

# A SHORT HISTORY OF COUNTY WATERFORD

BY  
REV. P. POWER

## PREFACE

Compilation of this short history was first suggested to the writer by a small group of primary teachers who had found themselves cramped in their task through lack of such a manual. The little book is styled a SHORT History rather than a SCHOOL History lest the latter title should scare away the ordinary adult reader. As a matter of fact its author had the interests of the adult reader in question before his mind as well as the demands of the school. Primarily, no doubt, the work has been written with special regard to the wants of teachers and their senior pupils, but the writer is not without hope that it will be read also by the pupils' parents and by many Waterford men and women besides.

Local (including County) history is really the nation's history in microcosm; as such it has assumed increased importance in recent times. Today it is recognised that the best way to interest the young in national, and general, history is to begin with the local story. This local story, because of its association with familiar places, buildings or persons, becomes, as it were, a concretion of the abstract and it, at once, grips the youthful attention. By its agency the road is smoothed to a wider outlook. It has this further effect - not quite so apparent, but just as real: it increases love for the Irish countryside with the latter's countless memorials of the past and, like nature-study, it adds a new interest to every rural prospect and ramble.

## A SHORT HISTORY OF COUNTY WATERFORD

---

### THE PRE-CHRISTIAN PERIOD

HISTORY, as commonly understood, is the story of the past as told by written records. There are, however, other records which carry the story back hundreds - often, thousands of years before the introduction of writing. These unwritten records are archaeological objects or the ancient remains of early man's handiwork, in the shape of his tools, habitations, personal ornaments, weapons: burial monuments, domestic utensils, and such like things. Strictly speaking the story of man, or of a race or country, derived from purely archaeological sources is styled pre-history, whereas the name of history is more properly reserved for the tale told by the written documents. It by no means follows that history is more credible or reliable than pre-history. In fact it is rather the other way about, for the records, i.e. monuments, or ancient remains on which pre-history rests, are less liable to mislead than written records which are so easily tainted by the prejudices, personal interests or untruthfulness of their authors.

Our earliest ascertained fact of Co. Waterford history, is that the region later called Decies, and now known as Portlairge or Waterford, was occupied by man as early as the period styled Palaeolithic or the Old Stone Age.

We cannot exactly date this period. At present we can only say that it was some thousands of years before Christianity. Remains of what seem to be men of this distant time have been found at Kilgreany, near Cappagh, associated with the bones of strange, and long since extinct, animals like the reindeer, the elk and the bear, which once roamed the plains of Southern Ireland. The period to which these early men and beasts belonged was towards the close of what is known as the Ice Age, when this fair land of ours was much colder than it is at present and when not only Ireland but all Northern Europe was covered by ice hundreds of feet thick in places. It was this mighty ice coat, ever in slow motion towards the lower levels, which, in those distant ages, carved out the pleasant landscape of today. As the enormous mass moved slowly along it

planed the mountain sides, scooped out the valleys, laid down the plains and formed the rivers, as it discharged volumes of muddy water from its melting bosom. Our rivers of today are the successors on a small scale of the mighty Ice Age streams. How, it will be asked, in these conditions of Arctic severity, could human life endure? We might answer this question by pointing to the lands where the Esquimaux dwell today. Moreover, the southern Irish coastal area, i.e., Kerry, Cork, Waterford, etc., probably had a somewhat less rigorous climate, in which human existence was not only possible but tolerable. Co. Waterford is the only part of Ireland from which undoubted human remains of so early a period have so far been found.

To the Palaeolithic, or period of unpolished stone implements, during which man used only splintered pieces of stone or wood, succeeded the Neolithic or period of polished, and artificially sharpened, stone. Stone implements of this latter kind are known as Celts, a word which, by the way, has no connection with Celt, a racial name. Many stone implements of the kind associated with the Neolithic have been found in Co. Waterford. There is an uncommonly fine specimen in the National Museum, from Aghlish, in our county. This shows, even if we had no other evidence of the fact, that Ireland continued to be occupied by man during the newer stone period which ended about 2,000 B.C. During the two periods of the Stone Age early man in Ireland was, more or less, forced by necessity to live largely along the seashore, for he had no tools equal to the task of cutting down trees and clearing the land. He knew nothing of crops or tillage, and he had not yet domesticated the ox or the horse. Over and above all he dreaded the wild beasts and the imagined dangers of the wooded interior. How long the Stone Age, in its two sub-divisions, lasted we cannot at present say with certainty. All we know definitely is that the older sub-period was very much longer than the Neolithic, or later. To the Stone Age succeeded the Age of Bronze, during which implements of bronze or of copper were used. Man had not yet learned the use of iron. Discovery of Bronze Age objects, such as hatchets, chisels and spearheads, prove that Waterford was occupied during this second as during the preceding period. The copper mines of Bonmahon were worked during the Age, and in the disused early workings there bone picks and stone mauls have been found. Bronze, it may be necessary to state, is an amalgam, or composition, of copper and tin. What appears to have been a foundry or factory of bronze implements was found, some years since, on the verge of Knockmaon bog to west of Dungarvan. A primitive agriculture and the making of pottery were practised in the Bronze Age. Remarkable remains of the Bronze Age were found on the summit of Kilwatemoy Hill in 1930; these included urns of baked clay containing burned human remains. Similar discoveries of Bronze Age burials have been made at Carbally Hill (Gaultier), Kilbride (near Tramore) and elsewhere in the County. The Bronze Age commenced in this country, as we have already seen about 2,000 B.C., and continued up to about 350 B.C. Throughout the Age Ireland in general, and southern Ireland in particular, kept up a close intercourse with the Continent; evidence of this is furnished by the numbers of Irish Bronze Age objects found in foreign lands. From about the middle of the Irish Bronze Age the foreign trade generally declined, and towards its end it had practically ceased.

The Irish Bronze Age might also be styled the Age of Gold because during the period, our island produced large quantities of the precious metal.

The Bronze Age ended and the Early Iron Age began about 350 B.C. This new period marks a great epoch in Ireland's story: within it took place the discovery or introduction of writing, the coming of the Celts, the rise of Tara as a political centre, and the introduction of new weapons, tools, artistic ideas and burial customs. The earliest style of writing used in Ireland was the Ogham, an alphabet or series of symbols adapted to the oldest known form of Irish. Forty ogham inscriptions, in all, have been found in the county, but only one within the Co. Tipperary portion of ancient Decies. These Ogham inscriptions are merely commemorative of the dead, and of the individuals whom they commemorate we know nothing beyond their names. The Early Iron Age lasted 700 or 800 years and was succeeded by the Early Christian Age.

The earliest known reference to Ireland in a foreign writer is of the mid second century B.C. Its author is Posidonius, a Greek, who confesses that he knew little or nothing about the country beyond its name and general location. Our first account of any real value is Ptolemy's, of some three hundred years later. Ptolemy was a Greek geographer who evidently got his information from sailors, and he is much better informed on the southern than on the northern parts of the island. He places on the south coast of Ireland a people, tribe or race whom he calls Iverni, and east of these along, approximately, the coasts of Waterford and Wexford, another people whom he styles Menapii.

Next, we find the Deisi in possession of Co. Waterford, most of which up to their coming had probably formed part of Leinster. This would be about the beginning of our written history, i.e., in the early part of the fourth century, A.D. The Deisi, who have remained identified with Waterford for nearly sixteen centuries, were originally a people from Meath, dispossessed and driven out of their more ancient territory towards the

middle of the third century - in the time of Cormac MacAirt. After various wanderings part of the expelled people found a home in the present Co. Waterford after they had fought and expelled the more ancient occupiers, whom they forced into Ossory. It is from these newcomers that the region came to be called Decies, by which name it continued to be known for a thousand years. The territory in question embraced not only the present county of Waterford but also the portion of Co. Tipperary which is now included in the Diocese of Lismore. It was ruled, from its conquest up to the English invasion, by the chieftain or regional King of the Deisi, who, in later times, was usually, if not always, an O'Phelan, and who owed allegiance himself to the provincial King of Cashel. Under the territorial King of Decies were kings, or rulers, of Triuchas (roughly corresponding to our baronies), and under these again, chiefs of Tuaths (corresponding to our parishes). Other great families of Decies were O'Bric, O'Meara, O'Flanagan, O'Breslin, O'Foley, and O'Keane. In Northern Decies, i.e., between Carrick-on-Suir and Cahir, was a ruling family of the O'Neills who had no immediate connection with the Ulster sept of that name. Government and legal administration was according to the Brehon Code, which differed widely in its principles from our modern law system. Succession to kingship was regulated by the same code, under which it was quite exceptional for son to succeed his father immediately, or, indeed at all.

In ancient Ireland there were no cities or even towns before the time of the Danes (8<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> century). The people, at least from the Early, Iron Age up, lived mostly by agriculture and cattle raising as to-day, and they dwelt within circular enclosures of earth, called raths or lioses - in huts of wood or wattle. They had roads and some wheeled vehicles. They cultivated the land by means of wooden ploughs, they grew wheat, oats and rye, and they had skilful smiths who wrought in iron, bronze and gold. They had no coined money till the coming of the Danes, but they traded gold by weight, and the cow was the standard of value, somewhat after the manner of our £1 sterling. As a rule the lios, or homestead, had more than a single surrounding fence; each of the circular ramparts had its moat or trench, from which its material was evacuated, on its outside. The trenches, moats or dug-out spaces between the concentric banks were often used for impounding the cattle at night to protect them from wolves. In some cases the trenches could be flooded with water as an extra protection to the homestead; hence such names as Lios-an-Uisce.

### **THE EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD**

Introduction of Christianity in the 5<sup>th</sup> century is the first outstanding event in the written history of Ireland. How Christianity first found entry to the Decies we do not know for certain. We have no record that St. Patrick ever preached there himself or that he ever sent one of his disciples to preach therein. The probable reason is that Christianity was already in course of establishment through the preaching of St. Declan. Declan, whose preaching, confined to his own kindred, most probably preceded Patrick's by a few years, was himself of the ruling Decies family and lived well into St. Patrick's time. Declan was a Christian from his infancy, and upon his ordination (where, or by whom, we know not) he devoted himself to the conversion of his own people and established his chief church by the seashore, at Ardmore. In early Christian Ireland bishops were more numerous than they are today. Multiplicity of bishops is, in fact, one of the peculiarities of the early Irish Church. Within the Decies, for instance, there were bishops not only at Ardmore and Lismore, but at Kilsheelan, Kilbarrymeaden, Donoghmore, Clashmore, Mothel and other places. This does not necessarily mean that, at each of these places, a regular succession of bishops was maintained. Far as we know, there was only an occasional bishop at most of them. We have, for example, the names of three or four bishops of Ardmore, of one or two bishops of Kilcash, etc. By end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century all these bishoprics had been cut down to three: - Lismore, Ardmore and Waterford, and shortly afterwards the See of Ardmore disappears.

The Diocese of Waterford (as distinct from Lismore) is of small extent: - including only the city with the present barony of Gaultier and part of Middlethird. Gaultier was originally the territory of the Danes of Waterford who, upon their conversion to Christianity in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, had a bishop of their own consecrated for them, not by the Archbishop of Cashel or any other Irish Church authority, but by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom they made themselves spiritually subject. Subjection to Canterbury continued, however, only for a short time. By 1172 we find Waterford acknowledging the ecclesiastical headship of Cashel. The first Bishop of Waterford was Malchus, an Irishman who had been a monk in England; he was appointed in 1096.

The Diocese of Lismore embraces almost all the Co. Waterford not included in Waterford Diocese together two baronies (and parts of two others) of Co. Tipperary, as well as a small area of Co. Cork. Formerly Lismore Diocese included a larger area of Co. Cork than it does today. The present Diocese of Waterford

and Lismore represents the territory of Decies as the latter extended in the early 12<sup>th</sup> century, when the present diocesan boundaries became fixed. The first Bishop of Lismore was St. Carthage, otherwise Mochuda, of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. He was also Abbot of the great monastery which he established in his episcopal city. In the early Irish Church it is nothing unusual to find the superior of a religious house also bishop of the territory. Lismore grew to be a great monastery and also a centre of learning to which students came, not only from all parts of Ireland, but even from foreign lands. Among the illustrious men associated with Lismore are Malchus, Bishop of that See, Cataldus, Bishop of Tarentum in Italy, Malachy, Primate of Ireland and Apostolic Legate, Christian, also Apostolic Legate, St. Celsus of Armagh, and Cormac MacCarthy, royal builder of the famous church which bears his name on the Rock of Cashel. Alfred the Great of England is also said to have studied for a while in this famous school. At one time there were no fewer than seven churches in Lismore, and there was a religious house for women, as well as the great monastery for men, into which no female might enter. The only surviving monuments of Lismore's golden age are the ancient cross-inscribed grave slabs set in the west wall of the old Cathedral, portions of the Cathedral itself, a round headed and decorated arch forming portion of the castle entrance, and the well known episcopal crozier of Lismore, which dates from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The City of Lismore grew up around the Cathedral and Bishop's residence as Ardmore had grown around the shrine of St. Declan.

The long interval from the 6<sup>th</sup> century to the 12<sup>th</sup> constitutes what we may call the Golden Age of the Irish Church. It was a period marked by religious fervour and missionary activity, in which the men of Decies had full share. Besides the famous school and monastery of Lismore there were monasteries or religious communities at Ardmore, Clashmore, Darinis of the Blackwater, Mothel, Churchtown (Disert Nairbre), and other places. In these retreats of prayer and learning chosen souls found peace in a troubled age, and from them went out missionaries to various European lands. Among Waterford Saints commemorated in the Irish calendars we find Mochu of Clashmore, Mochuma of Kilmacomb, Ronan of Kilronan, Ita of Kilmeaden, Kilbarrymeaden and Kilmeedy, Molana of Darinis, half a score of Saints associated with Lismore, Brogan and Cuan of Mothel, Otteran of Killotteran, Munna of Portlaw, Aileran of Carrickbeg, MacLaig of Kilmacleague, Mochuarog of Ballygunner, etc. Some two score Saints additional have left their only memorial in the names or the churches they founded, like Kilmovee, Killossera, Kilrossanty and Kilmolash.

The City of Waterford is not, like Lismore, of ecclesiastical origin. When the Ostmen, Danes or North, men swooped down upon Ireland in the 9<sup>th</sup> century they fixed their local headquarters at a point on the Suir where the river is joined by the stream now called St. John's Pill. The place offered a secure haven, and the settlement, triangular in plan, was protected on two sides by water and on the third by a high stony ridge, probably furze covered and difficult to descend in those days. There the Ostmen, having built their town, surrounded it by a good stone wall for which the stony ridge already alluded to afforded building material. It is not improbable that some sort of native Irish village with a church preceded the new town on the same site. At any rate, during excavations, about twenty five years since, on what was the highest point of the Danish city, traces of an early cemetery, possibly pre-Danish, were unearthed. Circuit of the Danish city embraced an area of about twenty-five acres-bounded approximately by a line drawn from Reginald's Tower to a point near the present ruin of St. Michael's Church, and from that down, along the east frontage (or a few feet to rear) of Michael Street, Broad Street and Barronstrand Street, to Turgesius's Tower, which stood at the present corner of the Quay and Barronstrand Street. From Turgesius's Tower the line ran straight along the present Quay to Reginald's Tower. The Danes, too, made it their care to secure an adequate area of corn land on the banks of the river and convenient to their town. The Normans, three centuries later, extended the city area by removal of the whole western wall and erection of a new rampart, which they carried from Colbeck Gate to St. John's Bridge, thence around by Railway Place and up the steep slope of Castle Street, thence again, via the present rear. of Stephen Street, to site of the modern jail, and thence, finally, by way of the tower adjoining Messrs. Harvey's printing works, to Turgesius's Tower on the Quay. Various castles in Railway Square, Castle Street and Stephen Street still stand to mark the line of ancient wall. Moreover, fairly long stretches of the wall itself are preserved.

Foundation of the city is usually assigned to the year 853 A.D.; the date may not be quite accurate, but it is near enough to accuracy for our purpose. The city founders were pagans with no love for Christianity and its professors, but very covetous of the precious things which the Christians had dedicated to the service of God. We may therefore assume there was much plunder, rapine and bloodshed along the banks of the Suir, and inland as far as penetration was easy. When the sea-rovers first appeared in Waterford they were under a chief named Sitric. It was they who gave the name Waterford, meaning secure haven, to the place whereon rose their future city. It was probably as a wintering station that the site was originally occupied; gradual erection of the town followed. Dublin arose much at the same time and under similar circumstances; its

founder was Amlave, Awley or Olave. From the beginning the Waterford settlement possessed a fleet of galleys; this was defeated in 858 by Cearbhall, King of Ossory. Half a century later a second colony of searovers joined the first. By 924 the Ostmen of Waterford had grown so powerful that they were able to plunder so far away as Kildare, and three years later, under MacGodfrey of Waterford, they repeated their unwelcome visit to St. Brigid's Shrine and carried away captives and rich spoils. Henceforth, for nearly a century, Waterford and its Ostmen continued a thorn in Ireland's side. In 916 the Waterford Ostmen went on an expedition against Scotland, but they were beaten off by Constantine, a King of the country. Again in 937, in alliance with Ceallachan, King of Cashel, they ravaged Meath, plundered two abbeys and carried the abbots away as prisoners. Ivor, ruler of Waterford, died in 1000 and was succeeded by his son Reginald or Raynol, who is believed to have built in 1013 the tower named after him. Reginald's reign must have been brief for, at the date of the Battle of Clontarf (1014) the King of Waterford was not Reginald but Sitric. Though the power of the Danes was badly shaken at Clontarf it was not completely destroyed; we have the names of at least three Danish successors of Sitric in Waterford. The Annals record the burning of Waterford in 1038, and another similar conflagration in 1087. When we remember that the houses of the period were of wood and thatch, we can understand how easily the town might be burned down.

The history of Co. Waterford during the period from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> century is merely the general history of Ireland in miniature. Danish raids rendered life and property specially insecure. So far from being immune, churches and monasteries were particularly exposed to spoliation, and, deprived of their civilizing influence, the country deteriorated morally and industrially. The number of churches throughout the country had increased till it was about twice that of the present day; on the other hand, the buildings were small and poor and they offered but little temptation to the plunderers. It was otherwise with the monasteries - Mothel, Kilbarrymeaden, Dungarvan, Clashmore, Ardmore, Molana and Lismore. They were comparatively wealthy and they were plundered, and not merely once or twice, but, some of them, many times over. Many religious, whose abbeys were sacked and burned, fled across the sea to Gaul and other countries, where, as missionaries, they helped in the conversion of the half-barbarous and semi-pagan natives of the remoter regions.

At the Battle of Clontarf in 1014, when the Danes were routed and overthrown by Brian Borumha, Waterford was represented on both sides, scil. the city on the Danish side, under Sitric King of Waterford, and the county, in the army of King Brian, under its tribal chieftain, Mothla MacFelain of Decies. Both sides suffered severely, but the power of the Danes was broken forever.

Under date 1118 the Irish Annals gravely record the capture of a Muirduichan, or Mermaid, in the Suir at Waterford. Twelve years later they have more serious matters to note: war had broken out between the Danes of Waterford and their fellow-Ostmen of Wexford and Dublin. The latter were aided by the Irish of Thomond and Leinster, while Donnchadh McCarthy of Decies fought on the side of the Waterford men. The city was besieged and forced to surrender. Alliances of foreigners with native Irish is an indication that the Danes were in course of actual transformation into Irishmen. Absorption of the Northmen was completed by their conversion to Christianity a little later.

Up to the period at which we have now arrived, scil. middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Ireland had little or no notion of nationhood or national unity. In theory there was, to be sure, a central headship and a High King whose rule was supposed to extend over the whole island, but in practice the monarch's authority was perhaps as likely to be denied as acknowledged. The idea of nationhood had no long tradition behind it, and hence it was, largely - every petty state for itself. This policy-superadded to the native method of electing kings and chieftains, led to wars without, and dissensions within, the petty state-and indeed, to general unrest. Lack of national unity it was which made possible the English invasion of Ireland in 1172; had there been a lively national sense foreign conquest could never have taken place or been maintained.

## **THE INVASION PERIOD**

The Anglo-Norman Invasion, commonly called "The Invasion" simply, is the turning point in Irish history. A band of Norman knights and men-at-arms, under Fitzstephen, Fitzhenry, Montmarisco and others, landed in Co. Wexford, near the mouth of Waterford Harbour, in 1169, and, almost at the same time, another similar band of freebooters, under Raymond le Gras, landed in Waterford. Le Gras was attacked by the citizens, aided by O'Faelain of Decies and O'Ryan of Idrome (N.Ossory), but the attackers were defeated with much slaughter. Seventy chief citizens fell into the hands of the English and were put to death-some of the accounts say, by being flung into the river from the top of a cliff. The city itself, however, was not yet taken, but the following year it fell into the hands of Strongbow. Strongbow (otherwise De Clare) was the

leader-in-chief of the Invaders, to whom Fitzstephen, Le Gros and the other generals were subject. He had, it is said, been promised succession to the throne of Leinster for his services in restoring McMurrough, the expelled King of that subkingdom. Had McMurrough made such a contract it would have been invalid, as by Irish law he had no power to nominate his successor. Hard-foot upon Strongbow's arrival in Waterford and his capture of the city with its defenders, O'Faelain of Decies and Reginald of Waterford, came his marriage in Waterford to McMurrough's daughter, Eva.

King Henry II of England came over the following year to take formal surrender of the newly acquired lands and strong places. He confirmed Strongbow and his followers in possession of the lands, and thereupon received their profession of fealty. The King had landed at Waterford, October 18th, 1171, with a great retinue; at Waterford he received the allegiance of Dermot MacCarthy of Desmond (Cork) and, at Lismore, the submission of O'Faelain of Decies and MacGiolla Phadraig of Ossory (Kilkenny), together with the homage of many bishops and abbots. Having received, for whatever it was worth, the allegiance, homage or submission of so many secular and religious potentates, Henry returned to England early in 1172. His departure was the prelude to outbreaks, disturbances and to loud expressions of dissatisfaction which, indeed, have echoed down the centuries to our own times: It is pretty evident that the chieftain of Decies and the other Irish rulers did not consider their promises as binding, inasmuch as the newcomers immediately violated their agreement to respect their neighbours' property. Le Gras, with his personal following, seems to have started the trouble. He made a predatory incursion into Decies, killed numbers of Irish and carried away much plunder from Lismore. On its way back to Waterford Le Gros's party was attacked by Dermot MacCarthy at the head of the dispossessed Danes of Waterford, but the well-disciplined Normans held to their plunder, repelled the attackers, and arrived in Waterford with 4,000 head of cattle and we do not know how much church plunder from Lismore. Acts of hostility such as Le Gros's, even if they had some show of reason to justify them, exasperated the Irish and provoked retaliation; retaliation, in its turn, begat reprisals, and reprisals more retaliation, and so the cycle of violence revolved for seven hundred years, to the ruin of one nation, and the demoralisation but aggrandisement of the other. The English - to justify their invasion of Ireland-produced a document which they alleged was a Papal Bull authorising the conquest in the cause of morality and religion. It is however, doubtful if this Bull be genuine, and it is fairly certain that, if genuine, it was obtained on false pretences. At a Synod of Waterford in 1175, a Bull of Pope Alexander was produced which confirmed the alleged original grant. As the best means of making their position in the country secure the invading Normans, whom, henceforth, we shall call English, parcelled out the accessible parts of the country among themselves. In this division Robert le Poer obtained much of the present Co. Waterford, Otho de Grandison most of Tipperary, and Butler and Barry great estates in Ossory and Desmond (Cork). The new-comers' first care was erection of strong places within which they might defend themselves against the attacks of the dispossessed Irish which they had a right to expect. Their earliest erections were towers of wood, strategically built upon artificial earthworks called motes. The towers were of stout planks clamped with iron, and the earthworks on which the towers stood were mounds, or truncated cones, rising to the height of twenty or thirty feet and surrounded by a palisaded area called a *bailey*. Within the bailey was the encampment or township of the men-at-arms and servitors, while the tower was occupied by the lord and his officers. The timber-crowned motes, or *bretasohes*, were succeeded in a short time by stone castles, but examples of the mote may still be seen at Cheekpoint, Faithlegg, Killure (near Tramore), Tybroghney, Feddins, Dungarvan, Pembrokestown, Ring, Lismore, Garryduff (near Youghal), etc. The era of castle building was inaugurated by Prince John, son of Henry II, who visited Ireland in 1185, and, having landed at Waterford, erected three castles-one at Tybroghney, on the Suir, another at Lismore, and the third at Ardfinan. Subsequently he built a castle at Lismore and another in Dungarvan. All these castles still stand, though considerably altered owing to additions at various periods, and, remarkably enough, all of them are still more or less residentially occupied. On the occasion of the Prince's visit he and his retinue, by their rudeness and bad manners, gave mortal offence to the Irish chiefs who had come to pay their respects to the King's son.

Waterford was formally aligned as a county at a very early period of the foreign occupation - not later, certainly, than the 10th year of King John's reign (1199-1216). The new county did not embrace the whole of ancient Decies; the area of the latter lying to the north of the Suir and of the Slievegua, or Knockmealdown, range became part of Tipperary. Neither did it extend to west of the Blackwater. That portion of the present county which lies beyond the Blackwater was added at a later date.

When Waterford was made a county, towards the close of the 12th, or beginning of the following, century, only portion, as we have seen, of the old Irish principedom of Decies was included in it. The remainder of Decies was incorporated in Tipperary. We have also seen that our present baronies roughly represent the old Irish division known as *triucha*, while the parish in a similar rough way represents the *tuath* or smallest Irish

administrative land division. When, however, we speak of parishes in this connection, we do not mean parishes as in our modern Catholic sense, but the older, or civil, parishes, two or three of which are usually contained in one present-day parish. In our County of Waterford there are seven baronies, scil : Gaultier, Middlethird, Decies-Without-Drum, Decies- Within-Drum, Coshmore and Coshbride, Glenaheiry, and Upperthird. Those names themselves suggest their origin and something of the local history. Gaultier is *Gall-tir*, "foreigners' land." The foreigners referred to were the Danes of Waterford, driven out of the city by the Normans and forced to become agriculturalists in the corner of the county which still bears their name. Middlethird, lying along the coast from Tramore to Annewstown and extending inland to the Suir, recalls another ancient Irish territorial division, the *trian*, or " third part," into which the larger *triuchas* were sometimes divided. No doubt the other *trians* were Gaultier and Upperthird. Decies-Without- Drum preserves the ancient name of the Deisi who occupied the region for so many centuries; its qualification " Without Drum " refers to the barony's location - to north, or without, the Drum mountain range, which runs from Ring west to Tallow. This range is the ancient Drum Finghin, mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters under date, Year of the World, 3,502, in which a battle was fought between Eremhon and Emhear for its possession. Decies-Within-Drum stretches along the coast from Ring to Youghal, and is bounded inland by the hill range already referred to. Coshmore-and-Coshbride was, some of it at least, Desmond, rather than Decies, territory, up to the 17th century. This barony stretches from the Toorig (a tributary of the Blackwater) on the south to the Co. Tipperary boundary on the north, and its name is derived from its proximity (cois) to the Blackwater (Abha Mhor) and the Bride. Glenaheiry lies along the north county boundary from Clonmel west to the junction of the Nire with the Suir. It gets its name from its river, the Nire (Abha-na-hUidhre), which flows from a lake in the Comeragh Mountains. Like Coshmore and Coshbride, Glenaheiry was once Desmond territory. Upper-third, the third trian of our ancient triucha, extends along the Suir from the eastern boundary of Glenaheiry, i.e., from Clonmel, to Portlaw.

If the whole territory of Decies was granted to Robert le Poer neither he nor his descendants made good their claim thereto. Their territory proper, known popularly and later, as *Paoracha*, or Power's Country, extended only from the longitude of Tramore and Waterford city to the Comeragh Mountains. Robert's descendants remained in possession for some five centuries, and some of them (the houses of Curraghmore and Gurteen) remain in possession still. In the course of time they divided up into three main lines - the Dunhill, Kilmeaden and Curraghmore branches, respectively. Of these there were many subordinate stocks, of which the most notable were the Coolfin, Moonarlargie, Rathgormack, Kilballyquilty, Darrigle, Kilbride and Dunmore houses; it is from these stocks that the many families of Power in Co. Waterford and elsewhere derive their origin. Sub-branches of the Desmonds, from which most Fitzgerald families in the county descend, were, in similar fashion, distributed over the corresponding western area of the county; they were seated at Templemichael, Strancally, Dromana, Knockmaon, Farnane and Kilmanahan. Most of these families lost their lands, and some of them their liberty, through their devotion to religion in the 16th and 17th centuries.

In 1211, King John, now in the twelfth year of his reign, paid a second visit to Ireland, and, during his stay, he took up his residence in Waterford. He had previously given a charter to the city confirming an older and similar document. A charter is a royal grant, in writing, of certain privileges. Waterford city received several such grants from successive English Kings, and the original charters may be seen in the municipal archives, Town Hall, Waterford. While in Ireland King John founded the Benedictine Abbey of St. John's in Waterford, and likewise the Leper Hospital of St. Stephen. John Street and Stephen Street derive their respective names from these religious establishments. St. Stephen's is said to have been founded by the King in thanksgiving for his recovery from some skin disease supposed to have been caused by a surfeit of salmon at Lismore. Various forms of skin affection were at the time classed as leprosy. John, also, at the same period extended the city boundaries on the west and built a new wall to enclose the extension.

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries saw much church and abbey building in Co. Waterford, mostly under patronage of the English settlers. The Priory of St. Catherine's without the city walls had been built, on site of the present Courthouse, a few years before King John's visit. The Dominican Friary ("Blackfriars") was founded by the citizens in 1235, and the Franciscan Friary ("The French Church") by Sir Hugh Purcell in 1249. Another Franciscan foundation was made about the same time in Carrickbeg, and an Augustinian in Dungarvan (Abbeyside). To the same thirteenth century belong the Cistercian Abbey of Monksland, near Bonmahon, and the Knights Templars' establishments of Croke, Killure and Kilbarry. To the same or the following century belongs foundation, or rebuilding, of greater number of the little parochial churches whose ruins still stand in their ancient graveyards throughout the county. (See Appendix III.C.)

Beyond the establishment of religious houses the outstanding events of Waterford (city and county) history from the 13th century to the change of religion in the 16th are not many. In 1280 the city was set on fire -

apparently by malicious design, and a great part of it was burned. It took the citizens many years of hard work to recover from this blow.

During the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries there continued a slow and somewhat intermittent increase of English power and influence. There were periods during which the foreign prestige waned, and once or twice it seemed on the point of extinction. It advanced on the whole, nevertheless, till Henry VIII in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century consolidated it by bold, if unscrupulous, measures. Meantime the city developed a considerable foreign trade with the Continent direct. Ships from Flemish, French and Mediterranean ports frequented the harbour of Waterford, and Irish products - wool, hides and homespuns - became well known in Continental markets. In the country parts the descendants of Norman nobles gradually came in time to adopt Irish manners and speech, to conform to Irish law, and generally to become as Irish as the Irish themselves - *Hiberniores ipsis Hibernicis*. Powers, Fitzgeralds, Walshes and Butlers became almost all but pure Irish and looked with suspicion on English interference. It is not always easy to understand, owing to the lack of documents, the mutual relations of old Irish and the foreign settlers, or, indeed, the relations of the earlier settlers with later comers. In 1368 the Powers of Dunhill, whose crumbling castle, daringly perched upon a cliff, overlooks the Annestown stream, joined the O'Driscolls of Baltimore in a hostile attack on the city. The attack was met by the Mayor and Sheriffs, assisted by volunteers, who marched and sailed out to meet the Powers by land and the O'Driscolls by sea. The encounter, however, seems to have been mainly naval, and the citizens' ships were no match for the galleys of O'Driscoll. Among the slain were the Mayor and Sheriff, the Master of the Templars of Kilbarry, and about a hundred chief citizens and stranger merchants who had joined in the fray. The city itself escaped capture, but bad blood was engendered and resentment smouldered for half a century in the citizens' hearts. To avenge the defeat of 1368 a later Mayor, with his Sheriffs, fitted out some vessels and sailed for Baltimore, O'Driscoll's stronghold, in 1413. By stratagem and misrepresentation they gained entrance to O'Driscoll's castle and carried the owner and his family prisoners to Waterford. This was not, however, the end of the long feud. Settlement of old scores led to further disorders and bloodshed. All this we glean from a Statute of King Henry VI (1450) which ordained that, as divers of the King's subjects have been slain by Finian O'Driscoll, "chieftain of his nation," no person of the port of Waterford shall go within the country of the said O'Driscoll under pain of forfeiting all his goods and ships, and any township receiving O'Driscoll or any of his people shall pay a fine of £40. In 1461, a full century from the origin of the feud, we again find O'Driscoll still in alliance with the Powers, in active warfare against the city. As the season was summer the West Cork men were able to land at Tramore or Ballymacaw, there to join their forces with their allies of Dunhill; and thence to march towards Waterford. The armed citizens met the invaders at a place which the old accounts call Ballymacdane; the invaders were defeated and one hundred and sixty of them slain. Many prisoners were, moreover, taken, three of O'Driscoll's galleys captured, and Waterford commemorated the victory by adding the figures of three galleys to the city arms. Hostilities did not, however, cease with the victory of Ballymacdane. They broke out again in 1537, when a Waterford vessel with a hundred tons of wine was driven into the harbour of Baltimore. The O'Driscolls plundered the cargo and broached, or carried away, seventy-five tons of the wine. It was only eleven days later that the news of the outrage reached Waterford. Immediately the Mayor took measures to recapture the ship and punish the piracy. For the first end twenty-four well-armed men of the city set sail in a small sloop for Baltimore, where they arrived the day following and took the carousing O'Driscolls by surprise. They recovered their ship and balance of the cargo, and released the imprisoned crew. Chastisement of the O'Driscolls required more time and care; three weeks were devoted to quiet preparation, and then the punitive expedition sailed from Waterford under the command of Sheriff Woodlock in three galleys with 400 men and some artillery. They entered the haven of Baltimore at night, and at once commenced an attack on O'Driscoll's castle of Inisherkin. By morning they had made so much impression that the garrison fled and the Waterford men took possession. They captured also O'Driscoll's great galley and about 80 smaller craft, 50 of which they burned. They burned, likewise, many villages on the islands and the town of Baltimore, with O'Driscoll's castle on the mainland. After these events we do not again hear of the O'Driscolls, at least in warlike connection.

We must now return to the 14th century, whence Waterford's feud with the O'Driscolls has hurried us. During much of the century the Dunhill and other Powers are on the war-path. Walter of that sept, in 1300, initiated a war against the Irish of Munster, but it does not appear that the campaign was very successful. Some time later in the century we have record that the O'Phelans of Decies massacred 300 raiders who had entered their territory with malicious intent. This last item is of special interest, as it shows that only portion of Decies had been ceded to the Powers, and that the O'Phelans were left in independent or quasi-independent possession of the balance - apparently the barony of Decies. Much about the same time another Power - Arnold, Lord of Dunhill - earned some prominence or notoriety. He was tried for heresy and

murder in 1323. About the middle of the century a somewhat heated controversy over civil matters arose between the Bishops of Cashel and Waterford. In those days, it must be remembered, bishops were temporal, as well as ecclesiastical, administrators, The Archbishop of Cashel, by his officers, in the exercise of what he believed his office, forcibly entered the Bishop's house at Waterford and in a scuffle, wounded some of the Bishop's retainers. The bishops of Waterford during this century were all Englishmen. In 1363, however, on the death of Roger Cradock, the See of Waterford was formally united to Lismore, and so they have remained ever since. The first bishop of the united Sees was Thomas le Reve, also an Englishman.

Various provisions for introduction and Administration of English law were made during the first three centuries of foreign rule. At best, these affected but little the mass of the population. Considerable areas had been subdued; but English influence was now shrinking, again expanding, and hardly ever staple or steady. In theory English law prevailed, but in practice it was otherwise. There were baronial courts under jurisdiction of the feudal lords and courts ecclesiastical under the bishops; these adjudicated in lesser cases. King's judges went on circuit from time to time to hear the greater cases. Numbers of civil cases went before a jury of inquisitors, as it was called. Such a jury, for instance, was empanelled on the death of a landowner, to determine the extent of his property. Notwithstanding all this provision of legal machinery, the Irish, for the most part, clung to the Brehon code. Sometimes a county was, for particular supervision, placed under a governor appointed by the Crown. Thus, Robert le Poer was named Governor of Co. Waterford in 1179. James, Earl of Desmond, was appointed governor (with jurisdiction also over Cork, Kerry and Limerick) in 1444. He held the office only about three years, when it was granted to the Earl of Shrewsbury and his heirs. To Shrewsbury was also granted, at the same time, the City of Waterford, the castle and lands of Dungarvan, and all wrecks upon the coast between Youghal and Waterford. Whatever this grant meant, it was repealed a century later by Henry VIII, but it was renewed, after the lapse of another century, by Charles II. At the same time as the original grant to Shrewsbury there was issued a grant of faculties for self-defence to the City of Waterford, scil. : power or permission to the citizens to assemble wherever they please and, having associated with themselves whatever forces they deem fitting, to ride in manner of war with banners displayed "against the Powers of County Waterford and the Walshes, Grants and Daltons of Kilkenny." For a long time, it was explained, the Anglo-Irish clans aforesaid had been accustomed to prey upon the King's subjects of Waterford and the parts adjoining. This charter illuminates the Irish political situation of the period; it shows effective English authority confined to the towns and a few castles, the first generation of foreign settlers gone over to the Irish, and only nominal currency of the King's writ beyond the Pale, as the area immediately around Dublin and Waterford was called. The Mayor of Waterford of olden times possessed, it will be understood, much wider powers than his successors of our day. He not only led the city forces in warfare, but he was judge within the city and liberties. He was, in fact, so indispensable that his absence from the city was absolutely forbidden. An Act of 1472 (Edward IV) was deemed necessary to permit the Mayor's departure from the city (after he had appointed a competent deputy) on anyone of the following occasions - to parley with Irish enemies or English rebels, to avoid the plague, or to go on pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James at Compostella. By virtue of this statute the Mayor, James Rice, and the two Sheriffs, Patrick Mulgan and Philip Bryan, were able to go on the pilgrimage to Spain, in 1483. In 1463 liberty to coin money was granted to Waterford by the Parliament which met that year in Drogheda. The place of the mint was Reginald's Tower, which, by the way, the Act calls Dundory, and the coins to be struck are the groat, the penny and the halfpenny. They were by no means, however, the first coins to be struck in Waterford, for King John, and, long before him, the Danes, had a mint here. By a later Act (1475) of the Irish Parliament the privileges of the Waterford mint were extended to coins of higher values. This same year (1463) the borough of Dungarvan was incorporated.

Towards the close of the 15<sup>th</sup> century during the reign of Henry VII, parts of Ireland, and Waterford in particular, were disturbed by the respective rebellions of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck. The first of these took place in 1487. Simnel was a carpenter's son of Oxford, who was put forward as the youthful Earl of Warwick, a claimant to the throne. He was supported in Ireland by the Earl of Kildare; then Lord Deputy, and by the City of Dublin. Waterford, with such southern towns as Clonmel, Fethard and Callan, remained loyal to King Henry, and when the rebellion was suppressed; the city received a new charter and a letter of thanks from the King. Warbeck's rebellion followed Simnel's at an interval of ten years, and it was a more serious matter for the city than the latter. Warbeck pretended to be Richard, Duke of York, who had been murdered in the Tower, and who, if he were alive, would be heir to the throne. The powerful Earl of Desmond supported Warbeck, in whose cause he besieged Waterford with a force of 2,400 men. The ancient city, it will be remembered, was surrounded by water on two sides and, by damming St. John's Pill, Kilbarry Marsh was turned into a lake, so that there remained to be defended only the wall from the present Manor Street around by Castle Street and the site of the present jail to the Quayside. Warbeck had the support of a

small fleet which sailed up the Suir, so that two of the ships were able to land men near the present Neptune Foundry, and by the far end of the dam.

The landed detachment was, however, quickly defeated by a sortie of the garrison from Colbeck Gate, and another ship was sunk by gunfire from Reginald's Tower. Neither land party nor ships had effected anything against the city, and both had to withdraw. Warbeck took ship at Passage for Cork, whither he was pursued by the men of Waterford in four ships. From Cork he fled to Kinsale, and thence to Cornwall, with the Waterford ships in hot pursuit. It was, in the end, largely owing to the aid of the Waterford men that the impostor was taken, and the King, to show his gratitude, freed the city for ever from obligation of service in war outside its walls, and covenanted that no authority over it be given henceforth to viceroys or deputy rulers. This signified that

the city was to defend and govern itself, with allegiance to the Crown directly. We shall see later how this charter was violated. It was on this occasion, also that the King granted to the city the motto, "Urbs Intacta Manet Waterfordia."

What was the social and domestic life of our county during what we may call the Norman period, i.e., the 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries? As the old chroniclers did not directly record matters of this kind, we can glean them only imperfectly and incidentally-reasoning, so to speak, between the lines of the chroniclers and from surviving antiquarian remains. Outside the walled towns of Waterford and Dungarvan and the ecclesiastical city of Lismore, the mass of the population was engaged almost exclusively in agriculture. Some iron and copper mining was carried on in a few places, and there was a little ship-building in Waterford city. The farming community lived, as a rule, in round wattle huts like large beehives within circular ramparts of earth, styled raths or lioses. The Norman lords had erected stone castles to replace the wooden structures of the early period. We can see the ruins of these castles at Dunhill, Clonea, Dungarvan, Strancally, Templemichael, and a dozen other places. (See Appendix III.B.). Each castle had its attached and strongly protected bawn, bailey or castle yard. Within the bawn was also the village of the retainers. The larger castles, like Dunhill and Templemichael, were residential and strongly fortified; they were occupied by the lord and his family. Towards the close of the period the residence proper was not within the castle itself, but in a more convenient mansion built up against the castle wall. Lesser castles, like Cullen Castle, Fox's Castle, Ballyheeny and Lisfinny, were of various types; some were occupied by junior branches of the baronial or ruling family, while others were intended solely for defence - to accommodate a small garrison. This garrison was also something of a police force to prevent disorder and to apprehend evildoers, and, no doubt, it was often employed as a tax-collecting agency.

As there were few towns, and as travelling was not easy, each castle and each larger lios had to be more or less self-supporting and self-contained; it had its weaver, its blacksmith and its tailor, and its food, clothing and furniture were home-produced and made. Agriculture paid heavy rents, in kind, and the condition of the agricultural toiler was not much better than serfdom. Roads were poor and badly kept, and wheeled vehicles were rare outside the urban areas. There was much lawlessness, and property of every kind, and even life, was much less secure than today. The Brehon Code, under which the country had lived for a thousand years, was breaking down before the new legal system of the English so that, while the two systems flourished side by side, neither was fully effective or operative. The Norman Powers and Fitzgeralds had become practically Irish; they lived in stone castles, but they had adopted all native customs, including language and, often, law. The native princelings too - such of them as still survived in Co. Waterford - built stone castles instead of their earthen duns. Castles, however, whether of Celt or Norman, were soon to become obsolete in face of the introduction of cannon. Domestic life was necessarily rude where times were disturbed and turbulence constant. Some of the great houses - native Irish and Norman - kept chroniclers and harpers, but, generally speaking, art, literature and learning were at a low ebb - even in the Church. Indeed many of the clergy were little more than illiterate. Food was coarse but plentiful, and cooking was indifferent. The well-to-do ate meat, home-made bread and occasionally vegetables, and they drank milk, whey, beer and wine. For the tillers of the soil the main article of food was oat-meal, boiled, baked or made into a mash with milk or water. Milk, butter and cheese were used as at present, and honey was consumed in quantities and ways that would surprise us today. Grinding was generally done in the local mill owned by the lord, but sometimes it took place at home by means of the quern, or handmill. While, however, the quern was useful in an emergency, it was too slow and it involved too much labour where a large quantity of flour was to be manufactured. Butter was supposed to be improved by burial for a while in a bog. As we have already seen, there was, amongst the body of the people, but little sense of nationality as the latter is commonly understood to-day. Loyalty to chief, or to ruling family, held the place of patriotism, and the deep religious sense of the early Christian times had sadly declined. Bishops and the more highly-placed clergy were of foreign connection, birth or descent, and their feelings towards the mere Irish were not always of the most Christian character. Worse

still, ecclesiastical promotion was, to a considerable extent, in the hands of laymen, sometimes absentees, or of abbots, who had little opportunity of judging a candidate's fitness or merits. The monasteries themselves were much less flourishing and observant of discipline than in earlier times, vocations to the religious state were less numerous, and abbots and priors were much engaged in secular (often in public) affairs.

## THE REFORMATION

With the reign of Henry VIII a new era in Irish history begins. It is not alone the suppression of religious houses which marks the change. A new style of government was introduced which, however, aimed, and by less open methods, at the same end as the old. Conciliation – often, cajolery - was substituted for might of the mailed fist. In pursuit of this policy, and mindful of the city's services to his father, the King, in 1536, sent the citizens of Waterford a gracious letter together with a gilt sword and a cap of maintenance to be borne before the Mayor on ceremonial occasions. The cap and sword are still preserved among the city muniments. At the same time was most probably presented to the Cathedral the wonderful set of antique altar vestments still preserved there.

The most notable event of local history during Henry's reign was, of course, suppression of the religious houses. The King and his friends coveted the property of the monasteries, and by Act of Parliament they declared all this forfeited. At the same time they added insult to injury by alleging quite other reasons for the spoliation. The following is a list of the monasteries suppressed in Co. Waterford: -The Prior of St. Catherine and the Franciscan and Dominican Friaries in the city, the Franciscan Priory of Carrickbeg, the Augustinian Priors of Mothel, Dungarvan and Darinis, and the Hospitallers' houses of Crook, Killure, Kilbarry and Rinnclu. The Benedictine Abbey of St. John's had dissolved itself a few years previous to the general suppression.

In course of the King's French campaign (1544) some Waterford levies which he had in his army earned a somewhat equivocal distinction. At the siege of Bologne Lord Power of Co. Waterford and a Col. Sherlock from the same place served with 700 of their retainers. These Irish kern were really engaged as irregulars - mainly to plunder and terrorise. In their allotted role the Waterford men were so successful that a French trumpeter was sent to the English commander to enquire whether they were men or devils! One of the band, Nicholas Walsh, by name, accepted the challenge of a French champion to single combat. Walsh swam across an arm of the sea to the spot where the Frenchman awaited him, promptly defeated the champion, whom he slew and beheaded, and, then swam back, carrying the slain champion's head by its hair.

During the short reigns of Edward VI (1547-53) and Mary (1553-58) nothing remarkable seems to have happened in Waterford; at any rate the chroniclers have not recorded anything such. In 1569, during the reign of Elizabeth, the citizens of Waterford stood on their charter when Lord Deputy Sydney begged from them a few soldiers for three days to fight against the Geraldines who threatened him in the neighbourhood of Clonmel. The citizens pleaded the charter of Henry VII, and the Lord Deputy had to seek assistance elsewhere. In 1575 a remarkable man was buried in Waterford (where, exactly, we are not told) scil. Sir Peter Carew, author of a famous work on Irish history, "Pacata Hibernia." He had amassed an immense fortune in Ireland through recovery of lands which two centuries earlier had been granted to his ancestor, but which had never been formally taken possession of. Carew, in prosecution of his claim, had the expert assistance of his agent, the historian, Hooker.

The chief Irish events of Elizabeth's reign were (apart from religious persecution) the Queen's wars in Ulster, first with Shane, afterwards with Hugh, O'Neill, and the great Desmond rebellion. This last directly concerns us, for Desmond possessed an extensive estate in Co. Waterford, some of the hard fighting took place in the same county, and, finally, among the confiscated lands were thousands of acres in West Waterford. During the rebellion Waterford became a chief port for the landing of English troops; there were occasional landings also at Dungarvan. The Desmond rebellion, which broke out in 1579, is one of the outstanding events of Munster history. It seems to have been deliberately provoked in order to bring about confiscation of the rich Desmond territory. It was only in 1580 that the Earl of Desmond himself formally joined it. The Lord Deputy, Pelham, happened to be in Waterford when news of the outbreak reached him. He had come up the Suir from Ballyhack in great state, and the city had received him with booming of cannon and the presentation of Latin addresses. Festivities were, however, cut short when it was announced that Sir James Fitzmaurice, cousin to the Earl of Desmond, was marching against the city, that he had already crossed the Blackwater at Youghal, and was nearing Dungarvan. The Deputy immediately proclaimed martial law throughout Munster, and sent a troop of horse, with some companies of foot, to meet and disperse the advancing Irish force. There followed many skirmishes and minor engagements, marchings and counter-

marchings, and the usual burnings, massacres and reprisals. As, however, the greater actions of the war took place outside our county area we cannot dwell on them here. The rebellion was finally ended in 1583 by the defeat and disaffection of the Desmond forces and the tragic death of the great Earl himself in a lonely Kerry glen. Though he lacked the qualities essential to a popular leader, the murdered Earl was brave and skilled in military matters; he was, moreover, a good Catholic. On the other hand, he was weak, lacking in decision and jealous of his subordinates. With him went down in his grave the hopes of his country for the next sixty years.

The death of Desmond and the extinction of the rebellion made thousands of fertile acres - in fact nearly half of four counties - available for distribution among hungry English adventurers. The native population had been well nigh exterminated throughout the vast Desmond principality. English writers, who were themselves eye-witnesses, describe vast solitudes in which the lowing of a cow or the crowing of a cock could not be heard for miles at a stretch. The few Irish who had survived - mostly old people and children - had hidden themselves in woods and bogs, where large numbers starved to death. Extensive tracts of western Co. Waterford were included in the area marked out for distribution. In fact all the Barony of Coshmore and Coshbride (except the Church lands of Lismore) and the whole Barony of Glenaheiry were declared forfeit: these were given with a goodly strip of Co. Cork to Sir Walter Raleigh; Raleigh's friend, the poet Spenser got another great estate in the same neighbourhood. Certain conditions were imposed on the "undertakers," as the new grantees were called. One of these was that no Irish should be allowed to occupy the lands, but that the grantees should bring over English families as tenants. Raleigh received in all 12,000 acres of arable land, besides immense tracts of wood and mountain. Much of this estate lay within the County of Waterford - along both sides of the Blackwater from Youghal to Cappoquin. All his great domain Raleigh later disposed of to an astute adventurer, Richard Boyle, who became Earl of Cork and is usually known to historical writers as "the great Earl" of that title. Boyle also managed to acquire much of the Church property of the diocese, including the Castle of Lismore, the fisheries of the Blackwater, and valuable forests of oak. A good deal of the ill-gotten Church land the Earl was afterwards obliged to restore, but the secular estate the Boyles managed to cling to - notwithstanding wars, a revolution, and their own disloyalty to the Crown of England. The "great Earl," though Ireland owes him no love, was a man of prodigious energy and business capacity; he was not, however, very delicate or scrupulous where the mere Irish were concerned. Arriving in this County with only £27 as -capital, he grew to be the richest man in Ireland. Immense estates were being forfeited, and land could be had for, almost, the proverbial song. As clerk in the Office of Forfeited Estates, and afterwards as Secretary to the Munster Council, Boyle had earliest information of land bargains, and he bought widely and judiciously. Raleigh was persuaded to sell him all his Irish property at a ridiculously low figure. Boyle left five sons, the eldest of whom, Lord Dungarvan, inherited the Co. Waterford estate as well as the town of Youghal. The great Earl did much to develop his newly acquired property on English lines. He built strong stone houses for his tenantry. Ballyduff Castle, still standing, though roofless, was one of them. He worked mines at Tallow, Araglen (the Furnaces) and other places; he established iron refineries and foundries in connection with his mines, and manufactured cutlery at Tallow and cannon at Cappoquin. From Youghal he exported enormous quantities of pipe staves, and he developed a pearl fishery on the Abha Mor. It is probable that the later fruit-growing and cider and ozier industries of the Blackwater valley owe their beginning to his initiative. It is curious to read in the great man's diary how, with his guests, the Earl hunted wolves along the slopes of Knockmealdown, where now stands the Abbey of Mount Melleray and the hamlets of Glountane and Srough. It is no less curious to read of a pearl fishery which he developed in the Blackwater. Apparently all the Geraldines of Co. Waterford did not join in the chieftain's rebellion; that some of them took the English side, or remained neutral, and so, for the time being, saved their estates, appears from the fact that the Lord Deputy in 1600 received the submission of some Decies Fitzgeralds. In 1602, towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, the plague, or some virulent and contagious disease, ravaged Ireland and caused a great number of deaths in Waterford city and county. From this period date these diminutive tobacco pipes, still occasionally found in old fences and houses and known commonly as "Danes'" or "fairy" pipes. Tobacco, then but recently introduced, or some substitute for it, was smoked in the belief that it protected against the disease.

It is in Elizabeth's reign that the fact of the "Reformation" was brought home in a practical way to the mass of the people in Ireland. Then the Penal Laws against Catholics commenced to be systematically enforced. Under Henry VIII the religious houses were suppressed and their revenues confiscated, but the Mass was not prohibited nor the priesthood declared illegal. Under Elizabeth, however, Mass, Sacraments, priesthood and allegiance to Rome were all interdicted. Fines, imprisonment, and even death were inflicted upon recusants, as Catholics who refused to conform were called. All degrees of punishment were attached to Catholic religious practice. The priest was not permitted by law to administer Sacraments or to say Mass, the

people could not harbour the priest. A Catholic could not possess landed property or, indeed, hardly property of any kind; he could not practice a profession nor give or receive education. These, and many other such infamous laws, most of them framed in Elizabeth's time, remained in force, with modification, for about two centuries. In Co. Waterford, as elsewhere, their effect was gradually to reduce the surviving Catholic gentry to beggary, till the race had practically disappeared. The son who had become a pervert might take all his father's estate and turn his parent out-of-doors. Whoever informed against the Catholic landowner might, take, possession of the property. Some of the gentry, to hold on their estates till better times, outwardly became Protestants - hoping to make their peace with God and to recant before death. But the Lord is not mocked, and too often the poor double-dealers were taken away, unreconciled, when death came unexpectedly. The wretched renegades were also obliged to have their children brought up as Protestants, and thus came about the extinction of the Catholic gentry, This explains how it was that at Catholic Emancipation the Catholics, except a few who had made money in trade, were poor and uneducated.

The death of Elizabeth in 1603, and the proclamation, as her successor, of James, son of the martyred Queen of Scots, was naturally interpreted as a restoration of the Catholic religion or, at least, as the end of the Penal laws, and it led to remarkable proceedings in Waterford and the districts adjacent. The Catholics seized on their Cathedral and their parish churches and had them purified and reconsecrated to Catholic worship. They were, however, quickly disillusioned. James, thinking, presumably, more of his throne than his soul, professed himself a Protestant like his predecessor, and all during his reign he showed himself as bitter a hater of Catholicity as Elizabeth herself. His Lord Deputy, Mountjoy, appeared with an army before the city, to dash the cup of liberty from her citizens' lips. Waterford pleaded its charter, by which, it was empowered to refuse admittance to unwanted strangers - civil or military. Mountjoy retorted that he was ready to cut the charter of Henry with the sword of James. Before he left Waterford he compelled the citizens to give back the churches to the Protestants, to take the oath of allegiance, to maintain a garrison which he left behind, and, generally to return to the base social condition from which they fondly imagined that Elizabeth's death had freed them. This was in 1603; six years later, however, we find the city, once more in royal favour; in 1609 King James renewed the city charter, with some modifications.

From this time forward questions of religion and conscience assume a new prominence. in civic affairs - adding another element of bitterness to racial and political antagonism. Whatever be its record politically, there can be no doubt, of Waterford's devotion to Catholicity. It had resisted every attempt at perversion. Threats and blandishments were tried in turn to shake its attachment to Rome, but in vain. English governors and Protestant preachers reported Waterford the most unregenerate of cities. When, in 1617, Nicholas White, the Mayor, refused to acknowledge the King as head of the Church he was deposed by the Crown. John Skiddy was then elected Mayor, but, as he likewise refused the oath, he was deposed in turn. Skiddy's successor was Alexander Cuffe, who, also refusing the oath, was deposed. To punish such obstinacy the city's rent rolls and property were seized and some of the magistrates and corporators were sent prisoners to Cork. The result was that, during the reign of James, Waterford had but little settled municipal government.

The hopes of Ireland, disappointed in James, rose again on the accession of Charles I. to the Crown of England in 1625. The King was reputed well disposed towards Catholicity, and his Queen was actually a Catholic. Charles, after the manner of the Stuarts, was lavish of promises. In consideration of £12,000 which the Catholics - out of their poverty - were to raise for him he was to grant certain rights, styled "graces," of which the most liberal was substitution of the oath of allegiance for the oath of supremacy. By the oath of supremacy was meant a solemn declaration, which no Catholic could make, that the King was head of the Church. The impoverished Catholics had paid a third of the money when they found that the royal promises were already being broken. The Lord Deputy, or King's representative in Ireland, Lord Falkland, was forced to resign because he was supposed to be favourable to the Catholics and the government of Ireland was entrusted to the Earl of Cork and another rapacious individual named Loftus (Lord Ely). A few religious houses which, like Holy Cross, had partially survived the suppression storm through the patronage of Catholic nobles, were now finally dissolved, and the laws against religion were more rigidly enforced than ever before. The King, hard pressed for money, had recourse to all sorts of expedients to secure it. He took £3,000 from Waterford in 1626, and, seven years later, through his Deputy, Wentworth, and a packed Parliament, he obtained £150,000 from the country by way of subsidy. He sent Wentworth into Connacht with a commission to seek out lands for new plantations of English. By wholesale bribery, shameless jury-packing and intimidation enormous sums were raised and transmitted to the ever impecunious King. Woe to the unfortunate jury that did not find in the King's favour. Galway jurors who dared to find according to their conscience were fined £4,000 each and beggared for ever.

The outcome of all this injustice, extortion, violation of promises and brigandage in the name of law was a combination of the Catholics in self-defence. This was the Confederation of Kilkenny, an association of all Irish Catholics; native and Palemen, to press, if necessary by force of arms, for redress of their wrongs. Exiled Irishmen who had served in the armies of France and Flanders came back to fight for their own country, and, incidentally, perhaps to recover their confiscated estates. The Pope, the King of Spain and many foreign princes sent supplies of money and military stores. Rome sent a Nuncio, Rinuccini, to direct and advise, and Father Luke Wadding, a native of Waterford, toured Italy and Spain on behalf of the Irish and Catholic cause. The aim of the Confederates was to obtain the most elementary justice - toleration of religion and return of stolen property. The movement has been called a Rebellion, but it scarcely deserved that name. Its methods and objects were quite lawful and had the approval of the Irish bishops and of the Holy See. Commencing among the native Irish of the North, it quickly drew into it the Old Irish of the other provinces, and then the Anglo-Irish lords who, for the first time in Irish history, threw themselves as a body into the common cause. All Ireland was represented on its Council, which met at Kilkenny, and from 1642 to 1649 governed the country in the name of the King. Meantime the King in England was fighting with the Parliamentary party under Cromwell, and, in his efforts to extricate himself from his difficulties, he made promises to the Irish which he neither could, nor intended to, keep. The Confederates, unfortunately, made the initial mistake of dividing the military command, and, more unfortunately still, all the generals chosen were not competent. The most noted of the military leaders was Owen Roe O'Neill, who fought and won the Battle of Benburb in 1646, and who remained uniformly faithful to the Nuncio and the Old Irish party of the Confederate Council. Relations between the Old Irish and the Anglo-Irish parties in the Council were not the most cordial, and gradually they became strained. The Anglo-Irish desired, and advocated, compromise, to which the other party, with the Nuncio, was resolutely opposed.

Waterford, in spite of the strong English element in its population, sided with the Nuncio and the Old Irish - an attitude probably due in considerable measure to the influence of its Bishop, Patrick Comerford of the Order of St. Augustine. It was in Waterford that the Confederates set up their printing press, under the direction of Thomas Bourke. Here, in 1644, was printed the official statement of their aims and claims, under the title of "The Irish Remonstrance." It was to Waterford that the Legate summoned the synod of bishops and clergy to consider the proposed peace with Ormond, the King's representative in Ireland. It was mainly upon Waterford that the Legate relied for his personal safety and freedom, and, finally, it was from Waterford that he issued his famous excommunication against all - clergy and laity - who abetted the truce with Ormond. The Synod of Waterford, which played so important a part in the history of the Confederate movement, assembled on August 6th, 1646. It was attended by three archbishops, ten bishops, five abbots, two vicars apostolic, and fifteen representatives of the Religious Orders. Its chief purpose was to consider a Treaty made by a party in the Confederate Council with the Duke of Ormond. This Treaty only went as far, on behalf of the Catholics, as to abrogate the oath of supremacy, whereas the Catholic demand was for complete freedom of religion. When the Treaty was signed at Kilkenny heralds were sent through the country to proclaim it, but Waterford and Clonmel refused to admit them. On August 12th the Synod of Waterford issued a unanimous condemnation of the Treaty and, at the same time, repeated its demands for full, free and public exercise of religion as before the time of Henry VIII, and for the repeal of all laws made against the Catholic religion.

It is not easy for the student to follow, in its confused and various wanderings, the sequence of events which led to final failure the great Confederate movement. The Confederation, which commenced with hopes and promises so glorious, died in a night of despair. As, at other crucial periods of Irish history, Irishmen, had divided themselves into three or four conflicting parties - all professing patriotic aims, but most of them intent chiefly on party advantage. First, there was the party of the Nuncio and Owen Roe, to which adhered the Old Irish generally and most of the clergy. This stood for complete freedom of religion. Secondly, there was the Anglo-Irish Party, composed of lords of the Pale and a few of the Bishops, who would be satisfied with mere toleration. Then, there was the party of Ormond, the King's party it may be called, supported by the Franciscan, Father Peter Walsh, whose object was assistance to the King, then in his life-and-death struggle with the English Parliament and Oliver Cromwell. To these parties we may add the Irish faction represented by Lord Inchiquin, which supported the Parliament as against the King. There was also what may be called the Boyle faction, on the side which promised to pay best, i.e., first on the Royalist, and then on the Parliament, side. The Anglo-Irish party had, as we have seen, made a truce with Ormond, which was condemned by the Synod of Waterford. Later on, in 1648, they made another truce with Inchiquin, and, finally, a formal peace with Ormond in 1649. To these truces and the Treaty the Nuncio was completely opposed, because he foresaw that if the Catholic claims for justice were not then pressed home and conceded they should be defeated for centuries or for all time. King Charles was executed on January 30th,

1649, and three weeks later the Nuncio, profoundly disappointed in his mission, and despairing of Ireland's resurrection, set sail from Galway for Rome.

Owing to comparative isolation of its area Waterford's part in the Confederation war was not very prominent. The Power influence was generally on the Nuncio's side with the Old Irish. Geraldine influence was no more; the Geraldine country of west Co. Waterford was held for the English by the Earl of Cork and his sons – but with varying fortune. In March, 1641, Lord Dungarvan (the Earl of Cork's son) and Sir Charles Vavasour, with 1,200 foot, marched from Youghal, via. Lismore, to Carrick-on-Suir for the purpose of conveying the Countess of Ormond and her children to Youghal, probably for passage by sea, to England. On their journey, via. Cappoquin, the troops burned the country towards Dungarvan, and killed two hundred persons in the latter town, the castle of which, however, they failed to take. Apparently the English did not have it all their own way, as, later in the same month, over three hundred of their people, who are alleged to have been despoiled in Waterford, were obliged to seek refuge in Youghal. The battle of Lisscarrol, in which, though the Irish were defeated, the English suffered severely, was fought September 3rd, 1642. Among the slain was another of the Earl of Cork's sons, Lord Kinealmeaky, whose body was brought for burial to Lismore.

After the battle of Lisscarrol, Inchiquin, commander-in-chief of Munster for the King, sent Sir Charles Vavasour with a picked force of 1,400 men, besides volunteers and pillagers, into Co. Waterford. They took Dungarvan, and a detachment under Major Appleyard was despatched to take and raze Sir Nicholas Walshe's castle at Ballykeroge. Vavasour himself, with the main body, marching towards Kilmacthomas, encountered opposition at Barnakill by the south-east flank of the Comeragh Mountains, where a sharp but rather inconclusive engagement was fought. Eight hundred are stated to have been slain in this fight, but the number seems excessive. From Barnakill, Vavasour marched, via. Stradbally, to Kilmacthomas, where he captured the castle and killed many of the country people who had fled thither for safety. The ups and downs of the war become now quite perplexing. Castles and strong places continually change hands, and the unfortunate tillers of the soil are ground as between millstones. The castle and round tower of Ardmore which had been held for the Confederates, was captured in August, 1642, by the Earl of Cork's sons, Lords Dungarvan and, Broghill. Both castle and tower had surrendered on mercy, but the garrison, to the number of 117 men, were hanged, although the English prisoners, in their custody had been found unharmed, Dromana, at the same period, was captured by the Irish, but Templemichael, Strancally and Lismore were held by the Earl, of Cork in, the English interest. Soon after the Irish also recovered Dungarvan, which they held for the next five years, till its recapture by Inchiquin. By the truce with Ormond, in 1643, it was agreed that the Co. Waterford should retain in possession of the Catholics, except the castles of Knockmaon, Ardmore, Piltown, Templemichael, Strancally, Lisfinny and Lismore. On the Catholic side, Lord Castlehaven took Cappoquin, Lismore and Dromana castles for the Confederates in 1645, as well as the neighbouring stronghold of Conna. From Tallow he marched towards Youghal through the territory of the Earl of Cork. On the way he captured another castle, most probably Templemichael, under shelter of which he crossed the Blackwater. Planting his cannon at Ferry Point, he bombarded Youghal, which, however, he did not succeed in taking. Three years later the same general, in the same cause, brought relief to Duncannon, besieged by the Parliament or Cromwellian forces. He had marched from Waterford to Passage, communicated with Duncannon by stratagem, and managed to send in to the garrison 80 horses fully equipped. Thanks to Castlehaven's succour, the garrison was able to make a successful sortie and to beat off the besiegers. Castlehaven was next made Governor of Waterford, into which he thereupon introduced 1,000 men for its defence against the Parliamentarians. Mocollop, Cappoquin, Dromana Sledy and Dungarvan were recaptured by Inchiquin in 1647. Dungarvan was of prime importance to the English because it gave them direct communication with England; Waterford remained all this time in the hands of the Catholics.

The most sinister figure in Irish history, Oliver Cromwell, next appears upon the scene. Representing the Parliamentary party, now in the ascendant, and as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he landed at Dublin in August, 1649. Most of the Irish towns at the time held out for the King, represented, for some, by the Confederates, for others by Ormond. Cromwell marched first to Drogheda, where he perpetrated the massacre which has made his name accursed in the annals of Ireland. Next he proceeded to Wexford, where he repeated the atrocity of Drogheda. New Ross was then captured and on the 24<sup>th</sup> of November Cromwell appeared before Waterford, having crossed the Suir at Carrick. It will be remembered that the city was garrisoned by 1,000 men of Castlehaven's, in addition to volunteers. A fort on St. Thomas's Hill prevented Cromwellian occupation of Bilberry, which overlooked the city; this forced the besiegers to take up a much less advantageous position some distance to the south-west - about Slighecaol and Morisson's Road. Ormond, from the Kilkenny side, offered further help to defend the city, but so great was Waterford's mistrust of this crafty statesman that the citizens preferred fighting Cromwell single-handed. The investing force numbered

6,500 men, all told, including 500 horse, and Cromwell was confident of immediate surrender. Indeed the more wealthy burgesses suggested surrender- but the body of the citizens determined on resistance - even though they remembered the fate of Drogheda and Wexford. While he lay before Waterford Cromwell sent a detachment of dragoons to capture Passage Fort, a place of great importance because it commanded the harbour. Capture of Passage would eventually cripple the city by preventing the arrival of supplies. Passage must have made a stubborn resistance, for 200 of the garrison fell and the remainder were forced to surrender when the attackers had burned the gate; we do not know what the captors' losses were. Loss of Passage was a great blow to Waterford. Cromwell left a garrison in the place to hold it for the Parliament. Meantime Ormond, from Kilkenny, advanced with reinforcements to Waterford. The citizens, however, refused to receive them, except 500 Ulstermen under General Farrell; with Ormond himself they would have no dealing. The opportune arrival of the help gave hope to the garrison, and so disheartened Cromwell, whose men were suffering much from sickness, that, on December 2<sup>nd</sup> he abandoned the siege and marched towards Youghal, leaving, in his haste, two great guns behind him. Ormond, from the Kilkenny side, again besought leave to ferry his forces across the Suir and to pass through the city that they might fall on the retreating Cromwellians. The citizens, however, seem to have distrusted Ormond as much as they hated Cromwell, for they refused the desired permission. Doubtless they feared that, if Ormond once entered the city, he should want to remain there. Once again, in a few days, when an abortive attempt was made to recover Passage, Ormond petitioned for leave to transport a regiment or two of horse to join in the enterprise, but, once more, the city refused consent, except on condition that Ormond's force should not come within the walls. Ormond managed to cross the Suir somewhere - perhaps at the Cove or, lower down, at the "Ford," with a party of 50 horse. The attempt on Passage was under the command of General Farrell, co-operating with General Wogan from Duncannon. Cromwell, in the meantime, had got private information of the intended attack, and he had time to despatch a Colonel Sankey with 350 horse for relief of the garrison. Sankey first attacked Wogan's party, before it had time to join Farrell's. He killed 100 of them and took 350 prisoners, including General Wogan himself. It was at this juncture, and when it was too late, that Farrell with his Waterford contingent, which, like Wogan's, was entirely of footmen, came upon the scene. Seeing Wogan's party already defeated, and no hope for his own small body, he retreated towards the city, with Sankey in pursuit. Ormond's 50 horse now came in, and covered the retreat, thus saving Farrell from Wogan's fate. Altogether the adventure seems to have been badly organised, and its failure tended to discourage the city. For the last time Ormond made overtures-offering to quarter men outside the walls for protection of the place - but, as on previous occasions, they were rejected, Irritated at what he considered the city's obstinacy, Ormond thereupon marched away to Clonmel, leaving Waterford to its fate.

While Cromwell was encamped before Waterford he sent a detachment, possibly the same which had stormed Passage, to take a castle at Faithlegg belonging to a Catholic gentleman named Aylward. Aylward was, it is stated, offered specially favourable terms if he but dissembled his religion, for Cromwell had known him previously and had been under some obligation to him. Aylward, however, rejected the terms as repugnant to conscience. His castle was thereupon battered down under the supervision of a Captain Bolton. to whom Aylward's forfeited estate was given, and whose descendants held the property for two centuries afterwards.

From Waterford the main Cromwellian body began its march to Youghal on December 2<sup>nd</sup> "it being," Cromwell wrote, "so terrible a day as I never marched in all my life." The castle of Butlerstown was seized, and its owner, Sir Thomas Sherlock - notwithstanding his pro-English sympathies-was turned out of doors. As a matter of fact, the Irish, under Lord Mountgarret, had similarly dispossessed him some five years previously. The next place of importance in the army's route was Kilmeaden, a castle of the Powers; this was similarly seized, but its owner was- not turned out of doors; instead, he was hanged on the nearest suitable tree and his once happy homestead burned. Curraghmore, another Power castle, is stated to have been saved by stratagem. The owner's daughter, an enterprising young woman, managed to get her aged father, who was an uncompromising Confederate, into a dungeon where she locked him up. When Cromwell's emissary arrived she placed the castle keys in his hands and made profession of welcome and loyalty. The Cromwellian commander is said to have left the place untouched - for the time being at any rate. Dunhill, another Power stronghold, built on the summit of an isolated cragg, was defended by a woman whose husband was away on service in the Confederate Army. Here, cannon had to be brought into action against the castle, which, finally, was taken by treachery and, with the church near by, blown up by gunpowder. On the evening of December 2<sup>nd</sup> the army had reached Kilmacthomas, where, owing to the day's heavy rain, the river Mahon was in flood. There was no bridge at the place, so that it took all the next day to make the crossing. Consequently it was only on the evening of the 4<sup>th</sup> that Cromwell reached Dungarvan, then a good walled town. A few days before Cromwell's arrival Dungarvan had surrendered to Lord Broghill, who found

in the place six cannon with proportionate ammunition. The day following the capitulation the towns-people, or a section of them, seem to have repented of their surrender and to have attempted a recapture from Broghill's garrison. There was, however, another and rapid change of mind now that they saw the Monster of Drogheda at their gates. They surrendered at discretion, and Cromwell is said to have ordered a massacre to punish what he considered the townspeople's treachery. The order, however, he countermanded for some reason. The story of Mistress Nagle and her flagon of beer, in which she drank Cromwell's health and so saved the town, is probably picturesque fiction. Cromwell made no stay in Dungarvan; the very next day, in fact, he reached Youghal, a friendly town, where a welcome and military supplies awaited him. Between Dungarvan and Youghal he took Knockmaon Castle and demolished it, and, at Whitechurch, he was joined by a large body of troops (2,500), the garrisons of many towns to west of the Blackwater which had revolted to his standard. It must be here explained that places like Cork, Bandon and Kinsale, which had been held for the King, came over to the Parliament on the execution of Charles I, or subsequently. At Youghal Cromwell established his winter quarters - to rest his army and make plans for a new campaign in the spring. While in Youghal Cromwell lost his second in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, who, being ill and unfit to march, had been left behind in Dungarvan. After a few days' struggle with fever Jones died and his body was taken to Youghal, where it was buried in the private tomb of the Earl of Cork. It was believed by many that Jones had been poisoned by Cromwell, who suspected his loyalty.

The winter of 1649-50 happened to be extremely mild, so that Cromwell was able to march again as early as January 29<sup>th</sup>. His immediate purpose was to defeat Ormond, who represented the Royalist party, and who was encamped at Kilkenny. With this object in view he despatched Col. Reynolds and more than half his army by way of Dungarvan and Carrick-on-Suir, while he himself, with the other division, marched by way of Mallow. On the way he reduced and battered the castle of Conna, and sent out storming parties which captured the castles of Dromana, Cappoquin and Mocollop. Having crossed the Blackwater at Mallow, he reduced in succession Castletownroche, Kilbehenny, Burncourt, Newcastle, Ardfinnan, Rochestown, Cahir, Fethard and Callan. At Callan he joined up with Reynolds, who, we may assume, had in the meantime taken such places as Clonea, Feddins, Rathgormac and Tybroughney, which lay in his route. Some weeks were devoted to minor expeditions and the capture of various castles in South Kilkenny and Tipperary, and it was only on March 22<sup>nd</sup> that the army enveloped Kilkenny. The city was ill-provisioned for a siege and, to add to its misery the plague had broken out within its walls. After much parleying the town finally surrendered, and Cromwell complimented the garrison on its defence and admitted that he would have been unable to take the place but for the treachery of some townsmen. From Kilkenny, Cromwell marched to Clonmel, via Carrick-on-Suir. One of his lieutenants, Col. Sadlier, took Poulakerry Castle, on the Suir, near Kilsheelan, after he had killed all its defenders. Ballindine Castle, in the same neighbourhood, surrendered on conditions, as did also Granny and Dunkitt. Clonmel made a gallant defence. It was garrisoned by a force of Ulstermen under Hugh O'Neill, a nephew of Owen Roe. Major Fennell, who had previously given up Cappoquin without a blow, attempted to betray the town, but his treachery was of no avail to the Cromwellians, as it was discovered in time. For two months O'Neill defended the town with such loss to the besiegers that they were about to retire when O'Neill's supplies gave out. Nevertheless, the valiant defenders succeeded in marching away (May 18<sup>th</sup>, 1650), while the townsmen obtained favourable conditions from Cromwell, whole noble, as he expressed it himself, Clonmel had reduced to ninepence. From Clonmel Cromwell marched again to Waterford, but he had hardly encamped before the city when he was summoned back to England by the Parliament. He sailed from Youghal on May 29<sup>th</sup>, pursued by the curses of the Irish nation. Ireton succeeded to the Irish command; he continued the siege of Waterford till the city surrendered on favourable conditions, August 10<sup>th</sup> 1650. Duncannon capitulated four days later. As the private property of Waterford citizens was protected by the Articles of surrender, the soldiery, disappointed of loot, vented their fury against churches and their contents, and, as regards those last, where plunder was impossible, they destroyed. From the surrender to Ireton till the Restoration, i.e., for a period of six years, Waterford was governed by Commissioners appointed by the Parliament. In justice it must be admitted that the Commissioners did their work well: the public interest was attended to and roads, quays and public buildings were kept in repair and improved.

Now commenced throughout Ireland what has come to be styled the Cromwellian Settlement, some explanation of which is necessary for a full understanding of modern Irish history and problems. The lands and houses of all who could not prove what the law called "constant good affection" towards England were confiscated and distributed for pay among the soldiers and supporters of Cromwell. This distribution is very important in Irish history, as upon it is based the present title to most of the land of Ireland. There had been previous Irish confiscations, but none on a scale so extensive as this. The native proprietors, whether of Old Irish, or of Norman, origin, were expelled from their homes and ancestral acres, while the homes and acres

aforesaid were parcelled out among hungry English claimants. To this settlement, and to this period, is due the system of landlordism which, for the next two centuries or more, continued to be the bane of Ireland. Soldiers who did not want land sold their shares for a trifle, and astute adventurers who could afford to buy secured estates which have yielded an enormous revenue to their descendants.

In 1656 came the Restoration, or overthrow of the Commonwealth, and re-establishment of the Monarchy in the person of Charles II. Alas, for hopes of justice or even of gratitude! To the great majority of plundered Irishmen the Restoration brought no redress. There was no restitution even to those who had lost their property through fidelity to the Crown. Some of them received a grudging and partial justice, but the great majority got nothing. They came back, indeed, from Connacht, but it was only to become tenants-at-will on the lands they once owned; their children became serfs to the men who had despoiled them. To hundreds of them were allotted patches of bog and waste which, in course of time, they reclaimed, and for these they were charged rents which increased with the increasing value of the land. The rule of the Irish chief or his Norman-Irish equivalent may have been arbitrary and at times oppressive, but, at any rate, the chieftain was of the people's kin and religion and they both spoke a common tongue; between the newcomer and the ancient people there was community neither of blood nor sentiment.

Practically the whole of Co. Waterford not included in the Desmond forfeitures, and some that was so included, was now declared forfeit. Nineteen feudal chiefs of the Power clan were amongst the transplanted; they were given some lands in the neighbourhood of the present Loughrea. Only a mere fraction of their former estates were restored on the fall of Cromwell. It was beyond human ingenuity to devise a scheme which would satisfy the settlers, striving to retain all they had got, and the victims of confiscation, clamouring for return of their property. The Cromwellian settlement effected a break, the most complete, with ancient Irish tradition. Brehon Laws and age long customs, which had survived five centuries of English domination, were now replaced by a foreign code and foreign manners. The fugitive priest, who had hitherto found a protector in the "chieftain of his nation," as the Irish head of his sept was called, now found himself without a patron of any kind. So complete was the break with the past wrought by the settlement and transplantation that in many cases of land disputes old men had to be brought back from Connacht to give evidence of boundaries and place-names. For nearly thirty years the work of settlement proceeded. Substantial houses of stone, surrounded by strongly walled bawns, were built by the settlers. Such of the landless natives as had not died of famine or followed their chiefs to Connacht took service as herds or ploughmen under the new order. They were allowed to build themselves cabins on the mountain slopes, considerable areas of which they reclaimed. In their poverty and degradation they ceased to sing the ancient songs and they forgot the tales of their fathers; at the same time they clung tenaciously to their ancient faith and resisted all attempts at proselytism.

The generation which had seen Cromwell has passed away when we arrive at the era of the Boyne (1690), and the fall of the Stuarts. James II, a Catholic, to whose cause the Irish pathetically clung, was defeated (July 12th) by his Protestant son-in-law, and was obliged to abandon his kingdom. He fled to France, to live and die the pensioner of a French king. On his way from the fatal field of the Boyne he was received in Waterford, which remained faithful to him, and it was from that port that he sailed away into exile. It is claimed that the fugitive King spent his last night on Irish soil at Ballynakill, in the old mansion of the Dobbys, which still stands and is actually occupied by descendants of the 17<sup>th</sup> century owners. One of his following, a Major O'Neill of the Ulster house of Clannaboy, who had been wounded at the Boyne, died in Waterford and was buried in the old Franciscan Church, where his grave may still be seen and his epitaph read. Shortly afterwards, Waterford capitulated on honourable terms to King William, and its garrison of 1,600 men was allowed to march out with colours flying, etc. The troops marched to Limerick, to join Sarsfield and to share in the famous defence of that city.

King William's victory and accession made but little difference to the new landholders, or gentry, of Waterford on the one hand, or to the landless peasants on the other. A few of the gentry had sided with James, and lost their estates in consequence, while many of the peasantry lost their lives in the war, or were transported to France after the fall of Limerick, to serve in the army of Louis XIV. These Irish soldiers of fortune, fighting in the French and the Continental armies, were known to their countrymen as "Wild geese," and their ranks continued to be recruited by stealth for a couple of generations. The Revolution, as the movement which set William on the throne was called, made no such change in the life of Ireland as the Commonwealth (Cromwell's rule) had done. The mass of the people was no better off than before; perhaps, indeed, its condition had been made somewhat worse; it remained dispirited and hopeless, and neither contented nor resigned, in town or country. The populace, poor and hungry, had no civic, and but little legal, rights; they remembered but too well what had reduced them to that state. Education there was none except at the expense of faith, and religion and clergy were proscribed. Illegal societies were formed, and there were

many outrages and brutal reprisals. For more than a century things continued thus; the population increased rapidly, agriculture was profitable, trade-especially with the New World - grew and flourished, and very slowly the conciliation of the down-trodden peasantry became less wretched. Here and there Catholics prospered in trade and others took leases of land in the names of Protestant friends. Among the common people's grievances were two particularly galling-the payment of tithes and the enclosure of commonages. The poor Catholics had to pay for the upkeep of Protestant churches, and large tracts of land, which, from time immemorial, had been the common property of the poor, were appropriated, as private property, by adjoining landholders. Secret societies arose to combat the two grievances, but, after the general way of such things, the societies became a greater evil than the ills they were designed to cure. Father Nicholas Sheehy, P.P. of Clogheen, was hanged, drawn and quartered at Clonmel in 1766 because he had led an agitation for the redress of popular wrongs. It was not till the formation of the Catholic Association in 1757 that Irishmen began to realise the power of legal combination. The chief promoter of the Association, which was the parent of O'Connell's famous political organisation, was Thomas Wyse of Waterford.

The next historical events of importance were the Volunteer Movement and the "Rising" of 1798. The old Irish Parliament was really not representative of the people or of Irish interests. Its members were mainly place-hunters, English officials and anti-Irishmen. They were Protestants to a man, and their outlook may be judged by the laws they made, which "did not presume the existence of a Catholic in the land." Notwithstanding its composition, this un-Irish assembly gradually relaxed the Penal Code-mainly through fears of French invasion. The Parliament of 1771, for example, so far departed from ancient policy as to enact that a Catholic might be permitted a lease of as much as fifty acres of bog, and it permitted him, if the bog did not afford foundation for a dwelling, to add half-an-acre of solid land on which to erect a homestead. This magnanimous concession was hedged around with the condition that the place be not within a mile of any city or town, and that 25 acres of the bog be reclaimed within 25 years. In the same session of the Irish Parliament, and lest, presumably, the concession of the bog lease should seem too generous, it was counterbalanced by another new Act which added £10 to the, £30 per annum, pension granted to any Catholic priest who should turn Protestant. In 1779 commenced the Volunteer Movement, which had its origin in Ulster. As it spread to the other provinces it enlarged its outlook; its objects were mainly two:- removal of the shackles which English legislation had imposed upon Irish trade, and liberation of the National Parliament from subordination to the Parliament of England. Grattan's eloquence and the self-sacrifice of Flood, added to the dread inspired by the Convention of Dungannon (1782), wrung from unwilling England an admission, if not a concession, of Irish independence. But what England, represented by its Prime Minister, gave with one hand it took away with another. Through a system of avowed bribery the Irish Parliament, which - thanks to the lead of Grattan - was beginning to develop a sense of patriotism, was suppressed by the Act of Union in 1800.

The Act of Union, which abolished the separate Parliament of Ireland, was preceded by a determined and very bloody rebellion into which the poor people were driven by outrage. Beginning in Co. Wexford, the insurrection spread to other parts of Ireland. Free quarters for soldiery, floggings and burnings goaded the peasantry to madness, and they flung themselves into a hopeless cause in which thousands lost their lives and many hundreds their liberty or their little property. Although Co. Waterford remained comparatively undisturbed during the rebellion, many of the more ardent young men made their way to Wexford to join the insurgent ranks. Most of these fell at Ross and Vinegar Hill, and but few of them ever returned. The insurgents were known as "Croppies, " and vivid memories long survived in Gaultier and adjacent parts of East Waterford of the fugitive rebels who found refuge in cabins and farmhouses as they strove to make their way back to their homes. In twos and threes, or singly, they crossed the river from Co. Wexford by night, at Cheekpoint or below New Geneva, and they were hidden by the country people till such time as it was safe for them to appear in their native localities. In the history of '98 New Geneva, two or three miles south of Passage, played a part. The place was the site of an industrial colony planted here years before by the Irish Government, and it was turned into a barracks on the outbreak of the Rising. The Rising of '98, suppressed at a great expenditure of money and lives, afforded an excuse to English statesmen to carry through the Act of Union already alluded to. Votes for the Union were actually bought and sold in the Irish Parliament, at from £1,400 to £1,600 each; the sums would be equal to two or three times these amounts to-day. The total expended on bribery in connection with the Act was £2,760,000!

Throughout the 18th century, and well into the 19<sup>th</sup>, popular education was at a low ebb throughout Co. Waterford. Indeed, during the earlier years of the period, the teacher's profession was, like the priest's, felony. Edmund Ignatius Rice founded the Order of Christian Brothers, for the education of poor boys, in Waterford (1802), and about the same time the Presentation Nuns, for the teaching of girls, were introduced. Throughout the country parts the poorer people had to remain illiterate. Hedge schools, taught by untrained

and generally inefficient teachers, were opened here and there and maintained by stealth; they were styled "hedge schools" because they were often, through lack of better accommodation, held in shelter of a bushy fence. Occasionally the teacher was a man of real competence, like Donnchadh Ruadh MacNamara, who taught school and wrote poetry at Knockboy, Ardeenlone, etc. Competent, or the contrary, the poor teacher was also partly a farm labourer, i.e., he worked on the land in summer, and taught his school in a sod hut or in a farmer's kitchen during the winter. Wandering poets, like Tadhg Gaodhlach, and Irish scribes, like Laurence O'Foran of Portlaw and Thomas Hickey of various addresses, helped to keep the embers of literature from absolute extinction. Few books were published, and these were chiefly religious, but there were printing presses at Waterford, Clonmel and Carrick.

For half a century from the rise of the Volunteers there had been a gradual relaxation of the Penal Code. Now one vexatious restriction was removed; again, another. Catholics were first permitted to lease arable land, then to build poor churches - generally thatched, finally to enter professions and to vote at elections. But they were debarred from all official positions and, from election to Parliament. It was Daniel O'Connell who, in 1829, carried through the British Parliament the Act of Emancipation which formally ended the Penal Times though the moral effects of that sad era were to continue for half a century more. The Waterford election of 1826, popularly remembered for a century as "Stuarts Election," gave the final blow to Protestant ascendancy. The candidates for the county were a Beresford of Curraghmore and Villiers Stuart of Dromana. The former though a descendant of the Powers, stood in the Protestant and anti-Emancipation interest, while Stuart, a descendant of the Desmonds, favoured Emancipation. It looked like madness in that day for anyone, even a Stuart, to oppose a Beresford in Waterford. Beresford was proposed by Richard Smyth of Ballinray and William Christmas of Whitfield, and the nominators of Stuart were Sir Richard Musgrave of Tooreen and Mr. O'Shea of Gardenmorris. The celebrated contest arrested the attention of all Ireland and of England too, and it ended in the victory of Emancipation and Colonel Stuart.

Our next event of historical importance is the famine of 1847, which, of course, affected most of Ireland as well as Waterford. It was due to the failure, that fateful year, of the potato crop, upon which the poorer classes depended, almost entirely, for food. Unfortunately for themselves and for the country, the Irish landlords insisted on their rents as usual and the tenants sold their grain in order to make payment and hold their homesteads. This left the people without food; the poor died in hundreds of thousands, and hundreds of thousands additional fled from the country. Though poor-houses were built for maintenance of the destitute, it is but too true that the Government gave little or no real assistance. The famine of "black '47" cleared parts of the country of more than half their population; like the Cromwellian confiscations, but on a less deadly scale, it made an irreparable break in national tradition; Ireland emerged from it a changed land. Contemplating the evil wrought in the name of law, a band of brilliant young Irishmen preached resistance and rebellion; they constituted what is known as the Young Ireland Party. Thomas Francis Meagher of Waterford, a fervid orator and soldier, was a noted member of the band. For his part in the movement he was condemned to death at Clonmel, but the sentence was afterwards commuted.

Catholic Emancipation did not immediately affect the lot of the toiling masses. In the country parts these were composed of tenants-at-will and day labourers, without fixity of tenure or a living wage. Tenants were quite at the mercy of the landlord, who could charge whatever rent he pleased, and evict the tenant unable or unwilling to pay. Under such a system there was no security and but little inducement to improve the land. Notwithstanding the tenants' hard lot, there was keen competition for land because there was nothing except agriculture to engage the country's labours. The tenant farmer and the agricultural labourer lived poorly and worked like slaves. Hence, ever since the days of Cromwell, the land question was a burning topic. A national combination of farmers, under the leadership of Messrs. Parnell and Davitt, and styled the National Land League, demanded better conditions. Agitation became so hot that, after prosecutions, coercion Acts, evictions and martial law, a Land Act, granting fixity of tenure and fair rent, was wrung, in 1881, from an unwilling legislature.

Upon the attainment of land reform, popular political sentiment next inclined the national energies to attainment of Home Rule or restitution of the native Parliament. The movement was under the guidance of what came to be known as the Irish National Party. During the Great War of 1914-1918, however, arose a new party composed mostly of young men who, sick of their elders' methods and hopeless of justice from England, had recourse to arms, and by this means secured the Constitution of the present Irish Free State. In both these movements Waterford city and county played its part. It gave Messrs. Sexton, P. J. Power and E. Leamy to the first, and hundreds of devoted volunteers to the second. To the Irish language movement Co. Waterford contributed some of its foremost promoters - Philip Barron and John Fleming, first, and Rev. Drs. O'Hickey and Henebry, later.

## APPENDIX I

### DISTINGUISHED CO. WATERFORD MEN

BALDWIN, PROF., a well known 19<sup>th</sup> century writer on Agriculture. Was born near Knockanore; became demonstrator in Agriculture at the Model Farm, Glasnevin, and wrote " The Irish Agricultural Class Book," which for nearly two generations was used as an advanced reader in Irish National Schools.

BLESSINGTON, COUNTESS OF:- Margaret Power was born in 1789 and was brought up at Bawnfune, near Four-Mile-Water. She was a near relative of Father Nicholas Sheehy, and she married, as her second husband, the Earl of Blessington. She is the authoress of some twelve novels and other works, but was better known in her day as a London hostess.

BOYLE, ROBERT, son of the Great Earl of Cork and "father of modern chemistry." He was, perhaps, the most eminent scientist of his day. Died 1691.

GROTTY, WILLIAM, a highwayman and leader of a robber band. Local tradition has made him a hero, which indeed he was not. He was hanged in Waterford for murder and robbery, 1742.

GREATRAKES. VALENTINE, of Affane: widely known in his day for his reputed power of curing many diseases by stroking the affected parts. He died about 1681.

HOGAN JOHN, a celebrated sculptor, born in Tallow, 1800, and died in London, 1858. His best known works are "The Drunken Fawn," his statue of Bishop Doyle in Carlow, and his O'Connell-in Dublin.

CAVANAGH, MICHAEL, a well-known Irish-American writer and poet of latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

LOMBARD, PETER; born in Waterford; became Archbishop of Annagh; died 1626; wrote (in Latin) "De Regno Hiberniae Commentarius " and other works.

RICE, EDMOND IGNATIUS; born in Callan, 1762, but adopted in his youth by his uncle-a merchant in Waterford. He founded the Order of Christian Brothers in 1802-the first (parent) house of the Order being Mount Sion, Waterford.

SHERLOCK, PAUL, was born in Waterford, 1595; entered the Society of Jesus in Spain, and lived more than thirty years in that country; became President of the Irish College, Salamanca, and died 1646. His best known work is his Commentary on the Canticle of Canticles. This monumental work, in three vols. folio, was first published at Lyons, and has been, more than once, reprinted.

WADDING, LUKE; a Franciscan, and probably the greatest man that Ireland has produced; noted for his historical and other writings. Agent in Rome of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland and founder of the famous Convent of St. Isidore's. He died 1657.

WADDING, MICHAEL; a Jesuit and cousin of the last. Wrote in Spanish a work on mystic theology which has been reprinted scores of times and translated into the chief European languages; he died about middle of 17<sup>th</sup> century.

WADDING, PETER; likewise a Jesuit; kinsman of the two last; wrote very learnedly on theological questions; he became Chancellor of the University of Prague, in Bohemia, where he died, 1644.

WALSH, EDWARD, a well known lyric poet; born in Londonderry, and died in Cork, 1850, but taught school for some years at Tooreen, near Cappoquin. He edited "The Jacobite Reliques of Ireland."

WALSH, ROBERT, LL.D., born in Waterford and became a Protestant clergyman; he is chiefly noted as author, with Whitelock, of a well known History of Dublin. He died 1852.

WALSH, THOMAS, born in Waterford and became Archbishop of Cashel; he was the friend and faithful supporter of Rinuccini; he died 1654.

WHITE, PETER, known as " the lucky schoolmaster of Munster"; founder and head of the famous Kilkenny school wherein were educated many distinguished Irish ecclesiastics of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

WYSE, THOMAS; founder, in 1757, of the Catholic Committee, which developed into the Catholic Association - forerunner of O'Connell's Emancipation organisations.

WYSE, SIR THOMAS, grandson of the last, and well known in his day as poet, politician and statesman; he became British Minister at Athens during the critical period of the Crimean War. He wrote a "History of the late Catholic Association," and died (at Athens), 1862.

## APPENDIX II

### REMARKABLE BISHOPS OF WATERFORD AND LISMORE

BRENAN, JOHN; was born in Kilkenny about 1625. Studied in Rome and became Professor of Theology in Propaganda College. Became Bishop of Waterford, 1671, and Archbishop of Cashel in 1677; he was present in Limerick during the siege, and took part in the negotiations preceding the Treaty. Died at Rehill, near Cahir, and was buried at Tubrid. During his long episcopate, and despite the dangers of the times, Dr. Brenan never left the country, though much sought after by priest-hunters.

COMERFORD, PATRICK; was an Augustinian and a native of Waterford city. He became Bishop of Waterford in 1629. He was a strenuous supporter of the Nuncio and his measures. He died in exile at Nantes, in 1651.

GARTHAGE, ST.; a native of Kerry, founder and first Bishop of Lismore; he died 637.

HUSSEY, THOMAS; a native of Co. Meath; he had been educated in Spain; became chaplain to the Spanish Embassy in London; was first President of Maynooth College; was nominated Bishop of Waterford in 1779. He is remembered for his correspondence and friendship with Edmund Burke.

KELLY, PATRICK; he was born in Kilkenny, 1777; became Bishop of Richmond, Virginia, and was translated to Waterford. He died 1829. During his episcopate took place the famous "Stuart's Election," which owed so much to his energy and direction.

MALCHUS; he had been a monk of Winchester; was consecrated first Bishop of Waterford in 1110. Later he appears to have been translated to Lismore, where he had the future St. Malachy as pupil.

O'CONARCHY, BLESSED CHRISTIAN; he was a native of Down, joined the Cistercians in France under St. Bernard, and returned to Ireland as first Abbot of Mellifont. Became Bishop of Lismore and Apostolic Delegate. He died in 1189.

OTTERAN, ST.; patron of the diocese of Waterford, though it is doubtful whether he had been bishop of that See. He became a missionary to Suevia, in the present Austria, and died there some time in the sixth century.

SHEEHAN, RICHARD ALPHONSUS; was a native of Bantry, Co. Cork; he was appointed Bishop of Waterford in 1892, and died, 1915.

## APPENDIX III

### CHIEF ANTIQUITIES OF COUNTY WATERFORD

#### A. Abbeys

Abbeyside, Dungarvan (Ermites of St. Augustine).  
Ballinatray, near Youghal (Canons Regular of St. Augustine).  
Blackfriars, Waterford (Dominicans).  
Carrickbeg, Carrick-on-Suir (Franciscans).  
Croke, Passage East (Knights Templar or Hospitallers).  
French Church, Waterford (Franciscans).  
Kilbarry, Waterford (Knights Templar or Hospitallers).  
Killure, Waterford (do. do.).  
Molana (see Ballinatray above).  
Monksland, Bonmahon (Cistercians).

Mothel, Carrick, on'Suir (Canons Regular).  
Rinnecru, Youghal (Knights Templar or Hospitallers).  
St. John's, Waterford (Benedictines).

## B. CASTLES.

Abbeyside (McGrath's).  
Ballyclough (Power's).  
Ballyduff, Lismore (The Earl of Cork).  
Ballymaclode.  
Barnakill (O'Brien's).  
Clonea, Carrick-on-Suir (Wall's).  
Coolnamuck, do. (do.)  
Croughclooney (Prendergast's).  
Cullen, Tramore (Power's).  
Dungarvan (Crown).  
Dunhill, Tramore (Power's).  
Dunmore East, Waterford (Danish).  
Dromana, Cappoquin (Geraldines').  
Faithlegg, Waterford (Aylward's).  
Glen (Power's).  
Kilbree, Cappoquin (The Earl of Cork).  
Kilmeaden, Waterford (Power's).  
Knockmaon, Dungarvan (Geraldines').  
Kilmanahan, Clonmel (Geraldines').  
Lisfinny, Tallow (Geraldines').  
Lismore (The Bishop of Lismore).  
Newcastle (Prendergast's).  
Passage East (Municipality of Waterford),  
Rathgormack, Carrick-on-Suir (Power's).  
Rockett's Castle, Portlaw (Rockett's).  
Shean, Tallow (Geraldines').  
Steady, Dungarvan (McGrath's).  
Strancally, Youghal (Geraldines').  
Templemichael, Youghal (Geraldines').  
Tooreen (Geraldines').  
Waterford, Castle Street -(2).  
Waterford King's Terrace.  
Waterford Railway Square.  
Waterford Reginald's.  
Waterford Stephen Street.

## C. RUINED CHURCHES (Pre-Invasion, i.e., Old Irish)

Ardmore, "Oratory" and "Cathedral."  
Churchtown (Carrickbeg); masonry.  
Clonea (Dungarvan) ; south window.  
Kilbunney (Portlaw); Irish, Romanesque doorway.  
Kilgobinet; masonry.  
Lismore Castle; entrance archway.  
Lismore Cathedral; chancel arch, etc.  
Molana (Ballinatray); nave of monastic church.

#### C.I. RUINED CHURCHES (Post-Invasion).

Aglish (Cappoquin).  
Ballygunner Temple (Waterford).  
Ballylaneen (Kihnachthomas).  
Ballynakill (Waterford).  
Colligan (Dungarvan).  
Crooke (Passage East).  
Dungarvan.  
Dunhill (Tramore).  
Drumcannon .(Tramore).  
Faithlegg (Waterford).  
Fenoagh (Carrickbeg).  
Grange (Ardmore).  
Hackettstown (Old Parish).  
Islandkeane (Tramore).  
Kilbarrymeaden, otherwise Kill or Kilbeg (Bonmahon)  
Kilbride (Tramore).  
Kilcockan (Knockanore).  
Kilgobinet- (Dungarvan).  
Killea (Dunmore East).  
Kill St. Laurence (Waterford).  
Kill St. Nicholas (Passage East).  
Kilmacomb (Dunmore East).  
Kilmacleague (Waterford).  
Kilmolash (Cappoquin).  
Kilmoleran, otherwise "Reilig na Muc" (Carrickbeg).  
Kilronan (Clonmel).  
Kilrush (Dungarvan)  
Kilwaternoy (Tallow).  
Knockboy, otherwise Seskinane (Dungarvan).  
Knockeen, otherwise Kilbume (Waterford).  
Knockmaon (Dungarvan).  
Lisnakill (Waterford).  
Mocollop. (Fermoy).  
Modeligo (Cappoquin).  
Newcastle (Carrolls Cross).  
Newcastle (Clonmel).  
Okyle (Cappoquin).  
Rathgormack .(Carrick-on-Suir).  
Rathmoylan (Dunmore East).  
Reaske (Tramore).  
Ring (Dungarvan).  
Stradbally.  
Waterford (4); St. Michael's, St. Peter's, St. Stephen's and St. Thomas's.

In some of the foregoing the surviving remains are insignificant. There are many additional old graveyards and former church sites from which all traces of the ancient buildings have disappeared.

#### D. MORE NOTABLE DOLMENS (Prehistoric Tombs)

Ballynageeragh (Dunhill).  
Foylune Hill (Dunmore East).  
Gurteen (Kilsheelan).  
Knockeen (Waterford).  
Pembrokestown (Tramore).

“Teach Caille Beara,” Ballinamona (Old Parish)

#### E. FORTIFIED HEADLANDS (East to West).

Dunmore East, Brownstown, Islandkeane, Garrarus, Dunabrattin, "Danes' Island" (Bonmahon), Ballyvooney (Stradbally), Ardoginna (Ardmore), etc.

#### F. OGHAM INSCRIBED STONES

Ardmore, Drumlohan (Stradbally), Garranmillion (Kilmacthomas), Grange (Ardmore), Island (Stradbally), Knockboy (Touraneena), Windgap (Carrickbeg), etc., etc.

#### G MORE FREQUENTED HOLY WELLS

Ardmore (Dysert).  
Curraghroche (Cappoquin).  
Mothel (Carrick-on-Suir).  
Piltown (Youghal).  
Tobar-na-hulla (Ballyduff, on Co. Cork boundary)  
Tobar Parthanain (Piltown).

#### H. MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES

Ancient vestments and Altar Plates (Cathedral Waterford)  
Cloch Labhrais (near Leamybrien).  
Early Christian Inscriptions (Lismore Cathedral)  
Geneva Barracks (Passage East)  
Great Earth Work at Kilmore (near Clashmore)  
Reginald's Tower, the Deanery Crypt and the Bull Post (Waterford)  
Rian Bó Phádraig (near Lismore)  
The Book and Crozier of Lismore)