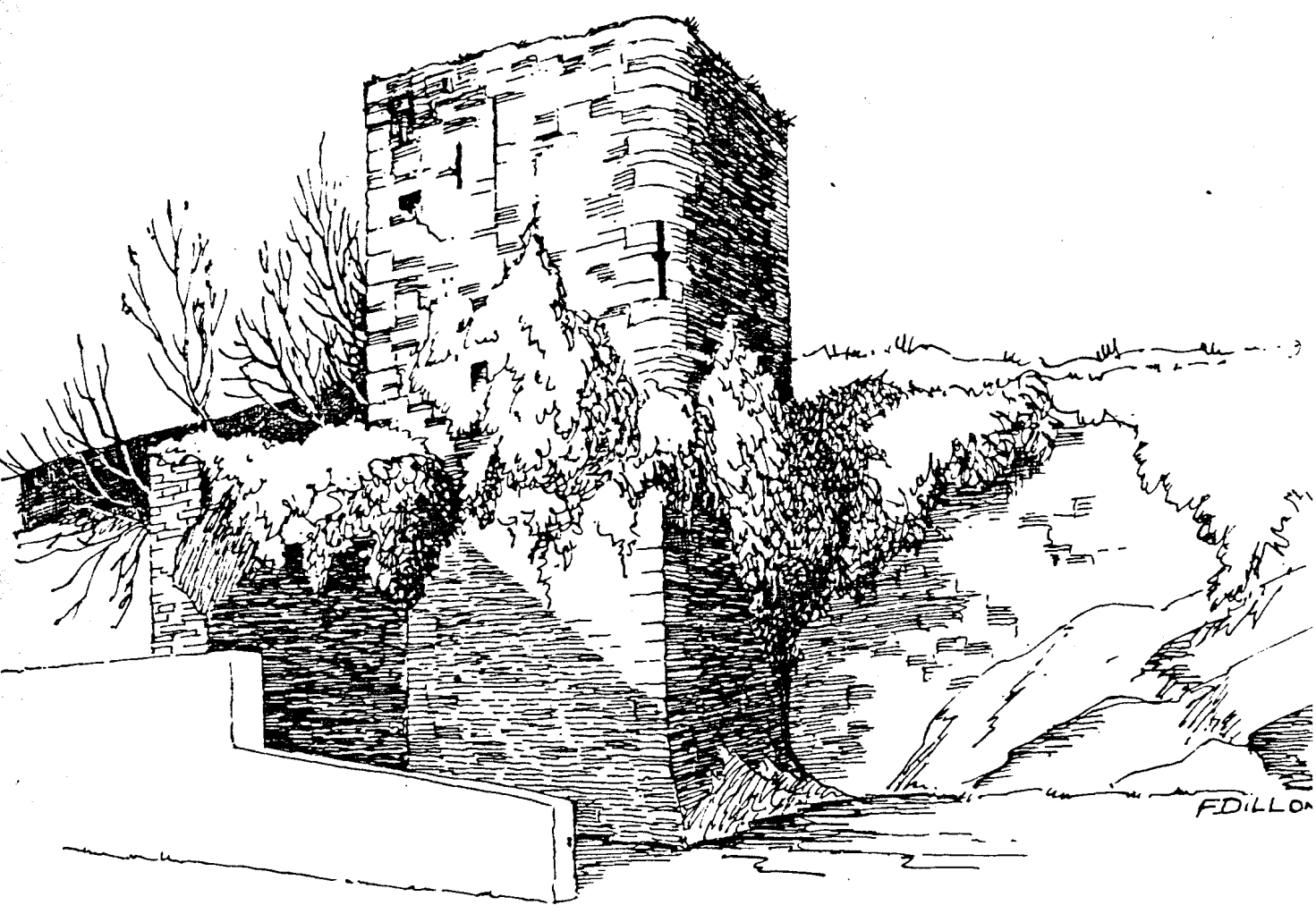


*Old Waterford Society*

# DECIES

XXXII

SUMMER 1986



# Old Waterford Society

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Summer 1986

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FRONT COVER: The Beach Tower, by Fergus Dillon.

Flanked by a natural rock face, this corner tower is still an impressive feature on the line of the city walls. It will certainly be more so when, as is hoped, the disused water tank that now surmounts it has been removed, thus revealing the tower as now portrayed.

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

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The Society wishes to express its appreciation of the facilities afforded to it by the Regional Technical College in the production of this issue.

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The Old Waterford Society is very grateful to Waterford Crystal, Ltd. for their generous financial help towards the production of this issue of Decies.

# Editorial

It is good to be assured that the AnCo/Waterford Heritage Survey is proceeding apace with Miss Carmel Meehan as Co-ordinator and Miss Colette Dower as her Assistant. It will be recalled that on the 7th April the project had advanced so far as to enable a presentation to be made to the Parish Priests or Administrators of St. Patrick's, St. John's, the Cathedral and Trinity Without (Ballybricken) of single bound volumes of their respective parish registers of births, marriages and deaths from 1706 to 1900 in computerised form, the programming for which was carried out by Fr. Michael O'Connor.

The merits of this form of record must be obvious. It represents a safe and permanent source of information and does away with the necessity of handling books of venerable age that are often difficult to read. Although access will still be limited and at the discretion of the Bishop, those privileged to tap this mine of information will be able to do so with an absolute minimum of time and effort.

Outside the city parishes, and even outside the diocese of Waterford, the preliminary process of card indexing is well in hand. The registers being dealt with include those of the parishes of Tramore, Slieverue/Ferrybank, Glenmore, Mooncoin and New Ross.

.....

From an article in the current issue members will learn with satisfaction of a singular achievement by Waterford County Council that must reflect great credit on their County Librarian, Mr. Donal Brady. We refer to the arrangement whereby the entire collection of the Devonshire family papers will be made available to the nation in microfilm form by the National Library and concurrently to the County Library at Lismore. There must be other libraries which could seek to make similar arrangements in respect of notable collections in their territories.

J.S.C.

Author DECIES SUMMER '86  
Acc. No. 4998 Class No. 961.91  
Leabharlanna Chonndae Portláirge  
County Waterford Libraries Committee

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# Annual General Meeting

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, April 4th, 1986 at the Garter Lane Arts Centre, there being approximately 30 members present.

Following a short address by the Chairman and the presentation of the Honorary Secretary's and Honorary Treasurer's reports, the meeting proceeded with the election of Officers and Committee for 1986-7 which resulted as follows : -

## OFFICERS:

Chairman	:	Mr. Fergus Dillon.
Vice Chairman	:	Mrs. Lisa Gallagher.
Hon. Secretary	:	Mrs. Nellie Croke.
Hon. Treasurer	:	Mrs. Renee Lumley.
Hon. Editor	:	Mr. Stan Carroll.
Hon. P.R.O.	:	Mr. P. J. Kenneally.

## COMMITTEE:

Mr. Noel Cassidy.  
Mr. Tom Cooney  
Mr. Daniel Dowling  
Mr. Frank Heylin  
Mr. Patrick Kennedy  
Mr. Niall O'Flaherty  
Mr. Jim O'Meara  
Mr. Albert Thornton

The members present passed a vote of sympathy with the Honorary Secretary on the death of her husband, Mr. James Croke. R.I.P.

Following a discussion on the Society's financial position, it was decided that the annual subscription should be increased to £7.00 with effect from the 1st January, 1987.

On the suggestion of Mrs. Betty Heame that a loud-hailer be acquired for use at outings it was decided to make enquiries as to cost.

Mr. Dan Dowling suggested that more active interest should be taken by members in gathering information on the fast-disappearing old streets and buildings throughout the city and on those who lived in them. He was supported in this by Mrs. Gallagher who recommended that the incoming Committee should look into the proposal.

On the conclusion of business, the meeting was entertained to a most enjoyable exhibition of slides by Mr. Pat Cummins, a well-known amateur photographer. These were in two groups - one dealing with every aspect of the river and estuary and the other with less well known views within the city. The superb quality of the slides, both artistic and technical, elicited high praise from all present.

# Bannow in Pre-Norman Times

## 1. Pre-historic Bannow.

T. C. Butler, O.S.A.

The name of Bannow is associated in the minds of most people with the landing of the first Normans to come to Ireland in 1169. Its subsequent fame and history, as a town with a charter, sending two members to Parliament, followed from that date. Bannow, however, was old when the Normans came. Due to its proximity to Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, it was most likely one of the earliest inhabited areas in the country. It had a good natural harbour for sea-going vessels; it was well sheltered from the main Atlantic gales; it had a fertile hinterland, well watered and well stocked with massive forests. It was, therefore, ideal terrain for would-be invaders and adventuresome nomads from across the sea.

Pre-historic Bannow can lay fame to many relics that connect it with the existence of settlers from earliest times down to the Christian era.

Ard Ladhrann One of the earliest references to this area is that given in Hogan's Onomasticon Godelicum.<sup>1</sup> It gives three known areas of sea, off the Irish coast, which gave forth, on calm evenings, an ominous roar that presaged a violent storm soon to follow: Tuile (or Tonn) Ruairi off West Donegal, Tuile Cliona off South-West Cork, and Tuile Ladhrann off the south coast of Wexford. Tuile Ladhrann, in my opinion, refers to the sea off Cullenstown, now known as the Bar of Lough. The name occurs again in the Life of St. Mogue (Aidan), to which I shall refer in a later article.<sup>2</sup> On a calm evening, with the wind from a southerly direction, the sea out on the bar gives forth a strange ominous roar as the tide comes in. I have heard it many times from over twenty miles inland and noticed that within twelve hours a fierce storm would follow. The ancients attributed it to the gods of the sea venting their anger for the misdeeds of their people. In the Life of St. Mogue it is said that he came ashore, after his return from Wales, at a town called Ard Ladhrann and was given a site to build a church<sup>3</sup>. The spot is still pointed out by the local people and the remains of the first church are preserved near Cullenstown.<sup>4</sup> The word used for town is oppidum, which, in classical Latin, means 'a fortified place situated on a rise of ground'. The terrain around Cullenstown is admirably suited to that description. It is the only reference we find to a town in pre-Christian Ireland. The lower section of a very sturdy look-out tower, about fourteen feet high, stands in the centre of the original 'town'.

Who was Ladhra from whom the area derives its name? Chroniclers tell of the arrival off the coast of Kerry of a party of three men and fifty women, who eventually made their way along the south coast of Ireland until they came to Cumar na dTri Uisce (Waterford Harbour).<sup>5</sup> There, they separated into three groups; one third of the women, under the command of Ladhra, one of the three men, sailed further on to a harbour between Cumar na dTri Uisce and Loch gCarman. This would seem to be Bannow Bay. There, they settled on an island and, later, on the mainland. One version says that Cessara (or Cesair), sister of Ladhra, was in command, that they spent forty years in the district until their chief man, Ladhra, died. He was given an honourable burial on a height overlooking the sea. A great dolmen was erected over his grave. The site was afterwards called Ard

## Bannow in Pre-Norman Times.

Ladhrann (the modern village of Cullenstown). Within living memory, the remains of a druids' altar (or dolmen) stood on the high ground overlooking the lower strand. Dolmens generally faced east and were often located on the brow of a hill.

There is another reference to Ard Ladhrann in the wars between Heber and Heremon and their followers. In the reign of Laisne, son of Heremon, the followers of Heremon fought their final battle at Ard Ladhrann, on the south coast of Ui Ceinsealaigh. The sons of Heremon fell and their army was completely routed.<sup>6</sup>

There are five types of pre-historic relics associated with the Bannow area: (a) dolmen, (b) kitchen midden, (c) standing stone, (d) mote, and (e) raths. It is quite possible that there were stone circles in existence there also but there is no reference to them in any chronicle. Before O'Donovan made his Ordnance Survey (1839-40) many of the loose stones and boulders that lay in the fields and ditches were removed by a local landlord, named Boyse, for building roads and houses on his estate. This happened from 1815 to 1820. Many castle walls and castle ruins were dismantled in the search for stones. One can still see the remains of possible stone circles in the huge boulders that lie around the ditches; some of these had been removed from the fields.

Dolmen: I have already dealt with the only dolmen that is reputed to have been in the district. Dolmens date back to 2000 B.C. and are connected with stone-age people.

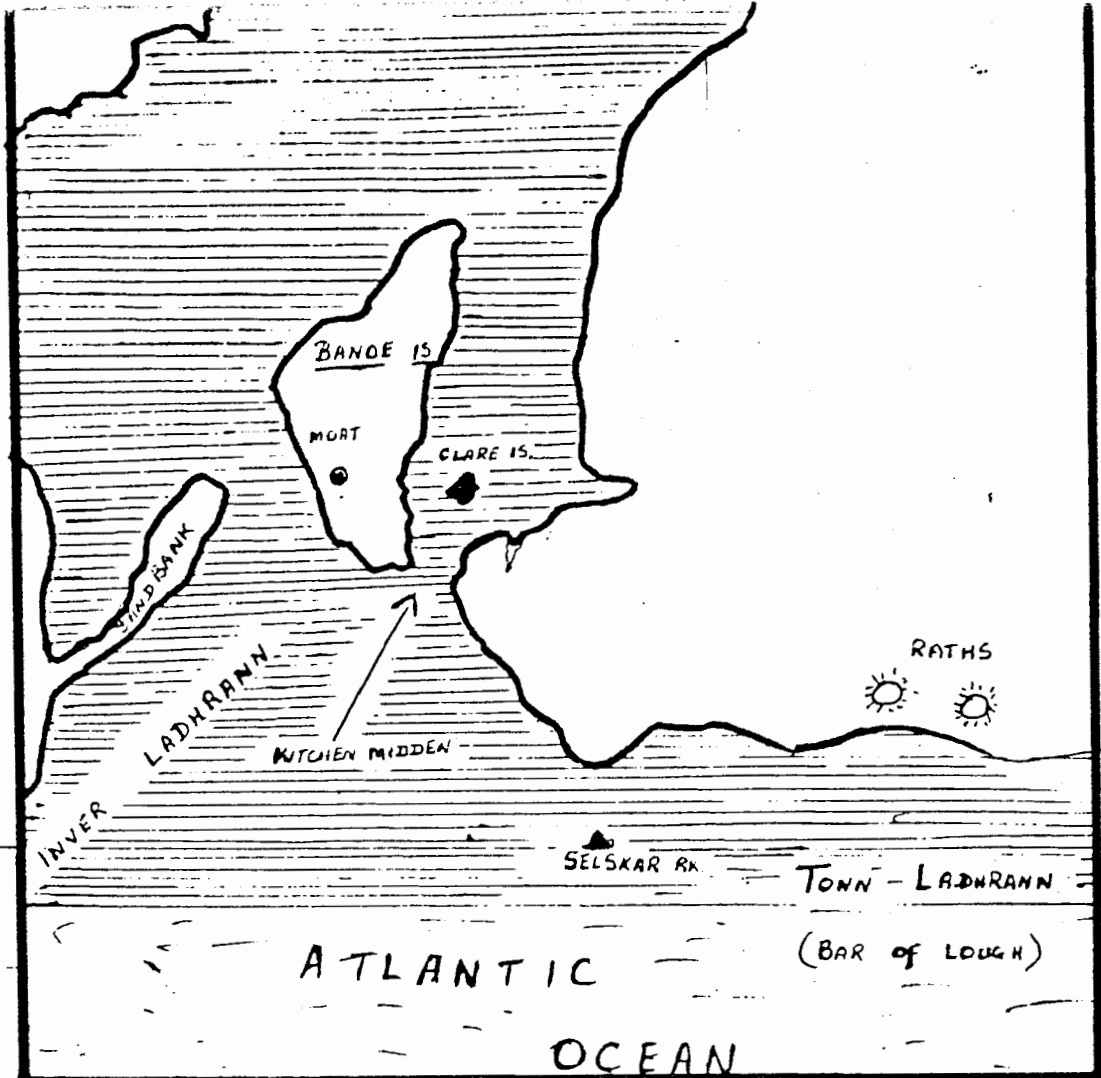
Kitchen midden: This was merely a refuse dump where the bones of animals and fish were deposited. When the earliest settlers came ashore from their boats they usually chose a sheltered island in the confines of a harbour. They carried up on to the island a supply of shellfish and the meat of small animals, which they cooked over a fire as they squatted around the rough hearth. They threw away the shells and small bones after extracting the last morsel of marrow and, in time, a vast heap of such remains was spread all over the island. These primitive people had no idea of tillage; they lived on the produce of their hunting and fishing.<sup>7</sup>

From a comparison with similar deposits of bones around the coasts of Ireland, Britain and Denmark, scholars have concluded that the deposit on a little island, called Clare Island, in the harbour of Bannow, was a genuine midden and one of the oldest of its type. Deposits have been known to have ranged from two to ten feet in depth.

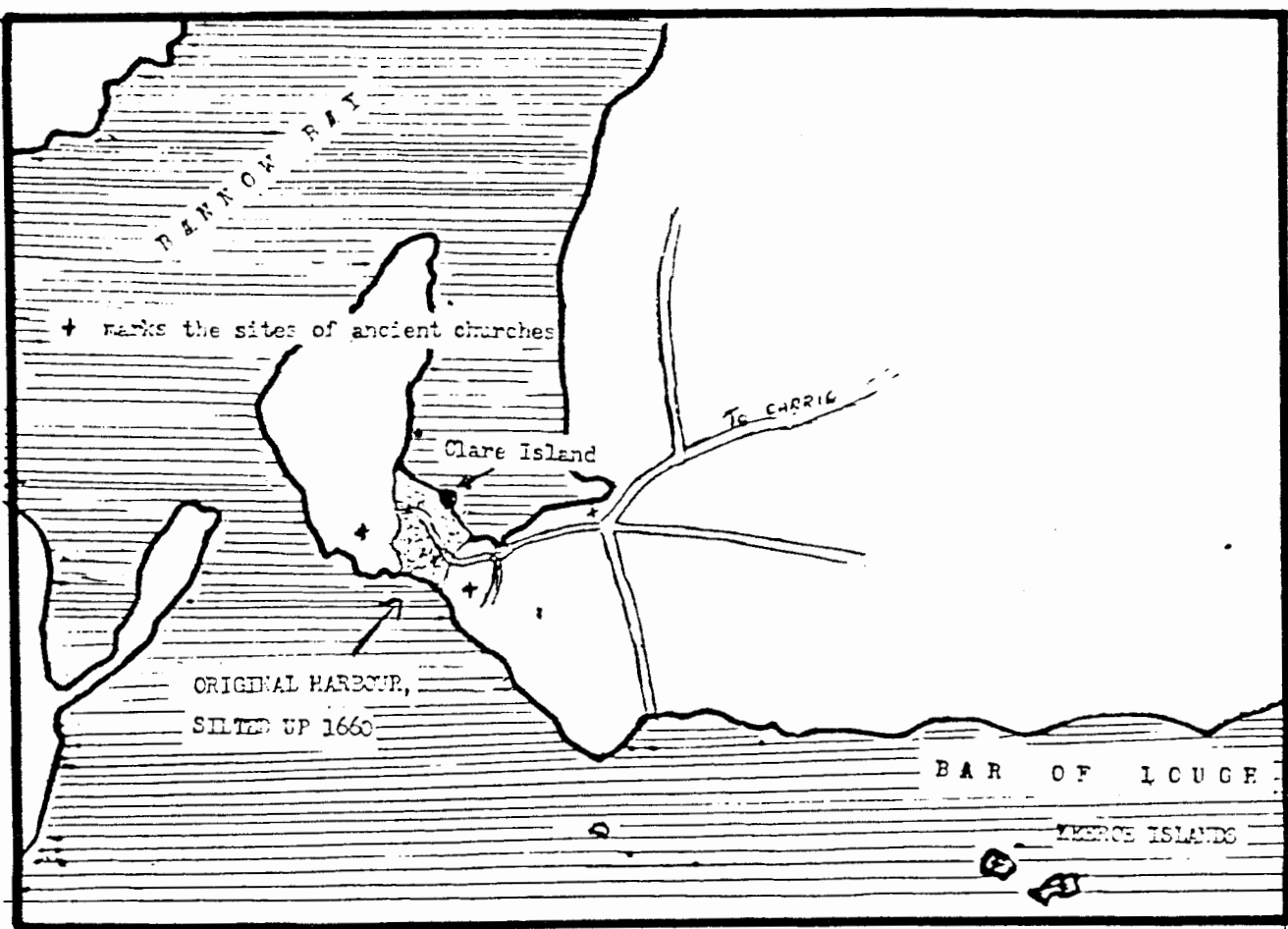
Clare Island is no longer an island and its surface has been frittered away over the years for filling dykes, but it can be seen from the part that still remains, about 15 yards\*by ten, that it truly corresponds to the name of midden. Dr. Boxwell of Wexford, who examined the midden about a century ago, declared that the animal bones belonged principally to deer, young oxen and wild pig and dated back to Neolithic man (about 2500 to 3500 B.C.)<sup>8</sup> Some historians date them back to 4000 or 5000 B.C.<sup>9</sup>

Standing stone: About a quarter of a mile from the village of Carrig there is a large standing stone of unusual height and bulk, nine feet high and four by five feet in girth. It is difficult to ascribe such stones to a particular period. They may have preceded the dolmen but experts maintain that they were still erected down to about 500 B.C. Various reasons are given for the existence of such stones :

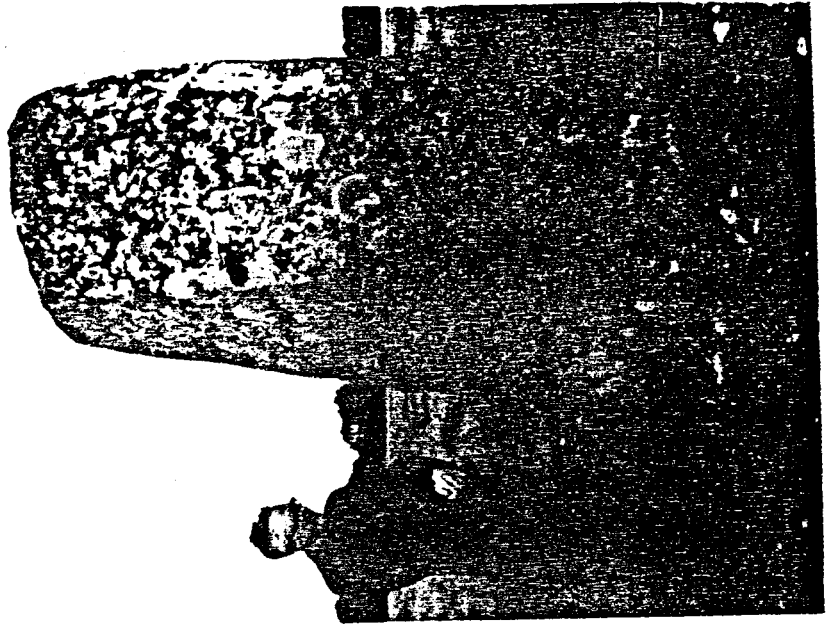
a) They were marking stones or signposts, in conjunction with other similar ones,



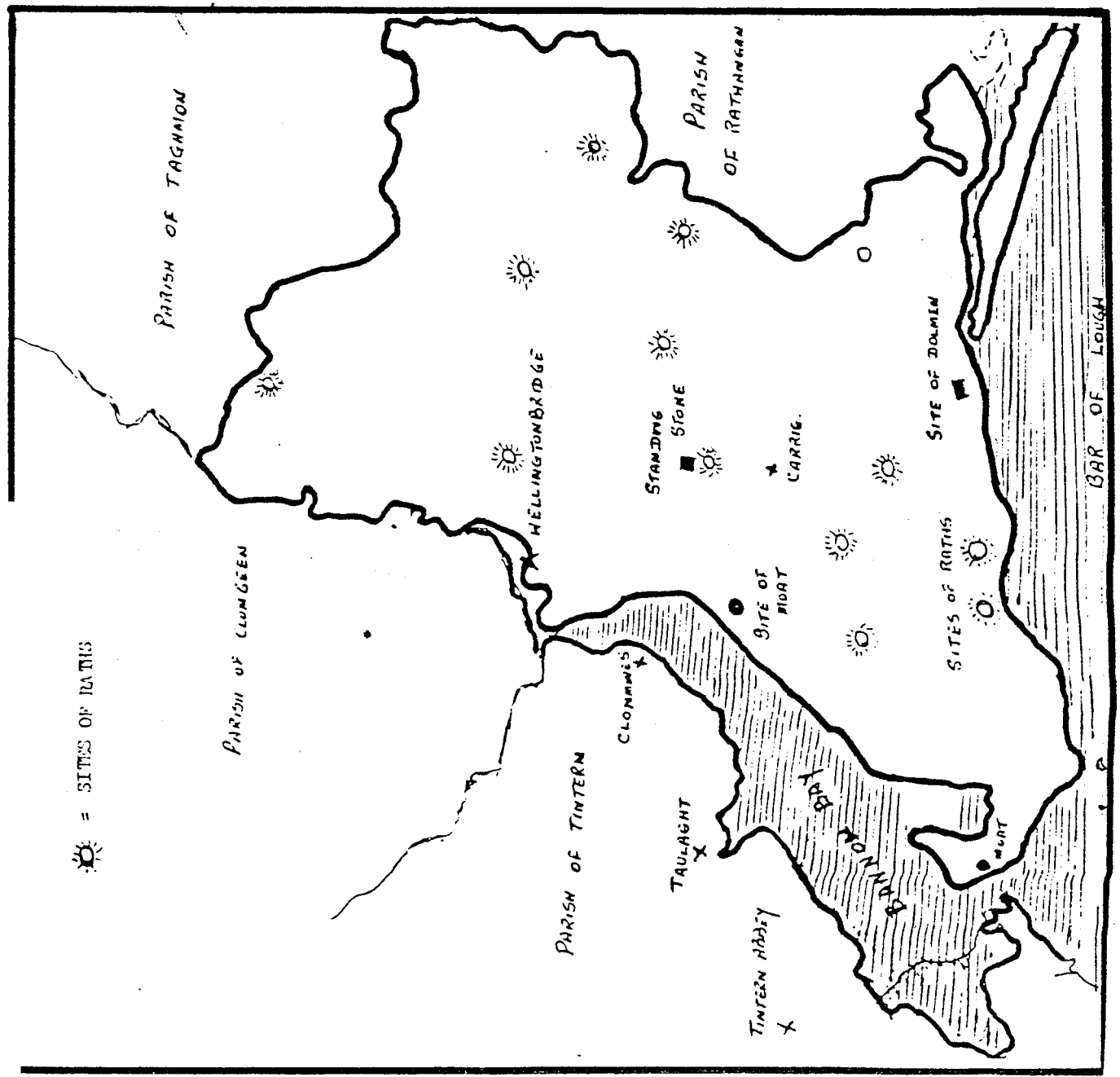
Pre-historic Bannow.



Bannow today.



The Author at the Carrig Standing Stone.



Parishes showing sites mentioned in text



- for men travelling from one place to another when there were no roads.
- b) They marked the boundaries of property when taken in line with other objects.
  - c) They were erected over the last resting-place of some great chief or warrior.
  - d) They were used as instruments of worship of pagan gods.

One feature of the Carrig stone sets it apart as a monument over a burial grave - it has a sloping top oriented towards the midday sun. Where the two upper corners are of the same height the edge with a protusion near the top is faced south. They were erected on the west end of east-west graves. Professor R.A. MacAlastair, U.C.D., who examined the stones over fifty years ago, found traces of a rude Celtic cross engraved on it.<sup>10</sup> It was common for early missionaries to Christianise the old pagan emblems by inscribing a cross on them. He also found faint outlines of ogham writing which indicated that it was erected over a grave: 'Beneath is buried ..... the son of .....'. There were also on the west and south sides some small cupped holes; those on the south side were five in number, three of which formed almost an equilateral triangle, while, above them, to the left, were two fainter cups. On the west were also five cups forming a more regular pattern. The cup marks were used by sick people who were encouraged to blow their disease into the cavities to obtain a cure. All markings are now too faint to decipher.

Moats: Two moats have survived until recently, one on the island of Bannow and the other on a rise of ground halfway upriver, overlooking the harbour. It is possible that they were of Viking origin but it is just as likely that they were of much older origin. It is known that the Vikings constructed moats of earth raised to a height of about twenty feet, flat on top and thirty to forty fathoms in diameter. Both the above-mentioned were very extensive in area and were on hillocks in sight of each other, which indicates that they were erected as defensive lookout posts to warn the inland people of invaders from the sea. The moat on the island is known as Haarian's moat, the other has been recently demolished.

Raths: From the number of raths still extant, from place-names and from aerial photos, one can conclude that the area around Bannow was originally thickly populated. There seems to have been at least a rath in every townland. A rath was the fortified dwelling-place of a petty chief or landowner in which he used to keep his cattle safe from marauders at night and where he lived in a round dwelling of mud and wattles with his family and servants. Both the dwelling houses and the byres for animals were round-shaped as also was the rath itself. It was strongly fortified by a high ditch capped by a wall of mud and wattles, reinforced by strong stakes.

Raths were in existence from earliest times down to 800 A.D. There is no foundation for the legend that they were inhabited by the 'good people' or fairies. Their presumed association with the 'little people', however, kept them from being ploughed up. In Wexford one rarely finds the name 'lios' for rath. About 50 placenames are called after the word 'rath'.

From such relics of a primitive people it is evident that Bannow was inhabited from very earliest times by invading tribes from Celtic Wales, Brittany and Spain. It was the first sight of land that they met on their way from the peninsulas of Land's End and Brittany. Many would have settled on the coast or upriver, others would have halted for a while before eventually making their way inland. The last of these tribes was referred to by Ptolemy, a Greek author of the 2nd century, A.D. He mentions the South Eastern district as inhabited by the Brigantes. Some

historians hold that they came from Wales when the Romans invaded Britain<sup>11</sup> but other chroniclers say that they came from Spain and northern France much earlier.<sup>12</sup> They controlled all the southern part of Wexford from Carnsore to Waterford Harbour up to the fifth century A.D. They were known as the Ui Bairrche, from which the name 'Bargy' comes. Bargy is the barony in which Bannow is situated. After the fifth century the Ui Bairrche were confined to the district from Kilmore to Bannow, now the barony of Bargy. They had been deposed from the extreme south east by the Fothartha or Forth people, who had been their mercenaries. Eventually, in the eighth century, the Ui Bairrche were subjugated by the Ui Ceinsealaigh.

Mass grave: On the Tintern side of the bay, opposite to Bannow, there is an interesting mound of earth in an area called Taulaght. Local tradition holds that it was a mass grave contemporaneous with that of Tallaght, Co. Dublin. The name Taulaght comes from Tamh - leacht (a monument over the dead or a plague-grave) where members of a Partholonian colony who were carried away by plague were buried.<sup>13</sup> There is no reference to it in any of the annals but the name goes back further than any written records.

Another name which, in my opinion, is also associated with very ancient times is that of Clonmines, wrongly interpreted as Cluain - min. In all medieval MSS it is always given as Clo-mine or Cla-myne, and comes from Cloch - Maighean, a stone enclosure around the dwelling of a chief. Local pronunciation always drops the 'n' of Clon. A few years back the owner of the land unearthed a layer of large stones, loosely laid in a straight line for about 300 yards, about two feet beneath the surface. It was obviously the foundation of an enclosure and did not correspond with the known site of the town. Anyway, there is no mention of a wall around Clonmines in Norman times. The name itself was old when the Normans came.

I have not investigated that side of the river to any extent and it may yet yield more pre-historic data. From Fethard to Clonmines there are many Christian associations.

.....

NOTES AND SOURCES:

1. Revd. Edmund J. Hogan, S.J., Onomasticon Godelicum, 1910.
2. Charles Plummer, Lives of the Saints of Ireland, pp.147-8 (from the original Latin).
3. Canon J. O'Hanlon, Lives of Irish Saints, vol. i, p.332 seq.  
Griffith in his Chronicles of Co. Wexford, in a footnote, p.247 says :  
'the rush of the returning tide over the bar which lies across the saltwater inlet of Lough may be heard in fine weather and in a favourable state of the wind a distance of many miles.
4. The cemetery is known as Shemogue (Sidh Mhaodhoig - the fairy hill of St. Mogue). The saint built his first little church on the site of a sidh.

(NOTES & SOURCES) contd.

5. T.F. O'Rahilly, Early Irish History and Mythology, Dublin, 1846;  
Annals of Four Masters; Stair na gConndae: Loch Garman. They were supposed to have come here before the Flood.
6. A. M. Sullivan, The Story of Ireland.
7. R.S.A.I. Jour., viii, 1864-5, p.121.
8. Michael Herity and George Eogan, Ireland in Pre-History, London, 1977;  
of also R.A. MacAlasdair, The Archaeology of Ireland, New York, 1977.
9. E.A. D'Alton, History of Ireland; Herity & Eogan, op.cit.
10. MacAlasdair : from notes in files of Irish Folklore Society, No.875,p.78.  
Of also, Jour. R.S.A.I. xvi, 1883-4, p.39.
11. Herity & Eogan, op.cit.; of also D'Alton.
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Celtic Ireland, a Historical Geography; also T.F.O'Rahilly, op.cit.
13. P. W. Joycé, A Social History of Ancient Ireland, Part ii, Belfast,1913,  
p.608.

# The Connerys: Heroic Villains ?

D.F. Ó Gráda

In Ireland the period before the Great Famine was in many respects one of modernization and radical structural change. Though traditional industry languished, agriculture and communications made great strides; and despite commercial crises and food shortages from time to time, the lot of many improved between 1800 and 1845. For the landless and the semi-landless and the structurally unemployed, however, these were years of increasing hardship, as travellers' accounts and official inquiries amply testify. The period was also one of sporadic violence and resistance, of faction fighting, and of transportation. Almost six hundred policemen were killed or wounded in suppressing secret societies in the twenty years before the Famine. Between 1786 and 1867, when the last convict ship carried Fenian prisoners to Australia, over fifty thousand Irishmen and Irishwomen were transported. Most were sent for "ordinary" crimes, but in the 1820s and 1830s a significant proportion of those shipped out were being punished for crimes of an agrarian nature.<sup>1</sup>

Among the latter group, the best-known - certainly to those who have even a nodding acquaintance with traditional music - must be the Connery brothers from Waterford. Three contemporary songs about them have survived, two are still current, and one is among the best-known and tuneful of all traditional songs. The image of folk-heroes whose necks would have been broken by the hangman "marach feabhas ar gcairde",\* and whose enemies' perjury was wholly responsible for their sad plight, is the stuff of which great ballads are made. But who really were the Connerys? Apart from the work of folklorists, no historical record of them and their adventures is available.<sup>2</sup> A play based on a loose reading of the songs and some folklore won an Oireachtas award in recent years, but its plot turns out to be wildly inaccurate as a record of events.

At, or shortly before, the time of the incidents related below, in the 1830s the Connery family occupied a smallholding at Bohadon, about five miles north of Dungarvan. The father, Patrick, was a tenant under Lord Yarborough and others.<sup>3</sup> He had a daughter and three sons, James, John, and Patrick. Faction fighting was endemic in east Munster then - this was the area of the earlier Shanavest-Caravat rivalry - and the Connery brothers belonged to a faction called the Poleens (na Poil) which was active throughout north and west Waterford, as well as south Tipperary and east Cork. The Poleens were constant adversaries of the Gows (na Gaibhne). Their watchword was 'Sharfakerke' (sean-choirce).<sup>4</sup>

This connection with the Poleens brought the Connerys to the attention of the police. John Connery and five others were indicted for the manslaughter of Patrick Krehane on October 2 1833. The fatal incident occurred at Ballykeroge fair, five miles east of Dungarvan. Evidence was given by one William McGrath that he saw Krehane being beaten with sticks. More than six persons struck him, although he had offered no provocation. McGrath heard that they were Poleens and that Krehane had been a Gow. Rev. Thomas Morrissey gave evidence on behalf of Connery, stating that he was in official custody at the time of the attack. Given their strong hostility to faction-fighting, this - and subsequent - clerical intervention on behalf of the Connerys is intriguing. McGrath could not identify the assailants and he was committed to trial for perjury. Connery was found not guilty.<sup>5</sup>

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\* but for the excellence of our friends.

John Connery was also tried for the murder of David Tobin on October 5 1833. Tobin's widow gave evidence that John and James Connery were in a group returning from Dungarvan after selling a bag of oats. After spending some time in a local pub a row broke out. Tobin's factional allegiance was challenged and his widow heard him cry out "John Connery - you have killed me - run away with your life!". The judge recommended the benefit of the doubt and he was found not guilty.<sup>6</sup>

A Fhoghlú mhallaithe, guímse eascain' ort, agus gráin Mhic Dé  
Agus Haicéad Ó 'sé dh'iontaigh thú ar a dheis-láimh féin .....\*

Thomas Foley was a solicitor with offices in Lismore and Dublin.<sup>7</sup> He acted for landlords in Waterford, and Maurice Hackett was one of his employees. Foley's correspondence with Dublin Castle, particularly with Thomas Drummond (appointed Under-Secretary in 1835) reveals much about the Connerys.

In early 1835 the three Connery brothers were indicted at Waterford Assizes for the attempted murder of Hackett. It was claimed that Hackett was attacked by men dressed in women's clothing and with blackened faces. The only witness to testify was Laurence Crotty, whose evidence was so contradictory that he was later sentenced to seven years transportation for perjury. Despite this, and following further hearsay evidence, James Connery was found guilty of attempted murder and sentenced to transportation for life. He was sent to Botany Bay.<sup>8</sup>

The landlord pursued his efforts to have John and Patrick Connery evicted for their alleged misconduct. In July 1853 Foley prosecuted them to conviction for forcible possession of five acres at Bohadone.<sup>9</sup> Escorted by a large police force, he had them ejected, but they returned immediately, bringing back their cattle and erecting a hut for a dwelling. In court Foley claimed that they had sent him a warning notice, a copy of which appeared in the Waterford Mirror (July 25 1835):

Mr. Thomas Foley I am credibilly informed that you main to Distrane your tinnants in Bohadone assure you that if you dont chaing your mind to the reverse that you will surely suffer first and foremost your words will be consumed to ashes and as to your own life will be in danger for you wont be at home always.

Bally Lemmon Woods is our object.

Counsel for the Connerys stated that they were prepared to leave Ireland if acquitted. They were found guilty, however, and sentenced to seven years transportation. Announcing the sentence the judge hoped to make an example of them as they appeared respectable. An unbowed John Connery was then heard to threaten Foley with terrible revenge.

Bhíodh cider milis láidir dá riaradh i dtigh na sárfhear  
Crothadh lámh is fáilte san áras clúthmhar samh. \*\*

The Connerys had already established a formidable reputation. An account published by the Waterford Mail in August 1835 stated that they "had been of the better class of farmer, but having been reduced in circumstances, they turned out to be the most desperate characters in the country". In the same month Foley wrote to Drummond that John Connery had previously been released from Waterford county jail on foot of a discharge document later found to be a forgery.

\* O accursed Foley, I pray maledictions and the hatred of the Son of God on you  
And I curse Hackett who changed you to his (right-hand) side.

\*\* Sweet strong cider was served in the great man's house, hand shaking and welcome in  
the comfortable and pleasant dwelling.

The Connerys : Heroic Villains?

John and Patrick Connery were soon moved to Clonmel jail to join other transportees bound for embarkation at Queenstown. On August 18 1835 the party rested overnight at Clogheen bridewell on the road to Fermoy. It was from there that the Connery brothers made their first dramatic escape, by climbing the perimeter wall at dusk.<sup>10</sup>

Gur bhailíodar na sála thar na geatai móra arda,  
Is amach ansiúd go brách leo gan spléachas dá namhaid."\*

Foley complained to Drummond that the Connerys were "alone of all the convicts not having been confined to cells .... but being suffered to remain in the yard." He asked for an official inquiry and that a reward be offered for their capture. An investigation was carried out but the findings were inconclusive. The various depositions were contradictory, and revealed general negligence. James Bruce, the Governor of Waterford county jail, who accompanied the transportees, was accused by the bridewell keeper of being drunk at the material time. He also stated that the Connerys had arrived neither handcuffed nor wearing convict uniform, being dressed in "very respectable coloured clothes with sealskin caps and gold bands and tassels." Drummond mentioned the offer of a £50 reward - a substantial sum in those days. Foley still complained that Bruce was retained as gaol Governor, despite being charged in connection with the escape.<sup>11</sup>

In the weeks that followed, informers were active. Early in October 1835 the police were told that the Connerys were on the Cork/Waterford boundary between AGLISH and Clashmore, drinking at Devine's pub near Lacinsilly. A search party of ten policemen failed to catch them. Patrick Connery made off from a nearby house of a Mr. Bransfield without his clothes. The officer leading the searchers then offered his own reward of £40 for their capture. Foley again accused the police of carelessness and complained that he could not visit his Dungarvan property for fear of his life. Drummond drily noted that a "larger force at a later hour would probably have secured them".<sup>12</sup>

Within a few days the runaways were sighted again, drinking in another pub near the turnpike at Dungarvan. They spent many hours there and bought drinks for several persons who arrived. (A reputation for generosity survived them: "bhí buíochas óg's aosta orthu, 's ba mhaith an ceart gan aon locht bheith ar a méin ná a gcáil".)\*\* In the same week they visited the steward employed by Foley's brother near Dungarvan. They bragged to him of having retrieved their cattle through the influence of local grandee Sir Richard Keane M.P. and threatened to kill both Foley brothers unless they received a free pardon.

In December 1835 Dublin Castle was informed that the Connerys were frequenting the uplands north-west of Dungarvan. Major William Miller, Inspector General of Police for Munster, described the area as "wild and thickly wooded", and reported that the runaways got both sympathy and support there. The Connerys also appeared in the south-west of the county near Clashmore, where their cousin William Connery lived at Knockaneerish. It was there that the officer commanding the Cappoquin police district carried out a futile raid on Christmas night 1835:

"...nothing could exceed the apparent exultation of the country people at our want of success, severall of them made a shew of running off in order to divert our attention, and they shouted after us on our going away." <sup>13</sup>

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\* They took to their heels over the great high gates. And off they cleared free of their enemies.

\*\*They had the gratitude of old and young. And it was right that their character or reputation had no fault.

Major Miller saw fit to reorganize the operation. Chief Constable Carroll, regarded as the most experienced policeman in Munster, was drafted in from Kerry to lead the search. Other officers were dispatched in disguise to all known haunts, and mountain passes were watched. Informers were offered greater inducements. These sources revealed that the Connerys were going to America. Their passage was to be assisted by money from local gentry and farmers. Drummond ordered that the main Irish ports be watched and the police notified at Liverpool and Bristol.

The Connerys dealt severely with suspected informers. On the night of December 17 1835 they broke into the house of Sylvester Greany of the parish of Whitechurch. They beat him with their pistols, knocked him down and jumped on his head. It was thought that John Connery would have shot him but was restrained by his brother Patrick. The tactics adopted by Carroll evoked an early response from the local community. A warning was issued to him and two assistants to leave their lodgings at Ballynameela, in the parish of Whitechurch. A notice was posted in the churchyard on Sunday January 24 1836, addressed to the owner of the lodging-house:

- Patrick Morrissey,  
Take notice this day that your keeping police in your house for the purpose of hunting the Connerys - any person or persons would due so would Surely take the Rewarde if Your not able to pay Rent without keeping police Give up your land to the Divil - Let every person and persons take notice this day if Mr. Morrissey the Gentleman Gives any more lodgings to police that he will surely suffer for it police must keep theire regular barriks  
- Mr. Morrissey this is the first and last notice  
- Be sure or sorry.<sup>14</sup>

On the following Sunday at the same church the congregation was advised by Rev. Connor that the police should be more concerned with thefts and robberies than with forcible possession. He added that the police were acting at the request of the "Gentlemen", and that the "Farmers" need not support them.

During February 1836 Carroll sent his officers and men on further raids. Most of these attempts followed an informer's report. Proceeding with eleven men, Chief Constable Crossley came across a small group including the Connerys at Ballinamuck Cross, just outside Dungarvan. Crossley had already sent six of his force ahead to cut off the escape route through the hills. A small group sat drinking on the roadside ditch as the search party approached. Due to their disguises the police drew close before being recognized. The drinkers ran away across the fields, and when they refused to halt Crossley ordered his men to open fire. The fire was immediately returned. Gunfire continued for a time but the Connerys got away under cover of darkness.<sup>15</sup>

.....

Chuardar go Port Lairge d'iarraidh dul thar sáile  
Siúd ní nach raibh i ndán dóibh is níor ráinig sé dóibh  
Bhí fear a mbraite i láthair 'thug timpeall orthu an garda  
'S isteach arís gur sáitheadh iad in áras fé bhrón. \*

.....

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\* They went to Waterford in an attempt to go across the seas but it did not happen. The informer was present and had them surrounded by guards and once again they were confined (in sadness).

The Connerys : Heroic Villains ?

By early March the Connerys' preparations for emigration were apparently completed as they were seen in Waterford city. On March 7 they were surprised in a pub directly facing the city barracks. After spending nine months on the run they were taken into custody by a military party led by Bruce, the Governor of the County Gaol. Drummond was elated and advised the Attorney General: "Caught at last; the reward was newed a few days ago and copies of the Proclamation sent to Waterford and all the ports."<sup>16</sup> The reward was paid to Patrick McGrath, who henceforth struggled to evade the relatives and friends of the Connerys. He tried to join the police, but was deemed an undesirable recruit despite the recommendations of H.W. Barron M.P. and some local magistrates. Nobody in Waterford would employ him, and a year later he was living in fear of his life.<sup>17</sup>

While the depositions and other evidence were being prepared by the Attorney General the Connerys were detained in Waterford County Gaol. They were to be charged with the jail break and the attack on the informer Greany. On May 22 1836, however, fourteen prisoners, led by the Connerys, escaped from custody. Some of the prisoners had succeeded in overpowering Bruce and his assistants, and then proceeded to release their fellow captives. "They had provided themselves with stones but the precaution was useless, for the spectators in Ballybricken applauded them..." A reward of £30 was immediately offered for the capture of each prisoner. Major Woodward, the Inspector General of Prisons, was sent from Dublin to fully investigate the break-out. Soon afterwards Bruce was dismissed as Governor.

Some of the escapees were captured within days. Police came across the Connerys two days after the escape near Cappoquin, in the company of John Casey, another fugitive. In the ensuing chase Casey was shot in the ankle and easily captured, but the Connerys got away by swimming across the River Blackwater. Following this dramatic escape from Cappoquin they kept out of view for a considerable period. Despite renewed police vigilance they remained at large for almost two years.<sup>18</sup>

In October 1837 they visited the Waterford County Lieutenant, Hon. Henry Villiers Stuart, to ask whether he would secure a pardon for them. His reaction was to send to Villierstown for the police. They took off, "crossed the park ..... taking the direction of the Forest. The police searched for them within the hour but without success.... these convicts are evidently harboured in this immediate neighbourhood." Villiers Stuart then asked Dublin Castle to double the police establishment at Villierstown, and that was done.<sup>19</sup>

The Connerys rearrest happened by accident. On March 27 1838 three policemen entered a pub at Cappagh on the main Dungarvan-Cappoquin road, looking for a sheep-stealer. The Connerys were caught there and taken to Dungarvan jail. On the next day they were moved to Waterford under heavy escort. A large crowd assembled outside the jail on their arrival, but there was no disturbance. They were held in Waterford for five months.

Public interest in the Connerys grew apace. Almost two thousand people gathered to see their departure for Dublin (Kilmainham jail) on August 24 1838. Fearing yet another escape bid, the security forces were present in strength, and included mounted police. Most of the crowd were merely curious. But when Patrick Connery pulled out his handkerchief and waved it over his head, some of them took up the cry of "Carrickshock" (the scene of a famous tithe affray in Kilkenny). Some stones were thrown at the police, who retaliated by drawing their bayonets and beating up some individuals, and a few elderly bystanders



The Connerys : Heroic Villains?

were hurt in the action. There was widespread indignation at their behaviour : following a blistering account in the Waterford Chronicle an official inquiry was held, but that proved inconclusive.<sup>20</sup>

Despite their great local fame, the story of the Connerys became confused and half-forgotten. As early as 1841 the Halls in their celebrated work referred to the Connollys (sic) as "two notorious outlaws". Their account was otherwise accurate, but has been generally overlooked. The Oireachtas play, mentioned earlier, placed the Connerys in a Land War context, yet we have seen that their era ended well before the Famine. We can probably assume that the songs, too, were composed before the Great Famine.

It seems safe to say that the songs themselves have not changed much since they were composed. Nevertheless, versions collected in the late nineteenth century clearly contain inaccuracies regarding the names of people and places. The clearest proof of this is a 1940 Lismore version containing references to Thomas Foley ("A Fhoghlu mhallaithe") \* where the most common rendition refers to "A Choimin mhallaithe",\*\* and to Foley's agent Hackett where there is commonly " an gasra ud".\*\*\*



The enigma of the Connerys remains. Were they fallen "strong farmers"? Evidence of a privileged background is circumstantial and primarily reflected in a predilection for finery. Similarly, little can be firmly stated about the family group. The 1837/8 transportation register gives Patrick's age as forty years and John's as thirty, suspiciously rounded estimates. Perhaps it is better that some uncertainty remains. Imprecise attributions in the songs contribute to their more general appeal by allowing the imagination a freer response to their dramatic and romantic elements.

As might be expected, many versions of the songs exist. Professor Tomás Ó Concheanainn, in his Nua-Dhuanair Vol.III (Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, 1981), identifies the most popular song ("A Fhoghlu mhallaithe..") as Na Connerys and the longer song as Na Conairigh. Longer versions of both songs appear in Duanair Déiseach, compiled by the late Nioclás Tóibín (Dublin.1978). The words and music of the main song appeared as early as 1927 in an anthology published by Oxford University Press under the title Londubh an Chairn, being Songs of the Irish Gaels, edited by Margaret Hannagan and Seamus Clandillon. Versions of the more obscure third song are to be found in the collection of the Department of Irish Folklore, University College Dublin.

Recordings of the two main songs are available. These include the versions on three LPs issued by Gael Linn, viz. CEF 075, Na Ceirmíní 78; CEF 062, Nioclás Tóibín: CEF 097, Philip King and Peter Browne, Seacht Noiméad Deag chum a Seacht.

\* O accursed Foley

\*\* O accursed Cummins

\*\*\* "that crowd!"

The Connerys : Heroic Villains?

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3. The Waterford Mail 25/7/1835.
4. Thomas Foley to Thomas Drummond 21/8/1835: unsigned police report dated 9/2/1836; The Waterford Mail, 4/3/1834, 29/4/1835, 6/4/1838.
5. Sylvester Jones to Drummond 11/3/1836; The Waterford Mail 4/3/1834.
6. T. Boate to Drummond 28/12/1836; The Waterford Mail 4/3/1834.
7. The Dublin Almanac 1835.
8. Foley to Drummond 21/8/1835; Jones to Drummond 11/3/1836; The Waterford Mirror 14/3/1835.
9. Foley to Drummond 21/8/1835; The Waterford Mail 25/7/1835; The Clonmel Herald 26/8/1835, 29/9/1835.
10. Foley to Drummond 21/8/1835; The Waterford Mail 22/8/1835, 9/3/1836; The Waterford Mirror 24/8/1835; The Clonmel Herald 26/8/1835.
11. Foley to Drummond 28/8/1835; another 31/8/1835; James Bruce to P.G. Barron 22/8/1835; depositions of Marcus Jackson 28/8/1835, James Bruce 29/8/1835, and Corporal Edward Toner 28/8/1835.
12. Foley to Drummond 3/10/1835; Sub. Insp. S. Croker to Major W. Miller 17/10/1835; Miller to Viscount Morpeth 22/10/1835; Drummond to Miller 23/10/1835.
13. Croker to Miller 27/12/1835; Miller to Morpeth 29/12/1835.
14. Miller to Drummond 27/1/1836; Miller to Morpeth 6/2/1836.
15. Chief Constable Crossley to Miller 14/2/1836; Miller to Drummond 15/12/1836; The Waterford Mail 20/2/1836; The Clonmel Herald 24/2/1836.
16. Capt. M. Bloomfield to Drummond 7/3/1836; Chief Const. Lumsden to Miller 8/3/1836; Miller to Drummond 8/3/1836; again 9/3/1836. The Waterford Mail 9/3/1836.
17. H. Winston Barron to Miller 1/5/1836; Miller to Barron 11/5/1836; George Warburton to Miller 24/5/1836; memorial of Patrick McGrath 28/11/1836.
18. The Waterford Mail 25/5/1836; The Waterford Mirror 25/5/1836; The Clonmel Herald 28/5/1836; Prisons of Ireland, 15th Report of Inspector General on the general state of the prisons 1836.
19. D. Villiers Stuart to Chief Const. Crossley 22/10/1837; Crossley to Miller 23/10/1837.
20. The Waterford Mail 31/3/1838, 26/8/1838, 12/9/1838, 15/9/1838, 19/9/1838.
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# The Lismore Papers

Donal M. Brady.

Waterford County Librarian.

The Lismore Papers represent one of the largest and most complete estate archives in Ireland. The eminence of many of the owners of the estate, in Irish affairs, over the centuries makes the archive particularly important.

It is judicious that, at a time when a National Archives Bill is under discussion by the Oireachtas, the microfilming of such a huge collection should be undertaken at the behest of a Local Authority. It is, however, sad to reflect that the current legislation makes no attempt to address the future of Local Archives, which require and deserve the creation of a Local Structure with both responsibility and authority to ensure their preservation. The continued existence of such a significant part of our national heritage, which is seriously under threat, should not be left to chance.

The Lismore Papers form an integral part of the estate papers of the Duke of Devonshire. The integrity of, and accessability to, the collection, has been much impaired by the geographical dispersal of the collection and also by its sheer size and range. The archive is distributed as follows:

- (a) Lismore Papers - A collection of the Irish Estate Papers consigned to the National Library of Ireland in 1952.
- (b) Papers in the collection at Chatsworth House.
- (c) Lismore Castle Papers. Currently in Lismore Castle but intended for deposit in the National Library of Ireland.

The collection covers the development of the estate over five centuries under the ownership of Sir Walter Raleigh, The Boyle Family and the Dukes of Devonshire. Much of the material is concerned with the day to day running of a vast estate. Rental Books, tenancy agreements are particularly prominent but correspondence on estate and general topics, as well as Maps and Plans are well represented. The filming of the collection will take years to complete and its detailed collation represents an immense task.

In 1983 Mr. Anthony Malcomson, of the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland undertook the reorganization of the Lismore Castle Papers and the preparation of a detailed calendar. On this work he was assisted by a member of the Waterford County Library Staff. The reorganization of the collection prompted the Trustees to consider its long term future. On the advice of Mr. Malcomson and the Waterford County Librarian, it was decided to deposit the material with the collection already in the National Library.

Lismore Papers.

Deposit was to be subject to microfilm copies of the entire Lismore paper Collection being made available to Waterford County Library. The first 15 rolls of film have now been deposited in Waterford, County Library and are available for consultation daily. The following is the N.L.I. index of the material filmed.

Ms. 6135:

Lismore Papers: Register of leases and other deeds, executed by Sir Walter Raleigh, of lands and tenements in Lismore and elsewhere in counties Cork and Waterford, 1588-1591

Ms. 6136:

Lismore Papers: 17th Century copies of leases and other deeds, concerning the Mandevill (later Mansfield) family, of lands, tenements, and fisheries in Ballynecmultinagh and elsewhere in Co. Waterford, c.1348 - 1603. With survey of manors "allowed" to Sir Walter Raleigh 1587.

Ms.6137:

Tenures & Valuations 1591.

Ms. 6138:

Tenures & Valuations 1603-1614.

Ms.6139:

Tenures & Valuations 1621.

Ms. 6140:

Rental and Survey of lands in Counties Cork, Waterford, Tipperary etc. made over by Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, to his son Richard, afterwards 2nd Earl, c.1630; with index of leases.

Ms. 6141:

Tenures & Valuations 1636.

Ms. 6142:

Tenures & Valuations 1642.

Ms. 6143:

Leases of lands in Counties Cork and Waterford executed by Elizabeth, Countess of Cork, by the authority of her husband, Richard Boyle, 2nd Earl, 1649.

Ms. 6144:

Schedules of leases executed by Richard, Earl of Cork and Burlington, concerning properties in Cork and Waterford, 18th c. compiled 1792-1793 with index.

Ms. 6145:

Tenures & Valuations 1674, 1694.

Ms. 6146:

Tenures & Valuations 1702-11 .

Ms. 6147:

Register of leases made by Richard Boyle, 2nd Earl of Cork, in respect of fishery rights on the Blackwater River, and of lands and tenements in the counties of Cork, Waterford, Dublin, Wicklow and Roscommon, 1690 - 1697.

Ms. 6148-9:

Mapped surveys of that part of the estate of Richard Boyle 4th Earl of Cork, on the south side of the River Bride in the counties of Cork and Waterford 1716-1717.

Ms. 6150:

Particulars of lands in counties Cork and Waterford, forming part of the estate of Richard Boyle, 4th Earl of Cork, offered for leasing 1719.

Ms. 6151:

Particulars of rent in respect of the estates in counties Cork and Waterford of Richard Boyle, 4th Earl of Cork c. 1730.

Ms. 6152:

Tenures & Valuations 1734.

Ms. 6153:

Rental of the estates of Richard Boyle, 4th Earl of Cork at Lismore, Dungarvan, Tallow, and Curriheen, Co. Waterford and Youghal, Co. Cork. 1747-1748.

Ms. 6154:

Rentals and disbursements in respect of the estates of Richard Boyle, 4th Earl of Cork at Lismore, Dungarvan, Tallow and Curriheen, County Waterford and Youghal, Co. Cork, 1747-1748.

Ms. 6155:

Tenures & Valuations 1750-1760.

Ms. 6156:

Schedule of leases executed by Richard Boyle, 4th Earl of Cork in respect of his estates at Lismore, Co. Waterford and Kinnatalloon, Youghal and Bandon, Co. Cork. 1718-1751.

Ms. 6157:

Particular of tenancies of the estate in County Waterford of William Spencer Cavendish, 6th Duke of Devonshire, 1820.

Ms. 6158:

Tenures & Valuations Bandon 1826.

Ms. 6159:

Tenures & Valuations Gen. 1828.

Ms. 6160:

A schedule compiled in 1827, with later additions of leases in the town of Tallow; Co. Waterford and in the barony of Kinnatalloon, Co. Cork, 1737-1837.

Lismore Papers.

Ms. 6161:

Poor Law Valuation of the barony of Kinnatalloon, Co. Cork and a portion of the barony of Coshmore and Coshbride, Co. Waterford. c.1860.

Ms. 6162:

Survey of lands and tenements in the counties of Cork and Waterford, 1860.

Ms. 6163:

Youghal Valuation 1838, 1835-6.

Lismore " 1837

Tallow " 1837

Ms. 6164:

Particular of the estates of William Spencer Cavendish, 6th Duke of Devonshire at Dungarvan c.1838.

Ms.6165:

Tenures, 1838 General.

Ms. 6166:

Tenures, 1838.

Ms.6167:

Youghal Valuation 1838.

Ms.6168:

Youghal Rate Book, 1842.

Ms.6169:

Bandon Tenures, 1845.

Ms.6170:

Schedule of leases in respect of the town of Dungarvan, Co. Waterford 1757-1860.

Ms.6171:

Youghal Leases c.1860.

Ms.6172:

Stradbally Parish, Co. Waterford Valuation 1856.

Ms. 6173:

Valuation of the estate of Sir William Cavendish, 7th Duke of Devonshire in the town of Dungarvan, Co. Waterford. 1859.

Ms. 6174:

Youghal Estate Valuation by J. Byrne, 1859.

Ms. 6175:

Valuation of the estate of Sir William Cavendish, 7th Duke of Devonshire in and near the town of Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, 1859.

Lismore Papers.

Ms. 6176:

Schedule of Leases, executed by Richard, Earl of Cork and Burlington, Bandon District, c.1810.

Ms. 6177:

Schedule of Leases in Counties Cork and Waterford executed by Richard Boyle, 4th Earl of Cork and Lord Mansfield as trustee of his estates, 1719-1802.

Ms. 6178:

Freeholders' rental of the Parish of Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, 1844 - 1859.

Ms. 6179:

A list made in 1827 of leases relating to lands in counties Cork and Waterford, found amongst the papers of William Spencer Cavendish, 4th Duke of Devonshire at Lismore Castle, Co. Waterford, 1604-1767.

Ms. 6180:

Memoranda on the sale of lands and houses in the Parish of Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, the property of Sir William Cavendish, 7th Duke of Devonshire 1859.

Ms. 6181:

Dungarvan Estate, Tenure Book c.1860.

Ms. 6182:

Youghal Town tenure Book, 1860.

Ms. 6183:

Youghal Town tenure Book post 1860.

Ms. 6184:

Youghal Leases c.1860.

Ms. 6185:

Bandon Tenures c. 1860.

Ms. 6186 - 6187:

Particulars of land tenures in the Lismore District, north of the River Blackwater, Co. Waterford, c.1890.

Ms. 6188:

Poor Law Valuation of the Parish of Dungarvan, Co. Waterford c. 1860.

Ms. 6189:

Schedule of Leases relating to the estates of the Duke of Devonshire in Co. Cork, especially in the town of Bandon and the barony of Kinalmeaky, 1783-1834, together with a rental of tenements in the towns of Tallow and Lismore, Co. Waterford, 1862.

Ms. 6190:

Schedule of leases relating to the estates of the Duke of Devonshire in Tallow town and district, Co. Waterford 1786-1903.

Lismore Papers.

Ms. 6191:

Bandon Tenure Book, c.1870.

Ms. 6192:

Schedule of Leases relating to the estates of the Duke of Devonshire in Lismore town and district, Co. Waterford, 1819-1914.

Ms. 6193-6195:

Poor Law Valuation of the Parish of Lismore and Mocollop, Co. Waterford c.1860.

Ms. 6196

Ms. 6197

Ms. 6198:

Instructions in respect of leases from the Duke of Devonshire in the towns of Lismore, Tallow, Dungarvan and elsewhere in Co. Waterford and Youghal, Co. Cork. 1843-1848.

Ms. 6199:

Valuation of the estate of the Duke of Devonshire in County Tipperary, 1859 together with leases of his estates in Youghal town and district, Co. Cork and in Dungarvan town and district, Co. Waterford 1749-1859.

Ms. 6200:

Draft inventories made in 1869 of title deeds of the Duke of Devonshire to estates in Ireland, mainly in Counties Cork and Waterford, 1574-1782

Ms. 6201:

Remarks and observations on the manor of Lismore in the county of Waterford, the estate of the Duke of Devonshire 1773.

Ms. 6202:

Survey of the estates of the Duke of Devonshire in the baronies of Coshmore and Coshbride, Co. Waterford and Kinnatalloon, Co. Cork 1835.

Ms. 6203:

Survey field book of the Parishes of Grange and Kinsalebeg, County Waterford 1838.

Ms. 6204:

Field Book. Parish of Saint Mary's Clonmel, 1838.

Ms. 6205:

Survey Field Book of the Parishes of Mothel, Gilco and Rossmire, Co. Waterford c.1838.

Ms. 6206:

Survey Field Book of the Parishes of Mothel, Guilcagh and Rossmire, Co. Waterford, c.1838.

Ms. 6207:

Survey Field Book of the Parish of Clashmore, Co. Waterford c. 1838.



Lismore Papers.

Ms. 6208:

Survey Field Book of the parishes of Rossmire, Fews, Kilrossanty, Clonea and Kilgobnet, Co. Waterford c. 1838.

Ms. 6209:

Survey Field Book of the Parish of Lismore, Co. Waterford c.1838.

Ms. 6210:

Survey Field Book of the parishes of Ringagonagh, Ballymacart and Ardmore, Co. Waterford c. 1838.

Ms. 6211:

Field Book. Parish of Leskinane 1800-1850.

Ms. 6212:

Survey Field Book of the Parishes of Affane and Whitechurch, County Waterford c. 1838.

Ms. 6213:

Survey Field Book of the Parishes of Trinity Without, St. John's and Kilbarry, Co. Waterford, c. 1838.

Ms. 6214:

Survey Field Book of the parishes of Rathgormuck and Mothel, Co. Waterford, c.1838.

Ms. 6215:

Survey Field Book of the Parish of Lismore, Co. Waterford, c.1838.

Ms. 6216:

Survey Field Book of the Parishes of Tallow and Kilwatermoy, Co. Waterford, c.1838.

Ms. 6217:

Survey Field Book of the parishes of Kilgobnet and Stradbally, County Waterford, c.1838.

Ms. 6218:

Field Book. General 1800-1850.

Ms. 6219:

Survey Field Book of the parishes of Monksland and Kilbarrymeaden, Co. Waterford c. 1838.

Ms. 6220 :

Survey Field Book of the Parishes of Kilcockan and Templemichael c.1838.

Ms. 6221:

Survey Field Book for the parishes of Kilronan, Abbey and St. Mary's Clonmel, Co. Waterford. c. 1838.

Ms. 6222:

Survey Field Book of the parishes of Aglish and Kilmolash, Co. Waterford, c. 1838.

Lismore Papers.

Ms. 6223:

Survey Field Book of the parishes of Newcastle, Islandikane, Reisk and Dunhill, Co. Waterford c.1838.

Ms. 6224:

Survey Field Book of the parish of Ballylaneen, Co. Waterford. c.1838.

Ms. 6225:

Survey Field Book of the parishes of Modeligo, Lickoran and Colligan c. 1838.

Ms. 6226:

Survey Field Book of the Parish of Lismore, Co. Waterford c. 1838.

Ms. 6227:

Survey Field Book of the parishes of Kilbride, Kilburne, Lisnakill, Kilmeadan and Newcastle, Co. Waterford. c.1838.

Ms. 6228:

Survey Field Book of the parishes of Killea, Kilmacomb, Crooke, Passage and Kill St. Nicholas, Co. Waterford. c.1838.

Ms. 6229:

Field Book. Parish of Drumcurran c. 1800 -1850.

Ms. 6230:

Survey Field Book of the Parish of Lismore and Mocollop, Co. Waterford c. 1838.

Ms. 6231:

Survey Field Book of the parishes of Dysart, Kilsheelan, Killaloan and St. Mary's Clonmel, Co. Waterford. c.1838.

Ms. 6232:

Survey Field Book of the parishes of Kilmeadan, Clonagam, Fenoagh and Kilmoleran, Co. Waterford. c.1838.

Ms. 6233:

Survey Field Book of the Parishes of Dungarvan, Kilrush and Colligan, Co. Waterford. c.1838.

Ms. 6234:

Survey Field Book of the parishes of Aghern, Knockmourne and Ballynoe, Co. Cork and Lismore and Tallow, Co. Waterford. c.1838.

Ms. 6235:

Survey Field Book of the Parishes of Lismore and Dungarvan Co. Waterford c. 1838.

Ms. 6236:

Field Book. Kinatoloon & Youghal 1800-1850.

Ms. 6237:

Field Book. General.

Ms. 6238:

Survey Field Book of the Parish of Ardmore, Co. Waterford. c.1838.

Ms. 6239:

Rental, General 1637.

Ms. 6240-6241:

Rental, General, 1639.

Ms. 6242 - 6245:

Rental, General 1640.

Ms. 6246 - 6247:

Rental, General 1641.

Ms. 6248 - 6249:

Rental, General 1642 (Unfinished).

Ms. 6250 - 6252:

Rental, General 1643.

Ms. 6253:

Rental, General 1644.

Ms. 6254:

Rental, General 1649.

Ms. 6255:

Rental, General 1652.

Ms. 6256:

Rental, General 1655.

Ms. 6257:

Rental, General 1656

Ms. 6258:

Rental, General 1657.

Ms. 6259:

Rental, General 1658.

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I should like to acknowledge and thank the following people for their assistance in making such a major collection available to the people of Waterford :

The Duke of Devonshire; Mr. Paul Burton; Mr. Anthony Malcomson and Mr. Michael Hewson, Director of the National Library.



Drawn by J.P. Neale.

BESSBOROUGH HOUSE.

KERRY VARY,  
IRELAND.

Engraved by H. Hebsen.

# Kildalton and Its Past

Daniel Dowling.

What today is the pleasant landscape of Piltown, has been witness for many centuries of time, to men and events which have contributed to the shaping of the history of this island. Man's prehistoric presence in the area is well and truly reflected here by the numerous monuments of stone and earth which have survived the intervening ages, to bear silent testimony of the cultures and civilizations of those far off times. The most outstanding of those surviving prehistoric monuments is the Leac-an-Scaill Dolmen located on the bounds of Kilmogue and Harristown. The whole period of prehistoric time from the Neolithi to the Bronze and Iron Ages is represented here by those extant monument types.

The advent of Christianity in the early centuries A.D., which displaced the old order of society and religion, must have had a profound effect which altered the course of history of that period. The Vikings too, in their time have been this way, the great navigable River Suir which flows through here being the means through which they effected their areas of colonisation in those parts from their main bastion at Waterford.

An area of strategic importance during the Norman period, it was the scene of what is now known as the Battle of Piltown fought in 1462 between the Ormonde Butlers and the Earls of Desmond. It was, however, from the ployout between the descendants of these Anglo-Norman Catholic Landlord Settlers and the new Cromwellian Puritan Military Adventurers in the 17th century that the main chapters of the history of the area is unfolded.

The earliest name of the area which has come down to us is Kilmodalla - The Church of St. Mdailbh, a Bishop of the early Celtic Church whose Feast Day was the 3rd October. According to Carrigan, it was an additional place of worship or Chapel of Ease to the Parish Church of Fiddown. Both the ruins of this old church and the graveyard attached survived until 1830, when all was cleared and levelled the graveyard to make way for new stables which Lord Bessborough was then building. What was left of the church ruins at the time was in part demolished and the remainder incorporated in a new house which was then being built for the head groom on the Estate.

On Daton's acquisition of this property, the area and Church became known as Kildalton, the original name being dropped in favour of the new ownership. This old Graveyard had been the burial place of the Daton family, probably since they first settled here. William Daten, in his Last Will and Testament made in the year 1592, mentions as follows: -

In Dei Nomine Amen. In the year of Our Lord 1592, and the 15th of November, I William Daten, being sick in body and whole in minde and in full memory, doth make my last Will and Testament in Presence of God and Holy Church. Item. I bequeath my soule to Almighty God, and to all the Holy Company of Heaven, and my body to the earth to be buried in the Chapple of Kilmoygall. And I make my wife Margaret Butler, and my sonne Edmund Daton, my Executors of this my last Will and Testament. Item. more I will and Ordayne all my goods moveable and unmoveable in three equal porcions, that is to saie, one parte to my wife, the second parte to my children, and the third parte

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to my soule. Item. All my goods moveable is 6 cables, and one kowe and 8 and 20 shepe, and the VALEWE of XVTEEN Sh(illings) of iron and brasse.

The Debtes that I owe - Item. I owe in Waterford and in CARRIGE £3 current of England Item. more I owe to my sonn-in-law John FitzWilliam £8 current of England. Item I owe to MURTAGH Mc Shane the some of £4 and 5 sh. Itms. more I owe to PEYRSE DUFF XVTEEN Sh.

During the clearance of Kildalton graveyard, a number of monumental inscribed stones were rooted up. One, in raised Old English lettering, was to the memory of Redmond Daton, and his wife Ellena Butler, with a probable date of about 1550. What tombstones, or pieces of them that had survived, were removed from Bessborough about 1870 to the then newly-built Protestant Church in Piltown. This old church of Kildalton was located at a point about a hundred yards east of Bessborough House.

The surname Daton or D'Autun, first appeared in Co. Kilkenny, at a very early date. On the 28th February 1314, a Hugh Datoun, was witness to a Deed in which Nigel le Brun, Knight, released certain claims in the Manor of Knocktopher, to Sir Edmund Le Botiller. In 1382, Walter Daton and others were appointed Keepers of the Peace in Co. Kilkenny. In 1452, Redmond Fitzwalter Daton is mentioned in a Deed involving the following Lands in the area of Piltown ; - Castletown, Whytchurch, Newtoun, Ballynemeale alias Kyllomrry, New Graige, Garrynerchy, Kylmedally, Ballyen, Bremill, Rogeistoun, Cloghristare, Ballyfoyle, Ballybeataghe, Fenockstowne, Tomynstowne, Twor Portenshe, Lisclaman, Twor Dowlinge, Cowlerve, and Kilteran.

Also in 1452, Robert Fitz Redmond Daton, conveyed to his brother Patrick Fitz Redmond Daton, 40 acres of land with their appurtenances in Monerothe, in the Tenement of Owninge. The father of the above Robert, and Patrick, was Redmond. The Witnesses to this Deed of Conveyance were Sir John O'Brodyr, Vicar of Fydon, Richard Datoun, and Redmund Fitzjohn, and date 16th January 1453.

Another Deed of this date 1452/3, mentions the Lands of Owninge, Fanyngstowne, Gortklenrush, Ballyhenebe, Saunderistoun alias Ballylander, Lasloyan, and Scamanistoun. Richard Daton, promised the keeping of his Reversion to James Sherlock, and left his curse to him if he would give those Reversions to anybody but the right heir. This Richard had son Walter, who was father of Sir John Daton.

The name is also mentioned about 1565 in connection with lands then being held of the Manor of Grannagh. In 1592, Kilmodalla, is known as Daton's Kill, a fact which would indicate the family's long association with the place.

Edmund Daton, son of William who died in 1592, was himself born in 1567. He died on the 1st August 1629, aged 62 years and was buried in the Chapel of Kilmodalie, along with his ancestors. He was married to Margaret daughter of Gerald Blanchville, of Blanchvillestown, and had family: Walter his heir, John, Edward, Oliver, William, Theobald, Margaret, Catherine, Elizabeth, and Allan.

Walter who was of full age when his father died, married Ellice, sister of Richard, 3rd Viscount Mountgarret. He died either in the 1640's or early in the next decade. Edward Daton, his successor and presumably son, was the one who forfeited the family estate in 1653, which then amounted to 3,427 statute acres in this area, in the following townlands with the approximate area of each in

Statute acres : -

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Corloughan (170), Kildalton (650), Tobernabrone (448), Dowling (474)  
Ballaghmollagh (538), Jamestown (305), Gorleene (113), Banagher (256),  
and Templegaule (473).

The DATONS are of French origin, having come to England with William the Conqueror in 1066. One Walter Daton is said to have come to Ireland with Henry the Second in 1171, where he acquired extensive landed property in Westmeath, under Hugh de Lacey. Their origins in Kilkenny were probably through the Ormondes, and by the 17th century, they had attained a position of power and influence in South Kilkenny, as landed gentry. Their principal place of residence was at Kildalton, which was located on a low ridge or mound about 250 yards east of Bessborough House.

With the defeat of the Royalists under Charles the First in the English Civil War, and the establishment of the Parliament under Oliver Cromwell, all eyes were set on Ireland, which was then the last bastion of the Royalist Cause. When the Cromwellian Invasion Fleet consisting of 140 ships and 17,000 men trained and equipped, along with artillery, stores, and £200,000 in cash, left Milford Haven, among the officers on board was Major John Ponsonby, a native of Haile, in Cumberland, a place located about five miles from the present Sellafeld Nuclear Power Station. Ponsonby had already been in Ireland, in military service under the Royalists, and evidently had a good idea of what the country had to offer in the form of landed property.

A widower, his wife Dorothy Briscoe of Crofton in the same County having recently died. To their 15 year old son John, whom he left behind at Haile, he left his estate, and with his Troop of Horse which he recruited from his kinsmen and friends, he again embarked for Ireland, this time in the Parliamentary cause, and no doubt, with the spoils of victory foremost in his mind.

Arriving at Ringsend, near Dublin, on the 15th August 1649, Oliver Cromwell and his army proceeded to Drogheda, where they captured the town and murdered about 3,000 of the populace. Their next large place of call was Wexford Town, which they dealt with in like fashion. Ross was next on their list, which they took without bloodshed. Here a bridge of boats was built across the River Barrow, into the Co. Kilkenny, at Rosbercon. That was about the 17th October. Unlike Drogheda, and Wexford, there was no massacre. Cromwell himself fell ill here, and was sick for about five weeks.

An incident occurred at Ross, at this time, which is of interest in that it relates to Colonel Daniel Axtell, who had been appointed Governor of Ross, by Cromwell. James, eldest son and heir of Robert Freny of Ballyreddy, in the Parish of Rosbercon, was involved on the Catholic side in the Civil War of 1641/2, but was to escape the Cromwellian Confiscation, as the Protector himself favoured him as a suitable husband for his grand-niece, - Colonel Daniel Axtell's daughter. The match was agreed upon with the condition that the said James Freny, was to continue in peaceable possession of his entire estate.

On the day of the marriage when James Freny was crossing the ferry at Ross for the ceremony, one of the horses kicked a plank out of the boat, when he and all along with him were drowned. Axtell was one of those who signed the Warrant for the execution of King Charles the First, and at the Restoration he was one of the Regicides who was executed. It has been stated that the Bessborough Estates at Kildalton, were first granted to Colonel Axtell, and that Ballyragget was granted to Ponsonby, but that they exchanged the properties by agreement.

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Cromwell left Ross on the 21st November, being again refreshed in health. Major John Ponsonby, who had in the meantime been at Trim with the Garrison, met Cromwell near Mullinavat, where according to tradition, they refreshed at an ale house of the day known as the "Rising Sun". In the meantime, before the meeting at Mullinavat, Colonel Reynolds and Major Ponsonby, with 12 Troop of Horse, and three of Dragoons, had taken Carrick, which was the gateway to Munster. This they had accomplished by trickery, for on their way they captured William Daton, his son Edmond, and many others of the local gentry. Scattering them amongst the soldiers, they were forced to ride with them to Carrick, and masquerade as Royalist help for Ormonde. Requesting admittance to the town by speaking in the Irish tongue, the Gates were opened, and Carrick fell to the Cromwellians.

On receipt of those glad tidings, Cromwell was overjoyed at their success, and overlooking the Suir Valley from the spot on the Welsh Mountains where their conversation took place, he then decided to give Ponsonby what he wanted. According to tradition, Cromwell said "This is a land worth fighting for, what will you have John, to the right or left, we owe you much." Ponsonby replied, "the right if you will, Sire, and Pray dine, and rest yonder to night," pointing to Daton's Castle.

During Cromwell's brief stay there, along with his officers, Daton and his daughter provided them with the best hospitality their house could afford. Cromwell, it is said, reminded him of his treachery in the Civil War of 1642 in which he took a part. His life however, was saved at Ponsonby's insistence and, on his taking possession of Daton's Castle, Ponsonby acted more humanely than most of his kind. He kept Daton and his family as guests. Daton's daughter Cathy became very attracted to Ponsonby, and it was felt by the family that a marriage between herself and Ponsonby, was on the cards. This would at least minimise the calamity which had befallen the family in those terrible times.

It is said that when Sir John Ponsonby took up residence at Kildalton, he made himself so agreeable that Daton began to regard him almost as a son. Some months later Ponsonby left on business returning sometime afterwards on a day in April accompanied by a young lady and cavalcade of gentlemen and officers. The lady he introduced as his new wife. On hearing this, Cathy collapsed into a fit of insensibility and from that day onwards she never recovered her sanity. The shock also hastened her father's death. He was buried in the family tomb in the nearby graveyard.

His daughter who was by this time hopelessly insane, would dress herself up occasionally in a beautiful white satin dress, with which she had provided herself for her intended wedding with John Ponsonby. She used to wander daily in the garden, and at times she would climb up the boughs of an old thorn tree, and there while away her time snipping off the buds and tips of the young branches with a scissors, the only pleasure she apparently enjoyed. She lived for some years and was eventually found dead on her father's grave, and clad in her beautiful white satin dress. The tree became known as the White Lady's Tree, and her ghostly figure clad in the beautiful long white dress was for ages afterwards, a spectacle which reminded those generations of residents in the Big House, of the tragedy which had befallen this beautiful young lady of a previous generation.

It was Walter's son and heir Edmund who lost the ancestral estate at Kildalton. In the transplantation records 1654-1658, he is recorded as having been granted an estate of 500 Acres Irish Plantation Measure, in the Parish of Moygawnagh., Barony of Tirawley Co. Mayo. According to the late Canon Moore, P.P. of Johnstown,



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Co. Kilkenny, Sir John Ponsonby allowed Edmund Daton a pension of £40 a year in consideration for the loss of his property. This was continued to be paid by the Ponsonby family until about the 1830's. He stated that "he forgot the townland to which Daton and his family removed. Subsequently, some lived at Kilmurray Thomastown, and some at Thomastown itself where William Daton rented the Manor Mill, but lived in circumstances of great difficulty."

William Daton's widow Elizabeth or Bess as she was known by, along with her 6 daughters and youngest son William, were moved to a house on the estate known as "The Burrows", where it was said John Ponsonby looked after them well. The son William was born in 1644. He decided to study for the Church, and following preliminary studies at home he went to France for his ecclesiastical education, studying at Rennes in Brittany and later at the Sorbonne in Paris.

Ordained Priest, he was appointed Chancellor of Ossory prior to 1676. In January 1682 Dr. Dauton was appointed P.P. of St. Mary's in Kilkenny. About the same time he was appointed Dean and Vicar General of the Diocese of Ossory. In February 1690, when the Royal College or University was founded in Kilkenny Dr. Daton was appointed its first Rector. In 1691, his name is included in the list of those attainted by the Williamites at the Tholsel of Kilkenny. In 1696 on the death of Dr. James Phelan, Bishop of Ossory since 1669, he was appointed Bishop of Ossory, on the recommendation of King James the Second.

In 1697, Legislation was passed in the Protestant Irish Parliament, that all Popish Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars General, Deans, Jesuits, Monks, and Friars, exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction should depart from the Kingdom before the 1st May 1698. He complied with this Decree, not for his own safety, but for those who would have harboured him, and left the Diocese, in April 1698. He at first resided in Paris but then went to Le Mans, where he spent the last 12 years of his life, dying on the 26th January 1712.

Whilst there, he resided in the Benedictine Monastery in Couture. In addition to his functions as Bishop of Ossory, he also involved himself in local pastoral work there. To enable him to live, he received every year from the French Clergy, an allowance of 12,000 francs and 1,000 francs from the Royal Treasury. As the income was more than sufficient for his meagre needs, he regularly transmitted small sums from what was left to members of the faithful in his Diocese at home.

His Will, which he made in Kilkenny on the 16th April, 1698, prior to his departure, is interesting in that he gives a list of all his possessions and where they are to be stored pending the advent of better days, and his return to Kilkenny. The Preamble to this begins - "Whereas I am banished by Order of Government, in case I should die in my banishment &c". He had 170 Books in his library which he left in care of a Mr. Cody in Kilkenny.

A sister of Bishop Daton was the Abbess of the Royal Convent of St. Denis, near Paris, where none but ladies of high rank were admitted to be professed. There were also relations of his serving in the French Military Service. His niece or grand-niece, Ann Dalton, died in Thomastown in 1806, at the age of 80 years. She used complain bitterly of the bad treatment her grand-or great-grand-father received at the hands of the Cromwellians.

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The first member of the Ponsonby family at Kildalton, was the Cromwellian Army Officer - John, who held the rank of Major. After getting possession of his new estate, he married again. This time to Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Henry Ffolliott of Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal, and widow - both of Richard Wingfield of Powerscourt, Co. Wicklow, and Edward Trevor. By her he had three children, Henry, William and Elizabeth.

As a cavalry leader he had a great reputation, and at the Restoration in 1660, he regained favour with the Royalists. He was made a Commissioner to enquire into the murders committed by the Irish during the War. He was made Sheriff of the Counties of Wicklow, and Kildare in 1654 and 1655. He was M.P. for Kilkenny in 1661 and 1662, and was appointed, in 1660, a Commissioner for the Settlement of Ireland. Possessed of sound common sense he was realist enough to know that if he were to survive among strangers in this new area of domicile, he had to come to terms with the natives and treat them with respect. There is the traditional story handed down of his groom setting fire to the local thatched chapel near Cloncumny. On his being told the news by the groom, Ponsonby, instead of being pleased, was enraged at such an occurrence taking place, and there and then had him sent back to England by the next boat from Waterford. His parting words with him were "if you wish to wear grey hairs never set foot in this country again". It was he, who changed the name Kildalton to Bessborough, in honour of his second wife. He died in 1678 in the 60th year of his age, and is buried in the Church of Fiddown.

The first John Ponsonby was succeeded in the property by his third son William, who was born in 1659. Of stern disposition like his Puritan father, his lifetime at Bessborough was marred by the troubles occasioned by the accession of James the Second to the throne. The Protestant minority in these parts felt very insecure at this time.

William, afraid of losing the new-found property of his father, raised military support from among his retainers in order to help save the Protestant cause of William of Orange. He fought at the Siege of Derry, and was one of the officers commanding the garrison with rank of Colonel. He was subsequently elected M.P. for Kilkenny in 1692, and again for the period 1695-1699, and 1703-1721. He became a Privy Councillor in 1715.

In 1721, in reward for his conspicuous service at the Siege of Derry, he was created Baron Bessborough, and in the following year 1722, he was advanced in rank to the dignity of Viscount of the Fort of Duncannon, in Co. Wexford. He was married to Mary, sister of Brabazon Moore of Ardee, in Co. Louth, and had nine in family, 3 sons and 6 daughters. His wife died in 1713, and himself in 1724, aged c.65. Both are buried in Fiddown.

Colonel William Ponsonby's eldest son Brabazon, succeeded to the title and estates. Born in 1679, he did not inherit the sober characteristics of his ancestors. He was interested in the good life of pleasure and living it up. He married firstly a rich widow Sara Colville, a grand-daughter of Dr. Margetson, Archbishop of Armagh. She died in May 1733, and in the following November, he married Elizabeth widow of John, 1st Baron Moore of Tullamore. She had a fortune of £10,000 in ready money and a £2,000 a year estate.

He became Governor and Sheriff of Co. Kilkenny as well as of Kildare. He was M.P. for Newtownards, Co. Down, 1705-1714 and for Co. Kildare in 1715 and 1724. He also held the positions of Privy Councillor, and a Commissioner of Revenues. In

1739, King George the Second raised him to the rank of Earl of Bessborough. In 1749 he was created a Peer of Great Britain, as Baron Ponsonby of Sysonby, in the County of Leicester, having inherited the Margetson Estates in that County.

He became Marshall of the Admiralty in Ireland in 1751; Lord Justice of Ireland, and Vice Admiral of Munster in 1754. He died on the 4th July, 1758, of a surfeit of fruit, leaving a large family.

A very wealthy man due to his wife's estate, it was he who built the great mansion of Bessborough. The building of a new residence was in contemplation for a number of years, and 1744 is the date ascribed to its building, although it took a number of years to complete. The house designed by Francis Bindon of Limerick, and son of David Bindon of Cloony, Co. Clare, and M.P. for Ennis. Milton states that "The House was built from the designs and under the inspection of Francis Bindon Esq. He was a gentleman of this country who professed Portrait Painting, and Architecture, and travelled into Italy to improve his knowledge of these arts".....

Brewer in 1825, stated that "The Mansion of Bessborough is a spacious structure of square proportions, composed of hewn stone, but the efforts of the Architect were directed to amplitude and convenience of internal arrangement, rather than to beauty of exterior aspect. The House extends in front 100 ft., and in depth 80 ft., viewed as an architectural object, its prevailing characteristic is that of massy respectability".

The House consists of a centre block of 2 storeys over a basement, joined to 2 storey-wings by curved sweeps. It has an entrance front of 9 bays, with a 3 bay pedimented breakfront with niche above pedimented Doric doorway. It has a balustraded roof parapet. Built almost entirely of blue Kilkenny limestone.

The most noticeable thing in the house is the large hall which is adorned by 4 Ionic columns of Kilkenny marble, each of the shafts consisting of one entire mass, 10 feet 6 inches high. Over the years, various improvements and alterations have been carried out successively by the various Lord Bessboroughs who succeeded to the Estates. Walter and Edward Ponsonby, the 7th and 8th Earls, were responsible for more alterations and improvements to the premises than all the others.

A wing with a new Dining Room was built about 1870, and in 1901, the entrance Hall and Porch were reconstructed with an improved courtyard. After the fire of 1923, the house was rebuilt during the years 1926-1930. The original Bessborough Mansion started in 1744, took eleven years to build before its final completion in 1755.

In 1758, William Ponsonby succeeded his father Brabazon as the Second Earl of Bessborough. In 1739, he was appointed Private Secretary to the Duke of Devonshire, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In the same year he married the Lord Lieutenant's daughter, Lady Caroline Cavendish, daughter of William 3rd Duke of Devonshire, and had a family. He was also successively M.P. for Newtownards, Kilkenny, Derby, Saltash and Harwich, in the period 1725-1758 and Trustee of the British Museum from 1768 until his death.

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Born in 1704, he was well educated, and travelled all over Europe. A man of great energy, determination, and competence, he was also a great art collector. In 1741, he was appointed a member of the Irish Privy Council. He also held the Offices of Postmaster-General, Commissioner of the Admiralty, and Admiral of Munster. In 1758, he took his seat in the House of Lords as Baron Ponsonby of Sysonby. His wife, Lady Caroline, died in 1760, and is buried in Fiddown. In later years his name was mentioned as being a lover of Princess Amelia, daughter of George the Second, a lady of somewhat dubious morals from the number of lovers she had frequenting her house in Piccadilly. William, the Second Earl, died in 1793, at the age of 88, and is buried at All Saints in Derby, along with his wife who died in 1760. Writing on the 30th July 1777, the Hon. Mrs. Hervey, mentions that "Lord Bessborough is here, who can never grow better or worse, or rather than he is; it is incredible what nonsense he talks".

Having inherited the Ponsonby properties on his accession as 2nd Earl, he built a villa at Rockhampton outside London in 1760. The same year his wife died at the age of 31. He was a great collector of paintings which included works by Liotard, Claude Poussin, Raphael, Salvator Rosa and Van Eyck.

The Third Earl of Bessborough, Frederick, son of William the Second Earl, was born in 1758. He was described as "a man of the most amiable and mild manners, and his principal recreations, apart from playing cards, being sketching and buying prints. " I am ruined in the number of prints that have been published since I have been absent", he declared on returning from one of his frequent trips to the Continent in 1792. His wife, Henrietta Spencer, was the pleasure loving lady, whose letters to her retiring mother, and her sister Georgina, Duchess of Devonshire, are the subject of the Book " Lady Bessborough and her family circle".

He was M.P. for Knaresborough from 1780-1793 and Lord of the Admiralty. His wife lived until 1821. He died in 1844. The first time the Third Earl visited Bessborough, was when he inherited it in 1793. On the occasion, July the 21st, that year, he wrote to his wife " I came here yesterday, and am indeed very much pleased with the place. The mountains are beautiful over fine wood, and the verdure is the finest that can be seen. I hope I shall be able to make a sketch for you before I go; I mean to confine myself to the 3 days". He appeared very pleased with the house, its contents, and the tenants' reception - " The house is large and very comfortable, but as you may suppose very old fashioned. There are about 10 or 11 good bedchambers. You would make it very cheerful with cutting down the windows, and I believe I should agree. There are several good pictures about the house. I have just discovered a Claude Lorraine". Politically a Whig, he campaigned against the Act of Union. He died at Canford in Dorset, and is buried at Hatherop in Gloucestershire.

Lady Caroline Lamb spent a period here recovering from the shock of her short-lived and tempestuous adultery with Byron the Poet in 1812.

John William Ponsonby the 4th Earl, son of Frederick, the Third Earl, succeeded to the Title and Property on his father's death in 1844. He was born in 1781. An active supporter of the 1831 Reform Bill, and was later to become Home Secretary under Lord Melbourne. He was also Commissioner of Woods and Forests. In 1805, he married Lady Maria Fane, daughter of the 10th Earl of Westmoreland. In 1828, Lady Duncannon was described as a charming person. - "Her life here is devoted to looking after everybody, and in making them clean, and comfortable, and their persons, cloaths, cottages and everything, and her success is great indeed. He too in addition to his greater qualities is all after their cleanliness." An able and

respected politician, though a poor debater, he had a remarkably calm and unruffled temper, and a very good sound sense.

It was calculated that the builder of Bessborough, having lived there for two years before his death in 1757, the family had spent just five weeks and two days at the House in the 68 years down to 1825.

The year before his death in 1847, Lord Bessborough was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the first resident Irish Landlord to have held that office for a generation. He was first Commissioner of Works when the British Houses of Parliament were being built. He himself built little at Bessborough. He died in office in Dublin Castle, at the age of 65, and is buried at Fiddown.

John George Brabazon Ponsonby, became the Fifth Earl on his father's death. Born in 1809, and educated at Charterhouse School, he was a member of the Whig Party. He was M.P. for Bletchingley in 1831, for Higham Ferrers 1831-32, and for Derby 1835-1847. He was Sheriff of Co. Carlow in 1838, and Lord Lieutenant of the same county from 1838, until his death. He was married twice. His first wife Frances Charlotte, whom he married in 1835, was daughter of the First Earl of Durham. She died on the 18th December 1835, at Bessborough House of tuberculosis, a little over 3 months after her marriage. His second wife was Caroline Amelia, daughter of Charles Gordon-Lennox, 5th Duke of Richmond. He died without issue at Bessborough in February 1880, aged 70. His widow died in 1890 aged 71.

The Fifth Earl's brother Frederick George Brabazon, succeeded as the 6th Earl of Bessborough. Born in London, in 1815, and educated at Harrow, and a Cambridge M.A., he became a Barrister of Lincoln's Inn, in 1840. A liberal in politics, he was Chairman in 1880-81, of the Bessborough Commission, whose Report on the Irish land laws led to the passing of the Land Act of 1881. He abstained from voting on Gladstone's Home Rule Bill in 1893. He died unmarried at Mayfair in London in 1895, of bronchitis, at the age of 79.

The Rev. Walter William Brabazon Ponsonby, a brother of the 5th and 6th Earls succeeded as the 7th Earl. Born in 1821, at Roehampton in Surrey, educated at Harrow, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A. in 1840, and M.A. in 1843, he became a clergyman of the Anglican Community in 1845. Rector of Canford Magna in Wiltshire from 1846-1869, of Beer Ferris in Devon from 1869-1875, of Marston Bigot in Somerset from 1875-1880, and of Stutton in Suffolk from 1880-1894. He married in 1850 Louisa Susan Cornwallis, only daughter of Edward Granville Eliot, 3rd Earl of St. Germans. A Liberal Unionist in politics, he died at Pimlico, London, in 1906, at the age of 85, and is buried at Piltown. He was 74 years of age when he succeeded to the Title. His widow survived until 1911.

His son Edward succeeded to the title as 8th Earl on the death of his father. He was born in 1851, and held several prestigious public positions including Secretary to the Governor at the Treasury from 1880-1884, and Secretary to the Speaker of the House of Commons. He became a Barrister-at-Law in 1879. He married in 1875, Blanche Vere, the youngest daughter of Lady Charlotte Schreiber, and sister of the 1st Baron Wimborne. Blanche Vere died in 1919, and the Eighth Earl in 1920 at the age of 69.

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His son Vere Brabazon Ponsonby became the Ninth Earl of Bessborough, on his father's death in 1920, and inherited the estates. He was born in 1880, and was Governor General of Canada from 1931 to 1935. He was M.P. for Cheltenham 1910, and Dover 1913 to 1920. He married in 1912, Roberte only daughter of Baron De Neuflyze of Paris. He died in 1956, Lady Bessborough surviving until 1979. •

The present holder of the Title is the Tenth Earl of Bessborough. He was born on the 29th March 1913, and succeeded to the Title in 1956, when his father the Ninth Earl died. He has extensive business interests, has been in the Diplomatic Service, and has had a number of Parliamentary Posts, along with numerous involvements with various cultural and professional bodies.

He lives at Stanstead Park, which is located on the Sussex-Hampshire border, a fine mansion originally built by the Earl of Scarborough in 1686, destroyed by fire in 1900, and rebuilt. The Ninth Earl bought Standstead in 1924, following the destruction of his seat at Bessborough, and spent large sums of money in refurbishing it.

As a landlord, the Earl of Bessborough, in 1871, owned an estate in Ireland amounting to 34,746 acres in the following Counties ; - Kilkenny 23,967, Carlow 10,578, Tipperary 200, and Waterford where he owned one acre. In Leicestershire, in England he owned 694 acres. His total landed estate at that time was 35,440 acres. The Poor Law Valuation of the Kilkenny property amounted to £15,484-50. He was the second largest land owner in Co. Kilkenny, the largest at the time was Viscount Clifden, of Gowran Castle, with an estate of 35,289 acres, the P.L.V. of which was £20,793.

According to Sir Richard Griffith's Primary General Valuation of Co. Kilkenny, published in 1850, Lord Bessborough's local estate was situated in the following Townlands of South Kilkenny ; -

CIVIL PARISH OF FIDDOWN

Ardclone	291-3-22	Ballynametagh	81-1-31
Ballyglassoon	160-2- 7	Ballypatrick	38-3-14
Ballygown	405-2- 2	Banagher	
Belline or		Kildalton	799-3-25
Rogerstown	648-2-38	Kilmanahan	237-3-32
Brenor	311-1-20	Mullenbeg	743-0-37
Corbally	680-3- 6	Oldcourt	517-0-31
Corloughan	356-2-26	Sandpits	158-1-22
Dowling	440-1-20	Templeorum	252-1- 1
Fiddown	414-0- 9	Tinnakilly	260-2-23
Fiddown Island	40-2-14	Tobernabrone	602-0- 8
Glenbower	244-0-39	Jamestown	255-1- 7
Gortrush	396-1-35		

CIVIL PARISH OF OWNING

Ballynacrony	425-1-17	Garryduff	515-2-19
Beatin	182-2-30	Garrynarea	368-0-35
Brown Mountain	134-0-33	Owning	799-2-33
Fanningstown	256-2-12		

Kildalton and Its Past.CIVIL PARISH OF WHITECHURCH.

Baungariff	148-2- 6	Whitechurch	241-0- 6
Graigue	212-3-21		

CIVIL PARISH OF TIBBERAGHNEY

Tibberaghney	15-0-12		
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CIVIL PARISH OF TUBBRID.

Barnacole	120-3-28	Tubbrid	344-1- 8
Barrabehy	539-0- 6		

CIVIL PARISH OF RATHKIERAN.

Listrolin	699-1-36	Rochestown	25-3-31
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CIVIL PARISH OF MUCKALEE.

Garrygaug	461-8- 7	Monavinnaun	156-1-29
Listrolin	489-2-31		

CIVIL PARISH OF KILMACKEVOGUE-GLENMORE.

Aylwardstown	555-1-24	Mullinahone	295-0-20
Ballynaraha	294-1-14	Robinstown	323-1- 3
Haggard	543-3- 7		

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Lord Bessborough's income from his Kilkenny Estate in 1883 was £15,500, and his annual income from all his landed property was calculated at £22,384.

The Ponsonbys certainly have contributed to the making of history. Their impact upon the events and politics of their times, has been considerable. From the days of John of Haile, they were at the centre of events in this country and in England. Their good sound judgement in business and politics coupled with their ability to select wives with good doweries and incomes, ensured their success in the circles of power.

Privilege was the predominating order of the day, and in 18th century Irish politics, the three most powerful factions in Parliament were the Ponsonbys, the Beresfords, and the Boyles. According to Lord Buckingham in 1789, Lords Shannon, Loftus, Ponsonby and the Duke of Leinster, were able to carry 42 votes, which could make a difference of 84 in a division. These families practically controlled Parliament, and were generally known as "The Undertakers", not only for their service in managing the King's business, but also for the fact that they were permitted to choose for themselves and their friends, the chief political appointments and sinecures which carried rich pickings.

## Kildalton and Its Past.

The Eighteenth century in Ireland, was pretty peaceful, and the second half of the century was a period of growth and deveopment with improving economic conditions. It was a period of building and consolidation, and most of the great stately homes which graced the Irish countryside were built at this time. Most of the great developments in agriculture and farming which began in England, and on the Continent during the century, were put into practice, and tried out here. The Earls of Bessborough and their Agents were in the forefront of those developments and improved methods of husbandry. The Iverk Farming Association is an example of Bessborough's improvement policy. The Iverk Show, which still flourishes, is a monument to that achievement. The apple-growing industry, which was part of the Piltown economy for generations, owed its origins to these developments and improvements. In the period leading up to the Act of Union, Bessborough was one of the many improving Irish landlords who campaigned vigorously against the proposed measure, and voted against it in Parliament.

John Ponsonby 1713-1787, second son of Brabazon, 1st Earl, was Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in 1756, 1761 and 1769. He succeeded in raising the Speaker's salary from £500 in 1759 to £2,000 in 1761, and to £4,000 in 1765. He was sworn six times one of the Lord Chief Justices. He fought in the Scottish Rebellion of 1745. His third son George became Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1806.

Henry Ponsonby, second son of William, 1st Lord Bessborough inherited Ashgrove. Entered the Army, and became a General. Killed at the Battle of Fontenoy in 1745. General Henry's grand-daughter, Sarah Ponsonby, was the famous lady who formed a life long alliance with Lady Eleanor Butler, the daughter of the 16th Earl of Ormonde. Sarah was orphaned at an early age, and was taken to Woodstock, Inistioge, to be cared for by her father's cousin Lady Betty Fownes. Lady Eleanor Butler proposed to Sarah that they should leave their relations and set up home together. This they did, with the consent of their families, in 1778 and moved to Wales where they settled and built their house "Plas Newydd", at Llangollen. They are known to posterity as the Ladies of Llangollen, and Elizabeth Mavor has immortalised them in a Biography of that name.

Two generations after the death of General Henry Ponsonby, another member of the family - Major General Sir William Ponsonby was killed at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815.

The Ponsonbys of Kilcooley derive from Chambre Brabazon Ponsonby - son of Major General Henry who was killed at Fontenoy. He married Mary Barker the owner of the estate.

Another branch of the family resided at Bishopscourt, Co. Kildare. Lord Bessborough's second Irish residence was at Gary Hill, in Co. Carlow.

The destruction of Bessborough by fire in the early hours of Friday morning, the 23rd February 1923, was an event which caused a widespread feeling of revulsion, not alone in the immediate neighbourhood but throughout the whole country. On the same night, the Stationmasters' Residences at nearby Fiddown and Grange, on the Waterford- Limerick Railway, were also burned.

Ever since the War of Independence began, the Bessborough family had been resident in England, and the house was occupied and maintained by the staff retained for the purpose during their absence. On the night of the burning, at about 11 o'clock on the 22nd, a party of about 40 men tried to batter in the front door, but it was



Kildalton and Its Past.

planked, and they could not get in. They then went to the back door and battered that in. The women servants were marched to their rooms and given three minutes to get their things out. In the meantime, the raiders had opened the front door and had brought in cans of petrol which they sprinkled over the front hall, drawing-room, gallery, and dining-room, and having set fire to the furniture, they then disappeared. The fire which quickly spread destroyed the whole building, including its contents apart from some pieces of furniture and some paintings which were saved. Lord Bessborough had already taken the precaution, in view of the unsettled state of the country, to remove some of his best paintings to London.

During the months of July and August of the previous year, large numbers of armed men - about a 100 according to a newspaper reporter - set up residence in the house, the farmyard supplying them with beef, mutton, new milk, butter, eggs etc. When occasion demanded, the stables supplied horses and vehicles. Earlier in the year a new Ford motor lorry and a motor car were commandeered, and on other occasions lorry-loads of bedding, bed clothes, and household requirements were removed in daylight by armed men. On other occasions, the horses' room was denuded of saddles etc. and even the cellar which contained a small quantity of wine was also rifled.

A meeting of the estate workers representing a hundred families, sent a Resolution of Sympathy to Lord Bessborough, deploring the occurrence, and at the same time condemning the looting. Copies of that Resolution were also sent to Deputies Wm. T. Cosgrave, Denis J. Gorey and Patrick Gaffney, who were at the time representing the County in Dail Eireann.

A claim for malicious damages was lodged, and an award of £50,270 was later made in compensation for the destruction and injuries to the property. The massive vaulting of the interior resisted the fire and prevented the total destruction of the fabric. The house was later rebuilt to the design of the Architect H.S. Goodhart - Rendel, but on its completion the family decided not to return. It remained vacant for some years until it was purchased in 1940 by the Oblate Fathers as a Novitiate for the Order. They carried out large improvements and built two wings on the garden front, finely harmonised with the main block and incorporating the old balustrade from a demolished outbuilding. They also had a Chapel here.

The Department of Agriculture purchased the House, and farm containing 360 Acres, from the Oblate Order in August 1971, and in 1980 it was opened as an Agricultural and Horticultural Training College, and is now under the control of An Comhairle Oiliuma Talmhaiochta, which is the Council for the Development of Agriculture in Ireland.

A P P E N D I X

I am most grateful to Michael Numan, Director of Kildalton Agricultural College, for affording me every kindness on my visit there last November.

The importance of the Ponsonby political connection in the affairs of both Ireland, and Britain, is indicated by the following List of Ponsonbys who sat in Parliament ; -

Kildalton and its Past.MEMBERS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND.

Name	Constituency	Date of Return
Sir John Ponsonby	Kilkenny	1661
William Ponsonby (afterwards 1st Lord Bessborough)	Kilkenny	1692
	Kilkenny	1695-1699
	Kilkenny	1703-1713
	Kilkenny	1713-1714
	Kilkenny	1715-1727
Brabazon Ponsonby (Viscount Duncannon)	Newtown	1713-1714
	Kildare	1715
Henry Ponsonby	Fethard	1715-1727
	Ennistioige	1727
Chambre Brabazon Ponsonby	Newtown	1727
Richard Ponsonby	Kinsale )	1727-1760
	Knocktopher)	
	Newtown	1761
John Ponsonby (afterwards Right Hon.) (Speaker, 1756)	Newtown	1727-1760
	Kilkenny	1761-1768
	Kilkenny	1769-1776
	Kilkenny	1776-1783
	Newtown	1783
William Brabazon Ponsonby (afterwards 1st Lord Ponsonby).	Cork	1761
	Cork	1769-1776
	Bandonbridge	1776-1783
	Kilkenny	1783-1790
	Kilkenny	1790-1797
George Ponsonby (Lord Chancellor of Ireland).	Kilkenny	1798-1800
	Wicklow	1776-1783
James Carrique Ponsonby	Innistioige	1783-1790
	Galway	1798
	Tulsk	1776-1783
Chambre Ponsonby	Tralee	1783
	Dungarvan	1790
John Brabazon Ponsonby	Tallagh	1790-1797
	Dungarvon	1798
Major William Ponsonby	Bandinbridge	1790-1797
	Fethard	1798

N.B. In several cases they were elected for more than one constituency. The constituency they eventually chose is alone given.

MEMBERS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Name	Constituency	Date of Return
William Ponsonby (Viscount Duncannon).	Derby Saltash Harwich	1741, 1747 1754 1756
Frederick Ponsonby (Viscount Duncannon).	Knarborough	1782, 1783, 1790
William Brabazon Ponsonby	Kilkenny	1801
John Brabazon Ponsonby	Galway	1801
George Ponsonby (Lord Chancellor of Ireland).	Wicklow Co. Cork Tavistock Peterborough Wicklow	1801 1806-1807 1808 1812 1816
John William Ponsonby (Viscount Duncannon)	Knarborough Higham Ferrars Malton Kilkenny Nottingham	1805 1806-1807 1812, 1818, 1820 1826, 1830, 1831 1832
Frederick Ponsonby	Kilkenny	1806, 1807, 1812
Frederick Ponsonby (Son of 1st Lord Ponsonby)	Galway	1811, 1813
Colonel William Ponsonby	Londonderry Co.	1812
Colonel Hon. Frederick Cavendish Ponsonby	Kilkenny	1818, 1820
George Ponsonby	Youghal	1826, 1830, 1831
William Francis Spencer Ponsonby (afterwards Lord de Mauley)	Dorset Poole	1832, 1835 1826, 1830, 1831
John George Brabazon Ponsonby (afterwards 5th Earl of Bessborough).	Bletchingley Derby	1831 1835, 1841
William Ponsonby	• Knarborough	1832
Charles Frederick Ashley- Cooper Ponsonby (afterwards 2nd Lord de Mauley)	Poole Dungarvon	1837, 1841 1851
Ashley George John	Cirencester	1852, 1859
Arthur A.W.H. Ponsonby (Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs)	Stirling Burghs Sheffield (Brightside)	1908, 1910 1922, 1923, 1924 1924
Vere Brabazon Ponsonby (Viscount Duncannon)	Cheltenham Dover	1910 1913

Kildalton and its Past.

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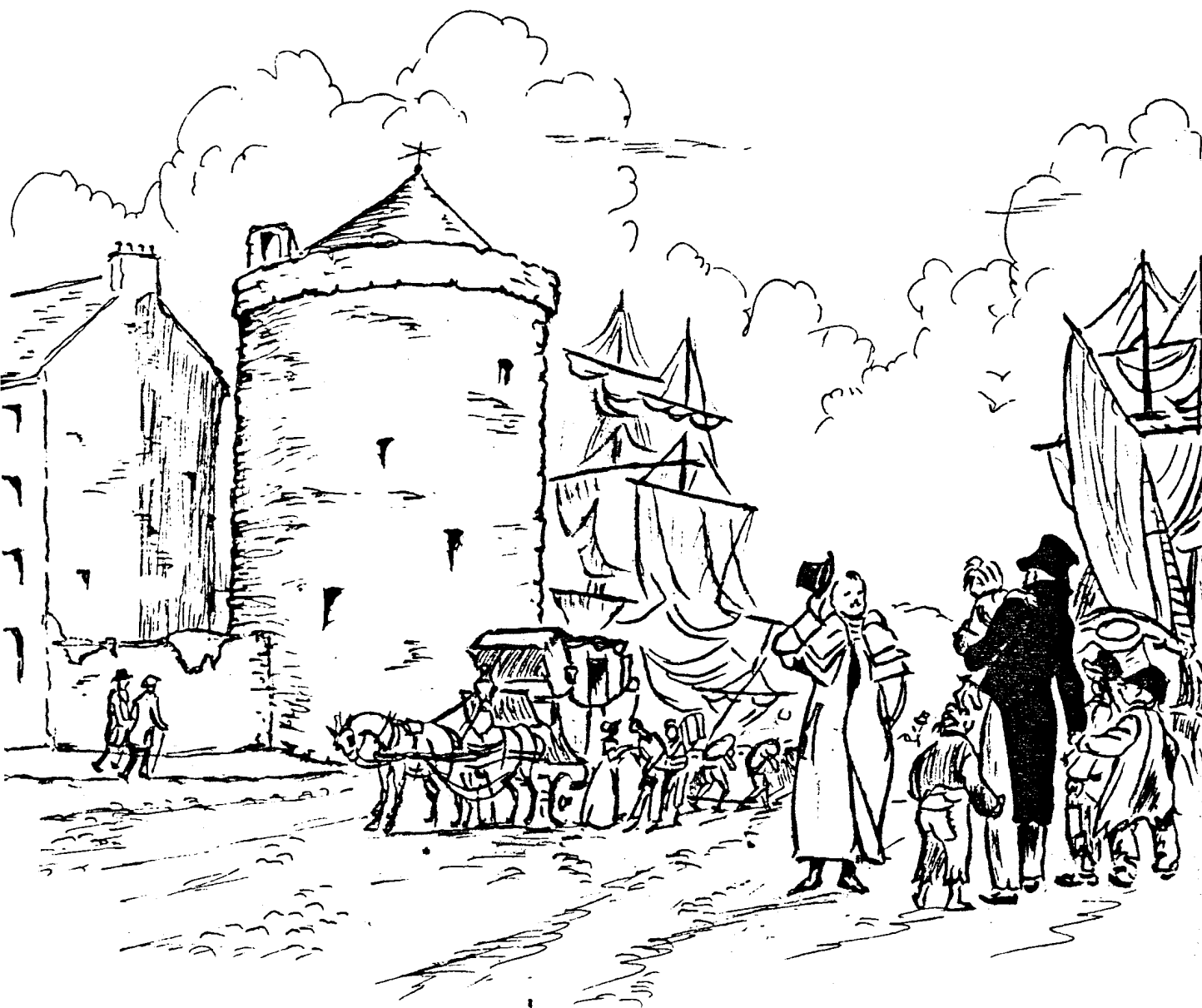
# The Waterford of Brother Rice

Frank Heylin.

The period of Waterford's greatness in mercantile affairs happened to coincide with the merchant life of Edmund Rice in the City. He must, in his endeavours, have contributed in some small measure to its success - as much as any Catholic merchant of the period could. As ship's chandler, Edmund Rice worked hard and with great success with his uncle in Broad Street - or rather where Broad Street is now. In the late eighteenth century the City was the emporium of the Newfoundland Trade. Hundreds of Waterford-owned ships sailed annually for the Newfoundland fishing banks, and fortunes were made by Waterford merchants in provisioning both naval ships and military stores. Later the Waterford merchants engaged in the emigrant trade and brought thousands of emigrants across the Atlantic to Canada and America. Norway, Sweden, France, Spain and Russia knew the ships of Waterford. Even as far afield as India and the Americas, the house flags of Waterford ships were known. A Waterford ship was one of the first to pass through the Suez Canal, while a Waterford Malcolmson ship established the initial service between London and St. Petersburg, and received a State welcome from the Tzar Nicholas of Russia. There happened to be a very small newspaper in Waterford at the time - it was located in Peter St. and one of its young reporters sailed over on that voyage and he interviewed the Tzar of Russia, for the Waterford paper, so there was more than the Skibereen Eagle had its eye on Russia. The staple shipping trade of Waterford about the middle of the 18th century was Newfoundland. We speak of New York being the next parish to Kerry, well the next parish to Waterford was Newfoundland. Some three to five thousand left our shore for Newfoundland every year, but by Act of Parliament settlement in the colony was strictly forbidden. The Irish were allowed to bring only such clothes as they personally needed - what they stood in. This became the fixed policy of the authorities and of the merchants. Lest any Irish should become colonists, no priest was allowed to take up residence there. Nevertheless some adventurous spirits brought out their wives and established themselves in St. John's and here follows a great testimony of the intensity of their religious faith. When children were born to them in Newfoundland, they brought them over, sometimes a whole family of seven, to be baptized here in Waterford and there are ample accounts of this in the Baptismal Registers of the City Churches in Waterford. The earliest of these entries is 30th January 1734 in St. John's Church, strange memorials of their intense religious faith.

Does history record anything more touching than the story of these rough heroic colonists leaving their homes and facing the perils of a sea voyage of some 2,000 miles and lasting often many weeks, that their children might be brought up in the religion of their fathers? Of course no Act of Parliament could stem such religious fervour, and we read later of a Waterford Bishop - an Irish-speaking one, establishing a diocese in the colony at the request of the settlers. It is also no wonder that one of the early missionary fields of Edmund Rice's brothers was Newfoundland.

The contrast between the life style of the world of the Big House in Waterford and that of the worker, the labouring peasant, was enormous. The influx of country folk to towns like Waterford at that time was considerable. Waterford had a population at that time of 23,216 and slums were spreading not only in liberties outside the City walls but also inside. Poor housing and squalid living standards were on the outskirts and right into the middle of such conditions came Br. Rice where the property was becoming more and more acute - this sounds very topical to-day.



The Waterford of Brother Rice.

Here we have a testimonial from a Protestant historian and contemporary of Edmund Rice - the Rev. Dr. Ryland - given at a time when ecumenism wasn't even whispered, and the mention of which was almost a felony. Dr. Ryland wrote : -

"In the schools established by Edmund Rice for the education of poor Roman Catholics we have a splendid instance of the most exalted generosity. This gentleman, having at an early period in life acquired an independent fortune by commercial pursuits, withdrew himself from public engagements and being strongly impressed with the necessity of giving to the lower orders a religious education, devotes his time and his talents and his fortune to erect and endow schools for their use. They have already impressed upon the lower classes a character which hitherto was unknown to them and in the number of intelligent and respectable tradesmen, clerks and servants which they have sent forth, leaving the unquestionable testimony to the public services of Edmund Rice".

This was an account written by a very Christian gentleman, Dr. Ryland, yet coming from that description was a commentary on the social status of Catholics in Waterford. Yes, it was very much "upstairs, downstairs" :

No description of the Waterford of Edmund Rice would be complete without reference to Ballybricken. It is one of the oldest place names in Waterford and it is one of the most historic in the annals of the City. For generations, Ballybricken Hill was the recognised gathering place for all big meetings. O'Connell held the great Repeal meeting on the Hill and later John Redmond. It was, until recently, the recognised centre for the livestock industry, and one time was also the centre for the bacon industry.

What was the average workman like in the time of Edmund Rice ? He was of peasant society, and with all due respect to the Georgian houses with which Waterford abounded, he was very much downstairs. He belonged to a society, which, with all its poverty had plenty of sport and gaiety about it. Music and song were woven into the very fabric of their frugal living. Fiddler and Uilleann Piper were kept busy at fairs and markets. There was no shortage of dancers. Hurling was widely popular and so were tests of strength and skill - there were weight lifting and bowls. You had three great bowling greens in Waterford, which occur again and again in the annals of the City. There was one at Adelphi Quay, another at Manor Street (near the school) and one at Mayor's Walk.

On a Fair Day, Ballybricken was the centre of social activity and merriment. The excitement of the fair was as much in its fringe attractions of jugglers, entertainers, music, dancing and drink, as in the actual business of buying and selling cattle, sheep, pigs and horses. I mention drink because on every special occasion or on none, there was very heavy drinking. Beer and whiskey were both cheap but in the early eighteen hundreds, poteen enjoyed quite a popularity. There were two distilleries in the City and 260 public houses. The impact of Father Matthew, the Excise men, and indeed Brother Rice combined to effect a reduction in the consumption of poteen. An old Municipal Law had permitted any Waterford citizen to distill his own uisce beatha, so the old tradition was there. But it was into such a society that Edmund Rice was to launch his Christian Education.

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# 19th Century Society in

## County Waterford

### Part III

Jack Burchaell

#### FAMILY CONTINUITY:

There is continuity also in the families involved in big farming. These powerfully rooted interest groups have proved to be one of the most enduring aspects of the Irish social landscape. They have been able to adapt to or deflect every threatening social movement, such as the Whiteboys who failed to prevent inroads being made by the strong farmer into the ancient communal rights. The mechanisms by which this social hierarchy is preserved include matchmaking, primogeniture and selective emigration. Matchmaking ensured that marriage was possible only within a very confined social circle; leeway was very limited, strong farmers' sons married strong farmers' daughters to perpetuate status, prestige, land, family, money and control. The inheritance system ensured the continuity of status of the strong farming families; the social control mechanisms are laid bare at the time of death of the landholder.<sup>1</sup> The overriding concern was the need "to keep the name on the land". The succession by primogeniture is a reversal of the pattern in Wales<sup>2</sup> and other areas of Ireland prone to emigration in the late 19th century where the youngest son generally inherited the land. Such a system operated on access to land, as only one son could be "set up" on the land, the others had to be provided for. In such a class-conscious society, this was often difficult, especially for "middling farmers" of restricted means. Dowries were provided for some daughters and some sons could be set up in small businesses in the pubs and shops of the small towns. It also provided the manpower for the rapidly expanding Catholic Church. The ratio of priests to people declined in Co. Waterford in the later 19th Century<sup>3</sup> illustrating the declining importance both numerically and socially of the labourer class and the increasing importance of the institutional Catholic Church. Diocesan priests were almost exclusively drawn from the strong farmer and urban middle class. Missionary priests and nuns conversely were drawn predominantly from the middling farmers. It was indeed a status symbol to have a priest in the diocese and the folk definition of a strong farmer is often given as a "piano in the parlour, a priest in the diocese and bulls his own cows". In adjacent Kilkenny the metaphor used to describe a family with a member a priest was "they have a ship at sea". This is likely to be a reference to the status required to be able to make a son a priest. It would have required wealth that was only available to those involved in overseas trade. Primogeniture is also the crucial factor in determining male-female roles in 19th Century Ireland. The female was very much submissive, an appendage to the male; she had to bring in a dowry and her functions were to bear children and look after them. Her sphere of influence while outwardly being restricted to the home was, however, far more fundamental. She often controlled all financial transactions and her control over her sons was absolute. This control was based on the role of the widow in inheritance.<sup>4</sup> She often outlived her husband and in the absence of a will could influence which son got the land.

#### SOCIAL RELATIONS:

The strong farmer acted as broker in social relations, transmitting landlord influences to the labourers and often articulated labourer unrest to the upper elements in society. This pivotal position in society was inherited from the middlemen. The larger farmers acted as cultural transmitters, transferring down the social scale much of the innovations of the 19th Century. This trickle-down effect can be seen operating in language, religious behaviour, clothes and agricultural innovations. This can often be seen as a striving for respectability as epitomised by the parlour syndrome. Thus musty over-furnished room was



## 19th Century Society in Co. Waterford.

rarely used and the good china only warmed by tea on the rare occasion of a wedding, ordination or funeral. This is a contrast to the vibrancy of life in the kitchen where everyday life went on amid the functional trappings of life; scrubbed deal in the kitchen versus oak in the parlour. This double think is best illustrated by the badly tuned and dusty piano in the parlour while the kitchen sang to the sound of the fiddle.

### TOWN-COUNTRY LINKS:

The strong farmers were also a strong innovating force in the 19th Century; they were at the cutting edge of the market economy and it can be asserted that the advance of this economy catapulted the strong farmer into his pre-eminence in the late 18th Century.<sup>5</sup> The strong farmer also provided the backbone and power base of the bourgeois nationalism of the late 19th Century Ireland. The close links between the middle class of the towns and the strong farmers was an economic necessity in an agricultural system that made little use of banks and where credit was limited. These close links cemented the strong town-country links in 19th Century Ireland. Most southern towns had no independent industrial base and almost all economic activity was geared towards agriculture and the provision of services for it or the processing of its goods.

### DEPENDENCE ON THE STRONG FARMER:

Irish historiography has been too pre-occupied with the landlord as land owner. It has overemphasised his influence. The great estates may not have been the overriding territorial framework of the 19th Century. The land user is more important than the land owner when it comes to the landscape expression of the forces at play in the 19th Century. The vast bulk of the 19th Century Waterford population was dependant on the strong farmers. The influence of the estate system was stifled by forces such as the middlemen and population pressure. The most integrated units were the individual farms and the greatest contrasts in the landscape were and are the individuality of each farm holding.

The strong farming economy is old but it became entrenched in the 18th Century with the advance of the market economy. The pattern may be seen as having been fossilised in the 19th Century by the impact on social classes of the famine and selective emigration on the one hand; and the decline of the landlord in the face of the new Catholic Nationalist Ireland. The emergence of owner occupancy as the definitive solution to the Irish land question finally put the seal of permanency on this pattern.

### SURVIVAL OF NAMES:

The strong farmers were not a uniform class, they varied in status, ethnic origin, religion and with estate policy. It is curious that certain surnames are better represented among the strong farming class than others. In Waterford the surnames of Walsh, Power, Flynn, Maher and Cheasty are of importance in this respect. There are definite patterns in such names also, and this is an area worthy of research. There are 40 Power strong farming families in Decies Without but none in Coshmore-Coshbride but is absent from Decies Within. These surnames are quite common among all social classes but there are surnames almost exclusively of strong farming background. These surnames include Dower, Curran and Mulcahy. These families, wherever they are found, are of importance. Most importantly they varied according to the dominant mode of production, whether pastoral or tillage. The empty heart of Waterford in the

Comeraghs acts as a barrier, West Waterford is focused on Cork while East Waterford is part of the "Three Sisters" system.

The evolution of such powerful families requires more detailed and intensive study, especially on the family scale, by looking at Wills, marriage settlements, property deeds and genealogical material. Only then, when the importance of family is understood, can the true dynamics of the Irish rural system be understood.

#### SMALL FARMERS:

The small farmers were more numerous but less significant in 19th Century Waterford. They are represented almost everywhere but in some areas are of the overwhelming majority of the population e.g. "Knockanore", and the parishes of Ardmore, Kilgobnet, Seskinane and Kilbride. The small farmers as the century progresses are of declining importance and even movements which were initiated by small farmers elsewhere are taken over by the strong farmers in Waterford, e.g. the Land League. Small farmers most often occur in the later settled areas, i.e., those which were not inhabited until population pressure made the farming of these areas necessary if not always viable. Small farmers are also concentrated on estate edges where excess population could scrape a living and a blind eye was often turned to the unwholesome practices often associated with small farming such as sub-division and joint tenancy. Small farming is generally associated with areas of middlemen control but this is not always the case. While middlemen tended to allow sub-division and small farming, whether because it was more profitable or because of social pressures, they did not always do so. Middlemen in Waterford did not allow sub-division on old settled areas as in "Power Country".

The small farmer had many of the attitudes of the strong farmer and acquired these through the trickle-down effect of culture. While the small farmer adopted many of the attitudes and aspirations of the strong farmer he was unable to fulfill them. He was not able to set up his excess children in business in the towns and the result often was a social relegation of younger sons to the status of landless labourer. There were other possibilities, too, for the excess children on small farms, which often had larger families than strong farmers because of the need of child labour on such holdings, unable to employ labourers. The small farmer's sons were a large component of the complement of the emigrant ships. Those who wanted to remain in familiar surroundings and refused the social relegation associated with becoming a labourer often faced a life of celibacy and the stigma of non-conformity. The National Schools provided the education the small farmer's son needed to escape his surroundings by entry into the expanding civil service and British colonial administration during the latter half of the 19th Century. Similar to the strong farmers, the small farmer became an upholder of the Catholic Church but his position here mirrored his position in society vis-a-vis his more affluent neighbour. The Christian Brothers and the Missionary Orders were dominated by the small farming class while he was almost absent from the diocesan priesthood.

Sub-division was more common among the small farmers, especially when they were unable to provide for their children, but this practice declined throughout the latter half of the century, both because of landlord disapproval and the increasing possibility of other escape mechanisms. On poorer soils the small farmers were the only farmers; in Waterford strong farmers do not occur on land valued at less than eight shillings per acre and are sparse on any land valued at less than twelve shillings per acre. While the small farmer was all

pervasive on poor soils he was also a significant input into the "milieu" on the better lands dominated socially by the strong farmers. The small farmers often provided a pool of labour for strong farmers and the "hiring fairs" were the mechanism by which this interaction between labour surplus and labour deficit areas. The "scriob" of Kilmacthomas was where the small farmers' sons of the Comeraghs sold their muscle to the strong farmers of the plain. These small farms also provided a labour pool for the Golden Vale in South Tipperary. These men who sowed early and reaped late were vital cultural transmitters to the more conservative hills. The small farmers were almost exclusively of Gaelic and Norman extraction if we judge from the surname evidence.<sup>7</sup> These people were often not the favoured colonial population of the intrusive estate system.

Small farmers occur in every part of County Waterford, though their density and significance in society is highly variable. From being a very minor part of rural society in the big farm area of Upperrthird, particularly the parishes of Rathgormuck, Clonegam and Mothel, to being the monolithic social group in the parishes of Tallow, Templemichael, Seskinane and Kilgobnet, the small farmer existed under the shadow of the strong farmers. The strong farmers articulated the desires of the rural community and overawed the small farmers.

The peripheral edges of the older settled and better land is where the small farmer is of greatest importance. However, the strong farmer is not restricted to these frontier areas only. The small farmer can be seen as the product of settlement expansion, the gradual movement upslope of population from the more attractive lowland areas. This hypothesis is supported by the distribution of small farmers. They are almost all-pervasive on land valued less than ten shillings per acre.

The "Knockanore" area of Coshmore-Coshbride is a heartland of the small farming tradition, particularly those parts of it relatively remote from the river Blackwater. The strong farmers of the area are almost all restricted to within one mile of the river. In pre-turnpike Ireland the rivers were the arteries of commerce and the areas of maximum economic opportunity. The more remote areas may not have provided an alternative economic opportunity, so previously big farms that we associate with frontier regions may have been sub-divided, in the absence of an escape hatch into commercial activity, for excess population. This hypothesis is supported by the presence in the same townlands of many small farmers with the same surname. In the townland of Kilwatermoy there are three Morrission land holders all in the small category. Such small scale farming at a parish centre can only be as a result of subdivision. In the townlands of Scart and adjacent Strancally Parish Kilcockan three Neills who hold land valued at between £10 and £30 would be considered small farmers. There is a narrow belt of small farmers on the anticline between the Bride and Blackwater valleys. This belt runs through the townlands of Curraheen North, Ballinaspick North, Ballysaggartbeg Hill and Deerpark Hill. It is noticeable that this belt lies on the poorer soils, and, significantly perhaps, it is in the hands of John B. Gumbleton, Esq. middleman on the Lismore estate.

The whole Knockmealdown mountains repel the strong farmer; they hold no great attraction for the small farmers either. These peter out at between 500 and 600 feet on its steep, sterile sandstone. Thus, in the barony of Coshmore-Coshbride the small farmers may be seen as an aureole around the strong farming heartlands of the valleys. These small farming areas may be where big farming did not prove practicable and degenerated into the small holdings that crop up

in the Valuation books. The efficiency of management on the estate of the Duke of Devonshire, as witnessed by the fact that they conducted their own valuation of every field in the estate in 1837, ensured that this type of farming did not develop on the lowlands. Indeed, the agriculture practiced by the home farm of the estate and the "gentleman farming" conducted by its complement of middlemen ensured that little farming was carried out by the tenantry in the immediate vicinity of Lismore.

The small farmer has a far more significant place in the "milieu" of Decies within Drum. Small farms are far more numerous here and have a much more varied environment. They occur in significant numbers in all areas, even of land exceeding sixteen shillings per acre valuation. Such land in other parts of the county, especially the Upperthird big farmer cluster, would be in the hands of strong farmers only. This may be due to a laxer estate policy or it could possibly be something more, as the pattern is very similar across all estate boundaries, whether they be the massive 31,000 acre estate of the Villiers Stuarts<sup>8</sup> or the medium 6,540 acres of the estate of the Earl of Huntingdon in Clashmore.<sup>9</sup> If the pattern evolved as a result of estate management it surely would have varied from estate to estate. This pattern may be the result of rationalisation by the estates, of joint ownership replacing this method of landholding with small individual plots. In Griffith's Valuation there exists still extensive fragmentation of holdings, particularly in the lowland areas such as the parishes of Clashmore and Ballymacart.

The dry valley of the Blackwater between Cappoquin and Dungarvan holds very few small farmers; they occur at its rim on areas probably only opened up during the 18th Century. To the North of this area the broad belt of land between the Knockmealdowns and the Comeraghs was very much a frontier zone. The parishes of Kilgobnet, Seskinane and Colligan are the epitome of a small farming area. The small farms do not occur generally above 400 feet though soil quality is very similar to the areas further West. This pattern may be due to uneven population building. The population pressure may not have been as intense here as it was in the more restricted valleys of the west.

The barony of Glenahiry and the "Nier" portray the conventional pattern. The best and oldest settled land was the area where the landlord kept tightest control over farming structures. Small farming was not allowed to evolve on the rich townlands such as Whitesfort, Ballydonagh and Kilmanahan parish Inishlounaght along the Suir. But upslope of the less highly prized land, small farming did evolve and fairly fertile slopes. These farms were actually smaller in acreage than the holdings along the Suir. But up at the heather line the small farms are smaller in productivity and output, not in acreage. On these acid slopes huge acreages are required to seek a living.

The barony of Upperthird can be said to be largely without small farmers. It is vital to remember that there was no population displacement here during the 17th Century confiscations. Structures remained intact and the prevailing society and landscape left little room for manœuvre. The small farms could not creep up the stark eastern face of the Comeraghs. Even these slopes are leased in common by the strong farmers confronting them. Sub-division did not occur in this area, whether due to massive out-migration along the Suir by non-landed sons to Waterford city, or by dictatorial social control whereby non-landed sons were submerged into the labouring class or by some form of birth control on the part of the strong farmers. It is likely that a combination of all three helped to maintain the stability of the area.

The Eastern portion of the barony of Decies without Drum presents a pattern of small farmers not due alone to physical factors and the age of permanent settlement. This is part of the old settled area of Waterford, being well peopled in Medieval times. Wasteland for the extension of settlement, as population increases, was not available in large quantities. While small farming is more prevalent on the interfluves of such rivers as the Dalligan, Tay and Mahon, this is due to a complex process that emerges on examining the civil survey of 1654. This area was a zone of regaelicisation in the late medieval period and with the accompanying scourge of the Black Death, the higher slopes of these interfluves would have lost their tillage-farming economy. They became extensive grazing areas when population pressures built up again in the 18th Century. The farming structures of these areas were long defunct. New territorial patterns were created, helped in no small way by the upheavals experienced here in the 17th Century when the area was confiscated. The land transfers associated with the confiscations wiped out the old proprietors and the new extensive farming practices erased the old structure.

However, another process is even more important in the strong place the small farmers had here in society. This area was the part of Waterford where the Middlemen system was most entrenched. The Middlemen were responsive generally to the need for land by the people in this area. This responsiveness whether due to social awareness or the urge to maximise profits nevertheless existed. They accommodated as many people as were required on their land and this inevitably led to subdivision and the emergence of small farming units. Small farmers did not challenge the position of the middleman, unlike the strong farmers, and therefore the middleman often stifled social opposition where possible. If the area was in the hands of several strong farmers it might encourage the landlord to deal directly with them, but if the land was farmed by many small farmers it was easier for the landlord to deal with one middleman.

The "Power Country" has many small farmers, also, but they were not as significant as in the areas immediately to the East and West of it. Here the middleman behaved as if he was the proprietor; to all intents and purposes he was. The Eastern portion of the Barony of Middlethird, especially the Ballyscanlon Hills and the belt of land comprising the parishes of Lisnakill, Reiske and Islandikane formed a small farming area. This area was a frontier region in late medieval times between the Gaelic area to the West and the Gall Tir (land of the foreigners) to the East. It is, significantly, the Diocesan boundary between the Sees of Lismore and Waterford, and the fact that the bishops of one were consecrated at Canterbury and the bishops of the other at Armagh illustrates the cultural cleavage between the two areas. There was almost constant violence between them.<sup>10</sup> This frontier region would be settled relatively late and the ensuing agricultural development would be geared towards small farming. The parishes of Drumcannon, Monamintra and Kilmacleague are a small farming area. The land is not as fertile as it appears from the valuations, the price being inflated by its proximity to Waterford city and accessibility to the sea. It is all lowlying and drained by the sluggish Keiloge river. As the feudal system broke down the peripheral lands such as these would have degenerated into small farm areas which, given the stability of the area later, would be maintained until the 19th Century. Small farms are of importance all over the barony of Gaultier; the area has the flavour of the baronies of Forth and Bargy in Wexford. Like that area, also, the heavy presence of small farmers is probably due to the intense Normanisation of the area. This area also has had a heavy presence of Vikings and they continued in the area long after they had lost military power in the region as a whole.<sup>11</sup>

The small farmers in Waterford are definitely on the periphery of the main-streams of society. They occur chiefly on the poorer soils, particularly those valued between four and twelve shillings per acre. The small farmer is most numerous in the areas of Middleman control of the land. However, although certain Middlemen did not encourage small farmers, it is, perhaps, accurate to say that, under economic pressure and in fear of losing their position at the next leasing, they encouraged small farming in order to discourage the landlord from bypassing him. While small farming is a product of subdivision in most cases it may not always be so. This subdivision illustrates the importance of kin and the familial nature of Waterford society. Small farmers may also be the product of an increase in interference by a state management in tenancy arrangements. In the barony of Decies within Drum there is evidence for this process occurring. Joint tenancies were broken up into individual small farm units.<sup>12</sup> In certain areas it is possible that the evolution of the small farm as an element in society may be traceable to the decline of feudalism and the consequential rise in the status of labourers of the period.

These conclusions show the importance of regional analysis, for such all-pervasive variables as small farmers may be the product of different processes. So the pattern may be similar from area to area but the causal factors may be completely different. The small farmer is a conservative element in society and is of immense interest to historical geographers as he often preserves today that which died in the strong farmer's homestead a generation ago. However, the small farmer had not got the self-assurance to preserve these things for any more than a generation or two.

#### COTTIERS & LABOURERS:

The cottiers and landless labourers, although seen as quite distinct, can in many cases, and especially so in Waterford, be treated as one class. The crucial factor was that both worked on other farms to earn or supplement their livelihood. Although they were the most numerous element in 19th century Waterford society, they were the least powerful and the least vocal. 36% of all holdings in Waterford in 1851 were of less than five acres.<sup>13</sup> This is a high figure compared with the Southeast region as a whole.

#### Holdings less than 5 acres as % of all holdings.<sup>14</sup>

Waterford	35%	Wexford	24%
Kilkenny	28%	Carlow	23%
Tipperary	25%	Cork	12%

But there were many labourers who had no stake in the land and lived in lofts above stables and barns. The table above is a more accurate pointer to the fixed labour force with long term employment. It does not account for the huge numbers of migratory labourers who hired themselves to farmers for varying periods, usually the months from haymaking to harvest. The labourers in 19th century Ireland were by far the most mobile section of society. Status was measured by access to land and these people, with little or no access to land, would not lose status by moving, which the small farmer would. This rural proletariat had no direct contact with the landowner. They could not even speak the same language. These people had no means of articulation to society at large other than sporadic violence. With only their muscle power to sell, they married youngest and had the highest birthrate and the lowest life expectancy. Their diet even by 1900 was still almost entirely potatoes and such parts of bacon as were considered unfit for the farmers table, such as pig's ear.<sup>15</sup> The labourer was a loser in 19th century Ireland, he lost what little access to common land he had with the

emergence to the forefront of the strong farmer. The fortunes of the labourer and cottier declined with the demise of the middleman, particularly the farming middleman. With the gradual removal of the middleman the strong farmer was able to pare away the traditional rights, privileges and working conditions of the labourers in a society with a constant surplus of labour. There never emerged in Waterford a widespread hatred of the landlord among the labourer and the farmer. Labourers preferred to work on the estates for the landlord because the food was better and payment was in cash, not in lieu of rent.

The highly mobile nature of "spailpins" is illustrated by the fact that there was in-migration of labourers to and out-migration of labourers from County Waterford. "Spailpins" came from West Cork for the potato-digging in Waterford. They were known as "bearachs" i.e. natives of Beara in West Cork<sup>16</sup> and were noted for their ignorance of English. This migration was organised by the middleman O'Sullivan family who settled in Ballylegat parish Reiske. Out-migration took place from the Knockmealdowns and Comeraghs to the big farms of South Tipperary. This nomadism is attested to by the presence up to 1817 of a village on the road from Kilmacthomas to Kilrossanty in the townland of Brisca parish Kilrossanty. It was called Bothar na mbacach (beggars road) and totally inhabited by beggars. They deserted it in May, barricading their huts and returned in September, having worked and begged throughout Waterford and South Tipperary.

#### 4th CLASS HOUSES:

The "Knockanore" area of West Waterford, due to its small farming society, had less than 30% of its housing classified as fourth class in 1841. The parish of Lismore is slightly higher at 31% but much of this figure is of the clachan type of settlement of the marginal lands of the Knockmealdowns. The Duke of Devonshire tried to ensure that all his tenantry and labourers were housed adequately. Lismore Town, where his influence was greatest, had only 4.6% of its houses classified as 4th class. Significantly, the town of Tallow, just outside his estate and in the hands of middlemen, had 16% of its housing in this category. Both towns had 45% of their population classified as illiterate, so the numbers of working class people is similar.

The barony of Decies within Drum also had approximately 30½% of its housing classified as fourth class, except the mountain parish of Ardmore with 38% where again the marginal settlements come into account. The strong farming parish of Whitechurch had a greater density of its labourers, 49% of housing falling into the lowest category. In contrast, the small farming parishes of Kilgobnet, Seskinane, Colligan and Kilronan had densities of between 20% and 30%. The mountain parishes of Newcastle and Lickoran had higher densities of 43% and 39% respectively. These new frontiers were areas of labour surplus which supplied the parishes of Molough, Neddins and Ballybacon in Co. Tipperary with the manpower to sustain their strong farming economy.

The big farming cluster of Uppertthird which had large quantities of labourers, as illustrated by the valuation books e.g. the townland of Ballynacurra parish Mothel which held in 1850 eight labourers, two strong farmers and three middling farmers, treated them quite well if standards of housing are a measure. The parishes of Mothel, Guileagh, Clonegam, Fenoagh, Kilmoleran and Dysert had an average of 18% of housing in the fourth class. This was the part of the big farming area under the direct influence of the Marquis of Waterford. But the parish of Rathgormuck, an integral part of the cluster but outside the control of

the Marquis has 47% of housing in the fourth category. In the Rathgormuck area the village of Glenanore had an average house valuation of ten shillings and five pence.<sup>17</sup> The parishes of Kilrossanty and Fewes, which had a mix in the scale of operations with small farmers predominating, had 28% and 35% fourth class housing.

The strong farming cluster of "Power Country" had the highest density of fourth class housing in the County. As noted previously, this was an area almost completely outside landlord control. The parishes of Newcastle, Rosenaire, Kilbarrymeaden, Monksland and Ballylaneen had densities of between 45% and 55%, the influence of Bunmahon mines and the associated poor housing of the miners may swell the figures but not significantly. Ballylaneen had very few people engaged in the mines yet it had the highest percentage of poor housing, 55%. In this area again there was no landlord restriction on the exploitation of the labourer by the farmer.

The small farming regions to the East in the remainder of Middlethird and Gaultier all have densities of approximately 30%. The parish of Monamintra, comprising only one townland, has no fourth class housing in 1841 and no labourers in Griffith's Valuation. The labourers on these come from the adjoining village of Ballygunner. The only parishes which stand out as having a high percentage of fourth class housing in this area are the coastal parishes of Killea and Islandikane. These were fishing parishes but, unlike the other fishing areas such as Ring and Ballymacaw, the type of fisherman here is labourer-fisherman while in Ring and Ballymacaw it is farmer-fishermen who predominate. This example illustrates the highly localised nature of the pattern of labourer settlement villages. The villages and small towns were labour pools for the strong farmers. Each had a section of poverty-stricken houses valued between five and ten shillings. This interspersing of dire poverty with rich farming is commemorated in such local rhymes as :

"Dun Garbhan na sean bhaid seolta agus  
Dun na Mainistreach na scailpini dreoighte"

(Dungarvan of the old sailing boats and Abbeyside of the rotten huts).

"Baile Ui bhaoighill na gcrann, baile beag gortach  
Ni raibh me ann ach aon uair amhain  
's ni bhfuair eas ann ach pratai 's praiseach".

(Ballyvoyle of the trees, a small furnished place  
I was only there once and I got nothing there  
but potatoes and gruel).

The primary function of many towns and villages must have been as dormitories for the rural proletariat. These rural slums include the village of Aglish (39% fourth class) and Rathgormuck (65%) and the town of Kilmacthomas (40%). It is noticeable, however, that villages associated with estates have a far lower proportion of their population living in fourth class accommodation. Villages such as Annestown (8%), Kill (7%), Passage (1.8%) and the town of Cappoquin (6.6%) had a neat and tidy appearance by comparison. In Stradbally, segregation was the policy adopted. The control area of the village green and the streets leading to the established church and demesne were maintained in good condition, while the area Northeast of the village around the Catholic Church held the labouring population. The labourers, as a class, were drastically depleted by the famine and its immediate after-effects. The valuation books are punctuated by vacant houses valued at between five and ten shillings, testament to the forgotten class that formed the bulk of 18th century population.



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11. Smith C. The Ancient & Present State of the County & City of Waterford, Dublin 1746.
12. Devon Commission Report, Vol. 3.
13. 1851 Census.
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16. Power - Parochial History of Waterford & Lismore during the 18th and 19th Centuries. Waterford 1912.
17. Griffiths Valuation.

LECTURE SEASON 1986/87.

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

Afternoon outings will depart from the City Hall at 2.30 p.m.

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1986:

- June 29th      Outing: Trip to Owing and Templeorum with Mr. Michael O'Donnell.
- July 10th      Outing: Visit to Listed Buildings in City with Mr. Stan Carroll.
- July 20th      Outing: Johnstown Castle, Co. Wexford, with Dr. Austin O'Sullivan.
- August 17th    Outing: *Duiske Abbey and Ullard, Conducted by Mr. Ed. Hughes.*
- September 14th Outing: Kilbunny and Rockett's Castle, with Mr. Frank Heylin.
- September 26th Lecture: "The Origin and development of towns in Medieval Ireland." Dr. Anngret Sims, U.C.D.
- October 24th    Lecture: "The Tramore Train". Illustrated lecture by Mr. Jack Phelan, Solicitor, Cork.
- November 14th Lecture: "The Royal Hospital, Kilmainham. It's History and Restoration." Mr. Colm McCormack. B.Arch.
- December 7th      Annual Lunch.  
Separate notice will be sent to members.
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Enquiries regarding 'DECIES to:

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Membership of the Old Waterford Society is open to all. Subscription for 1986 is £6.00 and may be sent to:

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28 Daisy Terrace,  
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The Society is not responsible for damage or injury suffered or sustained on outings.