

The Waterford Catholic Community
in the Eighteenth Century.

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by

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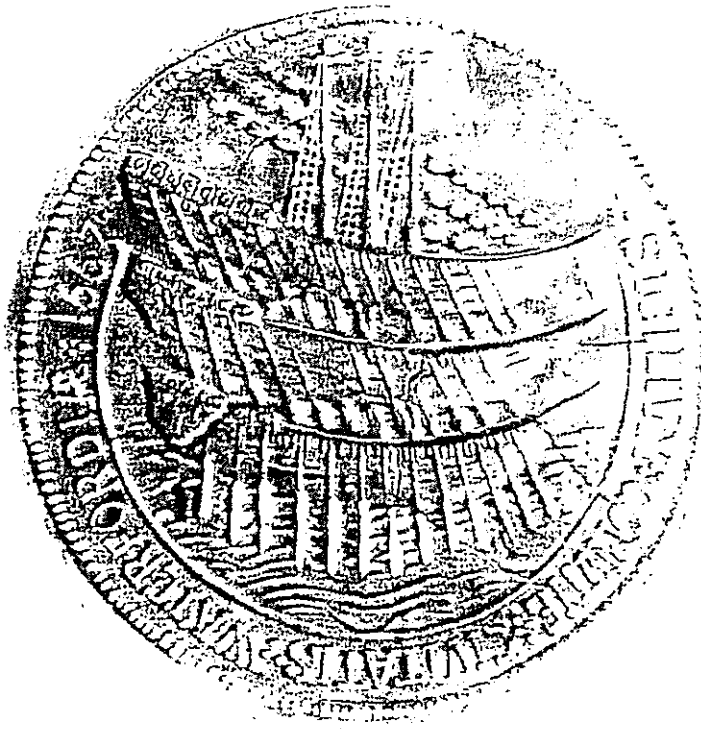


Figure 1

Seal of the City of Waterford 1663.

This is one of the earliest surviving seals of the City of Waterford, depicting three ships, which earned the city its title 'Waterford of the Shippes.'

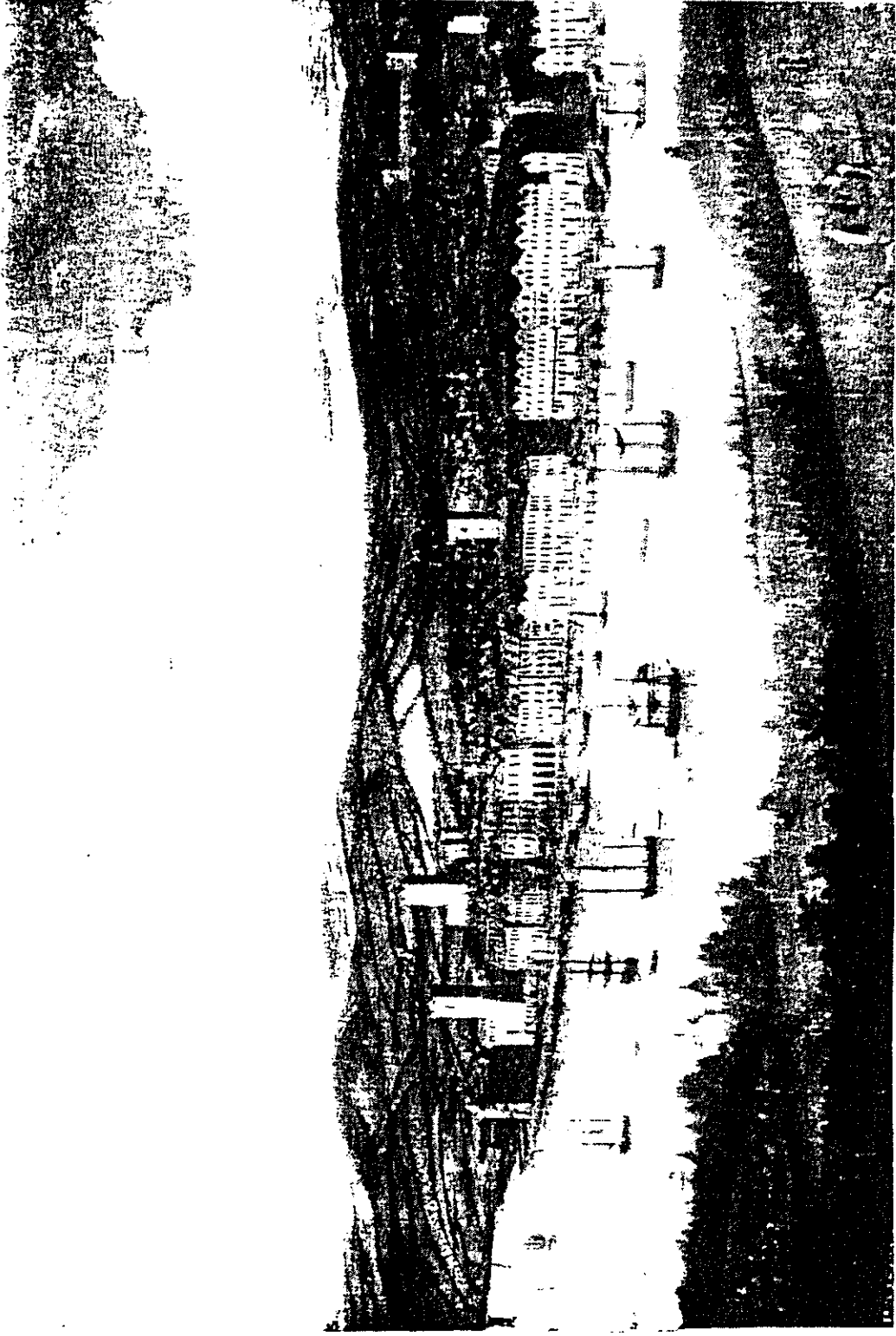


Figure 2: A view of Waterford City 1736.

This painting by van der Hagen is the largest and earliest eighteenth century view of an Irish city.

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INTRODUCTION

Much of eighteenth century history is written about the Protestant Ascendancy. The amount of investigation and research conducted on Catholics is considerably less, but this has changed in recent years and much valuable study is now being carried out. J.A.Froude and W.E.H.Lecky were the first to document eighteenth century history and their works are monumental. This has been followed in recent decades by many excellent studies which have created a more balanced picture of Catholic Ireland. Maureen Wall and Louis Cullen deserve much credit for their work in this respect. Regarding the Catholic merchant community in particular, important contributions have also been made by John Mannion, Seamus Pender, Julian Walton and David Dickson. The ecclesiastical history of the eighteenth century has been well documented in studies by P.J.Corish, John Brady and W.P. Burke. T.J.Walsh's work on the Irish colleges abroad has been complemented by Liam Swords.

The studies referred to above document the development of the national picture. However it was only in recent years that the study of local Irish history developed and this development now provides valuable comparison with the broader national view. In order to shed new light on Irish Catholic society, it is considered, for the purposes of this study, beneficial to examine the situation in one particular location. In Waterford City there are many important sources which have not been utilised to their full capacity. A wealth of information is available regarding the life of the residents of the City of Waterford. These sources help to develop a fuller understanding of eighteenth century history and will be discussed in depth at a later stage in this study.

The purpose of this study is to present an analysis of the Catholics in the City of Waterford in a social context. Irish Catholics were not a homogeneous body in Waterford in the eighteenth century and this study will attempt to show that Catholics as a group cannot be viewed in isolation from the broader society. Their position in Waterford life, therefore, must be examined in terms of their

relationships with their fellow citizens. Analysis of the available material, however, will also emphasise the extent of solidarity amongst Catholics. In order to complement existing studies, the status of Catholics in Waterford during the eighteenth century will be analysed in depth.

The aims of this study are to analyse the social position of Catholics in the City of Waterford in the eighteenth century, and their social and economic contributions to the life of the City as defined in terms of trade and commerce. The relationships between Catholics and members of other religious groups will be examined to show how Catholics played an integral role in Waterford society. Such other religions as were practised in Waterford at the time would include the predominant Anglicans, together with Quakers, French Huguenots and Flemish settlers.

A study of the role of the Catholic clergy in Waterford at the relevant time is also considered crucial. They cannot be considered without reference to their fellow religionists, many of the leading Catholics in Waterford at that time being merchants. The support given by each group to the other was important in order to maintain their respective positions in Waterford, and this study will deal in some depth with the importance of the relationship between the Clergy and the merchants. The reaction of both clergy and merchants to the oppression of Catholics and anti-Catholic legislation will also be shown to have had a dramatic impact on the lives of Waterford citizens.

Background

The late seventeenth century was a turbulent time for Catholics in Ireland. The Cromwellian confiscations of the 1650s were devastating for Catholics and in Waterford large numbers of Catholics were dispossessed of their lands and property. Catholics in Waterford fared particularly badly as compared with other parts of the country. They were banished from the City, with the additional

punishment that they may not return to within two miles of the city.¹ As a result of this harsh treatment, many merchants were forced to leave their homeland for continental Europe to seek a better life.

In 1660 the restoration of Charles II was viewed by many Irish Catholics with new hope for improvement in their oppressed situation. The king's Viceroy in Ireland, the Duke of Ormond was petitioned by many of the merchant families abroad to be allowed to return.² They hoped in vain as the Acts of Settlement and Explanation failed to alter the status quo. Catholics in Waterford remained second-class citizens as they were excluded from social and political life.³

This exclusion was temporarily reversed under James II. From 1687 Lord Deputy Tyrconnell recalled borough charters and issued new ones. The Waterford City Council was dissolved and it was ensured that the new council was comprised of a majority of Catholics. This council counteracted earlier oppressive legislation and introduced laws favouring Catholics and ensured that a greater number of Catholics were granted the freedom of the city.

The overthrow of James by William and Mary led to war and many loyal Irish gentry were committed to the support of his cause. In 1689 in Waterford a regiment was raised by Richard Power, Earl of Tyrone and Richard Hennessy, an Alderman in the 1688 Corporation.⁴ The Waterford regiment successfully defended the city for many months from Williamite attack. In 1690 war came to an end in Ireland with Williamite victory. Many leading Irish Jacobites had been imprisoned while many soldiers were permitted to leave the country to fight in France. They left in large numbers and many never returned. The Treaty of Limerick granted Catholics the same religious freedoms they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles II. At Limerick fifty Waterford Jacobites were pardoned as were all the citizens who were in the

¹ J.S. Carroll, 'Land Ownership in East Waterford 1640-1703' in Decies: Journal of the Waterford Archeological and History Society. (hereafter Decies Journal) no.3 (Waterford, 1976) p.35.

² Ibid.

³ H. Murtagh, 'Waterford in the Jacobite War' in Decies: Journal of the Waterford Archeological and History Society, no.5 (Waterford, 1978) p.2.

⁴ Ibid. p.4.

city when it surrendered to Williamite forces, by a patent in 1693.⁵ However, Catholics were denied any part in municipal politics and excluded from election to the City Council.

The suppression of the Catholics saw the return of the deposed Protestant urban elite who set about introducing measures to consolidate their supremacy. The Penal Laws were introduced by parliament. However the most important difference between legislation in Ireland and that in England or France was that in Ireland the laws were designed to repress the majority of the population as opposed to a minority such as the Huguenots in France, or Catholics in England. This was an important difference that influenced the legislation's enforcement and power.

The Penal laws were passed by the new Parliament in Dublin, the most important and widely felt of which was Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery (2 Anne, c.7) introduced in 1704. This Act prohibited Catholics from buying or leasing land for more than 31 years. Section 12, clause X of this Act dictated that an heir could only inherit if he conformed to the Anglican church within three months of his father's death.⁶ This meant that Catholic landowners were forced to sub-divide their land to ensure that their sons might inherit and that the land would stay in the family, albeit in smaller and less significant parcels. The object was to break up Catholic estates and:

'not to destroy Roman Catholicism but to make sure that its adherents were kept in a position of social, economic, and political inferiority.'⁷

If a Catholic were discovered in possession of land he had bought or inherited, it was confiscated. The land ownership legislation was met by a general but passive resistance from the Catholic landowners, many of whom had Protestant friends to whom they entrusted their lands to hold for them temporarily.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ C.Chenevix Trench, Grace's Card, Irish Catholic Landowners 1690-1800 (Dublin, 1997) p.63.

⁷ J.C.Beckett, in T.W.Moody and W.E.Vaughan (ed.) The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923 (London, 1966) p.159.

The chief object of the Penal Laws was, ultimately, to ensure that lands passed from Catholic to Protestant ownership, such ownership of land being the most decisive factor in political dominance.⁸ The new ruling class wanted to secure their inheritance against a future Jacobite revolution. However the shock of James II's rule provoked a severe reaction from the new Ascendancy. The most important result of the Penal Laws was that the majority of Irish land changed from Catholic to Protestant ownership over a relatively short space of time.

Catholic land ownership fell from 22% in the reign of James II to 11% in 1714 and continued to decline.⁹ However these figures do not allow for the conversion of Catholics to the re-established Anglican church, which was often solely a pragmatic step by Catholics in order to hold onto their lands. Every possible means of escaping the clauses of the Penal Laws were used by Catholic gentry in an attempt to retain their lands, but an analysis of the Convert Rolls show that between 1703 and 1731 over 700 Catholics conformed and the majority of these were landowners.¹⁰ Evidently many Catholic landowners converted in order to hold onto their lands. The Catholic landed gentry lost much of their power as a new era in Irish history was heralded in.

⁸ R.G. Boyce, Nationalism in Ireland (London, 1982), p.97.

⁹ S.J. Connolly, Religion, Law, and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760 (Oxford, 1992) p.13.

¹⁰ E.O'Byrne ed., The Convert Rolls (Dublin, 1981) p.xiv.

CHAPTER ONE

Trade and Commerce

After 1690 the victorious Williamites established themselves in power after the shock of James II's rule and ensured that the town corporations were entirely Protestant controlled. On 28 January 1690 the Cork City Council ordered:

'that Roman Catholics imposed on us as freemen by the late King James without taking oaths usually taken be not deemed free of this Corporation, nor receive any benefit of said pretended freedom.'[sic.]¹¹

There is no evidence of a similar occurrence in Waterford but the legislation passed by the previous Waterford Corporation was ruled invalid. Civic freedom granted to the recipient reduced taxes and the right to vote in municipal elections. Catholics were already excluded from the guilds and later from municipal office according to the Penal Laws, but Protestants now held the town councils and Catholics were also excluded via by-laws. Freeman status was conferred on sons of freemen, apprentices of freemen, or to a man who married the daughter of a freeman. Nomination was also possible by the General Assembly of Freemen. However such nominations by the General Assembly of Freemen were only valid prior to 1724 and thereafter admission was based on petitions to the Lord Mayor or City Council.

The structure of Waterford Corporation had been changed in the reign of Charles II, and all power was concentrated in an elected council of a small group of aldermen and assistants (25. Charles II c.2). This council took power at the expense of the guilds. These guilds including the Merchant Tailors guild had enjoyed substantial liberties and powers in medieval Waterford. Therefore this council controlled civic politics in Waterford and the legislation it passed was had fundamental effect. For instance in 1695 the Lord Mayor of Waterford, Richard

¹¹ R.Caulfield ed., Council Book of the Corporation of the City of Cork 1609-43 and 1690-1800 (Surrey, 1876) p.213.

Christmas and his deputy John Mason, decided on 'one measure which had beneficial effect, admitting traders of all descriptions and from all parts to the freedom of the city.'¹² This measure allowed foreign merchants and traders to settle in Waterford, and in subsequent years there were strong French Huguenot, Flemish, and Quaker communities in the city. They brought the benefit of great mercantile expertise with them from which the city benefited enormously. Thus in this respect the City Council can be viewed as quite liberal by putting the commercial success of the city ahead of an implementation of penal legislation.

The Penal Laws decreed that Catholics were prohibited from seeking election to Parliament or to city councils during the reign of Queen Anne. In 1709 an article of the Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery (8 Anne, c.3) intended to exclude Catholics totally from trade. This article was never implemented and Catholic traders, therefore, were allowed to remain in business. The main reason for this non-implementation was a realisation by parliament that trade was a vital source of government revenue. The Dublin parliament taxed merchants rather than the wealthy landed class from which they came.¹³ This dependence on the merchant community for the payment of duties and taxes meant that Catholic merchants were not excluded from the commercial life of the City. Indeed another article of this act regarding apprentices declared that a Catholic merchant could only employ a maximum of two apprentices at any one time. The reality of the situation in Waterford was that Catholics dominated the labour market and even Protestant merchants were forced to employ Catholic apprentices to ensure their economic success.

By the 1720s more Catholics had moved to the cities and outnumbered the Protestants there. The Protestant inhabitants who dominated civic life in most cities, such as Waterford, in the first decades of the century were now under pressure to allow Catholics some rights. For example in Cork in the 1730s the number of

¹² H.H.Ryland, History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford (Kilkenny, 1824) p.187.

¹³ A.Dobbs, An Essay on the Trade of Ireland Part II Dublin, 1732) p.34. The amount of duties on trade in 1729 according to the Hearth Money returns were 287,047 l., 11s., 8d. This figure exceeded duties on land by 33,532 l., 5s., 1d.

Catholics was double that of Protestants and was increasing all the time. Many of these Catholics became involved in the trade. Even in 1704 Cork City Council reported to Parliament how Catholics were 'flocking into the city and...encroaching on their respective trades.'¹⁴ They were already a powerful body and in 1708 forced the Cork City Corporation to repeal the by-laws passed against them. Nevertheless many city councils petitioned Parliament to introduce legislation prohibiting Catholics to trade outright.

The area that was least affected by penal legislation was trade and commerce. Catholic merchants, in Waterford, did not suffer the same fate as their predecessors did in the aftermath of the Cromwellian wars. Furthermore trade was scorned by many of the new wealthy Protestant ascendancy. In 1690 William Petty wrote that it was always the case that the merchant class of a country were not of the state religion and cited Ireland as his example 'where the Roman religion is not authorised, there professors thereof have a great part of trade [sic].'¹⁵ Therefore in many Irish cities Catholic merchants were free to make a living in trade.

According to the Penal Laws only a member of a guild could by right engage in trade which meant that Catholics could have been obstructed from trading and have their goods confiscated. However this never happened *de facto* as Catholic merchants in Waterford were crucial to the city's economic success. Many Catholics had a lower standard of living than their Protestant counterparts and received lower wages. They sold goods at a lower profit in order to survive in trade in the early decades of the eighteenth century. They were, however, able to make sufficient profit from their trading ventures to ensure their survival as they were not permitted to take an active role in public life and therefore did not spend their money on building or urban improvement projects as their Protestant counterparts did. Nevertheless they did command a substantial portion of business and a schoolhouse on Jenkin's Lane in the parish of St. Patrick's in Waterford City was

¹⁴ G.O'Brien ed., Irish Catholics in the Eighteenth Century: Collected Essays of Maureen Wall (Dublin, 1989) p.87.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p.76.

built with donations from Catholic merchants.¹⁶ Indeed it threatened the newly established school of the Protestant Bishop Foy in the city in 1708.

‘to frustrate the design a popish school was erected which gave the same encouragement by teaching children to read, write and cast accounts, this present had the intended effect for the number of boys daily decreased in the bishops school and for many years together three score could not be had while the popish school had four score boys.’[sic.]¹⁷

This indicates that some Catholics built up substantial wealth despite social and religious repression and were able to make sufficient profit from trade to donate funding for projects such as this. Indeed the total land rental income in Ireland increased from £30,000 in the 1680’s to £140,000 in 1760, a reflection on the growing prosperity of Waterford merchants who could afford to purchase and rent land.¹⁸ Despite exclusion from much of the social and political life of the City, Catholic merchants were able to accumulate wealth and emerged as a strong urban middle class in the second half of the century. For instance in 1707 Martin Walsh, a Catholic merchant died and bequeathed his estate to his son Bartholomew. This included a house on High Street worth £40 and goods to the value of £400. This is an example of a prosperous Catholic merchant at a time when penal legislation was most stringently enforced and serves to show that Catholics found a position of security for themselves in Waterford life.¹⁹

The names and professions of those admitted to the Freedom of the City are recorded in the Council Books. In January 1710 the list included the names of Michael Dobbyn and Joseph White of New Ross but we cannot automatically assume they were Catholics as there were also Protestant branches of these families.

¹⁶ E. McEaney ed., A History of Waterford and its Mavors from the 12th to the 20th Century, (Waterford, 1995) p.149.

¹⁷ C. Smith, The Ancient and Present State of the City and County of Waterford (Dublin, 1746) p.190.

¹⁸ L. M. Cullen and L. Smout (ed.), Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900 (Edinburgh, 1987) p.170.

¹⁹ National Library of Ireland (hereafter N.L.I.) MS 901, Carrigan Papers.

It is possible that Catholics were granted Freedom of the City prior to 1710, but there is no record of this having occurred.²⁰

The first reference to ‘papists’ in the Minute Books of the Waterford City Council was an entry on the 18 September 1712 when ‘unhappy differences and misunderstandings’²¹ between Thomas Mills, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and the Corporation were referred to. According to the reference Mills employed ‘papist servants’ and corresponded with papists. It was deemed ‘offensive to the inhabitants of the city’ that the Anglican bishop was a Catholic sympathiser. This was one of the earliest indications of a certain sympathy existing between members of different religions in the City. Rumours even circulated that Mills was in reality a Catholic and wore a crucifix under his robes.²²

The first year when ‘Roman’ Freemen are listed in the Minute books of the City Council was 1714. Perhaps this was the first time that Catholic Freemen were acknowledged. It is possible that some took the oaths and were granted The Freedom of the City prior to this date but were not recorded. In subsequent years the lists of Freemen show that Catholics comprised a small minority and were never allowed to gain too great a position of power.

²⁰ Waterford City Hall, Council Books of Waterford Corporation 1700-27.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

Table 1: Numbers of Catholic Freemen

Year	1714	1715	1716	1717	1718	1719
No. of Catholics	1	2	4	11	1	7
Total No. of Freemen	13	25	39	61	11	19

Based on figures in Council Books of Waterford Corporation 1727-70.

The Corporation decided to repeal commercial restrictions against Catholics in Acts of Council of 11 September 1704 and 26 February 1705. After the years of war and destruction a new prosperous era of rebuilding of houses and ships started and trade began to increase. The first of these Acts read as follows:

‘This board taking into consideration the great decay of trade in this city in order to promote and revive the same, they consider it necessary and accordingly, it is resolved no wholesale merchant shall in the future pay any other or more city dutys [sic.] for goods or merchandise either exported or imported than swearing freemen. But no person shall have any benefit or advantage by this vote until he shall take before the Mayor or Deputy the oath following.’²³

This oath was an Oath of Allegiance to Queen Anne and also to promote the trade of the port. This shows that Catholic merchants were not granted the freedom of the city easily and the oath was a device to restrict their numbers. In 1706 the

²³ Ibid. 11 September 1704.

Corporation ruled that the merchants of Kilkenny; 'be exempt from paying any other city duties than freemen of ye citty [sic.] pay from 25th March next.'²⁴ The fact that Kilkenny merchants were given the same duty privileges as those in Waterford, serves to indicate the closeness between Waterford traders and those in neighbouring counties. There seems to have been a liberalism in the earlier policy of enforcing the popery laws as the Protestant corporation granted the above freedom to their Catholic counterparts and put Waterford trade and commerce before the interests of the new ascendancy. This sheds new light on the position of Catholics and it appears that penal legislation against them was not stringently enforced. This indicates the importance of the Catholic share in Waterford trade as they could not be excluded. Protestant merchants and traders realised that they could not survive without Catholic apprentices or markets. Importers soon saw that the hinterland of Waterford which was predominantly Catholic would greatly decide their economic fate.

The Quarterage Dispute

Waterford citizens who were not given the freedom of the city were, in order to continue trading, and on payment of a levy known as quarterage, became known as quarter brothers. This was paid by Protestants and Catholics alike but as it afforded them none of the privileges of freemen it caused discontent. It became an important source of revenue for the towns and cities and its collection was often rigorously enforced. For example, in Waterford a group which became known as 'hammermen' toured the streets demanding payment and boarded up the doors and windows in houses of those who refused.²⁵ By 1705 there were pleas from Catholic quarter brothers against the levy. In order to alleviate the situation slightly and to reduce the financial burden on the quarter brother, a financial arrangement acceptable to all was eventually introduced in the form of bonds in agreement with

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ H.H. Ryland, History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford (Kilkenny, 1824) p.91.

the guilds.²⁶ Although this was of assistance to some, it in no way addressed the issue satisfactorily.

Catholic merchants viewed quarterage as an unjust and illegal tax and their campaign against payment received momentum as enforcement of the anti-popery laws was relaxed. On 7 October 1717 the Lord Mayor of Cork 'sent quarterly tradesmen to gaol' for refusal to pay the quarterage levy. This sparked protests in many towns and cities including Waterford, Clonmel, Carrick-on Suir and New Ross.²⁷ The dispute continued as town councils demanded a quarterage bill from Parliament to enforce their position. On 18 September 1718 it was resolved by Waterford Corporation :

'that no Roman Catholick be admitted free as other Romans of this city under five pounds and the fees at ye discretion of this board unless he take ye oaths.' [sic.]²⁸

Clearly Catholics were not treated as equal citizens and were obliged to pay this levy in order to secure Freeman status in the city. Nevertheless it appears that by the 1730s Waterford Catholics were granted the freedom of the city on an equal footing with Protestants, albeit in smaller numbers. In 1727 of twelve citizens granted the freedom of the city four were Catholic and in 1737 of twenty five freemen the Catholics numbered five. This increased to seven out of fourteen in 1740. Nevertheless the numbers of Catholics accorded that honour were never allowed to fully represent the proportion of Catholics in the city. It was vital to the City Council to control the numbers of Catholics granted the freedom to protect their own position as part of the ruling minority.

No amending legislative measures were introduced by parliament and the dispute continued. By 1760 the petitioning of Parliament intensified and in response a group of prominent Catholics, including Thomas Wyse of Waterford, formed the Catholic

²⁶ G.O'Brien ed., Collected Essays of Maureen Wall p.64.

²⁷R.Caulfield ed., Council Book of the Corporation of the City of Cork 1609-43 and 1690-1800 (Surrey, 1876) p.393.

²⁸ Ibid.

Association, to assert their rights and defend their position. It later became known as the Catholic Committee. In 1768 the heads of a quarterage bill passed through Parliament but it was defeated and in 1773 the Catholic Committee pledged support for the Catholic merchants of Clonmel who resisted payment.²⁹ Ultimately the corporations and guilds were defeated. The Catholic Committee, which had gained strength and influence over the years, played a major role in this victory, but were assisted by high-ranking government officials who were sympathetic to the Catholic position. Catholics had survived in trade and proved that despite by-laws and levies imposed on them they could succeed in increasing their share in trade and commerce.

In 1759 in a petition to the Lord Lieutenant, Waterford Catholics claimed they possessed 'full enjoyment of our liberty, trade and properties...we have been blessed with under his Majesty's most mild and generous government,' and expressed their 'deepest sense of gratitude.'³⁰ This indicates that despite the disputes over quarterage, there was less agitation and dissatisfaction amongst Catholics in Waterford, who were beginning to be accepted as equals with their fellow citizens. The 'Catholic Question' as the addressing of the collective problems relating to the Catholic community became known, arrived on the political scene with the foundation of the Catholic Committee in 1760. However, the relative lack of support in the early years for the Catholic Committee serves to indicate that some Catholics in Waterford were enjoying a new prosperity in trade and commerce. They did not want to jeopardise their position and so avoided involvement in politics.

Waterford Catholics bettered their position as the century progressed. The number of Catholic inhabitants in the city increased and they became wealthier. Increasing numbers were granted the freedom of the city and although they were denied the franchise they became a strong lobbying group in Waterford life. These factors serve to indicate that the Catholic community had grown in strength and

²⁹ Catholic Committee Minute Book 3 June 1773 in Archivium Hibernicum vol.9 p.5.

³⁰ T.O. McLoughlin, 'A Crisis for the Irish in Bordeaux' in Nations and Nationalisms: Studies in the Eighteenth Century(1995) published in the London Chronicle 18 December 1759.

influence. They were therefore in a more advantageous position to assert themselves with the Protestant Corporation and thus obtain greater benefits.

CHAPTER TWO

The City and Port of Waterford

In medieval times Waterford was the second city of Ireland due to its strong maritime links with Britain and the European continent. By the eighteenth century it was the third busiest port in the country after Dublin and Cork. It served the south east region as a port in the international market and traded with many parts of the world. During the eighteenth century it was one of the busiest ports in the British Isles and continued to grow. The social status of Catholics in the city has been examined in the previous chapter. An analysis of the participation and contribution of Catholic merchants in the growth of trade and resulting economic expansion of the City, together with the interactions between Catholics and other merchants, is now necessary.

Waterford is a river port that possesses an excellent harbour. Arthur Young described its quay as ‘the finest object of this city ..unrivalled by any I have seen; it is an English mile long.’[sic.]³¹ Also Charles Smith wrote:

‘the quay of this city...exceeds the most celebrated in Europe. To it the largest trading vessels may conveniently come up both to load and unload and at a small distance opposite it, may lie constantly afloat.’[sic.]³²

The port is situated on the river Suir and near the estuary of three rivers. The Suir and her sister rivers, the Nore and the Barrow, formed the most important river system in the country as they provided the south east region with a valuable network of waterways for transport and communications. Before the development of canals or road networks rivers provided vital transport and communications links. In the early modern era river valleys gave a city its wealth and in Waterford’s case she was blessed with three navigable rivers, unique in Ireland.

³¹ A. Young, *A Tour in Ireland 1776-79* vol. I (London and New York, 1892) p.408.

³² C. Smith, *Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford* p.195.

Therefore Waterford owed its growth not only to its overseas trade and commerce but also to its role as an urban centre for the south east region. The population of Waterford expanded from approximately 5,000 to 20,000 by the end of the century. The number of households in the city in 1725 according to the Hearth Money returns was 2,044. The total city population was approximately 14,000 and that of the county was estimated at 40,000. The ratio of Catholics to Protestants in the county was calculated at 12:1.³³ This was a large Catholic majority in comparison with other counties. Anti-Catholic legislation, therefore, although harsh in its written form, was difficult, in practice, to implement.

The walled city of Waterford had received the motto *Urbs Intacta* and Waterford is unique as an Irish city having earned a cap of maintenance from King Henry VIII in 1536.³⁴ Nevertheless as the population grew the medieval city had to expand and the important process of taking down the city walls began. On 25 April 1710 the first reference to such is found in the Council books when John Medlicott was granted the right to build upon the wall near Reginald's Tower.³⁵ On 16 May 1727 the Lord Mayor Simon Vashon was granted the right to pull down the South Wall within Patrick's Gate in order to build a new gaol.³⁶ The walls were taken down in various stages and houses were built on their foundations. In 1736 as can be seen in the first landscape painting of the city by van der Hagen, the houses facing onto the quay marked the position of the old walls. In order to facilitate trade the quays were extended and now the city port was ready for maritime trade. Until mid-century the quay ran from Reginald's Tower to the Clock Tower. An examination of the maps and sketches of the City serve to show the progress of expansion. This is evidence of the city breaking out of its medieval constraints to become a modern city. Indeed Waterford was one of the first cities in Ireland with a piped water supply and street lighting.³⁷

³³ A.Dobbs, *An Essay on the Trade of Ireland Part II* (Dublin, 1732) p.6.

³⁴ E.McEneaney, 'Gifts of Sword and Cap: Sir William Wyse, Mayor- 1533-34, 1540-41' in McEneaney ed., *A History of Waterford and its Mayors* p.107.

³⁵ Council Books of Waterford Corporation 1727-70

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ D.Cowman, 'The Beginnings of Modern Waterford: Samuel Barker, Mayor- 1737, 1741, 1752' in E.McEneaney ed. *A History of Waterford and its Mayors from the 12th to the 20th Century* p. 156.



Figure 3: View of Waterford City 1746

According to Smith's view of the city, above, the port could accommodate up to sixty ships in 1764.³⁸ The very word 'Waterford' originating from the Viking city 'vadre fjord' (sheltered harbour) is a validation of the port's attributes. However it was located many miles from the estuary near the navigable limits of ocean-going vessels. Nevertheless as it possessed an excellent harbour and the rivers were used by smaller vessels. The hinterland of Tipperary, Kilkenny and Carlow is a rich agricultural area especially suited to tillage and corn which comprised much of Waterford's exports. However beef and butter were the staple commodities which dominated the export business of the port. Waterford also possessed six shipbuilding yards in the eighteenth century and produced many vessels to serve the overseas trade and commerce needs of the City. In 1735 for example a new chart for the city included an advertisement:

'Ambrose Congreve hath adjacent to the said city of Waterford a very convenient Dry Dock, 160 feet long, 48 feet broad and 15 feet deep. It had already received and will be kept in good repair for reception and repairing of ships of considerable burthen.' [sic.]³⁹

For centuries a predominantly Old English merchant community had existed in Waterford. When New English settlers arrived in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries many were forced to leave for the continent. For instance the

³⁸ Smith, Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford p.195

³⁹ Ibid.

Walshes and FitzGeralds went to the Canary Islands.⁴⁰ However they provided the next generation of Catholic merchants with valuable trade links with foreign ports in which they settled, such as Nantes, Bordeaux, Seville and Cadiz. For this reason in the eighteenth century the Catholic merchants of Waterford differed from those in other towns and cities in the country. These prominent Old English families included the Aylward, FitzGerald, Lincoln, Lombard, Wadding and Walsh families and were succeeded, in Waterford, by the Farrell and Power families and the trading companies of James Wyse and Bartholomew Rivers.

In 1770 of 120 Waterford merchant families, over half were Catholic and only 37% were Protestant.⁴¹ These figures indicate the numerical superiority of Catholics, many of whom operated individually in contrast to Protestants and Quakers who tended to form large family based companies. For example Dominic Farrell, a Catholic merchant, and his four sons traded separately even though they established a trading network. Thus, while Dominic was involved in the Newfoundland codfish trade his son Paul established a house in Cadiz where much of the cod on Dominic's ships was sold. However, the Farrell family was one of the more prosperous involved in trade, Catholic firms being generally smaller in size and less likely to have the capital for long distance trading ventures. Catholics were involved mostly in the shorter haul continental trade as opposed to their Protestant counterparts who traded more extensively with the British colonies and the West Indies. In the Catholic community maritime trade was concentrated amongst a small number of leading Catholic merchants such as the Farrells, already mentioned, Robert Power, Thomas Power, Bartholomew Rivers and the firm of Wyse, Cashin and Quan. The majority of Catholic merchants operated smaller businesses.

The Waterford hinterland was a fertile agricultural area which provided the port with goods for export and contributed to its growth. The Suir, the Nore and the Barrow rivers acted as vital arteries bringing local produce of beef, pork and butter

⁴⁰ A.G.Ravina, Burgesia extranjera v comercio Atlantico: La empresa comercial Irlandesa en Canarias 1703-1771 (Santa Cruz, 1985) p.60.

⁴¹ Mannion, 'Vessels, Masters and Seafaring' in Waterford: History and Society (Dublin, 1992) p.380.

from counties Waterford, Tipperary, Kilkenny and Carlow to the port. For instance the majority of the pork brought to Waterford came from the Iverk barony in County Kilkenny.⁴² The rivers were used to transport imported bulk goods such as salt, wine, coal, timber, butter and grain. The river Suir was navigable as far as Clonmel, the Nore until Thomastown and the Barrow until Leighlinbridge. Waterford's commercial shipping trade was served well by this rich hinterland. Furthermore, the Lord Mayor of Waterford was the Admiral of the Port and therefore had jurisdiction over the tidal area as far as Carrick-on-Suir, Inistoige on the Nore and St.Mullins on the Barrow.⁴³ This gave the port increased importance and played a substantial role in trade and commerce in the south east.

Table 2 : Tonnage of Shipping in Waterford

1700	1750	1770	1790
7,700	13,377	38,302	55,279

Based on statistics in L.M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade 1660-1800
(Manchester, 1968)

The above table shows the growth in the volume of Waterford shipping as the century progressed. The expansion of the provisions industry was a factor in this as was the growth in overseas trade, such as the Newfoundland codfish trade and an increase in markets for Waterford merchants in France and Spain.

Between 1750 and 1790 Waterford overseas trade quadrupled yet the port only commanded 6 to 7% of national trade and commerce. Nevertheless by mid-century

⁴² Young, Tour in Ireland p.407.

⁴³ J.Walton, 'The Merchant Community of Waterford in the 16th and 17th Centuries' in P.Butel and L.M. Cullen (ed.) Cities and Merchants: French and Irish Perspectives in Urban Development 1500-1900 (1985) p. 184. Also see Figure 4, p.30.

Waterford trade was very diverse and involved a plethora of foreign ports. Records survive from 1741 to 1765 for 1,000 voyages from Waterford involving 94 ports, of which one third were to the continent.⁴⁴ Trade began to move from northern European ports to the Atlantic ports such as Bordeaux and Cadiz to avail of trade with the American colonies and West Indies. Many Irish emigrants availed of the economic advantages of living on the continent, taking part in trade with the French and Spanish colonies. The value of Waterford exports increased from £2.8 to £3.5 million between 1765 and 1775 as provisions of salt beef and butter increased by one-third. However, pork became the chief export.⁴⁵

Table 3: Waterford Exports as Percentage of National Trade
Based on statistics in Cullen, ‘Overseas Trade of Waterford.’ See note 50.

Exports	1700	1750	1790
Beef	3.4%	8.9%	10.8%
Butter	5.7%	15.8%	26.4%

From 1766 to 1771 over 1,400 vessels docked at the port. The shipping news in Finn’s Leinster Journal and the Ramsey’s Waterford Chronicle newspapers are valuable sources on trade and shipping. Also Lloyd’s company in London compiled shipping records for all British ports. They include the name of the ship, shipmaster, where it came from, destination, and date of arrival or departure. This was supplemented by Lloyd’s Register which also gave the ships tonnage, classification, where registered, and the name of the owner. However this was not a complete source until 1776 when Waterford became a port of survey itself.⁴⁶ A combination

⁴⁴ Mannion, ‘Maritime Trade of Waterford’ in Common Ground: Essays on the Historical Geography of Ireland (hereafter Common Ground) p.211.

⁴⁵ Mannion, ‘Vessels and Seafaring’ in Waterford: History and Society p.374.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p.373.

of all these sources helps to provide the most complete account of Waterford shipping and commerce.

According to Arthur Young the number of vessels recorded as owned in Waterford increased from 30 in 1757 to 88 vessels in 1777.⁴⁷ Only 2 out of 10 shipowning masters were Protestant while there were three Protestant merchant houses in the city, namely Newport, Duron and King.⁴⁸ There were also three Quaker firms: Jacob, Strangman, and Watson, Strangman and Co. and Balfour. Yet together they owned nine vessels. Quaker and Protestant merchant firms conducted business on a grander scale than Catholics. For instance, between 1772 and 1776 there were 53 merchants involved in the salt pork trade but 86% of that trade was controlled by 10 merchant houses. Three Quaker families controlled 46% of the trade while two Protestant and five Catholic firms shared the rest.⁴⁹ This serves to indicate that Catholic business were smaller in size.

Table 4: Overseas Exports of Waterford 1700-90

	1700	1750	1790
Butter	8,851	50,980	79,455 h.w.
Beef	3,157	14,199	13,735 barrels
Pork			13,138 barrels

⁴⁷ Young, *Tour in Ireland* p.407.

⁴⁸ Mannion, 'Vessels and Seafaring' in *Waterford: History and Society* p.394.

⁴⁹ Mannion, 'The Waterford merchants and the Irish-Newfoundland Provisions Trade 1770-1820' in L.M. Cullen & P. Butel eds. *Negoce et Industrie en France et en Irlande aux XVIII et XIX siecles* (Paris, 1980) p.36.

The chart above shows the main exports of Waterford.⁵⁰ These figures show that the butter trade expanded rapidly and had increased six-fold in the first half of the century. The quantity of beef exports increased more steadily but nonetheless showed considerable growth also. The pork trade did not become important until the second half of the century and figures for 1700 and 1750 are not accurate. By the 1770s trade was flourishing, especially with Newfoundland and the British colonies. Between 1772 and 1776 a substantial total of 39,851 barrels of pork were exported from Waterford.⁵¹

Newfoundland Trade

The primary trading destination for Waterford ships was the port of Bristol which had a long established trading relationship with Waterford, partly due to its proximity to south east Ireland. Waterford became an important stopover point in the Newfoundland trade from Bristol. Most ships involved in the Newfoundland trade in Ireland left every Spring from Youghal, Dungarvan, Waterford and New Ross with up to 5,000 seasonal labourers. Bristol vessels stopped in Waterford to recruit seamen and buy provisions. For example, in 1697 a convoy on its way to Newfoundland requested to stop 'in ye river of Waterford for taking on board bread and provisions that are ready to be shipt.'[sic.]⁵²

The Newfoundland trade was vital for the Waterford merchants and this fish trade was a mainstay of their survival as it enabled the export from Waterford of provisions of salt pork and butter to a total of 10-15% of the city's exports. For instance, from 1772 to 1776 21,090 barrels of pork were exported to Newfoundland.⁵³ This put the balance of trade in Waterford's favour as 80% of

⁵⁰ L.M. Cullen, 'Overseas Trade of Waterford' in Royal Society of Antiquities of Ireland, vol.88 (Dublin, 1956) p.167.

⁵¹ Mannion, 'Waterford Merchants and the Irish-Newfoundland trade' in Cullen and Butel eds. Negoce et Industrie p.28

⁵² J.Mannion, 'A Transatlantic Merchant Fishery: Richard Welsh of New Ross and the Sweetmans of Newbawn in Newfoundland 1734-1862' in Wexford: History and Society p.375.

⁵³ Mannion, 'Waterford Merchants in Irish-Newfoundland Trade' in Negoce et Industrie p.28.

Newfoundland cod and train oil was shipped by the Waterford merchants to France and Spain.⁵⁴

The codfish trade in Newfoundland was central to the survival for many ports such as Waterford and Bristol. By 1770 the Newfoundland trade had been going on for a century but accurate and reliable records do not exist until 1766. The export of provisions of salt beef and butter increased by one third. When the American War ended and the Napoleonic Wars began, Waterford trade with Newfoundland and the former British colonies declined but trade with Britain, particularly in pork, increased. Periods of war and peacetime influenced Waterford trade and commerce dramatically throughout this period.

Continental Trade

‘There is not a family in the island that had not a relative in the church, in the army or in trade in France or Spain.’⁵⁵

The 1699 Woollen Act, which forbade the export to wool to any country except England, led to the smuggling of wool to the continent and especially to French ports. Indeed Irish woollen frieze was produced at such low cost that it proved very competitive for the Lancaster and Yorkshire woollen mills. The Cattle Acts and the Navigation Acts limited Irish trade to Britain, but did not have full control over Irish trade. These Acts led to an expansion in the provisions trade with the continental Europe, which many Catholics became dominant in. In 1737 a Cork pamphleteer complained that;

⁵⁴ Mannion. ‘Waterford’s Maritime Trade’ in Common Ground p.217.

⁵⁵ J.Caldwell, A Brief Examination of the Question Whether it is expedient to pass an act to enable Papists to take real Securities (Dublin, 1764) p. 27.

‘...French galleys of four or five hundred come hither themselves always to a popish factor, whose relations and correspondents abroad, and union at home; whose diligence being more and luxury less than Protestants, will at last swallow up the trade...in this city.’⁵⁶

Large numbers of Catholic merchants traded with France and Iberia as less capital was required than with the British colonies due to the distances involved. This trade therefore attracted Catholic merchants who operated on a smaller scale than their Protestant counterparts. However the French ports of St. Malo, Nantes, and La Rochelle had traditionally strong links with Waterford. The firms of Farrell, Wyse, Rivers and Roche all had trade links with France and Spain. In the eighteenth century the port of Bordeaux grew in importance as provisions were imported from Ireland and wines were traded in exchange. Many Irish people settled in Bordeaux and formed mercantile groups to take advantage of the fact that return cargoes were available, thus creating a situation where Irish trade with France exceeded that with Britain. For example a Waterford butter merchant, Thomas Walsh, settled in Bordeaux in 1685 and became a naturalised citizen in 1709. His daughter married a Lee, a merchant living in France but with origins in the south east of Ireland. This is typical of Irish traders who lived in foreign ports, as they formed a strong community and many maintained their links with Ireland.

By 1773 there were 43 Irish merchant firms established in Bordeaux. Although this was less than, for example, the port of Cadiz, the firms here were more broad-based and larger on average than those of Cadiz.⁵⁷ Nevertheless by 1777 the Irish foreign merchants in Bordeaux were the second largest group.

Trade with Cadiz was greatest amongst Waterford merchants with 119 Irish merchant firms, including Farrell’s which was one of the two largest in Cadiz.

⁵⁶ G.O’Brien (ed.) Collected Essays of Maureen Wall, p.77 from Remarks upon the Religion, Trade, government, police, customs, and maladyes of city of Corke [sic.] (Cork, 1737) pp7-8.

⁵⁷ L.M. Cullen, ‘The Irish Merchant Communities of Bordeaux, La Rochelle, and Cognac in the Eighteenth Century’ in Negoce et Industrie en France et en Irlande aux XVIII et XIX siecles (Paris, 1980) p.53.

Farrell also had a son based in Bordeaux and was in partnership with the Stranges of Aylwardstown, County Kilkenny. Indeed it was common for larger Irish merchants to set up a branch in several Continental ports as well as English ports such as Bristol.

A remarkable element in Waterford's continental trade was that 8.5% of all trade in the 1770s was with Cadiz which trade incorporated provisions of butter and leather in particular. The majority of butter provisions were exported to Cadiz and 25% of the commerce with this Atlantic port was in leather. Return cargoes of fruit, and wine were shipped to Waterford. Salt was also of great importance to Waterford merchants and traders, and this was imported from Setubal, in Portugal.⁵⁸

This completed the final part of the triangle as much of this salt was then taken on the cod ships to Newfoundland every Spring, where cod was fished and then sold in Iberia and France. Cadiz remained the most important port for Waterford trade throughout the century and as it progressed the trend was to move away from the continental ports in favour of a growth in trade with Britain. This was due to a more favourable economic climate and to war and revolution on the continent.

Trading Methods

Although there are newspaper and other sources which provide valuable information on trade and commerce, very few merchants' account books have survived. The ledgers of Courtenay and Ridgeway for 1791-2 are an example of the scarce material available. Although they cover a short period and are fragmentary, they are a valuable record and provide an insight into the trade of Waterford merchants. In 1771 the Strangeman family were leading wool exporters and Joshua Strangeman was the leading member of this family. They originally came from the midlands and probably arrived in Waterford in the 1690s. Henry Ridgeway was a

⁵⁸ Mannion, 'Waterford Merchants and the Irish-Newfoundland trade 1770-1820' in *Negoce et Industrie* p.32. Also see Appendix 2, p.73.

gentleman from Queen's County [Laois] when his family, who were also of Quaker background, became involved in trade. In Waterford they rose to economic prominence along with the Grubb, Coutenay and Penrose families, also Quakers. The partnership of Strangeman, Courtenay and Ridgeway was formed. They traded as a company for some time until 1786 when Strangeman left the partnership, and all the families involved were trading separately by the nineteenth century.⁵⁹

During the eighteenth century Waterford was a leading port in the provisions trade. Later in the century corn also became important as the south east region in the Waterford hinterland provided a steady supply of produce for the port. Also Waterford woollen frieze was renowned for its quality and trade in wool was flourishing in the 1690s. At the end of the century only Cork surpassed Waterford with greater volume of butter exports, butter being worth £250,000 per annum to Waterford. Butter was exported to Britain, Newfoundland, Iberia and France and gave the port a favourable balance of trade. Courtenay and Ridgeway exported one third of Waterford's total butter export, amounting to 25,793 cwt., for the year ended May 1792⁶⁰. This was substantial and amounted to one twelfth of the national total.

Between 1766 and 1775 around one in six Waterford merchants were Quakers but they controlled a large section of trade in contrast to Catholics who were more numerous yet operated on a smaller scale. The partnership of Courtenay and Ridgeway provides a good insight into the business practice of Waterford merchants. When they received orders from merchants abroad they purchased from local dealers in the Waterford hinterland of the Sister rivers. They shipped the produce on one of their own or some other vessel. This was an advantageous arrangement for the Waterford merchants as they carried no liability for the goods once they left Waterford and did not require substantial outlay of capital.⁶¹

⁵⁹ L.M. Cullen, 'Overseas Trade of Waterford in the 18th Century' in Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, vol. 88, (Dublin, 1958) p.167.

⁶⁰ *ibid* p.168.

⁶¹ *Ibid*. p.171.

They also owned ships and carried their goods on them to the buyer. For example the 'Lark' was employed on the southern European route to France and Spain, and the 'Happy Return' was a 70 ton vessel operating between England and Seville. The carrying trade seems to have been quite profitable and the freight earnings can be analysed from the books of Courtenay and Ridgeway for the year ended 31 May 1792.

Table 5: Annual Freight Income of Vessels

Name of Ship	Recovery	Happy Return	Triumph	Lark
Freight Earnings	£57 0s 2d	£56 4s 2d	£25 0s 0d	£25 0s 0d

Based on statistics from L.M. Cullen, 'Overseas Trade of Waterford.'

Courtenay and Ridgeway traded on a commission basis as they did not possess a large firm or great capital. They traded with William Coppinger in Bordeaux and Lynch and Bellew were their agents in Cadiz, both leading Catholic merchants from Galway. Furthermore, a graduate of the Irish College in Salamanca, Paul Bellew, was Vicar Capitular of Waterford between 1693 and 1696.⁶² This is an interesting series of connections between merchant families and clergy. More links of this nature will be analysed in greater detail later in this study.

As has been shown, Catholic merchants controlled a considerable amount of Waterford trade and commerce in the eighteenth century. Catholics were permitted

⁶² P.Power, Waterford and Lismore: A Compendius History of the United Dioceses (Cork, 1937) p.332.

to trade and create a livelihood for themselves. Waterford merchants established a considerable trade with French and Spanish ports in particular. Bordeaux became the leading destination for Irish goods in France. Many Irish merchants also settled in that port and became involved in colonial commerce. In Spain, Cadiz was by far the main port of call of Waterford ships, while Seville and Malaga were also common destinations. A large number of Catholic merchants were involved in the continental trade as they had strong links with these ports. The substantial Irish expatriate communities there also helped to promote this commerce and gave Catholic merchants an advantage over their fellow traders. The Newfoundland trade was also lucrative and attracted many Catholic merchants. These trading families and firms will be studied in greater detail in the following chapter. This trade was intrinsically linked with the continental trade as the majority of the codfish was sold on the continent.

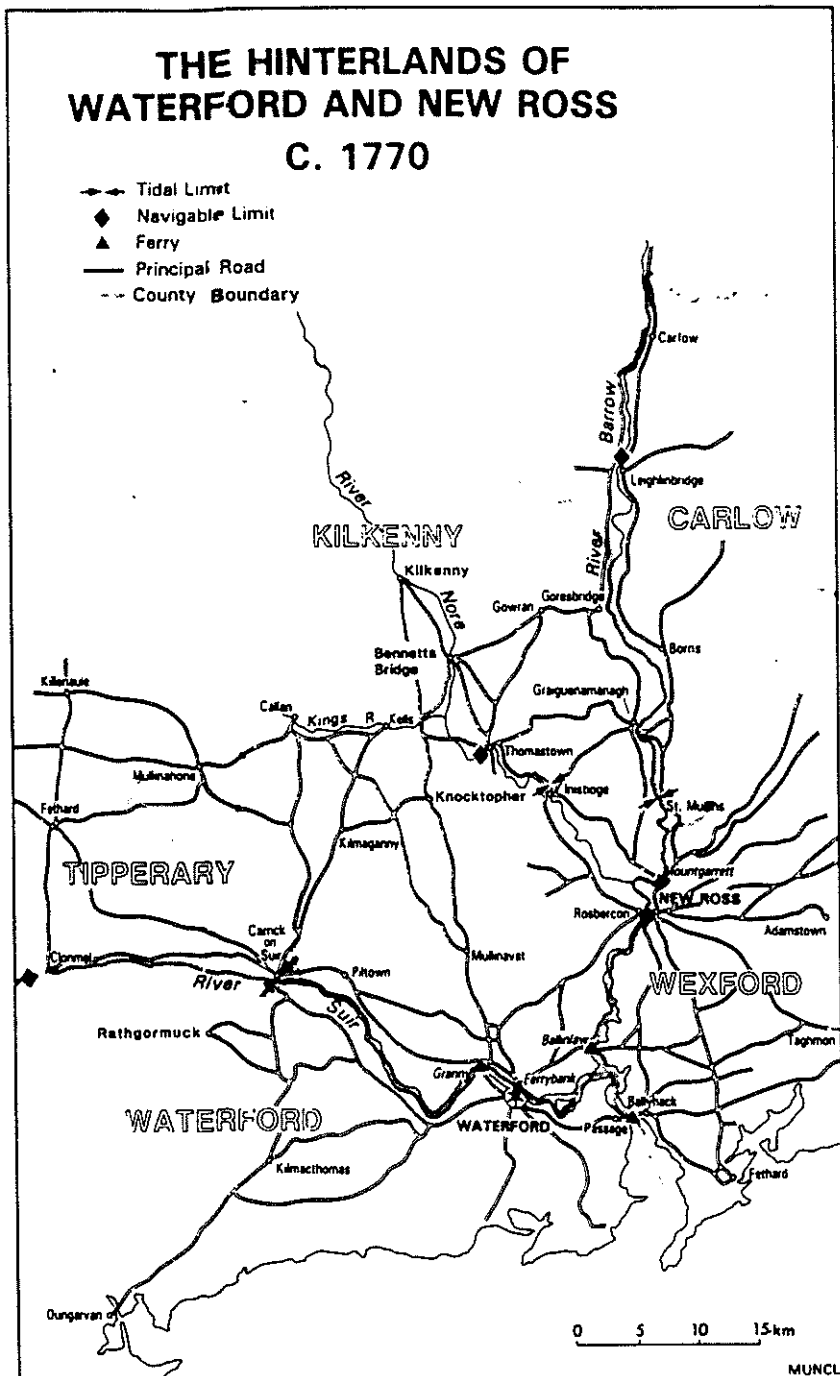


Figure 4

Source: J.Mannion, 'The Maritime Trade of Waterford in the eighteenth century' in W.J.Smith and K.Whelan (ed.), *Common Ground: essays in the historical geography of Ireland* (Cork, 1988)

CHAPTER THREE

Waterford Merchants

Although Catholic merchants were in the majority in Waterford they did not control a proportionate amount of trade. A more detailed analysis of individual merchant families will show that the Catholic merchants should not be viewed in isolation as they conducted business with other merchants. Some became prosperous and proved that the penal legislation was not strictly enforced in the region.

In the Middle Ages the ports of Waterford and New Ross together controlled more than half of the Irish overseas trade but this declined by the seventeenth century as did the position of Waterford as the second city of Ireland. This was due to the growth of other Irish ports. However the records on Irish shipping in the eighteenth century are less detailed and more fragmentary. Nevertheless, according to Arthur Young, Waterford revenue from overseas trade trebled between 1751 and 1776.⁶³ Waterford merchants dominated the Bristol trade controlling one third of the voyages with that port, yet owned only 20% of Irish vessels.⁶⁴ This is an indication of the of Waterford merchants' success. The Newfoundland trade in codfish was also dominated by the merchants of the Waterford area. Much of continental trade and commerce was also controlled by Waterford merchants, a large number of whom were Catholic. Numerous Catholic merchant firms became prosperous in trade by mid-century.

It is important to analyse the trade links and the status of Catholic merchants in municipal life in order to appreciate the nature and character of Waterford trade and commerce during the eighteenth century. The merchant families who were dominant in the early part of the century were succeeded by a new generation of merchants

⁶³ A. Young, *Tour in Ireland* p. 406

⁶⁴ J.Mannion, 'Vessels Masters and Seafaring: Patterns of Voyages in Waterford Commerce 1766-71' in W.Nolan and T.P. Power (ed.) *Waterford History and Society* , p.375.

and traders by mid-century. Investigation of available material shows a recurrence of family names. This becomes evident when the following Resolution is examined:

‘We the undernamed Inhabitants and dealers of the City of Waterford doe certify that Reverend fathers Paul Bellew, Edmund Everard and John Higgins are pp.’s of this Citty..Given under our hands at Waterford this day 24 April anno dni 1713; Barth. Walsh, Wm. Dobbyn, Mich. Murphy, Wm. Fagan, Jas. Hayden, James White, And. Knowles, Thos. White, Wm. Campion.[sic.]⁶⁵

These were the leading Catholics in the city, and the above document can be compared to a Resolution published in 1767 by the butter merchants of the city who vowed to enforce quality standards in their produce. It was signed by twenty merchants including; James Wyse, James and Henry Roche, Martin Murphy, Thomas Knowles, Bartholomew Rivers, and George St. Leger who were Catholics. Evidently many of the same family names survive such as Murphy and Knowles but others such as Walsh, White and Dobbyn do not appear here. In 1768 a notice was published in Finn’s Leinster Journal by a number of prominent Waterford citizens who recommended the methods of a Dr. Houlton who vaccinated their children. The list included the names; Jn. Congreve, Cornelius Bolton, Henry Alcock, Jn. Sheppard, Ph. Chenevix, Bolton Lee, Richard Kearney, Edmond Forstall, Syn. Snow, Js. Fanning, Thos. Porter, Theo. Croke, Sam. Newport, Martin Murphy, and Paul Farrell. As will be shown, it is safe to assume that Forstall, Fanning, Murphy and Farrell were Catholics. This involvement of Catholics in civic life serves to indicate that although Protestants were still in control of the leading positions in Waterford, Catholics could also attain high rank in the city at that time.⁶⁶ These notices indicate that families who were prominent in Waterford at the beginning of the eighteenth century, such as Walsh, White and Dobbyn, were no longer prominent in the City by mid-century.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Carrigan, History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory, vol.IV (Dublin, 1905) p.177. Extracted from manuscript notes from records of Augustinian College, Rome.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 16 September 1768.

⁶⁷ Finn’s Leinster Journal January 15 September 1767.

The Farrells were a leading Waterford merchant family. Dominic Farrell was one of the main merchants involved in the Newfoundland trade and also with France and Spain. In the 1770s, together with his three sons, he exported 13% of Waterford's pork, 12% of its butter and 44% of its brandy imports⁶⁸. Farrell is a common name in the south east although the family did not become leading merchants until the middle of the eighteenth century. In August 1697 a Roger Farrell is recorded as having sent a petition to the City Council regarding fishing rights in Waterford harbour.⁶⁹ Furthermore, in the Report on the State of Popery a Thomas Farrell was named as parish priest of Tolloughorton Co. Tipperary in the diocese of Waterford and Lismore. In 1737 Dominic Farrell rented a house, cellars and merchant's yard on the Quay from an alderman in the city. He traded with Bristol and in 1770 advertised that his brig the 'Friendship' would take freight and passengers there.⁷⁰ He also advertised 'a choice cargo of Cognac brandy arrived this day 15 May.'⁷¹

The Farrells rose up through the ranks to become important businessmen by mid-century. In February 1771 Dominic Farrell imported '1,200 plank boards, 1 qr. of hund. of lumber, and 1 ton of iron,' and 'beech logs and drunton deals, to be sold at public auction.'[sic.]⁷² Another notice was placed in July 1776 referring to the firm of Dominic and Michael Farrell and a notice informs readers that although Dominic Farrell has since died the firm will continue in business under the same name.⁷³ Michael was the eldest son and traded with Spain. He advertised for sale 'a large vault and two cellars at the back of the exchange, which commands a passage into High Street,'⁷⁴ which was one of the main thoroughfares of the medieval city.

⁶⁸ J.Mannion, 'Waterford Merchants and Newfoundland trade 1770-1820' in L.M.Cullen and P.Butel (ed.), *Negoce et Industrie en France et en Irlande aux XVIII et XIX Siecles*, p.36.

⁶⁹ S.Pender (ed.), *Council Books of Waterford Corporation 1662-1700* (Irish Manuscript Commission, 1964) p.340.

⁷⁰ *Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle Shipping News*, 28 December 1770.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 15 May 1771.

⁷² *Ibid.* 3 February 1771

⁷³ *Ibid.* 3 July 1771

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* January 1771

Thomas Farrell, another of Dominic's sons, traded with Bordeaux and in July 1770 was awaiting a parcel of Antigua and Barbados rum. In 1767 another son of Dominic, Paul Farrell, married Bridget Welsh, daughter of Richard Welsh, a New Ross merchant who also traded on the same Newfoundland route as Dominic Farrell and incidentally both were granted the freedom of New Ross in 1759.⁷⁵ Paul Farrell also became a freeman of New Ross and expanded a triangular trade with his father and father-in-law between Placentia in Newfoundland, Cadiz, where the Farrells had a large base. The Farrell ships brought cargoes of fish to Spain and returned to Waterford with commodities such as fruit, wines and salt. In January 1771 a notice in Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle stated that Paul Farrell had 'built the best salt works in Ireland at Catherine's Pill in the city.'⁷⁶ A further notice in the same newspaper appeared in the following February advertising for sale a cargo of 'casks and hogsheads of very old Malaga and Sherry wines, teas, London hops, and Spanish salt.'⁷⁷ In the business year 1772-73 he exported £5,000 worth of salt provisions to Newfoundland and England. Farrell also controlled close to half of the salt exports from Waterford to Cadiz, Bordeaux, London, Liverpool, and Campveer in the Netherlands in the same year.⁷⁸ He established a house in Spain from where he operated his business interests in both the fish and the salt trades. He made his fortune and became one of the wealthiest merchants of Waterford.

Another of Richard Welsh's daughters, Mary, married Roger Sweetman of Newbawn, Co. Wexford, of a landowning family. Mary and Roger's eldest son Pierce continued the family business after the deaths of David Welsh and Paul Farrell. In 1730 Patrick Sweetman, another son, a wine merchant, went to Cadiz while his brother Nicholas was already in Spain, a graduate of The Irish College at Salamanca. He later became Bishop of Ferns. Laurence Strange of Waterford who

⁷⁵ J.Mannion, 'A Transatlantic Merchant Fishery: Richard Welsh of New Ross and the Sweetmans of Newbawn in Newfoundland 1734-1862' in K.Whelan (ed.) Wexford: History and Society (Dublin, 1987) p.375.

⁷⁶ Waterford Chronicle, Shipping News, 16 January 1771

⁷⁷ Ibid. 26 February 1771

⁷⁸ Mannion, 'The Transatlantic Merchant Fishery' Wexford: History and Society

settled in Cadiz in 1758 along with his kinsmen John and Peter Strange, became the agents of the Sweetmans in that port and are recorded amongst the Irish in Cadiz.⁷⁹

The Stranges were an Old English family originally from Aylwardstown, County Kilkenny, but also held lands in County Waterford. Another branch of the family settled in Bordeaux and became trading partners of the Farrells. Many of the Strange family were educated for the priesthood in the Irish College in Bordeaux from its establishment in 1603.⁸⁰ The well documented links between these three families indicate the strong ties, both social and economic, which existed between Catholic merchants in the southeast region. This history of these three families also shows how Waterford merchants formed trading alliances with expatriate families in foreign ports and profited greatly from the links.

Another of the leading Catholic merchants in Waterford was James Wyse who was in partnership with Cashin and Quans and owned four vessels which operated mostly between Waterford, Bristol, London, and Cadiz. In 1775 this firm exported 19% of Waterford butter.⁸¹ Thomas Quan married a daughter of Richard Welsh and eventually became the Sweetmans' business agent in Waterford. John Blackney, who was from a Catholic landowning family from Carlow, married the widow of Paul Farrell and took over Farrell's business interests in Waterford. He expanded the business, building up the existing trade links with both Protestant and Catholic merchants, including the Archbolds, St. Legers, Wyses and Anthonys.⁸² Evidently marriage between merchant families was common in the south east region.

The sources include little information on the nature of shipping from Waterford in the eighteenth century. John Forristal was the captain of one of Wyse's ships the 'Bristol Packet' and his voyage history provides some valuable information on

⁷⁹ J. Walton, 'Census Records of the Irish in Eighteenth Century Cadiz' in The Irish Genealogist vol.6 (Dublin, 1983) p.375.

⁸⁰ 'The Congregation of Irish Priests in Bordeaux' in the Irish Ecclesiastical Record vol.V(Dublin, 1899) p. 516

⁸¹ J.Mannion, 'Waterford Merchants and the Newfoundland trade 1770-1820' L.M.Cullen and P.Butel (ed.) Negoce et Industrie p.32.

⁸² Mannion, 'A Transatlantic Merchant Fishery' in Wexford: History and Society p.380.

shipping. It shows that round trips from Waterford to Bristol took between 16 and 35 days, but it should be noted that the voyage itself took 4 to 5 days and the rest of the time was spent in port. Forristal and another captain between them were responsible for 40% of the Waterford carrying trade between 1766 and 1771. On average vessels owned by Catholics were smaller than Protestant owned vessels at Waterford. For instance Paul Farrell and Samuel Newport, wealthy traders, were both involved in sugar which had become a lucrative trade. Farrell, a Catholic, owned the 'Bridget' a 130 ton brig while Newport, a Protestant, owned the 'Vanguard' which was 150 tons. This indicates that it was possible, if unusual, for a Catholic merchant to acquire the capital necessary to compete with his Protestant counterparts.

The Forristals were an Old English landed family from Rochestown, in Glenmore, County Kilkenny. Many other families that became high-ranking in Waterford had their roots in South Kilkenny, such as the Aylwards, the Shees, and the Stranges. Pierce Sweetman married Juliet Forstall of Rochestown. Her brother was based in Waterford and New Ross and traded with southern Europe. This was possibly John Forristall or perhaps one of his kinsmen Edmund Forrestal who was a ship's master and who, in 1740, became a freeman of Waterford.⁸³ In 1700 Nicholas Forristal, born in Gurteen Castle, outside Waterford, went to Nantes and from there to Martinique in the West Indies. He married a daughter of an Irish merchant and later became Governor of the State of Louisiana.⁸⁴

Another prosperous Catholic merchant in Waterford was Bartholomew Rivers. In the 1720s three Rivers brothers left Dublin and settled in Dungarvan, County Waterford. The eldest brother Michael married Mary Strich daughter of a Clonmel merchant, Richard Strich. Bartholomew was their eldest son born in the 1730s. He established himself as a merchant in Waterford and became successful. In January

⁸³ Waterford City Hall, Council Books of Waterford Corporation 1727-70.

⁸⁴ Mannion, 'The Transatlantic Merchant Fishery' in Wexford History and Society p.399.

1771 he advertised a cargo of: '20 pipes and 10 hogsheads of gineva, 10 clefts of liqourice, and 1 bale of writing paper and 2 planks of iron wire.'⁸⁵

Rivers dominated the importation of wines, rum and brandies in the port. In 1767 he built a warehouse in Kilkenny to store porter, and sold this in tierces and hogsheads. In 1768 he placed another announcement about his 'great wholesale warehouse in Broad Street Waterford, he sells teas, coffees, wines, rum, brandy, hops, oils, etc. Extraordinary encouragement to those who buy for ready money.'⁸⁶ Rivers also owned ships and advertised that one of his vessels which had recently arrived and would leave soon for the Netherlands would take on freight and passengers at a reasonable price. An indication of the success of Rivers' business was a notice of William Bolan, who had been employed by Rivers but had recently opened a shop of his own on the corner of the Quay and Barronstrand Street, selling teas, sugars, spirits, and groceries.⁸⁷ In 1777 Rivers announced his intention to retire from trade and his stock was advertised for sale in the following advertisement:

'a choice of old wines of different kinds in wood and bottle, rum, brandy and gineva, London porter, new mineral water, teas, coffee and chocolate, saltpetre, raisins, figs and almonds, fine French indigo, madder, redwood, logwood, sumack and galla, sallad, rape and linseed oyle, painting colours, crown window glass, choice leaf tobacco etc.'[sic.]⁸⁸

His reasons for selling his business are unclear but in 1777 he opened a bank with a partner Henry Hayden who was Protestant, this being the only way that Rivers could attain equity in a bank. In the local newspapers they claimed 'to offer themselves to the favour and protection of their friends and the publick.'⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Waterford Chronicle 9 January 1771

⁸⁶ Finn's Leinster Journal 9 January 1768

⁸⁷ Ibid. 30 July 1768.

⁸⁸ H.Gallwey, 'Bartholomew Rivers of Waterford, banker and his kindred' in Decies Journal 12, (Waterford, 1979) p.56.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

After the 1778 Catholic Relief Act was passed Rivers was able to buy land in Tramore, seven miles from Waterford, and helped the growth of that town. In 1793 the collapse of the Hayden and Rivers bank led to the selling of the partners' assets of lands and property which show the wealth Rivers had accumulated over the years as a merchant, banker and landowner. Some of these assets and properties included his holding in Thomastown comprising of a mill, an inn, 23 acres of land and his interest in properties in Waterford⁹⁰

Throughout the 1760s and up to 1777 Rivers was one of the leading Waterford merchants. He married the sister of his fellow merchant Dominic Farrell, a match which naturally led to a strengthening of commercial links between the two families. In 1753 he married for the second time, Mary daughter of Philip Blake a Dublin penmaker. That marriage settlement was witnessed by one of the O'Briens of Dublin and the same family acted agents for Rivers in Rotterdam.⁹¹ A sister of Rivers, Cecily, married another Waterford merchant, John Russell, on 27 November 1756 and Rivers was one of the witnesses⁹². This example of a marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant shows that Catholic families did not always marry within their own religion. There was evidently a greater tolerance of inter-denominational marriages in Waterford in mid-century.

In 1756 a record of foreign residents in Bordeaux lists a 'Rivere' native of Waterford who was a clerk of the Gernon merchant family from Dublin. One source suggests this 'Rivere' was a Joseph Rivers whose father was a merchant between Ireland and France and who was forced to flee to France.⁹³ Joseph studied at the Irish College in Poitiers and subsequently moved to Bordeaux. Rivers, like the other Irish in Bordeaux, was obliged to leave France as war had resumed with Britain and he was a subject of George II. However, a second and conflicting source assumes

⁹⁰ Ibid. p.57.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ T.O.McLoughlin, 'A Crisis for the Irish in Bordeaux in 1756' in M.O'Dea (ed.) Nations and Nationalisms: Studies in Eighteenth Century (1995 p.135. Dossier of Rivere including a petition to the Bordeaux authorities to be allowed to remain in France, is in Archives departementales de la Gironde MS C 1072.

that this 'Rivere' was Richard Rivers, another brother of Bartholomew. 'Rivere' according to his petition was born in 1722, while Bartholomew Rivers was born in the early 1730s⁹⁴ and was the eldest son. Both of the above assumptions are flawed and it is more likely that this 'Rivere' was a cousin of Bartholomew.

'Rivere' appealed to the governor of Bordeaux that he be allowed to remain in the city. In his petition he used language such as 'fatal', 'proscribed' and 'molestation' to refer to the position of Catholics in Ireland.⁹⁵ This is another perspective of the situation in Ireland from an exile. The petition refers to his uncle Thomas Strich of Clonmel, who was named by the Holy See as Coadjutor to Bishop Sylvester Lloyd in 1743 yet never consecrated, and Peter Creagh became bishop in his place in 1745.⁹⁶ However, as indicated above, many social links and kinship ties were common amongst Catholics. Bartholomew Rivers became successful due to his own ability and ambition but trade links, deals and partnerships were also of vital importance for success.

The Power family were the greatest landowning family in Waterford in 1641 according to the Down Survey. They held almost 30,000 acres in the east of the county mostly in the baronies of Decies, Middlethird and Uppertthird.⁹⁷ Few of the Power clan lived in the city, with the exception of John Power of Castletown, who was Sheriff in 1641. His descendants settled in Bordeaux and Cadiz as merchants in the eighteenth century.⁹⁸ By mid-century Robert and Thomas Power were leading merchants in Waterford. Robert Power was the owner of the vessel 'Anne & Bridget' which operated on the Bristol to Newfoundland route, while Thomas Power owned the vessels 'Young Richard', 'Thomas & Mary' and 'Mary & John' which operated solely on the Bristol line.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Gallwey, Decies Journal 12, p.55.

⁹⁵ McLoughlin, 'A Crisis for the Irish in Bordeaux' in Nations and Nationalisms p.136.

⁹⁶ Power, Waterford and Lismore p.30.

⁹⁷ C.Ketch, 'Landownership in 1640' in Waterford: History and Society p.217.

⁹⁸ Walton, 'The Merchant Community of Waterford in the 16th and 17th Centuries' in Cities and Merchants (Dublin, 1986) p.186

⁹⁹ J.Mannion, 'Vessels, Masters and Seafaring' in Waterford: History and Society pp 399-400.

Thomas Wyse was an example of a Catholic who refused to accept the penal laws against him. He was from a landowning branch of the Wyse family. Catholic landowners employed many tactics to avoid the loss of their lands, some converting to Anglicanism. Wyse however chose a different route by diverting some of his resources away from the land. In 1740 he married Hester Edwards of Derbyshire, in the heartland of the English Industrial Revolution. He began lead and copper mining at Pouldrew, County Waterford, and manufactured metal tools at St. John's Manor in the city. Later he opened corn mills, granaries, a bake-house and a starch-yard. Wyse avoided the penal legislation and became prosperous, an indication of his strong determination and enterprise. In his will dated 1770 he wrote "I have laid a considerable part of my annual income these twenty years past to introduce sundry manufactures not before attempted in this kingdom." He states that he did so;

"...in order to introduce and initiate my three younger sons in some branches of business and industry for their future maintenance and support and thereby to remove their temptation of taking advantage of the popery laws and to gavel after my decease."¹⁰⁰

This shows how strong willed Wyse was and an example of how a Catholic could maintain, and even improve, his position despite repression. Remarkably in 1757 he was given a parliamentary grant of £4,000 for his hardware factory. He did so with the support of a local Protestant Member of Parliament, Shapland Carew of a leading Waterford family, who provided the funding for mining materials. Also Wyse brought metalworkers from abroad to work for him and even planned to establish a colony for 300 foreign craftsmen in Waterford. This venture, however, did not succeed.¹⁰¹ In 1760 he co-founded the Catholics Association, which later became known as the Catholic Committee, earlier referred to. Before his death, there was a dispute over his will as the youngest son Richard converted to Anglicanism and claimed rights to the estate in place of his elder brothers. Wyse attempted to sell his lands but he was prevented from doing so under the conditions of the Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery. The outcome was that Richard

¹⁰⁰ D.Cowman, 'A Catholics Industrialist during the Penal laws, Part I' in Decies Journal, no.24 (Waterford, 1983.)

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

abandoned his claim in return for an annual sum and the majority of the estate passed to Thomas' grandson.¹⁰² Nevertheless his eventful life shows how the anti-Popery Laws effected Catholics and how they tackled the constraints placed around them.

A marriage network was orchestrated by the Wyse and Butler families in the south-east region which was very important for the survival of the Catholic sub-gentry.¹⁰³ Marriages were common between landowners and merchants in the south eastern counties. Persecution caused Catholics to close ranks and to become a more cohesive social group. These ties were invaluable to Catholics and Louis Cullen even goes as far to say that Catholics actually flourished in Ireland in the period of the penal laws.¹⁰⁴ This Catholic revival in the eighteenth century was inevitable but its nature is not as predictable as it would seem.

In 1770 three-quarters of Waterford sea captains were Catholic. By 1760 many captains were sons of merchants, for example John Hurley, George St. Leger, Henry Roche and Felix McCarthy. Other captains who acquired vessels and traded on their own account, according to shipping reports, included John Forristal and Walter and James Mallowney. Up till that time, merchants had not been shipowners so a close business relationship between merchants and sea-captains was established of necessity amongst the maritime and merchant communities in Waterford. This shows considerable integration and cohesion amongst the maritime and merchant communities.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Cowman, 'A Catholic Industrialist during the Penal Laws, Part II' in Decies Journal, no.25 p.41.

¹⁰³ P.Power and K.Whelan eds., Endurance and Emergence (Irish Academic Press, 1990) p.134.

¹⁰⁴ T.O. McLoughlin, Nations and Nationalisms p.135.

¹⁰⁵ Mannion, 'Vessels, Masters, and Seafarers' in Waterford: History and Society pp.383-385.

Waterford Parish Registers

The parish registers of St. Michael's, St. Patrick's, and St. Olaf's provide valuable evidence of the nature of these relationships.¹⁰⁶ Between 1731 and 1769 the available data on 116 baptisms and marriages reveals that on 61 occasions merchants acted as sponsors for captains; on 24 occasions captains for fellow captains; and on 9 occasions captains for sailors.¹⁰⁷ Intermarriage between the families of merchants and ship captains indicate Catholic solidarity as they united with their co-religionists in difficult times. For instance on 31 January 1758 the son of Michael Roche and Anastatia Knowles was baptised in the parish of St. Patrick's, and Henry Roche and Maria Knowles were sponsors. Henry Roche and Thomas Knowles were leading butter merchants in the city by 1767. The Roches were an established merchant family and the Knowles family were members of the maritime community, but had lately entered into trade on their own behalf. Dominic Farrell was sponsor for the marriages of Patrick Garvey and Miriam Power on 8 October 1753 and of Nicholas Wall and Elizabeth Keating on 7 February 1756. As a leading merchant he was a witness to marriages of members of the trading and seafaring classes. The Garvey family were established in the wine trade in Cadiz and Jerez. For instance the 1791 census includes Irish-born inhabitants of the city and a Guillermo Garbey [sic.] most likely William Garvey, a merchant of 18 years is recorded.¹⁰⁸

Another Merchant mentioned in the registers was George St. Leger whose son by Catherine Power was baptised on 30 January 1754 by John St. Leger. The sponsors were Martin St. Leger and Anna Power (whose maiden name was Wall). George St. Leger established a trading company by 1767 but originally his family were of maritime stock. One branch of the Power family were merchants and another was seafaring.

¹⁰⁶ N.L.I., MS 2447, Catholic Parish Registers of St. Michael's, St. Patrick's and St. Olaf's. in Waterford City.

¹⁰⁷ J.Mannion, 'The Maritime Community of Waterford' in Smyth and Whelan(ed.) Common Ground:Essays on the Historical Geography of Ireland p.223.

¹⁰⁸ J.Walton, 'The Irish-Born Inhabitants of Cadiz in 1791' in The Irish Genealogist vol.5 (Dublin, 1979) p. 76.

Many merchant and maritime families came to Waterford after losing their lands. For example the Aylwards of south Kilkenny were originally of landed stock. On 23 January 1745 St. Patrick's registers record the marriage of Stephen Aylward and Anastatia Keefe. Both families were seafaring as the Aylwards worked with Michael Farrell and Thomas Keefe was a sea captain who operated between Waterford and Bristol where he eventually established himself as a merchant in his own right.

On 1 June 1755 William Farrell and Elizabeth Downs baptised their son. The Downes family came from Adamstown, County Wexford and of the landed sub-gentry. Edmund Sweetman of Newbawn married a Catherine Downes. This is an example of the benefits accruing to both families in a marriage between a member of a mercantile family and a landed family. As previously mentioned, many Catholic landowners, in an effort to avoid repression, sought to consolidate their positions by diversification. Merchants marrying into landed families benefited in the investment opportunities in land now open to them.

Parish registers are an extremely valuable source as they provide much information on the lives of the Waterford mercantile and maritime families and their relationships. Many of the same names recur, especially Farrell and Power, who were leading trading families, and it shows solidarity amongst Catholics to have been strong during difficult times. However, Catholic merchants also formed partnerships and other business arrangements with Protestants. Catholic shipowners often worked with Protestant merchants and traded together. The freedom of Catholics to practice their religion is an area that will be examined in the following chapter. The relationship of Waterford merchants and clergy is also an important area and will be analysed in detail.

CHAPTER FOUR

Waterford Clergy in the Penal Era

The Catholic clergy in Waterford and its reaction to anti-Catholic legislation deserve examination. As discussed in the previous chapter, the large Catholic majority in the region made enforcement of the anti-Popery Laws difficult. In Waterford a strong Catholic middle class remained dominant in maritime trade despite exclusion from public office. The Catholic clergy in the East Munster area will be shown to have been resilient and withstood repression. This was admirable as they had to deal with both restrictions of the anti-popery laws and a Catholic population four times the size that of the Anglican church.¹⁰⁹ The importance of the Irish Colleges abroad which educated Irish priests will be examined. The following analysis of Waterford clergy will also provide evidence of the links with merchants which were vital for the survival of clergy in this diocese.

‘Only courage and devotion of clergy and laity alike enabled the framework of the church to survive until the rigour of the penal laws abated.’¹¹⁰

The Penal Laws targeted the bishops and regular clergy as leaders of the Catholic religion and they were also suspected of supporting the Jacobite cause. Until 1766 the descendants of James II maintained the right to nominate bishops to Ireland. The implication of this was that no true and conscientious Catholic could take the Oath of Abjuration which denied the legitimacy of the Jacobite claim. Persecution of the clergy relaxed as the threat of Jacobite invasion passed. By the 1770s Catholic priests were willing to take oaths denying papal temporal jurisdiction in Ireland and the Jacobite cause. This marked a great change in their position and led to a dispute amongst the church hierarchy.

¹⁰⁹ T.W.Moody and W.E.Vaughan (ed.) New History of Ireland vol.IV (Oxford, 1986), p.li.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

In 1696 when all clergy in the city of Waterford were imprisoned they comprised of one bishop, twenty one priests, and eight friars.¹¹¹ By 1700 a letter to the High Sheriff of Waterford tells of James Manin and William Daniel who were held in gaol as regulars and their deportation is requested.¹¹² Evidently there was a strict enforcement of the Penal Laws in Waterford at this time. The numbers of clergy in the country would fall dramatically in the coming decades as the laws against them took effect. Nevertheless although their numbers dwindled the clergy maintained their influence amongst the Catholic laity. The most important factor for this influence was the solidarity that existed in Waterford, amongst the Catholic community in times of hardship.

The position of Catholics in Waterford seems to have improved following a successful petition to the corporation in 1699 when they were granted a site to build a chapel in Bailey's Lane. However a petition dated approximately 1710 from the Catholics of Waterford complained of Protestant prejudice against them. This followed the building of the chapel and it indicates the feeling of discrimination and prejudice felt by Catholics:

'A considerable number of Aldermen and Council have been excited to prosecute your petitioners, in order to hinder them from the convenient and accustomed exercise of their religion in the City...the only cause to be the setting up or building of ye chapel. Wherefore yo'r petition'rs doe humbly pray the liberty of laying before yo'r Worships what they hope may excuse there attempting to build the said Chapple.'[sic.]¹¹³

They compare their position with that of the status of Catholics in Dublin who are 'graciously permitted' to use their chapels, and it is important to note that the petition quoted Articles of the Treaty of Limerick which highlighted that their religious rights were under threat. It also shows a legal consciousness amongst

¹¹¹ W.P. Burke, Irish Priests in Penal Times (Dublin, 1968) p.112

¹¹² *Ibid.* p.362.

¹¹³ Exerpt from a petition from Waterford Catholics to the Corporation dated circa 1710 in the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquities of Ireland vol.6 (1860) p.128. Also see Appendix 4 pp.75-76.

Catholics who accepted the Williamite Settlement of 1691 despite the fact that it had been violated by the passing of anti-Popery legislation. This also shows the nature of the relationships which had existed between Catholics and Protestants in the City of Waterford.

The Banishment Act (9. Will.III. c.1) decreed the expulsion of Catholic bishops and regular clergy and was designed to restrict the activities of the Catholic hierarchy. This was followed by the Act to Prevent Priests Coming to the Kingdom (2 Anne, c. 3) and a registration of all clergy. Of 1,089 priests who were registered countrywide, 41 of these were in the diocese of Waterford and Lismore. A small number of bishops and regulars remained in the country under the guise of parish priests. For instance in 1713 Archbishop Butler of Cashel and Bishop John Pierce of Waterford and Lismore were reported to be in rural Waterford, but when a search was carried out they could not be found¹¹⁴. Pierce was bishop from 1697 to 1736 but he spent most of his episcopate in France as the early decades of the century were the time when the Penal Laws against clergy were most vigorously imposed.

There were no more than eight bishops in the country in 1698 and by 1701 this number dwindled, briefly, to three.¹¹⁵ However the enforcement of the penal laws was relaxed when the threat of Jacobite invasion passed. In 1698 many priests were shipped abroad as a result of the Banishment Act. In Waterford 26 priests were transported compared to 153 in Dublin, 190 in Galway and 75 in Cork. These figures would serve to show that the Catholic clergy was strongest in the east Munster area and less heed was paid to the legislation.¹¹⁶ Enforcement of the Penal Laws proved difficult for the authorities in the Waterford area. For example on 14 July 1714, Richard Bragge, Seneschal of Lismore, wrote in a letter to the Lords Justices;

¹¹⁴ W.P. Burke, Irish Priests in Penal Times (Dublin, 1968) p.140

¹¹⁵ W.H.Grattan Flood. 'Two Last Century Bishops of Waterford' in Journal of Waterford and South East of Ireland Archeological Society vol.III (Waterford, 1897) p.34.

¹¹⁶ Burke. Irish Priests in Penal Times (Dublin, 1968) p.132

‘In accordance with instructions recently received, I and my colleagues have been making strenuous efforts to enforce the Acts ...but have been unable to arrest the priests.’[sic.]¹¹⁷

In 1704 an Act of Registration of secular clergy began. This allowed legal status to one priest per parish to practice. In Waterford this Act was vital for the survival of the Catholic clergy. Six parish priests were registered in the city of Waterford for the civil parishes of St. John’s, St. Peter’s, Holy Trinity, St. Patrick’s, St. Michael’s, and St. Stephen’s and St. Olaf’s. However these were not individual Catholic parishes and normally two or more civil parishes comprised of one Catholic parish.¹¹⁸ Thus parish priests were registered and other priests received nominal pastorates of civil parishes, which otherwise would not have been available.. This demonstrates the shrewdness of the Waterford clergy in the face of repression. Parish priests were forbidden to have coadjutors or curates, but many of these coadjutors or curates were able to pose as parish priests, thus allowing a large number to remain in the country. The lists of registered clergy did not include Bishop Pierce who was probably in France. John Higgins, a Jesuit, was registered as Parish Priest of St. Olaf’s in Waterford, which was one underhand way non-secular clergy remained in the country.

Indeed Higgins is named as a parish priest in 1713 in the testimony of prominent Waterford Catholics included in the previous chapter.¹¹⁹ This testimony was an example of the solidarity that existed amongst Catholics and serves to indicate the support of Waterford Catholics for their clergy.

In 1709 an Act was introduced to amend the Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery (8 Anne, c3), to consolidate the position of the new rule of the Protestant ascendancy by obliging all citizens to take an oath denying the legitimacy of the Jacobite claim and to take an Oath of Allegiance to the new monarch. However as

¹¹⁷W.H.Grattan Flood, ‘Two Last Century Bishops of Waterford’ in Journal of Waterford and South East of Ireland Archeological Society vol.III, p.36.

¹¹⁸ P.Fagan, An Irish Bishop in Penal Times (Dublin, 1993) p.177.Also see Appendix 3 p.74.

¹¹⁹ See note 65.

only 33 priests took the oath the entire Catholic church was outlawed. This justified the position of many Protestants who claimed that Catholics were disloyal and needed to be suppressed. Cornelius Nary was a Catholic priest whose pamphlet opposed the introduction of the Oaths of Allegiance and Abjuration for all Catholics. He claimed that the Penal Laws were unpolitic as they would drain the country of its people, in forcing Catholics to emigrate. He claimed Catholics were unquestionably loyal subjects and pleaded:

‘wilt thou destroy the righteous with the wicked, must the civil and quiet priest who has lived these many years in the country be destroyed for the indiscretion of other priests whose coming they knew nothing of, nor if they had was it in their power to prevent it.’¹²⁰

Nary’s pamphlet had a firm impact and showed that the Catholic population of Ireland were not without a voice, even if denied social and political rights. The issue of the Oath of Abjuration dominated Irish politics throughout the century. The Catholic Committee were anxious to prove the loyalty of Catholics to the crown and in 1774 drew up a formula professing loyalty, abjuration of the Stuart claim and the Pope’s temporal and civil jurisdiction in Ireland. The bishops of the province of Cashel declared the formula contained nothing contrary to the principles of the Roman Catholic religion. These bishops showed a marked independence by accepting the formula as it led to a debate amongst the episcopacy. One reason for their stance was that Munster had strong links with France and Spain, where the state had substantial power in the administration of the church. Therefore Irish ecclesiastical students who were educated there brought back to Ireland a more autonomous attitude regarding the Vatican’s claims to direct the affairs of the local church.

In 1732 Primate Boulter urged the House of Lords to establish an inquiry into the enforcement of the Popery Laws. The Report on the State of Popery claimed there were 892 chapels in the country, of which 229 had been built since 1727, 51

¹²⁰ C.Nary, Case of Roman Catholics of Ireland in The Impartial History of Ireland (Limerick, 1801) p.139.

friaries, 254 friars, and 9 convents. There were forty 'masshouses' in the diocese of Cashel. Although the Report does not go into great detail on the city of Waterford, it states that there was a masshouse in the parish of St. John's, which was probably built in the early years of the century and was administered by three friars.¹²¹ Although there was no evidence of masshouses in three other parishes of St. Patrick's, St. Michael's and St. Stephen's it seems that there were two in the parish of Holy Trinity. St. Patrick's had two Latin schools one of which was administered by Jesuits and another founded with the help of Waterford merchants.¹²² Therefore a number of chapels and schools were built in the City at this time despite the penal laws.

The number of 1,445 secular priests in the country indicates a substantial increase since 1704 and can be attributed to the numbers who came from continental colleges and the appointment of bishops who ordained priests in Ireland. Another source estimates that there were 1,700 secular and 254 regular clergy in the country.¹²³ These figures indicate that the number of Catholic clergy had increased considerably since the 1704 Registration Act.

The Report's figures for Waterford indicate the number of Catholic clergy active in the region. James Castell in Clonmel reported that;

¹²¹ Report on the State of Popery 1731 (Munster) in Archivium Hibernicum vol.II (Dublin, 1913) p.156.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ J.L. McCracken, 'Ecclesiastical Structure 1714-60' in Moody and Vaughan (ed.) A New History of Ireland vol.IV, p.94.

‘the five following persons officiate in the said mass house, Thomas Hennessy, Patrick FitzGerald, John Leo, Michael Dwyer, and James Walsh, that the said Thomas Hennessy is the reputed popish parish priest, the said Patrick Fitzgerald his assistant and the said Leo, Dwyer, and Welsh are ffryers.[sic.]¹²⁴,

Furthermore the mayor of Waterford, Cornelius Bolton, wrote on 14 April 1744 that the Catholic clergy in the city consisted of Bishop Sylvester Lloyd, Dean William O’Meara, and those of religious orders named as; John St. Leger, Felix Cleary, William Cleary, William Sexton, Peter McNamara, Peter Costello, Luke Kelly, William Shee, John Bray, and William Brown.¹²⁵ It appears that the majority of these were Jesuits, who seem to have been strong in the city. However the fact that O’Meara is the only secular priest named indicates that the authorities concentrated their efforts in curtailing the regular clergy and only curtailed the seculars when they rose to high rank. This shows that the numbers of priests were still substantial despite penal legislation.

John St. Leger and William Shee were amongst a group of eight Jesuits and other friars occupying a Jesuit house of residence on Stephen St. in the city but they escaped before being discovered. John St. Leger was born in Waterford and educated in a French university. He joined the Jesuits in Toulouse in 1729, returned to his native city and became Parish Priest of St. Patrick’s in 1742. He was responsible for the building of a chapel and the Jesuit house of residence in the city mentioned above.¹²⁶ Nevertheless as none of the Jesuits occupying this house were apprehended it shows that the authorities in Waterford did not strictly enforce the penal legislation against Catholic clergy. The Catholic church structure survived due to the courage, strong faith and sense of cultural identity amongst clergy and laity which withstood the penal laws.

¹²⁴ Report on the State of Popery in Archivium Hibernicum, vol.II (Dublin, 1913) Also see Appendix 5 p.77.

¹²⁵ P.Fagan, An Irish Bishop during the Penal Era (Dublin, 1993) p.174.

¹²⁶ P.J.Corish, ‘Correspondance of Superiors of the Jesuit mission in Ireland with John O’Brien S.J.,Rector of Salamanca’ in Archivium Hibernicum vol.XXVII (Maynooth, 1964) p.90.

Foreign Education

In 1704 of the 1,089 priests registered countrywide only 253 were educated abroad, but in the diocese of Waterford and Lismore 22 of 41 registered priests were educated on the continent, the majority in French and Spanish Universities. This is a high proportion compared to the rest of the country. This can be attributed to Waterford's strong trade links with the continent and also that the Irish colleges in Salamanca and Bordeaux, in particular tended to cater for students from Munster.

In 1707 Joseph Delamar wrote in a petition to the Pope that 510 priests educated in the university of Salamanca since its foundation in 1592 had returned to Ireland.¹²⁷ By the eighteenth century more priests and ecclesiastical scholars went to the continent for further education and this was one of the most important elements of the Counter Reformation movement in Ireland.

In 1695 the Act to Restrain Foreign Education (7 Will.III, c.4) was introduced, forbidding Irishmen from sending their sons to foreign universities, a tradition that was centuries old. The Irish Colleges which were established in Salamanca in Spain and Bordeaux in France were two of the most common destinations for students from east Munster. These Colleges educated Irishmen for the priesthood, who later returned to Ireland to take up their benefices. The Irish Colleges abroad preferred to enrol young Irishmen in their late teens as they would not be ordained for some years and could be educated as the College authorities preferred.¹²⁸ However many ecclesiastical students who went to the continent were ordained prior to leaving Ireland. This enabled them to support themselves during their theological studies through Mass-stipends, salaried chaplaincies and other benefices.

¹²⁷ K.Swords, *The Irish-French Connection 1578-1978* (Paris, 1978) p.15.

¹²⁸ Brady and Corish, 'The Church Under the Penal Code' in *A History of Irish Catholicism* vol.4, p.46.

The Irish Colleges

One of the oldest Colleges was established in Salamanca in 1592 by a number of Irish priests from Waterford and Clonmel. It was given a royal stipend annually to maintain the students and was named the *Real Colegio de San Patricio de los Nobles Irlandeses* (Royal College of St. Patrick of the Noble Irishmen). Also as the largest college in Iberia it played a vital part by accepting Irishmen who came to the continent seeking an education.

John O'Brien, who changed his christian name to the Spanish 'Juan', from Waterford, was Rector of the Irish College in Salamanca from 1645 to 1661. His diary gives a valuable insight into the running of the College, listing details such as admissions of new students, annual examinations and the financial business of the College. The correspondence of O'Brien is also a very valuable source as it provides details of the state of affairs of the Irish church and of the affairs in the Irish College in Salamanca. It includes references to Irish scholars going to Salamanca to study and gives an idea of their background, which was East Munster and mostly from the diocese of Waterford and Lismore.

'The bearer hereof Thomas German is very fit for yr. service as you shall see, he'll be nineteen years of age yea 29 December next, has no impediment to be admitted and is recommended unto me as very deserving in all respects. The times are extreme dangerous afflicting with us w[hi]ch obliged me to send no other papers with him but this. Yr most humble servt. An. Knowles [sic].'¹²⁹

This letter refers to a student being sent from Waterford on 28 July 1709, a very dangerous time in Ireland. The fact that the student does not carry any other papers is an indication of the risks involved of interception by the authorities. Another letter addressed to O'Brien from Thomas Hennessy in Clonmel dated 20 August 1746 reads;

¹²⁹ Russell Library, Maynooth, Salamancan Archives, Legajo I/II.

‘Pursuant to your letter dated 29 May last, I recommend to you the bearer R. Mr Robert Stapleton as a clerk to serve in your house, until he is well instructed in the art of knowledge of promoting our commerce, which suffers now greatly on account of the bad times. This gentleman is usher’d to me by his landlord, Christopher B[utle]r.’¹³⁰

This letter coincided with the Jacobite ’45 uprising in Scotland and provides some insight into the difficulties experienced by the Catholic clergy during times of intensified repression by a state under threat. It is noteworthy that Hennessy uses the terms ‘clerk’ to mean a student and ‘landlord’ to refer to Christopher Butler, Archbishop of Cashel. Clearly these were dangerous times and no chances were taken. However there was soon a change in this approach and in a following letter Hennessy signs ‘Your most humble and obedient servant, Thomas L. Hennessy S.J.’ as Jesuit Superior in Ireland.¹³¹ This would indicate there was a lull in the enforcement of the laws which gave the clergy a greater sense of confidence.

The letters shed light on the running of the Irish College and the wide-ranging work of O’Brien as Rector. This correspondence with the Jesuit superiors Hennessy in Clonmel and his successor Michael FitzGerald in Waterford from 1746 until 1757 came at a time when dispute amongst the authorities in the Irish Colleges in Salamanca and Santiago de Compostela ensued. The year 1748 was the first in which examinations were held in Arts in the University of Salamanca. Previously students studied Arts in Santiago de Compostela and then came to Salamanca to study Theology if they desired to become priests. O’Brien now recruited prospective Arts students directly from Ireland and the letters to Salamanca are in response to this. This subject was prominent in the letters of Thomas Hennessy to O’Brien:

¹³⁰ Russell Library, Maynooth, Salamancan Archives, Legajo XIII/AA/70 and published by P.J. Corish, ‘Correspondence of Juan O’Brien in Archivium Hibernicum vol. XXVII (Maynooth, 1964) p.89.

¹³¹ Ibid. p.88.

‘After recommending by proper credentials Mr Paul Power from Waterford...Mr. John St. Leger recommended him to me will be very much oblig’d if you can do for him.’[sic.]¹³²

In 1750 Juan O’Brien recommended Paul Power from Waterford who completed his studies in Salamanca, to the Provincial of Toledo, as Power wished to enter the Society of Jesus in Madrid.

‘he is of good parentage, spotless and Catholic. He has a first cousin of his name a merchant of Seville, who has offered to defray his expenses of his entering.’[sic.]¹³³

This is an example of a merchant trader and an ecclesiastical student from the same family. Another study claims he was a brother of Nicholas Power of Rockshire, in Waterford, who made his fortune in Spain.¹³⁴ This indicates the maintenance of the close links between merchants and students abroad. It is possible that Paul Power was also related to the Powers of Castletown outside Waterford City, a branch of whom settled in Cadiz.¹³⁵ Power returned to Ireland and in 1783 became Parish Priest of St. Patrick’s in Waterford. When the Jesuits were suppressed a decade earlier a number of Waterford Jesuits, including John St. Leger and Paul Power, became secularised clergy. Another student of the College was one Justin Terry. The census returns of 1773 for Cadiz record many of this family. For instance Domingo Terri was described as ‘Irish, naturalised, merchant, knight’, and Tomas Terri was a merchant who was born in Malaga of Irish parents.¹³⁶

Hennessey also refers to an Edward Lisward in his correspondence from Clonmel. Lisward studied in Salamanca 1739-41 and returned to Dungarvan,

¹³² Ibid. p.89. John St. Leger was Parish Priest of St. Patrick’s in Waterford 1742-84. See note 125.

¹³³ D.J.O’Doherty, ‘Students of the Irish College, Salamanca’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, vol.IV (Dublin, 1915) p.35.

¹³⁴ Power, *Waterford and Lismore: A Compendius History of the United Dioceses* (Cork, 1937) p.332.

¹³⁵ See note 98.

¹³⁶ Walton, ‘Irish-Born Inhabitants of Cadiz’ in *The Irish Genealogist* (London, 1974-1979) vol.5 p.755.

succeeded Juan O'Brien as Rector. The fact that he came from the same diocese as his predecessor can be seen as a dominance of east Munster men at the College and more than a coincidence.

In a letter to O'Brien dated 13 March 1749 Hennessy, in Clonmel, writes:

'I am to expect this summer one John KingI shall have when he joins us 20[sic.], and you know when I came we had not ten, we have apprentices abroad to supply our want.'¹³⁷

This shows that the number of ordained Jesuits in the province had increased two-fold in a short time. In a letter sent from the Archbishop of Dublin to Juan O'Brien on 21 December 1758 stated that he was 'badly in want of priests and that one of the students who had left the College and reached them had already got a curacy in the city itself.'¹³⁸ This would confirm that there was a preference amongst the authorities in Salamanca for students from the Ecclesiastical Province of Cashel in particular.

Another graduate of Salamanca was Nicholas Sheehy who studied in Salamanca from 1749 until 1751. A letter to a friend in 1756 he wrote;

¹³⁷ Corish, 'Correspondence to John O'Brien' in Archivium Hibernicum vol.XXVII p.92.

¹³⁸ O'Doherty, 'Students of the Irish College, Salamanca' in Archivium Hibernicum vol.IV (Dublin, 1915) p.39.

'The rector read for me a letter from a Jesuit in Waterford wherein he had an account of great broiles between the clerimen... The bishop stript or deprived the frier of his parish which he gave to William Brown, the deposed friar made his address to Counsellor Daubins [Dobbin].. He promised to secure him his parish...and was so vigorously opposed that he cited to the assizes the adverse parties and had warrants issued out for the bishop Creagh, Connery (V.G) and Brown who were forced to absent themselves. The Catholics are very much concerned for it.'[sic.]¹³⁹

The letter gives an insight into a dispute that occurred in Waterford at this time and shows that relationships amongst the secular and regular clergy were not always harmonious. An earlier dispute had occurred between Bishop Sylvester Lloyd who was in France, and his Coadjutor Peter Creagh over the appointment of a parish priest of Holy Trinity in Waterford City. Lloyd wished to return to Ireland to prevent Creagh establishing himself in Carrick-on-Suir. However he never did so as he died in France.¹⁴⁰

The correspondence to O'Brien shows how ships' masters and traders carried messages such as the case of Thomas Phelan who was a merchant in Cadiz who took a letter from Juan O'Brien to Michael FitzGerald, Jesuit Superior in Ireland, who was based in Waterford. In 1771 a merchant of the same name brought a cargo of fruit, and forest trees into Waterford.¹⁴¹ In a letter dated 27 August 1748 Thomas Hennessy in Clonmel encourages trade in the towns in his area and stresses the need for Irish speaking tradesmen, which suggests that the Irish language was widely spoken in the area.

'I am endeavouring now to get a colony of ours here to promote our trade. Their shopes[sic.] are to be in Cashell, Carrick, Kilkenny, and Lismore if I can get tradesmen.'¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Burke, Irish Priests in the Penal Era, p.172

¹⁴⁰ Fagan, An Irish Bishop in Penal Times p.194.

¹⁴¹ Waterford Chronicle 29 March 1771

¹⁴² Correspondence of Juan O'Brien in Archivium Hibernicum, vol.27, p.90.

Strong links, therefore, can be traced between Waterford merchants and clergy. Many priests were transported to and from Ireland on board the vessels of merchants. The letter of Andrew Knowles has already been cited.¹⁴³ He was a leading Catholic sea captain in 1709 and an example of a member of the maritime community in Waterford bringing a student to Spain. It is interesting to note that the Jesuit Superior in Ireland in 1696 was one Anthony Knowles, of Waterford¹⁴⁴ It is possible that both may have been from the same family. George St. Leger was a Waterford sea-captain who became a merchant in the 1760s. He may have been related to John St. Leger, parish priest of St.Patrick's in the city from 1742 until 1783.

Donations from Catholic merchants abroad were vital for the survival of Irish Colleges and they contributed substantial sums. However they also funded many enterprises in Ireland. In 1545 the Holy Ghost Hospital in Waterford was established by Henry Walsh in the Franciscan Friary and received a royal charter.¹⁴⁵ It was built for Catholic widows and given aid from the City Corporation. It continued to be funded by the Walsh family, who had settled in the Canary Islands. They elected guardians to the hospital with the approval of Waterford Corporation. In 1718 a new Holy Ghost Hospital was established in St. Saviour's Abbey also funded on an ongoing basis by the Walsh family.¹⁴⁶ This provides an example of how those families who were forced to emigrate after the Cromwellian confiscations often maintained strong links with their homeland and sent back financial aid.

An almshouse for poor women in the parish of St. Patrick's was built by donations from the Carews, another Spanish-Irish family. In 1754 Laurence Carew of Cadiz was the original benefactor, and he also donated a silver reliquary and a silver crucifix to the Holy Trinity Chapel.¹⁴⁷ At the end of the century the Catholic

¹⁴³ See note 66.

¹⁴⁴ Waterford and South East History and Archeology Journal vol.IV (Waterford, 1898) p.249.

¹⁴⁵ Power, Waterford and Lismore p.277.

¹⁴⁶ Smith, Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford (Dublin, 1746) p.181.

¹⁴⁷ Power, Waterford and Lismore p.331.

Cathedral in Waterford was built due to the considerable charity of those wealthy merchants established in France and Spain.

In view of the close links between Catholic merchants and clerics from the Waterford region, it is worthwhile focusing on the careers and connections of two distinguished clergymen, Nicholas Sweetman and Patrick Everard. Both men provide good examples of the personification of links between Old English families and Catholic clergy, in the south east and of the links between Waterford and Salamanca and Bordeaux.

Nicholas Sweetman, whose family were Catholic landed gentry and became leading merchants in Waterford and Newfoundland studied in Salamanca from 1722 until 1724, and gave 'an excellent account of his theological studies' and later became Bishop of Ferns. In 1745 when the news of his election as Bishop arrived in Salamanca, it was celebrated with 'six dozens of rockets' according to the diary of Juan O'Brien.¹⁴⁸ Sweetman served as bishop until 1786 and proved to be a strong leader of his religion.

In 1778 Patrick Everard entered Salamanca where he was an illustrious student. He was born in Fethard, County Tipperary, and his family were of landed class similar to the Sweetmans and had close links with the port of Waterford. In 1704 the parish priest of St. Patrick's in the city was one Edmund Everard and perhaps the two were related although, due to the passage of time, the link is tenuous.¹⁴⁹ He matriculated in 1782 and was ordained in 1784. He left for Ireland the following year and stopped en route in Bordeaux to visit the Barton family who had settled there. A branch of the Everard family owned land in Fethard known as The Grove but sold it to the Bartons who were now established as wine merchants in Bordeaux. Yet the Everards continued their business links with the Bartons and took care of their land in Fethard. Everard remained in Bordeaux becoming assistant to John Glynn who was Rector at the Irish College. Everard returned to

¹⁴⁸ O'Doherty, 'Students of the Irish College in Salamanca' in Archivium Hibernicum vol. IV, (Dublin, 1915) p.31.

¹⁴⁹ Carrigan, History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory, vol.IV,(Dublin, 1905) p.177

Ireland and in 1810 became President of Maynooth College and later Archbishop of Cashel.¹⁵⁰

Funding was also an issue at the Irish College in Bordeaux. This was assisted in 1607 when Cardinal de Sourdis allowed the Irish priests from the College in Bordeaux to assist at funerals.¹⁵¹ In Spain the Colleges were largely funded by the Catholic Church and donations from priests. This funding was supplemented by Irish merchants, soldiers of the Irish Brigade and local fishermen who all contributed to the upkeep of the Colleges. In Salamanca the situation was somewhat eased by the granting of annual stipends to the students. However, the Irish at home and in Spain must take credit for the survival of the Colleges, through donations and the founding of burses.

Expatriate Waterford Families

Another important family in Waterford was the Lee family, who were established as merchants in La Rochelle, Nantes, and Bordeaux. By mid-century they had also established a branch of the family in Dublin to capitalise on trade there. In Bordeaux a Thomas Walsh of Waterford married into the Lee family, thus strengthening the links amongst the Irish there. The same Thomas Walsh was named on a list of foreign merchants of King Louis XIV in 1711. Significantly five out of eight Irish merchants listed were from the south east region.

The Walsh family held their ancestral lands in Ballygunnar, outside Waterford, until 1691 when the lands were confiscated. However the family remained in trade. For example Antoine Walsh son of Philip Walsh, a prosperous Waterford merchant, married Anne, daughter of James White, a shipbuilder, who settled in Nantes. His son Francois Jacques Walsh inherited the fortune of his uncle Patrick White of Cadiz. These merchants and traders who settled on the continent and in Newfoundland were vital contributors to trade and commerce in Waterford.

¹⁵⁰ R.J.Hayes, Biographical Dictionary of Irishmen in France (Dublin, 1949) p.81.

¹⁵¹ Swords, The Irish-French Connection 1578-1978 (Paris, 1978) p.19.

commerce. They led very different lives to their countrymen in Ireland but they maintained contact with their homeland , trade providing an important link.

William Dobbyn of Clonmore, County Waterford, was a member of the 1688 Waterford Corporation. King James II reputedly stayed in his house, in Waterford after the battle of the Boyne and left shortly afterwards for France. Thomas Dobbyn, William's son, and his brothers Hugh and John settled in Cadiz. Their sister Elizabeth married Michael Murphy. The census records of Cadiz show a number of the Murphy family also settled there. Eduardo Murphy is mentioned in 1773 as an Irish-born merchant and 26 years old. Bartholomew Walsh was an Irish-born merchant in Cadiz and is recorded in the 1773 census as 'Bartolome Valois.'¹⁵² Although his parents lived in Ireland other members of his family settled in Cadiz. The Waterford Corporation of 1688 included Martin Walsh as an Alderman and his son Bartholomew as an Assistant.¹⁵³ 'Bartolome Valois.' traced four generations of his ancestors from renowned Waterford families. This serves to show that Waterford merchants were proud of their ancestry even though they left their country in search of a better living. The archives in cities where Irishmen settled, such as Cadiz provide a wealth of information on merchant families and warrant further research.

¹⁵² Walton, 'Census Records of the Irish in Eighteenth Century Cadiz' in H.D.Gallwey (ed.) The Irish Genealogist, vol.6, no.6 (London, 1985) p.755. (See Appendix)

¹⁵³ Ryland, History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford (Kilkenny, 1824) pp 87-88.



Figure 5: An East View of Waterford City, 1795

CONCLUSION

This study indicates that Waterford Catholics fared well despite the burden of the Popery Laws and that they weathered the onslaught with remarkable resilience. Many Catholic merchants created a prosperous living in trade and commerce. The civic authorities appear to have become more tolerant, in permitting Catholic merchants to remain in the city, as opposed to the post-Cromwellian era. The civic authorities encouraged foreign traders of all creeds and denominations to come to Waterford as the state of commerce in the city was placed above all else. Catholics outnumbered Protestants in the city and comprised of the majority of the labour force. Protestant businessmen often had no option but to employ Catholic apprentices. Catholics also formed the majority of the commercial market in the south east region. Catholic traders had a lower standard of living than their Protestant counterparts and because their way of living was necessarily more frugal, their energies and resources were employed totally in the building up of profitable businesses. By the 1730s Catholics were admitted to the freedom of Waterford on equal terms with Protestants. Land rental, an important means of investment for merchants, increased dramatically by mid-century. The dispute over quarterage continued throughout the century and demonstrated that Catholics had become stronger and more assertive in defending their position. By 1760 some Waterford Catholics had become prosperous in trade and commerce. The Catholic Association was formed to voice the demands of Catholics in a Protestant environment. The fact that one of this organisation's founding members, Thomas Wyse, was a Waterford man is no surprise. Waterford Catholics were strong and united and had improved their lot dramatically in the half-century after the Williamite Settlement.

However Catholics were not a homogeneous community and trade links were also common with non-Catholics. Marriages between Catholics and Protestants took place further cementing social and business bonds between the communities. The parish registers of Waterford City are a rich source and provide a great deal of information about the relationships that existed between Waterford families. This includes the relationships between Catholics and Protestants, who joined forces to

help the City to grow and modernise. Through the medium of trade and commerce all religious groups were involved in the development of the port and trade of Waterford.

Waterford possesses an excellent natural harbour and a port that was strategically located, facing Britain to the east and continental Europe to the south. The sister rivers of the Suir, the Nore, and the Barrow, vital conduits from the fertile hinterland, were another important attribute, contributing to the growth of the City. Waterford was the most important urban centre in the south east region.

Overseas trade was central to the growth of the port of Waterford. In the eighteenth century it was the third busiest port in the country, as trade and commerce flourished. British ports were important due to their proximity. Bristol was a leading trading partner, trade with Newfoundland being the main reason for the link with that port. Waterford became the chief port of call for Bristol ships in the purchasing of supplies and the recruiting of crew on the Newfoundland route. The Newfoundland fish trade was dominated by merchants and seafarers from the south east area and many Waterford merchants made this their principal trading run. Trade in wines, fruit, salt and brandies with French and Spanish ports was also vital to Waterford trade. The ports of St. Malo, Nantes, Bordeaux, Seville, Cadiz and Malaga were much frequented by Waterford vessels. Indeed in the eighteenth century large quantities of wines were shipped to the port of Waterford, Kinsale and Galway. Many Catholic merchants built up trade and established business houses in these ports.

Links with expatriate merchants abroad were important for Waterford merchants as a means of establishing themselves and ensuring their survival. The Waterford maritime community had the great advantage in that a strong tradition of seafaring had been built up in the port over the centuries. Catholic merchants in the eighteenth century could depend on trade with expatriate Waterford merchants. French and Spanish ships often frequented southern Irish ports and the majority of this trade was controlled by Catholics. This meant that anti-Catholic legislation

introduced had less impact in the City of Waterford due to the fact that the Catholics in Waterford were a vital part of the trading community. The Irish expatriate communities, which included many Waterford families, played an important role in the eighteenth century as they maintained links with their homeland. The communities in Bordeaux and Cadiz have received special attention, and the records on these communities are sources that deserve further study.

As has been shown Catholic clergy proved resolute in the face of repression. In 1704 in the City of Waterford parish priests were registered for civil parishes to maximise the benefits of legal status granted by registration. The refusal of the vast majority of clergy to abjure the priesthood and their religion is a mark of its strength and formidable character. The Irish Colleges abroad and the links between the clergy and laity were central to the survival of the Catholic church. There were strong family links amongst clergy and merchants both in Ireland and on the continent. Particular attention has been focused on Waterford merchants who transported students and correspondence between the ports of Waterford and France and Spain. The strong bond between Irish Catholics in Ireland, France and Spain has been formulated and built up as a result of the large number of Catholic clergy who were educated in French and Spanish universities.

The fact that many prosperous merchants donated funds to build schools and almshouses in Waterford is indicative of their wealth and civic consciousness. Not only did these donations come from Waterford merchants but, as we have seen, wealthy expatriate Waterford families sponsored the building of hospitals, schools and in the construction of the Catholic Cathedral in Waterford, which was the first post-Reformation Catholic Cathedral in Ireland.

Waterford Catholics appear to have been prosperous despite the fact that they had been excluded from political and public office in the City. Clearly, the Catholics in Waterford, be they merchants, seafarers or clergy contributed largely to the growth and prosperity of their city and port in the eighteenth century, and played a vital role in maintaining its position as third largest port in the country.

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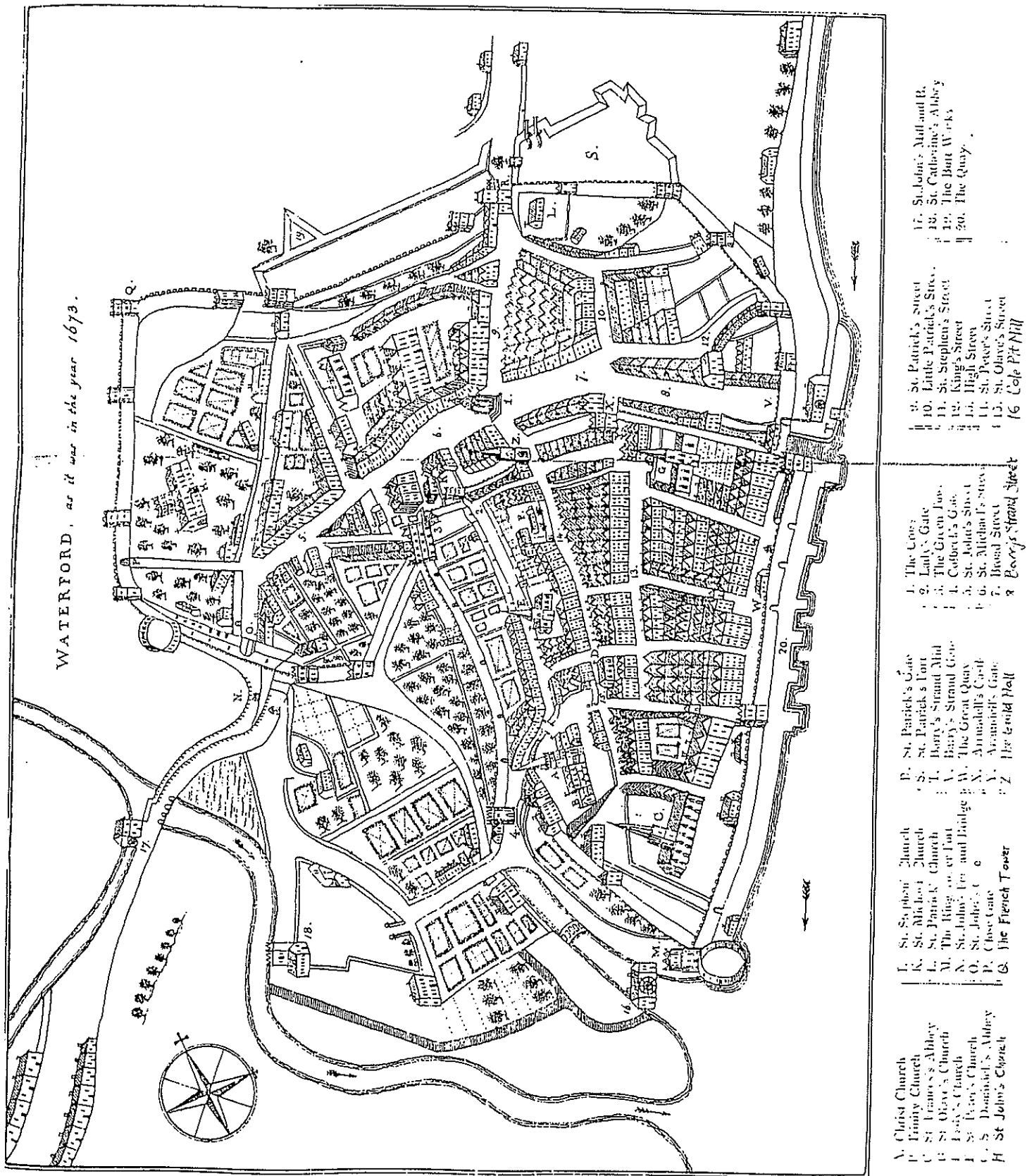
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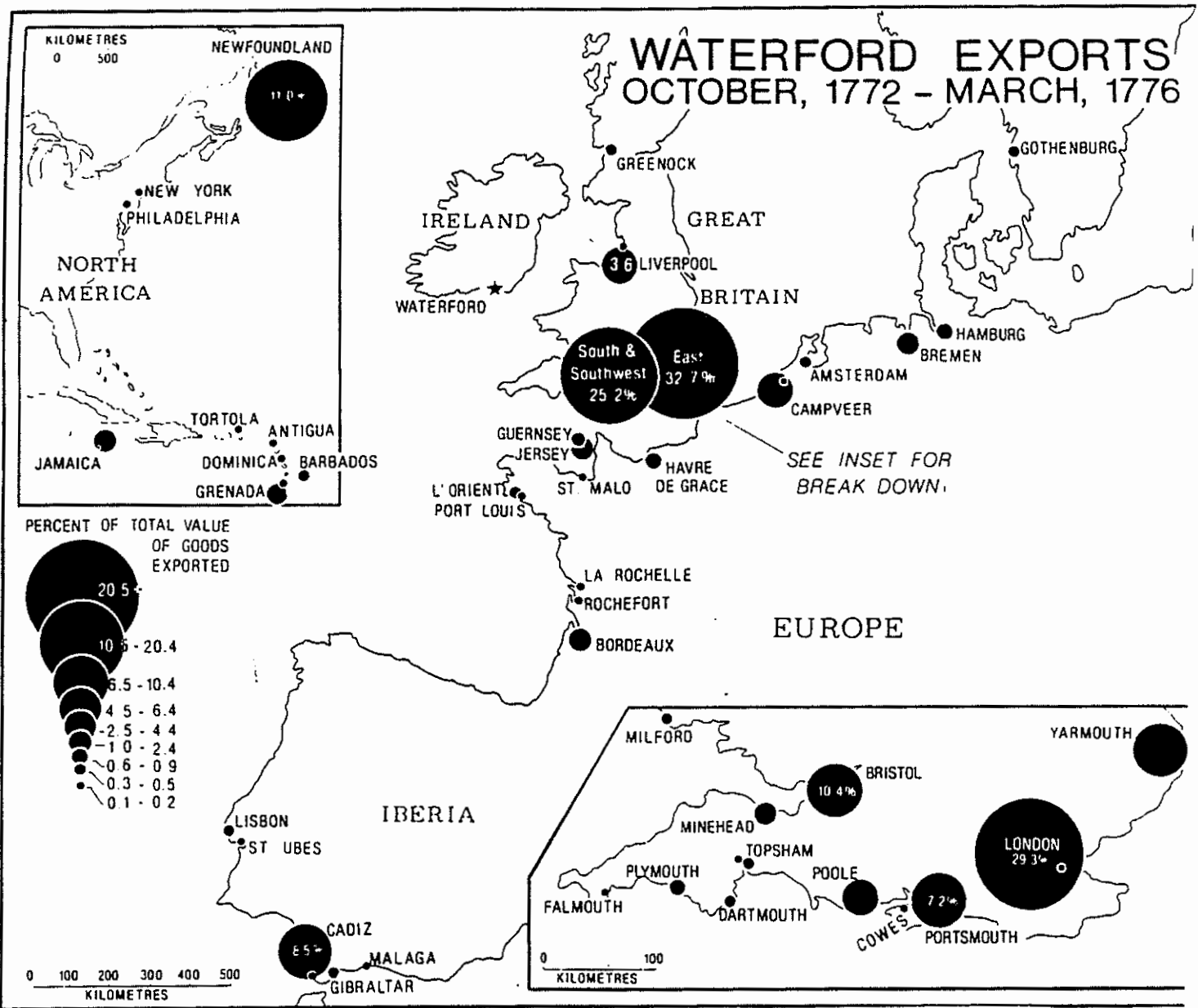
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Appendix 1: Map of the City of Waterford 1673

Source: H.H.Ryland, *History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford* (Kilkenny, 1824).



Appendix 2:

Source: J.Mannion, 'The Waterford merchants and the Irish-Newfoundland Trade Provisions Trade 1770-1820' in L.M.Cullen and P.Butel (ed.) *Negoce et Industrie en France et en Irlande aux XVIII et XIX siecles* (Paris, 1980).

REGISTERED CLERGY, WATERFORD AND LISMORE, 1704

Popish Priests' Names	Places of Abode	Age	Parishes of which they pretend to be Popish Priests	Year Orders recd.	Places where they received Orders	From whom they received them
John Fennell, ...	Carrigurantore ...	41	Darkhill, Reiske & Handikane	1688	Rehill ...	John, Tit. Archbp. of Cashel
John Carroll ...	Killbegg ...	60	Kilbarrymeadin, Monksland, and Rossmeehe ...		— ...	Do.
Philip Hacket ...	St. John's Town	72	St. John's ...	1661	St. Malo, France	Francis de Villemont, Bishop of St. Malo
John Tobin ...	City Waterford ...	62	St. Peter's ...	1667	Lisboune ...	Bishop Franciscus de Targo
Paul Bellew ...	„ ...	47	Holy Trinity ...	1680	Salamanca ...	Don Pedro de Salazar, Bp. of said City
Edmond Everard ...	„ ...	45	St. Patrick's ...	1682	Braga, Portugal	Verissimus of Lancaster, Abp. of Braga
John Higgins ...	„ ...	48	St. Olave's ...	1689	Portugal ...	Right Rev. John Lord Bishop of Coimbra, and Earl of Arganil, Portugal
Anthony Martin ...	„ ...	38	St. Michael's & St. Stephen's	1691	Antwerp ...	Ferdinand, Lord Bishop of Antwerp.

Appendix 3:

Source: P.Power, Waterford and Lismore: A Compendius History of the United Dioceses (Cork, 1937)

"The humble Petition and Remonstrance of y^e Roman Catholique Inhabitants of this city.

"To the Worshipful the May^r, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council of Waterford, Humbly sheweth,

"That yo^r Petitioners, finding that by y^e promotion of som particulars, a considerable number of the Aldermen and Council have been excited to prosecute your Petitioners, in order to hinder them from the convenient and accustomed exercise of their religion in the City, have with strictness and great concern of mind examined what should be the cause thereof, and what misbehaviour of their's has raised that unkindness and severity in their neighbours against them, now after half a score years elapsed, that was not practised heretofore, not even in the heat of their resentments upon account of y^e late unhappy revolutions. That yo^r Petition^{er} doe understand the only cause to be the setting up or building of y^e Chapple whereof they make use at present. Wherefore yo^r Petition^{er} doe humbly pray the liberty of laying before yo^r Worships what they hope may excuse their attempting to build the said Chapple, and make appear that there is no inconveniency to the City or Govern^t thereby. But rather less than ever before, which they hope will remove the conceits or displeasure, at least, of the moderate Persons to whom this Chapple is represented an extraordinary nuisance. In the first place, they humbly offer it to yo^r consideration that there have been, in the time of King Charles the Second, to which the articles of Limerick doe referr, foure Chapples in this City. That in conformity to their Protestant neighbours they have reduced the same to one Chapple, in a bye streete of the City. That the said Chapple, happening to be exposed to the Collector's, and after to Capt^o Harrison's house, and being so ruinous that some part of it fell, wounded some, and like to kill others, yo^r Petitioners held it so far from giving offence, that they expected it might be rather grateful to the City to provide themselves, in a bye corner or lane, as they did, and in a place where there was such a dunghill, and so much dirt and nastyness, that it was presented at a Quarter Sessions some time past for a nuisance. Whereupon yo^r Petition^{er} were induced to make up the present Chapple, partly by the Proprietor of the ground, who, being one of the Congregation, gave the same freely, at a yearly rent, for the common convenience of the Inhabitants; partly that it was upon the wall of one of the foure Chapples in King Charles y^e Second's time; and chiefly that it was in a remote corner, soe as not exposed to any Protestant family; or to the view of the Right Reverend Lord Bishop or y^e Protestant cleargy, or to y^e Worships in yo^r accustomed walks or stations. That the inconveniency heretofore practised by the coming in of the Country men hath been redressed, and will be more hereafter, for that two of the Congregation are appointed every Sabbath day at y^e door of the Chapple to keep them out, soe, few or none of them do now come in, but doe tarry abroad in the little Cabin house Chapple made for themselves. That the better to please the Protestant cleargy and Govern^t, there is that course taken that the doore of this Chapple is shut up, and all service ended, by the time they go to church on y^e Sabbath. That having thus far endeavoured to conform themselves to the pleasure of their Protestant neighbours, and not imagining that

Appendix 4: Extract from a Petition from Waterford Catholics c.1710

Source: Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquities of Ireland vol.6

(Dublin, 1860).

they would have taken offence, whatever one or a few private persons may doe on some private peeke to some particular, they tooke into consideration the solemn articles of Limerick, whereof his Ma^{ty} and Govern^r have been always very tender and carefull to keep them inviolable, and were confirmed by Act of Parliament. That it is one of the express articles that all the Roman Catholiques, not only those adjudged within them, but all the kingdom over, shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their Religion as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second. And that they are to be preserved from any disturbance upon account of their religion. The clause of the Article is hereto annexed, which they pray may be perused. That they always hoped that his Ma^{ty} and Govern^r, who were graciously pleased to allow them the exercise of their Religion, doe intend the same to be with some decency and conveniency, as it was in King Charles' time. That if forced to goe out of gates, there is no house or Chapple but such as are too narrow for theyr own parishioners, nor can the old, sickly, gouty, or decrepitt go thither, who cannot be served at theyr houses; the number of the cleargy who heretofore might have been spared to serve particulars being reduced to the respective Parish Priests since y^e banishment of the Regulars. That in Dublin, under the eye of the Government, they have divers Chapples in the City, and are graciously permitted. That Corek is no presedent, for there are no Romans within that City but doe live in the suburbs, which are there, and in other Cittys, as convenient for y^e inhabitants, and neare as good as the very Cittys. Whereas, here there are no such suburbs, and such as are, they are so remote, and beyond such a height, that the old, weak, and decrepitt cannot frequent thither. That experience shews no Turbulency, Riott, or disorder did ever happen or arise in the City by reason of any Chapple, when they were more numerous; and, therefore, much less reason for supposing any such at this time that God and his Ma^{ty} were pleased to send us peace and quietness, and y^e memory of past injuries is almost effaced, and partly expiated these ten years past by som punishment on the offenders.

“The Premises considered,

“It is humbly prayed, that as a matter in itself inoffensive to the Protestant Inhabitants, and suitable in that liberty of conscience the Govern^r is pleased to allow them, and as suitable to the saide Articles, whereof his Ma^{ty} and Govern^r have been always regardfull, not mentioning the article of this City, of Liberty and Property, granted by his Ma^{ty} on his Royall Person, that they may not be hindered from the exercise of their religion with some conveniency whilst they behave themselves as dutifull subjects, and without offence to y^e Govern^r, and they will Pray.

“[Endorsed] The humble Petetion and Remonstrance of y^e Roman Catholique Inhabitants of this City.

“LIMERICK ARTICLES.

“Articles agreed upon y^e 3^d day of October, 1692, between y^e Right Hon^{ble} Sir Charles Porter, Kn^t, and Charles Comingsby, Esq^r, Lords Justices of Ireland, and his Excellency Baron de Ginkle, Lieut.-General and Commander in Chief of the English Army, of the one part, and my Lord Loran, &c.

REPORT ON THE STATE OF POPERY

Names of Parishes	Number of Mass-Houses	Built since K. George ye 1st	Number of Priests to each	Private Chappels	Reputed Priories	Number of Friars	Reputed Nunneries	Number of Nuns	Popish Schools Latin	Popish Schools English
Diocese of Waterford										
St. Patrick's								2		The Popish Parishioners of St. Patrick's, St. Peter's & Stephen's hear Mass at the Mass-Houses in Trinity Parish adjoining. The Three Friars mentioned in St. John's Parish are the same with the Three Priests yt officiate at ye Mass-House in sd Parish, but the Five Friars in St. Stephen's are reported to officiate mostly abroad in private houses in the country. The Popish Parishioners of Kl. St. Lawrence hear Mass at St. John's. * One in each Parish reputed to teach Philosophy.
St. Peter's										
St. Stephen's				1	5					
St. John's	1	3			3			1	1	
Kl. St. Lawrence										
Diocese of Lismore										
Kilbermeaden	2	1	4	2				2*	1	
Donhill	1		2					1		
Newcastle & Gilcagh	1		1					1*	1	

Diocess	Parish	Mass houses of K. George 1st	Preists	Schools Popish	Fryarys, Nunneries, Private Chappels, Masse houses since 1st of K. George 1st
Waterford	Lisnekil	one	one	one	none

November 24th, 1731. RICHARD POCOCKE. Curate.

Diocess	Parish	Mass houses	Priests	Friaries Nunneries	Popish Schools and Chappels
Waterford	Reiske	none	one	none	none

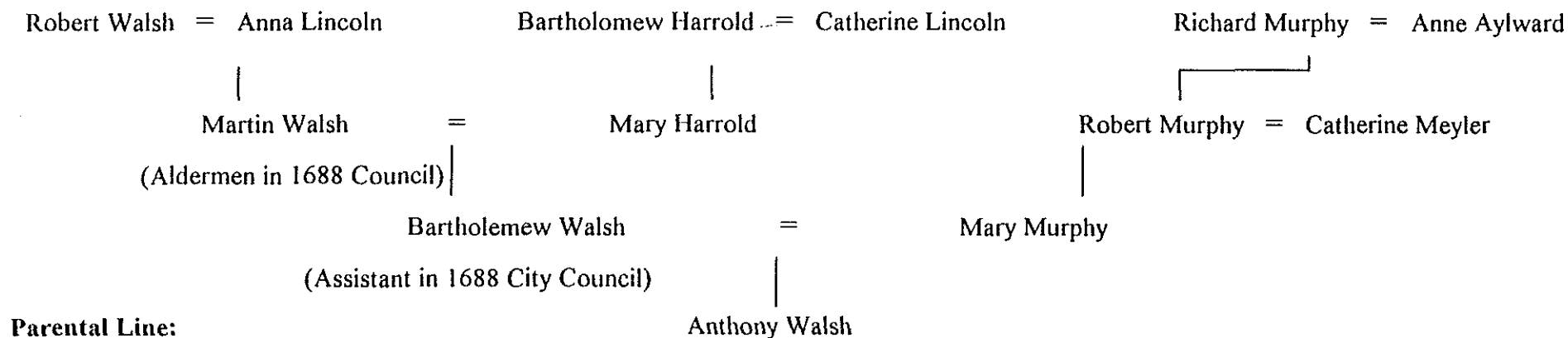
JACOB DENIS, Vicar.

Appendix 5:

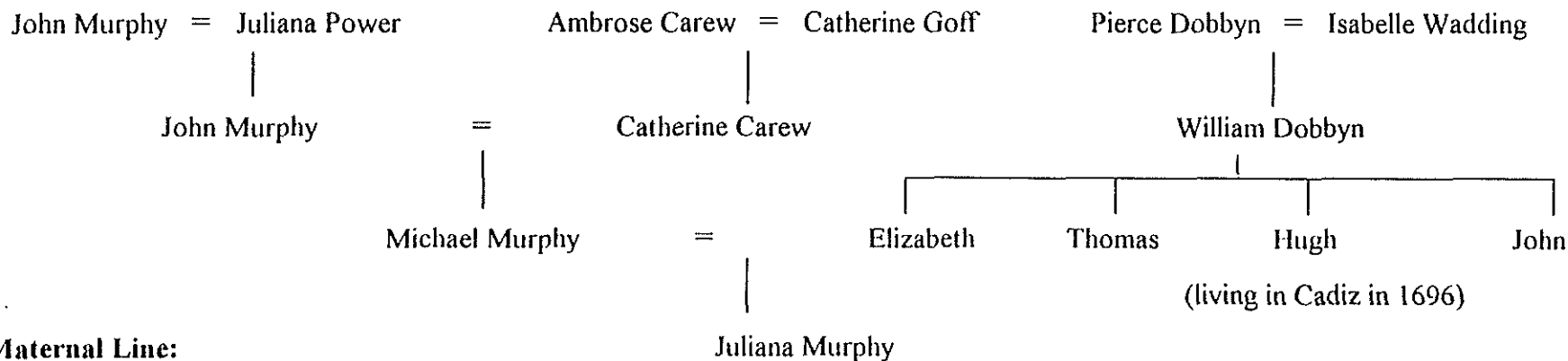
Report on the State of Popery in Waterford, 1731
 Source: Archivium Hibernicum vol.II (Dublin, 1913)

Appendix 6: Genealogy of Bartholomew Walsh, merchant in Cadiz in 1770, son of Anthony Walsh and Juliana Murphy.

His genealogy included many prominent Waterford families.



Parental Line:



Maternal Line:

Based on MS 16 p 70-71, Genealogical Office, National Library of Ireland.

- Claudio, his son (rest blank).
 Guillermo Servando, his son, unm., 20, b. Cadiz, merchant, absent.
 Domingo Antonio, his son, unm., 18, b. Cadiz, merchant.
 Antonio, his son, 11, Cadiz, absent.
 Other sons Bartolomé, 8, and José Ignacio, 1, both b. Cadiz.
 Tomás Terri, m., 25, b. Malaga, merchant.
 Juan Walsh, unm., 23, Irish, cashier.
 Pedro Walsh, unm., 16, Irish, cashier.
 1 janitor; 1 cook; 2 servants.
- p.273 Sara Purcell, widow, head of family.
 Patricio Purcell, her only son, unm., 20, b. Cadiz, merchant in partnership with his mother.
 Diego Conny, unm., 60, Irish, book-keeper.
 1 cook; 1 servant.
- p.276 Pedro Langton, widower, 63, Irish, merchant.
 1 clerk; 1 servant.
- p.277 Clementina Morfi, widow, head of family.
 Juan Vanchalen, her son, unm., 25, b. Cadiz, claims that he is serving in the Royal Walloon Guards.
 Antonio, her son, 13, b. Cadiz.
 Ignacio Maria de Cadalzo, her son-in-law, m., 40, b. Bilbao, merchant.
 1 cook; 1 servant; 1 page.
- p.279 Eduardo Gough, m., 44, b. Cadiz, merchant.
 His sons Ricardo, 2½, and Roberto, 7 months, both b. Cadiz.
 Juan Wadding, unm., 50, Irish, clerk.
 1 book-keeper; 1 cook; 2 servants; 1 kitchen servant.
- p.280 Fray Antonio Fleming, 25, b. Dublin, novice since 4½ months in the Convento de San Francisco.
- p.296 Carlos Hore, unm., 50, Irish, merchant.
- p.298 Patricio Ronaine, unm., 18, Irish, clerk, 3 servants.
 Juan Nuñez³³, unm., 64, Flemish (*sic*), merchant.
 Francisco Ayres, unm., 25, Irish, clerk.
 Diego Walls, unm., 24, Ireland, clerk.
 3 other clerks.
- pp.328-9 Nicolás Genet, widower, 65, b. Ireland, merchant, noble.
 His sons Carlos 41, Rafael, 31, and Manuel, 20, all unm., b. Cadiz, merchants, noble.
 Agustin Genet, m., 58, b. Ireland, merchant, noble.
 Nicolás, his son, unm., 21, b. Cadiz, clerk, noble.
 Antonio Leonardo, unm., 56, b. Ireland, merchant.
 Guillermo Leonard, unm., 47, b. Ireland, merchant.
 1 cook; 5 servants.
- p.334 Lucas White, unm., 33, b. Ireland, merchant.
 Tomas Morfi, unm., 18, b. Ireland, cashier.
 2 servants.
 Andrés Blak, unm., 50, b. Ireland, merchant.
- pp.349-50 Manuel Pouer, unm., 44, Irish, merchant, 2 servants.
 Eugenio Osulivan, unm., 60, b. Ireland, merchant.
 Daniel Osulivan, unm., 30, b. Ireland, merchant.
 Gil Osulivan, unm., 60, b. Ireland, merchant, 2 servants.
- pp.357-8 Miguel Funosey³⁴, unm., 46, b. Ireland, merchant.
 Gerónimo Power, unm., 29, b. Ireland, merchant.
 Diego Maclahugin, unm., 31, b. Ireland, clerk.

33. Nugent. He was a native of Waterford.

34. Fennessy.

Appendix 7: Extract from the Census records of Cadiz, Spain in 1773.

Source: J. Walton, 'Census records of the Irish in Eighteenth Century Cadiz' in *The Irish Genealogist* vol.6, 6 (London, 1985).pp 754-755.

- f.3] Ricardo Juialintin, m., 32, b. Ireland, carpenter.
 f.37v Brijida Boorquez³⁵ m., 50, b. Ireland, assisting her husband.
 f.40v Guillermo Terri, widower, 59, b. Cadiz, collector of wine tax (?) 1 servant.
 f.70 Guillermo Walgrove, m., 50, b. Cadiz, ward corporal.
 His sons Antonio, 25, Miguel, 20, and José, 16, all unm., b. Cadiz, tailor's workmen.
- f.92 Guillermo Wil, m., 56, b. Straveler in Ireland, keeps a food-shop.
 Oliver Ustad, his nephew, 10, b. Dublin in Ireland.
- f.93 Juan Lyon, m., b. Corck in Ireland, carpenter. 1 servant.
 f.94 Roberto Fleming, m., 64, b. Dublin, merchant. 1 servant.
 f.99 Ana Jungs, m., 60, b. Ireland, laundress.
 f.101v Juan Flajaru³⁶, m., b. Limeri in Ireland, master tailor. His sons Antonio, 10, and Tomás, 7, both b. Cadiz.
- f.102 Nicolás Cre, m., 50, b. Waterford, Ireland, innkeeper. 1 servant.
 f.105 Jonas Lati, m., 39, b. Ireland, innkeeper. 2 servants.
 f.106 Esteban Escuna, m., 60, b. Ireland, cobbler.
 f.118 Juan Martin Power, m., 32, clerk in the house of Lorenzo Strange, Irish.
 Roberto, his son, 2, b. Cadiz.
- f.119 Bartolome Valois³⁷, ward official, m., 40, merchant, Irish.
 Antonio, his son, 1½.
 1 cook; 1 servant; 1 slave.
- ibid.* Anastasia Valois³⁷, assistant to the family of Isabel Barchetti and her son Antonio Olivarez.
ibid. María Veale, widow of Guillermo Molone. 1 servant.
- f.121 Ana Phelan, widow.
 f.121v Tomás Patricio Rian, m., 30, merchant, b. Cadiz.
 His sons Tomás Domingo, 4, Ignacio Roberto, 14 months, and Francisco Eulogio, 2 months, all b. Cadiz.
 Arturo Jacobs, unm., 50, book-keeper, Irish.
 1 cook; 1 servant.
- f.122 Esteban Fleming, m., 36, merchant, b. Puerto de Santa Maria.
 1 servant; 1 other merchant.
- f.124 Guillermo Tonson, m., 33, merchant, Irish.
 José Guillermo Tonson, his son, 2, b. Cadiz.
 Juan Morfi, unm., 18, his only clerk, Irish.
 1 cook; 1 black slave.
- f.125 Catalina Porter y Wadding, widow, merchant.
 Felipe Hacket, unm., 46, clerk, Irish.
 1 messenger; 1 cook.
- f.127 Luis Butler m., 56, merchant, Irish.
 Juan Butler, his son, unm., 20, studying commerce, b. Gírlaltar.
 Guillermo Doyle, unm., 34, book-keeper, Irish.
 José Barron, unm., 26, cashier, Irish.
 1 cook; 1 kitchen-servant; 1 servant; 1 messenger.
- f.127v Jácomo Gough, m., 36, merchant, b. Cadiz.
 Eduardo, his son, 3, b. Cadiz.
 1 servant; 1 cook.

35. Burke.
 36. Flaherty.
 37. Walsh.