" usually derived income from other sources such as trade and commerce. This latter group was almost exclusively concentrated in the neighbourhood of Waterford City. A striking feature of the map is the variation in density from one area to another. The chief concentrations are in the dry valley of the Blackwater in the parishes of Whitechurch, Affane, Kilmolash and Dungarvan. The strong farmers of the Blackwater Valley proper are very restricted in distribution, being concentrated beside the river. They are absent around the town of Lismore because here the land was farmed by the estate itself and the steep slopes of the valley were wooded and owned by the demesne on the Northern and steeper slopes. In the lower Blackwater valley the strong farmers are concentrated in the synclines, the anticlines being wooded or, as in the case of Dromana, demesne lands. But the whole Blackwater valley has not the concentrations one would expect. This is because the gentry of the Blackwater were practising agriculture themselves.

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The Old Bridge at Carrick-on-Suir

Edmond Connolly.

Introduction:

"Salmon wait for the tide
to still the weir,
Boys are fishing from a bridge
Built before Columbus raised a sail".

(Still-Life from a Hill over a Town - Michael Coady).

People tend to overlook the significant role which bridges play in our everyday lives. We are constantly using them,yet they go largely unnoticed by historians. Their role in the past was equally important. They were used to secure conquered lands and to improve internal transport. Their importance over the years can clearly be seen in the protection they were given and by the growth of population in their immediate vicinities. Bridges were,and still are,of great economic value to a town and give it a certain air of distinction. They are unique in the fact that their use has never declined and,no matter how advanced man becomes,he will always find a use for bridges. The present stone bridge at Carrick, measuring 95 yards in length and an average of 15ft. in width, remains central to the life of the town and its identity.

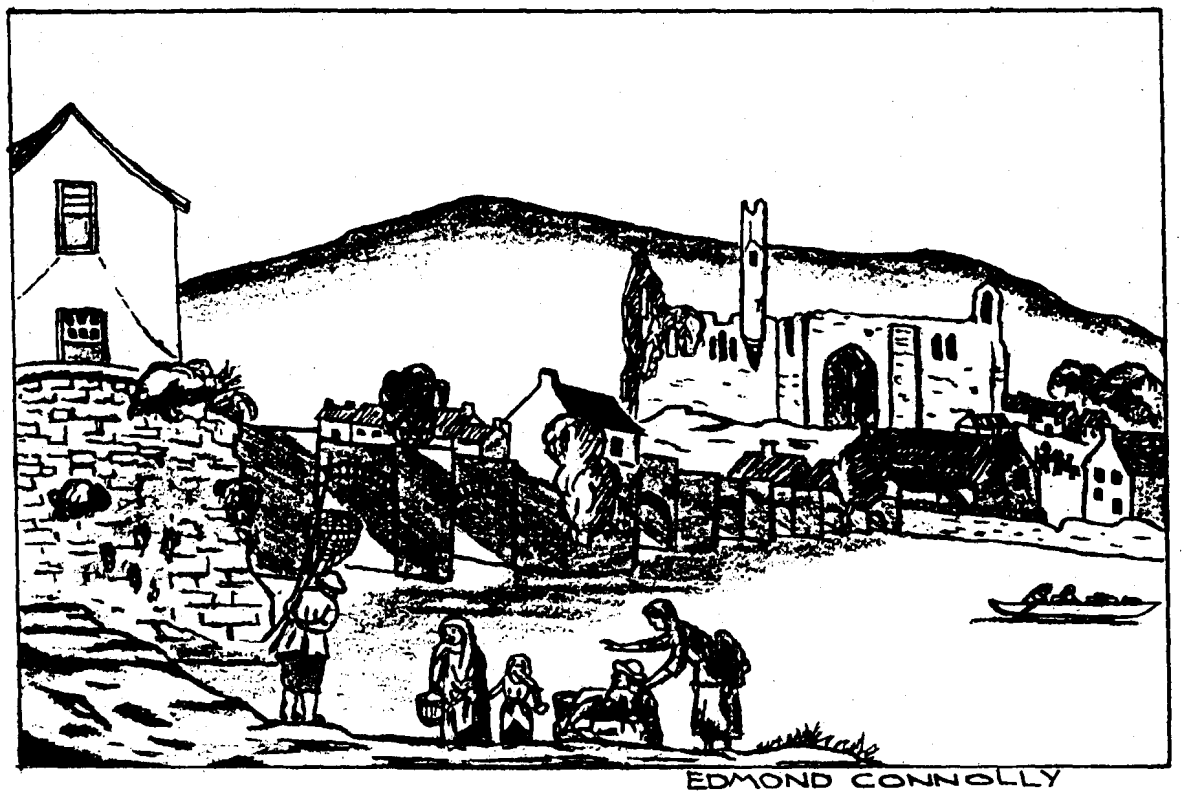
Carrick Before the Bridge:

As a result of the Norman invasion of 1170 the Suir Valley was secured by the building of strong houses at different strategic points along the river, and inevitably Carrick-on-Suir as it is now known, was fortified. By this method of conquering the Normans were able to penetrate deep into the land of the Gael and eventually take it.

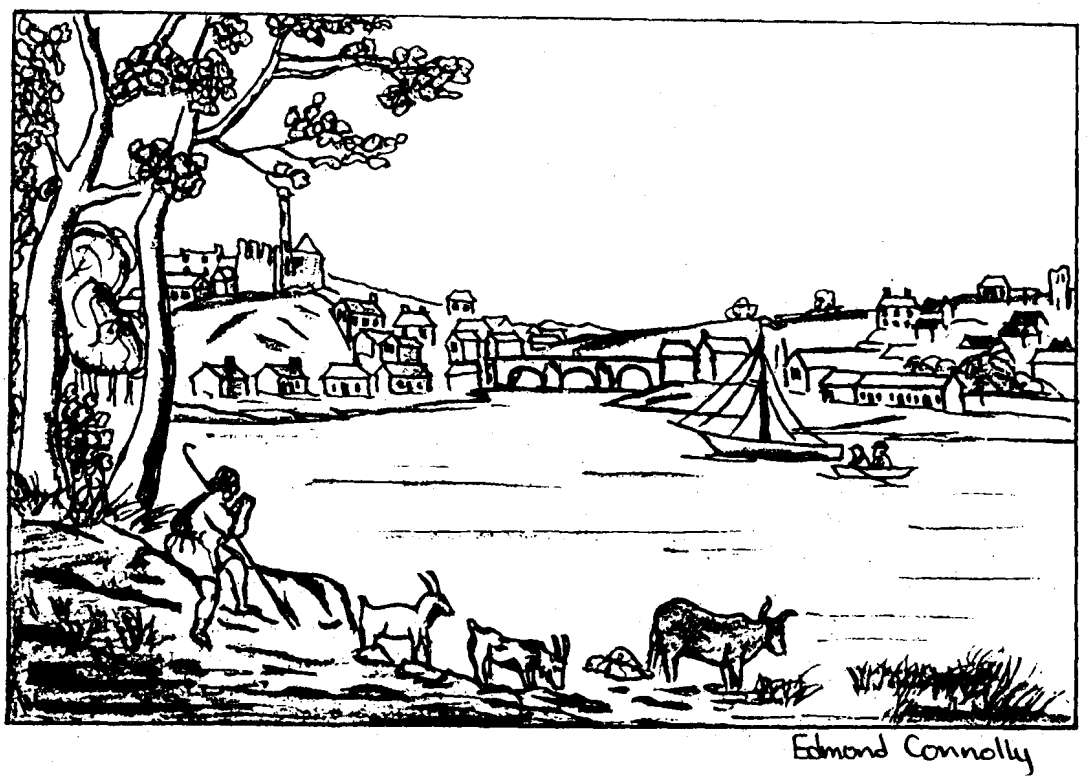
Exactly when Carrick was founded is uncertain, but it may be taken as some time before 1247 when Matthew FitzGriffin secured permission to hold a fair there. Carrickmagriffin, as it was once called, was chosen because it was effectively an island surrounded by water and swamps and was easily defensible. By 1300 Carrick had grown into a strong prosperous town.

Early Mentions of a Bridge:

Unfortunately very few fourteenth century records survive, so we can only speculate as to how and when the bridge was built. In Smith's "Waterford" he mentions a charter granted in 1306 for the building of a stone bridge which was said to consist of eleven arches and cross the river opposite the castle. But this is extremely unlikely since nearly all pre 1400 structures were wooden,the river was too wide opposite the castle, and there is no other sign of such a charter ever existing.



Carrickbeg 1779 after Sandby



View of Town and Bridge from East 1779 after Sandby

The Old Bridge at Carrick-on-Suir.

Tradition has it that the bridge was built around 1360, and there is evidence both for and against this idea. The first evidence of such a bridge is in a licence issued on 12th July 1343 that gives the townsmen authority to collect taxes in aid of building a stone wall and for "the building and repairing of the old bridge of the said town."

This suggests that there was a wooden bridge in existence before this. In the following year Edward III granted a charter of murage and pontage for the same purpose, and again in 1356 another licence was issued for the building of a stone wall and bridge. This is all supported by a tradition of the scaffolding used to build the Franciscan Friary in 1336 being re-used in the building of the bridge. This leads us to believe that a bridge was built c. 1360.

Yet, on the other hand, on searching through the Ormond deeds the rent rolls for Carrickmagriffin give details of rent being paid for a ferry up to the 1440's, but there is no mention of tolls from any bridge. Why was the need for a ferry if a bridge existed? Maybe the bridge was destroyed or had fallen down, that is, if there had been a bridge. Still, there is no conclusive proof of a bridge existing at this time.

Construction of the Present Bridge:

The present Old Bridge of Carrick was built around 1447 by Edmund Mac Richard Butler, who also had the older portion of Carrick Castle re-built. From a translation of the Psalter of MacRichard, which was written in the years 1453-1454, we learn that "this present year the bridge of Carrick was made ...."."

The construction of such a bridge was truly a great feat in these early times, and its builders deserve great credit for a bridge which still stands. The river Suir is tidal up to Carrick, making building very difficult. It is not exactly clear as to what particular methods were used in building the bridge, but it was predominantly like all fifteenth century bridges in construction.

The piers were certainly built in summer time when conditions were best. A wooden frame of local timber was probably made in the river, and using local stone the piers were built up inside it. Some medieval bridges were built with the aid of rafts but whether or not they were used at Carrick is unknown. Then, in the winter months they could build up the arches. A wooden scaffolding with a matting of reeds and mud (wattle) was erected and the rest of the bridge was built on that. The whole operation probably took more than two years.

Strategic and Economic Importance:

Carrick was the lowest bridged point along the Suir until the late 18th century when the first bridge at Waterford was built. Therefore Carrick was well positioned to reap the benefits of all Tipperary's lucrative trade which had to cross the bridge at Carrick to reach Waterford Harbour. It must have been a good source of income for the Butlers of Ormond and they guarded it jealously.

The hostilities and wars that broke out between James, third Earl of Ormond and Catherine of Desmond in the early fifteenth century over the right to Carrick

were primarily due to its strategic importance because of the bridge. This bloody feud lasted for generations and its cause is clear from a remark made by John Wise in a letter to Thomas, Earl of Ormond: - "I wold it wer brokyn to ground for it doth no man good but much harm."

The bridge was an asset to the English and they weren't about to see it fall into ruin. In 1614 King James I ordered Lord Chichester to repair Carrick bridge for, he said it was one "of the greatest passages and thoroughfares in our realm of Ireland." Control over the bridge was essential in times of war, as we shall see in the case of Cromwell.

The economic importance of the bridge for Carrick was phenomenal. Both trade and population flourished. In 1415 there were c.500 inhabitants in Carrick and by 1799 this had risen to 10,907, which is nearly twice its present population!

Cromwell and the Bridge:

Cromwell came to Ireland in August, 1649. He set out to capture every garrison in the country and thousands were put to the sword. On turning his armies South one of his main objectives was to take Waterford,which was one of Ireland's principal ports. To do this Carrick bridge had to be taken, and this would help to cut the link between Waterford and Limerick.

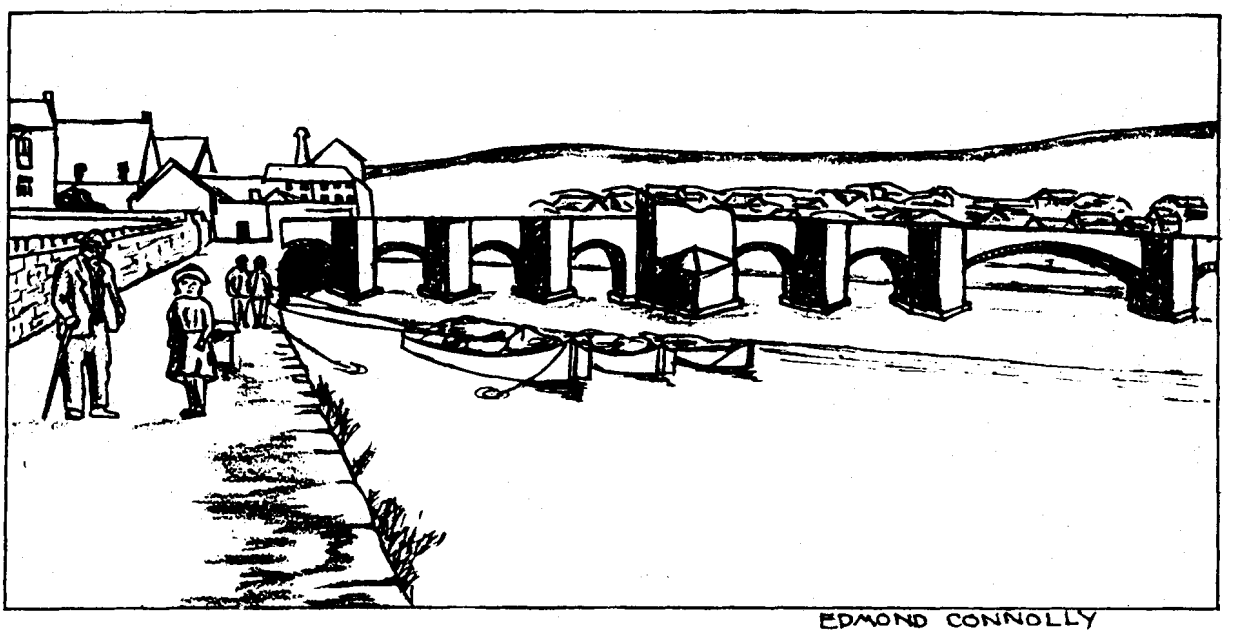
Colonel Reynolds and Major Ponsonby were sent ahead from Ross on 17th November to secure the bridge at Carrick for Cromwell's army. They had with them twelve troops of horse and three of dragoons. On nearing the town they came upon some local country people and induced them to announce in Irish at the New Gate of Carrick that they were reinforcements sent by Ormond to strengthen the town. The townsmen who were only garrisoned by a regiment of foot and two or three troops of horse, readily opened the gates and after fierce fighting the town was taken. Many of the defenders fled across the bridge to Waterford, and others were mercilessly massacred.

On hearing the good news Cromwell left Ross on 21st November for Carrick and arrived there on the 23rd. He then marched on Waterford and left Carrick in Reynolds's care. Some days later the Royalists, under Taaffe and Inchiquin tried to retake the town and bridge, but to no avail, except heavy loss.

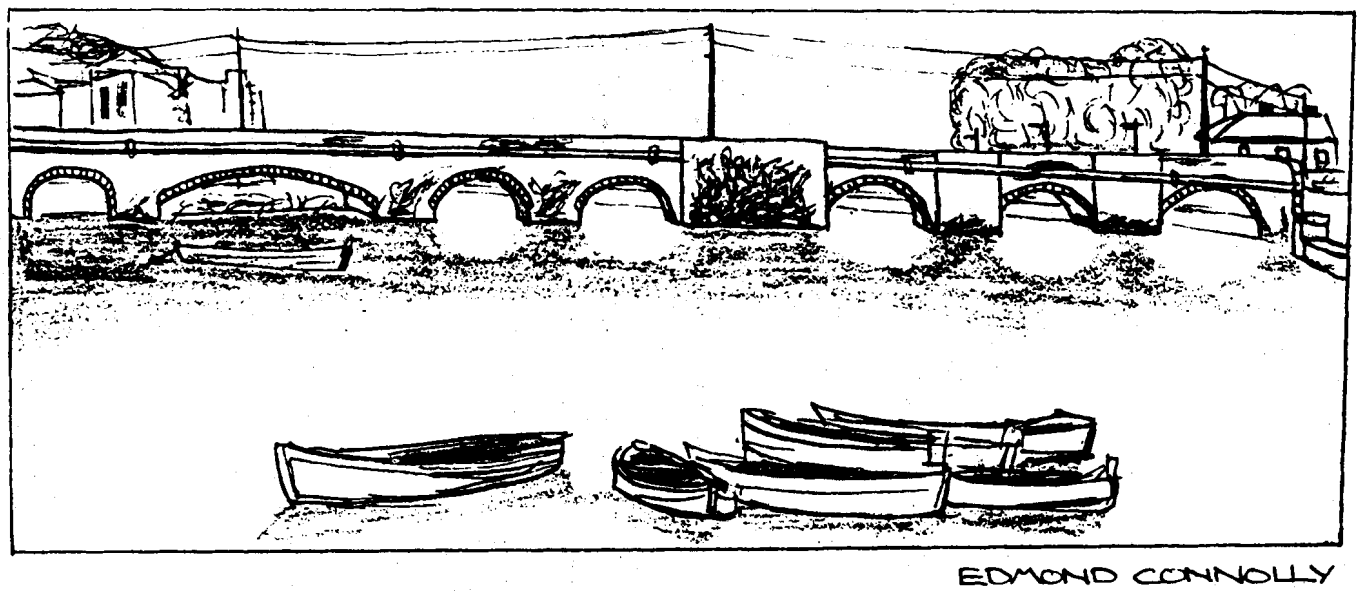
Cromwell luckily didn't destroy the bridge, since it was vital to his campaign. If the Irish forces had held the bridge it could have changed the outcome.

Changes to the Bridge:

It is not quite certain how many arches were originally in the present bridge. The present large navigation-arch replaced two smaller arches, so that would have made it a nine-arch bridge. Yet there may have been one or more smaller arches on the Tipperary side, since that area was prone to severe flooding before the quays were built. Also, the nearby older houses are built on arches as a precaution against flooding. Yet it is still un-certain about any extra arches.



Old Bridge and Weir c 1900



Present View of Bridge from East

The Old Bridge at Carrick-on-Suir.

Seemingly the bridge was in need of repair in the early seventeenth century, for in 1614 King James I ordered it to be repaired by means of a contribution levied on the land in that area. The bridge was repaired twice more in that century by James, Duke of Ormond: once in 1688, and again in 1697 after it had suffered severe damage in the Williamite Wars. The bridge was repaired again in 1788 for £3-8s-3d.

After an accident with a boat load of bran in 1790 it was decided to widen some of the arches. Nothing was done until August 1802 when two arches on the Waterford side were taken down in order to make one large arch. The contractors, Foran and O'Rourke,had just started when a strike began which stopped any further work.

Next January a woman fell off the bridge from her horse and cart and was drowned. The arch was temporarily closed again in September 1803. The following year the large arch was finally completed.

In 1805 it was decided to raise the parapets and make a footpath on the bridge which cost the large sum of £47-14s-0d- One of the more unusual aspects about the bridge was the guarded tower at its centre. It was later replaced by a small slated house which was inhabited until the 1880's by a nail maker named O'Mahony.

The bridge has undergone many changes over the years including the building of the quays out into the river, diverting the water from an arch on each end of the bridge. The bridge must have been quite different when it was built.

Incidents on the Bridge:

The most horrific and unfortunate accident that ever happened in Carrick must have been the mass-drowning of 1799. Lieutenant James Fitzgibbon who was in command of a force of soldiers and their families on their way to Ross wrote a letter to his sister the following day and gives a detailed account of what happened.

The soldiers and their families, amounting to over three hundred people were on their way from Co. Limerick to Ross. On reaching Clonmel on Friday, 7th February, 1799, they decided to send the women, children and baggage on by boat to Carrick-on-Suir because of heavy snow that blocked the roads. Many soldiers complained of lameness, and eventually all were allowed travel by boat.

On February 8th, eleven men were sent on in the first boat which had forty women and nearly sixty children on board. The river was in heavy flood due to thawing snow and rain, and the barges raced down river. An effort was made by a young boy to cast a rope around a stake in the river-bank before they reached Carrick, but the rope broke. Minutes later the vessel plunged sideways against the bridge and all "the men, women and children were spread all over the flood."

Of the hundred and ten people on board only four men and six women were saved. Four of these women and one man were rescued by a fourteen year old Carrick boy who risked his life in a small boat. The other two boats were able to secure

moorings before reaching the bridge. A memorial in the Old Protestant graveyard at Carrick commemorates those who died.

Hanging:

Only one man has ever been reported hanged on the bridge. In February 1811 one Maurice Quann, a blacksmith by trade, broke into a certain Power's house in Tinhalla, near Carrick and stole a gun, some money and whiskey. He was captured soon afterwards and brought to Waterford to be tried, and was found guilty.

He was sentenced to be hanged on the bridge on February 23rd. He was brought from Waterford jail at 6.30a.m., and as tradition has it he was set up on a table given by a woman named Torpy from Carrickbeg and hanged. That evening his body was returned to Waterford jail for burial.

Modern Times:

Deep divisions concerning the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 brought bitter conflict to Ireland. The Civil War broke out in March 1922 and the atrocities that were committed on both sides were nothing to be proud of - but Irish politics don't concern us here.

In an effort to disrupt communications around the country the Republicans blew up many bridges and Carrick was no exception - both bridges were damaged. On Tuesday 8th August 1922 at 6.30p.m. one side of the bridge was blown, and ten minutes later the second side was blown. Two days later the large arch was completely blown down and, as the New Bridge (Dillon Bridge) downriver was already damaged, Carrickbeg was cut off from the rest of the town. The town was temporarily without water until the military repaired the pipes.

The country was literally in a mess and it wasn't until late 1925 that steps were taken to repair the two bridges. The Town Surveyor, M. J. Lonergan, proposed to repair the New Bridge first for £1,000 and the Old Bridge for £800. The Board of Works proposed to repair the Old Bridge with a steel structure but the local council members strongly protested and the idea wasn't pursued any further. This would have been a totally unsuitable method of repair, but luckily the people of Carrick voiced their opinion on the subject. After a long delay the bridge was finally repaired using stone to restore the large Navigation Arch.

Conclusion:

Carrick Bridge is one of the town's finest monuments, yet over the years it has suffered considerable neglect and abuse. When Dillon Bridge was being repaired in the early 1970's all the traffic was diverted onto the ancient bridge. Promises were made that the disfiguring old watermain pipe would be removed when it would be no longer in use. Nothing has been done about this example of official vandalism.

I would like to propose that certain steps be taken to improve the bridge. Firstly, the immediate removal of the disused watermain pipe from the eastern side. The electric wiring and poles presently on the bridge should be placed under the

road. The damaged parapets should be repaired. There should be proper enforcement of the two ton limit with the ultimate aim of making the old structure a pedestrian bridge. And finally, a plaque giving a brief history of the bridge should be erected.

After all, this bridge holds the special and deep-rooted affection of the people in the town. It is a focal point for the citizens; it is the venue for many a meeting and conversation,and it is noted as a good fishing point. Above all it is a link between the past and the present. It is only fitting that proper care and respect be given to a bridge which gives the town much of its character and which is central to its history.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

I would like to thank sincerely Mr. Michael Coady and Mr. Hugh Ryan, both of Carrick-on-Suir, who gave me invaluable help and advice, and without whose encouragement this article could not have been written.

I am also grateful to the staffs of the Co. Libraries of Waterford,Tipperary and Kilkenny, to Mr. Don O'Neill-Flanagan, Dr. Patrick C. Power, Rev. Adrian Empey, and Mr. Michael O'Donnell.

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A Brief Examination of a Site at Coal Quay, Waterford City

Sarah Stevens.

The site under discussion is located on Waterford's Coal Quay (No.93) between Exchange Street and Conduit Lane.[1] Prior to development of the site it was arranged for archaeological supervision of the removal of soil from the surface of the site.

This clearance was safely carried out to a depth of approximately 75cms. below the present pavement, this being the depth at which the platform type foundations were to be laid. The only feature visible at this stage of the investigation was a small part of the alleyway wall (Wall C - Fig. 1) and the drain (see below).

After this brief examination of the site, the developers generously allowed a narrow trench to be dug to a depth of c.1ft. and running at right angles to the line of the Quay. It was hoped that this trench might reveal traces of the portion of City Wall which originally ran along the Quay. Although the existence of the wall along the river line is known from maps, its location has never been proved archaeologically.

Ryland's map of"Waterford as it was in 1673"is not precise or reliable enough to show exactly where the wall lay in relation to the present street layout. However, Sir Thomas Phillip's map of 1685 is probably an accurate indication of the layout of the walls. The early 18th century maps available (Goubet, Henry Pratt, Herman Moll and Tindel; J.S. Carroll,1982) would appear to indicate (as J.S. Carroll 1982 points out) that the wall lay some distance back from the present line of buildings between Barronstrand Street and Conduit Lane, and between Exchange Street and Keyser Street. From Henrietta Street eastward it may, however, have been on the same line as the present street frontage. By the time Richards & Scale made their remarkably reliable map of the city, the Quay wall had disappeared totally.

The site under discussion on the Coal Quay provided an excellent and rare opportunity to see where exactly the portion of the wall in this "Straight" lay, if it was as far back as the present frontage and if anything of it still survives. Earlier this year, a Corporation pipe trench inserted in a N. - S. line down Greyfriars, showed no trace of any structure resembling a city wall, so the Coal Quay site was particularly interesting for archaeological investigation.

The trench dug proved most productive,but it also raised more questions than it answered. Complete excavation of the site would have been necessary for the answers to these questions. Not just one wall ,

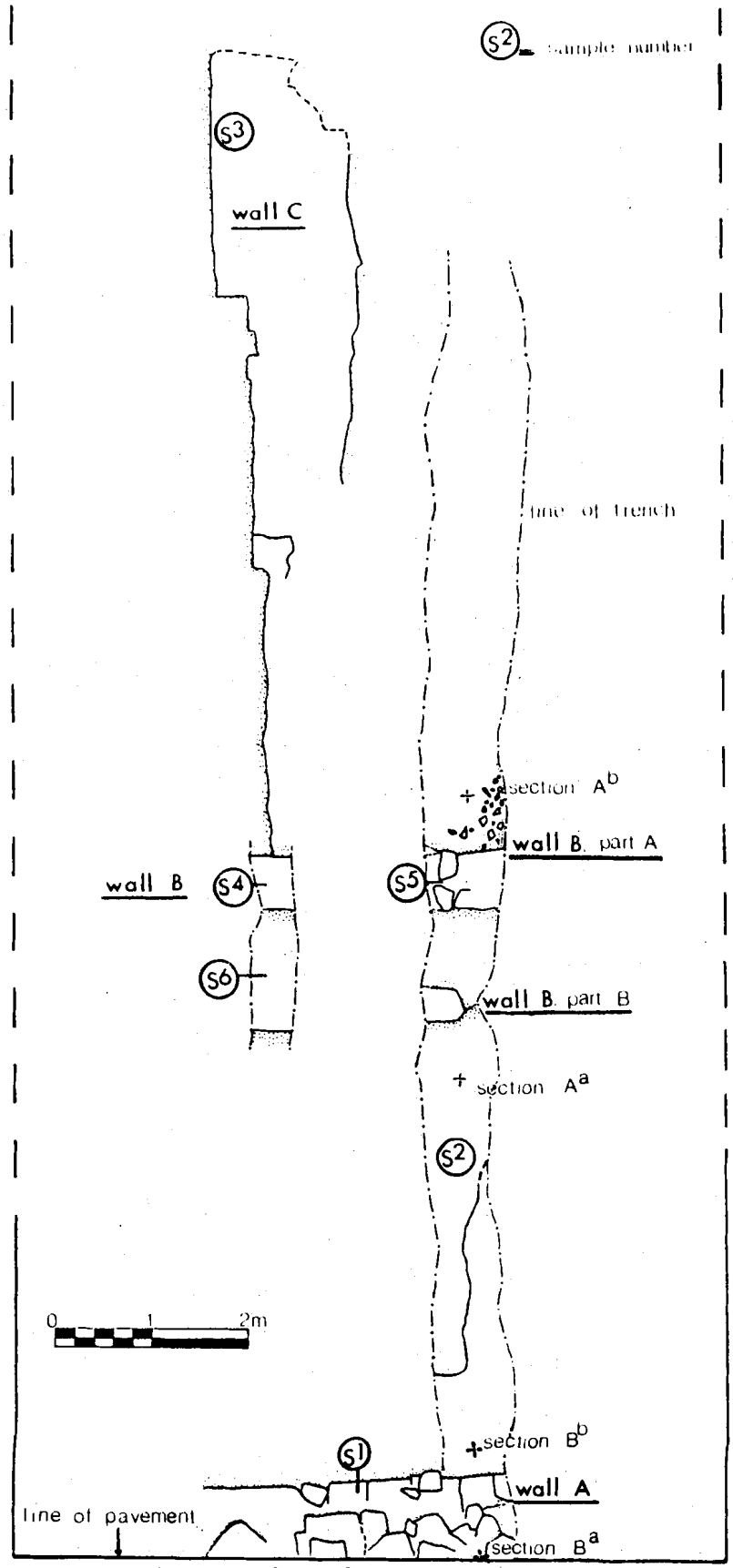


Fig. I Site Plan

but two,were revealed, the first being directly on line with the pavement and partially running below the edge of it to the North.

The other wall lay on the same line but some distance behind it. A further wall (mentioned above) running in a North to South direction along the line of an old alleyway (O.S. 1:1000, 1978. No. 5632-22) was also revealed.It was very near to the surface of the site, and was therefore the first feature to be uncovered. To the rear of this wall lay a "French" drain. This type of drain,with stone side walls capped by large flat stones, was a common feature of the 17th century phase on the High Street - Exchange Street site, which lies to the South of the plot under discussion.

The wall (Wall A. Fig. 1) running along the front of the site, extends out to the South from the edge of the pavement for about 90 - 92 cms., where it appeared in the trench, and it lies approximately 15cms. below the level of the pavement. It is topped by a layer of red brick and pink concrete of relatively recent date, and below this is a rough level of undressed,randomly laid,stones set in mortar. Below this again, 4 courses of dressed stone are visible, these providing an even face to the South side of the wall. The bottom of the wall was not visible as complete excavation,under the circumstances, was impossible. The stone used in construction was mainly limestone but some pieces of red sandstone were visible. The average height of the dressed stones in each course was 15 - 20cms.

Wall B (Fig.I)4.80m. to the South of Wall A,appeared to consist of two parts; a crude stone projection above the surface of the trench at the front (i.e. North), 20cms. high and 33cms. wide,(in a North-South direction);a lower level of stone and mortar between the two portions, and then a wall structure proper (Wall B,Part A) at the South end, 23cms. high and 60cms. wide (in a North-South direction). The main part of the wall (Part A) was possibly constructed with two different mortar types, the upper level having a slightly whiter mortar than the lower level.

Two courses are visible in Section A. The Quay side of the wall is abutted by a layer of very black charcoal material containing frequent slag. The rear of the wall is abutted by a layer of rough "cobbles", made up of flat angular stones,including pieces of thick slate and shale. To the North of this again lay traces of a mortar spread, with rounded pebbles, and frequent slate fragments at its southern end.

At the Southeast of the site lay the "Alleyway" wall, built of limestone and red sandstone, and covered with yellow clay, but it is bonded with mortar, 3 courses being visible. Each course is made up of narrow flat stones about 12cms. high on average (c.50x35cms. in size). The drain partially visible at the rear(South) of the site, is covered with fairly wide flat stones (c.12cms. wide on average), some of which were occasionally dressed.

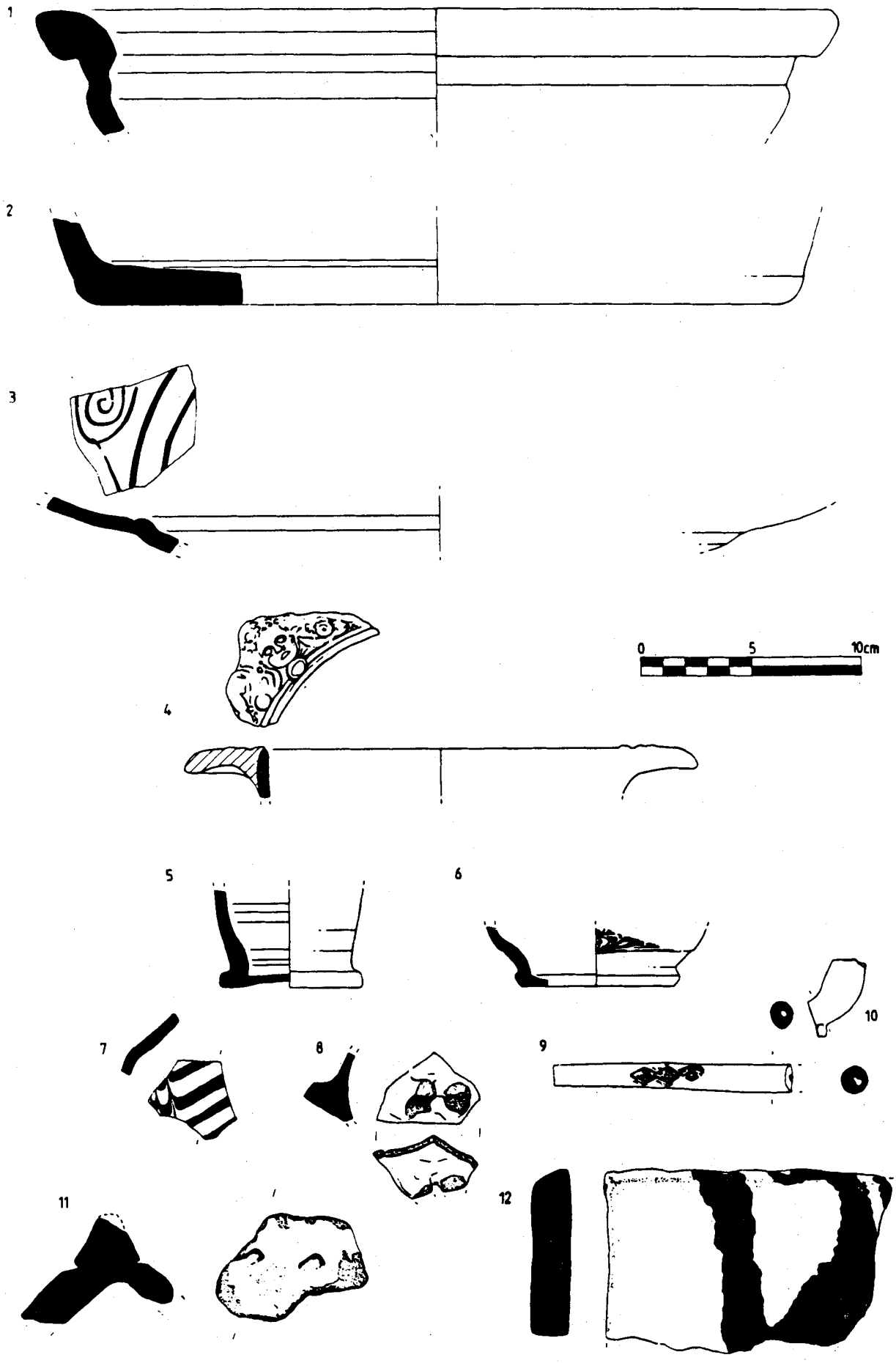


Fig. 2 Finds - see text for Description

NOTE ON MORTAR SAMPLES TAKEN FROM SITE

(See Figure I for location of these samples).

SI Munsell Soil Colour: HUE 10Yr. 7/2 (light brown-light brownish grey). A fairly compact but sandy mortar with large rounded pebbles, calcareous inclusions, small angular pebbles, tiny flint pebbles and occasional shell fragments.

S2 A sample of the charcoal material containing pieces of slag; very black.

S3 Munsell Colour: 7.5yr. 5/6-4/6 (Strong Brown). This is a soft powdery mortar rather than a sandy one. It contains some large pebbles, calcareous inclusions, tiny pebbles, and shell inclusions.

S4 Munsell Colour: 10yr. 5/2-6/2 (Greyish Brown-Light Brownish Grey). This mortar is sandy and contains shell fragments and small angular pebbles.

S5 Munsell Colour: 2.5y. 6/4 (Light Yellowish Brown). A loose crumbly mortar, containing rounded flint pebbles, frequently tiny pebbles, sand with shell fragments, and calcareous inclusions.

S6 Munsell Colour: 10yr. 5/2-4/2. (Greyish Brown-Dark Greyish Brown). A loose soft mortar, containing a considerable amount of sand; also small pebbles, and shell fragments.

THE FINDS.

All the finds from the site are stray surface finds, with no proper archaeological context (i.e. they have no stratigraphical location or relationship to features). The upper levels of the site uncovered by the bulldozer would seem to have been fairly disturbed by 18th century activities. The top layers revealed on the surface after clearance, may have been 17th century in date as the majority of the pottery recovered dates to this century. Unfortunately no finds were recovered in the layers abutting the two major walls, even though a small hole was inserted to a depth of nearly one metre.

CATALOGUE OF FINDS

Gravel Tempered North Devon Ware:

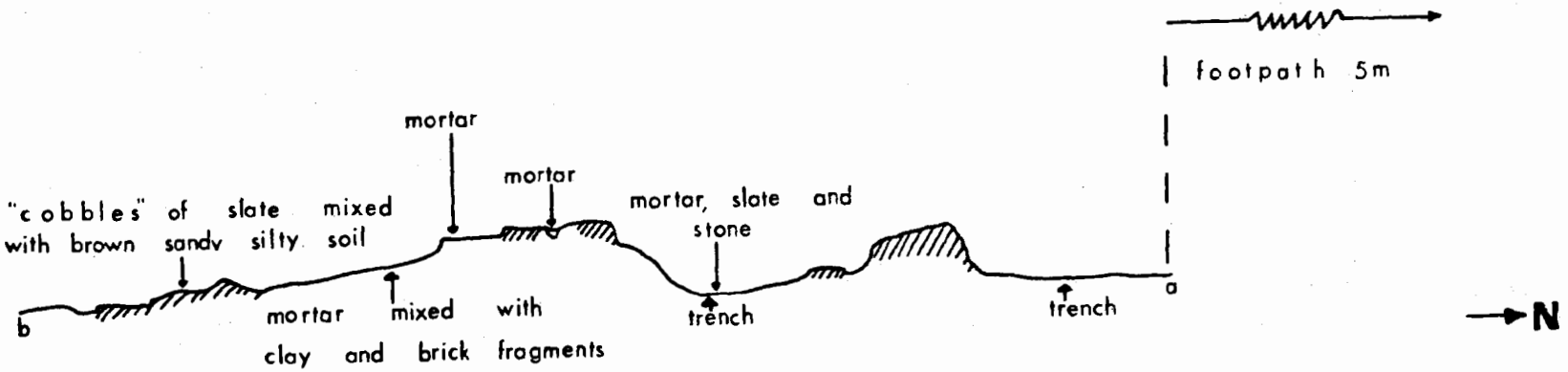
1 base Sherd: Fabric: 1.1cms. thick, orange-red on exterior and grey inside. Glaze: green-brown with a slightly speckled appearance. (Fig.2 No.2).

1 rim Sherd: Fabric 1.1cm. thick and same colour as above. Glaze: a browner green than the above sherd, and less speckled with a more even colour (Fig. 2 No.1).

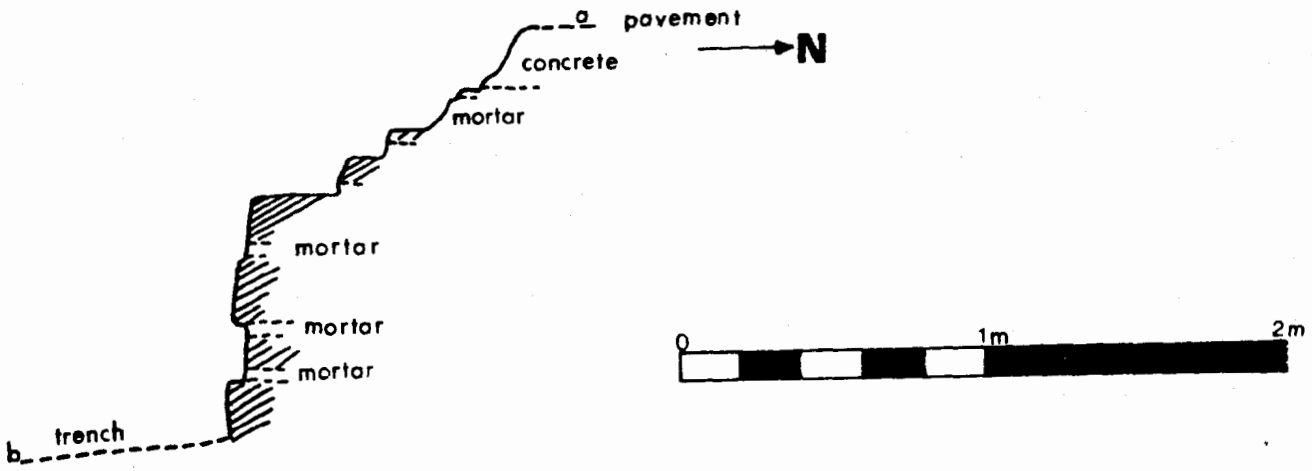
2 body Sherds: 0.1cm. thick and 0.7cm. Fabric: as above.

1 body Sherd: Fabric: pink-brown and fairly fine but with some inclusions; 0.7cms. thick.

Glaze: medium yellow brown on exterior.



SECTION A



SECTION B

Fig. 3 Section Through Walls A & B

1 body Sherd: Fine Ware: Fabric: 0.6 cms. thick. Red in colour.

2 Fragments of North Devon Gravel Tempered Ridge Tile.

Fabric: the exterior is pink-orange and the interior grey: it contains fine grit and mica inclusions. One fragment shows traces of slash decoration running from the crest to the base of the tile. The other shows stabbed decoration (Fig.2 No.11). Both fragments are part of the very top, crest portion of the tile, and are green glazed. The fabric is approximately 1.4cms. thick. Roof tiles obviously also comprised part of the English pottery trade, in addition to the pots for domestic purposes.

1 fragment of gravel tempered roof tile: This is made of a red-brown fabric (very slightly grey inside), 1.2cms. thick. It is glazed with splashes of black glaze with a metallic sheen, producing an uneven coverage of the tile. (Fig.2 No.12).

1 Sherd of yellow glazed sgraffito:
This Sherd comes from a large flat dish or platter, and shows traces of incised decoration filled in with brown slip. Part of a spiral is visible; this would have been one of a band of spirals around the outer rim of the plate. The fabric is 0.6cm. thick. This pottery type was probably also imported from Southern England during the 17th century. (Fig. 2 No. 3).

1 base Sherd of English Salt glazed ware:
Fabric: red in colour; body fabric 0.6cm. thick and base fabric (in centre) 0.3cm. thick. It is covered with a strong black-brown glaze on the exterior and a matt dull brown glaze inside. This vessel fragment probably dates to the 18th or 19th century.(Fig.2 No.5).

1 Sherd Grey Stoneware, unglazed, no tempering inclusions.

1 Sherd Buckley type/Cistercian Ware:
Fabric: Fine with a few inclusions, exterior of the sherd pink-red in colour, and grey on the other side. It is covered with a dark brown to black shiny glaze on one side. This ware has a long history through the 17th-19th centuries.

STAFFORDSHIRE TYPE WARE:

1 Sherd combed slip decorated ware; a cream-yellow background with dark brown slip and traces of a combed decoration; the fabric is a dull pink colour. (Fig.2 No. 7).

1 body Sherd with traces of a handle(Fig.2 No.8).
Fabric: dull red; glaze :yellow with faint traces of brown slip(streaks).

1 base Sherd, dull pink fabric, with brown glaze and traces of a yellow glazed background with brown slip decoration giving a marbled effect. (Fig. 2 No.6).

This type of yellow, black and brown comb decorated slip wares began to be produced in England, in the middle of the 17th century. Decoration can be in the form of dots, and stripes of slip and variations on these motifs were achieved by "combing" or "feathering" All this ware is lead glazed. (K.J.Barton "Pottery in England",from 3500B.C. - A.D.1750. London 1975. p.126).

Fig. 4 Wall A from South (pavement at rear)

Fig. 5 Wall A from East
(pavement at right)

WESTERN-FRENCH SAINTONGE TYPE WARE:

1 very ornate polychrome rim sherd. (Fig. 2 No. 4).
This Sherd has a decorative projection from the rim, which has a raised bevel around the edge. The decoration on the projecting trefoil-shaped feature comprises a green face mask with some background foliage type motifs in relief. The design is ornate but fairly crudely executed, and is rather difficult to see clearly,as the sherd is badly worn. The glaze consists of brown, yellow and green colours giving a mottled effect,although the face is predominantly green, and the background mainly brown and yellow. The underside of this projection is only partially glazed,leaving the pale cream-off white fabric exposed. Traces of the potter's fingerprints are visible on this. The fabric is fine and almost untempered.

The face mask on this sherd bears a resemblance to the faces both on the medieval and 16th & 17th century Saintonge chafing dishes. The ornateness of the decoration,however,suggests that this Sherd belongs to a period later than the medieval. It would appear to belong to Hurst's Type B Category (Polychrome dishes and bowls (Hurst. 1974).

This type B category belongs to the second half of the 16th and first half of the 17th century, and the bowls and dishes are poor copies of Palissy type pottery. They are found in two main forms, either deep with sloping sides or shallow with vertical sides. It is difficult from the size of the Sherd found to say to which variety of dish it belonged.

1 fragment of green glazed Saintonge Type Ware:
Fabric: fine, pale pink on the unglazed side and slightly grey in the centre. The fabric also contains tiny specks of mica. It is covered with a medium green glaze.

The tiny size of the fragment does not allow any further speculation as to whether it was medieval or 17th century. However, it looks more like an early medieval ware, so it is possibly from a disturbed context on the Coal Quay.

1 Clay Pipe Stem:

This is made of white clay, with 2 shades of grey visible inside the stem,at the end where it met with the bowl. This is possibly where it was burnt when in use. It measures 10.8cms. long and an average of 1.2cms. in diameter. It is, however, thicker at the end where it joined the bowl. There are three lozenge shaped motifs stamped on the centre of the stem. These are impressed in a slanting line on what would have been the upper and visible portion of the stem. A specialist's opinion is required to date this precisely, but it may be as late as the 19th century.

1 Clay Pipe Bowl: (Fig. 2 No.10). Type uncertain. Specialist's examination required.

A NOTE ON THE NORTH DEVON WARE:

The North Devon pottery found on the site is of interest, as Waterford was one of the major centres during the 17th century for the importation of these English wares, which came from the area of Barnstaple and Bideford. This pottery trade developed partially as a result of Ireland's livestock and agricultural trade with the Bristol Channel ports.

The South and South-East of Ireland were exporting livestock (cattle, sheep and some pigs) to ports such as Barnstaple after the 1650's and in return the English ships carried earthenware on their outward journey. In 1667, however, restrictions were placed on the import of live animals to England, so animal products were then traded in their place, (i.e. wool, hides, feathers, barrels of mutton, goat skins and butter). Pottery continued to be a profitable commodity for the outward journey from Devon.

Alison Grant has documented the close ties between ports such as Waterford and Barnstaple and Bideford. Thomas Smith, for example, was a merchant, first in Waterford and then in Bideford. Mr. Richard Mabanke, a Waterford merchant, married in Barnstaple in 1675, was Mayor of Waterford in 1682-3 but later settled in Bideford.

John Christmas, another native of Waterford, settled in Barnstaple, and became one of its leading merchants. This man was involved in the cattle trade with places as far flung as Newfoundland, so his contacts with Waterford for the provision of butter would have been most useful.

Butter pots made up a considerable proportion of the imports from Devon, these being needed for the further export of Ireland's plentiful supply of butter. Other wares such as slipware and finer gravel-free wares were, however, also imported.

Waterford, with its good river access not only to the city itself but also a wide hinterland, was naturally a prime centre for this pottery trade. Alison Grant's research of the Barnstaple overseas port books for the years 1690 to 1701 show that both Waterford and Ross imported considerable quantities of earthenware, amounts varying from 140 dozen to 1038 dozen a year.

CONCLUSIONS

The site on the Coal Quay is of significance, as it points to the need for proper archaeological excavation along the river frontage, an area which played such an important role in Waterford's urban development. It is obvious that such a brief surface examination of a site such as this (during time allocated to another project at High St.), raises more questions than it can hope to answer.

Which of the two major walls (A & B) revealed was the original City Wall (both being valid candidates), or were there two walls, an earlier and a late expansion as the frontage pushed further towards the river ? Hopefully, more positive interpretation of these walls will be reached at a later date, this report being merely a record of their existence and location.

Unfortunately the site, although vacant for a considerable period, did not come to the attention of archaeologists, until a stage when construction was ready to go ahead. This emphasizes the need for foresight and planning in relation to archaeology in the city. Urban development is crucial to the modern economy and well-being of the city and it should not be unduly hindered by inadequate contingency measures covering rescue excavation.

It should be stressed that the developers, engineers and construction firm were not to blame in any respect (although they are frequently the scapegoats for the results of poor planning in relation to archaeology). A lesson to be learned for the future is that all those interested in history or archaeology and those with a sense of cultural responsibility must join forces and inaugurate a plan of action to ensure that future sites of archaeological importance are not lost forever.

It should be remembered that these sites are not only of local or Irish importance, but also of European importance. Any plan for future sites must recognise the need for funding (probably from varied sources), and for a sense of timing which considers both the developer and the archaeologist, so that the former is not unduly delayed by the latter; this being possible if the archaeologists and Office of Public Works are informed of potential sites while they lie vacant and open for research.[2]

.....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Especial thanks are due to Sean Durack for his illustrations of the Finds.

I would like to thank Tom O'Brien of the Construction Firm, and Tom Cregg the Engineer; also Gerry Freyne for his co-operation, and John Fagan for his help in digging the trench.

My thanks to Mary Conway and Philip Jones of the Planning Dept., Waterford Corporation; also to Celie O'Rahilly for her archaeological advice.

I should also like to thank some of the High Street"Diggers" for their help, Bernard Colclough, Sean Kavanagh, Noirin O'Flaherty, Catherine O'Neill, and Jane Raftery.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude for the tremendous interest in the site shown by local passers-by and by tourists. It is their interest and curiosity which provides a reason for pursuing archaeology as a valid activity within Waterford City.

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FOOTNOTES:

1. O.S. Map 1:1000.1978; No. 5632-22.
Grid Ref: S6083. 1251.
The site faces N.N.E. in reality but for the purposes of this article, it is described throughout as if it faces direct North.

2. For example, an immediate survey of vacant and derelict plots within the area of the medieval city, should be undertaken. These sites could be graded in accordance with their archaeological potential and the likliehood of their being developed over the next few years, therefore allowing for archaeological research and rescue plans to be initiated.

Queries

Is anything known of the family of a James Power of Woodhouse, Stradbally, Co. Waterford. He resided at that address in 1881 as is evidenced by a letter he wrote from there. Three of his sons,John, Michael and Patrick who were born in the 1840's emigrated to Oregon, U.S.A. and possibly left a fourth brother behind. There is a tradition in Patrick's family, based on a statement which he made himself, that they were descended from "Lord Power of Waterford". The enquirer is a descendant of Patrick Power.

.....

A ruin that stood at or near the summit of Gracedieu Road, prior to its demolition about 30 years ago, was known as the "Brass Castle". Can anyone explain why ?

.....

A terrace of 9 houses or cottages standing in isolation in the townland of Bawnfune were known as the "Hungry Halls". The name suggests an association with the Famine but can any reader confirm or elaborate on this ?

.....

Mr. Brian Mc Dermott has letters from Thomas Fitzgerald junior, dated 1807, in one of which he refers to his father Thomas Senior, at Snowhaven. Any information on Thomas Senior and Junior would be welcome.

.....

Mrs. Fletcher King is a descendant of the Ramsey family who owned "The Waterford Chronicle" in the mid 1700's. She seeks information on the Birnie and Alcock families who were related to the Ramsey

.....

Mrs. B. Dunne is interested in learning the history of the mill at Whelans Bridge (now demolished) and of the Power family who were millers there.

.....

Kings Channel is between Little Island and the Waterford bank of the River Suir. Which King is it named after, and what is the earliest reference to this name.

.....

Old Waterford Society

LECTURE SEASON 1985/86.

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

1985:

October 18th: "Irish Workhouses - an Illustrated Lecture"
Dr. Francis Finnegan. W.R.T.C.

November 1st: "Waterford and the Royal Favour - 1540-1640."
Mr. Julian Walton. (member)

November 29th:"Patrick Comerford, Bishop of Waterford & Lismore.
Mons. Michael Olden. P.P.D.D.

December 8th: Annual Lunch
Seperate Notice will be sent to members.

1986:

January 24th: "Medieval Churches in South-East Ireland."
Mr. Ian Lumley. (member)

February 21st: "Jewellery of the Golden Age in Ireland."
Mr. Michael Ryan - Keeper of Irish Antiquities.
National Museum.

March 21st: "18th Century Women in Ireland".
Dr. Margaret McCurtin. O.P., U.C.D.

April 18th: "Recent Excavations at Tintern Abbey".
Dr. Anne Lynch. O.P.W.

Enquiries regarding DECIES to:

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

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Mrs. R. Lumley,
28, Daisy Terrace,
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