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WATERFORD & SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND

Archæological Society.

VOL VII.

1901.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

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Archæological Society.

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Annual Subscription 10/-, payable in advance.

RULES.

- 1.—That the Society be called "THE WATERFORD AND SOUTH EAST OF IRELAND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY."
- 2.—That the purpose of the Society be the promotion of the study of matters having an antiquarian interest relating to Waterford and the South Eastern Counties.
- 3.—That Ladies shall be eligible for membership.
- 4.—That the Annual Subscription shall be Ten Shillings, payable on the first of January in each year, and that a payment of £5 shall constitute a Life Member.
- 5.—That the Society be managed by a President, four Vice-Presidents, and one Vice-President from each County taking part in the proceedings of the Society, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor, and a Committee of nine Members, any three of whom shall form a quorum.
- 6.—That an Annual General Meeting, for the purpose of electing the Officers and Committee, shall be held before the end of February in each year, and that such election shall be by ballot.
- 7.—That at the Annual General Meeting in each year the Committee shall submit a brief report and statement of the Treasurer's Accounts.
- 8.—That a Journal be published containing accounts of the proceedings, and columns for local Notes and Queries.
- 9.—That all papers, &c., intended for publication in the Journal shall be subject to the approval of the Committee.
- 10.—That the date of the Society's meetings, which may be convened for the reading and discussion of papers and the exhibition of objects of antiquarian interest, shall be fixed by the Committee, due notice being given to each member.
- 11.—That all matters touching on existing religious and political differences shall be rigorously excluded from the discussions at the meetings and from the columns of the Journal.
- 12.—That each Member shall be at liberty to introduce two visitors at the meetings of the Society.
- 13.—That the foregoing Rules can be altered only at the Annual General Meeting, or at a Special General Meeting convened for that purpose.

ANNUAL MEETING FOR 1900.

ON Friday, 22nd February, the annual general meeting of the Society was held in the Council Chamber, Town Hall, the Most Rev. Dr. Sheehan, F.R.S.A., Lord Bishop of Waterford, President, in the chair. There were also present Mr. John N. White, J.P., and Miss White; Rev. Father Mockler, Hon. Editor of the *Journal*; Mr. T. H. Brett; Mr. R. Foster, Hon. Treasurer; Mr. Patrick Higgins, Hon. Secretary; Mr. Edward Jacob; Rev. T. F. Furlong, C.C., the Cathedral; Mr. C. P. Redmond; Mr. Charles Perceval Bolton, J.P.; Mr. Jennings, D.I., and Mrs. Jennings; Mr. Richard Morrissey, T.C.; Major Otway Wheeler Cuffe, J.P., and Mrs. Cuffe; Mr. Elwin; Mr. Edmund Harvey; Mr. E. Walsh Kelly; Rev. Father Barry, O.P.; Rev. Father Dunphy, Bishop's Secretary; Mr. and Mrs. Tucker, National Bank, etc.

The Bishop having briefly explained the object of the Meeting, the Hon. Secretary read the Annual Report as follows:—My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen—The Society has now completed its eighth year of existence, and is in a flourishing condition. The Committee regret to hear from the Hon. Treasurer the difficulty experienced in collecting subscriptions, and that a considerable number of members are in arrear, and hope they will recognise the necessity of paying promptly to enable the Committee to discharge their liabilities. Two Members have resigned, two died, and two new members were elected during the year. The Committee are sorry that owing to various causes the annual excursion was not held last year, but during the ensuing summer they hope to have one as successful as in former years. The Committee regret to have to record the death of Ald. M. J. Hurley, J.P., F.R.S.A., one of the founders of the Society, and an enthusiastic archæologist. They feel that by his death the Society has sustained a great loss and loyal supporter. The Committee would take this opportunity of again impressing on the members the necessity for supporting the Society by introducing new members and interesting themselves in obtaining literary contributions for the *Journal*.

On the motion of Mr. T. H. Brett, seconded by Mr. Bolton, the report was unanimously adopted.

The out-going Officers and Committee were re-appointed *in globo*, with the exception that the name of Ald. W. G. D. Goff, J.P., was substituted for that of Mr. E. W. Kelly, who had found it impossible to be present at the meetings of the Committee. The motion was proposed by Major Wheeler Cuffe, and seconded by Mr. Bolton, the standing orders, which prescribe the form of election to be by ballot, having been suspended to enable them to do so.

The Bishop said that the next item on the agenda paper was a vote of thanks to the Mayor (Mr. Nelson) for his kindness in allowing the use of the Town Hall for the meetings of the Society, and he would be very glad to receive a resolution on the subject.

Mr. C. P. Redmond proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor for granting the use of the Council Chamber and the Mayor's Office for the transaction of the Society's business.

Mr. John N. White seconded the motion.

His Lordship said he had very great pleasure in putting this motion, and in expressing his own thanks to the Mayor, and also, to his predecessors for their unvarying kindness to the Society. The members have always been freely given the use of the Council Chamber for their annual meeting, and of the Mayor's Office downstairs for their Committee meetings, and in return the only thing they could do was to express the thankfulness which they felt for such a display of kindness.

The motion was warmly adopted.

Mr. Higgins stated that his Worship the Mayor had asked him to apologise for his absence, and also to say that he regretted it very much; but it was impossible for him to be present owing to urgent business engagements. He had, however, given him (Mr. Higgins) permission to exhibit the great parchment book of the Corporation "Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae," charters, maps, etc., of historical interest in possession of the Council.

Major Cuffe brought two objects of interest before the meeting, which he said might be of considerable interest to their Society, and to the public generally. The first was a description of



J. Peacock, R.H.A. Delt.

Engd. by Kirkwood and Son.

Dublin, William Curry, Junr. and Co.

INTERVIEW OF THE IRISH CHIEFTAINS WITH PRINCE JOHN,
AT WATERFORD, *April 1, 1185.*

a singular badge which struck his attention on going round the Vestry of Christ's Church Cathedral, Dublin, some time ago. It was found in 1884 in the Cathedral, and he had got Mr. Johnson, the well-known jeweller of Dublin, to make some *fac-similies* of it. It was a six-pointed star, which was very unusual, because, as no doubt some of them were aware, the St. John star with which they were acquainted, had eight points. Enquiries, however, were being made to see if similar objects had been found in any other parts of the kingdom, and to ascertain at what period they were worn, and by whom. Another subject of interest that they had before them was a photograph which Mr. C. P. Bolton had given him, and which that gentleman had made of a picture of Prince John at Waterford in 1185, when the Irish Chieftains came to interview him.

A number of other treasures were shown at the meeting. The following were laid on the table for inspection by County Inspector Jennings :—

Cannon Ball, found embedded in remains of an old fort, at Pennywell, outside Limerick, a short distance from town wall, said to have been discharged from one of the small field pieces belonging King William's army, during the siege, 1691. Fener, in his History of Limerick, states a fort was built or repaired at Pennywell in the end of 1690.

Horse Shoe, found in the bog at "Pass," near Ballyroan, Queen's County, on the scene of reputed site of Battle of the "Pass of the Plumes," where Essex's army was ambushed by Oinnares of Leix, and suffered great loss, in 1599.

Various old knives found in Jerpoint Abbey, Co. Kilkenny, on 12th September, 1891.

THE RECENT DISCOVERY OF A CANNON IN THE SUIR.

Major Cuffe read a very interesting paper on the ancient cannon that was recently taken from the bed of the river Suir, nearly opposite Reginald's Tower, by the dredger belonging to the Harbour Commissioners. This antique and curious specimen of

old time ordnance was exhibited by Major Cuffe, and being temporarily mounted on a timber structure with pivot arrangement, he was able to fully describe the construction method of working the gun, the probable origin of which he discussed in a learned and interesting manner.

Mr. Jacob, in discussing the paper, quoted the following from Chamber's Encyclopædia—"Cannon used by Edmund III. at Crecy, and at Calais, 1346. The first cannon, or bombard, were made of iron bars, hooped together with iron rings, about 1477. Cannon began to be made by casting instead of hooped bars, and bronze or brass as a material began to be used as well as iron." The speaker pointed out that the cannon found by the dredger is composed of bars or wrought iron, welded together and hooped with wrought iron rings—its chief curiosity being the fact that it was a breech-loader.

The Rev. Father Mockler also read a paper from Mr. Grattan Flood, who stated that there was no doubt that the Moors used cannon as far back as the time of our Divine Lord, and cannon was certainly used at the beginning of the fourteenth century in Spain.

Mr. J. N. White said as regards the finding of the cannon he was told by the master of the dredger that they brought up also what was evidently pieces of the timber of very old ships. This was before they brought up the cannon, but unfortunately they were destroyed. He (Mr. White) thought that there could be no doubt that the cannon was used on board of one of Perkin Warbeck's ships, which was sunk opposite Reginald's Tower.

The Rev. Father Mockler, Hon. Editor, having read a paper on "The Kings of Ancient Ireland," which appears in this number of Journal.

The President rose and said—Ladies and gentlemen, I think the work of our meeting is now completed, but before we depart, I think you will all agree with me that there is a word to be spoken of our thankfulness to the gentlemen who have contributed to make this meeting so very interesting. It has been the most interesting meeting, taking it all round, which we have had since the beginning of the society. The very full paper read by Major

Cuffe, with the interesting rejoinder of Mr. Jacob, and the historical and patriotic paper of Father Mockler's, all have contributed to make this day particularly remarkable in the annals of our little society. Before I close I would like to say a word or two suggested in the report. Mr. Higgins, Hon. Secretary, directed attention to the funds of the society, and also to the fact that the number of subscribers and the number of writers, whose contributions to our *Journal* were not by any means as large as they might be. This is a matter which concerns all who take an interest in the things of the city and neighbourhood. The number of our subscribers has probably declined through death and departure, but unfortunately there have been no persons to take the place of those whose names are no longer known on our list. I think, therefore, that an effort should be made by all the friends of the society to induce others to join it. There are many, too, who must have information interesting to the readers of our journal if only they would busy themselves and send it to our hon. editor. There must be also in this city and county, and throughout the district which our journal is intended to serve, some available papers regarding the past, which are perhaps going to decay, and may eventually be lost. Such papers would form a very interesting feature of our journal if they can be obtained. I can promise that the greatest care will be taken of such treasures that may be committed to us. And we would make the best use of them to preserve from oblivion matters of interest and importance, and which would afford at the same time to our readers that information which Irishmen in this part of the country desires to have.

Mr. Brett next said he had great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to His Lordship, the Bishop for presiding there that day.

Major Cuffe seconded the resolution. He said they were deeply impressed by the continued help that their president had given them, and they were deeply obliged to him for it.

The President, in reply, said he was grateful for the compliment paid him, but having said so much for himself already, he would like to refer to an omission in the few remarks he had

occasion to utter a minute or two ago. In the report of the society for the past year reference was made to the loss which they had sustained by the death of the late Alderman Hurley. Nobody took a greater interest in their work ; no one had more to do with the foundation of the society ; no one contributed more largely or more generously to its funds in the days of its infancy than he did, and no one was prouder of the measure of success it attained. Antiquarian research in his death had suffered a considerable loss, because in one way or another he had diffused knowledge amongst everyone whom he knew. It would not, therefore, be at all right if they separated without paying the best tribute that they could to his memory, and in recognition of what he had done for the society from the beginning.





The above is a representation of a Golden Crown that was found 10ft. under the ground at a place called Barnaneli, in Co. Tipperary, in the year 1692. "It is said" says the *Dublin Penny Journal* of August 25, 1832 "to be still preserved by the descendants of Joseph Comerford, in the Castle of Ainglure in Champagne. In its style and workmanship it is perfectly Eastern, and unlike everything of the kind used in Europe within historic times."



The Kings of Ancient Ireland.

THEIR NUMBER, RIGHTS, ELECTION AND
INAUGURATION.

[This paper was written in somewhat popular style, as it was meant to be read at the General Meeting of our Society.]

custom

WE live in a democratic age, when power has passed in great part, and is ever passing more and more into the hands of the people. It is fitting, therefore, that more and more attention should be paid to the lives and labours of the people, and that history should occupy itself to a greater extent than ever before, with the fortunes of those who make up the vast majority of the inhabitants of a country.

But while we should no longer be content with a history that spoke only of kings and nobles, and that passed over, with the slightest of references, the peasant and the artizan, yet we must not go to the other extreme. Kings and nobles really did make history in the past as they cannot now make it; they influenced far more than now the fortunes of a country; they made, or marred, to a very great extent, the happiness of their people.

Even still, we, who live or have lived in the age of a Victoria, of a Francis Joseph, of an Emperor William, of a Csar, know what power and influence over the lives and fortunes of a people monarchs possess. Their influence was greater still in the past, and, I may almost say, greatest of all in our own land. For in Ireland the people identified themselves with the interests and wishes of their Kings in a closer manner, and for a longer period, I think, than in any other country in the world. Large numbers of them claimed to be of the same blood as the princes of their territory; they rejoiced with them in all their joys, and sorrowed with them in all their sorrows, in a way that we can hardly realise in our more material and prosaic days.

But, strangely, I find in a very recent number of the *Saturday Review* (Jan. 26th, 1901) the view put forward in a leading article, that loyalty, in the sense of an inferior's acknowledgement of, and submission to, the claims of a superior, together with a feeling of personal attachment, is of comparatively recent growth, and may very probably be due to feudalism. Has the writer never learned, or has he utterly forgotten, the loyalty of the Irish people to their Chiefs and Kings? Was there not amongst them in a pre-eminent degree, whether rightly or wrongly, that feeling of fidelity to, and personal love of, their princes? Was there not amongst them with the sentiment of the Divinity that hedges a king, the ardent attachment of brothers, or the profound reverence of children?

In truth, English writers as a rule, neither know nor appreciate the history of Ireland, except in so far as it bears upon the history of England, and, unfortunately, they are encouraged to remain in their ignorance or indifference by many Irishmen. Many amongst ourselves think that study of the history of Irish Ireland—if we may use such a term—is in some way a betrayal of, or a disloyalty to, England, or to the United Kingdom. They think, or seem to think, that to know anything of the Irish Kings who lived and reigned long ago in Ireland, is treason to the King who to-day wears the crown of Great Britain and Ireland.

It is to be hoped that this spirit neither exists, nor is encouraged among the members of our Society. We know nothing here of politics, or of parties. But we are devoted to the story of

the past of our country, and more especially to the story of the little spot of the south-west of our country in which our life is mainly spent, and whose antiquities our Journal was mainly founded to elucidate. It is my hope, therefore, that something, however small, about our native Irish Kings may neither be out of place nor uninteresting. It is fitting that we should remind ourselves of the ancient Kings of our land—"the stately forms of old,"—as Fingal called them in his address to his son, Ossian, and now that a new sovereign, Edward VII., has begun to reign over Ireland, it ought to be of special interest to cast our eyes back to the earliest periods in the history of our country, and of our monarchy, and to trace out the position, election, inauguration, and rights of our native Kings.

In ancient Ireland there may be said to have been three or even four classes or ranks of kings. The Irish word for king, Rig, or Ri, corresponding to the Latin word, regis, or rex, and the Gaulish Rig-s or Rix, was a generic term, including under it three or four species or grades. The lowest of these was the Rig Tuatha, who was chief or king of one Tuath (*a*) or territory. The territory or Tuath, generally speaking, consisted of 360 ploughlands, or about 43,200 acres, exclusive of bog, mountain, etc., on the basis of calculation that there were 120 acres in a ploughland. Altogether there were in Ireland about 184 Tuaths, but it is not supposed that there was always a king for each and every one of them.

The second rank of king was that of the Rig Mor Tuatha, that is, king of a large or great territory. He had a certain amount of power over at least four Tuaths, namely: he ruled his own territory, and he had certain rights over three others, the kings of which paid him tribute, and to whom in turn he paid a smaller stipend, or wages, or reward. Another name for this higher king was Rig Buiden, or king of companies, because he was often the leader in battle.

(*a*) The original meaning of tuath is tribe or people. We are at once led by this word, in the most fascinating manner, to the close connection in the past of the Celts, Goths, Teutons, etc., and to the unity of their languages in a common base. Tuath, anciently probably teuta or touta=anglo-saxon theod; Gothic thiudo, etc. Hence Teuton, and Dutch, from root tu "to be strong."

The third rank of king was held by provincial rulers. A king of a province was variously called Rig Cuicidh, Rig Bunad, and Rig Rurich. From the earliest times of which we have record, Ireland was divided into five provinces, Munster forming two. In the second century of our Christian era, King Tuathal formed a new province, Meath; but joined the two Munsters into one. There were therefore five provinces and five provincial kings. They had sovereignty over the sub-kings of the various provinces, and claimed from them tribute and war service. The king of a Tuath was bound to send 700 men to the field, the kings of Mor Tuaths in proportion.

Highest of all was the Ard-Ri the supreme monarch of Ireland, at least in name. As a matter of fact, however, the Ard-Ri was rarely acknowledged practically as paramount all over Ireland. Brian Boru, the great conqueror of the Danes at Clontarf, came nearest to the reality of a supreme monarch.

RIGHTS AND AUTHORITY OF KINGS.

Looked at from the social and political point of view the people of ancient Ireland may be divided into five main classes, (1) kings, (2) nobles, (3) freemen with property, (4) freemen without property, and lastly, (5) non free.

The first three classes were specially privileged, and all came under the general names of aires, or chiefs. An *aire* who had land as his own property, and owned it free of all rent was called a flaith or noble, and a flaith or noble who ruled over a territory as large at least as a Tuath, or cantred, was called a chief or king, Ri.

A Ri had certain privileges or rights which are all laid down most carefully and minutely in the *Book of Rights*. As far as support went he might have, as a flaith, private property in land, which would go to his heirs after his death. Then he got a special portion of land as *mensal* land. This descended not to his heirs, but to the Tanist or successor. Again, he got subsidies of various kinds from the sub-chiefs or aires. Lastly, he was bound to get free entertainment with his retinue when he was travelling through his territory. He himself was bound to give stipend or wages, much less, of course than he received, to his subordinates.

Then he was bound to protect all who belonged to the tribe or tribes, or province, according as he was a minor king (called *Urriagh* by English writers) or a greater king, or a provincial king.

In theory, there was a beautiful gradation of authority. The heads of septs owed allegiance to the head of a tribe, who was generally a king; this minor king owed allegiance to a king of several tribes; this king of several tribes owed allegiance to the king of a province; the king of a province owed allegiance to the *Ard-Ri*.

In practice; however, there was great difficulty in enforcing authority. When a man is a king he does not like to be subject to anybody. Hence, there were constant disturbances. The *Brehon Law* laid down many regulations for the due enforcement of authority. One of the chief ways in which a superior maintained his authority over his sub-kings and chiefs was by a system of hostageship. "He is not a king," says the *Brehon Law*, "who has not hostages in fetters." Not that the hostages were always kept in fetters. On the contrary they were treated with consideration, and even with distinction so long as no personal cause of quarrel, or a desire of taking precautions, dictated a harsher course.

With regard to a king's powers, almost everything was regulated by law. He was in no sense a despotic ruler; he was a limited monarch in the strictest sense. Even his personal movements were regulated by law. He was not to go about without a retinue, the number of which was regulated by law according to his status. He was to do no menial or servile work on pain of being ranked as a plebeian. He was continually subject to the guidance of the law, and besides he could not decide any important matter concerning the tribes or septs without obtaining the consent of the nobles and other principal men. Generally the laws were made at the great meetings held triennially or annually at *Tara*, *Telltown*, *Wexford*, and other places.

In considering the state of Ireland under chiefs, sub-kings, provincial kings, and an *Ard-Ri*, we can easily conclude that in the play of human passions and ambitions, there would be many

disturbances, and we know from history that this was the case. There was almost a constant state of warfare. And warfare, especially civil warfare, intensifies and increases enmities and rivalries, while it tends to make the people miserable and desperate.

Of course it is right to remember that France and England were equally torn at the same time as Ireland, by internal rivalries and warfare. All know how the Anglo-Saxons formed eight distinct kingdoms, and how they fought with one another for supremacy. At one time Northumbria became supreme; at another time (716-819) Mercia; and another time Wessex. Then came the Danish invasions with the Danish conquest of east Anglia, followed by further Danish invasions, the giving of Danegelt, England's submission to Swegen, and finally to Cnut, who became King of all England. Though the English line was again restored in the persons of Edward the Confessor and Harold, it is probable that England would still be subject to the danger of divided kingdoms were it not for the strong hand of William the Conqueror who moulded the country into one.

France also took centuries before its various kingdoms were welded into one. Ireland, no doubt, would have travelled on like lines to those of France from manifold kingdoms into one, were it not for the Danish and Anglo-Norman invasions.

SELECTION OF KING OR CHIEF.

The office of King or Chief was elective. However, the King was to be chosen, not from the people at large, but from the ruling family. Generally speaking the eldest son, if not disqualified by age or character, would be selected, but still, in theory, any son, or the brother, or a cousin, might be appointed, or, indeed, any suitable person of a family equal to the kings.

The selection was made by the votes of the Aires (pr. arrahs) or freemen of the tribe, and in order to avoid the danger of a disputed succession, they generally made their selection of the future ruler, before the death of the actual king. The man chosen

to be the successor of the reigning ruler was called *Tanist*, (*b*) a word meaning *second*, and for his support there was provision made, by the grant of a separate allowance of mensal land, and "certain cuttings and spendings upon all the inhabitants under the lord." Sometimes a person stood out clearly as the probable successor of the actual chief, but yet was not formally selected. He was called the Roydamna.

CORONATION AND INAUGURATION.

We can trace to very early times the custom of marking the commencement of a King's reign by some special rite or ceremony. We know that the Jewish Kings (as well as the Jewish priests) were anointed, and it is certain that many of them, and probably all, were also crowned, the crown forming as it did one of the insigne of Royalty. We read, for example, of the crowning as well as of the anointing of King Joas (4 Kings, xi., 12; in Protestant Bible, II Kings, xi, 12) and, again, after the conquest of Rabbah, its King's crown was placed upon David's head.

After the destruction of the Western Empire, the tribal chiefs or kings, among whom the old Roman territory was divided, seemed to have been, generally speaking, crowned on their accession or election. We know, for instance, that this was customary among the Franks, the Lombards, the Burgundians, the Saxons. When the Western Roman Empire was revived by Charlemagne, the great occasion was made memorable by the solemn coronation of the new Emperor at Rome by the Pope. His successors for three hundred years were in like manner crowned on their accession to the throne.

Before the Norman conquest, the Saxon Kings of England were also crowned, though we have far more explicit and frequent testimony of their being anointed. Bath or Winchester or

(*b*) *Tanist* is from the Irish *Tanise*, or *Tanaise* "second," and so *tanise*. *Rig* is second King, *i.e.*, the heir to the reigning King, and so the second person in the land. According to Abbé MacGeoghean the appointed heir "was called "*Tainiste*" from the name of the ring finger; and as this finger by its place and length is next to the middle one, so that prince was next to the monarch in rank, dignity, and power."

Kingston-on-Thames was the place commonly chosen for the ceremony. But after the foundation of Westminster Abbey by Edward the Confessor, the Kings of England were henceforth crowned there.

O'Donovan (Hy. Fiachrach) tells us that "the oldest account of the inauguration of a King of the Irish race is that given by Cumin, Abbot of Iona, in 657, who says (*Vita S. Columbae*) that St. Columba ordained Aidan, King of Scotland, by imposition of hands." In fact the evidence of St. Cumin (and following him, St. Adamnan) is the oldest on record for the coronation of Christian Kings. "The most ancient authorities given by Selden for the coronation of Christian Emperors, and for that of the Kings of France and England, are subsequent to the time of St. Adamnan, who died on the 21st September, 704." (O'Donovan, p. 452.)

Unfortunately, we do not know very much about the inauguration, or as it was called, the *making* of a King in Pagan times. We know little more than that the chosen ruler of Ireland stood, on his inauguration or coronation day, on the famous "Stone of Destiny" Lia Fail, which, the legend says, was wont to utter a roar when a King of the old Milesian blood stood upon it!

The Lia Fail is said to have been brought into Ireland by the Tuatha de Danaans—that strange race that in great part, at all events, dispossessed the Firbolgs, and ruled over Ireland for some 200 years, and yet, unlike the Firbolgs, are not claimed as the ancestors of any of the great Irish families—that, according to the annals of Clonmacnoise, could work wonderful things by magic and other diabolical arts, and were certainly skilled workers in metal,—and that were subdued finally by the Gaedhil or Scots, though they lingered on for centuries in the land, and were commonly regarded as professors of the black art. The fate of the Stone of Destiny gives rise still to discussion.

The common story was that in the sixth century it was carried into North Britain by an Irish colony that settled down there, and founded an Irish Kingdom and an Irish Monarchy, and that it was used at the coronation of all their Kings for many centuries. It found a resting place for several generations in the monastery at Scone, but in 1396 it was carried off into England by

Edward, and is supposed to be the large block of stone that may be seen to-day under the coronation chair at Westminster Abbey. In the opinion of O'Flaherty (Ogygia) the Lia Fail was carried to Scotland, not in the sixth century, but in the middle of the ninth century, when it was sent by Hugh Finliath, King of Ireland, to his father-in-law, Kenneth MacAlpine, who subjugated the Picts.

However, Dr. Petrie, in his "Antiquities of Tara Hill," controverts these accounts of the Stone of Destiny, and maintains with great force that this singular relic of Ireland's pagan past, never left Ireland, and actually forms the head stone over the Croppies' grave at Tara. He brings forward not only *a priori* arguments of the improbability of the Irish nation ever allowing the stone to be taken away to gratify the desires of an Irish colony, but very strong evidence indeed from manuscripts of great antiquity to prove, both by positive and negative testimony his contention. But his arguments, though strong, are not conclusive, as I will try briefly to show.

Dr. Petrie quotes from a tenth century poet, Kenith O'Hartigan, who speaks as if he was actually standing at the time on the Lia Fail at Tara :—

"This stone on which are my two heels."

This seems certainly to be sufficiently definite, and to show that so far from the stone having been removed to Scotland in the sixth century, or as O'Flaherty says, in the ninth, it was under the two heels of an Irish poet at Tara in the tenth century! And the ancient Irish topographical poem, the Densenchus, which was composed according to O'Curry, in the year 1001 by the distinguished scholar, Cuan O'Lochain, seems to be equally definite that the Lia Fail was at Tara at the time of its composition. But in answer, it is urged that Irish annalists, poets and historians of the olden days (as it is said indeed of the Irish people of more modern days) lived in the glorious past, and spoke of things that had long passed away, as if they were present! A remarkable instance of the fondness of old Irish writers to make things appear, not as they were, at the time of writing, but as they had been in happier days, is given by T. O'Russell in his interesting book, "Beauties and Antiquities of Ireland." In a topographical poem written by O'Dugan in the

fourteenth century, reference is made to Irish clans as actually living in what was then the English Pale, and from which they had been driven by the English invaders two hundred years previously. And again, O'Dwyer prefaces his topographical poem by the words :—

“O’Mealseachlinn, Chief King of Tara and Erin,”

though the last O’Mealseachlinn, that was Chief King of Ireland and Tara, had died three hundred years before ! One explanation of this curious anachronistic style is, that these old writers when quoting from documents that were centuries old, put themselves, as it were, in spirit in the same age.

Dr. Petrie alleges that all ancient Irish writers speak of the Lia Fail as still existing at Tara. In this he is mistaken. The “Book of Leinster”—which O’Curry says is a compilation made in the middle of the twelfth century—speaks thus of the Lia Fail :—“It was the Tuatha De Danamus who brought with them the great Fail, that is the *Stone of Knowledge* that *was* in Tara ; from which [the name of] Magh Fail is on Ireland. He under whom it would roar was then [rightful] King of Ireland.” (c) Further in the “Silva Gadelica” edited by Standish Hayes O’Grady, there is a tract called the “colloquy” in which one of the speakers says : “This then, and the Lia Fail, or Stone of Destiny, that *was* there (in Tara) were the two wonders of Tara. When Ireland’s (rightful) monarch stepped on it, it would cry out under him.” “And who was it that lifted that flag, or that carried it away out of Ireland ?” asked one of the listeners. “It was a young hero of great spirit that ruled over” But, alas ! here the tract breaks off abruptly.

With regard to the *a priori* argument of Petrie that it is extremely improbable that the Irish nation would ever have allowed the long venerated Lia Fail to be taken away, it must be remembered, says Mr. Russell, that the Lia Fail was a Pagan monument, and must have lost all, or great part of the veneration.

(c) Russell, p. 27. It is to be noted that according to the Book of Leinster, Fail is derived from Fál, science or knowledge. It is generally supposed to be from the adjective Fail, fatal. However, both fál and fail may be from the same root.

attaching to it on the introduction of Christianity into the land, and might indeed have been regarded with abhorrence by the fervent Christians of the early part of the sixth century. But this counter argument is not a good one. For Fergus who, according to Mr. Russell, first used the stone in Scotland, was undoubtedly a Christian, and so were all those who followed him from Ireland. (*d*)

Those who maintain that the Lia Fail is now under the coronation chair at Westminster Abbey, rely mainly on the following arguments. First, there is the definite statement of O'Reilly, the learned and conscientious author of the Irish Dictionary : "Lia Fail, the Stone of Destiny, on which the ancient Irish Monarchs used to be crowned, until the time of Murtagh MacEarc, who sent it into Scotland, that his brother Fergus, who had subdued that country, might be crowned on it. It is now in Westminster Abbey." Unfortunately he does not tell us what authority he had for this statement, and so far we have not found any ancient Irish writing to support it. It is most tantalising that the "colloquy" already quoted from the "Silva Gadelica" stops abruptly just at the very point, where the most valuable information seemed to be ready to be poured on our lips.

Again, secondly, the stone that marks the Croppies' grave at Tara cannot properly be called a *lia*, but rather is a *Coirthe*. Lia is a stone in the general sense, and is always applied, teste T. O. Russell, to a flag-stone, both in ancient and modern Gaelic. Coirthe is a pillar-stone. Now the stone under the coronation chair at Westminster is a real flag-stone ; while the stone at Tara is a pillar-stone, which judging from its height above the ground, can hardly be less than eight feet in length.

Thirdly, the monarchs of Ireland stood upon the Lia Fail at their inauguration. Now the pillar-stone at Tara which is round, not flat like the flag-stone at Westminster, would afford very insecure foothold, to say the least.

(*d*) It is interesting to note that this Fergus, who is supposed to have been the first King crowned in Scotland on the Lia Fail, was the ancestor of the subsequent Kings of Scotland, and that from him through the Stuarts descends, in one of his lines of pedigree, King Edward VII. His brother, Murtagh, was the first Christian Ard-Ri of Ireland.

Finally, the pillar-stone now at Tara is not called Lia Fail, but by a name which seems to connect it with Fergus, the very person who is popularly believed to have brought the real Lia Fail to Scotland. How did the stone at Tara lose its old name, so well known, and so famous, and get a new one, in a land of tradition-like Ireland, where many famous place names have not been changed for some twenty centuries ?

It is difficult to come to any certain conclusion on this much debated question. Petrie's view, so ably and so learnedly supported by solid arguments, has been generally accepted since his time, but the last word has not yet been said. Meanwhile, it would be well if a really scientific examination were made of the stone at Westminster. Such an examination would furnish us with information as to the character of the stone, and we could judge what its origin was likely to have been. Many think that it may prove to be a meteoric stone, and therefore would furnish another probable reason for thinking that it is the Lia Fail, which might have fallen some day from the skies in the distant past on Irish ground, and on that account might have been looked on with reverence as a gift from the Gods. Skene, the great Scotch antiquary, maintains in his monograph that the stone so long revered at Scone, and now under the Coronation Chair at Westminster, is demonstrably of the kind that may be found any day in a quarry near Scone.

It would be a pity to spoil the moral that Mr. T. O. Russell draws from a consideration of the marvellous history of the Lia Fail by any other words than his own! "The principal virtue supposed to be possessed by the Lia Fail was that it would bring political power to the country in which it was, particularly if its people were of Celtic stock. *It is very remarkable that soon after the stone supposed to be the Lia Fail was taken out of Ireland her political power began to decline, her own Kings lost a great part of their former authority, and in the long run she lost her independence. Scotland's political power and national independence vanished not long after she had lost the Lia Fail (i.e. about 1300), and in a few centuries after England had got it she became one of the foremost nations in the world. The English claim*

to be Saxons but it is now generally admitted that the Celtic element preponderates in the island of Great Britain, *so that the prophecy attached to the Lia Fail seems to be fulfilled.*" It is astonishing that so able a man as Mr. Russell should pen such a paragraph, almost every statement of which is false or misleading.

But while we know little of the ceremonies attending the inauguration of a king in pagan days, except that of standing upon the Lia Fail, we have a great deal of information with regard to the ceremonies used in Christian times. Each tribe had its own place for the inauguration of its king, and had its own special ceremonies, in most cases, probably, handed down from the past, but the general features of all were much alike. Especially in all did a religious character predominate. Bishops, abbots, and the general body of the clergy attended together with the sub-chiefs. After the hereditary historian of the tribe had read for the elected king the laws that were to be observed, the new sovereign, standing upon the coronation stone, took an oath to preserve the laws inviolate, and to maintain the ancient customs of the tribe. Then a chief whose special duty it was, handed him a straight white wand (*e*), a symbol at once of his authority, and of his obligations to be straightforward and stainless, and pure in the exercise of his authority. Holding this wand in his hand, and having laid aside his sword and other arms to show his desire to throw off all vindictiveness, to rule his own people without violence, and to put his trust in God's help, he turned round thrice from left to right, and thrice from right to left in honour of the Blessed Trinity, and to overlook, as it were, all his territory. Finally, the sub-chief whose hereditary privilege it was, pronounced proudly, in a loud voice, the new king's surname—the name alone of the family without the christian name—which was then pronounced aloud by each of the clergy, in order according to dignity, and then by the sub-chiefs. Henceforth the chief was addressed

(*e*) Philip O'Sullivan Beare (born about 1588) who probably witnessed the ceremony of inauguration of an O'Sullivan or MacCarthy, says that the wand or rod was consecrated.

by his surname only, "O'Neill," "O'Donnell," "O'Connor," "MacCarthy," "O'Brien," etc. (*f*)

John O'Donovan, in his *Hy. Fiachrach*, pp. 425 to 432, has given us chiefly in the Irish of Keatinge, and in the Latin of Fr. Lynch, an exhaustive account of all these ceremonies. Edmund Spenser, in his "View," has given a short account of them, and in the main his account agrees with what O'Donovan and other writers have told us. Of course there is the usual sneer of the Englishmen at the Irish customs. Eudoxus is represented as asking Ireneus what ceremony is used at the election of the Chiefs. "For" he says "all barbarous (!) nations are commonly great observers of ceremonies and superstitious rites." Ireneus answers "They used to place him that shall be their captain upon a stone always reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon a hill; in some of which I have seen formed and engraven a foot, which they say was the measure of their first captain's foot, whereon he standing received an oath to preserve all the ancient former customs of the country inviolable, and to deliver up the succession peaceably to his tanist, and then hath a wand delivered unto him by some whose proper office that is, after which, descending from the stone, he turneth himself round, thrice forward and thrice backward,"

The kings of all Ireland were inaugurated at Tara, the kings of Munster at Cashel, the kings of Connaught at Carnfraoigh, near Tulsk.

The O'Neill was inaugurated on the hill of Tullaghogue. His hereditary steward and justiciary, the O'Hagan, had his chief residence within the rath of Tullaghogue where stood the Leac-na-righ, or chair of coronation. It was the hereditary right of the O'Hagan to put the gold sandals on the foot of the elect

(*f*) All know how proudly the great chiefs clung to these titles. Con-the-Great who married Eleonora, sister of Garrett Fitzgerald, valued his title of O'Neill above any title of Earl, Duke, or Prince which the English could grant him. His son, Conn Boccagh, became first Earl of Tyrone. Almost a hundred years later the great Hugh O'Neill was prouder of his title, O'Neill, which he received on the death of Turlough Tynagh O'Neill, than he was of his English title, Earl of Tyrone. When at length he acknowledged himself beaten in 1603, he surrendered his title of O'Neill and was confirmed as Earl of Tyrone by Mountjoy.

chief of the O'Neills, and to present him with the straight white wand. On the other hand, it was the hereditary privilege of the head of the O'Cahans, *i.e.*, the O'Kanes, to cast the golden shoe over the head of his elect King, the O'Neill. Subordinate functionaries in the imposing inauguration ceremony were the O'Mullans, and O'Mulhollands, the custodians of the famous Bell of St. Patrick, which they had always present at the installation. The scene at the ceremony must have been extremely interesting. Davis has pictured it for us in lines of swinging measure and graphic power in his "True Irish Kings." :—

Come look on the pomp, when they "make an O'Neill,"
 The muster of dynasts—O'Hagain, O'Sheadhail,
 O'Cathain, O'Hanlon, O'Breislein' and all,
 From gentle Aird Uladh to rude Dun-na-n-gall,
 St. Patrick's Comharba, with Bishops thirteen,
 And Ollamhs, and breitheamhs, and minstrels are seen,
 Round Tullach-og-Rath, like bees in the spring,
 All swarming to honour a true Irish King.

Unsandalled he stands on the foot dented rock,
 Like a pillar-stone fixed against every shock.
 Round, round is the rath on a far-seeing hill,
 Like his blemishless honour and vigilant will.
 The greybeards are telling how chiefs by the score
 Have been crowned on the "Rath of Kings" heretofore ;
 While crowded, yet orderly, within its green ring,
 Are the dynasts and priests round the true Irish King.

The chronicler read him the laws of the clan,
 And pledged him to bide by their blessing and ban.
 His skian and his sword are unbuckled to show
 That they only are meant for a foreigner foe ;
 A white willow wand has been put in his hand—
 A type of pure, upright and gentle command ;
 While hierarchs are blessing the slipper they fling,
 And O'Cathain proclaims him a true Irish King.

Thrice looked he to Heaven, with thanks and with prayer—
 Thrice looked to his borders in sentinel stare—
 To the waves of Loch-n-Eathach, the heights of Strathban,
 And thrice on his allies, and thrice on his clan.
 One clash on their bucklers! One more! they are still—
 What means the deep pause on the crest of the hill?
 Why gaze they above him? A war-eagle's wing!
 'Tis an omen! Hurrah for the true Irish King!

This is assuredly a vivid and inspiring picture of what must have been in reality a very inspiring and a very impressive scene. Of course it could scarcely be expected to vie with the stately and solemn grandeur of the coronation ceremony of modern Kings, but it had its own elements of splendour and picturesqueness.

The rich robes of the clergy ; the many-coloured apparel of the Chief himself, the sub-chief, the bards and the Brehons ; the deep ranks of the clans with their banners of various forms and devices ; all must have made a picturesque and striking picture, and one calculated to impress the minds, and warm the hearts, of the ardent colour-loving Celts.

Hugh, the gréatest of the O'Neills, was the last of his race to be crowned at Tullaghogue. His deadly foe, Sir Henry Bagnal, in a letter dated Sept. 14, 1595, wrote thus to the cabinet of Elizabeth : " The traitor is gone to the Stone to have himself called O'Neill upon some ceremony used, and hath given charge to all his forces to meet him there in tried hosts." But the final scene came in 1602. Fynes Moryson tells us that Mountjoy " spent five days in the neighbourhood, and after spoiling the corn of the whole country, smashed the chair whereon the O'Neills were wont to be created."

However, though the famous stone of Tullaghogue has been " smashed," and though the more famous stone still of the Ard-Ris at Tara has its real fate shrouded in mystery, at all events there are many " foot-dinted " inauguration stones still to be seen in Ireland, and still bearing eloquent, if silent witness, to days of real greatness and kingly majesty, and an advanced civilisation. When we think of those days, we need not go into any " schoolboy heat," or " blind hysterics," such as Tennyson, with somewhat conceited and insular English pride, laid down as characteristic of " the Celt," but rather let us conclude as Tennyson's own Ulysses :—

" Tho' much is taken, much abides ; and tho'
 We are not now that strength which in old days
 Moved earth and heaven ; that which we are, we are ;
 One equal temper of heroic hearts,
 Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will."





Notes relating to The Manor of Ballygunner, COUNTY WATERFORD.

By WILLIAM H. GRATTAN FLOOD, M.R.S.A.



IN an interesting paper on "The Ancient Ruined Churches of County Waterford," by Rev. P. Power, which appeared ten years ago in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries* (*a*), there is a brief notice of Ballygunner. Father Power writes: "The name Ballygunner (*baile me-conar*) is not of ecclesiastical origin; it is taken from the townland upon which the church stands, *scil*—Mac Conary's town." This derivation however is not correct, and can only apply to Ballyconnery, near Dungarvan.

The place-name Ballygunner is truly Scandinavian, as is also Ballytruckle (*Baile-turkil* or *Thor-gil*—the townland of Thorketil or Thorgil, a Danish chief) in the barony of Gaultier. I cannot do better than quote the following passage from Prendergast's masterly *Introduction to Haliday's Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* (1882):—

(*a*) *Journal* No. 6, Vol. I., Fifth Series, Second Quarter, 1891.

“The only well ascertained inland Scandinavian name that readily occurs is “Gunnar,” a name so distinguished in the Nials Saga or Burnt Nial. In the suburbs of Waterford, on the south, beside the river, lie Ballygunner, with Ballygunner Castle, Ballygunnermore, and Ballygunnertemple, within the parish of the same name.

“I had often wondered in earlier days when at Waterford on circuit how such a name could have arisen before the time of guns, gunpowder, and gunnery, little thinking that it would afterwards be my chance to know that *this was the seat of an Ostman or Dane named Gunnar*, and probably called by him and his countrymen ‘Gunnar’s Stadr’ or ‘Gunner’s Holt’ as the family settlement in Iceland was named, *but changed by the Irish into Bally Gunnar.*”

As is well known the Danes, during the 11th century, merged into the Celtic population, but yet after the Anglo-Norman invasion in 1170 they claimed the rights of English citizenship, and in Waterford had their Ostmanstown in Ballytruckle. The name *Thorgil* which is more generally known in its Latinised form Turgesius, was subsequently corrupted to Corkyll and Turkle, and finally was fixed as Ballytruckle.

In the Patent Rolls under date of July 8th, 1253, we find that William de Welland was confirmed in the lands of Ballygunnar—in which patrimony he was succeeded by his son Thomas, Justice of the Common Pleas, from 1260 to 1274.

Thomas Welland, of Ballygunner, enfeoffed his son John, of the manor of Ballygunner, on Friday, June 27th, 1287, but having committed felony and abjured the realm in the Spring of the year 1290, the said manor was taken into the King’s hands by Walter de la Hay, Escheator of Ireland. However, as the result of an Inquisition held at Lisnakill, County Waterford, on Thursday, June 8th, 1290, (wherein it was proved satisfactorily that John Welland had been in peaceful seisin of said manor of Ballygonar, paying 26 marks a year to the King at the Exchequer, Dublin, from Friday, June 27th, 1287, to the date of the Inquisition), the King on July 11th, 1290, commanded the Escheator “to deliver to John, the manor aforesaid, with all issues received thereout in the meanwhile.”

On December 16th, 1303, John Welland received a grant of free warren in all his demesne lands of Ballygunnar and Kyloth-eran; and, in the ecclesiastical taxation of 1306, I find the church of "Balygennore," with the vicarage, valued at eleven marks, and a tenth of 14s. 8d.

From 1307 to 1313, I find that John Welland was an absentee landlord, and administered his Ballygunner estate through his "attorney," William Naunton. He had acquired the manor of Caistor, Co. Norfolk, in 1310, and I lose sight of him in 1320.

In 1560 the place-name is written "Ballygonnar," and not long afterwards we find it as the property of the Walshe's. James Walshe, Esquire, "of Ballygonner," was one of the Members of Parliament for County Waterford in 1634, and was subsequently Knighted. He died in 1650, and was succeeded by his son Sir Robert Walsh, Knight and Baronet, who, although deprived of his lands under Cromwell's regime, was restored by the Court of Claims on November 5th, 1663, under a decree of innocence. The case was tried on Monday, July 27th, 1663, the claimant being described as "Sir Robert Walsh with his son Pierce, which Sir Robert was son to Sir James," and the number of acres owned by him in the Counties of Waterford, Tipperary, and Kilkenny is given as 2,857a. 3r. 21p.

Sir Robert Walsh, of Ballygunner, went into exile with Prince Charles in 1648, and we find him at the Hague in that year. He petitioned Charles on July 9th, 1682, for a reduction of quit rent, inasmuch as being a "restored Papist" he had to pay a very heavy new quit rent, and had been deprived of several houses in the city of Waterford "which as a Papist could not be restored to him." He reminded the merry monarch that his father had well and faithfully served in the Royalist army until the surrender at Cornwall. Nay more, Sir Robert himself had gone over to Ireland in 1643, armed with a royal warrant and had raised a troop of infantry and cavalry which he brought with him to England at a cost of £1,000, "which force fought at the Castle of Lisleadle in Cornwall, Essex's army being there." (b)

(b) Carte Papers, clxi., p. 2.



This petition of Sir Robert Walsh was backed by Ormonde, who reminded King Charles "that His Majesty said in his coach going towards Bury St. Edmund's, Lord Bath being also in the coach, that Sir Robert Walsh should have compensation for his services and sufferings." A few months previously, namely on March 18th, 1682, he himself had written a very strong letter to the King, expressing his pain and indignation at the affront he had received, "being commanded out of his presence as a Papist by Mr. Secretary Lionel Jenkins, reminding His Majesty how he had his blessed father's commission to wear a gold medal with his royal effigy, for services rendered at the Battle of Edgehill." (c) He also wrote to Secretary Jenkins complaining that he "with this medal on his breast should be driven out of the royal presence by any upstart suggester like Dr. Titus Oates."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]





Antiquities from Kilkenny City to Kilcooley Abbey.



THE following notices dealing with the above Antiquities were read by the Rev. W. Healy, P.P., Johnstown, for the Royal Society of Antiquaries on the occasion of their Excursion to Kilcooley Abbey, on Wednesday, October 3rd, 1900. Father Healy shared the principal responsibility of conducting the Excursion, aided by Canon Hewson, of Gowran, and M. M. Murphy, Esq., solicitor, Kilkenny, the Hon. Local Secretary of the Society. A very large number of members attended, and on the route and at Kilcooley Abbey there were considerable arrivals of clergymen and others from the College and town of Thurles and the surrounding localities. The day was one of the most charming imaginable ; one such as an October month seldom gives, so brilliant was the sunshine, and the mildness and balm of the air, seemingly borrowed from the better parts of the earlier summer. About 10.30 a.m. the excursionists started from the city on the direct road to Kilcooley through Freshford. About three miles from Kilkenny, and in view of the junction of the Nore and Dinan, the road at this point rises some three hundred feet above the

rivers, and accordingly commands one of the best and most pleasing views of "the fair wide plain of the *Feoir*." (a) Here the vehicles drew up, and Father Healy read for the excursionists the first part of his interesting notes on the locality, the others mentioned following in like succession :—

AIRGEAT ROS

The ancient "Airgeat Ros" commences about three miles from the City of Kilkenny at the confluence of the Nore and Dinan, and extends through the north valley of the former river as far at least as Rathbeagh, where Heremon, the first Milesian King of Ireland, erected his royal rath. It was in this palace over the bank of the Nore he is said to have died and was buried according to the Four Masters in A.M. 3516 or 15 years after the commencement of his reign. A.M. 3656 the same annalists relate two battles gained by Tighearnmas over the race of Emhir and some foreigners at "Cuil," in Argat Ros, supposed to be Cool in the parish of Rathbeagh, as also two other battles in the same locality whose sites are not mentioned except that they were fought in Argat Ros. A.M. 3817 it is likewise mentioned that silver shields were made by Enna Airgtheach during his reign at Airgeat Ros, "so that he gave them to the men of Ireland together with horses and chariots." "After 27 years rule he fell in the battle of Raighne in the above year. At what precise spot in Argat Ros the silver was smelted is a matter of conjecture, but a tradition was prevalent that it was near the conflux of the Nore and Dinan in Ardaloe. Tighe in his "Statistical Survey of the county Kilkenny" seems to

(a) O'Heern, who died in A.D. 1420, wrote a topographical poem descriptive of the ancient tribes and territories of Ossory. One of his stanzas mentions the territory of *Ui-Duach* in the plain of the Nore, thus :—

n-Ui-Duac Ompaite an Fuinnte
 Fionoclar Fairring na Feoir
 ni Fadalta Feo an Clair
 Fear a baranta O'Braonain.

This O'Donovan translates as follows :—

Ui-Duach of Ossory of the warm soil
 The fair wide plain of the *Feoir* (Nore)
 Not easily passable in the wood of the plains
 Its protecting chieftain is O'Braonain (Brennan).

favour the tradition. "On the lands," he says, "of Ardaloe, at the junction of the Nore and Dinan, is some appearance of ancient foundations, though of small extent; it was a sight likely to have been chosen, and might have been the original position of Argetros." It must have got its name from either the making of the silver shields—"Airgead," silver, and "Ros," a wood; or from the Chieftain Enna Airgtheach, who ruled. We find it erected into a principality in A.D. 851, as the Four Masters in that year record the death of "Cathal, son of Dubhan, lord of Argatt Ros." How far it originally extended beyond Rathbeagh, where Heremon died, is, I think, mere conjecture, and I don't think there is sufficient evidence to show that it included the entire north valley of the Nore as far as the Slieve Bloom, as the late Mr. Hogan contends in his "Life of St. Ciaran," p. 44-5. Mr. Hogan, moreover, calls it *Magh Airget Ros*, i.e. the plain of the silver wood, but allow me to say that not for once is it qualified by *Magh*, a plain, in the ancient annals. Hence they understood it as merely a district and with likely more contracted limits than Mr. Hogan assigns it.

THREecastLES,

The ancient name of this place was "Ui-Duach," anglice Odagh, as was given by the Marshalls to the manor which they established in this "fair wide plain of the Nore." William, Earl Marshall, by his marriage with Isabella, daughter of Earl Pembroke or Strongbow, by his wife Eva having succeeded to the land of Leinster erected here three strong castles or keeps to overawe the O'Brenain's, the original inhabitants, whom he and his tenants dispossessed by right of the sword, and forced them north-eastwards to the "desert" and "bogs" of the Dinan in the neighbourhood of Castlecomer, where they retained a storming independence until late in the reign of Charles the First, when in 1635 a jury presented that the O'Broenains held their lands, *Manu forte*, "with a strong hand"—(Jug. 64, cap. I). One of the castles occupied the site of the present rectory whose under chambers still show the old arches. The second is still standing with the old church and burial ground attached. The church in old taxations was sometimes called on that account Castledogh-Church or Castleodagh. The third castle

stood in the courtyard of Mrs. Clarke's residence, where nothing remains of it but the basement story on which there is an out-office superstructure. The ground floor or kitchen measures internally 27 feet long by 13 wide. The name "Ui-Duach" is most likely derived from Ruman Duach, a Pagan prince, and eight in descent from Aengus Orraighe, who flourished in the early part of the second century. Ruman died about the middle of the fourth century, and his son, Lughaidhe, was the father of St. Ciaran, Patron of Ossory. He had also seven brothers who embraced the Christian religion and led saintly lives. It is likely they were the first founders of a church in this place which was called the church of Ui-Duach, which after the Anglo-Norman Conquest was anglicised Odagh, a name still preserved in the Rectory a mile hence on the opposite side of the river. The great tumulus or tulach of Ruman Duach may yet be seen within Mrs. Clarke's demesne, and centered almost between the two first mentioned and third castles. This tallow was his royal residence, and probably also the place of his burial. It seems artificial, and rising in its extensive proportions and great height above the banks of the Nore and upon one of its fords, it was admirably chosen to guard the south-western border of the ancient Ui-Duach against the encroachments of Munster dynasts, as in more modern times it equally well served the site of Anglo-Norman castles, whose mailed knights and warriors cleared the natives and held their lands by the edge of the sword. Threecastles passed to the Shortals of Ballylarkin, in Henry the Eighth's time, and in 1537 Lord James Shortal was publicly denounced for his unjust exactions of "livery and coyn" and for compelling his tenants to sell their "vytalls corne and other things" to one person only.

CLASHACROW.

Within a mile of Freshford we come on the site of a fierce battle fought between Fitzpatrick, King of Ossory, and Dermot MacMurrough and his English allies, about the beginning of year A.D. 1170. Dermot with his newly invited aid resolved to avenge himself on Fitzpatrick for barbarously putting out the eyes of his son Enna, whom he held as hostage. He defeated Fitzpatrick in the

vicinity of Gowran and probably slew him. He then marched through Ossory plundering and burning before him. Fitzpatrick's successor collected all his available forces, and aided by the men of Munster he strongly entrenched himself at "Hacedur" *i.e.* Achadh-ur, or as it is now anglicised Freshford. The fact is thus recorded in the "Song of Dermot and the Earl," (*b*) an old French poem, edited with translation by Mr. Goddard Henry Orpen, B.L. "Mac Donnchadh quietly summoned all his men to the pass of Achad-ur. The battle raged for three days, and it was only on the third day that by a sudden dash of his English allies, Dermot and his son, Donald Kavanagh, carried the stockade. The site of this encounter was under the Clashacrow hill, beside the stream which crosses the Kilkenny road about a mile from Freshford. Clashacrow must have derived its name therefrom, as it probably means "the trench or pit of the dead" and the stream which intersects the valley was named Ath-na-mara stream *i.e.* stream of the ford of the dead."

FRESHFORD.

About the close of the 6th century St. Lachtan founded here a religious house or monastery, probably on the site now occupied by the Protestant Church. He belonged to a noble family of the Co. Cork, claiming descent from Conaire II., King of Ireland, in the middle of the second century. He was humble, bashful, and silent, except when something was said reflecting on his native Munster which so irritated him that St. Cumian called him "the champion who stood through perpetual time in defence of the men of Munster." He was educated at Clonfert Molua in the parish of Kyle, under the shadow of the Slieve Bloom mountains. He died in 622. Within a quarter of a mile of Freshford, beside the road to Kilkenny, his holy well still exists. It is a clear bubbling spring where pilgrimages were formerly held, until Dr. Kinsella, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, with the aid of his clergy, undertook to abolish them in '39 and '40 on account of the many abuses that cropped up at almost all such stations. This well, with

(*b*) This admirable little work should be in the hands of every pretending antiquary or student of Irish History.

the doorway inserted in the west gable of the Protestant Church, are the only local relics I know of to recall the memory of St. Lachtan. Another reliquary, "St. Lachtan's hand," now in the Royal Museum, Dublin, does not here concern us. The doorway is engraved in Petrie's "Round Towers and Ancient Architecture of Ireland," and also in the late Miss Stoke's "Early Christian Art in Ireland." Petrie considers that it belongs to the end of the eleventh century. He grounds his opinion on the character of its sculpture which is bolder and more enriched with decoration than the Irish Romanesque door-ways of the earlier periods, and hence gives evidence of the influence which the Norman architecture of England was exercising over Irish art about the beginning of the 12th century. "The general character," he says, "of this doorway as well as its ornaments has a more decided resemblance to those of the Norman Churches in England than any of those previously noticed in this work." "The resemblance is found not only in the greater richness of its decorations and the boldness of its sculpture, which is in high relief, but also in the forms of its capitals and bases. And I should also notice as a characteristic of Irish architecture of this period at least the grotesque lions' heads which are sculptured on the soffit of the external arch immediately over the imposts." Whatever truth underlies this as fixing the correct date towards the close of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century, one thing is certain it cannot at least in its renovated form be earlier than A.D. 1010, when surnames such as are sculptured on its inner arch first came into general use by a stringent law of Brian Borhu. The inscription read thus on the upper band:—

"OṀ ṀO ṀILLE MOCHOLMOC U CÉCUCAIṀO RIGN" *i.e.* "A prayer for Gille Mocholmóc O'Cenucain who made it." On the lower band: OṀ ṀO NEIM ṀIGN CUIṀC ACUR ṀO MATHGAMAIN U CHAIRMEIC IAR IN ṀEIRNAD ṀI TEMPṀURAD" *i.e.* "A prayer for Niam, daughter of Cork, and for Mathgamain O'Chearmeic, by whom was made this Church."

The O'Kerwick's in the first inscription is a name evidently of some local dynast, and is still known in the locality and Kilkenny. Gille Mocholmóc in the second is plainly the artist or sculptor. The doorway itself presents a beautiful arcade of concentric arches resting on columns or shafts ornamented with carved capitals and

bases and surmounted with richly ornamented zig-zag mouldings. The vertex of the outer arch has a monk's head—probably to represent St. Lachtan. Basement of wayside Cross.—In the square of the town the next object of antiquarian interest is the graduated basement of an ancient wayside cross. It was originally erected on the roadside leading to Ballylarkin near a back entrance to Upper Court Demesne. The street conducting to it was called “Bonn Croise,” *i.e.* the foot of the cross, and is still known by that name. It was transferred to its present position by a Sir William Morris in the early part of the century for safer preservation, I suppose, but in this he was disappointed. The thoughtless town urchins effaced the inscription of which the following fragment was legible in 1830—*Lucae Shee Armigeri nobilis uxor . . . Butler-Monumentum.* It appears from so much that it was a monument erected by Lady Ellen Butler, sister to Richard Viscount Mountgarret, the leader of the Confederates, in pious memory of her husband, Luke Shee, who died in 1622. He was son of Sir Richard Shee who erected the Shee Alms House in Rose-Inn-street, Kilkenny. It also had a shield charged with the Shee arms impaling those of Mountgarret and another charged with emblems of the Sacred Passion.

KILCOOLEY ABBEY.

This Abbey received its first monks from Jerpoint, near Thomastown, and was accordingly called “Daughter of Jerpoint.” It is built on the angular boundary which divides the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, and hence its local designation Kilcooley, the church of the angle or corner. As you enter the great church by the north transept you are at once struck with the beauty of its proportions and its groined ceilings, decorated windows and quaint carvings strongly impress you that this is no mean conception of mediæval art “built by the monks lang syne.” The nave is about 78 feet long by 25 feet wide, and the choir and chancel are in length 50 feet. The sides of the nave show built up arches originally intended to open into aisles like Holy Cross and other Cistercian monasteries. The north and south transepts were each divided into two capellæ, the north having merely an octagonal pillar in centre and each had its piscina or what is now called in

Roman liturgy a *Sacrarium*. The north wall of the north transept with the greater portion of the groined ceiling having collapsed, the piscina of the second Capella has here disappeared. Above each altar except one in this north transept was an elegantly pointed window of flamboyant decoration. In the south transept you have a beautiful fluted and ribbed gothic doorway opening to the Sacristy, and above it a canopy with a little row of arches of artistic finish and design. The Crucifixion, St. Christopher, and various other emblems are also carved in profusion over this door, all of which you can see and have explained. The great east window of the chancel has five mullions rising perpendicular to the spring of the arch where they branch out in a tracery of flamboyant decorations that are singularly attractive, and worthy of the study of the best lovers of ornamental design. In the recesses on the Epistle and Gospel sides are tombs of the Cantwell and Butler (Lord Ikerrin) families and also the tombs of Abbots and others which were formerly found amongst the debris are now inserted in the floor under the butment of masonry which once served in the erection of the High Altar. All those with their inscriptions I noticed on the occasion of our first visit here and can be read in the Vol. I, 5th series, No. 3 of the "Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, 1890." For the better protection of those monuments the Honourable Mrs. Ponsonby has erected a gate and paling in front of them, a precaution which was most necessary, as the destruction done on the effigial monument of the Ikerrins shows. For this she is entitled to the best thanks of our Society and the gratitude of all true christians who cherish a sympathetic regard and loving respect for the graves and monuments of the forgotten dead. The two recesses in the piers of the nave arch have been a puzzle to antiquaries. Some think them Confessionals or Sedilia or both. If they were used as Sedilia they could have no connection with the ceremonies of High Mass, being only two instead of three in number, and altogether outside the Sanctuary or Chancel. Might it be that they were used in connection with a rood screen or loft? I suggest this of course under correction; a virtue, by the way, under which all antiquaries are sometimes severely disciplined. The date of the foundation of the Church and Abbey is also

a matter of dispute. Ware and Lanigan hold it was founded in 1200 for Cistercian Monks by Donogh Carbrach O'Brien, son of Donnell More O'Brien, King of North Munster. It was called Kilcoul Abbey of the B.V.M. de arvi Campo or Maghairbh *i.e.* the Corn plain, an extensive flat country terminating just here at the base of the Slieveardagh hills. The Cistercian annals published at Cologne in 1640 say it was founded in 1209. Another Cistercian authority maintains it was founded in 1184, whilst MacGeoghan says in 1199. Now when we examine this Church we find that the chancel and nave arches are rounded or Norman. The arched ceiling over the chancel is basketed or wicker work, and accordingly of an earlier date than 1200 or beginning of the 13th century. The ceilings of the North and South transepts on the contrary are beautifully ribbed and embellished, and must accordingly be assigned to some date subsequent to the erection of the chancel, for we cannot suppose that if really built by the same man and at the same time he would have lavished so much expenditure on them, whilst on the ceiling of the most dignified portion of the church—the chancel—he had bestowed no embellishment whatever. I, therefore, submit that Donnell More O'Brien sometime previous to his death in 1194, may have built the chancel of this church. In this state the church must have remained till taken up by his son and successor, Donagh Carbrach, by whom it was completed in its present proportions in 1200 or 1209. Those last years mark the transition period of architecture which combined the Gothic and earlier Norman styles. It is easy to dispose of the objection that the present East Window of the chancel cannot have been so early as 1188 or 1194, and therefore erected by Donnell More O'Brien. It must have displaced the original, and less pretending, window erected by him, when the Flamboyant style of Gothic decoration came into use. If this explanation has any truth in it, one can easily see how the whole controversy arose, even among Cistercians themselves, regarding the actual date of the foundation, and the real founder of Kilcooley Abbey. At the suppression of Monasteries under Henry VIII., Thomas Shortal, the last Abbot, surrendered it with all its possessions, on the 8th April, 1540. By an inquisition taken at Cashel, on Whit Monday, in the same year,

before John Allen, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland; and a sworn jury. The said Abbot was found seized of the abbey, a church, belfry and cemetery, one hall, one dormitory, four chambers, one cellar; one kitchen, two stables, one orchard, two gardens and other enclosures, containing 8 acres, within the precincts of the abbey. Ten messuages, twelve gardens, 200 acres of arable land, 10 acres of meadow, 100 acres of pasture, 100 acres of moor, an orchard, and water mill in Kilcowley, 6 messuages, 6 gardens, 160 acres of arable land and 100 acres of moory pasture in Grangeheise. 6 messuages, 6 gardens, 60 acres of arable land and pasture in the Grange and Kilcowley. Also the church and rectory of Kilcooley, also the rectories or chapels of Ballylackin and Grangeheise, etc. For the surrender of those extensive possessions he received the consoling sum of £5 pension, as appears from the calendar of Pat. and close Rolls, entries as follows :—April 18, 31 Hen. VIII.—“ Pension of £5 to Thomas Shortall, late Abbot of Kilcoull, payable out of all his possessions there.” Those possessions were far more considerable than the Abbey itself which had but one dormitory and four small chambers with a cellar and kitchen and one hall, which was probably the calefactory or day hall of the monks. The entire building was moated on the east and south sides, and the detached rectangular building on the south side had a stair-case on the west end, and was used probably for an hospitable on top, whilst the vaulted apartments under may have been stables. I may add that the tower or belfry when stripped of the ivy revealed “Tudor” or “Ogee” windows, and is therefore much later than the church itself. It had a peal of four bells as appears from the perforations in its floor. We are all glad to find that the destruction of the ivy and the work of preservation have been commenced in real earnest by the Honourable Mrs. Ponsonby and her son, the young favourite lord of the soil. Both are exceedingly sorry that a pre-arranged meeting of their tenantry and consequent festivities prevent them from giving the members of this excursion the same kind and generous reception as they had given us on the occasion of our last visit in the summer of 1890, and have signified their wish that I should so mention it to you. In the near future the members of the Royal Society of Antiquaries

may renew their acquaintance with this very beautiful Abbey and its hallowed precincts. If so, they shall witness, I am sure, many repairs and new improvements that will give stability and strength to the crumbling walls that surround us, and will secure centuries of existence for an abbey that is one of the most lovely artistic gems of mediæval monasticism.





Liscarroll Castle and Ballybeg Abbey.



THE subjoined letter was written in answer to an enquiry made by the late Sir. Thomas Deane—regarding the condition and history of the great stronghold of the Barry family—situated in the Barony of Orrery, at Liscarroll, three miles from Buttevant, where also exist, to the present hour, many striking traces of the religious and military renown of that once powerful Anglo-Norman tribe. Following the receipt of this letter came a brief response from the learned recipient, promising that he would write at greater length on the subjects spoken of, and expressing earnest thanks for the information supplied. In all likelihood this was the last letter penned by the distinguished archæologist, as in a day or two appeared the announcement of his unexpected demise. But, with his lamented death, the interest in the subjects of his enquiry should not cease, and, accordingly, space is asked for the following document in the hope that it may attract the notice of antiquarian students and scholars, and thus perhaps lead to the restoration and preservation of these fine memorials of a bygone time which have been too long suffered to become the prey of spoliation and decay.

MOUNT MELLERAY ABBEY,

CAPPOQUIN, CO. WATERFORD,

October 25th, 1899.

DEAR SIR THOMAS DEANE,

I received here; where I am on retreat for a week the letter which your Cork agent sent to me on your behalf regarding the title and condition of the famous old Castle of Lisscarroll—familiar to me since childhood. He said that he had been referred to me by Mr. Robert Day, President of our Cork H. & A. Society. The latter is well known to me, and for his sake, as well as for your own—your person and your work—it will be a pleasure and a duty to aid your effort in the present direction in every possible way. Indeed, with others I had recently discussed this very subject, and another similar, and, perhaps, more historical and interesting relic of the past—the venerable, sacred, and once splendid Abbey of the Canons Regular at Ballybeg, Buttevant, which, to our shame and discredit before the public—civil and military—has been too long neglected, to the extent that a stall for cows, well occupied, now exists in the Sacred Choir where Prime and *Matin* Song were chanted by the pious occupants and worshippers of the past. *Ibi, insuper, prop pudor! adest hircus ingens et ferox,—duxque numerosae gregis et odor famaue istius latronis, per omnem sanctam regionam illam divulgantur!* So sore have I felt for many a year on this desecration that it was with reluctance I entered the precincts a few weeks ago to show its beauties to an American clergyman—a native of Lisscarroll—who wished to view it in memory of its former splendour, and present decay. If you can add this to your work on Lisscarroll, I will be with you, step by step, and with heart and soul. May your endeavour prosper!

Lisscarroll Castle was built by the Barrys soon after their advent to these parts, following the Norman invasion. They acquired, as you doubtless are aware, the entire district of Oerrie-Barry, comprising the present Barony of that name, and some other lands and tenements. Buttevant was their chief seat here,

but Liscarroll must have been their chief stronghold. The Castle was of immense proportions—massive walls, four towers, strong battlements, and all the other equipments of a place of defence, and occupation in those perilous times for the Invaders. It was also adjacent to the Duhallow and Fitzgerald territories, which were unfriendly quarters. I have its history on my fingers ends. It is too long to recite in this letter. It fell into the hands of Sir Phillip Perceval, founder of the Egmont family name, through foreclosure and Confiscation. This was in, or about, 1625. He held it in 1641 against all comers. It was besieged in the early Confederate struggle, and a great battle was fought there in November 1642. Here Inchiquin was wounded, and Lord Kilnalmeaky, son to the Earl of Cork, was killed. It was afterwards recaptured by Lord Castlehaven, and, during the succeeding years, was held by the Irish, or National forces. After Cromwell's advent and conquest, it went back to the Percevals, and remained in their hands for a long period. Some of the Manor lands of Liscarroll were sold by one of the Percevals. It is said he was in want of funds, and parted with them—and another few plough-lands near my place of abode—Jordanstown—which, till the sale of the property, in 1889, carried through, in great measure by the exertions of other clerical friends with my own, was on the Egmont Estate. The parcels sold in former years are now owned by Mr. Robert D. Hare, Queenstown. Liscarroll Castle became "Nobody's child," when it ceased to be occupied. The walls, towers, and battlements were grubbed and picked at—and the stones carried away for every servile and unworthy purpose. Still, it is a fine ruin—in some respects more imposing than the old Castle at Kanturk, which, I am glad to say, has been saved recently from interference and decay by the praiseworthy efforts of an English body of Memorial preservers. As soon as I return home next week to Jordanstown, to which you will send letter in reply, I shall be in a position to satisfy further inquiries as to this fine ruin, and also that of Ballybeg. If you should think it well to come to the district, and accept me for a guide I will be prepared to give you what the Americans call "a good show round" over this interesting neighbourhood. I have sent a special article on the story of

“Knock-na-noss” to the Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney—my early Preceptor at Rome—Dr. Moran—for publication in the Australasian “Catholic Record.” I met your son in Buttevant many years ago, and showed him through the Franciscan Abbey, in which he was much interested. It was this interview that led to its restoration. It is now in a creditable condition, and a weekly sum is paid for its proper custody.

Very faithfully yours,

F. C. B.

Sir Thomas Deane.





The Old Gun Found in River Suir, January, 1900.

Paper by MAJOR O. WHEELER CUFFE, M.R.S.A.

[*Read at the Annual Meeting, Friday, Feb. 22nd, 1901.*]



MY LORD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have been asked to make some remarks relative to this very curious old breech-loading gun (a cannon dating about 1300 A.D.) found in the river Suir by the dredger at Waterford, in deepening the river on 4th January, 1901, now exhibited before you, and about which several letters have been written. It is in the possession of the Harbour Board, and I have had every opportunity of examining it, by the kindness of Mr. Allingham, the secretary, and I hope it will remain in Waterford, and be a part of the many interesting things connected with the history of Waterford, and some day be placed in the Waterford Museum, when you have a suitable place for exhibiting such objects of interest. The Mayor and the Corporation, we may be sure, will see this carried out.

Relative to the different reports of this cannon, I think the first that appeared in the public papers was in the *Waterford Standard* of 9th January, 1901, a letter written by me. Then there appeared in the *Daily Graphic* of the 8th January, a drawing of the gun by the Rev. B. Castel de Boinville, the Rector of Fethard,

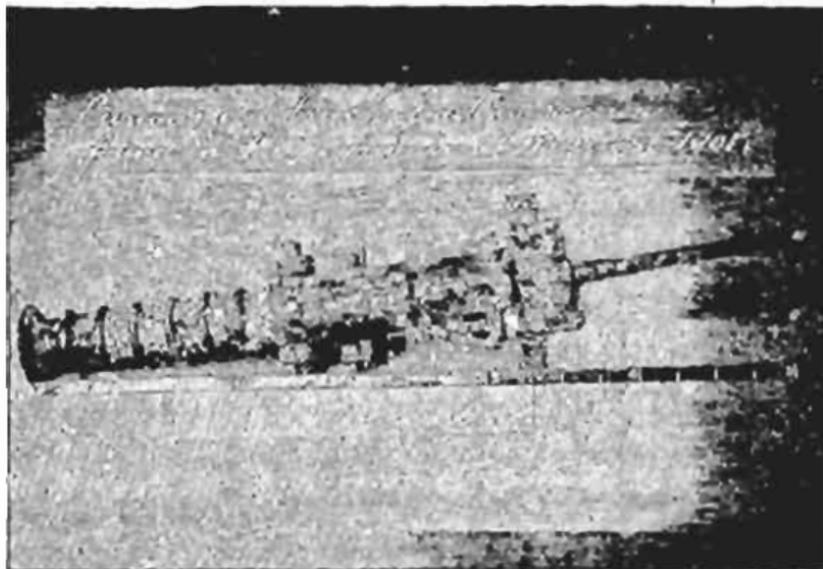


Photo. by Poole, Waterford.]

County Tipperary. The next letter and drawings of similar old guns appeared in the *Daily Graphic* of the 14th January, 1901, giving a full description of similar old guns, and the dates they were made and employed from 1338 to 1628. Further extracts from this letter will be given further on. This reminds me of my old Portsmouth days, when I first went on board H.M.S. Excellent, the gunnery ship at Portsmouth, to learn gunnery. We stood round the gun and were pointed out the different parts of a thirty-two pounder. Breech-loading guns were not thought of in those days, I suppose they had been forgotten. The breech is closed by a breech-block 8 x 4 inches, held in its place by an iron wedge passing through a frame work, which holds the breech block. Calibre of cannon, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches; length of gun barrel outside, 2 feet 7 inches; inside the bore, 2 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The barrel seems to be made in two sections or parts welded together, and turned back at the muzzle. There are seven strengthening rings shrunk on to the barrel, about three-quarter inches thick over all; one close to the trunnions, and one round the muzzle. A strengthening piece is round the gun behind the trunnions, and extending beyond the gun at each side, about two inches, and rivetted together. The breech is closed by a breech block, which seems to have had two handles, one now broken off, for lifting it in and out. Breech block length, 8 inches; breech block in diameter, 4 inches. This is secured by a wedge set into the iron frame work; wedge, 15 inches by about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches passing through the frame work, with a hole for a lanyard for pulling it out. Length of frame work, 2 feet; there is a support under frame work for breech block to rest on. Length of bar handle at end of frame, with round nob on end for laying the gun, 1 foot 7 inches. Total length of gun, about 5 feet 4 inches. Length of barrel, 2 feet 7 inches; length of frame, 14 inches; length of handle, 1 ft. 7 inches. The gun is mounted on a movable support, which fits into a socket, and by this arrangement can fire in any direction. It seems to have no sighting arrangement. The bore of the gun is about three inches calibre, and I should think fired a shot of about 3 lbs. and a charge of powder of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. A couple of men could easily move it from one place in the ship to another. So much for the gun. Now for

the history of it. In my letter to the *Waterford Standard* I give an extract from the *Encyclopædia*: "on cannon:"—"In the commencement of the 16th century (A.D. 1500), Maurice, of Switzerland, discovered a method of casting cannon whole and boring them out, so as to draw out the interior in a single piece. Arms for expeditious firing, loaded from behind and having the charge closed in with a wedge, were introduced by Daniel Spekle, who died in 1589, and Uffanus." This may give some clue to the date about the time this old curious breech-loading cannon was used. The earliest cannon, of which we now have knowledge, were made of hammered iron, and consisted of tubes strengthened by rings. The tube or barrel was made open at both ends, and the charge of powder, with the projectile, was placed in a separate iron case or chamber or breech-block. The breech-block was adjusted to the rear end of the tube and made fast to it by iron wedges. By this contrivance the chamber containing the charge and the barrel were kept in close contact at the time of firing. The chamber itself was pierced as usual with a touch hole or vent, through which, when the piece was to be fired, a slender rod of iron, at red-heat, was introduced. The Wallney guns are believed to have been used on board ship in a large fleet under Sir John Arundel, bound for Brittany, which, according to Hollinshed, was in the year 1397, driven by a storm up the Irish Channel, and suffered the loss of 25 vessels. In reference to the dates gunpowder was introduced, Greek fire was known in 668; the Moors used gunpowder at Algesiras in 1342, and it was used at Cressy in 1346. Date of Perkin Warbeck's Expedition to Waterford was in 1497 (Henry VII reign), but the gun could not be connected with him in any way.

Since the above was written I have seen at St. Michael's Mount, near Penzance, in Cornwall, at the Castle seat of Lord St. Levan,—exhibited among the many curious things which have been found on the Mount,—an old Breech Loading Gun, very similar to the old Gun found in the river at Waterford.

WATERFORD AND SOUTH-EASTERN COUNTIES

PRINTED BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS, &c.

PART VIII.

Thanks almost entirely to that foremost Chronicler and Collector of Irish local printed works, Mr. E. R. McClintock-Dix, Dublin, I am enabled to add a further contribution under this heading, which includes some very early examples of printing in this particular portion of Ireland. Of special interest in this direction is the fact elicited by Mr. Dix that there is now in the possession of that well-known Irish antiquary, Mr. Robert Day, F.S.A., of Cork, a copy probably unique of "A Remonstrance of Grievances, presented to His Most Excellent Majestie in the Behalfe of the Catholicks of Ireland." 132 pages quarto, Printed by Thomas Bourke, Waterford, 1643. This copy is a year earlier in date than that in the Cashel Diocesan Library, 80 pages by the same printer, which is quoted in *Typographical Gazetteer*, page 293 of edition issued in 1866.

A Constitutional Sermon Preached in the Church of Kilrush, by Rev. F. T. Turner. Wexford, 1779.

The Upright Lives of the Heathen Briefly Noted; or Epistles and Discourses Relative to Alexander the Conqueror and Dindimus, King of the Brachmans. Clonmel, 1786.

The Democrat Converted. A Dramatic Scrap. 20 pages 8vo. John Stacey. Carrick-on-Suir, 1794.

Co. of Kildare Presentments, Lent Assizes, March 23rd, 1795. 20 pp. quarto. Printed by G. Cooke, Corner of Dublin Street, opposite Athy Street. Carlow, 1795.

The Pentaglot Preceptor, or Elementary Institutes, etc. By Patrick Lynch. Vol. I. 12 mo. English Grammar only. John Stacey. Carrick-on-Suir, 1796.

The Monitor No. 1, giving an Account of the Sufferings of
Near Forty Persons who were taken Prisoners by the Rebels.
Taylor's Narrative, etc. 8vo, 16 pp. Wexford, 1799.

A Serious Address to the People of All Denominations Pro-
fessing Christianity, whose Dependence is upon the Arm of the
Flesh. By Thomas Leary. 8vo. John Stacey.
Carrick-on-Suir, 1800.

Letters on the Royal Veto. By Fidelis. Waterford, 1809.

The O'Mulliganiad, or the Views, Objects, and Motives of
O'Sullivan, McGee, and Todd, Detected and Exposed in three
Courts. By M. Doyle (Rev. R. Hickey). 8vo. Wexford, 1836.

Eddies: Poems, By J. H. Wright. Wexford, 1896.

JAMES COLEMAN.



Notes and Queries.



A Tour through the South Eastern Counties in 174—

One of the earliest, rarest, and most notable books of its kind is "A Tour Through Ireland," by Two English Gentlemen, published at Dublin in 1748. Compared with more recent works of its class it is quite free from prejudice, and is in fact written in a more sympathetic vein than one would have anticipated. The writer gives a good deal of interesting information as to the notabilities whom he met, and the places he passed through, many of them even now but seldom visited by tourists. Those portions of the book which relate to the South Eastern Counties, such as throw light on their history and inhabitants in the middle of the eighteenth century are reproduced as follows, beginning with Clogheen in the Co. Tipperary:—

"Clogheen is a very neat town, though small, almost new, with a very pretty market place, not quite finished. The whole town, with a fine estate round it, belongs to the heirs of the late deceased worthy gentleman, Counsellor Callaghan. In the inn where we stopped to refresh ourselves we saw a print of him, near which was written with a pencil the following lines:—

Behold the features of a face,
Adorn'd with every smiling grace;
A voice, like Angels in their choir
Whose silver tongue e'en foes admire.
How blest are we that call him Lord,
Thro' him our winter barns are stor'd.
Next Heav'n to him our thanks we give;
Like Heav'n he smil'd and bid us live.

lines which prove him a good landlord and beloved by his tenants. Going out of this town we passed over a neat little bridge. The river beneath is called the Aventur, or Tarwater. In our journey on we passed an old castle at some distance, called the Castle of the White Knight, a person of great power and dominion some ages ago. We were told many romantic stories about him, and

among the rest that every man his lady cast a gracious look upon he put to death. We met with nothing worth observation till we came to a place called Ardfinnan, the large ruins of an old castle, built on a rock that overlooks the Suir, which was built by King John when Earl of Worcester and Lord of Ireland, in the year 1186. Over the Suir is a bridge of fourteen arches, and on that side next the castle is a mill on the river that has some particular contrivance as I was told, which I could not find out nor stay to examine. When we passed the bridge we were shown a pleasant rising hill we had left behind, where Oliver Cromwell placed his cannon to batter the castle. We saw the trench and at the same time were told the following story: When the place was besieged by Cromwell, a butcher was within the walls, who, while the siege lasted could not be prevailed on to come out of the room where he had placed himself. But when the breach was made and the soldiers began to storm, he took up a handspike, defending it almost alone for some time, and knocked down several soldiers that strove to enter. At last, finding no seconds he retired without the least hurt. When the castle was surrendered he was asked why he would not come to the walls before the breach was made? His reply was "Damn them, I did not mind what was done on the outside, but I could not bear them coming into the House," as he called it. There is a high ascent all round the castle, or rather I should have said on every side; for it is a direct square. The gate is still standing and most part of the walls, but the inside shows you a desert; only some part of the roof of one of the rooms remains. I mean the timber of it and the back of the stone work. This was certainly of some note before King John rebuilt it, for we find that Cormac, a warlike King of Ireland, left at his death, about the ninth century, an ounce of gold, the same of silver, his house, arms, and furniture to this place. The river Suir parts the County of Tipperary from that of Waterford, and we have left the County Cork behind us several miles. This river is accounted the first river of the Province of Munster; it takes its rise almost in the extreme part of the County of Tipperary, and, after an irregular course of near eighty miles, falls into the Bay of Waterford. Hitherto I have never seen a country better watered.

and every river is well provided with fish ; but they have not much variety, and I can hear of no other but salmon, trout, pike, roach and eels. We are now at Clonmel, the head town of Tipperary. They call it five miles from Ardfinnan, but I am sure they are ten English miles. The first part of our way here was but indifferent, I mean for eminent seats, though the country was pleasant and rich ; yet when you come about half way and meet the river Suir again to the right you cannot conceive a more beautiful prospect on both sides of its stream, that runs between hills for the most part to the town. Beneath these pleasant hills, on each side, you see delightful meadows, with beautiful houses and plantations, mixed with more eminent structures, both ancient and modern. The paddocks, meadows, and even the common fields are enclosed with high stone walls, some more than two miles in the square, which diversified with the different greens contribute to the beauty of the prospect. I was informed that the whole course of the Suir, for many miles of its banks, on each side, produced the same agreeable situations. To your left you see a fine corn country, now and then diversified with a dreary bog, but as profitable to the inhabitants as if it were meadow or field ; for since the great woods were destroyed in this Island, which were once so plenty here that it bore the name of Inis-bhfiodh bhuide, or The Woody Isle, the inland people more especially make use of turf, cut off these bogs, which makes a sweet wholesome firing. These places are called turbaries, and you frequently see a large building near gentlemen's houses, made to preserve the turf from the weather. It is cut mostly in small square pieces about the size of a Holland brick, piled up in parcels, hollow, for the sun and wind to dry, and then carried home to use. It is a much quicker fire than coals. There are five sorts of this name, the produce of different soils, and made of different sizes, viz., grassy, watery, hassocky, red, and muddy. The grassy bogs are covered with a lovely green that a stranger would take them for rich meadow. It is not many years since a stranger travelling in the country alone, struck out of the common path into one of these fair deceitful bogs, sunk in horse and all ; the horse perished, and the man must have met the same fate, if some people by chance on a neighbouring hill that saw his error, had

not come timely to his assistance. But this was before the turn-pikes were erected ; for now there is not the least danger, though the roads in many parts, as I am told, run through several of these bogs ; and such noble roads cannot be equalled in the universe. I need not describe the watery or muddy bog, the names speak for themselves. The hassocky bog is muddy with tufts of grass, like molehills (but there is no such animal in this kingdom), small beds of rushes, reeds, and rough sour grass, surrounded with water in winter, but in summer dry enough to cut into a turf larger than the common kinds. Clonmel is very ancient, being built before the invasion of the Danes. It consists of four cross streets, formerly fortified strongly with a square wall. The Market house, the only uniform building I saw in the whole town, is indeed very neatly built, mostly of marble in the best taste, but like that of Cork, lessens the passage of the Main-street. There is a very spacious bridge over the Suir, just out of the gate, to the right, of twenty arches. The town does not seem to have any great prospect of trade but from the neighbouring gentlemen's seats. Oliver Cromwell found more resistance from this town than other of his conquests in this kingdom. An author in those days writes :—“ In Clonmell our General (Cromwell) found the stoutest enemy that ever opposed him in Ireland ; the victory was more than once doubtful. There never was a more warm engagement or a hotter discharge on both sides. We were repulsed from the trenches several times. Had not the Lord Broghill, afterwards Lord Ossory (who was gained over by Cromwell's wiles from the King's party) met with the Bishop of Ross and defeated him, when he was marching with 5,000 men to the relief of the town, Oliver Cromwell had certainly been repulsed, and possibly drove out of the kingdom.” The forces in the town were commanded by a brave experienced officer, Hugh O'Neal, who fought his way through the thickest of Oliver's troops, and made his escape sword in hand over the bodies of his enemies. When Cromwell had gained the victory he took his usual method of demolishing the castles and other fortifications, but the skeletons still remain. The chief Church is kept in repair ; before the Reformation it was a Benedictine Monastery. There are the remains of two more,

I conjecture, but not fit for service. The Minorites (Franciscans) seated themselves here in 1269. I observed as we passed that the portcullises of some of the gates are still remaining, though now useless. The barracks are in good order and large enough for more men than they have. We set out to see the races at Fethard, about six miles from hence. The race-ground is round a hill, where we had an opportunity from the height to see the whole course without the least interruption. This hill yields a novel prospect all round. The town of Fethard has still the remains of the castle walls and gates as Cromwell left it. He came to besiege it by night, and sending to summon it with a trumpet, he was told from the walls that it was a very unseasonable time to disturb a quiet neighbourhood, and that the Governor would indict him for it at the next Quarter Sessions; but he disregarded their threats and obliged them to receive him on his own terms. Fethard is an ancient ruinous town; the great house was formerly the seat of the noble family of the Everards, now forfeited. It is a spacious but declining structure, and carries still an air of grandeur in its antiquity. Here is also an old Gothic Church, and the remains of an Augustinian Convent, founded by one Walter Mulcot in the year 1306. We have seen many seats about Clonmel equal to any for such a space, that you will find anywhere with you (in England). Yesterday we were feasting our eyes with a sight that might strain the optics but never tire. It is the seat of George Mathews, Esq., called Thomastown. What do I call a seat? It is a paradise. Here gently rising hills, covered with trees, planted in the most elegant vistas imagination can frame; there variegated vales, lawns, meads, pastures, and streams. I cannot find words to describe the place; what do you think of vales nine feet high, composed of lime and stone that girdle in above 2,000 Irish acres, walls with innumerable lofty gates that would not disgrace the portal of a fine house. Within these enclosures you see the deer trotting after one another, as Otway has it, studs of black cattle, sheep, and other animals, in short everything that can charm the eye. The house and gardens are not the least ornament, and yet not the greatest. It is called Thomastown, though there are but few habitations about it.

We stood so long viewing this lovely place, not considering the time, that it was late before we came to the city of Cashel ; but the next morning I thought it the poorest city I ever saw, and may be ranked in the number of indifferent towns, though an Archbishopric. The Cathedral is built on an eminence, partly upon a rock, from whence we had a prospect of a fine country below us, with the river Suir's meanders which diversify the landscape. There is a wall round the Cathedral, on the summit of the rock, and another below it. This Church is dedicated to St. Patrick and has been a noble building ; for the marks of old age upon it make it look very venerable, though its beauty is much decayed. The city was girded with a wall ; and though now mouldering seems to be of better material than others I have seen. Two gates are still remaining of tolerable workmanship ; and there is a good Courthouse with a prison under it. The Bishop's Palace is a large handsome building. We were shown the ruins of an old Dominican Monastery, and an old Church, that we were informed was dedicated to John the Baptist. A friend showed me a stone, as you go up to the Cathedral, where the Kings of Munster were formerly crowned ; on which stone the appointed person sat at sundry times, to receive the King's taxes from the subjects, which I suppose were not small, since he received spiritual with the temporal dues. The city and suburbs certainly were large once, since we found no less than thirty-eight brewers were cited before a convention for not paying their dues to the Church of two flagons of ale at each brewing. We went about a mile from this ancient city to walk in the lovely meadows that border on the Suir, where we saw a very large castle looking on the stream, and though a great part of it has fed old Time, yet there are apartments pretty well kept, although covered with thatch, but the high trees, which are inhabited by a vast colony of rooks, set it off very much. . . . Yesterday morning we took leave of our host at Two-Mile-Bridge, near Clonmel, and turned our faces towards Kilkenny. About five miles from Clonmel you come to the foot of a high hill, the only one we have met with yet, I believe an English mile from its base to its summit, though not difficult to ascend ; but when you are near the top, turn about, and

you will be overpaid for all your labour. To your right towards Clonmel, and to the left to a place called Carrick-on-Suir, and beyond both, as far as the reach of sight, the eye can never be tired. Such a lovely scene ! They may well call it the golden vale, intermixed with lofty woods, or rather groves, that rise above the fields and meadows, through which several goodly seats peep out, whose glittering windows, with the reflection of the rising sun, and its beams playing in different parts of the river Suir, made it extremely delightful. We staid a full hour in contemplating this beautiful landscape. Even Jacob (our servant) was transported, and cried—"Wauns, Measter, they have stole this place out of England somewhere ; but not out of Hampshire, for I dunna know any place so pretty." Indeed I pity the ignorant in England ; and sincerely wish ten thousand of those unbelievers on the spot with us, that their eyes might convince them of their error. This fine prospect is bounded before you with ridges of hills, called the Waterford mountains, and on this side with others ; but they only looked like a fine frame to a fine picture. The hill that we ascended is called Killcash ; and half a mile below is a very handsome house, or rather castle, for it is built in that form, the seat of the Hon. Butler, styled Butler of Killcash. We were loath to leave this charming situation ; and the rest of the way, to a place called the Nine-Mile-House, about four miles upon the level of this mountain, though no bad prospect, looked but melancholy after leaving that paradise behind us. There is but one inn and a cabin or two at this place, with a deserted barrack, which was first built to check what were called the Kellymount gang, who are now broke, being brought to undergo punishment. From this inn your descent is equal to the rise at Killcash, but more winding, and you come into a fine level again. After about an hour's ride we came to a town called Callan in the County Kilkenny.

This place seems to be in the ruins Oliver Cromwell left it. You see the remains of three old castles, and an old Gothic Church, like all I have hitherto seen, on the right as you enter the town ; but the roof is gone, and all the rest a mere anatomy. This place had a reputation for strength when Cromwell sat down against it,

but I think that reputation was soon lost ; for they say Cromwell besieged it in the morning, and took it by storm before night. All that were found in arms were put to the sword, only the troops of Colonel Butler, who surrendered before the cannon fired against the town. I went to see the place where the battery was raised, upon an artificial mount, that looked to me like one of the Danish raths or forts ; and had I not been informed to the contrary I should have taken it for such. The situation of this place is very agreeable, upon a stream called the King's River, dividing in two branches above the town, which meet below it and form an aight (as we call it on the Thames) or pleasant little island. The main stream runs under a bridge of four arches, and the small one, after driving a mill, under two. Upon this stream about a mile below Callan is a very famous iron mill that brings great profit to the proprietors. The town is built in the form of a cross, and in the centre a cross is erected, with a square glass lantern that gives light in the night to travellers. One would imagine this town to be in a more thriving condition since the great roads of Cork and Limerick go through it. There is one handsome seat just out of the town, in the Limerick road, belonging to one of the Ormond family. It was market day when we stopped at Callan, where we observed great numbers of what they call the ancient Irish race. Men and women mostly wore large frieze cloaks though a very warm day. The women's heads were wrapped up in thick handkerchiefs besides their ordinary linen head dress. We observed mounted upon a little horse a man that most of the others seemed to pay an extraordinary respect to, though I thought nothing in his figure or dress seemed to draw it upon him. I had the curiosity to ask a gentleman in our company the meaning of paying him so much civility, who informed us that this person was of an ancient race and derived his birth from some of the noted clans in the country, and though the patrimony might have been in the hands of others for more than seven centuries, yet from father to son from that time the survivor still calls the estate his, though not a penny of the profits ever come into his pocket. They are often allowed a cabin and a small parcel of ground rent free, or on a trifling acknowledgment, from the proprietor, and expect to

be treated with the utmost respect by every one. The old Irish give him the title of his ancestors, and make him and his lady, if he has one, little presents, cultivating his spot of ground, not suffering him to do the least work to degrade his airy title. I own this account, if true, gave me secret pleasure. It called to my memory an idea of many ages past; and when I observed this man I looked upon him as one of the ancient Milesian race, so much renowned for their wisdom and victories, even before Christianity had being in the world. In the year 1407, in the reign of Henry IV., there was a terrible battle fought at Callan between the English and Irish, and after a hard struggle, the latter were entirely defeated. An Irish historian tells us the sun was so complaisant as to stand still while the English forces travelled six miles. This gave rise to some lines by an Irish poet, translated into English as follows:—

“ At Callan ’tis said, the sun it stood still
 To see the bold English the Irishmen kill,
 But when the rebellious were put to the rout,
 He lash’d up his steed, and whipt him about;
 Then gallop’d again to regain distance lost,
 And came in the nick to his westerly post.
 So gapers on errands when time is in waste
 Run as fast as they can, to make the more haste.

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[TO BE CONTINUED.]

Archæological and Literary Miscellany.—Of the past quarter’s new books the only ones to be noted here are Mr. T. O’Neill Russell’s “The Leinster Tribute,” in modern Irish, from the Book of Leinster, etc. (Dublin: Gill); “Ideals in Ireland,” a collection of thoughtful and suggestive papers by prominent Irish writers of the day, edited by Lady Gregory, who is not to be congratulated on her poetical selection at the beginning of the book, (London: The Unicorn Press); and “The Migration of Birds as Observed at Irish Lighthouses,” by Richard M. Barrington, (Dublin: Ponsonby.) . . . The Magazines of the last quarter are considerably more interesting than usual. The eight papers in the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, diverse as are their subjects, are all most attractive and readable ones. In the *Ulster Journal* Mr. Bigger’s Sketch of Arthur O’Neill, the Irish Harper; and his “Notes on the Old Abbey Church of Bangor,” will be found

the most interesting to non-local readers more especially ; nor will the other papers, including Ulster Bibliography by Mr. Dix and others, fail to find appreciative readers. In the *Cork Journal* Mr. Day's "Medals of the Irish Volunteers" contains descriptions and illustrations, amongst many others, of the Waterford Independent Volunteers. Mr. E. R. McC. Dix supplies another instalment of 17th and 18th Century Cork Printed Books. Canon Courtenay Moore contributes a pleasing paper on Mourne Abbey and Barrett's Castle,—a class of subject that has of late found few writers in that Journal, whilst "The First Cork Exhibition," seems to possess a certain actuality, seeing that a movement is now under weigh to start a third Industrial Exhibition in that city. Lastly, Mr. Buckley's comprehensive Quarterly Notes are as useful and informing as heretofore. A much to be commended, though not an exclusively Archæological Journal, is "The Gael," published monthly at New York, nothing to equal it in its way, being issued at this side of the Atlantic. . . . The concluding part of *The Archæological Journal* for 1900, issued last January to the members of the Royal Archæological Institute, contains the excellent paper on "Christian Iconography in Ireland," read by the lamented Miss Margaret Stokes at the Dublin Meeting of the Institute, in which she showed how, by a remarkable continuity of idea, the twelve signs of the zodiac were represented as protected by the twelve great gods of paganism, the heads of the twelve tribes of the Jewish nation, and the twelve apostles of Christianity in a 'zodiacal circle' contained in an Irish manuscript in the library of Bale. . . . The January number of the Co. Kildare Archæological Society's *Journal* (No. 4, Vol. III.) appropriately begins with an obituary notice of the late Miss Margaret Stokes (which includes a full list of her valuable books and writings) from the pen of Lord Walter Fitzgerald, who also contributes well-written papers on Wm. Fitzgerald of Castleroe, and several others in the miscellaneous part of the Journal. An account of the early history of Clongowes Wood is given by the Rev. M. Devitt, S.J., whilst General Stubbs has furnished a brief, but very interesting sketch of St. Brigit of Kildare. The illustrations in this number are both numerous and good ; and the various papers of far more than

local interest. . . . The Co. Galway Archæological Society, the youngest of our local Archæological bodies, has issued its first number, which is quite a promising one, though somewhat restricted in its table of contents. These include "The Aims and Methods of the Society," by Bishop Healy of Clonfert; "Pre-Norman Galway," by Very Rev. Dr. Fahey; and "The Thirty-four De Burgo Castles in the Barony of Clare," an excellent paper by Colonel Nolan,—a subject one would, however, suppose too wide to be exhaustively dealt with in a single article. . . . The Editor of the *Ulster Journal* has written an Open Letter to the Antiquaries of Ireland, in which he very courageously and commendably condemns the sale of Irish Antiquities by members of our Irish Archæological Societies, and rightly contends that facilities for transactions of this sort should not be afforded in the shape of advertisements in these Societies' Journals. JAMES COLEMAN.

Two Memorable Irish Booksellers. — In Mr. D. J. O'Donoghue's admirable "Life of James Clarence Mangan" occur some interesting references to John O'Daly, a Co. Waterford man, and to Patrick Kennedy, a native of Wexford, both of whom were authors as well as booksellers, whilst John O'Daly was in addition a publisher of Irish books, and in this way was, in his time, a well known personage in Dublin, though probably now all but forgotten there. Of O'Daly, Mr. O'Donoghue writes—"Another friend of Mangan was John O'Daly, the second-hand bookseller of Anglesea Street, in whose shop the poet was frequently to be seen. He made rough metrical versions of Munster Poems for O'Daly, who gave him small sums of money from time to time. Anglesea Street had several other booksellers of note at this period. One, Patrick Kennedy, was a literary man of no mean order. His collection of folk-tales, and his Wexford and Carlow sketches, have earned a deserved popularity. Another, M. W. Rooney, is still remembered as the publisher of many useful school-classics; he signalled himself by the lucky chance of picking up the earliest edition of "Hamlet." O'Daly was chiefly known as a publisher and editor of Gaelic books; but he did other work of a creditable character. Finally, Bryan Geraghty, another Anglesea Street

bibliopole, issued Connellan's "Annals of the Four Masters," the cost of which ruined him. This version of "The Four Masters" was Englished by Mangan. But amongst the booksellers, it was John O'Daly, with whom Mangan was mostly connected. He would be found occasionally at Rooney's, where he frequently obtained the loan of books, and received various hospitalities; but he did a considerable amount of work for O'Daly, of a more or less crude kind. Those translations form the well known "Poets and Poetry of Munster," published after Mangan's death by O'Daly (and now issued by Duffy, Dublin). A number of these poems for O'Daly were written in the little shop, quickly, and almost without consideration, and it is more than probable had he been alive at the time of their publication, would have given them, as he often did his earlier poems, an additional polish, or the necessary revision. O'Daly's shop (as stated) was one of Mangan's known haunts. Its proprietor was a curious man, not specially loved by his countrymen on account of his coquetting with the Soupers, in whose ranks he had enrolled himself, somewhat earlier. When the little boys in Kilkenny began to run after him, calling out "Souper," he thought it time to give up his new friends, and used to mollify the urchins by saying "Aisy boys, I'm going to lave them!" John Keegan, the poet, has left us in one of his unpublished letters, the following sketch of O'Daly, "John O'Daly, the publisher of "Jacobite Relics," is another intimate friend of mine, he and I correspond every week. He is a County Waterford man. I first met him in Kilkenny, in 1833, when he kept the school there for teaching Irish to the Wesleyans of that city. He, I am sorry to say, renounced the Catholic Creed, and was then a furious Biblical. He subsequently came back, and is now living in Dublin, Secretary to the Celtic Athenæum, and keeps a booksellers' shop in Anglesea Street. He is one of the best Irish Scholars in Ireland. He is about fifty-five years of age, low sized, merry countenance, fine black eyes, vulgar in appearance and manner, and has the most magnificent Munster brogue on his tongue that I ever had the luck to hear." John O'Daly held the post of Honorary Secretary to the Ossianic Society, which was founded on St. Patrick's Day, 1853, for the Preservation and

Publication of Manuscripts in the Irish Language, illustrative of the Fenian Period of Irish History, etc., with Literaral Translations and Notes. O'Daly was also the printer to this Society, and was editor of the last two (Fenian Poems) out of the six volumes in all published by it, after which the Ossianic Society suddenly came to an end. His shop was the chief centre in Dublin for the sale of Irish grammars, dictionaries, and all other books in Irish. Besides those already named he published the "Pious Miscellany" (1868), being poems (in Irish) of Timothy O'Sullivan, a Southern Gaelic poet, and the "Irish Language Miscellany," a selection of Poems by the Munster Bards of the last century (1876), and a second series of the "Munster Poets" (1860), whose metrical translations were written by Erionnach, *i.e.* Dr. Sigerson, now of Dublin. Several Societies in Dublin are endeavouring to carry on the work so long attempted, single handed, by John O'Daly, in publishing and selling Irish books. John O'Daly died at Anglesea Street, May 27th, 1878, aged 78 years.

Peter Kennedy was author of the following books "The Banks of the Boro," "Evenings by the Duffrey," "Legends of Mount Leinster," "The Book of Irish Anecdotes," and "Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts," of which book a second edition was published not many years ago by Macmillan, London. Patrick Kennedy, according to Webb's "Compendium of Irish Biography," was born in the Co. Wexford in 1801, and although a Catholic, came to Dublin as assistant at the Protestant Training School in Kildare Place. After a few years he established a small lending library and book shop in Anglesea Street. He was a man of considerable ability, and contributed several articles to the Dublin University Magazine, which include those afterwards published in book form, as above enumerated. In the graphic delineation of Irish rural life, such as it was when he was a boy in the Co. Wexford, he has seldom been surpassed. His works are singularly pure; and he cramped his prospects in trade by declining to lend, or deal in a book of an objectionable tendency. For many years the Committees of the Hibernian Temperance Association, and kindred bodies, were held at his house. Mr. Kennedy died March 28th, 1873, aged 72, and was buried at Glasnevin.

JAMES COLEMAN.

Edward Keating Hyland, the Tipperary Piper.—The death at Cahir, Co. Tipperary, in October, 1889, in poor circumstances, of Mary Hyland Lonergan, niece of Edward Keating Hyland, the prince of performers on the Irish Bagpipes, induced an anonymous correspondent to write the following interesting sketch of him, which is copied from a "Cork Examiner" cutting.—

"Edward Hyland was born at Cahir, in 1780. His mother was one of the Keatings of Tubrid, that family which gave to Ireland the priest, poet, patriot, and historian, Geoffrey Keating. At an early age Hyland evinced considerable talent, but just as his friends had arranged that he should study for the Church he was attacked in that prevaccination period by small pox, through which he lost his sight at the age of fifteen. In those penal days the bagpipe was one of the remaining joys of the Irish peasantry, and "the ring of the piper's tune in the Glen of a summer's night," was the poor peasants' almost only recreative solace. The piper was always sure of a living and a kind reception among all classes in town and country; and when blindness deprived young Hyland of any other means of livelihood, he took to playing the bagpipes. The lessons locally received did not satisfy the young musician, and he therefore travelled through the country to improve himself, and finally took up his abode at Dublin. Sir John Stevenson heard him play, and greatly admired his performance, but noticed in it a want of technical and theoretical skill. There being then a great desire to transmit the melodies of the country in a pure form to posterity, Edward Hyland, was made the medium, and obtained distinguished patronage. He received lessons in melody and harmony from Sir John Stevenson, and was taught variation as a separate musical form. The result was that some years later, although capable of the highest execution upon his instrument, it was as if the art of singing had been applied to the bagpipes when Hyland played such airs as "The Coulin," "Last Rose of Summer," or "O Blame not the Bard." When George IV. visited Dublin in 1821, this blind exponent of the Irish national instrument was presented to the King, who was so pleased with his performance that he ordered the minstrel to be supplied with a new instrument of the first quality. In this

way he became the recipient of a set of Union pipes (one instrument) which cost fifty guineas, with a purse containing fifty guineas from his Dublin friends and admirers. The union of the drone and chanter, the chromatic scale, and other improvements in the new pipes, gave new powers to the performer, and opportunities of employing the various suspensions and chords of the dominant seventh and ninth. Personally he was considered a pious, gentlemanly, and patriotic man. His conceptions were very keen. When after twenty years' absence he returned to his native town, to attend his mother's funeral, it happened that considerable difference of opinion as to the site in the Square of a spring well, long since covered up, on which it was intended to erect a pump. The blind man marked the place with his stick, and it was found to be correct. He appeared to have no trouble in telling the time by his watch, and when any of his friends visited him in Dublin, he shewed them over all the objects of interest in the city. His descriptive scene "The Fox Chase," was prompted by the verses of a contemporary—Darby Ryan—the imitative, but gifted poet of Bansha. This piece, with the hounds in full cry, and other sporting imitations accompanying the tune, would make a respectable adjunct to the programme music of the present day. It is said that Gandsey, Lord Headley's piper, another "dark man," was entranced when he heard "The Fox Chase." He not only made the nearest approval to the composer's performance, but added some interesting effects of his own. It is to be feared that the music of this characteristic piece is lost to the present generation. Hyland died at Dublin in 1845." The writer of the above sketch states that whilst their grandfathers and grandmothers could all dance and sing, scarcely twenty per cent of the present or rising generation in our rural districts have any ear for music. . . . The late Canon Goodman, Protestant Rector of Skibbereen, and professor of Irish in Trinity College, was an expert performer on the Irish bagpipes.

JAMES COLEMAN.

Discovery of 14th Century Cannons in Waterford Harbour.—The oft quoted statements that breech-loading cannons are modern inventions has been doubted for many years, and a discovery of hammered iron guns in 1830 and 1839—both at Deal, from the Goodwin Sands—confirmed the suspicion that the breech-loading system of cannon was known in England at the close of the 14th century. Another discovery at Walney, in Morecambe Bay, in 1839, accentuated the proof of chamber guns dating from 1397. However, we have actual entries in the State Papers some 60 years earlier, wherein the matter is placed beyond the shadow of a doubt—namely, a list of naval armament stores, dated 1338, in which we read of “*three iron cannon with five chambers,*” and again of “*one iron cannon with two chambers.*”

Waterford Harbour was the scene of a most important discovery on Thursday, January 3rd, 1901, when the Commissioners' dredger brought to the surface, from the bed of the river Suir, a splendidly preserved breech-loading cannon, dating from the middle of the 14th century. A most interesting article was written on the subject by Mr. Chastel de Boinville, with illustration, and it was published in the *Daily Graphic* of January 8th. This eminent authority says that the Waterford gun “is apparently one of the very earliest pieces of the kind ever made—an *Edward III. gun*—and by good fortune, also, to judge by the drawing, *one of the most satisfactory specimens that have ever been discovered.*”

Although several experts, whom I have consulted on the matter, tell me that the date of the Waterford cannon is about the middle of the 14th century, yet none of them can venture on a theory as to how the breech-cannon was sunk in Waterford Harbour. The *Daily Graphic* thinks that it may have formed one of the wrecked vessels of the fleet under Sir John Arundel, which was wrecked in the Irish Channel in 1397, and driven by the storm to Waterford. My own view is that the breech-loading cannon in question is of earlier date, namely, of the year 1368. I am strongly of opinion that it is one of the cannon employed in the great naval Battle of Tramore, which was fought on September 4th, 1368, between the le Poers and the O'Driscoll's, against the citizens of Waterford, wherein perished the Mayor, Sheriff, and 100 others.

WM, H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Grant of King Henry II. to the Knights Templars in Ireland.—In a recent article, Dr. Redmond quotes from Sweetman's *Calendar* the confirmatory grant of King John to the Knights Templars, dated July 16th, 1199, but he was evidently unaware of the existence of the original grant, issued by King Henry in 1173. On this account he fails to identify *Clumthorp*. The original charter gives "*a vill near Dublin called Cluinthorp*"—which, of course, is Clontarf, the site of King Brian's famous Battle against the Danes.

Similarly, the original charter leaves no room for doubt as to the *locale* of "Killalloc" (*St. Alloc*)—*Cill-Mo Elloc*. It says "the church of *St. Alloc near Wexford*," i.e. Cill-Alloc, now Kerlogue, St. Elloc also founded a church near Enniscorthy, called *Kilmollock*. It is quite evident that Killogan, at the Hook, could not be described as "near Wexford."

Dr. Redmond repeats an oft exploded fiction regarding the Knights Templars of Kilmainham. He tells us seriously that the Preceptory of Killogan, in Co. Wexford, owed allegiance to "the head of the order of *Knights Templars* at Kilmainham." As a matter of fact, Kilmainham was not a house of Knight Templars, but was the head house of the *Knights Hospitallers of St. John*.

He also confounds Fethard, Co. Wexford, with Fothered or Forth, Co. Carlow; and he would have us believe that Fernegwinel was Ferns—whereas it was near Wexford, 20 miles distant, Fethard was not a "palace" for the Bishops of Ferns till the 14th century. Raymond le Gros had nothing to do with Fethard Castle, nor yet did he build Enniscorthy Castle. The Redmonds did *not* build the Castle of Houseland.

In regard to the building of Killogan Preceptory by O'More, Prince of Leix, in 1180, or 1183, and the marriage of Sir Alexander Redmond to Beatrice de Constance, if it is of interest to add that in 1200 Geoffrey de Constance exchanged Leix and Hy. Regan for a cantred in Connaught. Leix, the land of Geoffrey de Constance was assigned by Henry II. "to pay feudal suit and services at *Wexford*, as part of the lordship of Leinster."

The Badge of St. John.—Major Cuffe (*a*) will find a full and very interesting account of this device by our late valued member, Dr. W. Frazer, in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. II. of the second series (Polite Literature). Dr. Frazer illustrates and describes an ancient seal of the Augustinian Hermits of Dublin (exhibiting the “badge”), and the Christ Church star and crescent ornament.

T. J. WESTROPP.

Iverk Volunteers.—An interesting medal of this corps was lately sold by auction at Messrs. Debenham, Storr and Sons, King-street, Covent Garden, London, for the sum of £15, to Mr. Skinner. The following is a description of the design and inscription :—

Obv.—Iverk Volunteers, Major Optima ferah, a draped figure within, holding in the right hand a crown, and in the left a flag with harp.

Reverse.—Merit rewarded by Major Ooberne, given to Mark Cullen, 1782.

The Colonel of the Corps was the Rt. Hon. John Ponsonby.

Iverk is a Barony in the County Kilkenny, and this medal is exceeding rare.

C. PERCEVAL BOLTON.

Mocollop Castle, Co. Waterford.—I will feel obliged if any of your correspondents will please say—

When and by whom was Mocollop Castle first built?

By whom was it last garrisoned? and—

When, and under what circumstances was it dismantled?

M. G. R.

Knogle or Knowles Family.—About year 1620, Mr. Leonard Knogle resided at Ballygalley House, near Tallow, Co. Waterford, and was one of the 24 first burgesses of that town, as recorded in Charter granted 10th James I. He had three sons, Edward, Leonard, and George. Can any of your correspondents inform me as to the present male representatives of the family, and also who is now the owner of the property at Ballygalley and Flemingstown?

G. M. R.

(*a*) *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxx. (1900), p. 372.

Can any member give any particulars as to Sir Ignatius White, married to daughter of Sir James Walsh, of Ballycarogue, Castle, Co. Waterford, created Marquis D'Albyville, temp. Charles the First, whose estates were estreated 1691, and whose grandson is said to have fallen at Culloden on the side of the Stuarts. The estates were in Limerick, but the last Marquis is said to have accompanied James the Second in his flight from Waterford.

HON. SEC., Cork Hist. and Archæo. Society, Cork.

Review.—We have received from the “Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language” (6, Molesworth-street, Dublin) the report for 1900. This is the twenty-third annual report, and bears witness to good work done in the past by the Society for the Irish Language, and gives hope of good work in the future. The report gives due praise to the National Teachers and to the Christian Brothers (we hope that in next year’s report the Nuns may be included) for their patriotic labours, and for their devotion to the Irish Language Movement.

Eloquent testimony is also borne to the advantages accruing to the Irish Language Cause from the support and encouragement of the Bishops and Priests.

The number of pupils presented for examination in the year 1900, from the National Schools, amounted to 2,256 as compared with 1,743 in 1899, while the number of teachers who obtained certificates to teach Irish amounted to 74 as compared with 39 in 1899. At Intermediate Examinations the number of pupils who passed in Irish amounted to 473, as against 443 in 1899.

I should like to draw special attention to the fact that through the generosity of Father MacTernan, P.P., Killasnet, the Society is able to offer two prizes of £40 each for two essays : (1) on Irish Prose, and (2) on Irish Poetry.

HON. EDITOR.

“**The Gael.**”—The scope and character of *The Gael* ought to ensure for it a hearty welcome and a wide circulation amongst our people. It is the vehicle of matter, at once varied, interesting, and instructive. In my opinion it is one of the very best antidotes to the poison of foreign and irreligious journals and papers. No

Irishman who reads it could fail to get benefit both for mind and spirit. It contains poetry and prose ; history and archæology ; biography and romance. It has also a Gaelic department, which always contains a variety of interesting matter in poetry and prose. Now that its price has been reduced to 3d. a copy (monthly) it undoubtedly makes a bold bid for a very large circulation, and I have no hesitation in recommending it. The boys and girls, the men and women, who read it, will saturate their minds with true nationality, and win many a noble inspiration.

HON. EDITOR.





JOURNAL OF THE . . .
WATERFORD AND . . .
SOUTH EAST OF . . .
IRELAND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL . . .
SOCIETY.



Second Quarter :

April to June, 1901.

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Each Member to whose name an * is NOT prefixed in the foregoing list will please note that his subscription for 1901 is now due.

Annual Subscription 10/-, payable in advance.

RULES.

- 1.—That the Society be called "THE WATERFORD AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY."
- 2.—That the purpose of the Society be the promotion of the study of matters having an antiquarian interest relating to Waterford and the South Eastern Counties.
- 3.—That Ladies shall be eligible for membership.
- 4.—That the Annual Subscription shall be Ten Shillings, payable on the first of January in each year, and that a payment of £5 shall constitute a Life Member.
- 5.—That the Society be managed by a President, four Vice-Presidents, and one Vice-President from each County taking part in the proceedings of the Society, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor, and a Committee of nine Members, any three of whom shall form a quorum.
- 6.—That an Annual General Meeting, for the purpose of electing the Officers and Committee, shall be held before the end of February in each year, and that such election shall be by ballot.
- 7.—That at the Annual General Meeting in each year the Committee shall submit a brief report and statement of the Treasurer's Accounts.
- 8.—That a Journal be published containing accounts of the proceedings, and columns for local Notes and Queries.
- 9.—That all papers, &c., intended for publication in the Journal shall be subject to the approval of the Committee.
- 10.—That the date of the Society's meetings, which may be convened for the reading and discussion of papers and the exhibition of objects of antiquarian interest, shall be fixed by the Committee, due notice being given to each member.
- 11.—That all matters touching on existing religious and political differences shall be rigorously excluded from the discussions at the meetings and from the columns of the Journal.
- 12.—That each Member shall be at liberty to introduce two visitors at the meetings of the Society.
- 13.—That the foregoing Rules can be altered only at the Annual General Meeting, or at a Special General Meeting convened for that purpose.



Ancient Guilds or Fraternities

of the

County of the City of Waterford.

By PATRICK HIGGINS, F.R.S.A.



THE Mayor, Sheriffs, and Citizens of the County of the City of Waterford were (*inter alia*) empowered by Charters, granted from time to time, to incorporate within the City Guilds or Fraternities with certain powers, and also to make Bye-Laws for the good government thereof.

About the year 1700, the legality of the tax called "Quarterage," paid by tradesmen and shopkeepers for permission to exercise their trade or calling, was questioned, and several parties refused to pay same. It was collected by a Company called "Hammermen," who, during the assizes, paraded through every part of the City demanding the payment of "quarterage," and, in case of refusal, they signified their displeasure by nailing up the doors and windows of the house belonging to the party so refusing.

As a result of this refusal, the following Petition was presented by the several Guilds of the City to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Citizens asking them to get Parliamentary sanction to this obnoxious tax:—

COPY OF PETITION.

TO THE MAYOR, SHERIFFS, AND CITIZENS OF THE COUNTY
OF THE CITY OF WATERFORD.

*The humble Petition of the Masters, Wardens, and Assistants
of the several Guilds of the said City, whose names are
hereunto subscribed,*

SHEWETH—

That your Worships in pursuance of several Powers granted to your worships by several charters did for the regulation of the Trade of the said City, incorporate your Petitioners into several Guilds or Fraternities with power annually to elect Masters, Wardens and other officers, to make By-laws not repugnant to the Laws of this Kingdom, to be previously approved of by your Worship, for the better government of the said Guilds, and the several Trades carried on and exercised in the said City, and to Examine and seize upon unlawful or fraudulent Goods, Wares or Manufactures made up or exposed to sale in the said City and to condemn same, or to impose reasonable fines upon the makers or Vendors of such Goods or Manufactures.

That by the constant usage and custom of the said City Quarteridge has been paid to Petitioners by Persons not freed of said City Guilds who carried on or exercised trades in the said City which was applied to many Charitable and useful purposes, and to defray the usual and necessary Expence of said Guilds, and is also requisite to support the credit of said Guilds.

That said Guilds have been always attendant on and subject to the Orders and directions of the Magistrates of this City.

That doubts having lately arisen as to the Validity of the Charters granted by your Worship, to the said Guilds, or whether the condemnation of unlawful or fraudulent Goods, or the imposing or levying taxes upon or from offenders, or the payment of Quarteridge were warranted by Law, Your Petitioners have been for some time past diffident of Exercising the Powers granted to them by your Worships.

That the making up and sending fraudulent Goods, Wares or manufactures, is not only an Injury to the fair Traders and Artificers, in the said City, but also bring a discredit upon their City and foreign Markets.

That since the legality of the Power of the Masters and Warden of the said Guilds to seize and Examine fraudulent Goods, Wares and Manufactures, or to censure Persons who shall offend or the payment of Quarteridge, has been called in Question, Combinations have been entered into this City, highly detrimental to the trade thereof, and productive of riots and disorders, and tending to the disturbance of the Peace and good Government of this City.

That your Petitioners humbly apprehend that the establishing the said several Guilds and Fraternities upon assured respectable footing by the Authority of Parliament will greatly contribute to the support and to the advancement of the Trade and Improvement of the Manufactures to be made in this City.

May it therefore Please your Worships to take the Premises into your consideration and to cause such Application to be made to Parliament for the better Regulation and Establishment of the several Guilds and Fraternities in this City as to your Worships shall seem need, and your Petitioners will pray.

(Signed)

JNO. GLANVILLE,	{	<i>Master of the Guild of Tanners and soforth.</i>
JOHN HINTON,		
JNO. HENDERSON,	}	<i>Wardens.</i>

RICHD. HENEY, CHRISR. MCCORD, SAML. DRAPER, JOSIAH PORTER, GEORGE CLARKE, JOHN LATROBE, WILLM. EMERSON, JAMES MAYBERY, JOHN ROGERS,	} }	<i>Assistants.</i>
MATTW. SCOTT,	{	<i>Master of the Guild of Merchants, Shoopkeepers and soforth.</i>
WILLIAM MOORE, MICHL. HOBBS, junr.	} }	<i>Wardens.</i>
WM. RUSSELL, DAVID GLANVILLE, DEN. CHERRY, JOHN KING, JOSEPH IVIE, DAVID MOORE, JOSEPH HARRIS, SAUNDERS GILL, ALEXR. POPE, JOHN ROBINSON, SAML. WILLIAMS,	} }	<i>Assistants.</i>
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RICHD. TAYLOR,		

The following is a copy of a receipt given by the master of the Company "of Hammermen," as a discharge, for one of their demands:—

"MEMORANDUM—It was covenanted by the Company, and entered in the Books, that Mr. Paule Keaton should be exempted from paying "quarterage" for 2 years, he having paid 40/-, as witness my hand this 15th day of June, 1704.

"WM. MORGAN, *Master.*"

It is hardly necessary to say that, instead of Parliamentary sanction being sought for this unjust imposition, it was in course of time altogether abolished.



Lismore During the Reign of Henry VIII.

By WILLIAM H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

IN 1502 we read of an anchorite at Lismore who lived on the lands still called *Ballyanchor*, or the Anchorites Land, and he was one of the last of those holy hermits who emulated the seclusion of the good men who first built their wattle cells in the neighbourhood of Lismore, and whose obits are to be found chronicled from the 7th century onwards. The place-name (Ballyanchor) alone survives as a reminder of the anchorites' cell, and a silent witness to the piety of a bygone age. A few years later, in the conterminous diocese of Cashel, an Observantine Franciscan Friar, Father Myler Brannagh [Walsh], who had become blind, determined to end his days as a hermit. Accordingly, on July 10th, 1508, Octavian de Palatio, Archbishop of Armagh, admitted the aged friar "to lead the life of an Anchorite near the Cathedral of Cashel, where he had built

himself a cell in the wall," and the Primate granted "40 days' Indulgence to those who would contribute alms towards finishing his cell." (a)

Bishop Purcell of Waterford and Lismore was present at the Provincial Council which was held by Archbishop Fitzgerald at Limerick, in 1511, the canons of which are still in existence in MS. in T.C.D. (F. 3., 16). Archbishop Fitzgerald held another Synod in 1514, "four of the decrees whereof, relating to the dress and clothing of the clergy of Waterford, and to the manner of their celebrating Divine Offices, are yet extant" (Loftus MS. in Marsh's Library, quoted by Ware).

In the autumn of the year 1516, the Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy, besieged Clonmel, which surrendered on favourable terms, but this did not prevent him from being suspected as friendly towards the Irish. Lismore was tranquil at this epoch, and Bishop Purcell beautified the Cathedral. He died in March, 1518, after a rule of 32 years, and his successor was Nicholas Comyn, who was translated from the See of Ferns, on April 13th, 1519. Through the influence of Cardinal Wolsey, the Earl of Kildare was removed from the Viceroyalty at this time, and was replaced by Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, who landed at Dublin on May 23rd, 1520.

Maurice *bocagh* [the lame], Earl of Desmond, died at Tralee in June, 1520, and was succeeded by James FitzMaurice, 11th Earl, who, at once, repaired to Waterford to visit the new Lord Deputy. Early in July, William Rokeby, Archbishop of Dublin, was sent to Waterford as one of the Commissioners appointed by the Earl of Surrey to compose the existing differences between the Earl of Desmond and Sir Piers Butler; and a truce was concluded between the rival houses of Desmond and Ormonde till the following Candlemas [Feb. 2nd.] However, within six weeks, fresh quarrels broke out, and, in October, Surrey himself came to the *Urbs Intacta* to bring about amicable relations, but was not successful. He resigned his post as Lord Deputy in December of same year, and was succeeded by Sir Piers Butler, Earl of Ormonde, whose

(a) *Registrum Octaviani de Palatio.*

natural son, Edmund, was appointed Archbishop of Cashel in 1523.

Sir Piers Butler was at this time in high favour at Court, and Henry VIII., in November, 1521, had actually approved of a matrimonial alliance between the Earl and Mistress Anne Boleyn. It may be new to many readers to learn that the famous Anne Boleyn was born in Carrick-on-Suir Castle, near Waterford, as her mother was eldest daughter of Thomas, Earl of Carrick and Ormonde, who died in August, 1515, bequeathing his vast estates to his two daughters, Margaret and Anne—Margaret being the wife of Sir William Boleyn, whose son was Sir Thomas Boleyn. Unfortunately, in 1524, the King first took serious notice of Anne Boleyn, and, some months later, Sir Piers Butler was superseded as Viceroy by the Earl of Kildare. On June 18th, 1525, Sir Thomas Boleyn was created Viscount Rochford, "one of the long-contested titles of the house of Ormonde"; and, in August, 1528, the King intimated to him his intention of wedding the fair Anne as soon as he got a divorce from Queen Katherine. Sir Piers Butler was compelled to accept the title of Earl of Ossory on February 23rd, 1528; and Viscount Rochford was created Earl of Wiltshire, Ormonde, and Carrick.

On June 20th, 1523, James, Earl of Desmond, was engaged in a treaty with Francis I., King of France, and, in 1528, he had negotiations with the Emperor Charles V., King of Spain—on account of which Henry VIII. ordered the Earl of Kildare to arrest him. Desmond was at this date practically ruler of all Munster. His father-in-law, Sir John Fitzgerald, of Dromana, 2nd Lord of the Decies, wrote a letter to the King on February 24th, 1528, complaining that the Earl had recently sacked Dungarvan, and committed sad havoc in the neighbourhood of Lismore. This was the last exploit of the great Geraldine, whose death took place, at Dingle, on June 18th, 1529, and he was succeeded in his vast possessions by his uncle, Thomas *maol* (the bald), son of the 8th Earl. This Thomas, 12th Earl of Desmond, is best known as the husband of Catherine, the famous "old Countess of Desmond," daughter of Sir John FitzGerald, of Dromana, near Lismore.

Bishop Comyn, of Waterford and Lismore, who helped to beautify the choir and chancel of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Waterford, attended the Synod of Limerick, held by Archbishop Butler, on June 29th, 1529. In the same year, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, was sent over as Viceroy of Ireland, who deputed Sir William Skeffington to do duty for him.

Among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum (*b*) there is a confirmatory grant of the Decies by Thomas, 12th Earl of Desmond, to his father-in-law, Sir John Fitzgerald, of Dromana, dated "Cork, on the morrow of the day of St. Luke the Evangelist," *i.e.*, on October 19th, 1529. The charter is in abbreviated Latin, and is very difficult to decipher, but it confirms to Sir John and his son Gerald FitzJohn "the lands of Dromana with the appurtenances thereof in Decies, together with the villages of Ballymacmague and Knockdrum, and the cess due from Monatray, and two marks in Dungarvan or in Ballymacart, as also the whole barony of Kilsheelan, in Co. Tipperary." This Sir John died at Dromana on December 18th, 1529, and was succeeded by his son Garret Mac Shane, *Anglice* Gerald FitzJohn.

Earl Thomas was suspected as a rebel at this time, and there is yet preserved a letter written by Sir William Wyse, of Waterford, to Cromwell, in which he says: "This instant day report is made by the Vicar of Dungarvan that the Emperor hath sent certain letters unto the Earl of Desmond by the same chaplain or ambassador that was sent unto James, the late Earl." Under date of March 19th, 1529-30, Sir Gerald FitzJames, Knight, of Dromana, was sworn on the Holy Mass Book and the Staff of Jesus, before Sir Piers Butler, Earl of Ossory; and on December 1st, 1530, Sir William Skeffington, Lord Deputy, arrived in Waterford, accompanied by Sir William Brereton.

Henry VIII., on February 26th, 1532, granted to Sir Piers Butler "the office of Seneschal, Constable, and Governor of the Castle and Manor of Dungarvan, with a fee of £100 annually out of the rents and profits of said Castle and Manor, with remainder

to James, his son and heir, for life, and remainder to his heir male; after which the said office and fee to revert to the Crown for ever." Thus, the first clipping of the wings of the Earl of Desmond took place.

On the Wednesday before May Day, *i.e.* on April 24th, of the year 1533 died James Fitzgerald, brother to Sir John Fitzgerald, Lord of the Decies, and uncle to Sir Gerald FitzJohn of Dromana. An ancient Irish annalist thus writes of his death, which entry is particularly interesting, as it affords evidence that even at that late period Lismore was still a hallowed sanctuary for hermits. The obit is chronicled as follows:—"He (Sir James) was a rebirth to Guaire, son of Colman, for honour and truth, for hospitality and presents, at receiving guests and wanderers, and the needy of the Lord, satisfying the wants of all those who came to him, whether few or many. *The anchorite of Lismore-Mochuda*, and the Friars Minor of Youghal, came to Dromana, and ministered unto him at the time of his death, and he was buried at Youghal, in the Conventual Church of the Friars Minor, on Thursday, the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist [April 25th], after the victory of the Devil and the world."

In May, 1534, the Earl of Ossory "conformed," and was given the government of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, "on condition of endeavouring to retake the Castle of Dungarvan [which had been captured and victualled by the Earl of Desmond], and of vigorously resisting the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome." The two conditions of this grant are worthy of note, inasmuch as one of them shows the power of Desmond, and the other points to the "reforming" tendency of the new Head of the Church of England.

Thomas, 12th Earl of Desmond, died at Rathkeale at the close of the year 1534, "in a very old age," and was succeeded his brother John as 13th Earl. The direct heir was James FitzMaurice, who landed at Youghal on August 7th, 1535, but who was treacherously murdered by his relative Maurice *duth* FitzJohn, near Fermoy, on March 19th, 1540, "on the Friday before Palm

Sunday." (c) On the death of Earl Thomas, the "old Countess" was given her jointure, which included the Castle of Inchiquin, near Youghal.

The Earl of Ossory wrote to England on August 23rd, 1535, stating that the English army under his own command were entirely occupied "in breaking O'Brien's Bridge, taking Dungarvan," etc. Lord James Butler (appointed Lord High Treasurer in 1532), Lord Thomas Butler, and his brother-in-law Garret Mac Shane (Sir Gerald FitzJohn of Dromana), "*who, though a very strong man in his country, could not speak one word of English,*" joined Sir William Skeffington's forces at Clonmel, on September 14th, and proceeded to Dungarvan. "After a few hours' playing on the walls, a breach was made, but the Commander [Nicholas le Poer, Baron of Dunhill] of the Castle yielded it up, and it was given over to the Earl of Ossory and Lord James Butler. All this journey, from Dungarvan forth, there is none alive," as we learn from Stephen Parry, who was a captain of 100 spears, "that can remember that ever English man-of-war was ever in those parts. The army then proceeded to Youghal, where Lord James had a gallon of Gascoigne wine for four pence sterling." (d)

On October 3rd, 1535, Henry VIII. conferred the title of Viscount Thurles on Lord James Butler, who wrote an account of the capture of Dungarvan to Cromwell, from Waterford on October 17th. In the same year the King exercised his prerogative as "Head of the Church" by appointing George Browne, an ex-Augustinian Friar, as first schismatic Archbishop of Dublin. Sir William Skeffington died at Kilmainham on December 31st of same year, and was succeeded as Viceroy by Lord Leonard Gray.

(c) The *de jure* 13th Earl of Desmond was John, "an aged man and a religious brother of the Convent [Dominican] of Tralee, when his son Maurice *duth* killed his grandnephew James," who died a little before Christmas, 1536, and was buried in the Dominican Priory Church, Tralee. James FitzJohn then became *de jure* 14th Earl.

(d) Maynooth Castle was captured by "Silken Thomas" on March 23, 1535. This young Geraldine and his five uncles were executed in London on February 3rd, 1536-7.

It is only to our present purpose to add that Queen Katherine died on January 7th, 1536; Queen Anne was executed on May 19th of the same year; and Sir Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Ormonde, died in 1537, whereupon Sir Piers Butler was made Earl of Ormonde and Ossory.

The Anglo-Irish Parliament which assembled at Dublin on May 1st, 1536, declared Henry VIII. "Head of the Church of Ireland." This Parliament declared also that presentations to the parishes of Kinsalebeg and Lisguenane (both in the diocese of Lismore) rested with the Crown and not with the Earl of Desmond. A second Parliament (held the same year from the 15th to the 25th of September) rejected the bill for the suppression of 13 Irish monasteries, but all was of no avail; and the English monarch, in May, 1537, sent over a Commission for the confiscation of eight of these monasteries—John Alen, Master of the Rolls, getting a grant for ever, as a *douceur*, of the Priory of St. Wolstan's, Celbridge, Co. Kildare. At this date, James Butler, last Abbot of Innislounaght (a position to which he had been appointed in 1510) was Dean of Lismore; and the Rev. Maurice O'Connell was Vicar of Dungarvan—the Manor of which was annexed to the Crown by an Act passed in 1537.

The Grand Jury of County Waterford presented, in 1537, that Nicholas Comyn, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore (who lived in Lismore Castle) was wont to use coyne and livery, to exact fees for matrimonial dispensations, to have his horses and servants billeted on his tenants on visitation, "paying nothing for same," etc. In 1538, Bishop Comyn wrote to Secretary Cromwell offering to surrender "certain livings and manors in the district of Dungarvan and Cappoquin, in which the King might place discreet captains so as to subdue the protervity [rudeness] as well of the Lords Barry and Roche as of Gerald FitzJohn, Lord of Decies and Gerald of Desmond's sons."

Although the bill for granting the King a twentieth part of the Church revenues of Ireland was rejected by the Lords in January, 1538, yet it was finally passed; and in October of the same year twelve monasteries were suppressed. On April 7th, 1539, Henry VIII.

sent over a royal commission for the confiscation of all the religious houses in Ireland; and the first Irish martyr for the faith was Dr. John Travers, an Augustinian Friar, who suffered death on July 30th, 1539—previous to which Father Sall, a Franciscan Friar of the Waterford Convent, had been imprisoned in Dublin Castle for inveighing against the new doctrines. (e)

Writing in January, 1539-40, to Secretary Cromwell, the Royal Commissioners, Lord Chancellor Allen, Sir William Brabazon, and Mr. Justice Aylmer informed him that “with difficulty they were able to persuade the inhabitants of County Waterford to pay the King’s Highness a yearly subsidy of £60.” Again, writing on February 8th, they say:—“Concerning the levying of this subsidy in the County of Waterford, we cannot perceive that it shall take effect till that *false traitor, the King’s open enemy, Gerald Mac Shane (which hath under him the better half of the shire, being the King’s ancient inheritance as parcel of his honour of Dungarvan), be either exiled or reformed.* The said Gerald neither will suffer the King’s first fruits, nor twenty parts, nor the profits of the King’s parsonage of Dungarvan to be levied anywhere under his rule, *but openly maintaineth the Bishop of Rome and his partakers against the King’s supremacy.*” This letter amply demonstrates that in the year 1540 the Lord of the Decies had not “conformed,” and illustrates the little weight to be attached to his “submission”—as also that of his sons Sir Maurice, Sir James, and Gerald of Ballyhennie—to Lord Gray, in December, 1539.

James FitzJohn, 14th Earl of Desmond, submitted to Sir Anthony St. Leger, Lord Deputy, at Cahir Castle, “in the house of Sir Thomas Butler,” on January 16th, 1541, and he was sworn of the Council. He went to England in August, 1542, and renewed his submission; and on November 10th, 1542, Sir Thomas Butler was created Baron of Cahir.

(e) Although Piers, 8th Earl of Ormonde, had outwardly “conformed,” and was given a grant of 33 manors in various counties, he returned to the ancient faith on his death-bed. By his will, dated May 28th, 1539, he left certain monies for anniversary Masses to be celebrated in the Cathedrals of Kilkenny and Waterford, as also in the churches of Clonmel, Callan, Fethard, and Cashel; and he died on August 26th same year.

On April 30th, 1540, James Butler, last Abbot of Inislounaght, and Dean of Lismore, was appointed "Vicar of St. Patrick's, Inislounaght, with the altarages and oblations, and a pension of £5 6s. 8d."—Lord Leonard Gray having been given the site of the Abbey with its vast possessions in County Tipperary and County Waterford, on April 8th, a grant which was transferred to Sir Thomas Butler, on March 26th, 1541. On June 21st, a grant of "English liberty" was given to Mor O'Carroll, wife of the Earl of Desmond; and the Earl himself got a lease of the Dominican Friary of Kilmallock on June 29th, 1541.

At the Parliament which opened on June 13th, 1541, Henry VIII. was acknowledged as King of Ireland, and was given the disposal of the dissolved religious houses. On the death of Father Coleman, the Crown on April 29th, 1542, presented the Rev. Simon Jeffrey, Canon of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, and Prebendary of Howth, to the Vicarage of the Blessed Virgin, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

During the French wars of the year 1544 the Earl of Ormonde sent 200 Kernes, commanded by his nephews Piers, 2nd Lord Power and Piers Butler, to aid Henry VIII. The Earl of Desmond supplied 120 soldiers; Lord Power, 34 (*f*); the Baron of Cahir, 30; and Sir Gerald FitzJohn of Dromana, 24—in all about 800 Kernes. The valour of these irregular forces was marvellous, and the "mighty prowess" of Nicholas Walsh of Waterford is a matter of history.

Towards the close of the year 1543 Nicholas Comyn, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, Peter Dobbyn, late Mayor of Waterford, Roland Baron, Baron of Burnchurch, and Walter Cowley, were appointed Commissioners to take evidence in a suit regarding a fishery in the Nore. The Deputy, St. Leger, was recalled in February, 1544, and was succeeded by Sir William Brabazon. On June 27th, 1545, there was a deposition made at Lismore Castle,

(*f*) At this date Lord Power agreed to contribute "a subsidy of £30 yearly out of the Pooren country," *i.e.* the country of the Powers, adjacent to the City of Waterford. [15th Report Hist. MSS. Commission, App., Part iii.]

“in presence of Nicholas, Bishop of Lismore and Waterford,” on behalf of Sir Gerald FitzJohn of Dromana and his son Maurice, “in regard to Ellen, the White Knight’s daughter, wife unto the late Sir John FitzGerald.”

Henry VIII., on July 5th, 1545, remitted to the Earl of Ormonde all arrears due from the Manor of Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, and appointed Robert St. Leger, brother to Sir Anthony St. Leger, Lord Deputy, as “Constable and Governor of Dungarvan Castle, with all the rents, fishings, and customs thereof.” (g)

In 1546 Bishop Comyn wrote to the King, begging to be relieved of the many commissions with which he was entrusted, and offering to resign his bishopric, but he was induced to retain his arduous position for a few years longer. On August 26th, 1546, Edward Butler, Chaplain, was presented to the vicarage of Mothel, in the gift of the King, “pleno jure.” Robert Lombard, Dean of Waterford, died early in January, 1547, and, on March 9th, Patrick Walshe was schismatically nominated his successor. Henry VIII. paid the debt of nature on Thursday, January 28th, 1547, and had as successor the boy King Edward VI., Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, being appointed Protector. So ends the pre-Reformation history of ancient Lismore.



(g) From the “Table to the Red Council Book” we learn that Sir Gerald Mac Shane of Dromana was a prisoner in Dublin Castle in the autumn of 1545, and was ordered to attend Sir William Brabazon, Lord Justice, on his journey to the territory of the Earl of Ormonde.



Don Philip O'Sullivan ;
The Siege of Dunboy and the Retreat
and
Assassination of the O'Sullivan Beare.



PHILIP O'SULLIVAN BEARE, naval captain, poet, historian, patriot and exile, who is doubtless now best known as the author of "Historiae Catholicae Iberniae Compendium,"—written in Latin and first published at Lisbon, Portugal, in 1621—was born late in the sixteenth century in his father's castle on Dursey Island, which lies between the mouth of Bantry Bay and Kenmare Harbour, and forms the westernmost portion of the County Cork.

The O'Sullivan sept of whom he was so distinguished a scion, originally occupied, we are told, rich tracts of land in the south-east of Tipperary, but like most of the old Irish families of Munster, the O'Sullivans were expelled from their fertile valleys by the Anglo-Norman invaders, and retreating westward, displacing in turn the weaker native tribes, finally took possession of the district now constituting the western parts of Cork and Kerry.



OSVILLYANVI BEARRETECANTRIE COMES
AETATIS SVAE LIII CHRISTI VERG DOMINI MDCXII ANNO

The O'Sullivan, according to Richard Cronnelly's "Clan Eoghan," are of the Eoghan or Eugenic race, and derive their name and descent from Suilebhan, of the race of Eoghan Mor (*a*) as noted in MacFirbis's Genealogical MS., which gives the O'Sullivan pedigree for thirty-eight generations from Olioll Olum, Eoghan's father, who was born so far back, it is said, as A.D. 92.

Referring to their original possessions in Tipperary, of which he says they were dispossessed by their co-relatives the McCarthys, Cronnelly quotes the following lines from O'Heerin, the Bardic topographer, who died in A.D. 1420 :—

" O'Sullivan who delights not in violence,
Rules over the extensive Eoghan Acht of Munster ;
About Knock Graffan broadlands he obtained
Won by his victorious arms in conflicts and battles."

After their removal to Cork and Kerry, the O'Sullivan sept split off into two great branches, viz., the O'Sullivan More, lords of Duncerinn (Dunkerrin) in the County Kerry (whose last lineal descendant, Donal O'Sullivan, died in 1762, and was buried in Mucross Abbey); and the O'Sullivan Beare, Chiefs of Beare and Bantry, in the County Cork, where their property consisted of 200 ploughlands. Later on the O'Sullivan Beare appear to have become feudatories of the more powerful MacCarthys; and amongst other obligations the O'Sullivan Beare—according to Cork's great

(*a*) Windele's Cork gives the following curious legend as to the derivation of "Suilebhan" :—

"It chanced that there came to Ireland from Albany (?) on a great tour, a one-eyed Druid named Levawn, a bard and renowned singer as well. He was entertained with special hospitality by Eochy, another one-eyed personage, who offered him rich gifts at his departure, but these the Druid declined, asking his host instead for his only eye. Eochy, fearing to offend him and impelled by generosity, at once gave it.

Indignant at this selfish act of the Druid, an ancient saint named Ruadh Lothre, who was at the time with Eochy, exclaimed :—"If God permits anything to me, I will say O Levawn! let thine own eye depart from its place to the head of Eochy, for his benefit." The saint's prayer was heard, and Eochy found the Druid's eye in his own socket. Hence he and his posterity obtained the name of Suillevaun, *i.e.*, Levawn's Eye. Eochy was ninth in descent from Aodh Dhuv, the common ancestor of the O'Sullivan and MacCarthys. The O'Sullivan in time became so numerous and popular, that it became a saying, "Nulla manis tam liberalis, atque generalis, atque universalis, quam Sullivanis." Eugene O'Curry supplies a different version of the above legend, as to the origin of the name, O'Sullivan.

local historian, Windele—"in time of war had to furnish MacCarthy More with fifty gallow-glasses" and "to the value of £40 a year in spendings and refeccions." MacCarthy was likewise to receive half-a-crown for every ship that came to fish or trade in O'Sullivan's harbours, and furthermore O'Sullivan Beare had "to entertain MacCarthy and all his train two nights at Dunboy, and whenever they travelled that way."

In the thirteenth century the O'Sullivan's gave two Bishops to the See of Cloyne, Lawrence, who died at Lismore, A.D. 1204, and Alan O'Sullivan, a Dominican Friar, who, in 1248, was translated from Cloyne See to that of Lismore, where his death took place in 1252. In A.D. 1320, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, "the Monastery of Bantry, on the estate of O'Sullivan, in the Diocese of Ross, was founded by O'Sullivan for Franciscan Friars, and was selected for the burying-place of the O'Sullivans and many other noble families."

In A.D. 1446, died Dermot O'Sullivan Beare (or Bere), the founder of the Monastery on the sea shore near Bantry at a place called from that religious house, Ardnabraher, or Friar's Hill, whose site is marked by a graveyard.

This Dermot's son, Philip O'Sullivan Beare, and his kinsmen, Teigh and Chaonagh O'Sullivan, were slain in 1498. A.D. 1549, Dermot O'Sullivan Beare met his death in his own Castle of Dunboy by the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder; and in the same year his brother Awlave the Tanist, who succeeded him, also died. A.D. 1563 Donal O'Sullivan Beare was slain by MacGilliguddy; and was succeeded by his kinsman, Eoghan. A.D. 1576, the O'Sullivan Beare's muster roll—according to Sir George Carew—contained the names of ten galloglasses and two hundred Kernes (*i.e.* 210 fighting men). A.D. 1581 Donal, son of Donal, son of Dermot, defeated the people of Carbery, who went to plunder his people under the command of Captain Zouch, an English Officer, leaving 300 of the plunderers dead on the field of battle. In A.D. 1585, Eoghan O'Sullivan More, and Eoghan O'Sullivan Beare attended the memorable Parliament convened in Dublin by Sir John Perrot. It was between this date and 1600,

and but a short period before the famous siege of Dunboy, which formed a turning point, not only in his family history, but that of all Ireland, that Philip O'Sullivan Beare was born—the exact year being now unknown—in that far-away Castle of his father at Dursey at the extreme end of the wild and mountainous tracts around Bantry Bay, co-extensive with the Barony of Beare and Bantry, which for so many generations were possessed by his family down to the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

Philip's grandfather Dermod, who was killed by the gunpowder explosion, is said in the "Annals of the Four Masters" to have been "the best chief commander of his party at that time, in valour and wisdom."

Of those who succeeded him in the Chieftaincy, viz., his brother Awlave or Auliffe, and his son Donal, little is known, but the fact of their death by the sword in the year above-mentioned. From them the principality passed to Eoghan or Owen, who held it until the year 1593, when he was deposed through, it is said, the influence of the English, and Dunboy was given up to his nephew Donal O'Sullivan, who afterwards so heroically defended it in opposition to the English forces sent to destroy it.

During the thirty years of Owen's chieftainship, he does not appear to have taken an active part in the field with Fitzmaurice or any of the Catholic insurgents of that time. In 1580 he was seized as a hostage by the Earl of Ormond; but, a few years later, his name, as stated above, is found amongst those who were present at the Parliament of 1585. (b)

(b) In Weld's Killarney published in 1812, page 226, we read that "In the twelfth year of the reign of Elizabeth, Sir Owen O'Sullivan, in order to obtain a substantial title to the counties he then held, surrendered them to the Crown, and received a formal grant thereof by patent. This measure gave rise to a long suit at law between him and his nephew Donal MacDonal O'Sullivan, who endeavoured to prove that his uncle had usurped the possession at the death of his (Donal's) father. Sir Owen, on the contrary, pleaded that the possession of the estates had fallen to him by the laws of Tanistry, and had been afterwards irrevocably established by letters patent. The suit terminated in a Commission being issued under the Great Seal dated Dublin, July 18th, 35th year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, directing Sir Thomas Norreys, Vice-President of Munster and others, to partition and plot out by certain limits and boundaries the territories, hereditaments, castles, etc., of Beare, Bantry, Ardea, and others belonging to the

His successor Donal, (by whom Owen was supplanted) continued faithful to his English patrons for nearly ten years, unshaken in his allegiance by the decisive actions of the Northern Irish chieftains, and unawed by the triumphant march of Hugh O'Neill to Munster in 1600. But on the Spaniards coming to Kinsale, he seems to have decided at last on throwing in his lot with the bulk of his fellow-Irish in fighting for what they regarded as the cause of creed and country.

“Until this time,” we read in that famous work “*Pacata Hibernia*,” (c) “none of the provinces of Munster that had been either protected or pardoned relapsed; but now Sir Finnin O'Drischall, and all the O'Drischalls; almost all the Carties in Carbrie, Donnel O'Sullivan Beare, O'Sulevan, his eldest son, all the protected and pardoned men in Kerry and Desmond, and all else from Kinsale and Limerick westwards, joined with O'Donnell and the Spaniards. Whereat little wonder is to be made considering what power religion and gold hath in the heart of man, both of which the Spaniards brought with them into Ireland. Donal O'Drischall delivered unto them his Castle of Castlehaven, which commanded the Harbour. The hitherto unspottedly loyal Sir Finnin O'Drischall rendered unto them his Castle of Donneshed at Baltimore, and his Castle of Donnelong in the Island of Inisherkin, between which castles all entrance into that Haven was

O'Sullivans, which partition was effected by an instrument dated at Mallow, January 15th, 1593. The castle and dependencies of Beare were allotted to Donal; and Bantry, etc., to Sir Owen, saving only to Sir Philip O'Sullivan, younger brother to Sir Owen, the Castle of Ardea and its dependencies, which latter continued in the possession of the family until forfeited in the Civil Wars in the 17th century. Mr. Beltz of the College of Heralds (who supplied the above information to Mr. Weld) when visiting the South of Ireland in 1802 traced out the lineal descendant of the Sir Philip O'Sullivan Beare of Ardea Castle (which is now in ruins) who brought in his hands a bundle of parchments and papers, one of which was the copy of the deed of partition granted to Sir Philip's heirs upon petitioning to the Lord Deputy of Ireland in the year 1613, and also the original draft. That writings of such a nature should thus be preserved for almost two centuries, and that an illiterate man, whose family for generations had not enjoyed a position above that of peasants, should be able to give the detailed account of his genealogy which showed that he was the seventh in descent from the above-named Sir Philip, is a circumstance, remarks Weld, to which a parallel could not be readily found except amongst the Irish.

(c) Which, needless to say, gives the English victors account of their proceedings.

debarred; and Donnel O'Sulevan surrendered unto them his strong Castle of Dunboy, which absolutely commands Bearehaven, these three (Co. Cork) harbours being, without exception, the best in the West of Munster."

Donal O'Sullivan Beare not only received foreign garrisons into his Castle, but would appear to have formally transferred his allegiance to King Philip of Spain, if the following letter in "Pacata Hibernia" is to be relied on as genuine.

"It hath ever been, most mighty and renowned prince and most gracious Catholic King, from time to time manifestly proved by daily experience among us, the Irish, that there is nothing worketh more forcibly in our hearts, to win and draw our love and affection than natural inclination to our progeny and offspring and the memorial of the friendship which sticketh still in our minds; chiefly the same being renewed, cherished and kept in us by mutual affection, and by showing like friendship to us also. We the mere Irish long since deriving our root and original from the famous and most noble race of the Spaniards, viz., from Milesius, son of Bile, son to Breogwin and from Lwige, son to Lithy, son to Breogwin, by the testimony of our old ancient books of antiquities, our pedigree, our histories, and our chronicles.

"Though there were no other matter we came not, as natural branches of the famous tree whereof we grew, but bear a hearty love and natural affection and entire inclination of our hearts and minds to our ancient most loving kinsfolk and the most noble race whereof we descended.

"Besides this, my sovereign, such is the abundance of your goodness and the bounty or greatness of your liberality now every way undeserved of our party, as tokens of love and affection by your Majesty showed unto us that it is not fit nor seemly for us but to bestow our persons, our men and our goods in the service of a prince that dealeth so graciously with us, that sendeth forces of men, great treasure, victuals and munitions for our aid against our enemies that seek to overwhelm and extinguish the Catholic faith, put to death our Chieftains tyrannously, coveting our lands and livings unlawfully.

“For the foresaid considerations and for many other commendable causes me moving, I bequeath and offer in humbleness of mind, and with all my heart, my own person with all my forces, perpetually to serve your Majesty, not only in Ireland but in any other place, where it shall please your highness. I commit also my wife, my children, my manors, towns, country and land, and my haven of Dunboy, called Beara haven (next under God) to the protection, keeping and defence or commericke of your Majesty to be and remain in your hands and at your disposition.

“Also at your pleasure be it (my liege Lord) to send defence and strong keeping of the haven of Dunboy, first for yourself (my Sovereign) to receive your ships and for me also as your loving servant, so that the Queen of England’s ships may not possess the same before you, while I follow the wars in your highness’s behalf. I pray Almighty God to give your Majesty long life, health of body and soul, with increase of peace and prosperity, so I betake you to the keeping of God.

“From the Camp near Kinsale, the nine and twentieth of December, 1601, New Style.

Your most dutiful, loving servant,

DONNEL O’SULLIVAN BEARE.”

But if the acknowledged heads of the O’Sullivan Beare family had not hitherto helped to illumine much the pages of the “*Historiae Catholicae*,” written by their kinsman Philip, his father Dermot, like many of the younger sons of the great Irish families of that period, had not adopted the safe policy pursued by his chiefs. In all the Munster Wars from the year 1569, when Pope Pius the Fifth excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, down to the death of the Earl of Desmond in 1585, Dermot was in the field at the head of a chosen band of Beare infantry.

Accompanied by his three brothers-in-law, Eugene, Edmund and Maurice McSweeny, he was amongst the first that rose at the call of Fitzmaurice in 1569; and again, when the same chief landed in 1579, Dermot and the MacSweenys enrolled themselves

under John Fitzgerald, brother of the Earl of Desmond, and shared all the dangers of the contest to its close.

Dermod was one of those who paid the last rites to Dr. Sanders, the Papal legate, in the forest of Glenglass, where that famous ecclesiastic perished from exposure and want. Involved in the general proscription of the now ruined Lord of Desmond, Dermod had long baffled the pursuit of his enemies; but was at length dangerously wounded in an encounter with a party of royalists, losing on that as on other occasions, some of the bravest of his kindred and companions. Giollaiosa and Bernard MacSweeny were seized and executed; their brother Rory fled with the wreck of the Desmond army to the Chieftains of North Connaught and Ulster, but Dermot was somehow lost sight of altogether. In all probability he found refuge in the remote and almost inaccessible isle of Dursey, where he had built his castle (whose ruins, and that of the church he also erected, are still visible), in which, about this period, or not many years later, his son Philip was born.

Dermod's wife, Johanna MacSweeny, bore him in all seventeen children, of whom thirteen died before Ireland was again "reduced." The other four with their mother, Johanna, became involved in the fate attending Dermod, who once more took up arms when Donald O'Sullivan Beare, his first cousin and head of his family, declared for the Spaniards after their landing at Kinsale.

Happily for himself, Philip O'Sullivan Beare, the future historian, was too young to realise the fatal crisis that had now arrived in his family's history. His almost immediate departure from Ireland with his second cousin (Donald's son), as hostages sent out to the King of Spain, whilst as he himself states "a boy" in age, effectually prevented his being an eye-witness of the terrible sights and scenes, whose story he subsequently narrated in his "*Historiae Hiberniae Catholicae*" as learned by him from the lips of his nearest kinsfolk, who, sometime after their occurrence, joined him in exile in the friendly land of Spain.

After the hopeless rout of the Irish Chiefs at Kinsale, the capitulation then made by the Spaniards included the surrender to the English of the various castles (nearly all in the County Cork) held so far by Spanish troops in the name of their King.

Donald O'Sullivan Beare's indignation was unbounded—writes the Rev. C. B. Gibson in his "History of Cork"—when he discovered that Don Juan de Aguila, the Spanish Commander, had in this way stipulated to deliver up his Castle of Dunboy to the Lord President. Even after he had voluntarily handed it over to the Spaniards, and although they were the masters of Dunboy, yet, according to "Pacata Hibernia," "he had evermore recourse unto it, and lodged therein with such of his men as he thought good."

This is further shown by the following letters ascribed to Donald in "Hibernia Pacata," whence they are copied, being all three dated from Bearehaven, or in other words Dunboy.

From O'Sulevan Beare to the King of Spain :—

"MY LORD AND KING,

"Out of his love to your kingly greatness your humble steadfast servant Donnell O'Sulevan Beare, enforced through peril and constraint, doth make bold to inform unto your greatness that upon landing in Castlehaven in the west of Ireland, your General, Pedro de Zerbiar and Pedro Lopez de Soto, with a fleet and men from your greatness I came to their presence tendering my obeisance unto them in the name of your Highness, and being with four hundred men at my own cost towards your service. I yielded out of my mere love and goodwill without compulsion or composition into their hands, in the name of your Majesty, not only my Castle and Haven, called Bearehaven, but also my wife, my children, my Country or Lordships, and all my possessions, for ever to be disposed of at your pleasure. They received me in that manner, and promised (as from) your Highness to keep and save the said Castle and Haven during the service of your Grace. Notwithstanding, my gracious Lord, conclusions of peace were assuredly agreed upon betwixt Don Juan de Aguila and the English, a fact, pitiful and (according to my judgment) against all right and human conscience. Among other places whereof your Greatness was dispossessed in that matter, which were neither yielded nor taken, to the end should be delivered to the English, Don Juan tied himself to deliver my Castle and Haven, the only key of my inheritance, whereupon the living of many thousand

persons doth rest, that live some twenty leagues upon the seacoast, into the hands of my cruel, cursed misbelieving enemies, a thing I fear in respect of the execrableness, inhumanity and ungratefulness of the fact, if it take effect as it was plotted, that will give cause to other men not to trust the Spaniards hereafter, with their bodies or their goods upon these causes. My Lord, in that I judge the dishonorable act to be against your honour and pleasure (as I understand by your last letters that came into Ireland) considering the harm that might ensue to the service of your Majesty, and the everlasting overthrow that might happen to me, and my poor people, such as might escape the sword of our Enemy, (if any should) I have taken upon me (with the help of God) to offer to keep my Castle and Haven from the hands of mine enemies, until further news and order come from your Highness. I have sent my son and heir (being of the age of five years) as a pledge for accomplishing your will in this behalf and for the performance of my promise past unto your greatness. I would not omit myself in person to come and visit your Highness, but that I fear our wars here would grow weak in respect of my absence, for which cause myself and the rest of our men of worth have sent in haste with intelligence unto your Greatness, our loving friend Dermot O'Drischall, in respect of our confidence in him, our knowledge of him, and the continual endeavours we see in him towards this Catholic War, as from us all; and as we could not conveniently write all that that we wish unto you, we humbly beseech that he may be heard as from us all as if ourselves were present, and to hasten helping news that shall rejoice us and our people, and afterwards to speed your gracious help unto us, for the sooner the better, whilst our enemies are not in readiness; and until the coming of news from your Grace unto us, I will have in readiness where the service shall require the number of one thousand men; and I will upon my knees pray the merciful God to give unto your Grace long life with health of body and soul and all happiness, and so do commit you to the safeguard of the Omnipotent. Dunboy or Bearehaven, the twentieth day of February, 1602.

“DONNEL O'SULEVAN BEARE.”

On the same day Donnel (or Donal) wrote as follows to Don Pedro Zubiar :—

“MY HONOURABLE GOOD FRIEND,

“Your kind letter I have of late received, and for your careful furtherance, I cannot but rest beholden and thankful as before. Our state since your departure, notwithstanding many crosses, was reasonable well; partly because of the weakness of the English forces until a brute (bruit?) (*d*) came unto us credibly that Don Juan de Aguila, did not only agree and compound to yield the town of Kinsale, but also the other Castles and Havens delivered voluntarily, by the owners, unto you and the Veador to the King his use, during the occasion of service, which, notwithstanding (being delivered to the enemies' hands would mightily discourage and weaken all the King's friends in Ireland, namely myself, who by keeping my possessions belonging to my Castle and Haven at Bearehaven and able (God be thanked) and ready at all times to find out for his Majesty's service, upon warning, and necessity one thousand men besides, the Ward of my own Castle, where losing the same so unexpectedly and surrendered to the hands of most heretical enemies, I am not only disappointed of all power, but also driven to run to the mountains, there to live like wolves, for the safety of my life, and to leave to their merciless discretion all the poor men, women, and children within the length of twenty leagues containing of my ancient inheritance under my jurisdiction. I pray you as you have begun, and in his Majesty's name past your promise unto me, to be a mean unto his Majesty, that such shameful composition, void of lawful ground, may not be an overthrow and disgrace the King's service, and a perpetual destruction to my posterity for ever, whose ancestors maintained the credit and calling of great gentlemen these two thousand six hundred years since their first coming out of Spain. I have made offer to the Veador to maintain all the Spaniards that were at

(*d*) From the obvious mis-spelling as above of “bruit” as “brute,” Mr. Gibson curiously makes the assertion that O'Sullivan Beare applied the term brute to Don Juan himself, although in his reproduction of the above letter in his “History of Cork” he correctly renders it bruit.

Castlehaven, Baltimore, and here, with beef, fish, corn and salt, till his Majesty's pleasure were known, and to find upon my own charges one thousand men to defend them. I would personally have repaired thither to make relation hereof to the King, his Majesty, but that I do fear the wars might have the worse expedition here in my absence; although you might think I would for a while use some resistance against the Englishmen with my people and the Fastness of my country, yet I know you will pity old Sir Finnin forced by the composition to yield his body to the merciless butchery of our Heretical enemies, which leaving partly to be prevented by your good means to the King his Most Catholic Majesty, I take leave, committing you to God.

“Bearehaven the twentieth of February 1602.

“DONNELL O'SULLIVAN BEARE.”

Eight days later O'Sullivan Beare addressed the following letter to the Earl of Caracena, Governor and Captain-General for His Majesty in the Kingdom of Galicia, calling attention to his having resumed possession of Dunboy:—

“My duty remembered: It may please your Lordship to understand, that according to my former letters it hath manifestly appeared here, the resolution of Don Juan de Aguila to have been (by his composition with the English) to yield unto the enemy's hands all the Forts and Havens voluntarily delivered by the Lords and Gentlemen of this Land for his Majesty's service, which will be to the dishonour of the King, the prevention of his most Godly attempt, and the utter ruin and destruction of thousands of this country's gentlemen and Catholics who without compulsion entered into this Action; all of which having considered I have of mere affection to my religion, his Highness's service, and love to my people and Country, so endeavoured the recovery of my castle as I did draw into the same some hundred of my followers whom although the Spaniards have attempted to resist and killed three of my best gentlemen yet durst none of my people kill any of them, but without harm forced them out of my said Castle, saving their Captain with five or six unto whom I have allowed certain rooms

in my house, to look to the King's munitions and artillery, which Castle and Haven I do detain and will evermore, for his Majesty's service, to defend until his Highness's pleasure and your Lordship's resolution unto me shall be further known : And for manifestation of my loyalty and faithfulness, to his Majesty, I have sent my Son and Heir thither, whom I hope is present before your Lordship, and have cessed all the Captain's company upon my own people and charges, humbly beseeching it may please your Honour, to be a mean unto his Most Catholic Majesty, that he may vouchsafe speedily to relieve this place, where many of his Royal ships in time of service may be kept in safety : Or otherwise to send some small ship towards the coast for to receive me and the rest of my family and children, for to be carried in to Spain, for the saving of our lives out of the hands of these merciless Heretical enemies, making choice rather to forsake my ancient Inheritance, Friends, Followers, and Goods, than any way trust to their most graceless Pardon or Promise. Thus much I hope your godly charitable Nature will draw you to do, for such a one, as I am, who hazarded Life, Lands, Goods and Followers for the Catholic Faith and the King's Majesty's service : All which leaving to your Honourable Discretion, through whose virtuous means I chiefly hope to receive comfort, I humbly take leave.

“ From Bearehaven Castle the last day of February, 1602.

DONNELL O'SULLIVAN BEARE.”

The “*Pacata Hibernia*” throws some further light on O'Sullivan Beare's recovery of his Castle at Dunboy, from whose own account of his proceedings it does not materially differ :—

“ Considering that if Dunboy should pass into the possession of the English “he was like to be banished his country, not having any hope of favour from her Majesty, unto whose crown and dignity he had manifested himself to be a malicious traitor, he resolved to set up his rest in regaining it out of the Spaniards' hands, and afterwards to defend it against her Majesty's forces as best he might : For accomplishing whereof, they watched a fit opportunity, and surprised it in this sort :—

“In the dead of the night, when the Spaniards were soundly sleeping, and the key of the Castle in the Captain’s custody, O’Sullivan caused his (amongst the which were some masons) to break a whole in the wall, wherein four score of his men entered, for by appointment he had drawn that night close to the Castle. Archer the Jesuit with another priest, Thomas Fitzmaurice, the lord of Lixnaw, Donal MacCarthy, Captain Richard Tirrell, and Captain William Burke with a thousand men : When day appeared Archer prayed Francesco de Saavedra the Spaniard Captain, to go with him into O’Sulevan’s chamber, with whom he (O’Sulevan) made relation that his men were entered the Castle, that he meant no personal hurt, either to him or to any of his, and that he would keep the same for the King of Spain’s use, and also that he had one thousand foot within arquebuse shot of the Castle, the Captain, seeing himself surprised, made no resistance and willed his men to do the like : But the Spaniards in fury, discharged a few musket shot among the Irish, and slew three of them and hurt one : but by the mediation of O’Sullivan and Saavedra, all was pacified.—O’Sullivan was very careful that no hurt might be done to the Spaniards; afterwards O’Sullivan disarmed them all, kept the Captain and a few of the better sort with three or four prisoners in the nature of prisoners, and the rest he sent to Baltimore to be embarked to Spain. He also seized upon all the Spanish ordnance, munitions, and victuals which was their store. The Captain not long after was set at liberty and with the other soldiers detained returned to Spain : but the cannoneers O’Sullivan reserved.” Don Juan d’Aguila who was still in Cork, on hearing of the surprise of Dunboy, took it as a great affront and offered to go and retake it in order to place it as agreed on (e) in the Queen’s hands. But Mountjoy and Carew “who were desirous to see his heels towards Ireland,” requested him not to trouble himself, that it was no fault of his that the Castle had been surprised, and that when he was gone they would take steps for reducing it. This they speedily set about doing.”

(e) Captain George Howard with a “hoy” or vessel of 120 tons and two companies of soldiers had been sent to Dunboy to take it over from the Spaniards, but through foul and rough weather was unable to get there.

About the beginning of that same month of February 1602, Philip O'Sullivan Beare with several other noble youths had sailed from Castlehaven for Spain, along with his second cousin the son and heir of Dónal O'Sullivan Beare,—who had sent him out as a pledge of his sincerity and loyalty to King Philip. (f)

And now was near at hand the famous siege of Dunboy, to be followed by that memorable retreat of the O'Sullivan Beare not long after which the surviving members of the family followed young Philip and his cousin to Spain.

On the ninth of March the President directed O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, in whose opinion O'Sullivan Beare was "the arrantest and maliciousest traitor that ever Ireland bred," to march with his men 1200 foot and 50 horse into Carbery and thence to Beare, there to view in what manner the Castle of Dunboy was fortified, of the incredible strength whereof much was noised. Amongst other instructions O'Brien received, he was to leave no means unessayed to get O'Sullivan and Tyrrell alive or dead : and to give all the comfort he could to Owen O'Sullivan, son of the Owen who was ousted from Dunboy by Donal, by decision of the English and Irish Council. Owen still laid claim to it, hence this comforting message, dictated evidently by the desire to make him instrumental in the destruction of his hated cousin Donal,—it being as Stafford, the author of the *Pacata*, says, as quoted by Gibson, "thought no ill policy to make the Irish draw blood upon another, whereby their private quarrels might advance the public good."

Thomond did his best to follow out his instructions, but was not able to take a view of Dunboy Castle, for he was stopped at Cheim an Ghabair (the Goat's Pass), now Keamagower, otherwise

(f) In the list of names of the Irish who had shipped themselves for Spain out of Munster since December 1601, we read in the "*Pacata Hibernia*" under the heading :—"In a Pinnacle of Advice that brought the King's letters which were intercepted by the President in February 1601, O'Sullivan Beare's sonne and with him one Trant of Dingle, and Donnel sonne to Sir Francis O'Drischall." In his "*Bog of Stars*," New Irish Library, Mr. Standish O'Grady reads the next item "From Ardea on a Patache the 7th of June 1602; as relating to Philip's departure, whereas Donell O'Sullivan Beare's letter given above shows that his son and Philip's departure had taken place some months prior to June.

Cromwell's Bridge, in the Mountains of Beare, by Tyrrell, who with O'Sullivan Beare kept the field, leaving the care of Dunboy Castle to his Constable, Richard MacGeoghegan. Tyrrell had taken up so strong a position that Thomond had to turn back, and leaving part of his army on Whiddy Island in Bantry Bay, returned with the rest to Cork, in order to inform the President how matters stood. Though feeble and weak in health, the Lord President resolved to take the field in person; and leaving Cork on the 20th of April, 1602, proceeded thence by way of Timoleague, Rosscarbery, Leap, Castlehaven and Baltimore, arriving on the 30th at Carew Castle, two miles from Bantry Abbey, where they halted, as well to give annoyance to the Rebels as to await the coming of the shipping with provisions and war material. Here they were joined by Captain Thorne and the garrison left by Thomond at Whiddy Island.

From the camp near Bantry, the "Pacata" states, the Lord President addressed a letter in Spanish, dated May 7th, to the Spanish cannoneers in Dunboy Castle, inviting them to come to him when he had got there, and promising furthermore to liberally recompense them if when leaving it they clogged the ordnance or maimed their carriages, so that they might prove useless when needed. This letter was delivered to them by means of Owen O'Sullivan, but it produced no effect. On the 11th the shipping arrived from Cork with victuals and munitions "breeding great gladness to the army," then in so great want that in two days more it would have been forced to return to Baltimore.

Acting on advice from Owen O'Sullivan and others, it was now resolved by general consent to transport the army by water to the great Island Beare, and thence pass to the mainland. Owing to unavoidable delay, Beare Island was not reached till the first of June, where on the following day the President arrived. On the 5th of June, Richard MacGeoghegan the Constable of Dunboy, came to Beare and had an interview with the Earl of Thomond; but "all the eloquence and artifice which the Earl could use availed nothing to persuade MacGeoghegan upon promise of reward to render the Castle to the Queen. The Earl broke off the

“Vainglorious,” speech MacGeoghegan made in return, telling him that ere many days he would repent not following his counsel.

On that very day a Spanish patache sailed up Kenmare River to Ardea Castle, where O’Sullivan Beare kept war stores, bringing over Owen MacEgan, Bishop of Ross, and other Irish passengers, wine, munitions of war and £12,000 in Spanish gold, of which O’Sullivan Beare got £1,500 and Captain Terrell and his bannoghts also no doubt a portion. MacEgan then Bishop elect of Ross, was the bearer of this money, and likewise an encouraging letter to the Constable of Dunboy, promising help in men as well, from Spain.

On the 7th of June, 1602, the Lord President drew his forces from Beare to the mainland within a mile of Dunboy, (near where Castletown Bearehaven now stands), between which and the camp ran an arm of the sea or haven. Stealing out from the camp President Carew, taking with him Sir C. Wilmot and 100 foot, marched direct to the Castle to view it and the adjoining grounds, and succeeding in finding a fair place to encamp on within twelve score yards of the Castle, yet out of sight of it, and also a fair green plot of ground like unto a natural platform just large enough to plant the artillery on.

On the 8th two falcons (7 feet cannon) were planted on a point of land north of the Castle and the soldiers brought in the rafters of an old church to make “joyces” for the platform to plant the ordnance on. On the 9th Captain Thorne, sent by water to Spanish Bay near Dunboy, found the ground rocky and fit to plant the ordnance there. On the 10th Captain Slingsby with the Hoy, boats and cannon got safely past the point underneath the Castle, and on the same day the besieging party landed two culverings and demy cannons and encamped within musket shot, but not in sight of Dunboy. On the 11th they entrenched their camp, mounted their ordnance and drew them all into the market place. From this until the 17th when the siege really began, the time was spent in constructing gabions, trenches and platforms, and planting the cannon, some of which were within 140 yards of the Castle.

Dunboy Castle, of which an illustration is given in “Pacata Hibernia,” is said to have been of great height, with a turret on the

south-west, resting on a strongly arched floor. Mounted upon this turret was an iron falcon. The outward wall or barbican of Dunboy was 16 feet high and 4 feet thick. It was faced with sods, intermingled with wood and faggots and was defended by turrets and curtains. (g)

On the 12th of June 1602, at five o'clock in the morning the English battery, consisting of one demi-cannon, two whole culverings and the demi-culvering began to play; and continued without intermission until nine o'clock, when the south-west turret was beaten down, and the iron falcon in it, placed on top of the vault also tumbled down. With the fall of the tower many of those inside were buried. That being 'ruinated,' the ordnance now played on the west front of the Castle, which by one in the afternoon (two hours later) was also forced down. "Upon the fall thereof the enemy sent out a message offering to surrender the place if they might have their lives and depart with their arms, as a pledge given for the assurance thereof. Nevertheless they continued shooting all the while the messenger was coming between them and us, whose message being delivered, the Lord President turned him over to the Marshal, by whose direction he was executed: And the Breach being in our apparence assaultable the Lord President gave command to have it entered." The first to enter was Lieutenant Kirton, who although shot in the right arm, kept the place till another lieutenant came up. These were followed by others who planted their ensigns upon a turret of the barbican. Forcing those of O'Sullivan's men whom they found to

(g) In his stirring poem "Dunboy" Mr. T. D. Sullivan describes the Castle thus:—

"A firm built pile of simple shape
 One plain square hall and slender tower,
 Dunboy stood on the rocky Cape,
 The central sign of Beara's power.
 No threatening works its base enwound,
 No cunning fences flanked the way;
 Its outworks were the hills around,
 Its ditch a blue slip of the bay,
 Stretching along for many a mile,
 Shut in by one long mountain isle."

retreat into an adjoining turret on the south side, which was vampiered with earth 16 feet high, the besieging party possessed themselves of the barbican barricaded with barrels of earth, unto which was added a large spur on the south west part of the Castle of the height of 16 feet. Their gunner being slain at his piece, the defenders were forced to retreat further under safety of the east part of the Castle which was still standing. The passage that now divided them from the invaders on the curtain of the barbican was only six or eight feet broad, but this they defended so well, the "Pacata" states, that the besieging party could neither annoy them nor go between the two turrets aforesaid.

That the friends of the now closely besieged garrison of Dunboy were not indifferent to their fate may be judged by the following letter reproduced from the "Pacata"; the first part of which it states was written by James Archer, Jesuit, to Dominick Collins, Jesuit, at Dunboy.

"Your letters of Thursday last came to our hand, but our disagreeing in some matters makes to be slack in performing your desire. Yet you must take better order for the premises. In the meanwhile however becomes of our delays or insufficiencies be ye of heroical minds, for of such consequence is the keeping of the Castle that everyone of these shall surpass in deserts any of us here and for noble valiant soldiers shall pass immortal throughout all ages to come. For the better encouraging let these words be read in their hearing. Out of Spain we are in a vehement expectation and for powder, lead, and money furnished. Now to come to more particular matters, understand that there are but two ways to attempt you, that is scaling with ladders or battery. For scaling I doubt not but your own wits need no direction; and for battery you may make up the head at night. The higher you raise your works every way the better; but let it be thick and substantial. Raise it a greater height that work Captain Tyrrell made betwixt the house and the cornell; make plain the broken house on the south side. For firework direction do this: prime the holes and stop in the balls with powder mixt through the material well, and some powder uppermost that shall take fire. The rest

you know as you heard me declare there. By all means possible send me one ball and the rest of the saltpetre. This in haste till better leisure. Camp this Thursday.

Your loving cousin,

JAMES ARCHER.

To Father Dominick Collins, Jesuit, Dunboy.

From John Anias to Dominick Collins, Jesuit at Dunboy.

“Be careful of your fortifying continually, with a most special care raise in height the west side of your “port,” fill your chambers in the south and north side with hides and earth: what battery is made suddenly repair it like valiant soldiers, make plain on the south side the remnant of the broken house; make ways of the hall to scour and cast stones upon the port; and if the enemy would attempt the like dig deep that place we first began and a trench above to defend the same as I have said unto you. Although we expect speedy relief out of Spain, yet be you wise to preserve the store of victuals discreetly. Devise yourselves all the invention possible to hold out this siege, which is the greatest honour in this Kingdom. With the next I shall prepare shots for you. Send me the cord or long line and the rest of the saltpetre, with all iron barriers, seven pieces in all. Salute in my name Richard MacGeoghegan praying God to have of his Special Grace that care of your success.

From the camp where he was a prisoner the of June, 1602.

Your loving cousin,

JOHN ANIAS.

To Father Dominick, Berehaven these.

How fruitless eventually these letters proved will now be seen. The narrowness of the passage above mentioned deprived both parties from using shot and for the space of an hour and a half it was disputed with great obstinacy on either side. Still making good defence the besieged beat shot and stones on the besiegers from the stairs and likewise that part of the Castle which stood from the top of the vault—and from under the vault, both with pieces and throwing down stones, iron bullets and other annoyances,

“wherewith many of our men were slain and wounded, and we oppressing them in all those places by all means we might, and still attempting to get up to the top of the vault by the ruins of the breach which was maintained by them, as we were divers times forced down again.”

At length it was discovered by Captain Slingsby (who had managed to get to the top of the vault of the south-west lower tower), that its ruins had made a way or passage leading to a spike or window commanding that part of the barbican, still possessed and defended by the Irish, he and his now made a descent on them—being now in a desperate plight—some forty of them made a sally out of the Castle on the sea side. Pursued from the inside of the Castle and intercepted by a small party planted upon the outside they were all captured and executed, excepting eight who leaped into the sea, but only to find boats awaiting expressly, whose crews “had the killing of them all.” Three others who leaped from the vault were also killed by the English soldiers.

After this, the courage of the besieged decreasing with their numbers, and not able nor daring to make such a defence as before, the besiegers made a fresh assault upon the top of the vault, which, after some hours’ assault and defence, they gained, and all the Castle upwards, planting their colours on its topmost height. The remaining number of the defenders of Dunboy being now only three score and seventeen men, were constrained to retire into the cellars, which they defended, there being no descent to them but by a winding stony stairs.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]



Notes and Queries.

Archæological and Literary Miscellany.—Amongst the new books, &c., published since our last number, four relate to South-east Ireland, viz.: "The History of Tintern Abbey, Rosegarland and Clonmines," edited by Philip Herbert Hore, (London: Elliot Stock) which forms the second instalment of "The History of the County of Wexford," by Mr. Hore; "Beauty Spots in the South-East of Ireland, and How to See Them," by C. P. Redmond, Waterford; "Guide to Tramore," by Mr. Naughten; and "Some Notable Conversions in the County Wexford," by Rev. F. J. Kirk, (London: Burns & Oates). In "Mary Baptist Russell" we have a sketch of the life of the pioneer Sister of Mercy in California, written by her brother, the well-known Rev. M. Russell, S.J., (Dublin: Gill). "The Irish College, Paris, 1578-1901," (London: Art and Book Co.) is an account, by its present Rector, the Rev. P. Boyle, of the chequered history of an Institution which for over three centuries has provided Ireland with Prelates and Priests. Another new book to be chronicled here is "Five Years in Ireland, 1895-1900," by M. McCarthy, (London: Simpkin). Of the past quarter's Archæological Journals, that of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland, supplies several very interesting papers, notably, those on the "Stone Crosses of Ui Fearmaic, Clare," by Dr. Macnamara; "The Battle of the Yellow Ford," by Rev. W. T. Latimer; "The Bell of Kilmainham," by the President, Dr. E. P. Wright; and "Inis Clothran, Lough Ree," by Mr. F. J. Bigger. In the *Ulster Journal* the contributions by the Rev. C. Porter, on "Ballygally Castle," by the Rev. J. O'Laverty, on the "Death of Malachy, Bishop of Down"; and "Notes on the Old Irish Sweathouses at Assaroe" by Mr. Lockwood, will probably find most readers; whilst Mr. Day has a paper on "Ulster Volunteer Medals," and Mr. Dix on "Ulster Bibliography," subjects on which

these last two writers are our chief authorities. The last *Cork Journal* presents a varied table of contents in "Barrymore" (continued); "Town Life in Medieval Ireland" by Professor Butler; "The Irish Judiciary, 1660-1685," by Mr. Ball; "The Wreck of the Boadicea, Transport" by Mr. Day; "Three Non-Resident Cork Antiquaries," one only of whom, Crofton Croker, is dealt with so far, and Mr. Buckley's, as usual, serviceable Quarterly Notes. The *Journal* of the Limerick Field Club, the fifth one issued by that Club, is an almost exclusively archæological number, whose most attractive article is Mr. P. J. Lynch's able and instructive paper on "Early Christian Architecture in Ireland," one well worthy of Mr. Lynch's reputation as one of the foremost archæologists in the South of Ireland. Mr. Lynch's Literary Notes are interesting and informing. Brimful of information is the paper on "The Townland Names of Clare," by Mr. Frost, who is the author of a valuable history of that county. "Kitchen-Middens in the Co. Clare," by Miss Knowles; and "The Cromwellian Settlement of Limerick," by Mr. J. G. Barry, are also notable papers, whilst there are some brief ones on "Limerick Flora," Limerick Printing, &c. Part II., Vol. IV. of the *Journal* of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland for 1900 is on a par with its predecessors, and we cannot speak too highly of the Editors in their devotion to their work, although the support and recognition extended to them are not at all what they are so justly entitled to. In the present Part notices are given of graves at Carrickbeg, Churchtown, Kilmeadon, Dungarvan, Lismore, Stradbally, (by Mr. O'Flynn, of Worcester, U.S.A.,) in the Co. Waterford; and in St. Mary's, New Ross, in the Co. Wexford. In addition to the severe loss Irish Archæology has sustained in the deaths of Miss Stokes and Mr. W. F. Wakeman, we have now to record the decease of the Rev. Father O'Donoghue, Ardfert, author of "Brendanania," and many able archæological articles, and of Mr. Edward Evans, of Dublin, who was a most erudite and industrious contributor to the *Irish Builder*, chiefly on Dublin local history and topography, of which he possessed an unrivalled knowledge.

JAMES COLEMAN.

A correspondent has asked me to give the meaning of the words: Rath, Dun and Lis. I cannot do better than give the definitions of O'Curry (Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, Vol. III, p. 3) for these words, together with the additional ones of Caiseal and Cathair. Speaking generally, these five words were the common names for fortified places of residence as well as for the fortifications themselves among the Gaedhil.

The Rath was a simple wall or enclosure of raised earth enclosing a space of more or less extent, in which stood the residence of the chief, and sometimes the dwellings of one or more of the officers or chief men of the tribe or court. Sometimes also the Rath consisted of two or three concentric walls or circumvallations, but it does not appear that the erection so called was ever intended to be surrounded by water.

The Dun was of the same form as the Rath, but consisting of at least two concentric circular mounds or walls with a deep trench full of water between them. These were often encircled by a third, or even by a greater number of walls at increasing distances.

The Lis, as far as I have been able to discover, was precisely the same as the Rath, the name, however, was applied generally to some sort of fortification, but more particularly those formed of earth. That this was so we have a curious confirmation in the life of Saint Mochuda, or Carthach. The life states that when St. Mochuda, on being driven out of Rathin, (King's County) came to the place now called Lismore, he commenced, with the consent of the king of "the Deisé," to raise a circular enclosure of earth. A religious woman who occupied a small cell in the neighbourhood perceiving the crowd of monks at work came up and asked what they were doing. "We are building a small *Lis* here," said St. Mochuda. "A small *Lis*! (*Lis beg*)" said the woman: "this is not a small *Lis*, but a great *Lis* (*Lis mór*)"; and so we are told that church ever since continued to be called by that name. It matters little to the present purpose whether this legend is strictly true or not, but it is quite sufficient to show what the ancient Gaedhils understood the word *Lis* to mean.

So much for the Rath, Dun and Lis, all of which were generally built of earth. The *Caiseal* and the *Cathair* are to be distinguished from these especially, because they were generally, if not invariably, built of stone.

The *Caiseal* was nothing more than a stone Rath or enclosure, within which the dwelling house, and in after time, churches stood; and the *Caithar* in like manner was nothing more than a stone Dun, (with loftier and stronger walls) with this exception that the *Cathair* was not necessarily surrounded with water, as far as I know.

The words *Caiseal* and *Cathair* are cognate with the British "Caer," the Latin "Castrum," and the English "Castle."

While the various words have their own strict meaning there can be no doubt, on the other hand, but that our ancient writers often used the terms Dun, Rath, Lis, *Cathair* indifferently, to designate a stronghold or well fortified place.

HON. EDITOR.

Reviews.—"Beauty-Spots in the South East of Ireland, and How to See them by Car or Cycle."—By C. P. REDMOND.

This is not a very ambitious or elaborate volume, but it is a useful and beautiful one, and we all subscribe to the old Horatian adage: *Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*.

Though not primarily archæological or historical, Mr. Redmond's little book contains a good deal of archæological and historical information, and as far as I could judge, from a cursory examination, it may be relied upon as accurate. I am the more assured of its accuracy when I read in the Preface that the "whole-hearted aid" of Mr. Grattan Flood was given to Mr. Redmond in the historical portion of the work. Exception might, however, be justly taken to the absolute manner in which the derivations of both the present name of "Waterford" and its ancient Irish one, "Port Lairge," are laid down. Most of us may accept without hesitation the authority of John Fleming, that "Lairge" means "of the river-fork," as against O'Donovan's view that it is the name of a Danish chief; but what is the meaning of "Port"? Mr. Redmond translates it "Port," but Mr. Fleming translates it "port," or "bank," and many incline to the view that "Port Lairge" means

not the "port of the river-fork," but the "bank (or embankment) of the river fork." And is it quite certain that Waterford is derived from "Vader-Fiord," which Mr. Redmond translates "The Ford of the Father"?

But Mr. Redmond's little book is more for the tourist, cyclist and general reader than for the historian or archæologist; and assuredly it will be found to answer admirably its purpose, of marking out objects of interest, tracing out the best routes, giving detailed information respecting hotels, cars and railways, and in a word, serving as a guide book of the most reliable type to the beautiful district embraced under the name "South-East of Ireland." With this excellent guide book in his hand the tourist can make his way with little danger of wandering from the right way, can learn where are the chief objects of interest and the most picturesque bits of scenery; and can estimate beforehand very accurately what the cost of an excursion is going to be.

HON. EDITOR.

Mocollop Castle, Co. Waterford.—The picturesque Castle of Mocollop (*Magh-colp*) on the Blackwater, near Lismore, was built by James FitzGerald, 7th Earl of Desmond, and his son Thomas FitzJames, 8th Earl, between the years 1459-1464. Mocollop belonged to Philip White in 1280, whose descendant is Lieut.-Col. J. Grove White, J.P., of Kilbyrne, Doneraile. It was subsequently acquired by the Barrys, and in 1458 Lord Barry granted it to Thomas Fitz James as above. In a future issue I shall deal with Mocollop Castle in a special article.

WM. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Ballycarogue Castle, Co. Waterford.—In reply to the Hon. Sec. of the *Cork Historical and Archæological Society* it may interest him to know that, under Queen's Letter of May 12, 1587, Sir Nicholas Walshe got a grant of the Castle of Ballykeerogue, Co. Waterford. Sir Nicholas died in 1615. There was no Sir "James" Walsh at that time.

WM. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.



JOURNAL OF THE .
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SOUTH EAST OF . .
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July to September, 1901.

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- 1.—That the Society be called "THE WATERFORD AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY."
- 2.—That the purpose of the Society be the promotion of the study of matters having an antiquarian interest relating to Waterford and the South Eastern Counties.
- 3.—That Ladies shall be eligible for membership.
- 4.—That the Annual Subscription shall be Ten Shillings, payable on the first of January in each year, and that a payment of £5 shall constitute a Life Member.
- 5.—That the Society be managed by a President, four Vice-Presidents, and one Vice-President from each County taking part in the proceedings of the Society, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor, and a Committee of nine Members, any three of whom shall form a quorum.
- 6.—That an Annual General Meeting, for the purpose of electing the Officers and Committee, shall be held before the end of February in each year, and that such election shall be by ballot.
- 7.—That at the Annual General Meeting in each year the Committee shall submit a brief report and statement of the Treasurer's Accounts.
- 8.—That a Journal be published containing accounts of the proceedings, and columns for local Notes and Queries.
- 9.—That all papers, &c., intended for publication in the Journal shall be subject to the approval of the Committee.
- 10.—That the date of the Society's meetings, which may be convened for the reading and discussion of papers and the exhibition of objects of antiquarian interest, shall be fixed by the Committee, due notice being given to each member.
- 11.—That all matters touching on existing religious and political differences shall be rigorously excluded from the discussions at the meetings and from the columns of the Journal.
- 12.—That each Member shall be at liberty to introduce two visitors at the meetings of the Society.
- 13.—That the foregoing Rules can be altered only at the Annual General Meeting, or at a Special General Meeting convened for that purpose.



Don Philip O'Sullivan;
The Siege of Dunboy and the Retreat
and
Assassination of the O'Sullivan Beare.



UPON promise of their lives they (the defenders of Dunboy) offered to come forth ; but not to stand to mercy. Dominick Collins, of Youghal, whom the writer in the " Pacata " (whose account of the siege is here given in a somewhat condensed form) calls a " Friar," now surrendered himself ; and the sun being by this time set and strong guards placed over those of the defenders remaining in the cellar, the regiments withdrew to the camp.

Next morning, June 18th, three and twenty more surrendered ; and after them the surviving cannoneers (two Spaniards and an Italian) yielded themselves up, the rest being slain.

Then Mac Geoghegan, chief commander of the place, being mortally wounded with divers shots in his body, the rest made

choice of Thomas Taylor, an Englishman's son, (the dearest and onwardest man with Terrell and married to his niece) to be their chief, who, having nine barrels of powder, drew himself and it into the vault and there sat down by it, with a lighted match in his hand, vowing and protesting to set it on fire and blow up the Castle, himself and all the rest, except they might have promise of life, which being by the Lord President refused, (for the safety of our men) his Lordship gave direction for a new battery upon the vault, intending to bury them in the ruins thereof, and after a few times discharged and the bullets entering among them in the cellar, the rest that were with Taylor, partly by intercession, but chiefly by compulsion, (threatening to deliver him up if he were obstinate) about 10 o'clock on the morning of the same day, constrained him to render simply, who with eight and forty more being ready to come forth, Sir George Thornton, Captain Power and others entering the vault to receive them, Captain Power found the said Richard Mac Geoghegan lying there mortally wounded (as before) and perceiving Taylor and the rest ready to render themselves, raised himself from the ground, snatching a light (ed) candle and staggering therewith to a barrel of powder (which for this purpose was unheaded) offering to cast it into the same, Captain Power took him and held him in his arms, with intent to make him prisoner, until he was by our men (who perceived his intent) instantly killed, and then Taylor and the rest were brought prisoners to the camp.

That same day fifty-eight were executed in the market place; but the Friar, (Collins) Taylor, and one Tirlough Rory Mac Swiney and twelve men of Terrell's chief men the Lord President reserved alive, "to try whether he could draw them to do some more acceptable service than their lives were worth." (h)

(h) Taylor and Collins, the "Pacata" further states, were carried prisoners to Cork, where the former was shortly afterwards hanged in chains. Brother Collins was hanged in Youghal, in which town he was born. His story is told at length in the Rev. E. Hogan's "Irish Worthies of the Seventeenth Century," (1894.) In Father Hogan's volume it is stated that Collins left the Castle to settle the terms of its surrender to the besiegers; but that, contrary to the law of nations and in violation of their oath, they put him in chains.

The whole number of the ward (or garrison) of Dunboy consisted of 143 selected fighting men, being the best choice of all the forces—of the which—the “*Pacata Hibernia*” informs us:—“No one man escaped but were either slain, executed, or buried in the ruins; *and so obstinate a defence,*” its writer adds, “*had not been seen within this Kingdom.*” Of the besiegers’ forces, amounting probably to three or four thousand men, the number of killed and wounded appears not to have exceeded a hundred in all. The cannon found in Dunboy were mostly so injured as to be no longer of any service, and whatever wine, vinegar, oil, corn, beef and hides were left the English soldiers made pillage of.

In “O’Connor’s Military Memoirs of the Irish Nation” occurs an interesting reference to this siege: “The defence of Dunboy, although a place of no greater strength than the ordinary homes of the nobility, consisting of a single square keep, with some inconsiderable out-works, was so bravely maintained against a force so formidable for numbers, means and warlike skill that it justly claims a place in any record of military virtue respecting these times. Garrisoned by 120 men Dunboy, standing on the shore of Berehaven, near the mouth of Bantry Bay, occupied Sir George Carew and a force of 4,000 men, with a train of artillery, and abundant supplies both by sea and land *fifteen* days before it yielded. The difficulties of the siege, owing to the extreme roughness of the ground, were unusually great, the cannon having to be carried several miles over almost impracticable cliffs and ravines, and when got into position and a breach at length effected, the resistance of the garrison was so desperate that the assailants were twice driven to their trenches; when the main hall of the Castle of the Tower was carried, the remnant of the garrison retired to the dungeon beneath, where, for the space of a day, they maintained themselves, firing up through the aperture of the stairs with such vigour that they at length succeeded in recovering possession of the hall, which was now reduced to a heap of ruins. Here terms were proposed to them and accepted, but Mac Geoghegan, on the final entrance of the victors, though mortally

wounded, would have treacherously blown up the powder magazine, and the capitulants were put to the sword."

After Dunboy was captured it became a question what was to be done with this no longer formidable stronghold of the O'Sullivan Beare. The President, having consulted with the chiefs of the army as to what course was best to be taken with the half-ruined Castle, all were of opinion that a garrison left there could not defend themselves or give any annoyance to the Spaniards should they return and venture to land there: being so remote from all seconds and succours, they would be unavoidably left to ruin, whilst whatever service they might do would not equal the cost of maintaining them. It was therefore resolved to apply the powder found in the Castle to blow up the same; and accordingly on the 22nd of June, four days after its fall, the Castle of Dunboy was blown up with powder, and the outworks and fortifications utterly destroyed. (i)

The present-day visitor to the remains of old Dunboy Castle (which lie a little more than a mile to the south-west of Castletown Berehaven, at a short distance in a straight line seaward from the modern Castle of Dunboy, a very handsome castellated mansion,

(i) That same day the twelve of Terrell's men abovementioned were executed; and Lieutenant Downings with his men and boats returned from the Dorses, *i.e.*, Dursey Island. This small island (in which Philip O'Sullivan Beare was born) near into the mouth of the Haven of Beare, is (we read in "Pacata Hibernia") very strongly seated by nature, by reason of the difficulty of landing, which is conveniently in the narrow entrance which may be defended with a few hands, and besides, it is impossible for any boat to arrive at this entrance, except it be in a dead calm, the least gale of wind raising such billows as to endanger any boat as shall come near the shore. This impregnable place was selected for their extreme refuge if Dunboy should be won by the English. Lieutenant Downings did not take long, however, to capture it. Besides powder, lead and shot, wheat, oil and vinegar, five hundred milch cows were also taken: "of the rebels four were killed, two hurt, who, with all the rest, were brought into the camp, and afterwards executed. The fort, for that it was answered to be an unnecessary charge and unmeet to be held, the Lord President caused Lieutenant Downings to ruin and lay even with the ground." The peasantry, we are told, point out where Downings' landing was effected, and the cliff whence the women and children were flung into the sea.

Besides this fort, an ancient monastery, long since sacked and destroyed by pirates, formerly stood on Dursey, an island to which Mr. Standish O'Grady prophesies "pilgrimages will yet be made as the birthplace of Philip O'Sullivan, the historian."

built in the Elizabethan style of architecture) will now find it as poetically, yet graphically, delineated by Mr. T. D. O'Sullivan in his "Dunboy," as follows :—

“— a wreck that crowns
A bright green bank, whose rocky base
The blue tide circles halfway round.
As if 'twould clasp in fond embrace
And sever from less honoured ground,
The glorious soil, the hallowed place.

Yet few upon that grassy heap
The marks to bid a stranger know,
A Castle's wood and stones lie deep,
And weapons rust, and heroes sleep,
Its cloak of glistening green below.

Of one square the shattered butt,
Alone arrests the gazer's eye.
The ruins of a peasant's hut
Above the earth might stand as high.

The hollow where a trench had been
Is rounded like a summer's wave ;
The ruined breastwork lifts the green
No higher than a baby's grave.

Dunboy, Dunboy, the proud, the strong,
The Saxon's hate and trouble long ;
All Ireland's hope, all Munster's boast,
The pride of Beara's iron coast.

These grass-grown heaps, this crumbling wall,
This low green ridge, can these be all
That war and time have left to tell
Where long assailed and foughten well,
Thy lofty turret crashing fell !
No more remains.”

Excepting as regards some of the dimensions which he gives, Mr. St. John Joyce's prose description of Dunboy in "Ireland's Battlefields," Dublin, was still applicable in 1894, when the present writer with a friend visited it and took the measurements here produced : "Of this once famous stronghold there now is left but two parallel walls ten feet high, seven feet thick and twenty-two feet asunder. There also remains a small portion of wall at the western end ; but of the eastern wall every trace has disappeared. Some low irregular grassy mounds, relics of the original outworks, extend round the ruins. On the north the descent to the sea is nearly perpendicular, and on the east the ground facing the open bay slopes gradually to the water's edge. The ruins are now surrounded by trees, giving the place an air of gloomy solitude ;

and many a traveller passes on his way unconscious of his proximity to a spot of such tragic celebrity in Irish history."

Mr. T. D. Sullivan's suggestion that the ruins of Dunboy Castle should be constituted one of our National Monuments is one that few persons probably would dissent from; but their isolated position in the private grounds of the owner of new Dunboy fortunately saves them from, at least, the destructive hand of man.

Though his Castle was totally destroyed Dunboy's Chieftain was, however, still at large; and now in order to preserve his life and liberty began that famous flight into Ulster, compared by the historian, Geoghegan, to the renowned "Expedition of Young Cyrus and the Ten Thousand Greeks."

Of this memorable retreat of the O'Sullivan Beare the following dispassionate account is extracted by permission from Dr. Joyce's "Short History of Ireland," Longmans, 1893:

"After the capture of Dunboy, Donal O'Sullivan, the lord of Beare and Bantry, had no home, for his other chief fortress on Dursey Island had also been taken, and the garrison and all the people of the little island, men, women and children, put to the sword."

(In "Pacata Hibernia" it is recorded that he (Sir Charles Wilmot) sent Captain Fleming with his pinnace and certain soldiers into O'Sullivan's land, Dursey Island. . . . They took from thence certain cows and sheepe which were reserved as in a sure storehouse, and put the churls to the sword that inhabited therein.)

"O'Sullivan Beare was, however, at the head of a formidable band, which he and Tyrrell held together among the glens of Cork and Kerry, still fondly hoping for help from King Philip. But towards the end of the year (1602) ill news came from Spain: O'Donnell was dead and King Philip had countermanded the intended expedition. Many of the O'Sullivan's followers now abandoned him in despair, and at last even Tyrrell and his party had to leave him. The English forces were gradually hemming him in, and towards the end of December Sir C. Wilmot encamped at Glengariff, within two miles of him. For several days there

was skirmishing between the outposts of the two armies ; but at last the English succeeded, after a bitter fight of six hours, in driving from before the Irish camp a vast number of horses, cows and sheep, their chief means of subsistence. Finding that he could no longer maintain himself and his followers where he was, O'Sullivan resolved to bid farewell to the land of his inheritance and seek refuge in Ulster.

“ On the last day of the year 1602 he set forth from Glengariff on his memorable retreat, with 400 fighting men and 600 women and children and servants. His march was one unbroken scene of conflict and hardship. They were everywhere confronted or pursued by enemies who attacked them when they dared ; and they suffered continually from fatigue, cold, and hunger. They fled in such haste that they were able to bring with them only one day's provisions, trusting to be able to obtain food as they fared along, for O'Sullivan had plenty of money, which had been sent from Spain. But they found the country-people too much terrified by Carew's threats to give them help or shelter, or sell them provisions. As they could not buy they had either to take by force or starve, which explains much of the hostility they encountered. But it must be confessed that some of the Irish chiefs attacked O'Sullivan on his way for no other motive than to gain favour with the Government. Scarce a day passed without loss, some fell behind or left the ranks, overcome with weariness, some sank and died under accumulated hardships, and others were killed in fight.

“ The first day they made their way to Ballyvourney after a journey of about 24 miles over the mountains. Here they rested for the night ; and going to the little church next morning, before resuming their march, laid the offerings on the altar of its patron, St. Gobinet, and besought her prayers for a prosperous journey. On next through Duhallow, fighting their way through a hostile band of the Mac Carthys, till they reached Liscarrol, where John Barry, of Buttevant, attacked their rear as they crossed the ford, killing four of their men, but losing more than four himself.

“Skirting the north base of the Ballyhowra mountains, by Ardskeagh, they encamped one night beside the old hill of Ardpatrick. Their next resting place was the Glen of Aherlow; where, among the vast solitudes of the Galtees, they could procure no better food than herbs and water, and their night-sentries found it hard to perform their duties, oppressed as they were with fatigue and hunger. For the first part of their journey they made tents each evening to sleep in, but this they were not able to continue, so that they had to lie under the open sky, and suffered bitterly from the extreme cold of the nights.

“Next northwards, from the Galtees across the Golden Vale, over the great plain of Tipperary, fighting their way through enemies almost every hour.

“While one detachment of the fighting men collected provisions the others remained with the main body to protect the women and children, and the whole party were preserved from utter destruction by the strict discipline maintained by the chief. His wife, who accompanied the party, carried and nursed so far through all her hardships her little boy of two years old; but now she had to part with him. She entrusted him to one of her faithful dependents, who preserved and reared him up tenderly, and afterwards sent him to his parents in Spain.

“We are not told how it fared with this lady and some others; but as they did not arrive with the rest at the end of the journey they must, like many others, have fallen behind during the terrible march, and been cared for, as they were heard of afterwards.

“The ninth day after their weary journey found them beside the Shannon, near Portland, in north Tipperary; and here they rested for two nights. But their enemies began to close in on them from the Tipperary side, and no time was to be lost, so they proceeded to cross the broad river opposite to Killaroe, or Redwood. Among them was a man, Dermot O’Hoolahan by name, skilled in making currachs, or hide-boats, and under his direction they constructed boat-frames of boughs interwoven with osier twigs in the usual way. They then killed twelve of their horses, and carefully husbanding the flesh for food, finished their currachs by

covering the skeleton boats with the skins. In these they crossed the river, though at the last moment their rearguard had a sharp conflict with the Sheriff of Tipperary, Donogh Mac Egan, who with his party came up and attacked them in spite of O'Sullivan's earnest expostulations, and attempted to throw some women and children into the river, whereon O'Sullivan turned on him and killed himself and many of his men.

"Nothing better awaited them at the other side of the Shannon. Pushing on northwards through O'Kelly's country, they had to defend themselves in skirmish after skirmish. As most of the horses had by this time broken down O'Sullivan Beare had to abandon the wounded to their certain fate; and their despairing cries rang fearfully in the ears of the flying multitude. Sometimes when they came near a village a party was despatched for provisions, who entered the houses and seized everything in the shape of food they could lay hands on, satisfying their hunger while they searched, and bringing all they could to their starving companions.

"At Aghrim they were confronted by Captain Henry Malbie and Sir Thomas Burke, of Clanricard, with a much more numerous force. Addressing his famished and desperate little band of fighting men in a few encouraging words, O'Sullivan placed them so that they were protected on all sides except the front, where their assailants had to advance on foot through a soft boggy pass. Malbie despising the fugitives, sprang forward at the head of his followers, but fell dead at the first onset. On rushed O'Sullivan, and after a determined and bitter fight they scattered their foes, and thus freed themselves from a great and pressing danger.

"Onwards (again) over Slieve Mary, near Castlekelly, and through the territory of Mac David Burke, where the people, headed by him, harassed them all day long to prevent them from obtaining provisions. Near Ballenlough, on the west of Roscommon, they concealed themselves in a thick wood, intending to pass the night there. But they got no rest, for a friendly messenger came to warn them that Mac David and his people were preparing to surround them in the morning and slay them all. So they resumed their march, toiling on wearily through the night in a

tempest of sleet, splashing their way through melting snow, and in the morning pursued by Mac David, who, however, was so cowed by their determined look that he did not dare to come to close quarters.

“Arriving at another solitary wood, they found the people friendly, and they lighted fires and refreshed themselves. They next crossed the Curlew Hills southward to Knockiran, beside where the river Boyle enters Lough Key, and here they took some rest. For days past they had endured unspeakable sufferings. Avoiding the open roads, they had to cross the country by rugged, rocky and unfrequented ways, walking all the time, for horses could not be used. The weather was inclement, snow falling heavily, so that they had sometimes to make their way through deep drifts ; and many of those who continued able to walk had to carry some of their companions, who were overcome by fatigue and sickness.

“Their hope had been all along to reach the territory of O'Ruarc, of Bryney, (*k*) and next morning when the sun rose over Knockvicar at a few miles off in the distance were the towers of O'Ruarc's residence, Lisbrin Castle. At eleven o'clock the same day they entered the hospitable mansion, where a kind welcome awaited them.

“They had set out from Glengarriff a fortnight before, one thousand in number, and that morning only thirty-five entered O'Ruarc's Castle, eighteen armed men, sixteen servants and one woman, the wife of the Chief's cousin, Dermot O'Sullivan. A few others arrived afterwards in twos and threes, all the rest had either perished or dropped behind from fatigue, sickness or wounds.”

(*k*) When they arrived at Roscommon, writes Mr. St. John Joyce in “Ireland's Battles,” where they were kindly treated by the inhabitants, a guide presented himself and offered to conduct them to O'Ruarc's Castle, about a day's march off. Struck by his kindness O'Sullivan gave him 200 pieces of gold, which he accepted with some hesitation, as he wished no reward. Having travelled with them all night, on reaching the summit of one of the Curlew mountains at sunrise, he pointed out in the distance the towers and battlements of O'Ruarc's Castle rising above the trees, and there being no further difficulty in the way he then bade them farewell.”

Amongst these poor refugees were, as already stated, Dermot O'Sullivan Beare and his wife, the parents of Philip O'Sullivan, in reference to whose share in this truly memorable retreat he thus wrote: "I am astonished how my father, who was then nearly seventy years of age, and my mother, a delicate woman, could have so bravely borne these fatigues which broke down so many men in the flower of their age."

Before they had reached O'Ruar's Castle, Rory O'Donnell had submitted and O'Neill was meditating a peace. But for the O'Sullivan Beare there was no pardon; and Don Philip was joined shortly afterwards in Spain by his whole surviving family, father, mother, brother, and two sisters, together with their great kinsman, Donal O'Sullivan Beare.

When James I. succeeded Elizabeth on the English throne Donal O'Sullivan Beare with other Irish Chiefs proceeded to England to make his submission to the new monarch; but on being unable to obtain his pardon, he sailed for Spain, where he was well received by King Philip III. who created him Knight of St. Jago, and afterwards Earl of Berehaven, and bestowed on him a pension of 300 gold pieces monthly. These honours he did not, however, enjoy very long, for a violent death unhappily overtook him on the 18th of July, 1618.

When his young cousin, Philip O'Sullivan, whom he had sent over with his son, as hostages to the King of Spain, had arrived out at Corunna, in or about February, 1602, Philip was kindly taken in hand by certain Spanish grandees, notably the Marquis of Caracena: he was provided with tutors and instructors and educated with great care. He was an apt and docile pupil and celebrated by name all these persons who were concerned in his education, in particular a fellow-countryman, Father Patrick Synnott, to whom he afterwards addressed many of his poems. Having completed his studies at Compostella, under Father Synnott, Vendana, and Marcille, he was destined to serve in the Spanish forces; but his fortunes were for a moment clouded by the duel in which he got involved at Madrid in 1618, arising out of his desire to revenge an insult offered to his great relative, the

O'Sullivan Beare—an incident which led to the latter's premature death on the day above named. How this tragic event came about we learn from Philip himself. "On the 18th of July, O'Sullivan, Prince of Beare, in whom all the hopes of the Irish were at that time placed, perished in this manner. John Bath, an Anglo-Irishman, one whom O'Sullivan Beare held in high esteem, even to the extent of taking him under his personal protection, bestowing many favours upon him and even admitting him to his own table in the circle of his most intimate friends, quite ungrateful for such high favours, carried his presumption so far that when a discussion arose touching some money advanced by O'Sullivan as a loan to Bath, dared to make unfavorable comparisons between a family, one of the most illustrious among the Irish, and the English from whom he himself was sprung. Philip, the writer of this history, a cousin of O'Sullivan's, unable to endure this insult, expostulated with Bath upon the matter. The dispute proceeded so far that they attacked each other with swords at a Royal Monastery not far from Madrid. In this contest Bath, terror-stricken, kept retreating, shouting at the same time; Philip wounded him in the face and would have slain him had not Edmund O'Moore and Gerald McMorris (sent by O'Sullivan) and two Spanish knights protected him, and Philip would have been arrested by a constable but for their interference. When many were attracted to the spot by the quarrel, among others came O'Sullivan, a rosary in his left hand. Whilst in uncertainty, fearing nothing, and looking in quite another direction, Bath approached him through the crowd, struck him through the left shoulder, and again piercing him through the throat, killed him.

Philip hid himself in the house of the French Ambassador from the Constable, who vainly sought him. Bath was cast into prison, with a relative of his, Sir Francis Bath, who happened to be present at the struggle. A relation to Philip called O'Driscoll was also imprisoned. O'Sullivan's interment on the next day was attended by a large concourse of Spanish nobles. He was fifty-seven years old at his death. He was an extremely pious and a benevolent man to the poor and needy. He was accustomed to

hear two or three Masses each day ; and to spend a considerable time in prayer to God. He was tall and well built with pleasing features.

A portrait of O'Sullivan Beare is to be seen in the National Gallery, Leinster Square, Dublin ; and in the Rev. C. P. Meeham's "Fate and Fortunes of Tyrrell and Tyrconnell," is a colored portrait of him from an original painting in the Irish College at Salamanca, which shows in one corner a coat of arms with the motto "*Gaudet Patientia in Arduis*," (Patience rejoiceth in difficulties), and a Latin inscription.

Shortly after his cousin's cruel murder, Philip O'Sullivan Beare was found at his post in the Spanish Navy, and from Cadiz he wrote in April, 1619, a notable letter to his young cousin, Dermot, then twenty-one years old, the son and heir of the murdered Donal—consoling him for the death of his father and giving him a detailed account of the action that had taken place between the Spaniards and the Turks, in which several young Irishmen including Philip's own and only brother Donnel, were killed.

Of this letter, which is not produced in the Rev. M. Kelly's edition of the "Historia," another Irish writer, O'Brennan remarks, "Rarely has a more polished one been found. It is full of wisdom, Catholic piety, Scripture knowledge, and Classical lore. In it he sought by striking examples from Greek and Roman authors, as well as from Holy Writ, to console and strengthen young Dermot on the untimely fate of his illustrious father. It is a masterpiece of composition as regards language and style, the Latin is pure, and the words breathe the most perfect resignation to the will of Providence in the heavy blow that had fallen upon Ireland."

To the fireside narratives of his exiled relatives and the many others he met who were driven to Spain from every part of Ireland, it is highly probable, writes the Rev. M. Kelly, that we owe Don Philip's taste for Irish history. The prominent place which his own family took in the Irish war, the society of persons who had been engaged in its most stirring scenes, and the

exhortations of his preceptor, Father Synnott, must all have inspired him to publish some record of the feats of his fellow-countrymen and kindred for the Catholic faith, and prove that these exiles were not unworthy pensioners of the Catholic King.

It is manifest from his letter to Father Cantwell that he had a very exalted estimate of the historian's laurels ; and it is certain that he must have collected the materials of his History at a very early age. He appears, according to a more recent writer, Mr. Standish O'Grady, to be as he grew up undetermined whether to devote himself to war or the Muses ; but to have finally resolved to cultivate both, like Lopez, Cervantes, Camoens, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sydney, and many other famous soldier-writers of that age." Philip O'Sullivan Beare's "*Historia Hiberniæ*," Mr. O'Grady pronounces to be "one of the best literary monuments of Ireland."

Shortly after he wrote the letter referred to above to his cousin, he penned a short one to his preceptor, Father Synnott, from the same place, telling him that though bowed down with grief for the death of his father and his cousin, the O'Sullivan Beare, he was still busily engaged in composing his "*Historia Catholica*," which it is to be feared, he said, would be deficient in many of the graces of history, as he had but few books on board.

Synnott sent a reply, encouraging his old pupil to persevere. He also sent him some material, but with an intimation that he felt it impossible to turn them to any account, as though copious enough, the authors had not marked with precision the dates and localities. To this Don Philip replied that he was at no loss in digesting his material, as he had his information from persons who had actually been engaged in the wars of Elizabeth. In the same letter he complains that it is not Ciceronian diction nor the elegancies of Valla and Manutius which he is acquiring on board, but sea-terms, novel and barbarous. The roar of Cannon invented by some evil genius for the destruction of man, was crashing in his ears. How few, he continues, excel in one, much less in both : it is so exceedingly difficult to contrive the study and composition of history with the actual realities of military life at sea,

where, instead of enjoying the calm of a library, men are the sport of the billows, rocked on the wild heavings of the ocean, and often almost engulfed in the abyss.

The operations of the fleet in which he served during two years, are described by him in his letters to Synnot, and Patrick Trant, the former written at the beginning of 1620, and the latter in 1621, both of which he printed in his history.

This work as above stated, was first published at Lisbon, 1621, after having passed the customary ordeal of censorship, and was written in Latin. An English translation of it has not, as yet, appeared ; but it was reprinted at Dublin by the Rev. M. Kelly in 1850, with a preface and notes in English to which the present sketch is largely indebted. The "Historia" is divided into four tomes, No. I. containing a Topography of Ireland, highly extolled by Harris (the editor of the Works of Sir James Ware), who remarks that from reading it one would suppose the author personally acquainted with every parish in Ireland. Tome I. contains also general notices of Irish history prior to the English invasions, Calendars and Catalogues of the Irish Saints, and the Wonders of Ireland, especially St. Patrick's Purgatory at Lough Derg, the stories current of whose marvels even in Italy, are said to have given Dante the first idea of his "Purgatorio."

The Second Tome, besides a brief account of the English invasion, and of the grievous yoke imposed upon the Irish settlers, purposed to describe the cruel and abortive attempts by Henry VIII., Edward VI. and Elizabeth, to establish the Reformation in Ireland. The Third Tome commences at the year 1588, and brings down the narrative to the general submission of the Irish on the accession of James I. The Fourth Tome contains the Irish reign of that monarch to the Parliament of 1613.

To his brief notice of events prior to the rise of Protestantism, he appeals to written authorities ; and as to subsequent events he had, he says, to depend mainly on his own researches, the circumstances of the time preventing a Catholic from writing the history of those days. The two latter divisions of Philip O'Sullivan's History, observes T. Darcy McGee in his "Irish

Historical Writers of the Seventeenth Century," are those most worthy to be called historical. Many valuable documents are given in them without which no one can rightly understand the nature of the Hiberno-Spanish alliance. He also bestows much attention upon the wars of O'Neill and O'Donnell against Queen Elizabeth. He is the only writer, says John Mitchell, in his "Hugh O'Neill," who gives an intelligible account of O'Neill's battles—high praise for a work written in Portugal by one who had no personal knowledge of the battles he describes.

The great value of O'Sullivan's "*Historiæ Hiberniæ*," to again quote Mr. Standish O'Grady, "is that it was not written by a mere student, painfully poring over tedious State papers and mouldy archives; but by one who had conversed for many years with all the principal actors of the Irish war-theatre; and who was consequently almost an eye-witness of the scenes which he describes, and knew personally many of the characters. So his history abounds in personal traits, hair-breadth escapes, perilous adventures, heroic achievements, clever repartees; and is in fact one of the liveliest and most entertaining histories ever written. The question remains, is it true? To this, Mr. O'Grady continues, I answer that it certainly is most veracious. Philip tells his stories exactly as he received them; and that his informants selected the actual incidents, on the whole with exactitude we can see by a comparison of Philip's stories with the same as told in the bald and hostile accounts scattered through the State Papers and taken down immediately after the events. The difference between Philip's stories and the State Papers' accounts resemble the difference between figures emblazoned on Cathedral panes seen from within the building and the same seen from without. The difference in fact lies for the most part in colour and suggestion. Its chief value lies in the curious and suggestive minutiae with which it abounds."

In the year 1629 Philip O'Sullivan published his *Decas Patriciana*, the first of a series of lives of the Irish Saints which he contemplated writing. He had completed the lives of Saints Kyran, Abban, Ailbe, Declan, and Mochuda, all Cork and Southern

Irish Saints, none of which have been published, except that of St. Mochuda which he had given to the Bollandists. Even the MSS. could not be traced by Colgan. St. Patrick's "Decade" was thus named, through being composed of ten books, containing each ten chapters. The first eight books are devoted to St. Patrick exclusively, the ninth to St. Patrick's Purgatory, and the tenth to miscellaneous matters on Irish history. In the same volume he printed his singular treatise called "Archicornigeromastix," or "Scourge of the Arch-Horned." This was intended as a reply to the famous Protest of Archbishop Usher, who in his work on the "Religion of the Ancient Irish" had stigmatised O'Sullivan as being "verily the most egregious liar of any in Christendom." After complaining that so savage an attack was unprovoked, he proceeded to discuss Usher's character in language exhibiting more anger than wit, undertaking to prove that Usher was a bear, that he was grossly ignorant of arithmetic, for claiming as his own, saints who existed a thousand years before Anglicanism came into existence, and finally that he was the reverse of St. Patrick, whose successor he claimed to be. In a copy of O'Sullivan's Reply, among the books of Usher in the University Library, Dublin, Darcy McGee further states that every epithet in it disparaging to the Primate was found to be carefully cut from beginning to end, a curious illustration of wounded self-love in a great writer such as Usher.

The Rev. M. Kelly contends that Usher was unjust in designating O'Sullivan as an egregious liar, and asserts that there is no evidence that he deliberately dealt in the art of coining facts for a purpose, and that his errors were those into which the most truth-loving person might fall. The charge of excessive credulity made against him by Sir Richard Cox and others, he further points out, are based on certain extraordinary stories which O'Sullivan gives as popular reports, without vouching for their accuracy. The tone of his history, continues the Rev. Mr. Kelly, gave offence likewise to the Anglican party and their Catholic adherents; but how could it be otherwise, writing in Spain surrounded by proscribed soldiers of the conquered party, in a

war in which his family had lost their all, and from which he himself escaped in his boyhood. Is it surprising that he should make some bitter reflections on those whom he believed had fastened so grievous a yoke on his people's necks? (1)

Another work by Philip O'Sullivan Beare, entitled "Zoilomastix," was written against Buchanan one of a new school of writers, who concluded that every man of merit described as a "Scot" was born north of the Tweed. They even laid claim to the Calendar of Saints, trying like Dempster to make it appear that the old Saints of Erin were Scotchmen. Philip could not see this done unmoved, so he knotted a string of caustic arguments and strong proofs, and binding together Richard Stanihurst and the Scots scourged them vigorously in his "Zoilomastix."

The titles of several fugitive pieces by him have been preserved, including a letter to Father Cantwell, S.J., urging the latter to complete and publish an embryo Irish History, and a Latin Elegy on the death of his father and mother and the sad fate of his family.

Philip O'Sullivan Beare is also believed to have drawn up the account of the State of Ireland presented by Florence Conroy, Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, to the King of Spain. Whether he completed any of the other works that he contemplated, especially one on Astronomy is not known.

Not many years after the publication of his "Historia," a work from which it is said later ecclesiastical writers have often borrowed without acknowledgement, death deprived Philip O'Sullivan Beare of nearly all the surviving members of his once numerous family. His sister Helen embarked for Ireland but was drowned on the voyage, his father died, aged 100 years, and was buried in the Franciscan Church at Corunna; his mother soon followed and was interred in the same tomb. There remained

(1) The same writer further affirms that one vast superiority which O'Sullivan's History possesses over all others of the period, is its general fidelity; whilst its defects are its omissions and imperfect chronology. Alluding to the fact of Walter Harris blaming O'Sullivan for hating England, Darcy McGee remarks that, "if he did not do so, he would be more than mortal or baser than the brute."

but one sister who had taken the veil at an early age, and with her, he tells us, he long mourned for the death of his parents and of the brother and sister that accompanied them in their exile. In the Latin poem he dedicated to the memory of his family he wrote with such feeling that there can be little doubt he was an affectionate brother and son.

One of the last written notices relating to him is—that in 1634 he sent from Madrid, his translation of the Irish life of St. Mochuda, to John Bollandus, S.J. His death seems to have taken place at that city in 1660, as appears from a letter from Father Peter Talbot, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, dated Madrid, January 10th, 1660, in which he says: "The Earl of Berehaven is dead and left one only daughter of twelve years to inherit his title and his goods here, which amount to 100,000 crowns. (*m*) *Vide Webb's Compendium of Irish Biography.*

Little more remains to be said of the learned and gallant County Corkman, Don Philip O'Sullivan Beare. Be the manner of his death what it might, he has claims on our remembrance, observes Thomas Darcy McGee, which no freak of fortune could diminish or take away. He stands before us a simple and easily understood character; frank and sometimes choleric, with great faith in his own religion and great devotion to his country. *He is*

(*m*) If this extract really applies to Philip O'Sullivan Beare his young cousin Dermot, heir of Donal, the last Chieftain of Dunboy, must have died and been succeeded in the title of Earl Berehaven by our historian, Philip. The writer of the article on Philip in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Volume 42, is as one might expect, less laudatory than the above named critics of the "Historia" of which he remarks "The most valuable part is the history of the Elizabethan wars. This story he received orally from his father and his father's companions. It has, he continues, the merits and defects incidental to a work so written—the vigour, the bitter partisanship, the inability to understand more than the personal issue, the inaccuracy of detail and the confusion of dates." How far these strictures are true or otherwise the average reader has little chance of judging, seeing that no English version of the "Historia" has yet appeared in print, not even in the Rev. M. Kelly's edition. One would hardly expect that the publication of an English version of this, nearly three centuries old document, would excite much ire or opposition nowadays, least of all in the neutral pages of an antiquarian journal; but it is we believe the fact that the translation of the "Historia," undertaken some time ago by Mr. Matthew J. Byrne, solicitor, of Listowel, was soon discontinued in the *Cork Journal* on account of the protests of a few narrow-minded bigots actually claiming to be forsooth, "educated Irish gentlemen."

almost the only Irish layman who, living abroad and serving a foreign monarch, never forgot that his first duty was to his birth-land, never forgot that his gifts and fortune were to be used for her benefit and honour. There is a useful moral in the brief record of this man's acts, who stood alone in the world, doing his work bravely. His life teaches a lesson which is as rare amongst authors as his works are in the libraries. Both are natural and elevating in character ; full of candour and fervency."

In the subjoined verses Thomas Darcy McGee has touchingly depicted the loneliness, sorrow and grief of heart that clouded the closing years of him who after so chequered a career was fated to be

" THE LAST O'SULLIVAN BEARE. "



" All alone, all alone, where the gladsome vine is growing ;
All alone by the waves of the Tagus, darkly flowing,
No morning brings a hope for him ; nor any evening cheer
To O'Sullivan Beare through the seasons of the year.

He is thinking, ever thinking, of the home he left, Dunbuie ;
His father's staff fell from his hand, his mother wept wildly ;
His brave young brother hid his face, his lovely sisters twain,
How they wrung their maiden hands to see him sail away for Spain.

They were Helen bright and Norah staid, who in their father's hall,
Like sun and shadow frolicked round the grave armorial wall.
In Compostella's cloisters be found many a pictured saint,
But the spirits boyhood canonised no human hand can paint.

Oh! sure he ought to take a ship and sail back to Dunbuie—
He ought to sail back, back again, to that Castle o'er the sea,
His father, mother, brother, his lovely sisters twain,
'Tis they would raise the roof with joy to see him back from Spain.

Hush, hush, I cannot tell it—the tale will make me wild—
He left it, that gray Castle, in age almost a child ;
Seven long years with St. James's Friars he connd the page of might,
Seven long years for his father's roof was sighing every night.

Then came a caravel from the North, deep-freighted full of woe,
His homeless family it held ; their Castle, it lay low ;
St. James's shrine, through ages famed as pilgrim haunt of yore
Saw never wanderers so wronged upon its scallop'd shore.

Yet it was sweet, their first grief past, to watch those two sweet girls,
Sit by the sea, as mermaids watching over hidden pearls,
To see them sit and try to sing for that sire and mother old,
O'er whose heads five score winters their thickening snow had rolled.

To hear them sing and pray in song for them in deadly work,
Their gallant brothers battling for Spain against the Turk,
Corunna's port at length they reach ; and seaward ever stare
Wondering what belates the ship their brothers home should bear.

Joy, Joy ! it comes, their Philip lives, but Donald is no more,
 Like half a hope the son kneels down the exiled two before.
 They spoke no requiem for the dead, nor blessing for the living,
 The tearless heart of parentage is broken with its grieving.

Two pillars of a ruined power—two old trees of the land—
 Two voyagers on a sea of grief, long-suffering hand in hand,
 Thus, at the woeful tidings told, left life and all its tears,
 So died the wife of many a spring, the chief of an hundred years.

One sister is a black-veiled nun of Saint Ursula in Spain,
 And one sleeps coldly far beneath the troubled Irish Main.
 'Tis Helen bright who ventured to the arms of her true lover,
 But Cleena's stormy tides now roll the radiant girl over.

All alone, all alone, where the gladsome vine is growing,
 All alone, by the wave of the Tagus, darkly flowing,
 No morning brings a hope for him, nor any evening cheer
 To O'Sullivan Beare through the seasons of the year.





Lismore under Edward VI. and Queen Mary.

By WILLIAM. H. GRATTAN FLOOD, M.R.S.A.

IN the first year of Edward VI., on the 7th of April, 1547, Robert St. Leger was confirmed in "the rule and keeping of the Castle and honour of Dungarvan, with all the rents, farms, fisheries, and customs thereunto belonging; provided that he keep at all times a convenient number of men resident for its sure keeping." This patent was to date from the preceding feast of St. Michael, that is, September 29th, 1546.

Conciliation was now attempted with James FitzJohn, Earl of Desmond, and, on October 15th, 1547, the young King himself wrote a letter asking the Earl to send over his eldest son, Gerald, "to attend here upon our person, and to be brought up in our company." This entry, from the *Calendar of State Papers*, at once disposes of the base insinuation of English writers who invariably treat this Gerald, the future Earl, as illegitimate; as it is in the highest degree improbable that the English monarch would have wished an illegitimate son for his playmate.

Sir Anthony St. Leger was recalled in April, 1548, and was replaced as Lord Deputy by Sir Edward Bellingham. Not long after his arrival, namely, on June 13th, the Freeholders of County Waterford wrote to Bellingham certifying that " Lord Power had, without right, cessed and distrained upon them six shillings upon every ploughland, reserving all lands that hitherto have been free." (Historical MSS. Com., 15th Report, App. III).

From a letter written by the Mayor of Cork to the Lord Deputy, dated July 24th, 1548, it is incidentally mentioned that " Richard Stevens, late Constable of Dungarvan, was killed by O'Sullivan Beare." This information is followed by a joint letter from Dungarvan, dated August 8th, wherein Simon Jeffrey, Vicar of Dungarvan, and Thomas Flood, Vicar of Kilgobinet, detail dreadful inroads made on the country round by the Earl of Desmond, and fear the destruction of the town. We learn from the *State Papers* that, by way of remedy, the Archbishop of Cashel was ordered to remonstrate with the Earl. Furthermore; Matthew King was appointed to succeed St. Leger as Constable of Dungarvan, who at once set about rebuilding the Castle; and he was given a boat from Waterford, by order of the Lord Deputy, in order to intercept pirates.

The above entry regarding " Richard Stevens " must only have been a rumour, because, on December 29th, the Mayor of Cork again writes that " Thompson the pirate, and *Richard Stevenson that was heretofore under Mr. Robert St. Leger, Constable of Dungarvan*, had arrived in their haven on Christmas Day, with a ship laden with wines, figs and sugar, offering to trade." (Calendar State Papers, 1509-1573).

Bellingham, by a bold stroke, rode southwards just before Christmas of this year; and captured the Earl of Desmond, as also his kinsman, Morish FitzThomas, of Knockmoan Castle, near Dungarvan, whom he imprisoned in Dublin Castle. Both were restored to favour soon after; and, on April 9th, 1549, pardon was granted to James FitzGerald of Dromana, County Waterford (a).

(a) Cal. Pat. R. p. 187. Art. 123.

An insight into the social life of the period may be gauged from a communication from Matthew King, Constable of Dungarvan, dated June 23rd, 1549, addressed to Bellingham. The precis is as follows:—"Had been appointed with others to hear certain bills of complaint exhibited against Sir Gerald FitzJohn (of Dromana) and his followers. Sir Gerald appeared, but when he perceived that judgment was given upon the very persons who had offended, he went away in a rage, declaring that *no matter should be ordered against any of his followers, and that he would himself make answer to the whole.*" Of course this means that the Lord of the Decies of Dromana preferred Brehon law (b).

In the Cathedral of Lismore there is a splendidly preserved and richly adorned altar tomb, with the following inscription:—Johannes MacGrath et uxor Katherina Thorne, A.D. 1548. On the *mensa* of this fine old altar tomb is some magnificent carving, commemorating the Mass of St. Gregory, whilst on the sides are figures of St. Brigid and St. Katherine, and the Twelve Apostles—as also a representation of the Crucifixion, with the Blessed Virgin and St. John, and the emblems of the Passion. In particular, the floriated cross, with its interlaced ornamentation, is worthy of attention. John Magrath was a retainer of the Earl of Desmond, and was Constable of Mocollop Castle for many years.

James Butler, ex-Abbot of Inislounaght, and Dean of Lismore, died early in 1549, and on the following September 18th, Edmund Power, Clerk, ex-Prior of St. Catherine's, Waterford, was presented to the Deanery by the Crown. Not long afterwards, Sir Edward Bellingham was recalled, whereupon Sir Francis Bryan, who had married the Dowager Countess of Ormonde, took the oath of office at Clonmel, on December 29th—but only survived the dignity a month, and was buried in February, 1550, in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Waterford (c).

Although Matthew King "had disbursed of his own proper goods certain sums of money in building and repairing the Castle

(b) Cal. State Papers (1509-1573).

(c) *ibid.*

of Dungarvan, at a cost of £243 16s. 4d. (about £2,000 of our present money), yet, on August 7th, 1550, the Lord Protector and Council of England, wrote to Sir William Brabazon, Lord Justice, appointing James Walshe as Constable (for which a Fiant was issued on September 15th) "to hold, for life, with the services of eight gunners." In order to sufficiently maintain the same, a survey was ordered to be made of the parsonage and Augustinian Friary, and, out of the rent of same, to lease a proportion thereof for the term of 21 years.

Sir Anthony St. Leger was again appointed Lord Deputy, in September, and pursued a measure of conciliation with the Earl of Desmond, whose son, Maurice, was appointed to the vacant Archdeaconry of Cloyne; and, on November 5th, a pardon was granted to Sir Gerald FitzJohn, of Dromana, with his two sons, Thomas and Gerald, and David Flavin, chaplain. This was followed on December 2nd, by a lease for 21 years to the Earl of several abbey lands, including Molana, near Ballinatray, in the diocese of Lismore, to which were annexed the rectories of Templemichael, Kilcockan, Tallow, Glendine, etc. (*d*).

Edmund Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, died on March 5th, 1551, and was succeeded by Roland FitzGerald. Three months later, Bishop Comyn of Lismore and Waterford, resigned his see, worn out with age and trouble; and, on July 24th, Edward VI. issued a *couge d'elire*, to the chapters of Lismore and Waterford—but without naming any candidate. On July 29th, a Fiant was issued for a pension of 80 marks to Bishop Comyn—and so the good Bishop lived in retirement in Lismore Castle till his death not long afterwards. His life had been strangely eventful. Born in County Wexford, he had been consecrated Bishop of Ferns, on January 20th, 1510, at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and was translated to Lismore in 1519. Sad, indeed, were his declining years, but though conforming in temporals to the English Crown (as his predecessors had done for 300 years), he was a loyal son of the Catholic Church, and never temporized.

(*d*) Fiants of Edward VI. No. 645.

On July 24th, 1551, Patrick Walshe, a Waterford man, a graduate of Oxford University and Dean of Waterford was found sufficiently pliable to accept the bishopric of Lismore and Waterford, as a schismatic, and he was duly consecrated as such on October 23rd—holding his Deanery *in commendam*. Meantime, Edmund Power, ex-Prior of St. Catherine's, and Dean of Lismore died, and was succeeded, on October 21st, by Denis Morris, Vicar of Kilsheelan since 1535 (*e*).

James Walshe, Constable of Dungarvan Castle, as the result of the survey ordered above, was, on July 28th, 1551, given a lease of the valuable rectory of Dungarvan, with the chapels of Ringagonah, Aglish, Lisguenane, Kinsalebeg, Clashmore, Aglishnegall, Affane, Templegall, (Whitechurch), Kilcregan, Kilgobinet, Rossmire, Templefenogh, and Kilminnin, and the tithes of over 100 townlands; also the site of the Augustinian Friary at Abbey-side, with appurtenances, and the lands and tithes of Ballinrode—to hold for 21 years, at a rent of £30 English.

The Earl of Desmond, Lord Treasurer of Ireland, petitioned the Privy Council, in the autumn of 1552, for the Manor and Castle of Dungarvan “held by James Walshe, a servant of the late Duke of Somerset,” who had, he alleged, run up a large bill of costs for wages, victualling, etc., whereas the town was really kept loyal by Desmond, “in having his men and constables planted everywhere upon those borders.” His request was not acceded to, probably on the score of his religion, because he declined to “conform.” This we know from a letter, dated November 25th, 1552, from Northumberland to Cecil, who says that “*Desmond is of no religion, or if any, the old one*”—relying on the testimony of Edmund Fleming, the schismatic Vicar of Dungarvan (*f*).

On January 23rd, 1553, John Bale landed at Waterford as Bishop of Ossory. During his stay in the *Urbs Intacta* he found the citizens “all Catholic”; and he expressed the opinion that “Christ had there no Bishop (implying of course, the orthodoxy

(*e*) *ibid.* No. 860.

(*f*) Cal. State Papers (1509-1573).

of Bishop Walshe), neither yet the King's Majesty of England any faithful officer in the Mayor (James Dobbyn)."

Sir Gerald FitzJohn of Dromana, Lord of Decies, died at Templemichael, on February 25th, 1553, seisure of over 4,000 acres, and was succeeded by his son, Maurice FitzGerald, as 4th Lord of Decies. This is the last local entry of Edward Sixth's reign; and on July 6th of same year Queen Mary ascended the English throne.

Once more—and for the last time—Sir Anthony St. Leger was sent over as Viceroy of Ireland, and was sworn into office on November 19th, 1553. Of course the Earl of Desmond was at once taken back to favour; and, on the 14th of December, 1554, he executed a deed making over to his son Thomas *ruadh* (who had married Ellice, daughter of Lord Power), the Castles and Manors of Knockmourne, Ballynoe, Agherne, etc., in the vicinity of Lismore, near Tallow—as also Conna Castle and Kildorogh—all at a rent of £26 English, a year. In the event of no male issue these lands were to revert to Maurice FitzJames, another son of the Earl (g).

Sir Thomas Radcliff, Viscount FitzWalters, was sworn in Lord Deputy of Ireland on May 26th, 1556, and Parliament met on June 1st, when the old religion was formally restored. Bishop Walshe, of Lismore and Waterford, demonstrated his sincerity by a vigorous attention to the state of religion throughout his diocese. Archdeacon Lynch informs us that the Bishop "entered the pulpit in the presence of the assembled faithful, and, with tears, exhorted them not to imitate his past sinful deeds, but to listen to his words of instruction."

On March 1st, 1567, the Earl of Desmond wrote to Queen Mary from his fortress at Lough Gur, County Limerick, requesting that James Walshe be ordered to give up the Manor of Dungarvan. He also sent secret intelligence to Her Majesty by his chaplain, Darby O'Ryan, and urged for confirmation of all his lands. It is of interest to mention that the Earl gave up all the religious

(g) MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

houses he had been assigned by Edward VI. and did what he could to re-establish the ancient faith.

In the *Calendar of State Papers* we find a letter from the Earl, dated Youghal, October 13th, in which he urges the Queen to cause John Brown and Edmund Goold to give up possession of the Dominican Friary, Cork, and restore it to the Friars. This letter was accompanied by a petition from Father Robert Cogan, O.P., Prior of Youghal, "praying for the restoration of the Monastery of St. Mary of the Island, adjoining to the walls of Cork, now partly thrown down." (*h*)

On December 3rd, 1557, a royal commission was appointed for County Waterford, consisting of Bishop Walshe, the Mayor of Waterford, the Chancellor of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Maurice Wyse, and William Lincoln, "to enquire of all chalices, ornaments, bells, etc., belonging to parish churches and chapels in the City and County of Waterford, and in whose hands they now are, and to return their inquisition into Chancery." It appears that among those who held livings in the diocese of Lismore and Waterford were Robert and Richard Redmond; and, in a lengthened petition of Robert Redmond to the King and Queen, we learn the interesting fact that on the death of Edmund Power, last pre-Reformation Prior of "the Augustinian Monastery of St. Katherine's without the walls of Waterford," said Robert Redmond, Canon of same house, had been appointed Prior. Edmund Power had surrendered his Priory on October 6th, 1540, and died as Dean of Lismore in 1551; and the fine old Augustinian Priory was never afterwards tenanted by religious, but was leased to Patrick Sherlock.

James FitzJohn, 14th Earl of Desmond, died at Askeaton, on October 14th, 1558, and was succeeded in his inheritance by his son Gerald. The *Annals of the Four Masters* write as follows:—"The loss of this good man was woeful to his country, for there was no need to watch cattle, or close doors from Dunquin, in Kerry, to the green-bordered meeting of the three waters" (opposite Cheekpoint, near Waterford).

(*h*) Cal. State Papers (1509-1573).

Gerald, 15th Earl of Desmond, lost no time in claiming his title, and he took the oath of homage for his vast estates, before the Lord Deputy Sussex at Waterford, on November 28th. On the same day orders were passed "for the reformation of the country called the Decies, in County Waterford, under the rule of Sir Maurice Fitzgerald," who bound himself to pay a certain cess annually for his barony; and Henry Stafford was appointed Constable of Dungarvan Castle.

Queen Mary died on November 17th, and Sussex left Waterford early in December, so as to be present at the coronation, according to the old Catholic rite, of Queen Elizabeth—Sir Henry Sydney being left as Lord Justice.

Gloomy as was the aspect of affairs at this juncture, Lismore was destined to experience darker trials in the succeeding age. The Bishop no longer lived in the Castle, and the church lands were eagerly hungered after by unscrupulous time-servers. The Cathedral of St. Carthage which had been rebuilt and decorated, in 1361, by Bishop Reeve, was fast getting ruinous, as were also many of the parish churches in the neighbourhood. What between political, religious, and internecine clan-strife, the old inhabitants were fast declining. Amid such lowering clouds of adverse fortune comes the dawn of Elizabeth's reign; and mediæval Lismore of the Saints practically disappears for a time.





Old and New Ross.

Compiled principally from the State Papers, the Public Records, and MSS. of the Late Herbert F. Hore, Esq., of Pole Hore, County Wexford.

Edited by his Son, PHILIP H. HORE, M.R.I.A., M. R.S.A.I.

THE History of Old and New Ross forms the first instalment of the projected History of the County Wexford, under the capable editorship of Mr. Philip H. Hore. Mr. Hore's design is to publish a general History of County Wexford, and at the same time to give in separate volumes the History of the principal Towns, Abbeys, &c., for the convenience of those readers who may not require the entire work. Each of these separate volumes is complete in itself, and is offered to subscribers at half-price—*i.e.* 20s. net.

It is not very easy to give an adequate review of this book. Even the most superficial survey of it will reveal that it is very valuable as a mine of documentary historical evidence, and that it is very handsome and tasteful in its binding and printing and illustrations. But as it is a work that demanded the utmost patience and care in its compilation and that bears indeed evidence

of the most thorough research, a Review in a Journal like ours should be more than superficial—it should be close and searching. Accordingly I have taken some care and time to examine the book, and though naturally diffident about passing a judgment will give my conclusions such as they are.

In the first place extreme credit is due to Mr. Hore for the care and labour he has taken to consult the best authorities, and to present them to us in accurate translations when translation was needed. So well has he done this part of his task that future workers in the same field will be able to add little to the material he has unearthed and made easy of reference. He himself has followed in the wake of a great number of writers—Stanihurst, Holinshed, Hanmer, Archdall, Ware—and in all of them, even Ware, he has found errors which he has corrected, and he has made his corrections in the most modest manner, without any assumption of superiority.

In the second place, Mr. Hore has enriched his book by a goodly number of illustrations, some of which are very fine.

We have, therefore, without question a useful and beautiful book, but I cannot help regretting that it has not been made more useful and more beautiful. It is not very much more than a well illustrated chronicle. There is no brilliancy or grace of style; there is no evidence of the use of the imagination; there are few of those racy or picturesque touches which give a savour to historical narrative. Mr. Hore clearly belongs to the Research School of Historians—and to its driest section—rather than to the artistic. He has unquestionably shown skill and labour in his search into authorities and may be relied on (so far as I can judge) for thorough accuracy in details. He tells us in the most exact, but also in the most prosaic way, what happened on such a day, and appeals to contemporary or the most trustworthy documents, as his authority, but all through there is little life or colour in the narrative, and little characterisation of the actors.

I am sorry, therefore, that I cannot agree with the judgment of the *Irish Times* that the book "is an adornment to literature." It has, in my opinion, small *literary* value. Whether by set design

or by the limitation of his powers, the author puts himself in complete antagonism to the ornamental and artistic mode of presenting History.

But withal making due allowance for this great defect (as it seems to me) we have in "Old and New Ross" a very valuable work. It is not a mere chronological table, it contains a story, even though very sober and very tame, of past events in the life of a very interesting and important Irish town—a story that keeps always a certain proportion between the various occurrences—a story that is trustworthy—a story that goes forward without any irritating digressions to its destined end. This is no mean achievement, and we may all welcome the book with open arms and feel gratitude to the two men—the deceased father and the living son—for their work of true patriotism.

Descending to a more detailed description, I may note that the book is in crown quarto, handsomely bound in cloth, well illustrated and consisting of some 400 pages. It carries down the History of Old and New Ross and the surrounding district from the earliest times to the rebellion of 1798. For the most part it is in the form of extracts from, and translations of, the ancient Records, many of which were never before published or translated. Especially valuable is the translation (accompanied by brief and useful annotations) of the important private documents, called "Ministers' Accounts" of the famous Roger Bygood, Earl of Norfolk and Lord of Ross, grandson of the foundress of the Old Town. These were found by the editor in the London *Public Record* Office, in the form of a series of short rolls of vellum written in abbreviated Latin, and dating from the year 1279 A.D. They give us a very good insight into the way things were managed on a powerful Earl's property in these far off days, and even into the way in which the Ecclesiastical and Civil Governments were carried on in Anglo-Norman Ireland.

The author shows a remarkable absence of all religious prejudice, and he has evidently taken the greatest pains to be exact in every statement he makes on religious matters. Unlike too many before him he does not slip for instance into absurd

blunders when speaking of the various religious orders of the Catholic Church. He had in this portion of his work the skilled assistance of Mr. J. B. Cullen. It were well indeed, if in his notice of St. Abban, he did not follow Colgan so closely. According to Mr. Hore, St. Abban accompanied St. Ibar to Rome before 500 A.D. and did not die till 630! I had noted a rather lengthy list of errata but I found that the editor had himself drawn attention to most of them and had explained their occurrence. At page 226 the Bull of Eugenius IV. seems to contain many errors. In the very first sentence we read—Eugenius venerabili fratri Episcopo Fernensis, Salutem et *Anglicanum* Benedictionem. Frequently in the notes *supra* is printed for *infra* and vice versa. In general the notes require further supervision. At page 213 a *Crannock* is defined as an Irish measure of about 16 bushels. But at page 143 a much more accurate idea is given of what a *Crannock* really meant. At page 77 the note on *Chantries* is not too well expressed.

At page 137ff. we get translations of the famous Charters and Privileges granted to Waterford in 1266 and 1267 by Henry III, or rather by his son Edward, by which it was ordained that merchant ships must land at Waterford and not at Ross or at the "Island." This strange protection of Waterford at the expense of Ross was chiefly inspired by the desire to get the King's coffers replenished by the rents, and his vaults enriched by the wines, furnished by "our City of Waterford."

In the final summing up "Old and New Ross" is a book to be bought and read by all students of our country's history, and more especially will it be prized by the people of Wexford and of the whole South-East of Ireland. It is difficult to read as a whole but the more it will be studied, the more all will be forced to admire and appreciate the patient industry that has marshalled so vast a wealth of material.

HON. EDITOR.

WATERFORD AND SOUTH-EASTERN COUNTIES'
EARLY PRINTING, &c.

PART IX.

The following are the Short Titles of such Wexford, Carlow, and Clonmel-printed pamphlets, forming part of the famous Holiday Collection in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, as have not previously appeared in this *Journal*, for which they have been kindly copied by Mr. E. R. McClintock Dix, of Dublin :—

- Fifty Reasons, or Motives, why Catholicity ought to be Preferred to all Sects this Day in Christendom. 141 pp.
Wexford. 1815.
- Statement of Proceedings at Anti-Biblical Meeting at New Ross. 60 pp. Wexford. 1824.
- Hints to Farmers, &c. By Arthur Meadows. 36 pp.
Wexford. 1826.
- Plan to Benefit 50,000 Irish Poor. 9 pp. Wexford. 1831.
- Plan to Support 150,000 Irish Poor. By an Irish Magistrate. 12 pp. Wexford. 1831.
- Report on the Harbour, &c., of Wexford. By Robert McCall. 8vo. Wexford. 1837.
- Letter to the Right Rev. Dr. Phillpot, Bishop of Exeter. By Rev. J. Sinnott. 8vo. Wexford. 1840.
- Abstract of Accounts of Waterford Union. 8vo. Wexford. 1846.
- Report of G. Jack on the Improvement of Wexford Harbour. 12 pp. Wexford. 1838.
- Letter on English Ordination. By Rev. J. Sinnott. 36 pp. Wexford. 1840.
- Suit in Equity *v.* Dr. Hughes of Gibraltar. 36 pp. Wexford. 1841.

- Report on Ballyheigue. 84 pp. Wexford. 1844.
- State of the Irish Poor Considered. 46 pp. Carlow. 1820.
- Report of Feagh Institution for the Promotion of Industry.
23 pp. Carlow. 1820.
- Pastoral Instruction for Lent. By Dr. Doyle. 20 pp.
Carlow. 1825.
- Address of the Rev. F. S. French to the Catholics of Athy, &c.
19 pp. Carlow. 1826.
- Meeting of Reformation Society, Carlow. 54 pp.
Carlow. 1827.
- The Protestant Religion was that which was Taught by Christ ;
and the Roman Catholic Religion is a Novelty. By Rev. R.
Fishbourne. 32 pp. Carlow. 1827.
- Full and Authentic Report of Meeting of Reformation Society,
Carlow. 8vo. Carlow. 1828.
- Paddy, the Politician. 36 pp. Carlow. 1831.
- Co. Kildare Public Works. 53 pp. Carlow. 1832.
- Address to the Grand Jurors, &c., of the Queen's Co. 17 pp.
Carlow. 1833.
- Charity Fairs Reformed. By Rev. G. B. Dawson. 15 pp.
Carlow. 1834.
- Carlow Presentments. 44 pp. Carlow. 1836.
- The Harp and Musical Genius of Ireland. By Rev. Dr.
Cummins. 20 pp. Carlow. 1836.
- Paddy, the Politician. By Terentius Phil O'Haggery. 36 pp.
Carlow. 1842.
- Carlow Presentments. 67 pp. Carlow. 1842.
- Paddy, the Politician: a Comedy. 12mo. Carlow. 1843.
- Co. Carlow Schedules of Sums Applied for. 8vo.
Carlow. 1848.
- Co. Carlow Abstract of Presentments, 8vo. Carlow. 1848.
- Third Report of Carlow Ladies' Association. 17 pp.
Carlow. 1849.
- Letter to Rev. Mr. Nolan. 8 p. Carlow. 1850.
- Great Difficulty: or Protestant Difficulty Handed to Romanism.
By Rev. Jno. Powell, 8vo. Carlow. 1850.

- Rolls Court: *Clarke v. Tipping*. 131 pp. Carlow. 1851.
 Address of the Suffragan Bishops of the Province of Dublin.
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 Letter to the Duke of Richmond on Certain Exertions of
 Power and Dispensation of Patronage. By George Grace. 38 pp.
 Clonmel, 1813.
 Letters Arising out of a Correspondence between Rev. J.
 Mackey and Rev. H. Woodward. 38 pp. Clonmel. 1827.
 The Divinity of Christ Established. By Stephen Davis. 24 pp.
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 Observations on the State of Pharmacy in Ireland. By
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 Subject of Interest. 63 pp. Clonmel. 1841.
 Cashel and Emly Church Education Society. 8vo.
 Clonmel. 1843.
 Abstract of Accounts of Clonmel Union. 8vo. Clonmel. 1843.
 Nationality: Reprinted from the *Clonmel Chronicle* of August
 1st, 1848. 8vo. Clonmel. 1848.
 Rev. Dr. O'Connell on the Apostacy of the Church of England.
 The Apostacy of the Church of Rome: a Sermon by Rev. J.
 Drury, A.B. 8vo. Clonmel. 1853.
 Where and What is Infallibility? A Sermon by Rev. John
 Drury. 8vo. Clonmel. 1853.
 Annual Report of Clonmel Lunatic Asylum. 32 pp.
 Clonmel. 1855.
 Celebrated Letters of Rev. Dr. Burke. 18 pp. Clonmel. 1859.

JAMES COLEMAN.

Notes and Queries.

Archæological and Literary Miscellany.—The books published since our last Number, recordable under this heading, are the following:—“The Handbook to the Irish Section in the Glasgow Exhibition” (London: Eyre & Co.), a voluminous work, beautifully illustrated, and full of valuable information on all subjects relating to Ireland, archæology included; “The Gaillive,” an illustrated history of Galway (Dublin: Gill); “Guide to St. Eunan’s Cathedral” (McConnell, Letterkenny); and “The Earliest Dublin Printing” (Dublin: O’Donoghue), by Mr. E. R. McClintock Dix, who amidst his exhaustive contributions to Belfast, Cork, Strabane, Monaghan, King’s Co., and Armagh bibliography, has not lost sight of the early publications of his native city, whose leading journals speak very highly of this, his third pamphlet on the same subject. . . . An account of the Kilcormic Missal has been recently printed in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, by the Rev. H. J. Lawlor, D.D. This Missal, one of the very few pre-Reformation ones known to exist in Ireland, (five only in all,) was written by an Irish Scribe, Brother Dermot O’Flanagan, a Carmelite of the Loughrea house, who finished his transcription on the 4th of March, 1457, at which date Edward O’Nacayn (O’Higgins) was Prior of Kilcormic. It contains thirteen sequences, and in some cases musical notation is given. This rare Irish Missal is now preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, to which Dr. Lawlor is attached. . . . Of the past quarter’s Magazines the articles in the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland, though well written, and indicating much research, are hardly so interesting as one is accustomed to find in its pages. The *Cork Journal’s* contributions are chiefly continuations of those in the previous number. There are also biographical sketches of

Hodder M. Westropp and Daniel MacCarthy Glas, the latter "a man of a singularly beautiful and noble mind." The *Galway Journal* (its second number) is a most readable one, precedence being rightly given in it to "Knockmoy Abbey," by Mr. Blake, (London); "St. Jarlath," by Mr. R. H. Kelly; and the Very Rev. Dr. Fahey's account of the Galway MSS., those belonging to the Catholic diocese of that name, which seems exceptionally rich in documents of this class. In the *Ulster Journal* the most important paper is that by the Rev. J. McKenna on the famous Irish relics, the "Domnach Airgid," and the Clogher Cross. Part I. of the *Journal* of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead, Ireland, 1901, if less profusely illustrated, will otherwise bear favourable comparison with its predecessors. The following excerpts from the *Freeman's Journal* seem, from their local historical bearing, worthy of preservation in this column:—

'A well-patronised movement is now on foot to restore what Professor Stokes was wont to call "that hideous structure known as Ferns Cathedral"; and a goodly sum has been collected to transform the barn-like edifice, which occupies the site of St. Mogue's Cathedral at Ferns, into a "respectable parochial church." John Devereux, first Protestant Bishop of Ferns, died in 1578, during whose rule Feagh MacHugh O'Byrne, and his father Hugh MacShane, burned the cathedral sooner than see it desecrated. Devereux's successor, Hugh Allen, never came to Ferns, and died at Fethard Castle, Co. Wexford, in 1599, after whose decease the ancient diocese was united to that of Leighlin. In 1609 Bishop Ram transferred the See to Gorey, the name of which town he changed to Newborough, and he built a cathedral called Christ-church—although he had an aisle of Ferns Cathedral fitted up for divine service. In 1641 George Andrews, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, got a grant of £300 towards repairing Ferns Cathedral and building an episcopal palace at Ferns. From 1642 to 1785 Ferns was deserted, but in 1786, Bishop Cope built a splendid palace there, and repaired the church, incurring not a little odium for presuming to set up therein a colossal stone statue of St. Mogue (Mo Ardhan Aidan), the only remnant of the old pre-Reformation

Cathedral. In 1817 a grant of £500 was given by the Government for rebuilding Ferns Cathedral, none other than the present abominable monstrosity, "in the later English style"—the then Bishop being the Honourable Percy Jocelyn, who was twice charged with criminal offences, and finally fled the country. With the death of Bishop Elrington, in 1835, practically ended the "reformed" See of Ferns; and his successor, Bishop Fowler, was consecrated Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin, residing at Kilkenny, which thenceforth became the sedes episcopalis. The final extinction of Ferns was in 1870 by the dis-establishment of the Irish Church, and the Consistorial Court was transferred to Kilkenny in 1872." . . . "The remarkable discovery that a crypt had been unearthed in the Cathedral of Taranto last month, which, on examination has turned out to be none other than the ancient basilica constructed by our Irish saint, Cathal (Cataldus), must be gratifying to all lovers of Ireland's early saints. St. Cathal was fourth Bishop of Lismore, County Waterford, a native of Canty, near Cappoquin, where he was born in 635, his parents being Eochy and Ethnea, of a good Desian family. Having been a brilliant student in the University of Lismore, he got charge of the district of *Sluab Cuā* (Slievegue, near Dungarvan), of which he was named *Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*, or Chief Bishop, and built two churches near Lismore, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin—in which connection it is remarkable that, in the recent discovery at Taranto, one of the figures on the triptych represents the Mother of God. Fired with the Celtic passion for travel, about the year 660 he journeyed to Palestine, visited all the holy places, and then laboured for a time in Rhoetia (the present Canton of the Grisons, in Switzerland, the capital of which was Coire, or Quera), also at Geneva, and finally settled at Taranto. During his fifteen years as Bishop of Taranto, St. Cathal introduced antiphonal singing, with organ accompaniment, and he wrote numerous Homilies, as well as Prophecies and Visions. His death took place on March 8th, but his feast is kept on May 10th, being that of his Invention and Translation. His tomb was opened in 1071, when a gold cross was found, with the inscription "Cataldus

Rachan"; and a second translation of his remains took place on May 8th, 1107, followed by a third in May, 1151, when the relics were deposited by Archbishop Gerald in a new chapel erected in honour of San Cataldo."

JAMES COLEMAN.

A County Waterford Talisman.—At a Meeting of the Archæological Institute held on the 9th April, 1858, (and reported in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. XV.) a communication was read concerning "Antiquities of Stone," from which the following is an excerpt:—"In some instances these talismanic objects are formed of highly polished rock crystal, and they may have been originally used for purposes of Divination, as in the Magic Mirror. One of the most remarkable, as I believe, is the Crystal Globe, still in possession of the Marquis of Waterford. There is a tradition that it was brought from the Holy Land by one of the Le Poer family in the time of the Crusades. This crystal is at the present time eagerly sought after to be placed in a running stream, through which cattle diseased are driven backwards and forwards, in order to effect a cure; or the ball is placed in the water given them to drink." Does this stone still perform its wonted cures?

J. BUCKLEY.





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SOUTH EAST OF . .
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ARCHÆOLOGICAL . .
SOCIETY.



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October to December,
1901.

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* **Subscription paid for 1901.**

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- 1.—That the Society be called "THE WATERFORD AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY."
- 2.—That the purpose of the Society be the promotion of the study of matters having an antiquarian interest relating to Waterford and the South Eastern Counties.
- 3.—That Ladies shall be eligible for membership.
- 4.—That the Annual Subscription shall be Ten Shillings, payable on the first of January in each year, and that a payment of £5 shall constitute a Life Member.
- 5.—That the Society be managed by a President, four Vice-Presidents, and one Vice-President from each County taking part in the proceedings of the Society, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor, and a Committee of nine Members, any three of whom shall form a quorum.
- 6.—That an Annual General Meeting, for the purpose of electing the Officers and Committee, shall be held before the end of February in each year, and that such election shall be by ballot.
- 7.—That at the Annual General Meeting in each year the Committee shall submit a brief report and statement of the Treasurer's Accounts.
- 8.—That a Journal be published containing accounts of the proceedings, and columns for local Notes and Queries.
- 9.—That all papers, &c., intended for publication in the Journal shall be subject to the approval of the Committee.
- 10.—That the date of the Society's meetings, which may be convened for the reading and discussion of papers and the exhibition of objects of antiquarian interest, shall be fixed by the Committee, due notice being given to each member.
- 11.—That all matters touching on existing religious and political differences shall be rigorously excluded from the discussions at the meetings and from the columns of the Journal.
- 12.—That each Member shall be at liberty to introduce two visitors at the meetings of the Society.
- 13.—That the foregoing Rules can be altered only at the Annual General Meeting, or at a Special General Meeting convened for that purpose.



SIR THOMAS WYSE.



A Forgotten Waterford Worthy.

Contributed by JAMES COLEMAN, M.R.S.A.



HE somewhat ludicrous eagerness evinced by quite a large class of Irishmen to vauntingly claim as a fellow-countryman each passing notoriety, or prominent personage of the day, however slender his connection with Ireland may happen to be, contrasts curiously with the wide-spread ignorance that prevails as to the history, life-work, and even the existence of really eminent Irishmen, men of whom any country might well be proud; an ignorance that, stranger still, is often densest in that locality which gave them birth, where one would naturally expect them to be best known and appreciated, or, to say the least, best remembered.

Of ancient lineage, good birth and social standing, a politician, a scholar, a poet, an orator, and an author, and finally British Minister abroad, possessing in short all those enviable gifts and qualifications on which so exaggerated a value is set in a poor and unprosperous country like Ireland, Sir Thomas Wyse's name and history, might well be deemed 'familiar as a household word' even now, in that *Urbs Intacta* with which he was long so closely connected.

Yet the reverse of this is more probably the case; and Waterford, it is to be feared, stands on a par with most other Irish cities and towns in complete forgetfulness of those worthy sons and eminent citizens who from time to time have hailed them as their natal spot, and the home of their childhood, if not of their mature age. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Sir Thomas Wyse when hardly past his prime, sought further fame and fortune away from Ireland, in those far, foreign fields of Greece, where his ashes now lie;—that a considerable period of time has elapsed since his death;—and that since this took place no adequate memoir of his life and work has been presented to the public, either in Ireland or England.

Sir Thomas Wyse belonged to the ancient house of Wyse, of the Manor of St. John, Waterford, whose ancestor,—according to Burke's "Landed Gentry," (1871), was originally (1167) of Greston in Cornwall, and, subsequently, of Sydenham, Devon. He accompanied Richard, Earl Strongbow, to Ireland, in 1171, with the rank and title of Knight; and immediately after the Earl's taking possession of Waterford,—one of the first places in Ireland acquired by the English,—this Sir Andrew Wyse was rewarded with large possessions *in capite* at two Knights' fees, and the usual conditions of military service,—a part of which, near Dungarvan, still held by the family, retains the name of Wyse's Point.

When, as Earl Moreton, King John visited Waterford, he granted, in 1195, to the Priory, now the Manor of St. John, a charter, afterwards confirmed by Edward I. in 1221, by which it was exempted from all tolls and other charges, with power to hold a Court for the trial of minor offences, within its jurisdiction; whilst the right to all tithes, great and small, was granted by Walter, Bishop of Waterford, and confirmed by his successors.

From Maurice Wyse, who was Mayor of Waterford in 1452, down to 1690, when the City surrendered to William the Third, there were, besides several Members of Parliament, no less than thirty-six Mayors and five Sheriffs of Waterford of the Wyse family. The last of these, Thomas Wyse, on signing as Governor the Capitulation of Waterford City to King William, paid out of

his private purse £1,500, the amount required by the latter to save the citizens from an immediate levy, and was never repaid this loan.

The Wyses were amongst the heaviest sufferers by confiscation in the 17th century. In 1647 the entire of their property was seized and possessed by the usurping powers of that day; and it was not till 1663, after the Restoration of Charles II., that they were restored to its enjoyment, by a Decree of the Court of Chancery, with, however, large deductions, such as Chapelizod, Co. Dublin, one hundred houses within the City of Waterford, etc., which were claimed by Cromwellian soldiers, or those who had purchased from them.

Sir Andrew Wyse, the first of the family, who, as above stated, passed over to Ireland with Strongbow, had issue William and Robert, whose descendants soon extended their name and possessions in the County of Waterford. William Wyse, the thirteenth in direct descent from the aforesaid William, son of Sir Andrew, when Mayor of Waterford, wrote to Cromwell, Henry the Eighth's Secretary, an official letter, now in the British Museum, London, in which he called attention to certain correspondence between the Emperor Charles V. and the Earl of Desmond, whose object he inferred was an "invasion of the cities and towns by the sea-coast of this land," (Ireland). (a). During this William Wyse's Mayoralty, occurred the great Geraldine Rebellion, when under his government and control, Waterford adhered so firmly to Henry the Eighth, that the loyalty of its citizens was acknowledged by three Royal letters of thanks; and Wyse, having gone over to England, in 1536, was made Esquire of the King's body. He subsequently received the honour of Knighthood, an honorable gift for this renowned fidelity; and on returning to Waterford,

(a) It was the recurrence of this sort of transaction which probably led a contemporary of Sir Thomas Wyse, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, to write so recently as 1886 in his "League of North and South":—"The bitterest enemies of Ireland for eight generations have been Anglicised Irishmen. Some Anglo-Irish Earl of Antrim, some Anglo-Irish Clanricarde or Preston, some Anglo-Irish Wyse or More O'Ferrall, some Castle Bishop or Castle hack, who has learned to lisp like a Cockney and reason like a Jacobite, is always the man to betray the Irish interest in its last emergency. This is the history of Ireland since the Reformation." On page 205 of the same work, Sir C. G. Duffy shows that he had serious grounds for a personal grievance at the hands of Francis Wyse, Sir Thomas's brother.

brought with him a Cap of Maintenance and gilt sword, presented by the King to the Corporation, to be borne thenceforth on all State occasions. This Sir William Wyse died about 1556, leaving issue; when various *post mortem* requisitions were taken to ascertain his estates and possessions in the Co. and City of Dublin, the Counties Cork and Tipperary, and above all in the County and City of Waterford. Of his son and successor, Henry, it is recorded that he had an exemption to himself and his heirs from all tolls and grist at Watkins' Mill, on the condition of defending the Grantor's title and enjoyment of the watercourse from St. Catherine's to Ship's or Sheep's Bridge—according to the Charter of King John to the House of St. John.

This Henry Wyse was succeeded by his brother James, whose third son Henry (of Monkstown, Co. Cork), followed Lord Baltimore to America, and was the founder of a family in Virginia, to which belonged the celebrated Confederate orator and statesman, Lieut.-General Henry Wise. Francis, grandson of James Wyse, by his Will dated 1647, left large bequests to the charitable institutions of Waterford; and five shillings to each of its citizens. From Francis Wyse the family property passed in succession through Thomas, Robert, Francis, Thomas, Francis, and John, to Thomas Wyse (who married Frances Maria, daughter and heiress of George Bagge, of Dromore, Co. Waterford), father of the subject of this sketch, who was born Dec. 9th, 1791, and, as chief representative of his very ancient family, held his estates direct from the Crown; and, as the lineal descendant of the original grantee in 1172, inherited, also, the rights of the Prior of St. John, and in this capacity was still subject to visitations from the Lord Bishop of the Diocese of Waterford.

At the age of nine, Thomas Wyse and his younger brother, George, were sent to the then newly-founded Jesuit College at Stonyhurst, in Lancashire, where he rapidly developed that ardent love of literature and the classics, which formed a marked trait of his character throughout life. After nine years spent at Stonyhurst, he and his brother entered Trinity College, Dublin, together with Richard Lalor Sheil, the famous orator (who, too,

ended his days as British Ambassador abroad), and Nicholas Ball and Stephen Woulfe, who were amongst the first Catholics raised to the Judicial Bench in Ireland since the Reformation.

In Trinity College, Thomas Wyse soon distinguished himself, carrying off many prizes, and holding first rank in the College Historical (Debating) Society, and graduating B.A. in 1812. Even at this early age he took a keen interest in politics, spoke at the meetings of the Catholic Association, and was Chairman of one, so early as 1810. On leaving Trinity, he went to London, and, merely for his own improvement, entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn in 1812. When the Continent was open to travellers after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, Mr. Wyse visited Paris, Rome, and Florence, and later on Athens, Constantinople, Egypt, Palestine, the Greek Islands and Sicily. His party were accompanied as an artist, on this Eastern tour, by Charles (afterwards Sir Charles) Barry, the architect of the present Houses of Parliament, with whom Wyse and his friends measured the temples and sketched views of the scenery, etc.

On his return to Rome, Mr. Wyse renewed his acquaintance with the first Napoleon's brother, Prince Lucien, of Canino, whose daughter, Letitia, he married in March, 1821. After his marriage he resided for a time at his father-in-law's villa at Viterbo, where he wrote a learned work on "Jerusalem" and an epic poem, "Asgael," neither of which has been published. His marriage unfortunately proved unhappy, and after the birth of three children his wife left him in 1828, and they never met again. His two sons Napoleon Alfred Bonaparte, and William Charles Bonaparte Wyse, grew up to man's estate and died respectively in 1895 and 1892. Both were men of literary tastes and published several books. The younger of the two left four sons, the eldest of whom, Major Louis Bonaparte Wyse, succeeded to the Manor of St. John in 1895.

About four years after his marriage, the agitation for Catholic Emancipation having revived in Ireland, Mr. Wyse returned with his family to Waterford, instantly took a leading part in politics, and was unanimously elected Chairman of the first great provincial

meeting,—that held at Limerick. He also became Chairman of the Election Committee, formed in 1826 to overthrow the Beresford influence, then paramount in Waterford,—efforts that were successful mainly through his enthusiasm and his talent for organisation. It was he who started what was called “The Crusade” amongst the forty-shilling freeholders, who had hitherto voted like sheep at the bidding of their landlords. He made a tour all over the County, accompanied by a priest, who when necessary translated his speech into Irish,—explaining to the peasants their electoral rights, and exhorting them to vote according to their consciences. The result was the triumphant return of the Liberal Candidate, Henry Villiers Stuart, of Dromana (Co. Waterford); and the tactics pursued by Mr. Wyse on this occasion were followed by O’Connell’s supporters at the celebrated Clare Election which took place in the following year, 1827.

From that out in the struggle for Catholic Emancipation, Wyse ranked near O’Connell and Sheil. Lord O’Hagan (notes the writer of the sketch of Sir Thomas Wyse in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, whence are drawn most of the details respecting him here reproduced) states that of all the politicians of that day, Wyse was the most accomplished and highly cultured. Yet it is to be feared that Catholic Emancipation would have had to wait many a day longer were it depending solely on culture and accomplishments. This may be seen by what Lord O’Hagan (who it will be remembered was the first Catholic Lord Chancellor since the Reformation) further observes on this subject on page 365 of “The O’Connell Centenary Record,” (Dublin, Dollard, 1878):—“Its concession seemed indefinitely postponed, and the people tantalised and disgusted by the alternation of fair hopes and bitter disappointments, sunk into a miserable apathy. Although the visit of George the Fourth galvanised them into feverish expectation for a time, they soon learnt that the King before whom they had humbled themselves so slavishly, loved them as little as his royal father; and they fell into the abject condition described by one of the best and most accomplished of them all, Sir Thomas Wyse:—“The Catholic spirit had totally passed away. The dead body

only was left behind." But 'tis always the darkest hour near the dawn; and O'Connell seized the moment of its worst despair, to recall the spirit of his country, and sound the trumpet of its resurrection. Whilst the moral prostration described by Sir Thomas Wyse was most complete, he (O'Connell) formed the Catholic Association of 1824."

The Catholic Association was originally formed in 1760 by Wyse's great-grandfather, and The O'Connor Don of that day; and it is to Wyse's credit that he does not appear to have exhibited for a moment any of that petty jealousy and aloofness unfortunately so common in Irish political life even to this day, in respect to O'Connell's leadership in that struggle for Emancipation with whose achievement the latter's name is so imperishably linked. When the Catholic Association decided on issuing an address to the people of England, Mr. Wyse was chosen to compose it. He also originated a system of Liberal Clubs, but opposed exclusive dealing; and he was principally instrumental in getting up the great Rotunda Meeting held in 1828 to petition for Emancipation, the address to the King being drawn up by him. When a deputation to England in furtherance of the agitation was resolved on, he, along with O'Connell and Sheil were chosen, but he did not ultimately accompany them. In the year 1829, when Catholic Emancipation was finally granted, he published "A Letter to My Fellow-Countrymen," recommending that, as its object had been attained, the Catholic Association should now be dissolved. That same year he published its History, under the title of "Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association," (London, 1829, 2 Vols. octavo)—a valuable work which it is to be regretted has long been out of print (*b*) and is quite unknown to Irishmen of the present generation.

Simultaneously with his political occupations, Mr. Wyse pursued his literary work; and before 1830 he had published, "Walks in Rome," and "Oriental Sketches," and other volumes; besides contributing articles on graver subjects to the reviews of that day.

(*b*) He is said to have been assisted in its compilation by his brother, George Wyse (the father of Miss Winifred M. Wyse) who was at first an Officer in the Army, afterwards a Barrister-at-Law, and finally Senior Police Magistrate in Dublin. He is buried in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.

At the General Election of 1830, the first that occurred since the granting of Catholic Emancipation, he stood for the County of Waterford; but withdrew in favour of O'Connell, who was likewise a candidate. He next stood for the Co. Tipperary, and after a severe contest was returned without a canvass, by which election he effectively broke up the Tory aristocratic influence in Tipperary.

Throughout his Parliamentary career he was an enlightened Liberal, voting for the Great Reform Bill in 1832, the Abolition of Slavery, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, and the extension of Popular Education. He was keenly interested in both Imperial and purely Irish questions; but devoted himself specially to National Education. On the assembling of Parliament in December 1830, he presented to Earl Grey a detailed plan for Irish education, through the Irish Secretary, Mr. Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby; and on the 29th September following, he brought in a Bill on the subject which he had long been preparing, after consultation with the Catholic Bishops and others in Ireland. This Bill, however, was dropped when Stanley issued "Instructions" to form in Dublin a Board of National Education; and to adopt an educational system which reproduced *verbatim* the provisions of Wyse's Bill. No acknowledgment of indebtedness to him was made by the Government; and Stanley reaped fame which was Wyse's due.

The system of so-called "National" Education thus set up has not proved quite an unmixed blessing to Ireland; but how very few of the many who have benefited by it are aware of Sir Thomas Wyse's large share in its establishment.

Retiring from Tipperary after the passing of the Reform Bill, he was defeated in his candidature for Waterford. Though advocating in the abstract a subordinate Parliament for Ireland, he would not pledge himself to follow O'Connell. But in spite of this attitude, so much out of line with the popular feeling of that time, he was triumphantly returned for Waterford, which he continued to represent until 1847.

Regarding Stanley's education policy as inadequate, he brought in a more complete though unsuccessful scheme in 1835. In 1837 he published an exhaustive work on Education Reform; he helped to form the Central Society of Education, and he wrote several papers in its publications. He called numerous meetings on the subject in England; and on one occasion was the guest of the famous Richard Cobden, who afterwards wrote to him that he had produced a sort of 'moral intoxication' in the people regarding education. In Cork he was also present at a meeting which petitioned the Queen to establish a provincial College there, on the lines laid down in his able Education Report to Parliament, which followed on his Bill of 1835.

In the summer of 1839 he was about to bring in a Bill for Education in the United Kingdom, when Lord John Russell introduced resolutions to the like effect, literally adopting, though not in its entirety, the scheme Wyse had been urging. The two main principles he had been fighting for were conceded, viz: State control and School inspection, the education of the country being placed under the management of a Committee of the Privy Council. There was a keen contest over the clauses regarding religious instruction. From first to last Mr. Wyse was strongly opposed to education without religion; but he advocated that religious instruction should be imparted separately by the pastors of the various denominations. He also laid special stress on the necessity of training teachers; and it was mainly at his suggestion that a Training College was established at Battersea. Education was evidently with him, as Dr. Bryce of Belfast remarked, "a veritable passion."

When in 1836, a Bill for Municipal Reform in Ireland was rejected by the House of Lords, he made an eloquent protest in Parliament which led the Liverymen of London, who disapproved of the Peers' action to invite him to allow himself to be nominated Sheriff of that City. This, however, he declined; but the Corporations of Waterford and Cork sent addresses of thanks to the Liverymen of London, for this intended compliment to him.

Recognising his ability and influence, the leaders of the Liberal party now admitted Mr. Wyse to office, and from 1839 to 1841 he was a Lord of the Treasury. He also became a Member of the Fine Arts' Committee appointed to consider the advisability of decorating the new Houses of Parliament. During the Conservative Administration of Sir Robert Peel, 1841-5, he showed great activity in Irish politics; seconded Sir Richard Musgrave's Bill for County Boards; was a vigorous opponent of the Arms Bill; seconded Smith O'Brien's motion for the redress of Irish grievances in 1843; and with him drew up a manifesto to the people of England, embodying Irish grievances. Although an advocate since 1832 of a Federal Parliament for Ireland, he refused to join the Repeal Association under O'Connell; but in 1844 he made an eloquent speech on the State Trials in Ireland, demanding O'Connell's liberation. That same year he advocated at Cork the establishment of Provincial Colleges; and in the year following a Bill for this purpose was brought in by the Government, on which occasion Sir Robert Peel complimented him as "the consistent promoter of education in all its gradations." The three Provincial Colleges then founded, now so generally known as the Queen's Colleges, owe their existence, it is thus evident, to a very great extent, to Sir Thomas Wyse; but they have not realised his expectations of them, having almost from the outset failed to meet with the approval of the Irish Catholic hierarchy, who still demand denominational education in every form,—almost exactly the opposite to that mixed system of which he was so strongly in favour.

In July, 1846, he was appointed Secretary to the Board of Control, India, but at the General Election in 1847 he was defeated at Waterford, owing to his refusal to join the "Young Ireland" movement. He retained his place, however, at the Board of Control until January, 1849, when Lord Palmerston conferred on him the diplomatic post of British Minister at Athens. Made a Privy Councillor in February, 1849, he arrived at Athens in June that year, and the remainder of his life was identified with the affairs of Greece.

The relations of the British Government with Greece were very strained when he became Minister there. For years the Greek Government had refused to consider several serious claims made by the English Government on behalf of English subjects. . . . Later on when France intervened on behalf of Greece, peace between England and that country was for the moment jeopardised. But the matter ended in a signal triumph for Lord Palmerston, who warmly praised Wyse's management of the difficult task of bringing King Otho and his Ministers to reason; and a C.B. was bestowed on him in approval of the skilful manner in which he had conducted the negotiations and brought them to a successful issue. (c) When this struggle had ended, he devoted himself to helping the Greeks in literary and artistic undertakings, and strenuously urged upon them the obligations of honesty in all their mercantile and political relations.

On the approach of the Crimean War, he advocated and obtained a joint occupation of the Piræus by English and French troops; and, securing a Ministry favourable to tranquillity, he and the French Envoy virtually governed Greece until peace was restored with Russia. For the successful management of these delicate proceedings he was made Knight Commander of the Bath in March, 1827; and from the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary was raised to that of Envoy Extraordinary to Greece.

No interest having ever been paid by Greece on the loan to that country which was guaranteed by the protecting powers, England, France and Russia in 1833, the British Government on his proposal caused a Commission to be appointed in 1857 by the three powers thus interested, in order to enquire into the financial condition of Greece : and the meetings of this Commission, which

(c) In view of the eulogy and honours thus officially conferred on Sir T. Wyse it is somewhat perplexing to come across a passage such as the following, which occurs in Vol. II., p. 312 of the "Memoirs of the Life of Henry Reeve, C.B., 1898."—"Again we dined with the most hospitable of Ministers. Mr. Wyse was very agreeable. He possesses a wonderful store of information and erudition, and is most moderate (for a Roman Catholic) towards the Greek and Anglican Churches; but he is a Roman Catholic, and does not therefore represent Protestant England; and the unfortunate squabble with the Court and the grudge about the Pacifico affair, altogether prevent his having the position and influence which would be so desirable for Greece and England."

were distributed over two years, were held at the British Legation under the presidency of Sir Thomas Wyse. Several of the reports were written by him and covered all aspects of the economic and social conditions of Greece. One of his most important contributions was his Report on Education. For the purposes of this Commission he travelled through the greater part of Greece and recorded his experiences in two works that were published after his death, viz. : —“ An Excursion in the Peloponnessus ” (1865, 2 vols.) and “ Impressions of Greece ” (1871). These works were edited by his niece, Miss Winifred M. Wyse, who resided with him at Athens and accompanied him on these travels; and was virtually Ambassadress during her uncle’s tenure of office.

Sir Thomas Wyse died at Athens on the 16th of April, 1862. The King of Greece ordered a public funeral, and with the Queen, stood on the balcony of the Palace as the procession passed, and at his grave an affectionate eulogy was pronounced by M. Bouree, the French Envoy to Greece. Sir Thomas Wyse’s portrait, painted by Partridge in 1846, was exhibited in the Loan Exhibition, held at South Kensington, in 1868.

That Sir Thomas Wyse possessed remarkable oratorical gifts, there is little room for doubt. His range of reading was wide, particularly in modern languages. In addition to French and Italian, which he early spoke like a native, he learnt whilst travelling in the East, sufficient Arabic to translate with a master the Catechism of the Druses. At the age of forty he taught himself German and Anglo-Saxon (of which last he wrote a Grammar), and subsequently Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch and Danish. He published a translation from the Anglo-Saxon of the “ History of King Lear and his three Daughters,” and from the German of Tieck he rendered “ Little Red Riding Hood,” a drama in five acts. At Athens he re-read the Greek Classics and the twelve volumes of St. John Chrysostom, of whom he was a great admirer ; whilst modern Greek literature was thoroughly familiar to him. For his own amusement he commemorated in verse almost every passing event ; and during his later years he devoted his leisure hours to a work on the Antiquities of Greece which remains as yet unpublished.

Whether the Greece of to-day remembers and appreciates the brilliant gifts, beneficent purposes, and statesmanlike services of Sir Thomas Wyse, as she is said to do in the case of another Irish benefactor,—though one of a different order,—Sir Richard Church, who was a Cork man by birth, is a point not alluded to by the writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Possibly he is as forgotten in Greece as in his native country, which was equally in need of men like him when he chose to turn his back on her, as did the still surviving founder of the Young Ireland party, Sir C. G. Duffy. But Waterford, at least, should ever continue mindful that she possessed one of her most gifted, distinguished and memorable sons and citizens in Sir Thomas Wyse. (d).



(d) Since the above paper was begun, a very interesting pamphlet, well and appropriately printed in Waterford (by C. P. Redmond & Co.) and issued at a nominal price has been published by Miss Wyse, under the title of "Notes on Education Reform in Ireland during the first half of the 19th Century. Compiled from Speeches, Letters, etc., contained in the unpublished Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Wyse, K.C.B." To this pamphlet, as also to the Article in the *Dic. Nat. Biog.* the reader is referred for further details as to the life and work of Sir Thomas Wyse. It is to be hoped that the above-mentioned "Memoirs" will ultimately appear *in extenso* in book form. For some interesting articles see also the Papal condemnation of the Queen's Colleges, *vide*, "A Life of John Maginn," by T. D. McGee, New York, 1857.



Lismore During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

By WILLIAM H. GRATTAN FLOOD, M.R.S.A.

EARLY in 1559, Gerald, 15th Earl of Desmond, went to England, accompanied by about 100 nobles, to pay homage to Queen Elizabeth, and, having been cordially received, was confirmed in all his possessions, amounting to 574,628 acres, on June 22nd, 1559. This aroused the envy of Thomas, 10th Earl of Ormonde, who was a step-son of Desmond—the latter having married the widow of James, 9th Earl—and the result will be seen later on.

At the Parliament, which was summoned on January 12th, 1560, the Knights of the shire for County Waterford were Thomas Power, of Coumshinane, and Peter Aylward, of Faithlegg—Dungarvan borough being represented by Henry Stafford, of Dungarvan Castle, and John Challoner, of Lambay, Co. Dublin. Only 76 minions of the Crown were summoned to this Parliament, and the Catholic nobles were carefully excluded; Ulster and Connaught were entirely unrepresented, and 16 members represented Munster. Hooker says that "This assembly was more like a bear-baiting of disorderly persons than a parliament of wise and grave men."

As a result of the Council meeting by the Earl of Sussex, Lord Lieutenant, at Waterford, on August 1st, 1560, it was ordered that Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, Lord of Decies, residing at Dromana, should be handed over to the custody of the Mayor of Waterford for not having complied with the assessment levied on him in November, 1558. At the same time, a truce was signed by the Earls of Desmond and Ormonde, each of them being bound in a sum of £2,000 to the Crown, and on August 23rd, at Clonmel, Desmond was awarded damages against the Earl of Ormonde.

On Sunday, October 26th, 1561, the Earl of Desmond wrote to Sir Edmund Butler from "Lyshfynny Castle," that is Lisfinny, near Tallow, 5 miles from Lismore, regarding pledges; and, on April 18th, 1562, the Corporation of Youghal wrote a letter to Elizabeth commending the Earl for "rooting out a den of thieves who maintained a Castle [Strancally] four miles up the river."

Desmond and Ormonde carried their animosities to such a pitch that the Queen summoned them to appear before her; and, accordingly, at the close of May, 1562, the two Earls set sail from Waterford for England. During this visit Desmond recommended his chaplain, Father Edmond Heffernan, to Elizabeth for the See of Cashel, but unsuccessfully (a). Nor was he permitted to return to Ireland till December, 1563.

During the years 1562—1564, the whole country around Lismore was kept in a state of unrest by reason of the feuds between Desmond and Butler, and Sir Maurice of Dromana. Joan, Countess of Desmond, died on January 2nd, 1565, and almost immediately afterwards the Earl prepared for a decisive struggle in defence of his feudal rights. Sir Piers Butler, of Cahir, and the White Knight, with a large retinue, and also McCarthy Mor, O'Sullivan Beare, and the Knight of Kerry came to Lismore to aid the Earl. Finally on February 2nd, 1565, the famous Battle of Affane was fought, in which Desmond was defeated and seriously hurt (b).

(a) Archbishop Fitzgerald (Baron) died on October 2nd, 1567, and his successor, Maurice *reagh* Fitzgibbon O. Cist. was not appointed till June 4th, 1567. Queen Elizabeth filled the vacancy on October 2nd, 1567, by the schismatic appointment of James MacCagwell.

(b) A full and detailed account, extending to ten pages, of the circumstances which led up to the Battle of Affane will be found in the State papers.

The following extract from the deposition made by Edmund *dubh* O'Hagan, on March 14th, is of local interest :—

“Cormac O'Connor, with two men and two boys, the Tuesday before my Lady of Desmond's death, being the second of January, 1565, came to Lismore, about noon, to the house of Garret Fitz-John, called the Bishop's-court there—the said Elizabeth Leix, the steward's wife being there then”—who, accompanied by a guide, and the said Elizabeth “went that night to Killahala (3 miles from Lismore) to David [Roche] FitzJohn's house, who is married to the said steward, and Elizabeth's daughter, where the said Cormac was entertained that night and his company,” and returned to Lismore next day.

About the end of March, the wounded Earl was brought a prisoner to Clonmel and thence to London, where he was detained in the Tower for some time. Sir Thomas *ruadh*, of Conna Castle, on learning of his brother's imprisonment, assumed the title of Earl of Desmond, but Gerald's claim was defended by Sir John of Desmond, and by James, son of Sir Maurice Fitzgerald. The Queen, in order to compose matters, liberated Gerald, who returned to Ireland early in 1566.

On April 9th, 1566, Gerald, Earl of Desmond, and Sir Maurice Fitzgerald of Dromana, appeared in Dublin Castle, and were again bound over to the peace in the sum of £1,000 each. The Earl as a member of the Privy Council, was present at a Council meeting held at Drogheda on September 8th, and was ordered to gather forces against O'Neill in Ulster.

Meantime, in 1560, Peter Lewis, Dean of Lismore, as appears from the Chapter Books, induced the Chapter to grant a lease of the tithes belonging to the Deanery, in fee-farm, at a rent of forty shillings. Dean Lewis resigned in 1564, whereupon the Crown, on June 17th, of same year, presented Gerald FitzJames FitzGerald, as his successor, who held the Deanery till 1580. Among the printed State papers of Elizabeth, under date of April 21st and 23rd, 1565, there is calendared the examination of Dean FitzGerald, relative to the maintenance of Cormac O'Connor, the proclaimed traitor, by the Earl of Desmond, and the number of the slain

at the Battle of Affane. (c) Some months later, there is a certificate signed by John M'Cragh, addressed to the Earl of Desmond, dated November 10th, 1565, ; and another certificate signed by Garret FitzJohn, Steward at Lismore Castle as to the raid made by Piers Butler, and others, on said John MacCragh, from "Glenahairy by Kilmanehan," on September 7th.

On February 24th, 1566, Sir William Cecil wrote to Sir Henry Sydney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, highly praising Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, of Dromana, who had gone over to London to explain his action in regard to the Battle of Affane ; and at the same time Sir Warham St. Leger, was appointed Lord President of Munster, Sydney, on June 9th, recommended Ralph Morton for "the office of Constable of Dungarvan Castle [then garrisoned by six horse-men and six footmen] for life, with the parsonage of Dungarvan," to replace Matthew King, but Henry Stafford got the preference on October 20th.

Bishop Walshe, of Waterford and Lismore, wrote to the Lord Deputy on June 15th, 1566, begging permission to resign the Deanery of Waterford, and recommended Dr. Peter White to the position, who was accordingly appointed Dean on June 22nd of same year. The Earl of Desmond held Lismore Castle at this period, and submitted to the Lord Deputy in September—performing commendable service against the O'Reilly's in November, as appears from the letters of the Lord Deputy.

The Bishop of Waterford was one of the four Commissioners appointed on November 30th, 1566, to decide the matters in controversy between the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond, but the decision was not made till October 31st, 1567, when Ormonde was awarded £20,894 12s. 8d. Irish, to be paid by the Earl of Desmond, which, as Sydney writes, "the Earl's whole inheritance will not answer for these forty years to come."

Sir Henry Sydney made a regular tour of Munster, commencing on January 27th, 1567, and ending on April 16th. Passing through Leix, Ely, and Tipperary (visiting Holy Cross Abbey), he was joined by the Earl of Desmond at Carrick-on-Suir, and

(c) State Papers—1509—1573. p. 258.

reached Waterford on the 3rd of March. The Lord Deputy then paid a visit to Dungarvan, and thence to Dromana and Youghal. At Limerick, on March 31st, he ordered the Earl of Desmond, Lord Power of Curraghmore, and the Baron of Dunboyne to be sent prisoners to Dublin Castle, where the last mentioned died on May 30th. Finally, on December 12th, Thomas Scott brought the Earl over to England, and also Sir John of Desmond, where they were both detained in custody.

Thomas *ruadh*, of Conna Castle, and James FitzMaurice, now contended as to who should rule the Desmond estates, but on January 25th, 1568, the Countess of Desmond sent the Earl's troops to apprehend both of them, and they were duly brought prisoners to the Castle of Askeaton. However, in March, they were both released, and Fitzmaurice was given the rule of Desmond, according to the Earl's own wish and that of Sir John.

On July 14th, 1568, the Earl of Desmond, and his brother, Sir John, submitted personally to the Queen at Havering, under bonds of £2,000; and, two days later, Elizabeth wrote to the Lord Deputy in favour of Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, of Dromana, ordering that he should be ennobled by the title of "Viscount of the Decies."

The only item of information regarding Lismore at this period is a letter in the State papers dated: "From the Tower of London, November 18th, 1568," written by the Earl of Desmond to his Steward at Lismore, Mr. Garret FitzJohn, urging him "to attend and advise the Countess of Desmond and the Captain of the country," and also "to collect his revenues and rents diligently." On the same date the Earl wrote to his wife, Dame Eleanor, that "the bearer, John *oge* MacCragh was to be re-instated in the custody of the Manor of Mokawllopoie [Mocollop, near Lismore] in the County of Waterford," and that "Donnchadh MacCragh was "to deliver the said Manor and Castle of Mowkollopoche to his father John MacCragh," whom he much commiserates "now in his latter days."

On January 29th, 1569, Sir John of Desmond, the Earl's brother, wrote to Cecil, "to procure the Privy Council's letters to the Lord Deputy, commanding him to place Philip MacCrath in the Castle

of Kilmanehan in the County of Waterford, and to expel Rory MacShane MacCragh." A few days later the Lord Deputy wrote to Cecil in favour of Richard Lucar, Sheriff of Waterford; "to have a further interest in the parsonage and friary of Dungarvan" as said Lucar, according to the testimony of Sir Peter Carew, "had reduced County Waterford to such quietness that travellers may pass without danger, and cattle are left in the fields at night, which has not heretofore been known." This request was refused, and the parsonage of Dungarvan was reserved for the President of Munster, Sir John Pollard.

During the spring and summer of the year 1569 Munster was in a ferment owing to the incipient stage of the Desmond "rebellion," and matters were complicated by the fact of Sir Thomas *ruadh*, of Conna Castle, siding with the Government. On July 19th, Sir Henry Sydney, with 600 men, started on his "progress" through Munster, but only succeeded in taking a half dozen castles. On Friday, August 6th, Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, Viscount Decies of Dromana, came to the Lord Deputy at Clonmel, with 30 horse and 100 kerne; and, on August 13th, Sydney captured Newcastle. Sir Thomas *ruadh* was knighted at Limerick, on September 2nd; and the Earl of Ormonde was propitiated by getting the prisage of wines at Youghal and Kinsale.

On November 13th, Humphrey Gilbert, Colonel of the English army in Munster, writes to the Deputy that Sir Thomas *ruadh* had overthrown the Seneschal of Imokilly at Glenaheiry, and deserved thanks for same. Eleanor, Countess of Desmond, writes from Youghal, on November 23rd, to the effect that owing to the disturbed state of the country she can get no money, and she regrets to add that Sir James Fitzmaurice has gone into rebellion.

An Act of Parliament was passed in January, 1570, in which the terrible disorders of the "reformed" church in Ireland were recounted; and Free Schools were ordered to be established in each diocese. Further, the Lord Deputy was authorised to appoint, for ten years, to all the ecclesiastical benefices, with the exception of Waterford and Lismore, Limerick, Cork, and Cashel. Dr. Peter White, Dean of Waterford, better known as the "lucky

schoolmaster," was ejected for nonconformity, and retired to Kilkenny; and, on August 9th, 1570, David Clear, M.A., was appointed his successor, who held the Deanery till 1602.

Sir John Perrot, appointed President of Munster, in December, 1570, arrived at Waterford on February 27th, 1571, as we learn from a letter in the State papers written by Sir William Fitzwilliam to Lord Burleigh (Cecil). Early in March, 1571, Sir James FitzMaurice burned the town of Killmallock, such that it became for a time a "habitation for wolves." The Earl of Ormonde writes, on March 18th, to Lord Deputy Sydney from Dromana, where he had been visiting Viscount Decies. About this time, Edmond Power, Sheriff of County Waterford, John Power, of Feddaus, gent., and others, were commissioned "to make inquisition of the number of acres in County Waterford, to extend it into ploughlands, and divide into baronies; to find what places are cessable; and to divide the county into four quarters or cantreds, dividing any of these into baronies."

From a letter written by Maurice, Viscount Decies, to Lord Justice Fitzwilliam (Sir Henry Sydney left Ireland on March 25th) on March 28th, from Waterford, we learn that Lord Decies had captured the Castle of Kilnatooragh, Co. Waterford (near Youghal) and he "desires to know what to do with it." In April, the Earl of Ormonde passed through Lismore on his way to Mocollop Castle, which he succeeded in taking from Sir James FitzMaurice—which Castle surrendered on May 4th. Sir James then attacked Conna Castle, and killed 40 men, retainers of Sir Thomas *ruadh*, also capturing 16 persons, "of the which two captains of the galloglasses were hanged." Shortly afterwards, Shian Castle, near Ballyduff, four miles from Lismore, was burned by the English troops.

A rather remarkable proposition was made by Sir John Perrot, Lord President of Munster, on November 18th, whereby he determined to end the Munster "rebellion." This was a pitched battle between himself and Sir James Fitzmaurice, having 24 selected soldiers on either side, but the Earl of Ormonde successfully interfered in staying Perrot from "such a strange dealing."

Viscount Decies, as Dr. Redmond says, died at Dromana on the 31st of December, "whereupon the title lapsed, but the property devolved on his brother Sir James Fitzgerald, of Cappagh." As a matter of fact Viscount Decies was alive in 1574.

Perrot was engaged on the siege of Castlemaine, Co. Kerry, from June 1st to the close of August, 1572; and FitzMaurice was driven to the fastnesses of Aherlow—but submitted to Bouchier on December 8th. The Lord President, writing to the Lord Deputy, on September 16th, describes the skirmish at Kilhooge, County Limerick, in which he had the aid of Lord Roche, Lord Barry, Lord Decies, Lord Power, Sir Thomas *ruadh* of Conna, and others.

During the Christmas festivities, in London, peace was concluded between the Earls of Desmond and Ormonde; and, on February 23rd, 1573, James FitzMaurice formally submitted to Sir John Perrot, at Kilmallock. The Earl of Desmond was set free, and returned to Dublin on March 25th, but was almost immediately re-arrested and confined in the Castle. Sir John of Desmond was allowed to return to Munster on May 24th; and the Earl escaped in November—now a confirmed "rebel."

On November 30th, 1573, Rory MacShane McGrath attacked Conna Castle and defeated Sir Thomas *ruadh*, taking prisoners the Lady Ellice and James FitzThomas. From a letter in the State papers it appears that the siege of Conna was at the instigation of the Earl, as a revenge on Sir Thomas *ruadh*, because he would not join the Desmond revolt.

Viscount Decies was at this time living in retirement at Dromana, after 20 years active service as a loyalist, but his inaction was taken for sympathy with the Earl of Desmond. This we know from a letter written by Sir Edward Fitton to Burghley on December 12th, wherein it is stated that "the Viscount Decies in Munster appears to be an intruder of 30 years."

Henry Davills, Sheriff of County Waterford for the year 1574, was, by Queen's letter of April 20th, 1574, appointed Constable of Dungarvan Castle. This was to spite the Earl of Desmond, who claimed Dungarvan and the advowson of the Church there. However, the gage of battle was thrown down by the Earl, on July

18th, 1574, by the formation of a great Catholic Confederacy of the South of Ireland, in defence of faith and fatherland.

Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam was recalled, at his own urgent request, early in September, and was replaced by Sir Henry Sydney. In the second week of December, the new Deputy remained a couple of days at Curraghmore (as the guest of Lord Power), and then proceeded to Dungarvan where he was royally entertained for three days by Henry Davells, the Constable, and was visited by the Earl of Desmond, Sir James Fitzgerald, of Dromana, and others. He then journeyed to Lismore (via Youghal), and passed on to Lisfinny Castle, "where at that time dwelt Sir John of Desmond," and thence to Cork. On November 21st, 1576, pardon was granted to Thomas Oge Mac Thomas Mac Rory Mac Grath, of Lisfinny.

A pardon was issued February 15th, 1577, to Maurice Fitz James Fitzgerald, of Mocollop Castle, as also to Gerald and James, the sons of Sir James Fitzgerald of Mocollop, and to Maurice Fitz Gerald of Shian, near Ballyduff. In the summer of the same year, Sir John of Desmond (the Earl's brother), who lived at Lisfinny, married the daughter of the Earl of Clanrickard, which alliance caused great uneasiness to the government.

On November 17th, 1577, as Loftus informs us, "a dispensation was granted to Thomas, son of Edmund Power, to hold Mothel (a vicarage with cure) without residence, and with a dispensation for seven years of his minority, *he being a boy of ten years old.*" This same boy was also given the Rectory of Lismore—of which Cathedral both the Dean (Gerald Fitz James Fitzgerald) and Archdeacon (Donogh Mac Gratt) were *laymen* !

Among the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the province of Munster, in 1577, the name of Patrick Walshe, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, does not appear, which is significant of his want of sympathy with the "reforming" views of Queen Elizabeth. Sir William Drury, Lord President of Munster, writing from Waterford to Secretary Walsingham, on April 16th, 1577, says : "The proud and undutiful inhabitants of this town are so *cankered in Popery*, undutiful to Her Majesty, *slandering the Gospel publicly*, as well this

side the sea as beyond in England. . . . *Masses infinite they have in their several churches, every morning without any fear. I have spied them, for I chanced to arrive at five of the clock in the morning, and saw them resort out of the churches by heaps. This is shameful in a reformed city.*

In the summer of 1578, Bishop Walshe, after a most trying episcopate of 27 years, passed to his eternal reward; and, on November 14th of same year, Father John White, S.J., was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Waterford and Lismore—the temporalities of which had been sequestrated by the Crown. It was not till May 31st, 1579, that Queen Elizabeth gave the See of Waterford and Lismore to Marmaduke Middleton, Vicar of Coolock, who, of course, only wanted the revenues.

Sir James Fitz Maurice, the “arch-traitor,” who had left Ireland in March, 1575, returned in 1579, and, in July of the same year, James Wyse received a commission to execute martial law throughout the County of Waterford. Fitz Maurice died in the arms of Rev. Dr. Allen, on August 28th, and Sir John of Desmond, of Lisfinny Castle, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Munster “rebels”—almost immediately displaying his powers of generalship by the defeat of the English troops at Gortnatubrid, or Springfield, on September 15th, including Sir William Drury, Captains Herbert, Eustace, and Price, and others. Drury died at Waterford, on September 20th, and was replaced by Sir William Pelham, and, early in November, Sir John Fitz Edmond, Seneschal of Imokilly, defeated the Queen’s forces, under Ormonde, near Lismore.

In September, 1579, the Earl of Desmond retired to the Castle of Askeaton, as we learn from Hooker, “where he lay close and did nothing,” but, being called on by the new President of Munster to declare himself, he threw in his lot with the “rebels,” and set up his standard in Ballyhowra, towards the close of October. He then marched via Lisfinny and Conna to Youghal, and left Spanish garrisons at Lisfinny and Strancally.

Here we pause for the present. Any detailed description of the events from 1580 to 1603 would require at least a dozen more pages, and so we end this Chapter of the history of Lismore.

Tracts Illustrative of the Civil War in Ireland of 1641, &c.

Contributed by JAMES BUCKLEY.

V.

A LETTER

From Lieutenant Colonel *Knight*

IN

The Province of *Munster*,

IN

I R E L A N D ,

Setting forth the Extraordinary
wants of the Soldiery ;

AND

The carriage of the Army since the
Lord *Lisle's* coming thence.

* * * *

Printed in the Year 1647. July 22.

SIR,

Since my last letter, our Army are remaining in Garison when they ought to be in the Field; but Soldiery is grown a Trade, and if they can get but a good name at first, by putting off ware at a very reasonable rate, 'tis no matter what they put off afterwards, being but at first cryed up; 'tis so with my Lord *Inchiquine*. The taking of Dungarvan (we hear) is lookt upon in England as an action of great concernment, and so 'tis thought here, truly by many of the best Officers, as causing in a maner the loss of the Army, I am confident of this Summers work; for at the departure of the Lord *Lisle*, who by his great care had provided all things in readiness to take the field, and left the Army in a very good condition, if we had at first marched into *Butlers* countrey (we having then a moneths provision) which swarmed at that time with cattel, we had first annoyed the Rebels, by being in their countrey. Secondly, our staying there had cut off all possibility of their joyning together: Thirdly, our Army lying so conveniently to intercept any party of theirs that should advance, doubtless we being then so strong in horse, (and this *Butlers* countrey being not far off from Dungarvan) if my Lord had but sent Five hundred horse to have blockt up the Town, they must of necessity have been forced to yield, they having but little provision in town, and no fresh water at all: Lastly, his Lordship, in all possibility, if his Lordship would have been perswaded to this course, (allowing but a little more time) had taken this place without the loss of any men, had kept his Army together, and half the Army had not been starved as now they are; for his men wanted so much at that siege, that the poor Soldiers were forced by hunger to run to the walls of the town to beg bread of the Rebels, and the men starved so fast, as my Lord said if they had not delivered up the town the same day they did, he must have been forced to have drawn off; and the Rebels when they marched out they said, they could not have kept the town four and twenty hours longer for want of water: I leave the conclusion to yourself, who by this may see the conscience of an Irish General, who starves his Army here to feed his good name in England: His Lordship, as soon as he had taken this Town (if I may so call it, consisting but of twenty

poor tiled houses) returned to Cork with the remainder of his poor Soldiers that were not starved, either at the siege or by the way in their return (which every ditch can shew were many) his Lordship rested here about a fortnight: The 29 of May his Lordship marched no farther then Caperqueen with the Army, a thing much wondered at, being in a starving condition, and such plenty of provisions to be had in the Rebels countrey without any apparent opposition by them: The third of June 300 horse under the command of Major Vordham was sent the directest way to Karrick, from thence to drive all the country to kill *Mac Thomas*, where Major General *Sterling* one of the Lord Inchiquines new Model, met with four Regiments of Foot, who returned suddenly to Caperqueen, where my Lord remained; they got some cattel, but 'twas an inconsiderable prey for so considerable a party: The fifth of June his Lordship commanded out one Captain *Poor* an Irishman, with a good party of the choicest horse of the Army, to discover the Enemy; they having intelligence of the sign, drew together a good body of horse and foot, and advanced towards Captain *Poor*, which the Scouts perceiving returned, and advertised Captain *Poor* that they were advanced with a very great body; but it seems that the said Captain *Poor* sent his Trumpeter to a Rebels Castle for drink, and neglected the Alarm; thus Irishmen prefer the gains of a little Irish drink, before the shedding a great deal of Protestants blood; for in the interim the Rebels got between him and home, charged our men, routed them, kild near sixty, which they most cruelly butchered, took twelve prisoners, most that escaped lost their horses, pursued our men till they came within half a mile to Caperqueen, where my Lord remained with the Army, Lieutenant Selby, besides three Cornets lost; one Colonel Grady that escaped out of London, was a chief actor in this defeat, which (God be praised) was never paraleld in this Province; this Captain *Poor* is not at all questioned for this business, my Lord said, He hath got a great deal of Honor by it; his Lordship having spent fifteen days provision at Caperqueen, and performed this gallant Exploit, is returned in the middle of Summer to his Winter-quarters at Cork, having a great part of his

Army starved to death, great store for hunger run away to the Rebels, and at least Twelve hundred fallen sick ; Colonel *Needhams* Regiment marched out of Cork toward Caperqueen Five hundred and seventy, and marched in but One hundred ; another Colonel (they report) marched out Six hundred and returned but one hundred and twenty, and *Sic de ceteris*, many Officers report that the Army is no more able to march out this Summer : Thus you see the greatest Army that ever was in Munster, is metamorphosed to a little or nothing. Truly, our Soldiers are become the obstacles of so great misery, as I believe could melt the hardest hearts into pity that should behold them, which many much wonder at, considering 'tis but nine weeks since my Lord *Lisle* left this Province, and his Lordship left behinde him 6,500 *l.* in money, a full months provision since arrived here, 5,000 *l.* in money and good store of provision, the Contribution, Excise and other Rents cannot amount to less than 4,000 *l.* the Cattel taken to 1,500, which sums being cast up cannot amount to less than 20,000 *l.* yet for all these great sums received, the Officers want, the Soldiers starve, those soldiers that are able to march have six pennyworth in bread *per* week, poor sick Soldiers have sometimes nothing ; but the best is, the Lord *Inchiquine* is well, and able to play at bouls on the Fast day, to sit up whole nights a Feasting with Dancing and Fidling, while the poor Soldiers daily starve under his window : If this be Religion and Zeal to the Cause, Good Lord deliver me from the like. For all the starving condition, yet his Lordship permits Officers and others licence to Transport Cows, and some oxen, though they are extremely wanted to draw the Artillery ; a licence which doth dishearten many : Sir *Percy Smith* is made Quarter-Master General of the Field. I could say much more of this nature, but I am in haste to conclude. The present state of the Army is very aguish, and the approach of the Rebels, I fear, will put us into a shaking fit.

Your humble servant

R. K.

Cork, June 22, 1647.

SIR,

Having so convenient an opportunity, I could not omit giving you the Relation of some Passages here that have hapned sithence my Lord Lisle's (unhappy) calling over : 'Tis true, some (especially those that have Custodiums) were glad of his going, but more do now wish he had stayed, especially the poor Soldiers, for then, I verily believe, we had not been in such extraordinary want (both Officers and Soldiers) as now we are : I doubt not but the Relation of taking Dungarvan is stale with you ; but whether you heard of the men lost there, that were starved for meer hunger (and knockt on the head as they lay in the Ditches, by the protected Irish) being not able to march away when the Army drew from thence, I know not ; but confident I am there was many a poor Soldier lost there.

Truly, the poor Soldiers are starved, and dye in the very streets, notwithstanding there are great store of Cows and Oxen transported into England from hence by licence from my Lord : What will be the issue of these things, I know not ; the Soldiers that are not sick, are so faint that they are not able to march three miles a day, but as they march, fall sick and dye in the ditches and hedges : As the other day there was a Regiment consisting of Five Hundred, that marched forth of *Cork*, and was not above a week abroad, and (upon no Service all the while, that) when they came home marched not in again One hundred and fifty. At *Youghal* there is no less than One thousand two hundred Soldiers sick, some of them lie in the streets for quarter, and beg of the people that pass along ; yet for all that, the Soldiers are in such extraordinary want : yet there are those that never served the State, that have what would keep many a good mans child from starving : *God* put into the Parliaments hearts to take some speedy course for our deliverance out of this *Irish* Bondage.

The other day there was a party of horse consisting of 100, (some out of every troop) commanded by Captain *Poor* (an Irishman) to discover a party of the Enemies Horse and Foot that lay beyond *Capperquin* ; the enemy had intelligence (I will not say by *Poor's* mean's) of it, sent a party of theirs to surround them, fell upon our men, routed them, killed in the place about Sixty private

Troopers, one Lieutenant, and two Cornets ; but the *Irish* Captain escaped, and left his Soldiers to the mercy of his merciless countrey-men, yet for all this was never questioned : 'Tis strange we have not English men enough in *England* to command us here, but must be commanded by the natural *Irish*.

There was two Frigots bound to Dungarnon, for the Relief of that Garison, laden with Provision, Ammunition, &c. and were about the fifth of this instant taken by the *Washford* Pirats : I fear God doth not give a blessing to our Endeavours, there is such ungodly, unjust, and corrupt dealing amongst us.

But amongst all these sad Stories, I will give you a pretty Relation of (my Cousin) a great man in person (and now in Command) and though he be a friend of mine, I cannot omit it ; he was commanded with a party of Horse consisting of 500 to march into the County of Kerry for a prey (that County you know being full of cattel) after they had marched a great way into the County, on the side of a high Hill they discovered a great moving body, which the Commander in chief swore (God damn him) was a body of the Enemy marching to surround ; whereupon he retreated, and on his retreat took a Prisoner, and examined him what Forces of Horse and Foot were in the County ; the Prisoner swore, None ; then they asked him what body of men were them on that great Hill : He swore they were no men, but Cows driving away for fear of them, because the Alarm was in the County that they were in it : So the Cows through their fear escaped, and they came home like fools as they went.

I pray present my humble service to my Colonel ; and use your endeavour to make my peace with him : I know now that since his Recruit is Disbanded, and Feld-Officers dispierced, he cannot be against my being Lieutenant Colonel to the Regiment : Let him know, That I am heartily sorry that ever any difference should happen between him and me, or any of the Officers : I hope we shall for all this love and live together like friends. I will carry a faire correspondency with you know whom, till I see the tide turn which I hope will be shortly (let what will come to me) And farther tell my Colonel, that if he pleaseth to accept of it I will give

him the true Relation of all passages here, as often as I can meet with a hasty Messenger ; it is very dangerous writing, for many letters have been intercepted both going and coming (a guilty conscience needs no Accuser) this being all at present, but that I am

Signed by

LIEUTENANT COL: *KNIGHT*.

Cork, July 4, 1647.

FINIS.

[*British Museum: E. 399. (23)*]

[*To be continued*].





Documents Relating to the City of Waterford,

AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 17TH CENTURY.

From the State Papers and Calendar of the Carew MSS.

By the Hon. EDITOR, *Waterford Journal*.

(1). July 20, 1599. Thomas White, Mayor of Waterford, to Sir R. Cecil. He first assures Cecil that Burghly's fatherly care of their city will never be forgotten by the Waterford Council. The universal calamity and sudden mutation of the state of Ireland, through the undutiful rebellion of the subject (*sic*) compel them to crave the aid and protection of the Privy Council in this so doubtful and perilous a time. Desire Sir Robert's furtherance in their just causes. "And now for some shew of gratuity, we do herewith send unto your Honour two blankets, or bed-coverings, and a rondell of aqua vitae, of our town's making, which we beseech your Honour to accept according to our good minds."

(2). January 28, 1600. Myler Magrath, Archb. of Cashel, to Cecil ——. "At my coming to Waterford I am much troubled in mind by reason of many abuses offered by the Mayor of Waterford and the Officers there to myself and to the few members of the professors of truth, by which we are like presently to be banished

out of Waterford, as well as from the rest of Munster, assuring your Honour that we be neither loved nor defended by any. Yet si Deus vobiscum quis contra nos? . . . And therefore, I beseech your Worship to send some words to the Mayor of Waterford and the rest of the inhabitants, concerning their open contempt of God's laws, &c., and to abstain from using us worse than the traitors will use us. . . . The Mayor of W. and the rest there will have none of my profession amongst them, and do say in plain English that her Majesty and the Council of England do know them to love and entertain Romish bishop and seminary, and yet that they be tolerated still, by reason that they must so continue, howsoever her Majesty will use them. And in my judgment, if such be permitted to live so, all Ireland ought to be made quiet by granting the like, for it is their chief point of discontent, &c. (*sic*).

(3). V. 614, p. 191. Discourse of Ireland (by Sir G. Carew). "The people of Munster are Spanish in heart. . . . The Spaniards would find at Waterford all kinds of conveniences—fortifications, artillery, "portable rivers," salt, wine, iron, fish, &c., and there is more shipping in that harbour than in any other part of Ireland."

(4). March 9, 1600. The Privy Council to Sir George Carew. William Pârcell (Purcell?) of Waterford, complains that William Wallinge, (Waddinge?) Paul Sherloke, and others have by force dispossessed him of certain lands, and refused to appear before Commissioners appointed by Lord Chancellor there. Summon them before you and see justice done. Richmond, March 9, 1599.

(5). May 19, 1600. Sir G. Carew, Lord President, and the Council of Munster to the Privy Council. According to your letter of the 7th ult., I the President at my late being in Waterford, "made strict proclamation that no merchant, upon pain of death, should sell any powder, munition, or other habiliments of war, and that no merchant should buy any, but should forthwith acquaint the Mayor of the town with the quantity upon his oath; but that the whole store of the town . . . should be delivered up wholly to the Mayor and kept in his private charge. The Mayors of Waterford and Cork have undertaken with all diligence to look into the restraint of these merchandises, and to prevent any further

relief being given to the rebels. Herein we can only use proclamations, which are "of little force against merchants, for that they pretend their charters to free them from any danger thereof, inferring that the martial law hath no force upon any merchants selling the same within the corporation."

(6). May 19, 1600. Sir G. Carew and the Council of Munster to Privy Council. "I the President have received lately sundry intelligences touching a preparation in Spain, intended before midsummer next for these parts of Ireland, which hath come from the traitor Tyrone to Desmond and others here, to commit them with constancy to continue in the wicked course, and the same much confirmed by an advertisement from the Mayor of Waterford unto me, wherein he manifesteth, upon the examination of a merchant lately arrived from Andalusia that the preparation still holdeth."

(7). Sept. 30, 1600. Privy Council to Sir G. Carew. "Whereas the Archbishop of Cashell complaineth that the Mayor and inhabitants of Waterford do not pay unto him, being their ordinary such ecclesiastical duties as to him appertain, nor answer his jurisdiction according to her Majesty's laws, we do pray and require you to let him have your best assistance for recovery of the said duties, and for maintenance of his jurisdiction, and for redress of the backwardness of such persons as shall be found guilty therein. Though we do well enough know the evil disposition of the Irish people in most places of that Kingdom, and especially of the inhabitants of Waterford in matter of religion, and her Majesty hath been pleased in that behalf to hold a very remiss and favourable hand over them, because they should not serve themselves with pretence of any matter of conscience to fall from their duty and obedience to her Majesty, yet, we have had no doubt or distrust of any such presumption and insolency as by the Archbishop of Cashell and others, we are informed they are grown unto, who avoweth unto us that in Waterford there are certain buildings erected under colour and pretence of almshouses or hospitals, but that the same are in very deed intended and publicly professed to be used for monasteries and such like houses of religion, and that friars and popish

priests are openly received and maintained in them, even such as do not deny to have recourse unto Spain, and unto the chief rebel Tyrone ordinarily, insomuch as they publicly seek to seduce her Majesty's subjects from their allegiance and exercise their service of the Mass openly and usually in many places, as if they were in no awe or fear of any exception to be taken thereunto, of which things we cannot but think it very necessary that a more watchful eye and a straighter hand of authority be kept over them. For as we do well consider that it is as yet inconvenient to take any sudden or sharp course for reformation (in such sort as were to be wished) of their blind superstition, being with strong head so generally carried away with opinion of conscience, so we must put a great difference betwixt the secret increase of their religion and practice of treason under cover of religion, and therefore, though we do not think it convenient that an extraordinary course be taken, or any disturbance made to enquire after or to punish for their Masses or any other their popish superstitions (unless they show thereby openly to the world an insolent contempt of her Majesty's authority) yet on the other side it is not to be suffered that such persons should go unpunished as are known to be practisers for the King of Spain or for the rebel. . . . And whereas by occasion of the trade of merchandise which the Irish have with Spain and is tolerated by her Majesty there be divers persons that do pass betwixt Spain and Ireland that do serve for intelligence to and from the rebels, as all such persons are to be diligently enquired after, and to be apprehended and punished for their treasons according to law so . . . the owners of all ships shall give bonds not to transport any persons to or from Spain but such as go for merchandise."

(8). Answer of Sir G. Carew to Privy Council, October 25th, 1600. "Concerning the Archbishop of Cashell's information . . . against the citizens of Waterford for their presumptuous insolences in the exercise of their Popish religion—until by your Lordship's letter of the 30th September, I never heard complaint of the same, yet do verily believe the information in matter to be true, but in form I hold somewhat doubtful, not supposing that a corporate town (endowed with so great a

privilege) will hazard their charters in so palpable and gross a manner. As soon as I may spare myself from these parts I will take order for a Reformation, but yet I will handle the matter of religion as nicely as I may. . . . If it do appear in the least that any part of their punishment proceeds for matter of religion, it will kindle a great fire in this Kingdom.

“As for taking bonds of the owners of ships passing hence to Spain, I find that most of the Irish merchants that trade for Spain (the town of Waterford excepted) do lade their goods in French bottoms.”

(9). December 16. Sir G. Carew to Privy Council. . . .

The magistrates and inhabitants in corporate towns (partly out of malice to the State for religious cause, but especially for their own lucre, for that in turbulent times they receive the Queen's treasure expended among them, issue their merchandise to the rebels underhand at excessive rates, and buy the country commodities at their own prices) desire nothing more than a continual war, enriching themselves more in one of these years than in seven others, as many appear by all outward show in building, &c., and by their known wealth. They now seeing a peace in establishing, and fearing to be called to account for their former transgressions, or for some other hidden causes to them known, have in their towns (which hath not been usual) made choice of professed lawyers to be their magistrates, and such as beforetimes were ringleaders of their corporations, namely, in Cork, John Meade, in Limerick one Geoffrey Gallowaye, in Waterford one Edward Goughe, who is far more tractable than the two former, but yet savouring of the law; in Cashell, the portrefe (?) the profoundest man for the civil law within the Kingdom, and as obstinate as learned; in Clonmell, one Whyte, a lawyer, also is the sovereign, as much Romish as any of the rest.

4th May, 1603. Lord Deputy and Council to Privy Council. There is first a complaint that from Waterford had proceeded the grounds of the disorders and defection of Kilkenny and other places, and that the inhabitants had disobeyed the directions sent to them from the Earl of Ormonde by Sir Nicholas Walshe for

proclaiming of his Majesty (James I), to be King, and had resisted and abused said Sir Nicholas Walshe and Sir Richard Alyward in publishing of this proclamation; had raised a tumult, and some of them dared to utter in his own (Lord Deputy's) hearing these disloyal speeches:—"We will not have a Scot to be our King."

The Mayor of Waterford sent to me to Thomastown "a foolish libel devised by their Doctor (Fr. White), as it should seem, in the behalf of their wished toleration."

Encamped on 1st May, within three miles of the city (Waterford). Four agents came excusing Mayors not coming on plea of sickness, etc. They began to make requests for public toleration of the Mass, and that he (Lord Deputy) would enter with no greater number than they would allow, to which effect they showed a clause extracted out of an ancient charter granted by King John. They were answered what was meet.

By help of Earl of Ormonde, who sent for his boats to Carrick, and met them at the river himself, he encamped within a mile of the city early on Monday, 2nd inst., having received intelligence that preparations were made for resistance within the city; that they were manning the walls, and that the evening before their seditious priest (Doctor White), had laid violent hands on Sir R. Alyward, for coming to meet the Deputy, and had committed him to the townhouse from which he escaped next morning and came to the camp; and that some in the city openly regretted that they had not taken the heads of Sir N. Walshe, and Sir R. Alyward.

Nevertheless the agents had come again with two requests:—
1. That Lord Deputy should bring a certain number only into the city, and 2, That Dr. White should be permitted to come to the camp in the name of the Commons of the city. Refused to yield to any condition with them, yet thought it not amiss, for some good respects, to permit the Doctor and one of his friars to come.

This is the man (Dr. White), who hallowed their churches, prohibited their private Masses to establish to public exercise thereof in contempt of law. He used to enter by public force into the Churches, and being daily assisted with seditious companions, took away the keys of the Churches, excluded the ministers, burned

the service books and did tear them in pieces, and besides this . . . he exacted an oath of every inhabitant that they should be true to the Pope and maintain the Popish religion with their goods and life, and lately was altered to these words—"to be true to God and King, and to maintain the Catholic Religion with goods and life"; which oath was taken by most of that city, and was refused by Sir R. Alyward, and a few others, viz., James Briver, Richard Butler, Walter Sherlocke, Pat Morgan, Stephen Leonard, etc.

1603. State Papers, Ireland, Vol. 215, 127. A taxation of principal towns according to ability. Waterford and Cork are noted as being ill-affected towards the English Government and in "good liking" with the Spaniard. Waterford is taxed £100; Cork, £50; and Clonmel, £10.

Reviews.—"Fr. O'Growney's Revised Simple Lessons in Irish."

We have received from the "*Gael Publishing Co.*," New York, the first American edition of "Fr. O'Growney's Simple Lessons in Irish, Part 1."

We can say at once that it is superior to the Irish edition. In the first place it has had the benefit of the last touches of Fr. O'Growney's skilled hand. Then Dr. Henebery has added a few notes, and a useful article on the aspiration of l, n, r: And finally, the get-up and general appearance of the book are better.

There are occasional misprints, as for instance at p. 33, § 53.

There is an excellent portrait of Fr. O'Growney at the beginning of the book, and an excellent account of his life at the end. The price of the book is 15 cents.

II.—Recent issues of the *Gael* are keeping up to, if not surpassing, the previous high character of this admirable *Journal*. Every month it comes laden with all sorts of good things. In the February number for instance there is a very interesting account of "Irish Pipes and Pipers;" a poem, "Knock an Faerin," by James Dollard; a poem, "Ballinderry," by D. A. MacCarthy; the two illustrated stories, each in its own

way excellent, "The Trail of the Serpent," by Shiela Mahon, and "A Soft Bit o' Mist," by Stephen MacKenna; and—without exhausting all the notable things—a Gaelic Department with its usual wealth of matter.

III.—The *Journal* of the Royal Society for January is a good number. Dr. MacNamara continues his interesting papers on "Inchiquin." Mr. Knox contributes an excellent article on the "occupation of the County Galway, by the Anglo-Normans after 1237." The articles, "Slane in Bregia," by Mr. Westropp; "Notes on the Round Towers of Kilbannon," by Mr. Kelly; and "The Christian Sepulchral Leacs and Free-standing Crosses of Rathdown," by Mr. O'Reilly, are all deserving of attention. The paper on the "King's and Queen's Corporation for the Linen Manufacture in Ireland," by Mr. W. R. Scott, is of special interest, as it gives the history of the early progress of the Linen Industry in Ulster.

The *Ulster Journal* for January, 1902, is also a strong number. The articles on "Ancient Irish Bronze Trumpets," by Mr. F. J. Bigger, and on "The Church of Nendrum," by the late Rt. Rev. Wm. Reeves, are pre-eminently valuable.

HON. EDITOR.



Notes and Queries.

Waterford and South-Eastern Counties' Early-Printed Books, &c.—Part x.—The following Titles, with the exception of one by Mr. J. Buckley, have been supplied by Mr. E. R. McClintock Dix (whose Part III. of Early Dublin Printed Books will shortly be published), by whom they have been extracted from the Joly Collection, in the National Library, Dublin.

Letter VI.—Addressed to the Right Rev. Dr. Milner in Reply to his Statements in the *Herald*, with Observations on the late Extraordinary Proceedings of certain Catholics in Louth and Kilkenny. By Sarsfield. To which is added The Inistioge Affiche. 8vo. 12 pp. John Reynolds, High St., Kilkenny, 1809.

An Address to the Parishioners of St. Mary's, Kilkenny. By Rev. Peter Roe. 8vo. 4 pp. Abm. Denroche, Kilkenny, 1816.

Observations upon Mr. Callaghan's Pamphlet against Bible Societies. By Rev. George Hamilton, Rector of Killermogh. 16 pp. Abm. Denroche, Kilkenny, 1816.

An Address to the Soldiers of the 44th Regiment, on the Execution of Thomas Healey. By Rev. Peter Roe. 8vo. 4 pp. Abm. Denroche, Kilkenny, 1819.

A Farewell Address to the 78th Highlanders, on their departure from Kilkenny, 1824. By Rev. Peter Roe, Chaplain. 8vo. 4 pp. John Bull, Waterford, 1824.

An Address delivered at Church of Affane, January 25th, 1825, at Interment of Rev. Wm. Power. By Rev. Peter Roe. 8vo. 4 pp. John Bull, Waterford, 1825.

An Account of the Proceedings connected with the Fox-hunting in the Co. of Kilkenny for the last 18 months. By George Bryan, M.P. 8vo. 40 pp.

Printed at the *Journal* Office, Parade, Kilkenny, 1870.

Handbook to the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny. Edited by Richard Langrish. 8vo. 38 pp.

Moderator Office, High St., Kilkenny, 1878.

J. C.

Archæological and Literary Miscellany.—Since the last Miscellany was written a more considerable number of Irish books than usual has appeared, including some notable historical and biographical works, such as “Vol. VIII. of the Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin, 1730-40,” edited by Lady Gilbert, (Dublin : Dollard) ; and “The Life of Lord Russell, of Killowen,” by R. Barry O’Brien, (London : Smith-Elder). Of a more archæological character are “Traces of the Early Faiths of Ireland,” by Colonel W. G. Wood-Martin, (London : Longmans) ; the “Thesaurus Palæo-Hibernica ; or Collection of Old Irish Glosses, Scholia Prose and Verse,” (Vol. I.,) edited by Whitley Stokes and John Strachan, (London : J. Clay) ; “Dunbrody Abbey, The Great Island and Ballyhack,” (the third instalment of the History of the Co. of Wexford,) by Mr. P. H. Hore, (London : Elliot Stock) ; and “Christchurch Cathedral, Dublin,” by Mr. W. Butler, (London : Elliot Stock). To these have to be added “Present Irish Questions,” by Judge O’Connor Morris, (London : Richards) ; “Ireland and the Empire,” by T. W. Russell, M.P., (London : Richards) ; “Barry Sullivan and his Contemporaries,” by R. M. Sillard, (London : Unwin) ; “Killarney,” by Edmund Downey, (London : Downey & Co.) ; and “Notes on Education Reform in Ireland,” from the unpublished Memoirs of Sir Thomas Wyse, K.C.B., by his niece Miss W. M. Wyse, (Waterford : C. P. Redmond & Co.) Part I. of the Index A to K, of the first Nineteen Volumes, of the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries,

Ireland, originally the Kilkenny Archæological Society, founded in 1849, has at length been issued and forms a useful and much needed key to the vast storehouse of historical and archæological, as well as biographical matter enshrined in these 19 Volumes. The October No. of the *R.S.A.I.'s Journal* contains several valuable archæological papers, especially those on Galway, by the Very Rev. J. Fahy, and Clare by Mr. Westropp, and on the Leacs and Crosses of Rathdown by Mr. P. J. O'Reilly . . . The last *Cork Journal* is a very readable one, although only the first two (continued) papers, indicate anything like labour or research on the part of their writers . . . Of a like light and readable nature are the articles in the last *Ulster Journal*, two of which are from the Editor's devoted pen; whilst Mr. Dix's efforts to chronicle fully the Bibliography of Ulster have happily elicited additional information on that head from the Rev. T. Latimer and Mr. A. C. Campbell . . . In the *Antiquary* for October was published a very interesting paper on "The Ancient Barony of Teallach Eachach," by the Rev. J. B. McGovern; and earlier than usual the two parts have been issued of the 5th Volume of the *Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead Ireland* for the year 1901. The Waterford inscriptions in this volume number only three, which are to be seen in the Protestant Cathedral, whence they have been copied by the late Surgeon-Colonel Greene. It is to be regretted that it has been found necessary to double the annual subscription to this unique and most deserving Association,—a change one may hope that will serve to maintain it on a successful basis for the future. . . It is satisfactory to learn that the ancient Irish Canoe or dug-out, fifty-two feet long, recently found in good preservation in a bog near Tuam is to be permanently placed in the National Museum at Dublin . . . To the *Dublin Freeman's Journal* we are indebted for the following locally interesting paragraphs:—

Among the bequests of the late Dr. Edmund Croker, of Lisnabrin House, Tallow, Co. Waterford (the probate of whose will has just been published, and whose personality is set down as £22,598 net value) is a historic heirloom, none other than the gold

watch which Sir Walter Raleigh gave to the infant son of Richard Croker, the direct ancestor of Dr. Croker, in 1589. Raleigh had at this date 42,000 acres of land in the counties of Waterford and Cork, including Lisnabrin, and he gave Croker a long lease, also standing sponsor to his little namesake, Walter, and presenting a valuable gold watch to the child. Until a few years ago this watch kept excellent time, although the case was worn to the thinness of silver paper. At the same date he leased Lisfinny Castle, near Tallow, to the Crokers, who retained it for nearly 300 years, when they sub-let it to the late Mr. Douglas Pyne, M.P., whose defence of Lisfinny for two months at the close of 1887 is one of the most memorable episodes of the land war in Ireland.

. Apropos of the exquisite Waterford vestments now on view in Dublin, lent by the most Rev. Dr. Sheehan, their true history is as follows :—In June, 1577, the Dean and Chapter of Waterford made over to the Corporation their church plate and vestments, as custodians—in fact, “in pledge”—for the sum of £400, the bond being duly signed and sealed on July 12th, 1577. Matters went on smoothly till 1635, when, under the rule of Lord Deputy Wentworth, a royal edict went forth for the proper and decorous performance of Divine Service in the various Protestant churches throughout the Kingdom of Ireland. Richard Jones, then Dean of Waterford, “raised the wind” somehow, and tendered the £400 to the Mayor of Waterford to restore to Holy Trinity Cathedral (Christchurch) all the plate, jewels, vestments, etc., in his keeping, and the Mayor refused, whereupon, on May 25th, 1637, an order in Council was issued ordering Richard Butler, Mayor of Waterford, to forthwith deliver to the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter of Waterford “certain copes and vestments in his custody belonging to said church.” Thus the vestments were restored, and continued in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Waterford until 1797, when the Protestant Bishop, Dr. Chenevix, generously handed them over to Dr. Hussey (first President of Maynooth College), Catholic Bishop of Waterford and Lismore; and ever since they have remained as the property of the Catholic Cathedral. The date of the vestments must be placed as between

the years 1534 and 1536, because one of the copes has a figure of St. Anne, as also splendid portraits, seemingly of Henry VIII. and Queen Anne Boleyn. Now, as Anne Boleyn is said, on fairly good authority, to have been born at Carrick Castle, near Waterford, in 1501, and was only married to King Henry on January 25th, 1533, the vestments cannot be of earlier date than 1533, nor can they be later than 1536, in which year Queen Anne was executed. Therefore, it is almost certain that Henry VIII., about the year 1534, presented these vestments."

J. COLEMAN.





JOURNAL OF THE .
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January to March,

1902.

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Annual Subscription 10/-, payable in advance.

RULES.

- 1.—That the Society be called "THE WATERFORD AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY."
- 2.—That the purpose of the Society be the promotion of the study of matters having an antiquarian interest relating to Waterford and the South Eastern Counties.
- 3.—That Ladies shall be eligible for membership.
- 4.—That the Annual Subscription shall be Ten Shillings, payable on the first of January in each year, and that a payment of £5 shall constitute a Life Member.
- 5.—That the Society be managed by a President, four Vice-Presidents, and one Vice-President from each County taking part in the proceedings of the Society, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor, and a Committee of nine Members, any three of whom shall form a quorum.
- 6.—That an Annual General Meeting, for the purpose of electing the Officers and Committee, shall be held before the end of February in each year, and that such election shall be by ballot.
- 7.—That at the Annual General Meeting in each year the Committee shall submit a brief report and statement of the Treasurer's Accounts.
- 8.—That a Journal be published containing accounts of the proceedings, and columns for local Notes and Queries.
- 9.—That all papers, &c., intended for publication in the Journal shall be subject to the approval of the Committee.
- 10.—That the date of the Society's meetings, which may be convened for the reading and discussion of papers and the exhibition of objects of antiquarian interest, shall be fixed by the Committee, due notice being given to each member.
- 11.—That all matters touching on existing religious and political differences shall be rigorously excluded from the discussions at the meetings and from the columns of the Journal.
- 12.—That each Member shall be at liberty to introduce two visitors at the meetings of the Society.
- 13.—That the foregoing Rules can be altered only at the Annual General Meeting, or at a Special General Meeting convened for that purpose,



The Tradesmen's Coinage of Waterford in the Seventeenth Century.



IN the 10th of August, 1650, Waterford was surrendered to Ireton. The March following, the ancient inhabitants were by proclamation ordered to leave the city within three months and "provide for themselves either by hiring or building themselves places of habitation in some parts neare adjoyning (to be allotted them for that purpose), or to march if they soe desire it by land or take a voyage by sea to those places unto which they shall desire to goe." War, famine and the plague had by turns ravaged the city during the previous twelve months, yet the uprooting and scattering of an entire population was a task for the energies of even a Cromwellian government. In the event, the agony was long prolonged and the history of Waterford for the next five years is as awful as anything in the annals of human suffering. Some of the old burghers, the Aylwards, Lincolns, and Bryvers settled in the neighbourhood, and building for themselves cabins at Killure, Castletown, and elsewhere, rapidly passed down through penury into pauperism. Others

“took a voyage by sea” to the towns in Spain, Portugal, France, and the Low Countries with which they had formerly traded. When ten years later they petitioned the Duke of Ormond to be permitted to return to their old homes, their petitions were dated in every seaport from Cadiz to Amsterdam; some even were in Mexico, and some in the Barbadoes. (*a*)

But if it is difficult to ruin a city it is still more difficult to build it up again. Early in the war, the Parliament had for the sum of £30,000 offered Waterford, with 1,500 acres contiguous, to English merchants and foreigners (being Protestants). There were no bidders however. Shortly after taking the city Colonel Richard Laurence, the Governor, proposed to raise in England a regiment of 1,200 footmen to plant and garrison it. This project failed also. But now as the old inhabitants were being cleared, “the city becoming ruinous, the houses falling down and by indigent people pulled down” new settlers began to arrive. There were disbanded soldiers of Cromwell’s army, some cautious traders from the south-west of England, many mere fortune-hunters, and a few “merchant adventurers.” A census of Waterford was taken in 1658 when there were counted within the walls 950 persons, of whom 538 were English, the rest being natives dispensed from transplanting as necessary labourers and menials. If small, the new colony, like Dido’s, showed phenomenal activity.

Instant ardetes Tyrii pars ducere muros

Molirique arcem et munibus subvolvere saxa

Pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco.

The Council books still existing abundantly testify to the zeal of the new citizens in scavanging, rebuilding the “Kay breeches,” the warehouses and the guild hall. It was even proposed to create a trust (in the modern sense) and syndicate the trade of the city. On November 17, 1656, we find:—

Ordered that ye next meetinge it be concluded upon that a Joynte Stocke be made to drive a trade for ye inrichinge of ye citty.

(*a*) The writer has met the descendants of a few. One, the Marquis de Candia, recently the Spanish Ambassador at Berlin, represents the Walshes, founders of the Holy Ghost Hospital; another is secretary to the Postmaster-General.

Whether the municipal joint stock company was ever floated is doubtful, but the enterprise of the individual traders is beyond question. One curious evidence of this is afforded by the coinage which forms the subject of the present paper.

The state of things presented in the middle of the seventeenth century, when every town in the kingdom set up its own mint and every pushing shopkeeper exercised the royal prerogative of issuing money, is most interesting and instructive. Here however we are not concerned with the question in its broader aspects, or the causes, political or economic, out of which such a condition of affairs arose, suffice it to observe that the coinage being merely a token one the trader had the same interest in and drew the same profits from it as the banker does from his note issue.

Among the earliest of the Cromwellian planters in Waterford were John Heaven and Thomas Noble. They figure in the first list of freemen as merchants, and shortly subsequent we find them, cuckoo-like, in the two best houses of the north ward. Heaven made his abode in the home of Richard Strange; close by lived Noble in the more ambitious house of John Lee, now a wanderer in Ostend. When in 1656 the corporation was re-established both were nominated aldermen, and Heaven became mayor in 1668 and 1669. These appear to have been the first of the private "moneyers"—as the term was—of Waterford. The following is the description of their coins:—

{ Obverse : JOHN HEAVEN (The arms of Waterford). (b)
 { Reverse : OF WATERFORD 1656 (I. H I^p)
 { O. : THOMAS NOBLE, MERCH^t (T.A.N.)
 { R. : CITY OF WATERFORD (1656 I^p)

Noble issued a second token, but without date:—

{ O. : THOMAS NOBLE MERCH (T.A.N.)
 { R. : ANT OF WATERFORD (a ship).

That there were other tokens issued during the Commonwealth period is certain, but the writer has sought them in vain. Indeed the number of Waterford tokens preserved or noted by collectors

(b) Three Galleys.

is singularly small, and it is probable that the few in possession of our President are the only ones now existing in the locality. Heaven and Noble, we may be assured, had many imitators. The culpable neglect of government not only afforded an opportunity to the legitimate trader, but it furnished the temptation to the enterprising swindler who issued his brass without any intention whatever of redeeming it. Hence the public (the poor in particular among whom these coins circulated), suffered much and to this cause we may trace the fact that during the six years following the Restoration there is only one token—that issued in 1666 by Richards, the mayor of that year :—

{O. : ANDREW RICKARDS MAYOR (a castle).

{R. : CITY OF WATERFORD 1666 (Harp and Crown).

To restore public confidence the corporation itself in 1667 entered upon the business of coining.

By ye Mayor and Councill of Waterford.

Forasmuch as it appears unto vs that there is not a competant number of pence within this citty for manageing exchange between party and party by reason whereof divers forraigners and other persons have by their owne authority and for their private gaine and advantage made and rendred generall pence and halfe pence in the citty to ye greate preindice and damage of ye same. Wee therefore in full Councill assembled on mature and deliberate consideration of ye premisses and for preventing ye like inconveniency for ye future have ordered a reasonable quantity of pence to be now stamped and made current in the citty which said pence wee doe humbly publish and proclaime to be good and current pence and that any person or persons may receive ye said pence without any damage or loss whatsoever. And in case any person or persons shall hereafter have any quantity of ye said pence in his or their hands hereafter by him or them received they may at anytime repaire to ye sheriff receiver of ye said citty for ye time being who is hereby required and ordered to exchange ye same by giving ye like value in sterling money. For which exchange ye said sheriff receiver shall be allowed in his account (above and before all other things) out of ye citty revenue. And

it is expected that all good citizens and freemen will receive ye said pence without any scruple or diffidence.

Given at ye Councill Chambre this 17th of March, 1667.

THO. EXTON, Mayor.

THO. EYRES, }
WM. HURST, } Sheriffs.

Doubtless the new coins were at once issued; none however of the year 1667 are now known to exist, but we have them of the two following years:—

{ O. : CORPORATION OF (City Arms).

{ R. : WATERFORD 1668 (A castle with three flags on either side a tree).

{ O. : WATERFORD'S SAFETY WISHED (City Arms).

{ R. : PROCEED AND PROSPER 1669 (City Arms).

“Private gaine and advantage” brought in new competitors. In 1667, the first year of the corporate coinage, an enterprising apothecary issued:—

{ O. : MARY STEPHENS OF (a mortar and pestle).

{ R. : THE CITY OF WATERFORD (M.S. I^p 1667).

But the corporators had their revenge; for four years later, 14 August, 1671, it was

“Ordered that Mr. Richard Morris and Mr. William Foye become bound in £200 for exchanging of ye brass pence putt forth in ye name of Mrs. Stephens by to-morrow.”

There were other Richmonds in the field.

{ O. : THO. EXTON IN (a colonade).

{ R. : WATERFORD VINTNER (T.E. I^p),

{ O. : ZACH CLAYTON

{ R. : OF WATERFORD [16]68.

{ O. : DAVID OWEN (a winged heart).

{ R. : OF WATERFORD (I^p D.O. [16]71).

These belonged to the Cromwellian party and were themselves members of the corporation. It was altogether different when an

outsider began to coin for his own "private gaine and advantage." Peter Crainsbrough was the representative of a long line of burghers. He had managed to recover his old house in High St., and as the son of Mark Crainsbrough obtained from the Duke of Ormond the freedom of his native city, despite the opposition of the corporation. In 1671 he issued :—

{ O. : PEE CRAINSBROUGH (a lion rampant).
 { R. : OF WATERFORD (1671 1^o).

Such a thing was not to be tolerated. At a meeting of the corporation 14 August, 1671, it was

Resolved upon the Question that in regard Peter Crainsbrough hath not appeared here according to summons left at his house about his bringing of greate quantities of brass pence into this city and issuing them without order or giving security. It is ordered that ye said pence henceforth shall not pass currant in this city without further order from this board and that an order bee drawn upp and published for that purpose.

In vain did Crainsbrough petition and offer security. The order was confirmed and Crainsbrough issued no more tokens. But the corporation itself was soon to relinquish its prerogative. On 10 January, 1672, the last authorization to coin £150 value of brass pence was given, and on 20 November same year the following proclamation was issued :—

By ye Mayor and Councill of Waterford.

Whereas in the yeare of our Lord, 1667, the Mayor and Councill finding that there was not small silver coine sufficient for exchange within the county of ye city of Waterford by which ye poore were putt to greate straites being not able to buy their provision Did stampe a certaine quantity of copper tokens and did issue each of ye same at a value of a penny and did by a publique proclamation declare that ye said copper tokens soe stamped and issued within ye county of ye city of Waterford should from time to time be exchanged by ye sheriff receiver of ye said city, but now finding that some person or persons unknown out of a wicked covetous design, proposing advantage to themselves have counterfeited ye said stamp of ye Mayor and Councill and

have sett forth great quantities of tokens aforesaid, by which meanes many persons may be much damnified, for prevention of which wee doe hereby declare that all tokens formerly stamped and issued by us before ye date hereof shall be forthwith called in and exchanged. And wee doe therefore hereby give this publike notice that all persons who have any of ye said tokens at this present in their hands that they doe within fourteen days after friday next, which will bee ye 22 of this present november, bring in all such tokens to the tholsell of the city, where we have appointed Mr. Edward Russell, who cutt the stamper for ye said tokens, and Bartholomew Butler who stamped them, upon their oathes to receive in all such tokens which have been soe stamped and issued as aforesaid, and that the sheriffs of the citty shall be also there present to exchange the same by giving the like value in coin currant in this Kingdom, of which all persons concerned are to take notice.

Dated at ye Councill Chambre in Waterford ye 20 day of November, 1672.

Signed by order of the Mayor and Councill,

R. BRADFORD.

Now that the corporation had undertaken to redeem their tokens difficulties in obtaining sufficient "coine currant in this Kingdom" began to present themselves. A subscription loan was opened, to which Mayor Aland, Aldermen Rickards, Christmas, Head, and others contributed £20 each. A week later a further loan of £100 was sanctioned. But this was not enough; the tokens continued to pour in, the number returned being out of all proportion to the number issued, and the disputes over the genuine and the counterfeit ones were long and angry. Nor did they cease with the statutory fortnight. Three months later, 26 February, 1673, we find

Whereas divers have given out that they will sue ye corporation about ye counterfeit pence, it is ordered by way of prevention that ye sheriff receiver doe fee Phil Harris and whom he thinks fitt at meeting ye Judg to appear for ye citty this assizes in any cause that there may come up against it.

Whether the legal acumen of Phil Harris overawed the aggrieved citizens is not clear, but the matter was never brought to a trial at law. That those who held the tokens suffered the loss appears from the fact that the public would receive no more of them; for, with one exception, no more were issued. The exception is a token of the year 1673:—

{ O. : EDWARD RUSSELL (Russell Arms—a lion rampant, on
 { R. : OF WATERFORD (E.R. 1^o 73). a chief three escallops)

Russell would seem to be the same who “cutt the stampes” for the corporation and acted as assessor of the called up pence. With him the trade coinage of Waterford passed away. The State resumed its normal duty of providing its subjects with standard money. Successive proclamations made the issue of private tokens illegal, and three years later, 26th January, 1676, we read:—

Ordered that ye stampe for coining be taken from Bartholomew Butler in accordance with ye Proclamation of ye Lord Lieutenant.

This ended the old order of things and closes the most curious chapter perhaps in the economic history of Waterford.





The Nunnery of Kilculliheen.



WE will suppose a thoughtful stranger coming into the port of Waterford sometime in the fourteenth century—a gentleman say in the train of Richard II. (a). From the heights of Dunmore and Crook the forts of the Knights

Hospitallers frowned upon him. Farther in his eye would fall on many a keep that plainly told of conquered fields held by the tenure of the strong hand. As he neared his destination, the city itself stood out, its high walls close to the water's edge, its massive gates suspicious of the wayfarer, its towers defiant of the native race who from the hills around sullenly regarded them. While our stranger noted these evidences of force and conquest the tolling of bells called his attention to the opposite side. There he observed amid the opening woods a graceful church and belfry with halls and cloisters. The fields about were in a high state of cultivation; there was arable land and pasture, hedgerows carefully kept, pleasant orchards and copses for winter fuel. The contrast to the scenes he had just beheld was striking in the extreme, for here everything betokened prayer, labour and peace.

(a) He landed at Waterford 2 Oct., 1394.

The history of the English invasion largely gathers round the name of Dermot MacMurrough. The destroyer of a wife's honour, the betrayer of his country's liberty, his memory is infamous. Yet like the Apostle Judas to whom our writers love to compare him, he seems to have been in earlier life a pious, God-fearing man. He established, the annalists tell us, religious houses in various parts of his vast territories. Besides monasteries for men, the convents of St. Mary de Hogges in Dublin and Athaddy in Carlow claimed him as their founder. He it was who in the year 1151 in the old parish of St. Killian, the missionary, built a house where women who had passed their thirtieth year might devote themselves to God under the rule of St. Augustine. The site chosen was close to the river and being known to the Irish as *beut an port* was named by the monastic chroniclers *De bello Portu*.

At its inception the nunnery of Kilculliheen was merely a cell or subordinate house of St. Mary de Hogges. It seems, however, to have soon cast off its subjection and begun an independent career. When the Normans came they found it, unlike most of the Celtic foundations, in a flourishing condition and the abbess would appear to have obtained a sort of primatial jurisdiction over the other nuns of Ireland. In a charter of John, Lord of Ireland about 1185, "Balampurt" was confirmed to "A abbess of all Ireland and the nuns of St. Mary of Kilculliheen." The new comers rivalled the original founders in their princely munificence; a charter of one, still extant, is interesting as a record of local topography.

Grant by David fitz Milo of Tristelmocham, ville of Tolekan, Seskenanistic, Reilancarfin, Sumbochol, Clanlechet, Baliomlic and the lands of Gortedra, Godelli to found a religious house of nuns in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. David, St. Machan and All Saints. Further grant of one tenth of all the rents, profits and pleas of said David, one tenth of the bread, drink, meat and fish of his household, the fishery of Choloth together with a net for fishing in the water of Clone, the chapels of the castle of Polsculi and of the new castle of Clone, the church of Shenebothcarmina, all the ville and chapel of Illech, the chapel of Balimolgurn, the chapel of

Balilemli, the chapels of Balired and Kilgrellan, and one tenth of the profits of his mills of Polsculi and Clone. Witnesses Stephen de Segrave, Peter de Malo Lacu, John fitz Geoffry, Geoffry de Spenser and others (*b*).

Henceforward Kilculliheen through its great territorial possessions took rank as a feudal barony, its abbess as a temporal lord rendering suit at the King's court. To this fact we owe the notices of the nunnery during the first centuries of its existence. When an abbess died, the convent sought royal licence to elect a successor. The abbess elect then rendered homage and fealty and having obtained the King's approval a re-grant was made of the temporalities. Several of these royal licences are scattered through the state papers ; for instance :—

1257 Mabella de Courcy, abbess of Kilculliheen, being dead, licence was granted to elect a successor. (*c*)

1277 The Abbess of Kilculliheen being dead licence to elect, etc., granted. (*d*)

1287 Desiderata le Poer, abbess, being dead, licence granted to elect a successor, "devout, fit to rule the Church, useful and faithful to the King and to Ireland." (*e*)

Owing to the difficulties and expense of suing out licence at the English Court, on 26 June, 1287, the King's Justiciary in Ireland was empowered to grant same, to receive the oath of fealty from the abbess elect, and restore the temporalities. Notwithstanding this we find,

1291 Matilda Comyn, Abbess of Kilculliheen, having died, licence granted to the Prioress and Convent to elect a successor. (*f*)

Also,

1313 Abbess Joan de Laundesey being dead, the Prioress and Convent paid into the Royal Exchequer forty shillings for licence to elect a successor. (*g*)

The possessions of the convent continued to increase in spite of the statutes of mortmain. Ingenious ecclesiastics had invented

(*b*) Sweetman's Calendar of Irish Documents *ad an.* 1240.

(*c*) Pryn iii. 195.

(*d*) Sweetman Calendar.

(*e*) *Ibid.*

(*f*) Pryn iii., p. 473.

(*g*) King's Collections. R. Library of Ireland. p. 115.

the system of fines and recoveries, and the nuns of Kilculliheen were nothing loath to avail themselves of the artifice :—

1302 Mabell, Abbess of Kilculliheen, recovered from William, the son of Walter le Brett, the advowson of the Church of Nadoan. (*h*)

1304 Philip Philipson and Richard Aylward claimed the advowson of the Church of Kilmehanock. The abbess and the said claimants appeared in court, when she paid a sum of half a mark for licence to pass a fine. (*j*)

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as the English power contracted, royal control over the religious houses ceased for the most part. We learn little therefore of Kilculliheen. Even the diocesan register of Ossory, known as the 'Red Book' contains nothing beyond the taxations of the rectories appropriated to the nunnery and the bishop's synodals. These, however, afford evidence that the temporal affairs of the house prospered whatever may have been its religious condition. Its lands lay along the river front from Dunkitt for a distance of three miles; its dependents and tenants were numbered by the hundred, while the patronage exercised by the abbess was extensive—the appointment of no fewer than ten parish priests being vested in her. Accordingly the dominant families, De Courcys, Le Poers, and Butlers, figure largely in the series of abbesses, and, as happened in other cases, the dignity probably came in time to be regarded as a family perquisite.

We are not, therefore, surprised to learn that among the first to obey the mandate of King Henry VIII., dissolving religious houses, were the abbess and community of Kilculliheen. On 2nd April, 1540, Katherine Mothing, on behalf of self and convent, surrendered the house with all its possessions to the Royal Commissioners. To those who peaceably relinquished their rights, and throwing off the religious garb returned to the world, the Commissioners were empowered to grant suitable pensions, chargeable, of course, on their own property. Accordingly a fortnight subsequent, 15 April, we find,

(*h*) King's Collections, *Ibid.*

(*j*) *Ibid.*

Grant to Katherine Mothing, late Abbess of Kilkelyn, of a yearly pension of £5, issuing out of Kilkelyn, Newrath, Robertstown, Grangdrankan, and Rathkillen, and out of the churches, rectories, or chapels of Kilkelyn and Rathkelyn. (*k*)

From the pensions granted two days later we gather that the community had dwindled down to five nuns.

Grant to Elicia Gall, 40s.; Ezidia Fitzjohn, 40s.; Anastatia Cantwell, 46s. 8d.; Anne Clere, 40s.; Elicia Butler, 43s. 4d., issuing out of the possessions of the dissolved nunnery of Kilkelyn. (*l*)

An Inquisition was now held into the property. The jurors returned the following:—

A church, belfry and cemetery.

A hall, dormitory, four chambers, and kitchen.

A granary, orchard, and enclosure containing 4 acres.

26 messuages, 26 gardens, 180 acres arable land, 18 acres meadow, 16 acres wood, 2 parks, 2 mills, 5 weirs, with their appurtenances, all in Kilkelyn, the yearly valuation being £9 13s. 8d.

In Newrath,	80a. arable,	60a. pasture,	2 meadows,	yrly. value,	53/4
In Robertstown	40a. "	30a. "	2 messuages,	"	20/-
In Grangedrantin	30a. "	30a. "	1 "	"	13/4
In Rathkyllan	60a. "	40a. "	1 "	"	53/4
In Adrygowle	1a. "	1a. "	1 "	"	5/-

The abbess was seized of the following rectories and their appurtenances with the advowsons of the same.

Kilcleheen	annual value ...	£8 0 0
Rathpatrick	" " ...	6 13 4
Kilmakevoke	" " ...	
With one Message	" " ...	53 4
Ballyghurn	" " ...	26 8
Shamoge	" " ...	40 0
Rixpage	" " ...	40 0
Disertmon	" " ...	53 0
Muckelly	" " ...	20 0
Portnescolly	" " ...	40 0
Polrowan	" " ...	3 6 8
Illud with one Message	" " ...	40 0 (<i>m</i>)

(*k*) Fiantis Henry VIII.

(*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) Archdall's Monasticum.

A further inquisition held in 1551 (5 Ed. VI.) found that the rectory of Aghinrushe, *alias* Raasbege, in the Co. Kildare, of the yearly value of £9, was appropriate to the nunnery of Kilculliheen (*n*).

Now that the nuns were turned out and the survey of their property completed, the scramble for possession began. The corporation of Waterford had been in the first rush and as early as 19th March, 1540, a lease for thirty-one years of the abbey and its estates was granted to the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens. They, in turn, lost no time in parcelling them out. The contemporary memoranda of these proceedings may still be seen in our municipal records, and are worthy of reproduction as well for their quaint phraseology as for the clear glimpses they afford of the old nunnery.

Tempore Petri Dobyne Maioris, Roberti Stronge et Roberti Walsh ballivorum civitatis Waterford, Anno Reg, Regis Henrici octavi tricesimo tercio, [1542.]

The graunt and ffermes of the landes tenanties and tethes of Kylkillins.

Memorandum that in the Dernehundred day it was concludid and granted by comen assent that the landes, tethes [tithes] and tenementes of ye saide house be yeven for this yere to ferm.

Memorandum that on last of March [corporation] let to James Wodlok, Edmond Sherlock and John Nelè ye towne and town place of Kylkillyn, graigdrantan, and ballyluk with all their landis moris [moors] medowis woddis wateris pasturis and ye hole [whole] appurtenance of ye same Ye mayre for tyme being shall name and assigne one person to kepe cowrte yerely in ye sayde land and all proffittis or casualities thereof accruinge with all ye heriotes to be equally participated ye one halfe to ye mayre and citizens and thothre halfe to ye saide tenentes which shall not yeve impediment to thinhabitantes of ye citie in settinge of ferne and russhes nor to ye pasture of horsis resortinge with carriage att ye banck according as they have vsed and accustomed nor to ye conveying of all maner layinge and ballast stones and claye for ye affayres of ye citie and suburbes of ye same.

(*n*) Ibid. The acreage in the Inquisitions is "by estimation" and represents the actual contents only fractionally.

Memorandum that William Lyncoll and William Maden have taken a house called a bearn with a voyde ground by este [east] ye same with suche part of ye haggard anext as is lymitted payng yerely accordng ye statute for ye same VIIIs of rent.

Also Edward Sherlock and David Walsh have taken ye Dortors [dormitories] with parte of ye haggard paing yerely XV. of rent.

Also Patricke Walsh have taken ye small hall and kychin by este paing yerely for rent of ye same VIIIs.

James Walsh have taken ye ffermory [infirmary] and greate kychin for ye said yere reseruyng ye comon wayes and vse both and fro ye water and othre necessaries within ye said kychin paing yerely of yent XV. per statute.

James Wodlok have taken ye Nonnes late chambre with thappurtenances for ye saide yere per statute paing yerely for ye same XVI.

Robert Walsh have taken ye stepell (reserving ye ringe of bellis) with ye west chambre and cellere paing yerely for ye same VI. VIIId.

Robert Stronge have taken ye blynd myll with a croft a small garden and XVII rigges adiowning to hit and ye were of Carrickraynoke according to ye statute paing yerely for ye same XIII. IIIId.

Edward Sherlock and Thomas Graunt have taken ye mynchyn were with tethes of ye same paing yerely of rent per statute XXVI. VIIId. upon ye surrendre of Anastace Sherloc wife sometye to Thomas balye whose revercon of years is grauntid and by them received.

Memorandum that James Walsh senior and James Goghe ye XIX daye of March ye XXXIIII yere of our Souerayn Lorde Kinge Henrye ye eight have taken all ye tethes oblations and aulterages of Kylkillins except ye tethe of ye werre [weir] called ye mynchyn werre to ferme for XIX yeres from ye feste of Estre next ensuyng paing for ye same XIII li. VI. VIIId. money curant yerely att Mychelmas and Estre by equall porciones to ye collectors assigned by ye comens and iff ye said rent so being behinde and unpaid by

XV dayes after any of ye said festes that they and every of them one for thothre to be bounde to forfeite double ye reut so being behinde.

Some six memoranda of a similar character follow.

On 20 April, 1569, the Corporation obtained a renewal of their lease of Kilculliheen, subject, however to the conditions "that the lands, tenements, and tithes shall not be alienated without licence of the Lord Deputy, and then only to persons of English descent by both parents. Provided also that the house of Kilculliheen with the instruments for brewing, baking and floringe [making flour of] corn shall be retained for the service of the Lord Deputy when required." This mere leasehold interest did not content the corporators. In 1583 they petitioned Queen Elizabeth for a full grant, setting forth their loyalty, services and sufferings. One Thomas Wyse, a man with a great gift of palaver (as his letters in the State Paper Office show) was sent over to urge the suit, and at length on 20 November, 1585, the mayor, sheriffs, citizens, and commonalty received a grant of Kilculliheen and all its estates "in common soccage" at a rent of £59. When the city liberties were restored by Charles I. in 1627, "the scite, ambit, circuit, and precinct" of the house, its lands, mills, fisheries, tithes, and advowsons were set forth at great length, the only limitation being "the bake house, furnace and granary of the said late monastery or religious house which are always reserved and excepted to us, our heirs and successors." The buildings seem to have been carefully looked after. A quarter of a century later we find two Cromwellian squatters taking up residence there:—

Ordered that the Commissioners of Revenue for the precinct of Waterford let to Major Smith and Captain Kingdom the old Abbey in the Co. Kilkenny, near Waterford, with the lands adjoining to the same. Dublin, 15 March, 1652.

These and their fellow Cromwellians subsequently gave the Corporation much trouble. At the Restoration, when the citizens set about claiming their property, the '49 officers made a stubborn resistance. For nearly twenty years the municipal records contain notices of the litigation. Sir Algernon May, on behalf of the

officers, petitioned that Kilculliheen and its appurtenances be omitted from the new charter to the city. The Corporation sent a counter petition. Leases of the lands for nominal rents were offered to anyone who would make good their title :—

21 Jan., 1672, concluded that in case the Corporation doe recover the lands of Kilculliheen the mayor shall have a lease of Ballyrobbin for 199 years for the quit rent and a pepper corn.

Some incidents of the struggle are exceedingly curious.

1667, 4 October. Ordered that Thomas Eyre and William Hurst Sheriffs of the Citty doe apprehend the sub sheriff of the county of Kilkenny and his attendants for Intruding upon the Liberties of the Citty in the parish of Kilculliheen.

In accordance with this order the sheriffs with a *posse* of the citizens disarmed the sub-sheriff and his attendants and brought them prisoners to the city. A special meeting of the corporation was called and a resolution passed to indemnify the sheriffs in case of legal proceedings against them by the Kilkenny sub-sheriff. The affair did not end here ; six years later we read :—

Ordered that Alderman Hurst be allowed the 23s. 10d. spent in keeping court over the water for the preservation of the citty liberties.

At length a compromise was effected. A portion of the landed estate together with the tithes and advowsons were saved, and the ecclesiastical patronage exercised down to our own day by the corporation, remained a memorial of the time when the lady abess appointed her own parish priests.

The nunnery of Kilculliheen has long passed away. Of its buildings not a stone is left upon a stone ; a solitary name "Abbeylands" witnesses to its site and our local historians have not bestowed upon it even the tribute of a paragraph. There is perhaps a fitness that having lived for nigh four hundred years its tranquil life, it should now rest in calm oblivion. Still we citizens of Waterford who have to thank the nuns of Kilculliheen for much that we have, should not be unmindful of them and their career upon the earth.

Tracts Illustrative of the Civil War in Ireland of 1641, &c.

Contributed by JAMES BUCKLEY.

VI.

April 2.

NEWES FROM THE WEFT ———

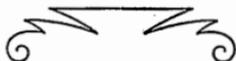
OF

I R E L A N D ,

Relating what hapned to Cap-
tain *Weldon* and Captain *Afton* after their
paffage from *Bristol* to the Fort of *Duncannon* in
the mouth of the River of *Waterford*, with many parti-
cular enterprifes performed againft the Rebels in
thofe parts, to the terrour of our Enemies,
the glory of God, and the honour of
all brave Englifh Commanders.

With a Letter from the Maior of *Waterford* to
Captain *Afton* in excufe for his rebellious defignes, with
Captain *Aftons* fharpe and worthy Reply fent in
a Letter to the faid Maior.

Publifhd by the confent of a worthy Member of the
Houfe of COMMONS.



London, printed for *William Wright*, dwelling in
in *Diftaffe-lane*. 1642.

A briefe Relation of all the Passages that happened unto us, Captain *Anthony Weldon* and Captain *Thomas Afton*, in pursuance of His Majesties designe for *Ireland* fithenc our departure from the Citie of *Brittoll*.

Shrove-munday the 20 of *February* wee departed out of *Brittoll* with 200 proper men well armed, and colours flying and shipped them aboard, in the good Ship called the *Lambe* of *Brittoll*.

Tuesday the 21 we fet fayle from *King-roade*, neare *Brittoll*, for *Ireland*, having with us for our Convoy the good Ship called the *Fellowship* of *Brittoll*, a man of warre. Tuesday night, and Wednesday all day we kept company together at Sea. Wednesday night the winde being contrary, ere Thursday morning our Ship and convoy were separated.

Thursday about noone we descried land, and in the evening we arrived before the Fort of *Duncannon* in the mouth of the River of *Waterford*.

Friday and Satterday we landed our men safely within the Fort, wherein we found the noble old Lord *Esmond* Governor thereof, with 100 men resident for the defence thereof; the enimie laying within Musket shot thereof.

The Enemies Commanders under their Generall the Lord *Mongarret*, are Colonell *Butler*, Lieutenant Colonell *Maylor*, and Serjeant Major *Butler*.

The enimie before our landing had made a Truce or ceffation of Armes with his Lordship for five dayes, which was expired the Sunday following our arrivall. During the time of the Truce a Parley was fought by Serjeant Major *Butler*, the effect whereof was that the enimie might be admitted to bring into the Fort as many men of theirs as his Lordship had therein upon pretense to ftrengthen the same: If this might be granted they would lay downe their armes, but his Lordship would not embrace any of their treacherous propofitions.

At the time of the Parley his Lordship demanded reftitution for the wrongs and injuries done unto His Majeftie and His Higheffe Subjects, the poore Proteftants in *Ireland*. Anfwer was made by the enemie, they could doe nothing in that particular without conference with their Generall.

Before their firft Truce was ended, the enemie defired a fecond for 14 dayes, but his Lordship would not condefcend thereunto.

Monday the laft of February, Colonell Butler fent a letter unto his Lordship perporting a further ceflation of armes, as alfo a parley with foure of our beft men of quality, and then with eight men; and by and by a Meffenger fent from Colonell *Butler* to defire private conference with his Lordship in perfon, which his Lordship refufed, for that he would have no conference at all with any one of them without publique notion to my felfe and Captaine *Weldon*.

Wednesday the 2 of March, we fallyed forth upon the enemies quarters with 60 Muskietiers, intending to have fired their quarters, and bring away fuch neceffaries for lodging as we could get for lodging for our Souldiers. Our men came bravely on and exchanged divers bullets with the enemy, but by extraordinary numbers of men increafing upon us, (being but an handfull) occafioned by the fudden intelligence fent unto the neighbouring Garrifons, as by burning of furzes, setting beacons on fire, &c., we retreated unto our Fort without loffe of any man, onely one man received a fmall hurt in his fhoulder.

Friday the 4 of March we fallyed forth againe upon the Enemie, removed their Centinels, forced them to retreat from their quarters, and brought away their Court of Guard, made of Deale boards, which ferved very well to make our Souldiers Huts, lodging being fomewhat fcarce within the Fort. This day alfo wee brought our men fafe off, onely one man fhot in the face, but not mortall. This day likewife our Convoy, together with a Pinnace, came into the Harbour.

Sunday morning the 6 of March we fallyed forth againe intending to have fome further bandying of bullets with the

Enemie ; but marching up their quarters we found they had raifed their fiedge, and were gone we know not whether ; of which opportunity wee taking advantage, prefently fired divers of their houfes neare adjoining unto the Fort, and brought away divers fmall ftackes of Corne, to our no small comfort, and then retreated (to give God praife) into the Fort, refolving to fally forth againe in the afternoone.

Sunday in the afternoone we fallyed forth again, and then marched forth with fome 150 men, about a mile and halfe diftant from the Fort, where we fired diverse other houfes, there being good ftore of Corne, Goates, Sheepe, and Swine ; fome Sheepe Goates and Swine wee brought away, but could not bring any Corne: First in regard the day was almoft fpent, and fecondly, for that the Enemie was difcovered drawing to a place of ambufh that was between our men and the Fort ; but fome of our men remaining behinde in the Fort, perceiving their drift, prevented their comming, and prefently fome 50 muskietiers were commanded to march thither and make good the fame againft the Enemie, untill our men fhould come off, which was done accordingly ; the Enemie not daring to approach any further, but were forced to retreat with fhame.

Sunday night, his Lordship, my felfe, and Captain *Weldon* resolved together with the Captain of the Man of War, that on Monday morning by the break of day, the Ship together with the Pinnace, should go up the river about two miles diftant from the Fort, and there lie between a Town called *Paffage* and another small town called *Ballyhacke*, opposite againft *Paffage*, the one having a Fort with four gunnes in it, the other a strong Caftle, but no Artillery in it.

Monday morning the feventh of March I went up my felfe in the Man of War together with the Pinnace, and lay betweene thofe two Townes, the Fort of *Paffage* fhoot thrice at us, then our fhip fhoot one fhoot into the Fort, and prefently the Fort hanged forth a flag of Truce ; whereupon, and for that there were divers of the poor English Proteftants Prifoners within the Town, we made no more fhots, but wholly intended our battery againft the

Castle of *Ballyhacke*, being the onely convenient place of Rendevous and Garison for all the rebellious Crue, that befiege the Fort of Duncannon ; our Ship lay before it moft part of the day sending many fhots to the Caftle, but could make no breach therein, then I commanded fome 20 Mufquetiers to go on fhore, and fet fire on one fide of the Town, which they did landing at one end thereof where they fet a fire one houfe, thinking the reft of the houfes on that row would have taken fire by degrees. All this while the Rebels from the Castle played upon our men with their fmall shot, very thicke ; our men retreated into the Boates, and came aboard againe all fafe, onely one man at the firft landing was fhot through the fhoulder.

But finding the fire not to take effect I commanded the Boates to be manned forth againe, and to land our men on the other fide of the Towne, and fet that on fire : Our men being landed, marched up very boldly to the Towne, in despite of the caftle, (which still played upon our men with their small fhots) and fired the moft part of the Town, and came off bravely, onely one other man (one of the ships company) received a fhots into his belly, but none of our men mortally wounded.

A true Copie of a Letter which was sent me from the Maior and Recorder of Waterford at a time when I lay before Ballyhacke.
M. Afton;

I understand you are come with ships to the haven of *Waterford*, the King hath granted the port protection and iurifdiction of it to our corporation, and I would be glad you would give us an account, why you come fo far to the port, and what your intent is, and why you would not acquaint me with your purpofe before you came, and fought not my licenfe, I defire an accompt rather, that I am informed you offer battery and offence to the Kings fubjects. I writ an answer to my Lord *Efmoud* what the reafon is the Englifh went not down, and infer the effect was their faults, not ours, I would desire to know by what Commission you come, as well as the reft.

FRANCIS BRIVER, Maior
of *Waterford*.

Waterford, March 7,

1641.

JOHN LEONARD, Recorder.

*A Copy of an answer to the Maior and Recorders Letter.**M. Maior & M. Recorder,*

I have received your Letter dated the 7 of March instant wherein you desire an accompt from me, why we came so far to the port, and what our intent is, and why you should not be acquainted with our purpose before our coming, and wherefore your Licence had not been first sought, and further you desire an accompt the rather for that you are informed Battery and offence are offered to the Kings subjects, and for countenancing of these your peremptory demands, you infer His Majesties grant of the protection and jurisdiction of the port unto your corporation, in all which particulars I shall render an accompt, not as you desire, but deserve. First, admit you had his majesties grant as aforefaid, I do aver the same to be (by your revolt) annihilated and made void, and whereas you say we offer battery and offence against his majesties subjects, I utterly deny that honourable style to be appropriated unto any one of them who have in pursuance of the breach of their fidelity and loyalty, to his Majesty and the Crown of *England*, most insolently and rebelliously taken up armes, and in defiance of his Majesty and the Crown of *England*, advanced themselves against his Majesties Fort of *Duncannon*, and against my Lord *Efmond*, his majesties true and loyall subject, Governour thereof; and whether they can justly or at all deserve the denomination of his majesties subjects, when as they have so rebelliously demeaned themselves as aforefaid, I render my selfe to his Majesties Proclamation, which I have sent you herein inclosed, the like whereof hath been delivered unto Colonell *Butler*, the tenour whereof, I do intend, (by the grace of God) fully to observe, and prosecute with effect, which you may assure your selfe of, by the example of *Ballyhacke*, this is the accompt you may expect from

Your loving Friend if his Majesties Subject

You shall really demonstrate your selfe to be,

THOMAS AFTON.

Duncannon Fort, March 8,

1641.

[Br. Mus : E. 142 (4)].

(To be continued).



Waterford Wills

(1589—1910).



AMONG the most valuable raw material of local history are wills. Hitherto they have been consulted merely for genealogical purposes. They have other and more profitable uses. They are often the best evidences of property descent; they afford the closest and most accurate glimpses into the minds of those who made them—their religion even and their politics. The chattel inventories frequently incorporated are unmistakable testimony to the civilization of the period. The social position and occasionally the habits and customs of a man, may be gleaned from his will, and in the olden time he often introduced into that staid document personal details or observations on current affairs which invest it with the quaint charm of antique autobiography.

We purpose giving in successive issues of our *Journal* a list of the Waterford wills, and from time to time room may be found for printing some characteristic ones. We begin with the "prerogative" wills—those made by the wealthier classes—of the city of Waterford. It may perhaps be necessary to observe that previous to 1858 all wills were proved in the Protestant Consistorial Courts. When the testator was possessed of estate of the value of £5 in more than one diocese then the will had to be proved in the "Prerogative" Court of the Protestant Primate.

A

- 1769 Elizabeth Acheson, widow.
 1593 Peter Aylward, Alderman.
 1681 Henry Aland.
 1788 Alexander Alcock, Archdeacon.
 1780 Henry Alcock (*a*)
 1799 Sir John Alcock.
 1777 Thomas Alcock, gentleman.
 1779 William Alcock, Esq.
 1742 Francis Annesley, merchant.
 1761 Edward Ashe, gentleman.
 1772 Mary Atfield, widow.
 1630 John Auly.
 1718 Samuel Austin, Alderman.

B

- 1807 Thomas Backas, Esq.
 1679 George Baker, clerk.
 1674 Dorcas Bankes, widow.
 1768 Elizabeth Barker
 1708 Francis Barker, Alderman
 1773 Francis Barker, Alderman.
 1769 Samuel Barker, Alderman.
 1789 William Barker.
 1722 Thomas Barnes.
 1798 Michael Barron, dyer.
 1794 William Bates, Alderman.
 1631 Luce Bellot, widow.
 1788 John Aubrey Bevan, merchant.
 1808 Medhop Blunden Esq.
 1722 Charles Bolton.
 1699 Cornelius Bolton.
 1759 Hugh Bolton,
 Dean of Waterford.
 1740 James Brenock, ale seller.
 1737 Arthur Brooke, surgeon.
 1797 John Brown, merchant.
 1660 Andrew Brown, merchant.
 1701 Edward Brown, merchant.
 1808 Elizabeth Brown, widow.
 1636 James Brown, merchant.
 1627 John Fitzhenry Brown, mercht.
 1626 Thomas Brown, merchant.
 1719 Robert Browning, mariner.
 1615 James Bryver, Esq.
 1799 Benjamim Budd, Esq.
 1795 Tobias Budd, gentleman.
 1788 Edward Bull, Esq.
 1772 Richard Burn, brewer.
 1772 Anne Butler, widow.
 1749 Elinor Butler, widow.
 1791 John Judkin Butler, Esq.

- 1727 Peter Butler, mariner.
 1762 Richard Butler, gentleman.
 1762 Thomas Butler, merchant.

C

- 1768 Mary Candler, widow.
 1796 John Carroll, merchant.
 1804 Dorathy Carty, widow.
 1738 Peter Chelar, gentleman.
 1776 Denis Cherry, merchant.
 1804 Francis Penrose C. Cherry, mcht.
 1791 Samuel C. Cherry, merchant.
 1772 Rev. Philip Chevenix.
 1788 Brabazon Christian, Esq.
 1723 Richard Christmas, Esq.
 1704 Thomas C. Christmas, merchant.
 1663 Edward Cleere, merchant,
 1746 Francis Robert Clements, Esq.
 1789 Henry Coghlan.
 1754 William Colinder, merchant.
 1602 George Comerford, Alderman.
 1788 Henry Connor, clerk.
 1794 Theodore Cooke, Esq.
 1787 Edward Cottam.
 1607 Thomas Cranisborough, mecht.

D

- 1679 Walter Daton, gentleman.
 1781 Sara Dawson, widow.
 1797 John Deanes.
 1711 Lewis Demarcon, merchant.
 1668 John Dennis, merchant.
 1770 William Dennis, D.D.
 1701 Samuel Dennis.
 1800 Frances Dickson, widow.
 1800 Grace Dobbs, widow.
 1794 Andrew Dobbyn, gentleman.
 1790 Elizabeth Dobbyn, the elder.
 1790 Margaret Dobbyn, the elder.
 1796 Michael Dobbyn, attorney at law.
 1808 Robert Dobbyn.
 1663 William Dobbyn, Esq.
 1721 William Dobbyn, merchant.
 1743 William Dobbyn, Esq.
 1787 John Donohue
 1803 Elinor Doyle, widow.
 1776 Davies Drake.
 1750 William Duckworth, rope mrcht.
 1686 John Duff, gentleman.

(*a*) Clerk to the Irish House of Commons, whence he retired to his house at St. Martin's Castle, Waterford—on the site now occupied by the Orphanage of the Sisters of Charity.

K

- 1794 Richard Kearney, Esq.
 1795 William Kearney, tanner.
 1739 Paul Keating, merchant.
 1809 William Keating, merchant.
 1773 John Kelly, Tanner.
 1760 Patrick Kennedy, merchant.
 1715 John Kent, Esq.
 1768 Elizabeth Kerr, widow.
 1789 John King, merchant.
 1725 James Kinnear, gentleman.
 1724 Michael Knaresbrough, mrcht.
 1748 Thomas Knowles, merchant.

L

- 1703 John Lamb, Alderman.
 1698 Benjamin Lambe.
 1741 Anne Langrish, widow.
 1761 John Langton, gentleman.
 1714 John Lapp, merchant.
 1732 Stephen Lapp, Esq.
 1598 Nicholas Fitzmichael Lee.
 1743 Thomas Leathes.
 1692 James Lee (ob. in Cadiz).
 1623 Michael Lee Fitzjohn, gentleman
 1594 John Leonard, Alderman.
 1640 Alexander Leonard, Alderman.
 1692 Margaret Leonard, widow.
 1640 Robert Leonard, merchant.
 1766 Sir Charles Levinge, Bart.
 1718 David Lewis, Alderman.
 1754 David Lewis, Alderman.
 1772 Marcus Lewis, merchant.
 1730 Sara Lewis, widow.
 1589 Nicholas Ley, Alderman.
 1656 Garrett Lincolll, merchant.
 1637 Bartholomew Lincolll, merchant.
 1591 Francis Lumbard.
 1602 Simon Lee, merchant.
 1797 Bridget Lymbefry, widow.
 1595 William Lyncoll Fitzjames.
 1619 John Lynett, merchant.
 1779 Mary Lyon, widow.

M

- 1779 Susanna McCabe.
 1801 Andrew McDougall.
 1738 Henry McMurrin, mariner.
 1602 Richard Madan, merchant.
 1604 James Madden, merchant.
 1804 Frances Maddock, widow.
 1803 William Maddock, watchmaker.

- 1772 Lewis Macadell, Esq.
 1782 Magdalen Macadell, widow.
 1767 Elizabeth Marchant.
 1790 Rosanna Marshall
 1786 William Marshall.
 1804 George Martell, merchant.
 1738 John Mason, Esq.
 1711 Richard Mayne, merchant.
 1810 Peter Mead, gentleman.
 1768 Thomas Miles, goldsmith.
 1740 Thomas Mills, Bishop of
 Waterford.
 1802 Patrick Mooney, merchant.
 1738 Judith Morgan, widow.
 1743 William Morgan, Alderman.
 1786 William Morgan, Alderman.
 1698 John Morphe, merchant.
 1741 Benjamin Morris, Esq.
 1767 Benjamin Morris, Esq.
 1797 Benjamin Morris, Esq., Gracedieu
 1811 Benjamin Morris, Esq.
 1765 John Morris, merchant.
 1692 Richard Morris, merchant.
 1785 William Morris, Esq.
 1791 William Morris, counsellor.
 1749 Florah Monat, widow.
 1766 Jane Monat, spinster.
 1713 Thomas Mulkeran, gentleman.
 1807 Catherine Müllowney.
 1724 Francis Murphy, shipmaster.
 1686 Richard Murphy, merchant
 1774 Martin Murphy, merchant.
 1769 John Murray, merchant.

N

- 1730 John Newport.
 1784 Samuel Newport, merchant.
 1750 Simon Newport, merchant.
 1746 John Nicholas, gentleman.
 1794 Lydia Nicholson, spinster.
 1768 Anne Norrington, widow.
 1752 George Norrington, victualler.
 1803 Edmond Nugent.

O

- 1794 Robert O'Brien, merchant.
 1790 John O'Brien, gauger.
 1756 James O'Neill, merchant.
 1778 Mary Osborne, widow.
 1690 Joseph Osborne, merchant.
 1660 Thomas Osborne, merchant.
 1762 Thomas Osborne, apothecary.
 1675 David Owen, distiller.

P

- 1637 Thomas Pater, merchant.
 1799 William Paul, alderman.
 1775 Francis Penrose, merchant.
 1801 Richard Penrose, merchant.
 1747 William Penrose, merchant.
 1797 William Penrose, merchant.
 1799 William Penrose, merchant.
 1792 Francis Phelan, priest.
 1742 William Phelan, merchant.
 1720 Daniel Pickington, merchant.
 1811 John Pim.
 1786 Samuel Pim, merchant.
 1782 Thomas Porter.
 1591 John Potts, physician.
 1683 Benjamin Powell, merchant.
 1758 Ann Power, widow.
 1807 Edmond Power.
 1723 Edward Power, merchant.
 1796 James Power, P.P., St. Michael's.
 1799 John Power.
 1803 Robert Power, merchant.
 1808 Robert John Power, merchant.
 1634 Thomas fitzEdmond Power,
 gentleman.
 1811 Thomas Power.
 1782 James Price, clerk.
 1597 Thomas Purcell.
 1752 James Purcell, merchant.
 1713 Henry Pyne.

R

- 1791 George Randal, merchant.
 1786 Elizabeth Randal, widow
 1719 Catherine Rea, Widow.
 1741 Joseph Rea, gentleman.
 1808 Joseph C. Rea, gentleman.
 1721 James Reynett, M.D.
 1809 Bartholomew Rivers.
 1755 James Roche, merchant.
 1660 Barthol Russell, maltster.

S

- 1734 Abraham Sandoz, gentleman.
 1792 Mary Sandoz.
 1760 John Santel, chandler.
 1698 Richard Say, merchant.
 1759 Robert Sealy, merchant.
 1806 James Sempill, Esq
 1789 Richard Shaw, gentleman.
 1745 Theobald Shee, ship master.
 1804 Thomas Shepphard, clerk.

- 1623 James fitzPaul Sherlock, mrcht.
 1583 James fitzThomas Sherlock, Ald.
 1601 James FitzJohn Sherlock, Ald
 1602 Patrick fitzPeter Sherlock.
 1623 Paul Sherlock.
 1635 Paul fitzPiers Sherlock, mrcht.
 1738 Thomas Shortall, merchant.
 1694 Dominick Sinnott, merchant.
 1711 Peter Sinnott, merchant.
 1771 John Skohouse
 1700 Abraham Smith, merchant.
 1762 John Smith, gentleman.
 1703 Mary Smith.
 1794 Samuel Smith, Esq.
 1727 Thomas Smith, Alderman.
 1714 William Smith, Alderman.
 1792 William Smyth, gentleman.
 1686 John Snow, gentleman.
 1763 Robert Snow, Esq.
 1791 Sydenham Snow, Esq.
 1786 Samuel Stewart, gentleman.
 1795 Christian Stinger, mariner.
 1813 Joseph Stock, Bishop of
 Waterford.
 1586 Richard fitzPeter Strang, Ald.
 1617 Paul Strange, Alderman.
 1729 Richard Strange, merchant.
 1627 Solomon Strange, gentleman.
 1625 Thomas Strange, gentleman.
 1787 Thomas Strangman.
 1631 Robert fitzPatrick Strong, mcht.
 1604 John fitzDavid Sutton, merchant
 1639 Robert Synnott, merchant.

T

- 1784 Henry Tandy, merchant.
 1749 John Thomas, saddler.
 1808 Letitia Thomas.
 1793 Robert Timpson, Esq.
 1737 Edward Tonney, apothecary.
 1660 Thomas Toppin, butcher.
 1597 John Tywe, merchant.

U

- 1789 John Usher.

V

- 1719 John Vaury, Esq.
 1776 Charles Abraham Verneyobre,
 merchant.
 1775 Hannah Villiers, widow.



Old Waterford.

NO. I.

IF Dr. Smith were to come to life again and walk our streets he would rub his eyes and ask himself is this the place whose history he wrote. In the 160 years that have elapsed since the "Antient and Present State of Waterford" appeared, it is safe to say that the external aspect of the city has changed more than during the four centuries previous. When Smith wrote, Waterford was still largely mediæval. One entered the town (on the land side) through the ancient gates. County folk from the east passed through the thatched suburbs of Johnstown across St. John's bridge to the gate which stood at the end flanked by two towers. Coming in from "the Liberties" the principal thoroughfare was that known at present as Hennessy's Road, which led to "The New Gate." Northwards the main roads converged across the green of Ballybricken ("Bricken's town" the Cromwellians vainly styled it) to St. Patrick's Gate. This, it may be observed, was the principal entrance to the town and the way-worn traveller from the far-off regions of Tipperary or Limerick saw its turrets rise as he gained the summit of Gibbethill. On the side of the town next the river, a ferry which had existed from time immemorial brought the in-comer to a flight of steps opposite the present Paul Square. By this way the people of the County Kilkenny as also distinguished

strangers from Dublin and the North, reached the city. When the judges on circuit escorted by the Kilkenny Grand Jurors arrived on horseback at the opposite shore the mayor and sheriffs in their robes rowed over and a sort of Dick Whittington procession was seen upon the water. At these gates the "murage," "lastage," and other tolls were collected. But unlike our *modern* Bridge the goods of freemen of the city passed without any tax soever. Entering into the town its mediæval character was even more apparent—and indeed discernible by more senses than one. The narrow streets, the overhanging frame houses, the curious gables sometimes stepped, sometimes curved, the huge chimney stacks, not to mention the number and variety of foul smells, linked the Waterford of Smith with that of King John. Fortunately we have at hand ample details.

In the Council Chamber at the Town Hall is an oil picture of Waterford in 1736 by Vander Hagen. Though the artist is largely endowed with imagination and the picture idealized, it enables us to form tolerably correct notions of the Waterford of that day. The artist's standpoint is at the Kilkenny side of the river on the declivity over "The Slip." A party of picknickers probably from across the water occupy the foreground. They have enjoyed their lunch and are proceeding to dance a minuet. The gentlemen step out with vast dignity before the ladies who are coy, gracious and Georgian. Close by a large spaniel dog in full tilt shares in the general merriment. The river stretching away in front is evidently the strong part of the composition. Though the city is bathed in sunshine the artist has put in plenty of blue; numerous shipping lie in the stream and all sorts of convenient winds blow to give the lazy sails picturesque poses. The commercial vanity of his patrons (the corporators) is flattered by a great array of merchantmen along the quays. Behind is seen the town—a dense aggregation of gables and corners with a comparative absence of chimneys—for the hearth money tax was then in force. The three most prominent objects in the city are the Cathedral and the towers of the French Church and the Blackfriars. The sketch of the Cathedral closely corresponds with the contemporary one in

Harris Ware's Bishops. The tower however is loftier and more imposing than that in Ware, though the detail in each is identical. Close beneath is the familiar Reginald's tower with a platform in front showing embrasures for mounting cannon. Away on the right beginning at Barronstrand gate the city walls are seen climbing the hill. Having reached the Fort at the summit they give a very obliging turn to the east to afford one a view of their picturesque towers. Part of the enclosed space in the neighbourhood of Stephen Street does not appear to be built on though the rest of the city is very congested. Except for a range of houses extending along the quay to the present Gladstone Street, the whole town is comprehended within the walls (*a*). We know indeed from many sources that there were extensive suburbs at Ballybricken and Johnstown, but Vander Hagen possibly thought that to paint mud cabins was beneath the dignity of high art. Besides rows of hovels would exasperate his patrons and of course those who pay the piper have the right to call the tune. The extreme distance is a smiling champaign—carefully divided, needless to say, into suitable fields. The present pretentious suburb of John's Hill is nowhere. Only a windmill—the most striking object on the sky line—is seen to crown the crest where the fever hospital now stands. Altogether the bird's eye view of the city which the old Dutchman gives is very pleasing, and one can only regret that he was not commissioned to paint some corners of the ancient cathedral or some characteristic street scenes.

But if Waterford was fair to behold it was not at all healthy or enjoyable to live in. According to Smith "the several streets and lanes are for the most part exceeding narrow and the houses crowded very thick together. Yet were the streets more open and many houses which lie thick set, ranged in a regular order the city would take up three times the ground that it does at present." It will help us to realize this the better if we remember

(*a*) See two careful papers on the ancient walls by the late Dr. Ringrose Atkins in Nos. 1 and 2 of this *Journal*. There are however a few minor inaccuracies.

that a large block filled the present Barronstrand and Broad Streets. The open space at the apple market was once occupied by congeries of tenements. Another wedge-shaped block stood at the junction of Patrick and Stephen Streets. The present Alexander Street had once a range of houses up its centre and similarly with other areas. Further not only were the streets narrow but the upper stories of the houses overlapped, so that often a space of ten feet measured the street across. Of footways or pavements there were none. When it rained the street became a muddy pool which the pedestrian negotiated by friendly stepping stones, being drenched meanwhile by the torrents swept from the overhanging eaves. The only provision made for cleansing the thoroughfares was that each householder was bound to sweep every day the space in front of his house. A deep sewer open and fetid in the middle of the roadway carried off the rain and the street refuse alike. At night the discomforts of the town were still greater. A few of the wealthier class had sedan chairs before which trotted the link boy with his torch; the ordinary citizen had to make his way through the pools and mud as best he might. The arrangements for lighting were of the most primitive kind. A bye-law of the corporation, fitfully enforced, obliged the residents to place candles in their windows for certain hours of the evening, after which the town was in total darkness. But if the scavenging and lighting were magnificent improvisations, the water supply was little better. In High Street stood a venerable limestone erection called "The Conduit" (hence Conduit Street). A wretched pool oozing from the clay slate to the rear of Little Patrick Street was dignified with the name of "St. Patrick's Well." Off Michael Street in a lane now closed was St. Michael's Well. Within the present St. Stephen's Brewery was "Our Lady's Well." Besides these there were outside the walls two, probably more, favourably known springs, one off the present Manor Street, the other reached by a passage from Catherine Street, and styled "St. Catherine's Well." Such were the perennial fountains at which the old burghers of Waterford drank themselves sick.

Having now taken a general survey of the city and got some notion of its internal economy one hundred and sixty years ago, we shall proceed (if reader you are not already too tired) to take a few walks through it and examine the place more in detail. Some history of the houses and their bygone occupants may relieve the tedium of the ramble.

THE QUAY.

A French traveller who arrived here on the 11th May, 1399, does not seem to have been favourably impressed by the quay. "We arrived," he says, "at the haven of Waterford where the people are base and sluttish living in poor houses. To unload our baggage they waded up to the waist in ooze." (b) In the 18th century however all this was changed. Some six jetties, half masonry, half woodwork, were constructed, at which Smith grandly says "ships of 500 tons may load and unload and lie afloat"; the quays and piers were faced with hewn stone and the whole covered with a cobble pavement. The citizens now began to take legitimate pride in their river front. "The Kay," says our local historian, "is not inferior to but rather exceeds the most celebrated in Europe. To it the largest trading vessels may conveniently come up, both to load and unload and at a small distance opposite to it may lie constantly afloat." A greater traveller and a sensible man, Arthur Young, writes in 1776 "The finest object in this city is the Quay which is unrivalled by any I have seen." Substantially as we know it, the quay dates from the years 1705-6. In earlier times it was measured by the space between Paul Square and the Clock Tower. Below was the friars' landing place for the use of which the brethern sometimes levied tolls. At the other extremity was Barronstrand Gate which communicated with the river by a tidal moat. Beyond was a beach upon which ships were sometimes built. Late in the seventeenth century houses began to be erected along the beach and subsequently the "New Kay" was put up. By the filling of the moat and the removal of Barronstrand Gate during the mayoralty of David Lewis in 1705 the two quays were connected. But an insuperable obstacle to the development of the

(b) Harris *Hibernica*, p. 50.

quays was found in the old fortifications. The walls with their turrets ran in the main along the present line of shops, thus separating the town from the quay. Communication was by three gates, one opposite Conduit Street, another facing Exchange Street, the third midway between both. Any attempt to interfere with these fortifications might involve difficulties with the Crown. A lucky accident however opened the way and gave the citizens the opportunity of levelling them. In the absence of the Lord Lieutenant in England the Irish government was as usual put in commission to the Lords Justices. During their period they happened to visit Waterford ; Smith tells the rest. "The part of the city wall which extended along the Kay was presented as a nuisance by the Grand Jury of the city at the instance of the Marquis of Winchester and Earl of Gallway, then Lords Justices, who being in this city and walking under the wall judged that it was ruinous and dangerous and advised its being taken down and demolished." On the site thus obtained, ranges of buildings were erected some of which Smith calls works of art. He goes into raptures over them calling up memories of Venice, whose beautiful palaces receive no inconsiderable lustre from their proximity to the canals. Unfortunately our old friend, Vander Hagen, does not allow us to share in the historian's ecstasies. The most prominent building on the quay front is the Exchange (which stood on the site of Mosley's). It is a large two-storied erection of the market house order. The lower storey served for the merchants while the upper contained the council chamber and other municipal offices. The facade is a plain square windowed one, the lower storey being an open colonnade of five bays. A flat mansard roof round which ran an iron balustrade covered the building, a cupolo being set up in the centre. Smith's description is sufficiently grand. "The Exchange is a neat light building supported by pillars of hewn stone of the *Tuscan* order, the outside being adorned with the arms of the King and those of the city, with a handsome clock. The roof is an *Italian* light roof with a beautiful octagon cupolo and a dome at top." His account of the custom house adjoining is equally wonderful, but that *advocatus diaboli*,

Vander Hagen, simply shows us a three-storied building with a double flight of steps leading to the door in the second storey. The other fabrics on the quay have no architectural pretensions whatever, though the broken line of their projecting gables gives them a picturesque appearance. On the pier in front of the custom house is a building the counterpart of which we may still see in old Breton ports,—Quimper or St. Brienc.

“The Fish-house conveniently situated on the Kay, is a neat plain building supported by several arches of hewn stone, and within are blocks or stone tables for the laying in of the fish, which are kept constantly clean and sweet. Over the house is a neat lanthorn with a bell, which is tolled to warn the inhabitants when the fish is arrived.”

What a pretty picture this suggests of the old Waterford housewives trooping down, like the Bretons, at the tolling of the bell in their neat aprons and stunning head gear to make their purchase of fresh herrings.

The staple trade of Waterford at the period of which we write—middle of the 18th century—was the Newfoundland. The fishing fleets from England, the Isle of Man, and occasionally France, in the month of March came in to provision and a huge business was done in salt pork, beef, butter and other food stuffs. In Smith's time Waterford had the greatest share of this of any port in Ireland—principally, it was said, because of the excellent swine raised in the barony of Iverk. Twenty years later a keen observer, Arthur Young, sets down the number of hogs killed at no fewer than from three to four thousand a week, the price ranging from 50s. to £4. Though the wars of American independence gave the trade a set back for a time yet it recovered and developed even on a larger scale in the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1818 upwards of five thousand hogs were killed per week of the Newfoundland season, the exports of that year being bacon 249,739 flitches; butter 93,000 casks; oats 201,163 barrels, the value of the whole being £1,500,000. This Newfoundland trade presented some curious features. By an Act of the British Parliament in 1698 all settlement in the colony was

practically forbidden. This became a fixed policy pursued at once by the authorities, the merchants and the fishing interest. So minutely was it carried out that people were permitted to carry to "The Plantation" only such clothes as they personally needed. Lest any Irish should become colonists no priest was allowed to take up residence. Though for many years some three to five thousand left our shores for the *Ταταρι αν Ιαρις* (The Land of the Fish) yet few remained there (c). Some adventurous spirits however brought out wives and established themselves, and we have strange memorials in the Waterford parish registers of their intense religious faith. When children were born to them, they brought them over—sometimes a whole family of six children—to be baptized. The earliest of these entries is 30th Jan., 1734, the latest 23rd June, 1780. Does history record anything more touching than the story of these rough, half savage colonists leaving their homes and facing the perils of a sea voyage lasting often many weeks, that their children might be brought up in the religion of their fathers?



(c) At this period.



Documents Illustrating the State of the Co. Waterford in the 16th Century.



THE first paper in the following series is taken from the collection of Sir Robert Cotton, now in the British Museum (Titus B xiii.) It is an original document with the autograph signatures of the noblemen and members of the Irish Privy Council at foot. The other papers were obtained from the Council Register preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. As these are often witnessed and the record signed by the parties themselves, they have all the value of originals.

I.

An unpublished Act of Parliament of 1476 states that "in all the countries round about the city of Waterford there live no lords, gentlemen nor commons arrayed in English habit, nor submitting to the King's obedience, nor governed by his laws, but only the wicked and damnable law called Brehon law contrary to divers statutes made against Brehon law ; and about the said city there is no rule or government but murder and spoiling, robbery and an universal rebellion." This is certainly a tremendous indictment and if only half the counts could be proven one might exclaim with a contemporary that in this land there was no more Christianity than in Turkey.

The representative of the turbulent Powers (the originators of all the troubles) in the sixteenth century was Catherine, widow of Piers, first Baron Curraghmore. She united in herself the bad qualities of her mother (*a*) with the worse traditions of her husband's family. In 1537 the oppressed country folk plucked up courage to impeach her before the Royal Commissioners. She not only (they said) required coin and livery (horse support and man support) for herself and her retainers but also for her guests, English and Irish. When she hunted her dogs had to be supplied with bread and milk or butter. When the Deputy or any other personage visited her she taxed the people for the entertainment. When her children got married every farmer had to contribute a sheep and every townland a cow. When her sons went to England every district had to pay tribute proportionate. When she journeyed to Dublin the people were assessed for the journey. When persons went to law she taxed plaintiff and defendant 2s. in the £ each as her fee. Further if any one had the misfortune of a horse or a cow stolen, he was fined a further five marks for his supposed negligence. Such was the state of things contemplated by the following Orders:—

Orders taken at Waterfford by ye Lorde deputie and counsaill the twentie eight daie of Nouembre 1558 for reformacon of ye Lorde Power and ye disorders committed in the Powerne countrye.

T. Sussex.

ffirst the Lo : Power of Coraghmore shall have duringe pleassur the cheef rule of the hole countrye called the powerne countrye (*b*). And shall have for his better maintenaunce the fynding of eyght horssmen and twelve keren the same to bee indifferentlie cessed vppon the holl powerene countrye as the Busshop of watterforde (*c*). Maurice fitzGerald and henry Stafford or anie two of them (whereof the busshop to be one) calling the freeholders of the countrye before them shall by theyr discessons

(*a*) Margaret, Countess of Ormond, the terrible "Peg Fit-Jarrold" of the Kilkenny peasantry.

(*b*) The country of the Little Powers, *i.e.* the Powers of Dunhill, Powers of Kilmeaden, Powers of Rathgormack, &c.

(*c*) Patrick Walsh, Bishop, 1551—1578.

and consent of the freeholders or the moitie parte of them for the good order of the countrye and the mayntenaunce of theyr auncyent freedomes.

Item: Where there shall bee anie mauner of taxes, Benevolences, Subsidies or other Impositions by parliament or otherwise putt vppon the counte of watterforde the Lord power shall ayde and assist there Maiesties Collectors to leaue and gather within the powerne countrye so much thereof as shall bee duely allotted to the porcon of the sayd counte vnder his rule.

Item: Whenever ther shalbe any occasyon for the sayd Lord power to apprehend any outlawe or malefactor or to pursue them for the quiet and wealth of the conuntrye. Then all the freeholders and othre the Inhabitauntes of the countrye shall aunswere hym according to his commandment. And yf other wyse the sayd Lorde power shall have no other trayne nor putt any other Imposition or Exaction vppon the countrye then ys before appointed neyther shall the sayd Lorde power take any expenses vppon any other maunes land then is before appointed. And if any other doe the contrarye he shall see yt reformed.

Item: The sayd Lo: power shall ayde and assist the Sheryf of the Countye, the Justices of peace, and alother theyr Maiesties officers and ministers to putt in execucon theyr offices, and shall see that every gentleman and freeholder in the countrye shall have horsse armor and weapon convenient for the defence of sayd Sheryf Justices and Officers and for the defence of the countrye when neede shall require.

Item: He shall to the best he maye from tyme to tyme for to apprehend all malefactors, and shall not discharge any by hym or his taken other wyse then be the order of theyr Maiesties lawes he may doe neither shall he take for the dismissing of any offender any cane (*d*) or other yrishe exaction, but shall in all thinges thereto appertayning followe the order of theyr Maiesties lawes therein prescribed.

Item: the sayd Lo: power shall as well make a bill of the names of his owne men as alsoe cause euerie gentleman and

(*d*) Cain would appear to have been the ransom paid by the kindied of a thief to save him from being hanged.

freeholder or other that hath or within three monethes past had anie man or men, to make a bill of theyr men whiche bill the sayd Lo: power shall cause to be geathered to gether and ther vppon a perfect boke to be made of the holl which boke subscribed with the hand of the sayd Lo: power he shall send to the Lorde deputie before the ffirst of January next comming. And thentent the countrie may bee the better quiett yt is ordeined that euery man within the sayd powerne countrie shall take vppon him all such men as yt shall appere have been his men at any time within three monethes last past. And shall also from hence fourth answer for the doynges of all hys men (e). And if any man will desmisse any of his men he shall fyrst give warninge in open parliament when all the freeholders of the countrie shall be assembled that he will no longer keepe that man and that if any man will make any challenge to the partye at that tyme or at any tyme within ten dayes after he will delyuer the partye to answer to his doinge. And yf any man shall suffer hys men to departe other wyse then he to answeere for his doings. And if no man can laye any thinge to the charge of the partye soe dischargdged within the time before specyfyed any the partye he thought wathy suspecon. Then the Lo: power shall take suertyes for his good behavioure or detein hym untill he finde suertyes.

Item: The sayd Lo: power shall not order any matter within hys rule by iudgment of the Brehons, (-f) but all matters depending in controversie betweene partye and partye in his rule shalbe ordeined according to the lawes of the realme, or by such commissioners as shalbe by the Lorde deputie and counsaile therefore appoynted.

Item: He shall suffer all men within his rule to repayre quietly with all kinde of victualss to the markett kept in theyr maiesties cytie and towne of Watterford and Dongarvan. And shall not hime selfe forbyde, neyther yett suffer any other to

(e) For this "Kincogus" in the 17th century, see Prendergast Cromwellian Settlement, 2nd Edit., pp. 334-6.

(f) In 1537, the Jury of Waterford found that in the district of Lady Catherine Power "the King's lawes be not useid, but the Yrlyshe Lawes."

forbyd any tennauntes to bringe any kinde of victualles to the markt before the lorde of the tennauntes shall have refused to buy the same victualles, (g) and if any do contrarye to this order he shall not only see the thyng reformed, but also the partye offending to be straight punished.

Fynally he shall shewe hymselfe and in that hym shall lye [as far as shall lie in him] cause all others within his rule shewe all kyndnes they maye to the citizaines oi Watterford and the townesmen of Dongarvan for the better nouryssing of good amytye and friendshippe. The like whereof the sayd citizains and townesmen shall doe to hime and ech shall ioyne with other for the better seruice of theyr maiestie's defence of both cite and towne and countrie as shall from tyme tyme be thought by them most expedient.

Thomas Ormonde & Ossor. Gerot desmond. patrick Waterf.

George Stanley. H. Sydney.

Francis Agarde. Oswald Massingham.

Thomas Cusack.

II.

Orders taken by the lorde lieutennant and counsaill between the lorde Power and the gentilmen and freholders of the powerne countrey at Waterforde the first of August 1560.

T. Sussex.

Vpon complaynt and mocions on either partie exhibited and brought before vs by the lorde Power capitain of the powerne countrey in the countie of Waterforde and the gentilmen and freholders of that parte of the sayd countie adioyning to the cite of Watterford we the lord lieutenant and the rest of the nobilitie and counsaill of this realme whose names are hereunto subscribed do ordeyne and adwarde articularly as ensuyng :

(g) Our old friend Lady Catherine enacted that "no beoffe ne mutton, hogge ne butter, hony, ne whete, nor malte shalle come to the cyte [Waterford] but suche as the countrey shalle refuce, vpon payne of VIs. VIIIId."

Imprimis : Whereas there was heretofore certaine orders by vs made decreed and adwarded between the sayd lorde Power and the sayd gentilmen and freholders at Watterford this XXVIIIth day of November 1558 we do eftsones by thiese presentes, ratifi and confine all and singuler the saide orders to stande in full force and effecte.

Item : Whereas it hath been complayned that the sayd lorde Power over and above thexpenses of theight horssmen and twelve kern by our aforsayd order allowed unto him vpon the sayd countrey hathe diuers tymes synce surchardged and burthened the same with superfluouse and extraordinary numbers of the companyes of the erle of Desmonde, the erle of Ormondes, the erle of Kildares, and others cessed at his own pleasure without thassentes or witting of the sayde freholders and gentilmen and we do ordeyn that the sayde Lorde power hencforth vpon all such occasions and vpon all the chardges to be putt vpon the countrey for any cause shall geve warninge to all the freholders of the countrey in the parishe chuches where they dwell, vpon the Sunday before at what place and howre they shall assemble for that purpose.

And if the necessitie of the case require more spede then he shall geve warning thereof by the seriauntes at the mansion or chiefe house of every suche freholder or gentilman within the sayd countrey and so, order to be taken by the consent of the countrey for the indifferent bearing of those chardges when the same is occasioned by speciall lettere of comyssion for any cause touching the queenes seruice and when the carrying of any of them shalbe for ther own causes or pleasure then noon of the countrey to be chardged ne cessed with them but such as be contented and give ther assent therunto.

Item: Whereas it hath been further complayned that the saide lord Power, over and above thexpences of the saide eight horsmen and twelve kerne, taketh capitaynes meate on them, which was not spoken of in the saide orders, it is by us nowe further for a more playne interpretacion of that article declared and ordeyned that the bushop of Waterforde and the sherife of

the countie of Waterforde shall with thassent of the freholders cause the saide eight horsmen and twelve kearne to be indifferently cessed upon the whole countrey the seventh of Auguste, and that the saide lorde Power shall be accompted for one of those eight horsmen, and at all suche tymes as he shalbe occasioned to goe abrode or travaill for thapprehending of malefactoures or for any other especiall or urgent service of the quenes majestie he may and shall take capitaynes meate and otherwise not :

And neverthesse we do will his lordeshippe so to use and moderate the same as under collour of fayned service when there is noo cause he seeke not to oppresse the quenes majesties subjects there with capitaynes meate, being to his chardge comytted to be rather maynteyned and depended then impoverished and oppressed; and that at suche tymes as he shalbe occasioned to take capitaynes meate he do not bring any other trayne with him then is hereby to him allowed and this to contynue till further ordre be taken.

Item: Whereas it hath been complayned that for all beoffes and 'corne cessed and taken upon the saide countie for the furniture of the quenes majesties garrisons and fortes no payment hath been made to the countrey for the same, notwithstanding the saide lorde Power hathe receyved full payment of the quenes majestie for the same, we do ordeyne that touching all suche mattieres past as to come the money paied or hereafter to be paied for the same from the quenes majestie to thands of the lorde Power shalbe paid unto the countrey in the presence of the bushoppe of Waterforde and the sherife of the saide countie for the tyme being, whom we will and authorise by these presentes to call upon the same and to see it doon.

Item: Wheare it is complayned that galloglasses have been cessed and charged upon the countrey by the lorde Power and some of the gentilmén of the same countrey at their will and discretion unnecessarily and not for any respecte of service to be doon to the quenes majestie, we do ordeyn and appointe that hencefourthe the saide countrey be not chardged with any galloglasses nor with any other impositcions other then is or shalbe

appointed under thandewriting of the lorde liewtenant or governour of this realme for the tyme being :

And whereas also it hathe been particularly complayned by Peter Aylwarde, one of the freholders of the said shire, that wheare his chief howse in the said countie called Feathelyke, was wonte to have been cessed of auncient tyme but only after the rate of one plowelande and a haulf for the bearing of whatsover cesses, claynyng the same in that sorte by an auncient fredome, and that sence the same by the lorde Power and his seriauntes hath been cessed and chardged after the rate of two plowelande : we do referre the same to be ordered by the lorde busshop of Waterforde, the sherife and gentilmen of the countrey, the seventhe of Auguste, and all suche lyke caces that hereafter happen to be examyned adjudged and ordered by the freholders of the countrey in open assembly.

Item: Wheare it is further complayned that the said lorde Power, according to the custome of mere Irishe menne, dothe at suche tymes as he goeth to Dublin taxe and cesse the saide gentilmen and inhabitantes at suche sommes of money for his expences as he thinketh good, we do ordain that he shall not taxe ne cesse any impositcions upon the saide countie other then he shalbe appointed by the lorde liewtennaunt or governour of this realme for the tyme beinge.

H. Dublin, canc.—G. Kyldare.—Rolande Baltinglas.—George Stanley. — Jacques Wingfelde. — Henry Radecliffe. — W. FitzWilliams. — John Plunket. — John Parker. — Francis Agard. Robert Dillon.—Thomas Cusake.—John Chaloner.

Examyned and conferred with thoriginall therof, written in parchement and signed by the counsaillors afore named, the duplicacion whereof is entered in the register booke of the courte of Waterforde.

III.

Orders for the cessing of the countie of Waterforde, taken by the lorde liewtennaunt and counsaill, at Waterforde, the firste of Auguste, 1560:

T. Sussex.—Wheare it is complayned by the lorde Power and the rest of the gentilmen of that countrey that all cesses imposed

upon the countie of Waterforde be for the most parte [w]holye levied upon the Powerne countrey, and that all distresses taken for the nonpayment of the cesses have been taken upon the saide countrey, wherby they be mucche impoverished :

We do ordeyn therfore that as well all cesses imposed upon the saide countie of Waterford this last yere passed as also that hereafter shalbe at any tyme by us imposed shalbe eqally cessed and divided upon the whole countrey by the consent of the bushop of Waterford, the lorde Power, sir Morishe Fitz Garret and the sherife of the countie, for the time being, and others the gentilmen and freholders of the saide countie so as every quarter may beare his juste porcion thereof: and for that it appeareth unto us that sir Morishe Fitz Garret, contrary to his othe and our ordre taken herin the xxxviiijth day of November, 1558, hath not aunswered the porcion allotted to be borne upon the diocess for the saide last yere, we ordre that the saide sir Morishe shall remayne in the maiors custody till he have seen restitution made to the lorde Power of so mucche thereof as was allotted to his porcion and for his defaulte was paied by the saide lorde Power and gentlemen of the Powern country or elles untill he hath put in sufficient suretie therfore unto the saide maior :

And for the like imposicions cessed upon the saide whole countie for thother yere before this last yere passed, forsomuche as the saide sir Morishe Fitz Garrattes countrey lay that yere waste, we do ordre his countrey to be freed therof for that yere, and all the saide sesse and imposicion for that yere levied or imposed on the said countie of Waterforde shalbe equally borne upon the rest of all the same countrey to be differently sessed and divided upon the same by the said lord bushop of Waterforde, the lord Power, the sherife of the saide countie, and others the gentilmen and freholders of the saide residue of that countie.

And if there be any other in the countrey that have not paied his parte, we authorise the lorde Power and the sherife for the tyme being to take a sufficient distresse for the payment thereof and the same to deteyne till they have receyved payment for so mucche as shall come to his parte, whiche they shall see repaied to

suche as hath already made payment to the quenes majestie of the premysses, of their doing wherin they shall advertise us with expedicion.

Item: For the more indifferent cessing of every quarter, we do ordre that the bushop of Waterforde, the lorde Power, sir Morish FitzGarrett, and the sherife of the countie, the seventhe day of this moneth, at a place to them thought fitt, shall assemble the freholders of the whole countie, at which time they shall appoint for every quarter two sufficient cessours who shall from tyme to tyme sesse equall upon the quarteres to them appointed suche porcion of the sesse as shalbe allotted to the quarter under their sessing by thappointment of the saide bushop, lorde Power, sir Morishe and the sherife, at whiche tyme the porcions shalbe also allotted to every quarter for paymente of the sesses imposed upon the whole countrie thiese two yeres passed, as aforesaid.

IV.

The three following documents relate to the traditional feud between the houses of Ormond and Desmond. They are especially valuable as they illustrate the struggle when entering upon its last phase in which the Desmonds were crushed and with them the old pro-Celtic nobility. The consequences to this locality were momentous. Roughly speaking the whole of West Waterford changed owners and all titles of land still devolve on Desmond forfeitures:—

Orders taken by the lorde liewtennaunt and counsaill, betwene the erles of Ormonde and Desmounde, at Waterforde, the firste day of Auguste, 1560:

T. Sussex.—Firste althoughe for thunlawfull assembles made of late by eche of the saide erles it were convenient that either of them shulde be at the least grevously punnyshed by long imprisonment and great fynes, yet considering their humble submyssion with repentaunce of their mysorders and promyse never tattempte the lyke hereafter:

It is ordered by us, the lorde liewtennante and counsaill, that thoffences of the saide erles therin comytted shalbe to every of them for this tyme remytted and forgeven, chardging neverthelesse either of them to take hede how they attempte the like hereafter, as they will advoide thextremitie of the daungiers that by the lawes of the realme doth thereunto bilonge.

Item : In correction and punnyshment of their breaches of the former orders, it is ordered and adwarded that eche of the saide erles shall paye and delyver two hundreth kyen at Laughlyn before the xxth of Seiptembre nexte, to come towards her majesties buylding in Leyse, as a knowlege for their breaches of orders, which we advise them tattempte no more hereafter least we be therupon forced to cause them pay the whole forfaitures.

Item : For thobserving of her majesties peace from hensfurthe by eche of the saide erles, their men, folowers and servauntes, it is ordered that eche of the saide erles shall delyver unto the undernamed commyssioners, to be by them brought and delyvered unto the lorde liewtennaunt, for to remayne pledges at his pleasure and appointmente, during suchē tyme as to him and the rest of the counsaill shalbe thought expedient, the persons here mentioned, that is to witt, John Butler, Piers Butler, and Edmunde Comyn of Toloncane for the erle of Ormonde; and John Fitz James of Desmounde, the white knight and John Browne for the erle of Desmounde.

Item : It is ordered that for a further assurance and bande for the saide observing of her majesties peace, eche of the saide erles shall acknowledge to stand bounde unto her majestie in two thowsannde poundes, and for the payment of the same the mannor of Kylmanyn in the countie of Waterforde with Glanowhirie and all therto bilonging to be lyable of therle of Desmoundes syde, and thē mannor of Blacke Castell in the countie of Methe, with all therto bilonging of the erle of Ormondes syde, and the same recognisaunce and bande uppon eche bihaulf to be in force till it be revocqued.

Item : It is ordered that eche of the said erles shall bring in and delyver unto thandes and ordre of the said commyssioneres all

such persones as be named in the severall billes subscribed with thandes of the saide erles, and that the saide erles shall from tyme to tyme delyver unto her majesties commyssioners for the tyme being all suche their men as shalbe demaunded by any of her majesties commyssioners and that for the observing and fullfilling of this article, eche of the saide erles dothe acknowledge to be bounde unto her majestie in a thowsaunde pounce.

Item : It is ordered that sir George Stanley, knight, marshall of her majesties armye, sir Thomas Cusake, knight, and John Parker, master of the rolles, shalbe her majesties commyssioners, aucthorised to heare and determyne all causes presently in controversie betwene the saide erles for them, their men, folowers and servauntes ; and the commyssoners, to be at Clonmell for that purpose the fyftenthe day of this instant Auguste.

Item : It is ordered that eche of the saide erles shall acknowledge to be bounde unto her majestie in one thowsande poundes tabyde, fullfyll and perfourme both presently and from tyme to tyme all suche orders and adwarde as they the saide commyssioners or any other commyssioners hereafter shall awarde upon the saide causes nowe in controversie or hereafter to be in controversie.

And further that the saide commyssioners and all other commyssioners hereafter shall at their discretion take pledges of the saide erles for the perfourmaunce of their saide orders and adwarde.

Item : The order taken betweene the saide erles at Waterforde, the xxiith day of Novembre, 1558, is ratified and confirmed in all pointes, saving in suche as specifie any arbitrement or umpier-shippe and those clauses to be voyde for that tharbitratoures and umpieres did not conclude.

For the full perfourmaunce of all whiche the premysses eche of the saide erles have not only subscribed these presentes but also are sworne upon the holy Evangelistes, by them corporally towched in the presence of us, the saide lorde liewtennaunt and counsaill, well and truly to observe and performe the same and every parte and parcell thereof.

H. Dublin, canc.—Thomas Ormonde and Ossorie.—G. Kyldare.—Rowlande Baltinglas.—Gerot Desmound.—Conor Thomonde.—Roland of Cass[el].—William Fitz Williams.—Edmunde Dunboyne.—Henry Radecliff.—George Stanley.—John Plunket.—Jacques Wingfield.—Francis Agarde.—Robert Dillon.—John Parker.—John Chaloner.

Examyned and confirred with the copie of thoriginall written in parchemente and signed by the counsaillours aforenamed and delyvered to the marshall at Waterforde.

V.

30 Julii, 1560. Post meridiem.—Given in at Waterforde :

The names of such persones of the erle of Desmoundes men whom the erle of Ormonde requireth to be furthcomyng to aunswere to hurtes commytted by them sethens the last submyssione and orders taken betwixte bothe the saide erles, the xxvth of Maye, 1560, hereafter ensueth :

Firste : John O Carwell alias Shane Etlea, proclaimed traitor.

Piers Grace, with dyverse malefactours of his company.

Lysaghe McMoroughe Oconnor.

John Fitz Geralde, the erles brother.

Thomas Fitz Geralde, son to Morice Etotane.

McBrene Ogownaghe and his two sonnes.

Donalde Oge Mc Kighane in Tomonde.

Thomas Roo Fitz Geralde, brother to the erle.

William Bourke Fitz Edmunde.

The White knight.

Shane McCrahes three sonnes, namely : Thomas, Teige and Dermode Downe.

There rest some other that be not yet named : Thomas Ormounde and Ossorie.

VI.

Geven in at Waterforde, the 30 of July, 1560.—Post meridiem.

These are the names of suche persons of Butlers countrey as have praied, spoiled and robbed the erle of Desmoundes countrey,

as appeareth perticularly by a boke redy to be shewed of the day yere and facte thiese foure yeres past :

John Butler, the erles brother.—Walter Butler.—James Butler.—Piers Butler, the sherife.—James Tobyn.—Thomas Purcell, baron of Loghmoyne.—William Burke Fitz Tybbode of Ballylogan.—John Butler, bastarde brother to the baron of Donboyn.—Tybbod McRic[hard] of the Grenan, and his three sonnes, William John and Davy, servautes to the saide Tybbod.

William, Redmond and Tybbod, servautes to the saide Tybbod.

Mathewe [and] Donogh Hogan, sonnes to William Hogan, servautes to Tybbode.

Richarde, Mathewe and Edmunde, sonnes to William Nynaghe of the Grenan.

Hughe McThomas and Thomas Bakaghe O Hogan, servautes to Tybbode, aforesaid.

Thomas Comen, servaunt to Piers Butler.

Shane McPiers Keaghe, servaunt to the sherife of Tipperary.

Shane McTeige gaynke, servaunt to the saide sheryfe.

Nevan Duff Mc e Taggarde.

Thomas Vale Fitz James.

Thomas Leester, horsman, servaunt to therle of Ormounde.

John Dullarde, horsman, servaunt to the said erle.

Thomas Shortall, horsman, one of the said erles men.

Patricke Duffe Comerforde, horsman.

Thomas Comerton, son to the sherife.

Richarde Comerforde of Killogho [h]is son.

James Fitz John Grace, capitain of the erles gonnors.

John Glasse McTeige McShane and his brother.

The two sonnes of William Purcell of Ballycormoke.

Philippe O Dwere, capitain of his countrey.

These persones afore mencioned are the chief and ringleaders of suche injuries as was doon and commytted upon the erle of Desmounde, beside their bande, retynnue, and dyverse other persones whose names are not presently remembred.—Gerot Desmounde.

VII.

By the Lorde liewtennaunt and counsaill, xxvto Julii, 1560 :

Forasmuche as it standeth with reason and equitie that sesses and impositions chardged upon any countie or countrey should be indifferently and eqally layed and borne throughoute the whole countie or countrey among them all : and that it is complayned unto us by the lorde Power and other the gentilmen and freholders of that part of the countie of Waterforde neere and about the citie of Waterforde that in all sesses appointed to be levied and taken up in the countie of Waterforde for the fortes or elleswhere the burden and chardge therof hath wholly rested upon them withoute imparting of the same upon any other parte of the saide shire, to thier greate over chardge and detrymente.

It is therefore nowe ordered by us, the lorde liewtennaunte and the rest of the quenes majesties counsaill of this realme, whose names are under this ordre subscribed that all and whatsoever sesses or impositions concernyng the quenes majesties affaires or service chardged or sessed upon the countie of Waterforde shalbe indifferently sessed levied and borne equally thoroughe out and upon all the whole countie of Waterforde by the reverende father in God the bushop of Waterforde, the lord Power, sir Morice Fitzgarrett and the sherife of the saide countie for the tyme being, whom we authorise by vertue herof to call before them from tyme to tyme for that affaire the gentlemen and freholders of the said countie and with their advice and consentes to lay and chardge the said sessors indifferently upon the whole countie of Waterforde and therin from tyme to tyme to use suche ordre and meane for the levieng thereof by pledge, distresse and otherwise as the use and custome of the said countie with equitie will beare.

Yeven under her majesties signet, at Waterforde, the xxvth of Julye, 1560.

VIII.

By the lorde liewtennante and counsaill :

T. Sussex.—Trustie and right welbiloved we greete you well, and whereas at our laste being at Waterforde the tyme served us not for to determyne the sutes and complaints whiche were there

exhibited unto us, we sende unto you herewith bounde togedther suche of the saide billes as were not by us there determyned : Willing and requiring you to see justice mynistred unto the parties so compendiously as you may in that bihaulf and of your doing therin to certifie us in due tyme.

Yeven at Rosse, the thirde of Auguste, 1560.

To our trustie and right well biloved the lorde bushop of Waterford ; the lord Power, sir Morishe Fitz Garret, knight, the maiour of the citie of Waterforde, for the tyme being, and the sherife of the countie of Waterforde, for the tyme being, and to any two of them, of whom the said bushop or maiour to be alwayes one.

The like letters to the seneschall, justices and sherife of the countie of Weixforde. The lyke letters to the commysioners at Clonmel and Lymeryke ; and the lyke letteres to therle of Ormounde, at one instante.





Journal of the Galway Archæological Society,

NOS. II. AND III.



It is perhaps a little late and therefore not quite gracious to notice the work of the youngest of our archæological societies. But mere editorial etiquette breaks down in admiration of the two journals before us. Whether one considers the value and variety of the matter, the fullness and point of the illustrations or the typography, they furnish in themselves a sufficient *raison d'être* for the new society. Frankly we, the old veterans of Belfast, Cork, Dublin and Waterford shall have to look sharp in the presence of our new rival.

The writers are mostly familiar acquaintances, F. J. Bigger, H. T. Knox, Rev. Dr. Fahy, M. J. Blake and others, but the papers are new and researchful. The two great Galway abbeys of Knockmoy and Kilconnell are admirably described and illustrated; the number of original documents connected with Knockmoy, referred to or quoted in extenso, is quite exceptional. "St. Jarlath," by R. J. Kelly, contains information relative to the saint's shrine which we have not met with before. The Burkes occupy, as they ought in Connaught, a prominent position, but no new matter is vouchsafed. A smaller clan, the O'Maddens, is the subject

of an interesting paper though the writer, Dr. More Madden, seems to be unaware that the indefatigable Colonel Vigors has been publishing the Meelick Register in his "Memorials of the Dead." The "Manor of Admekin," by H. T. Knox, is valuable as a study in a neglected line of research—the feudal baronies of Ireland. Perhaps the most important paper in the two numbers is that by Dr. Fahy on the diocesan manuscripts of Galway—important for what it suggests rather than for what it contains. It is to be hoped that the learned historian of Kilmacduagh will give us many of these precious documents in the coming numbers of the *Journal*. The miscellaneous matter also is helpful—not as often in more pretentious periodicals, mere padding. We can only hope that the *Journal* of the Galway Society may keep its high level, and preserve the best traditions of the school of Lynch and Hardiman.



Notes and Queries.

Waterford and South-Eastern Counties' Early-Printed Books.—Part XII.—I. The “Directory of Waterford, Kilkenny, Clonmel,” &c.—Kilkenny, 1839, was not as stated in No. XIX, p. 63 of this *Journal*, the earliest on modern lines for these towns. There is one at least, of a date nineteen years earlier. It is contained in Pigot’s “Commercial Directory of Ireland,” etc., Manchester, 1820. Among other towns, Waterford, Clonmel, Kilkenny, Carlow, New Ross, Dungarvan and Youghal find a place. There are abstracts of the history, trade, condition, etc., of the several places. Considering that Lewis’ Topographical Dictionary and the Parliamentary Gazetteer had not yet appeared, these abstracts are well done and have quite an independent value.

II. The Finishing Stroke, or a Modest Proposal for the speedy Extirpation of P—p—y out of Ireland. By Solomon Heckball.

Waterford, 1766.

III. The Miner. A Poem.

Waterford, 1841.

IV. The Female Angler and Earl Mulgrave’s Welcome to Waterford. (A Chap. Book.)

Waterford, —.

V. Letters between Rev. J. Mackey and Rev. H. Woodward.

Clonmel, 1827.

VI. Evidence given before the Municipal Corporation Commission at Clonmel.

Clonmel, 1833.

VII. Clonmel Past and Present. Lecture by J. J. Long.

Clonmel, 1887.

Archæological and Literary Miscellany.—The following are the principal books of an archæological, biographical, or literary character relating to Ireland which have appeared since the last No. of the *Journal*.

I.—The Concluding and Index Volume of the “Brehon Laws,” whose initial volume, due to the labours of O’Donovan and Curry, was published so far back as 1865, some years after their death.

II.—Part III. of Mr. E. R. McClintock Dix’s “Books, Tracts,” &c., Printed in Dublin in the 17th century (1651–1675),” which affords a further substantial and laudable proof of this writer’s devotion to the little-known subject of Irish locally printed works, of which Dublin has always been the chief centre. This section of Mr. Dix’s researches into early Dublin printing, is enriched with valuable historical prefatory notes by Mr. C. W. Dugan, and is published by O’Donoghue & Co., Dublin.

III.—“Notes on the Literary History of Strabane,” a very interesting little volume by Mr. A. Campbell (Tyrone Constitution Office, Omagh).

IV.—Volume IV. of the Irish Texts’ Society, London, viz. : The Irish Text, and an English translation of “Keating’s History of Ireland,” edited and translated by Mr. David Comyn—the most readable and interesting volume yet issued by this Society.

V.—A new and enlarged edition of “Ireland, Industrial and Agricultural,” by Mr. W. P. Coyne (Dublin : Browne & Nolan).

VI.—A new and revised edition of Read’s valuable “Cabinet of Irish Literature,” the first three volumes of which were originally written by the late Mr. C. A. Read, who was a native of Sligo, and the fourth volume by Mr. T. P. O’Connor, on the death of Mr. Read. This new edition has been revised by Mrs. K. Tynan-Hinkson, and is brought out by the Gresham Publishing Co., London.

VII.—To Mr. David J. O’Donoghue we are indebted for a new “Life of Robert Emmet.” Mr. O’Donoghue is not only an author, but a bookseller and publisher (30, South Anne-st., Dublin), whence has emanated,

VIII.—“The Story of Inis Cathaigh,” by Mr. Daniel Mescal, which deals comprehensively with the historic Scatterry Island, at the mouth of the Shannon, the famous lonely Isle of St. Senan.

IX.—“The Ancient Forts of Ireland” forms a very important contribution to the literature treating upon ancient Ireland, such as might be expected from the talented and industrious pen of Mr. T. J. Westropp, M.R.I.A., only 65 copies of which have been issued by Hodges & Figgis, Dublin.

X.—The Programme of the last R.S. Antiquaries’ tour in Derry and its neighbourhood, contains a paper of exceptional interest and value dealing with the site, &c., of the now famous gold ornaments, written by Mr. Robert Cochrane, F.S.A.

The last Numbers issued of the *Ulster Journal*, and the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries contain very readable if not important articles. The last *Cork Journal* presents a more varied table of contents than usual; Mr. Dix gives a fifth list of Cork printed books, and Mr. James Byrne’s “History of the Parishes of Templeroan and Wallstown, Co. Cork,” is a highly interesting one. In the last *Journal* of the Limerick Field Club, Mr. P. J. Lynch’s paper on “Early Christian Architecture in Ireland” is the most important, but the other papers are all more or less interesting. It is not creditable to that part of Ireland that the members of the Club are still falling off. Part I., of Vol. V., No. 2 *Journal*, “Pres. Memorials of the Dead,” Ireland is a good average one.

In the death of Mr. John O’Hart, at Clontarf, Dublin, August 7th, Ireland lost one of the very few of her national teachers who have acquired a literary fame. He was author of “Irish Pedigrees,” “Irish Landed Gentry in Ireland,” “The Last Prince of Tara,” &c. In the note on the Ancient Church Vestments, belonging to Waterford Catholic Cathedral, printed in a recent issue, owing to an oversight no reference was made to Mr. M. J. Buckley’s important paper on this subject which appeared in an earlier volume of this *Journal*.

J.C.

Annual Excursion.

THE annual excursion of the members of the Society and their friends took place on Tuesday, 2nd September. Kilkenny, so full of historic associations and objects of antiquarian interest, was the place selected. The morning was most unpromising, and a pitiless downpour began at eight o'clock. Notwithstanding this, there was a goodly muster on the platform at Waterford at the appointed time, 10.10 a.m. Amongst those present we noticed:—

Mr. J. N. White, J.P., President of the Society; and the Misses White (2), Major Otway Wheeler Cuffe, the Baroness di Prochazka, Colonel Wheeler and Master Wheeler, The Rocks, Kilkenny; Major Anderson, R.E., J. R. B. Jennings, Elysium; Dr. M. F. M'Namara, Mr. A. H. Poole, Mr. Bertram Poole, Mr. Power, Mrs. E. Cantwell, Cambrian House, Clonmel; Mrs. M'Namara, Mrs. John Newport Greene, &c., &c.

The arrangements made by the Great Southern Company were perfect, and a special carriage was reserved for the members. On the way the rain seemed, if possible, to be heavier, so that the carriage windows soon became, what the late John Ruskin termed, "deserts of dirty dribbling." Kilkenny was reached in good time, and our Society was welcomed by a deputation of Kilkenny Archæologists, which included Rev. Canon E. Hewson, Rev. A. V. Hogg, M.A., Colonel Vigors, J.P., and others.

The visitors, under the command of Major Cuffe, who acted as a genial cicerone, proceeded to St. John's, once known as "The Lantern of Ireland." Here they were received by the Vicar, who pointed out the details of the building. The College, so rich in the names of distinguished alumni, from Swift down, was next

visited, after which the party proceeded to the Shee Almshouse, where Major Cuffe read a valuable paper. The various vicissitudes of the building were related, and the account of the Kilkenny Theatricals was particularly appreciated.

A move was next made to the Castle, kindly thrown open to the Society by Lord Ormond. The several features of the building were inspected, and the magnificent picture gallery—so full of portraits of national interest—evoked general admiration. From the Castle the party proceeded to the Black Abbey, a full account of which was kindly volunteered by Major Cuffe. The graceful ruins of St. Francis Abbey were next visited, then St. Canice's Cathedral, where the Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory and Rev. Dr. Torrance received the party. The building itself, with its striking bays, its stately lancets, and its rare collection of monuments, excited universal interest, and the kindness of its intelligent custodians was deeply appreciated by every member of the party.

The excursion wanted no element of success but the weather.





JOURNAL OF THE . . .
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SOCIETY.



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* **Subscription paid for 1903.**

Annual Subscription 10/-, payable in advance.

RULES.

- 1.—That the Society be called “THE WATERFORD AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.”
- 2.—That the purpose of the Society be the promotion of the study of matters naving an antiquarian interest relating to Waterford and the South Eastern Counties.
- 3.—That Ladies shall be eligible for membership.
- 4.—That the Annual Subscription shall be Ten Shillings, payable on the first of January in each year, and that a payment of £5 shall constitute a Life Member.
- 5.—That the Society be managed by a President, four Vice-Presidents, and one Vice-President from each County taking part in the proceedings of the Society, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor, and a Committee of nine Members, any three of whom shall form a quorum.
- 6.—That an Annual General Meeting, for the purpose of electing the Officers and Committee, shall be held before the end of February in each year, and that such election shall be by ballot.
- 7.—That at the Annual General Meeting in each year the Committee shall submit a brief report and statement of the Treasurer’s Accounts.
- 8.—That a Journal be published containing accounts of the proceedings, and columns for local Notes and Queries.
- 9.—That all papers, &c., intended for publication in the Journal shall be subject to the approval of the Committee.
- 10.—That the date of the Society’s meetings, which may be convened for the reading and discussion of papers and the exhibition of objects of antiquarian interest, shall be fixed by the Committee, due notice being given to each member.
- 11.—That all matters touching on existing religious and political differences shall be rigorously excluded from the discussions at the meetings and from the columns of the Journal.
- 12.—That each Member shall be at liberty to introduce two visitors at the meetings of the Society.
- 13.—That the foregoing Rules can be altered only at the Annual General Meeting, or at a Special General Meeting convened for that purpose.

Lucien W. Bonaparte Wyse.

In Memoriam.

By the death of Lucien Wyse, the premier family of Waterford is deprived of its head, and our Society sustains a loss which it can ill afford. But a short time since he was engaged on a paper for the present number of the *Journal*, relative to the Waterford City Militia in the time of Charles II. The paper is unfinished and the pen is laid down for ever.

The literary gift was connatural in him. His father, William C. Wyse, and his uncle, Napoleon Bonaparte Wyse, were both French authors of repute; the former in addition wrote good sonnets, while his poems in the *langue d'Oc* attracted considerable attention. Far back in Elizabeth's reign Hollingshead noted the sharp wit of "Master Wyse of Waterford." Nor was historical inspiration wanting to him. He came of a family that has for 600 years been prominently associated with Waterford. Indeed its history is largely the history of the city. At the Manor house are portraits of men conspicuous in action and speculation from Sir Andrew Wyse, Grand Prior of the Knights of Malta in the sixteenth century, down to Sir Thomas Wyse,

educationist, litterateur and diplomatist of the days of Peel. The family muniments also are of rare extent and value. There are charters of the period of the Edwards, grants of Elizabeth's time, Cromwellian surveys, wills, conveyances to elude the penal laws and private memoirs. In such environment it was impossible not to catch in some measure the historical efflatus. And Lucien Wyse loved to trace the fortunes of his native city. He would deplore the ignorance and indifference of Waterford respecting its greatest men and with the *elan* of his French blood hoped to see a statue of Luke Wadding erected in the Mall. But there was a fastidiousness in him that retarded his literary expression. He was by nature retiring, and though in public matters he often spoke with aggressive force and stinging incisiveness, it was *praeter ingenium*, for the sound of his own voice was startling and the sight of his literary offspring made him nervous. As it was, he was only beginning to find utterance. He was full of projects about the Society and the *Journal*. When we last met he proposed to edit a series of the family papers illustrative of local history and undertook all the correspondence, proof-reading and general drudgery which is inseparable from the getting out of a periodical. The Society is the poorer for his death and the gap in our ranks will not soon be filled.



The Capture of Cahir Castle in 1599.



N the 17th of April, 1599, the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief, entered Dublin "Her Majesty's minister," as he said "in the greatest cause that ever she had." (a) For since the defeat of Marshal Bagenal, the previous August, all Ireland lay at the feet of O'Neill.

The few garrison towns held out for the queen, but over the country at large the several chiefs and lords in more or less loose alliance with "the Archtraitor" maintained undisputed sway. The Lord President of Munster, Sir Thomas Norris, on 27th March led an expedition from Cork, of 2,000 foot and 200 horse, against the Irish forces of Lords Roche and Desmond. After a few successes he effected a masterly retreat to Cork within a month. (b) The queen was 'evicted' from the greater part of Leinster; (c) it was reported from her forts at Leix and Offally (present Maryborough and Philipstown) that "the enemy was so strong that they dare not look out." Connaught, with the exception of Athlone, Galway and Roscommon was overrun, and even these towns were strengthened and victualled for a two months blockade, so that Essex might well

(a) Essex to Privy Council, State Papers, Elizabeth, 1599-1600, p. 3.

(b) Ibid, p. 6.

(c) Ibid, pp. 18, 358.

write back to the English Privy Council that "the indisposition of Ireland is almost desperate," and though at the head of a well supplied army of 20,000 veterans "the plaster doth no more than cover the wound," and "this war is like to exercise both our faculties that do manage it and Her Majesty's patience that do maintain it." (d)

The conditions under which the campaign was to be carried on made the situation still more 'desperate.' Essex had a large army led by captains seasoned to war in Flanders. He had the advantage of military discipline and numerous cavalry. The Irish, on the other hand, knew the country and the system of fighting best suited to it. They made "good use of the arms they carry," were "quick in apprehending any advantage they see offered to them," "they use the advantage of lightness and swiftness in going off," and "had I not tethered our best men, many would have been too far engaged." (e) In other words they were good shots, resourceful, mobile, and skilled at ambushade.

On the 9th May, Essex set out from Dublin to crush the insurgents in Leinster and Munster. From Naas he advanced to Athy, thence to Carlow, thence in rapid succession to Maryborough, Ballyragget, Kilkenny, and Clonmel, which town he reached on the 23rd. Though he had been in touch with the enemy from Athy onward, with the exception of a slight brush at Rosconnell, he had not been able to bring them to an engagement. By the time he reached Clonmel he was ill himself together with several of his officers while the army was exhausted by "the foul marches." "Our men," he wrote, "do fall sick and our companies decaie daily, yet they who are used to misery and bred in the climate have no other cause but the sword to cut them off." So far the tactics of the Irish had been a complete success; now they prepared to dispute his advance, and gave him the one opportunity of the weary, dispiriting, purposeless campaign.

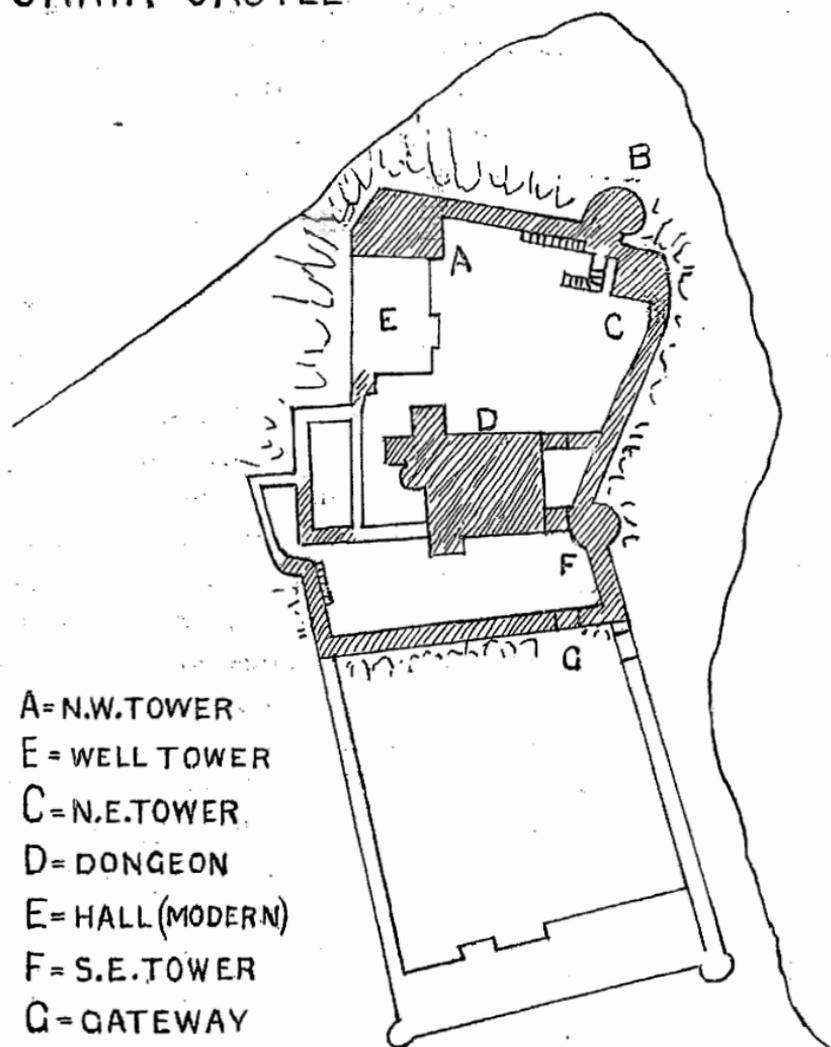
Thomas Butler, Baron of Cahir, had thrown in his lot with the Irish party the previous autumn. He was a pious Catholic

(d) Essex to P.C., 29 April, and 20 May.

(e) *Ibid*, May 20.

and long regarded as a pro-Spanish sympathiser. His relatives, Lord Mountgarrett and Fr. Christopher Cusack in Flanders, brought him into obvious connexion with that party and some time before it was thought advisable to place "an intelligencer"

CAHIR CASTLE



upon him. Advantage being taken of his religious turn a priest was selected, and James Keating, vicar of Ballybeacon, the secretary of the unfortunate nobleman, regularly supplied government with accounts of the visitors and general ongoings at Cahir

Castle. (f) The baron, however, kept aloof in the various Desmond embroilments ; it was only when the news of O'Neill's victory at the Blackwater stirred up the Munster confederate that he was borne into the vortex. A meeting was summoned at Cahir Castle :—

“ James FitzThomas FitzGerald, the Lord Roche, the Lord of Cahir, the White Knight, the Knight of Kerry, Dermot McChartie, John O'Thomas, Peerce Lacye, John Barry, the Lord of Clenlishe, James Galdie Butler, the Clanbreenes in Arloe (the O'Briens of Aherlow), and the Bourckes in Muskrye were altogether sworn upon the holy cross to uphold this rebellion. Of the clergy that were then present the principal men were Dr. Craghe their Bishop, Father Archer, James O'Kearney, priest for the Lord Barrye ” (g)

The sequel is best told in the quaint, if hostile, narrative of a contemporary :—

“ Thomas Butler, Lord Baron of Cahir with his brethren, kindred and all his countrey went into open rebellion. The Earl of Ormonde wrote unto him that he should with speed repair unto him with his forces and shew his loyalty ; the which he refused. He wrote the second time, viz.: the 26 of November, 1598, to the same effect but he came not. The man was simple and foolish carried away by his wife that was Mountgarrett's sister, Dr. Cragh the Pope's Nuncio, and Father Archer. The 9 of May remembering himself he came to the castle of Kilkenny, kneeled before the Earl of Ormonde and desired the benefit of her Majesty's proclamation which the Earl of Essex had of late brought over with him. Now 'goodman fool,' said the Earl of Ormonde, 'what would you have ? the benefit of Her Majesty's proclamation ? Your father was a wise man, an honest gentleman, a good subject ; but you have combined with traitors and rebels and overrun your wits. That which you desire I grant you. Stand up and I will bring you to the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant General and let him dispose of you as seemeth best unto him.' ” (h)

(f) The writer has read some of the reports of this spy ; they anticipate in ingenious scoundrelism, the *Cahiers* of Fouchè and the first Napoleon.

(g) Information of James FitzGerald, Carew Papers iii., 78.

(h) State Papers, 1599, p. 57.

Three days later Ormonde set out for Athy to meet Essex, accompanied by the two noblemen who had surrendered, Mountgarrett and Cahir. These were committed to the custody of the provost marshal and brought with the army on the march.

Wednesday evening, 23 May, Essex and his troops, weary, drenched, and mud-covered reached Clonmel. The following day he wrote to the Privy Council—

“News I can send your lordships none, but that the pretended Earl of Desmond and all the force of the rebels of Munster are come within three miles of me and vow and swear to fight. I hear they are some 4,000 men though they give themselves out to be of greater numbers. I have with me nearly 2,000 foot and at least 200 serviceable horse; and Sir H. Norrey’s will reinforce me this night with 1,000 foot more, so that to-morrow if they make good the ford where they are, it shall be tried whether we be better at forcing of a passage or they at defending it. They have consulted how to keep the castle of Cahir against me notwithstanding that Cahir himself is in my hands. But I assure myself they dare not dispute it, since they know I have the cannon here, yet it is accounted the strongest place in Ireland and Cahir’s wife and his brethren have been consulting with the White Knight how to defend it and the news of my putting garrison into Ballyragget and all the strong places which are yielded to Her Majesty doth so trouble them that they will do what they dare.” (i)

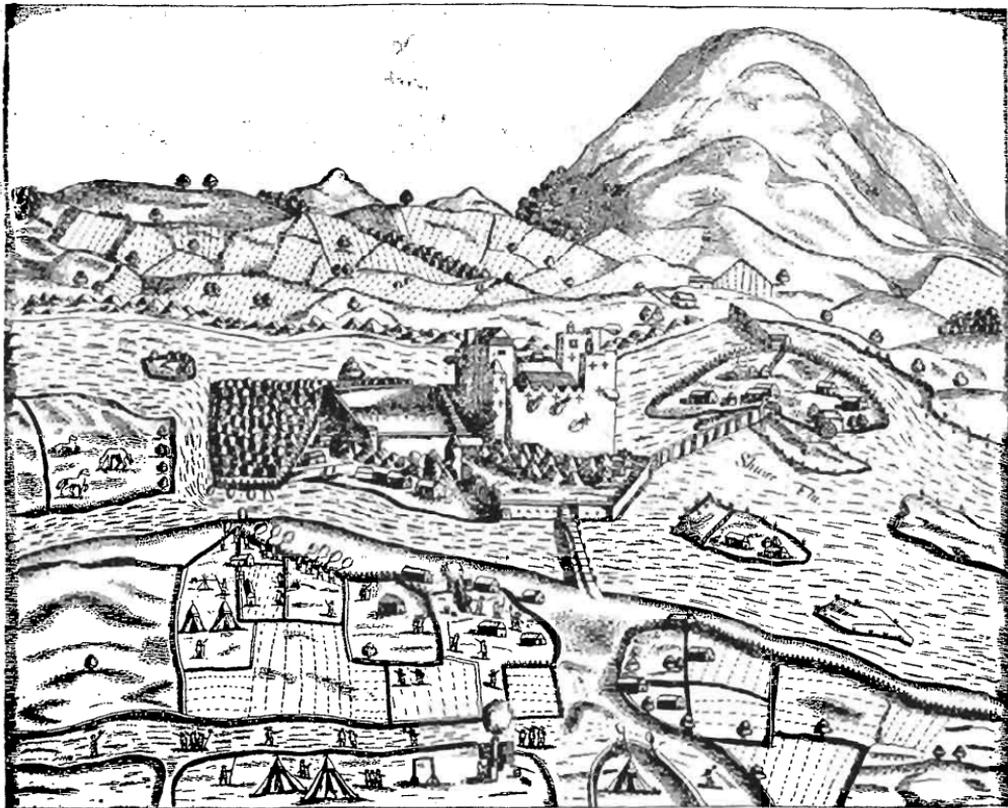
The issue was now joined. The Irish selected the Suir as affording a natural line of defence. It was now swollen by the recent rains while the woods of Offa and Aherlow to the rere, afforded splendid cover in case of defeat. Of the events that follow we have three contemporary narratives; they were evidently written by eye-witnesses, and are preserved in the Carëw Papers at Lambeth, the British Museum, and the State Paper Office, London, respectively. For convenience we recite them as A, B, C.

FRIDAY, 25 MAY, 1599.

“On the morrow (25th) his Lordship caused the vanguard and the battayle to march towards a fair green within a mile of the town.

(i) State Papers 1599, p. 42.

Himself went to the Key (of Clonmel) and used all possible diligence for hastening after the artillery being one cannon and one culverin ; howbeit because the bridges where of force it was to pass were weak and all things necessary for the quick repairing of them wholly wanted he was constrained to leave it behind, with order for the guarding and conducting of it by the rearguard with the help of some few horse, and for the lacke of draught horses it should be



CAHIR CASTLE IN 1599.

drawn by force of mens hands, which the day following was accordingly performed."

" His Lordship overtook the vanguard and caused them to stay one English mile short of the Castle of Caher and chief house of Thomas Butler, Lord of Caher, a place of greater strength than any in the kingdom being a passage upon the river a cover for the best

part of the county of Tipperary and a near neighbour to the White Knights country, to the Bourckes countrey (called Clanwilliam and Muskery) and to Arlo [Aherlow] the principal fastness which the rebels of Munster have. It is strong by nature being seated on a main rock in the island in the river. Southward it hath a great bawne, compassed by a high stone wall which (besides those of the castle) hath two flankers in itself; and (after you have gained the bawne another strong stone wall ere you come to the house. On the north side you have two great square towers, which flank both one another and the curtaine betwixt them being all seated on the highest and most inaccessible part of the rock. On the west side run two deep streams of force to be passed ere you come to the castle, a fauxmoore also at the foot of the rock; and withal the flanks of the castle and one of the bawne which lie very commodious to beat on any approaches that way. On the east side there lieth (besides the stream) a main rock as on all sides else; the flank of the bawne and of the square towers of the castle within; another fauxmure which covereth the port of the bawne; a great round tower that comes out of the body of the castle into the bawne as a bulwark; and a small low round tower at the foot of the rock and end of the fauxmoore, which flanketh both the castle and bawne and standeth almost in the nature of a little casamatte.

The Lord Cahir should have yielded this castle upon the approach of this army according to his submission and his word sundry times given to the Lord Lieutenant. He was charged by his Lordship at Clumell with having received strangers into his castle, who wished to make a party for the White Knight and against the delivery of the place but his brother [James Galdy Butler] who was in it sent word that none were in it but his own kinsmen and followers, and that it should be surrendered the next day. Thereupon the Lord Lieutenant sent him [Lord Cahir] with Sir Henry Davers to draw forth his brother and the ward and to admit the garrison appointed to hold it. But Davers returned with the assurance that the castle would be obstinately defended adding that Cahir himself was insolently and disgracefully used by those who came out to parley. (j)

Sir Henry Davers was advised duringe the parly to observe as much as was possible for him, the nature of the place who returning with the lord of Cayre related the scite and strength of the place to be such as is mencioned [viz.] that the castle although yt be not built with any great arte yet is the scite such by nature that yt may be said to be inexpugnable.. (*k*)

The Lord Lieutenant called to Council the Earl of Ormond, the Marshall Bingham, Sir George Bouchier, Sir Warham St. Leger, and the Sergeant Maior to consider what means he had to force the place. Finding his means very scarce he sent for more munitions from Waterford and ordered victualls to be daily supplied by the town thereabouts. He also sent letters to the lords of countries adioyning for beoves. Moreover he called again for the Lord Cahir and in presence of his brother [in law] Vicount Mountgarrett laid before him the greatness of his fault in falsefying his worde assuringe him, withal, that however he and his accomplices might hold the place invincible yet his Lordship was resolved not to depart thence till he had reduced it, which so moved him that ymmediately he sent for license to parley once again with the castle. Cahir's negociation proved fruitless. (*l*)

This night his Lordship reviewed the place himselfe in person and caused the same to be don by the Lord Marshall and sergeant major, commanding after a diligent review that the approaches (takinge the advantages by the way of old ditches and walls) should be that right carryed to the board [border] of the counterscarp one daye being intermitted without doing anything for want of the artillery which could not arryve in shorte time the same being drawne onely by force of men ; these passed a daye or two before the battery was commenced. (*m*)

SATURDAY, 26 MAY.

The whole of the army was lodged next day on the east side of the river, because it had been divided the rebel force (about 5,000) might have attacked either part. A trench was that night cast up within 50 paces of the castle and there a platform made for the cannon, gabyons were also set upp and filled to cover the

gunners. The culverin was placed somewhat further off where it might see more of the flanks of the castle and so beat down their sights.

At evening the Lord Lieutenant finding the rebels went in and out of the castle at their pleasures sent 300 men under Captain Brett and Chamberlayne to take possession of its orcheyarde Sir Thomas Gates to seconde them and the Marshall to see them intrenched. This was effected with small loss but Captain Brett was slain. (n) Had the enemy resolutely defended this orcheyarde 40 men might easily have held out against 4,000 as it is intrenched by the river and strongly plashed within.

SUNDAY, 27 MAY.

The next day in the morning the cannon and the culverin began to play but the cannon's carriage brake at the second shott and coulde not be repayred in a day and a half. The culverin was for a while cloyed with a bullet but being cleared it shot that day some 50 shott so that the rebells scarcely durst keep in any tower or fight on that side. (o) The Lorde of Cahir and his wife being then in camp and prisoners beholding the battery of their house wept like children. (p) Early in the morning 100 kerne were sent to the relieffe of the castle by the White Knight. In the beginninge of the night Sir Christopher St. Lawrence was sent with 300 men to possess an Iland which lyeth from the castle towards the northeast not more than halfe an hargubuz shott to break upp two bridges one of which leadeth from the Iland to the mayne and the other from the same Iland to the castle. (q) The Lord Lieutenant contrived to victual his men there by putting boats a little down the river and thence carrying them on menns backes above the castle and so putting them again downe the streame. The culverin was then drawne down nearer.

MONDAY, 28 MAY.

Next morning both it [the culverin] and the cannon played all the day long and greate breaches were made. The engineers were ordered to make ready ladders, scaffolds and sowes that our

(n) Captain Brett was shott in the bodie with a hargubuze.—B.

(o) A. (p) D. (q) B.

men climbing up might be protected from stones and whatever else might be cast down upon them; and the chief petarryer to make ready two petars to play upon the wall where a sapp was to be made in case either attempt took effect. Sir Charles Percie with four old companyes and two colonels were directed to make an assault. In the night the rebels attempted to save their lives by sally but they were so well received by Sir Charles Percie and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence that very few escaped and those only by swimming. (r) The Lord of Cahir's brother and a few with him got away through a sink and under a water mill; the rest of the rebels were pitifully (*sic*) mangled and slain along the river. (s) The castle was immediately entered the cannon and culverin drawne into it and the breaches repayred. Captain George Carye who had been wounded in the face was lefte in command of it with his company of 100 foot. [Thus] was repossessed for her Majesty with the slaughter of 80 rebels one of the strongest places by nature in all Irelande. (t)

Essex was greatly elated with his success; he sent letters to the Privy Council relating his progress and asking for reinforcements. "Your lordships shall be able to inform both her Majesty and yourselves of all my courses and successes in this province." (u) Whatever view their lordships may have taken of his courses and successes, the strongheaded Elizabeth had no delusions as to the conduct of the campaign. Probably no monarch—still less a woman, ever wrote to a commander in the field a more withering letter:—

"What can be more true (if things be rightly examined) than that your two months journey hath brought in never a capital rebel against whom it had been worthy to have adventured one thousand men. For of their two commings in that were brought unto you by Ormonde (namely Mountgarrett and Cahir) whereupon ensued the taking of Cahir Castle full well do we know that you would long since have scorned to have allowed it for any great matter in others to have taken an Irish hold, [castle] from a

(r) A. (s) D. (t) B.

(u) Waterford, June 25. State Papers 1599, p. 65.

rabble of rogues with such force as you had and with the help of the cannon which was always able in Ireland to make his passage where it pleased."

This is admirable, and in strong contrast with her language towards O'Neill in the same letter. He was more than her match; he had invariably outwitted her and when she came to deal with him she became the mere spiteful, impotent, pride-crushed woman:—

"What doth more displease us than any charge or expense that happens is that it must be the Queen of England's fortune *to make a base bush kern* to be accounted so famous a rebel as to be a person against whom so many thousands of foot and horse besides the force of all the nobility of that kingdom must be thought too little to be employed." (v)

In truth O'Neill and the Irish could not be conquered save by the methods adopted by Mountjoy and Carew the following year—organized famine and massacre in detail. (w) These, Essex as an honourable soldier and a chivalrous English gentleman, refused to adopt. He failed accordingly and his life was the forfeit. (x)

APPENDIX.

THE LORD CAHIR AND HIS RETAINERS, 1599.

In a "particuler of the rebells ordinarylye employed in the rebellion" furnished by the Irish Council to Essex, 28 April, 1599, Lord Cahir and his brother James Butler are set down as having 300 foot and 12 horsemen. This is certainly an over estimate. We annex a list of the principal retainers taken from the Fiant Rolls of 1600. It is interesting as a local 'directory' of that period. Curiously enough, after all the changes and confiscations many of the same families are still found in the district.

(v) Elizabeth to Essex, Greenwich, 19 July, *Ibid*, 98.

(w) For a concise account of this system of warfare, see Lecky, *History of Ireland in 18th Century*, Introduction.

(x) The writer gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. Rochfort, Cahir Abbey, for the plan of the Castle which was made from the estate maps. Also to Messrs. Downey, Publishers, London, for the plate of 1599.

CAHIR.

Yeomen.—John fitzDavid Lonergan, Walter Tobin, Peter English, Redmond English, Maurice Tobin, Edmond Tobin, Donough Kennedy, Morris O'Kennedy, Donough McConnor Lonergan, Geoffrey Keating, Thomas fitzJohn Lonergan, Richard More McSheehy, John fitzWilliam Butler.

Husbandmen.—Thomas Clancey, Darby Galgane, William O'Fieghar, John O'Hanyne, John O'Dahe, Teige McEa, Morreghy O'Herrig, Darby O'Mollogheghan, William Bourke, William McTeige Beg, John O'Herrig, John Rue O'Mohollahan.

Weavers.—Teige McShane, William McShane Bwee, Mahon McShane Bwee.

Shoemakers.—Teige O'Brien, Jolin O'Kyeen.

Carpenters.—Philip Tobin Fitzmaurice, Daniel McWilliam Moor, Thomas Brown, John McWilliam O'Donnell, John McRory.

Smiths.—Thomas O'Fennessy, Darby O'Fahy, Philip O'Fennessy.

Masons.—David Galgane.

Horseboys.—Donough O'Cahill, Donal McTeige McKennedy.

Cottiers.—Edmund O'Mullaney, William O'Mullaney.

Labourers.—Gillpatrick O'Farrell, Dermot McEa, John McEa, Edmund Kent, Connor O'Dogheran, Connor O'Dwyer, Thornyn fitzWilliam Butler, William Duff, Connor O'Quinn, Jeffry Prendergast, William O'Cleary, Donal O'Clovane, Murtagh O'Makin.

REHILL.

Yeomen.—Teige O'Heffernan, Walter Neale, James O'Haghir, James Helane, Patrick O'Haghir, Hugh Keogh, John Bathe, Owen Claneghie.

Husbandmen.—John fitzWilliam Burke, Thomas fitzJohn Burke, Edmond O'Donnell, Auliff McTeige, William McOwen, Darby McShane, Edmund O'Doyne, Morris McShane, John McDonoghue, Darby O'Maher, John O'Horgan, Shane Crone, Philip Braghan, John McPhillip, Shane McMoyle, John O'Reidy, James Hickey.

Tailor.—Edmond McMorris.

Shoemaker.—Owen O'Cahill.

Carpenters.—Jones Perrott, Shane McDonnell, John Roche.

Smiths.—Mahoon O'Hickey, Richard McMorris More.

GARNAVILLA.

Yeoman.—Thomas Tobin.

Husbandmen.—Darby O'Mullaney, David Mergin, William Herig, Kennedy McRichard, Edmund O'Dorane, Darby O'Doody, Teig McCarthy, Daniel Casey, Mahoon O'Hanyne, Donogh O'Hanyne.

Smith.—Morris O'Leary.

Labourers.—John O'Kennedy, John O'Hilane, John Roe O'Sisnan, William O'Doyne, Rory McShane, Donough Meehan, Darby O'Leary, Darby McTeige.

CAHIR ABBEY.

Husbandmen.—John O'Bohelly, Thomas O'Connell, John O'Molrany.

Shoemaker.—Melloghlin O'Quin.

Labourers.—John Roe, Richard O'Quin, Thomas O'Quin, Teig O'Markelly, David O'Byrne, Darby Ryan.

OTHER LOCALITIES.

Yeomen.—John Keating fitzRichard Duff and David Burke, Moortown ; Robert fitzThomas Mageon, Loughloher ; Edmund Bathè and William Lonergan, Kilcommon ; Donogh O'Donnell, Ballybrado ; Morris O'Hea, Balliee ; Richard English, Rochestown ; Philip Oge Lonergan, Tubrid.

Husbandmen.—Redmond Mageon, Peter Mageon, and William fitzRichard O'Donnell, Loughloher ; Edmund Tobin, John Tobin, John Tobin fitzThomas, John Morris, Philip Tobin, Rory Bathe, John O'Hogan, Thomas Mergin, Kilcommon ; John O'Donnell, Owen O'Donnell, William O'Hanyn, Ballybrado ; William McDonnell, William McThomas, Donogh O'Kennedy, Donogh O'Loughnan, John Loughnan, Dromloman ; John O'Heeny, William Cahill, Thomas McGrath, Thomas O'Kennedy, Scartagh ; Teige O'Quirke, Dennis Morris, Connor O'Hanyn, Scartaghbeg ; William Greehan, Daniel O'Reilly, Tubrid ; William O'Heyn, Balliee ; Daniel O'Heyn, William Lonergan, Ballan-garren ; John O'Quin, John O'Kennedy, Killolvane ; Darby O'Coffey, Cloghbreda ; Daniel O'Kenna, Knockane ; Patrick English, Carriganroe ; Mahon O'Hea, Kilcowcane ; Edmund Prendergast, Kilmine.



Tracts Illustrative of the Civil War in Ireland of 1641, &c.

Contributed by JAMES BUCKLEY.

VII.

A CONTINUATION OF THE

last Occurrences from

IRLAND,

OR,

The COPIE of a LETTER

sent from Lievtenant *Haward*, to
Mr. *Walter Fitz-Williams*, Esquire, ly-
ing neere the Privie Garden
in *White-Hall*.

Dated at *Duncannon* Fort in IRELAND

March 29, 1642.

Both Good and True



London, Printed for John Thomas, 1642.

Good Newes from *Ireland*.

Deare Friends,

Your courtesies hath so tyed me that I cannot chuse but intimate to you of such Occurrences as hath happened to us since our departure from *Bristoll*, from whence we departed with 200 men well appointed; and with Colours flying, arrived at the Fort of Duncannon, in the mouth of the River of Waterford, the 24 of the same, where we found the good Lord *Esmond* in safe possession of the Forte: who had endured many a shroud Bickering all the Winter with a Hundred men; but many of them Sicke when we Arrived there. What Joy was in the good old Lord you may conceive, having had 1,000 men of the Enemies lying against daily for many Monethes before, when we arrived. The Lord *Esmond* granted a cessation of Armies for 5 dayes, at the reuest of the Rebels, for he alwayes kept them play. And after that they sent for a Truce for 14 dayes more, but my Lord refused. Then they desired a parley with 4 of our best men, with 4 of theirs, which wee accepted of, and as we were marching towards them, came a Messenger desiring (from Colonell *Pierce Butler*) that he might meet with my Lord and conferre with him, but we sent him word that they had no man of quality good enough for him to conferre with, yet if he would come to the Fort he should speak with him but we heard no more of them.

The next day being the 22 of March our Souldiers being in much want of bedding or Bedcloathes, and the Rebels Quarters being little more than musket shot from us, we sallied forth, my selfe and two Lieutenants more with onely 20 Musketiers a piece, early in the morning in hope to have driven them from their quarters, and burnt it, but their numbers were too great for us, yet we fought with them about an houre. What hurt we did them we know not as yet, we had only one man of my Squadron shot in the shoulder, they having 9 colours flying before us, but very slenderly armed, with some Fowling-peecees, Pikes made of Dale boards, and some darts, and of a certaine they count their owne cases desperate, not knowing whether to leape into the Fire, or the Water. The relieving of this Fort hath much appaled them. Their Gennerrall is the Lord *Mon-Garret*.

The 26 of this Month we had another skirmish, where without doubt we did them much harme, and received only the hurt of one man, being shot in the Face. The same day at night the *Fellowship of Bristoll* arrived, being a Mann of Warre, with a Pinnace, shee having 24 Pieces of Ordnance, and the Pinnace 6, with 16 Oares being appoynted for this service.

And on Monday after we appoynted to Batter downe the Towne of *Ballihacke*, and passage of both Townes upon the River of *Waterford*, and full of good Pillage that they have robed the English of. *Waterford* is revolted; and the River of *Waterford* is of that large extent, that it runnes through 9 severall Counties in 3 severall Armes, and all those 9 Counties are in Rebellion.

Therefore I pray God put into the hearts of the King and Parliament to furnish vs alwayes with a ship of good force with a small Pinnace, and to furnish the noble old Lord *Esmond*, with a Regiment, who is the last of those Valiant old Souldiers that reduced this Kingdome to Obedience in Queene *Elizabeth's* dayes; And is much awed by all this whole Countrey, none except the Lord President of *Munster* is able to do his Majesty like service. We heare for certaine by the Countrey Peopl that the Lord President of *Munster* hath burned *Dungarvin* to the ground, a seaport Towne within 12 leagues of vs, and slain 300 of one Captaine *Wise's* Regiment, and driven Sir *Nicholas Welsh* to *Waterford*. The 28 of *March* we removed the Rebels further from us, fired their Quarters, and burnt some certaine houses, and brought away their Corne. We being not above 250 men have driven from these Quarters 9 Companies with their Colours flying, blessed be God that fighteth our Battels, we are very prosperous at this present.

The 29 of *March* we sent the great Ship and Pinnace to the passage, and *Balihacke* to batter it downe. The great ship hath bestowed great store of great shot upon them, what further they have done we cannot know till to-morrow. This is all I can acquaint you with till my next Letter.

My Captaine is come from England to move about a Regiment for my Lord *Esmond*. He being in hope to obtaine a Lieutenant Colonels place, he hath promised me to move for a company for

me. He can now report sufficiently of my ability. I shall intreate you to asist him for me. I doubt not but in due season I shall be able to give you a testimony of thankfulnessse. Thus having writ unto you by another Gentleman belonging to the Earle of *Ormond*, and fearing it might faile, I have written againe with an addition of what hath happened since I writ that letter. I will not faile you every opportunity of writing. I request I may be remembered to your little Gentleman Mr. *Morgan*, and that I may heare from you touching the affayres of our Church and Common wealth, who together with his Majestie God prosper, which God alwaies bless and prosper you.

Your true and faithfull Friend,

Lazarus Hayward.

Duncannon Fort,

March 29, 1642.

FINIS.

[British Museum : E. 142 (7)]





A Tipperary Farmer and Waterford Tradesman of Two Centuries Ago.

From MATERIALS FURNISHED by CAPT. C. L. VAUGHAN-ARBUCKLE.



ONLY within the last thirty years have we begun to study the history of the people. In our grandmothers' time the king and the soldier in scarlet occupied all attention while the man in fustian was nowhere. A course of historical reading meant the Roman Empire, the Greek oligarchies, the Egyptian, Syrian, and Babylonian monarchies, the conquests of Alexander and Cæsar, the rise and fall of Nebuchadnezar and the Great Mogul. In sooth the eye of the fool was on the ends of the earth. But we have changed all that. Our concern is now not so much with the pomp of kings and the march of empires as with the past life and thought of the great middle and lower classes of our own country. We want to gain a deeper insight into the social state, trade, industries, recreations, culture and religion of the humble men who toiled in our fields and tenanted our towns. Unfortunately, in Ireland, the materials for such study are scanty.

The thrift which keeps minute accounts, and the prudence which preserves them, are not our distinguishing characteristics; the common-place books, the farming reckonings, the stock memoranda, the family registers and the like which are to be found in so many old English households are here nowhere seen. It needs no apology therefore, when such an historical trifle as "Benjamin Vaughan His Book" turns up, that we make it the subject-matter of a paper.

The settlers who came to Clonmel in the wake of Cromwell were shrewd, strenuous and successful business men. Among the most notable was William Vaughan, banker, wool merchant and general trader. He appears to have been a native of London who "adventuring" a small sum for the prosecution of the Irish war, was allotted house property in Clonmel in satisfaction of his "adventure." He prospered exceedingly in his various undertakings and about 1668 married Mary Colesary, the daughter of a fellow "adventurer." There were four children of the marriage; the eldest daughter Elizabeth married Phineas Riall bringing to him the banking business which lasted for four generations subsequent.

The youngest child—

Benja. Vaughan was born Aprill 28: 1679: half an hour past 4: in the morning and baptized May 12 by Mr. Woode.

This is very circumstantial but it is to be regretted that no further particulars are given until the young gentleman himself nineteen years later enters "Ben: Vaughan His Book July 8: 1698." Meanwhile his father, prosperous in trade, formed the ambition of founding a county family. In 1678 the lands of Ballyvoher, Ballyvaughan, Cleare, Ballyboy, [Ballyboe] and Ballynaveene were purchased from an unsuccessful adventurer named Edward Cooke, who had been a London drysalter. Benjamin was to be the country gentleman.

Acc^t of my Court (*sic*) of Arms.

He beareth sable, a cheveron between 3 children's heads couped at the shoulders argent the perruques onwrapt about ye necks with as many shakes proper by the name of Vaughan.

In 1698 the elder Vaughan, after forty years of persevering toil was gathered to his fathers when we find the son setting down an—

Acc^t of whot my father left me when he died Aug. 18 : '98.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1 silver shuplate	...	00	5	4	To goods in ye parlour as p		
1 silver wach valued at,	...	03	10	0	Inventory	...	7 00 0
1 silver wafer box	...	00	2	6	To goods in ye Hall	...	1 05 0
1 silver handle cain	...	00	18	0	In ye Hall chamber	...	12 00 0
2 gold rings	...	01	6	0	In ye Kitching	...	22 00 0
1 horse called Hardin	...	04	0	0	In ye Docter's Room	...	7 00 0
1 Pad saddle, 1 Huntin do.					In Mrs. Sarah's Room	...	3 00 0
& 1 bridle	...	01	6	0	In Mrs. Vaughan's Room	...	12 00 0
1 Bleu Clooke	...	01	0	0	In ye Best Room	...	15 00 0
1 Holland shurt old	...	00	6	0	In Mrs. Carletons Room	...	5 00 0
1 case of pistolls	...	01	10	0	In ye maids Room	...	7 15 0
3 <i>p</i> silver buttons	...	0	1	6	In Nells Room	...	1 00 0
old silver belonging to a belt	...	0	8	6	In Cyss Room	...	0 15 0
1 Pewter standish	...	0	1	0	In the Deary and seller	...	14 08 0
1 perspective glass	...	0	2	0	By cash rec ^d . of bro Riall	...	12 03 6
1 brass blunderbush	...	0	18	0	By cash rec ^d . of bro Riall	...	20 08 0
1 pair of boots	...	0	8	0	By cash rec ^d . of bro Riall	...	2 08 0
1 large hair trunk	...	0	12	0	By cash rec ^d . of Martin		
By rec ^d . of bro Riall at					Hickey	...	15 00 0
severall times	...	24	3	0	1 a parcell of bond for	...	210 00 0
By cash rec ^d . to buy a horse	...	6	10	0	Rec ^d . of Mr. Purkee	...	4 4 0
1 bay mare and 1 sorrel horse	...	10	10	0	1 Agat [agate] handle knife		
1 bay mare	...	3	10	0	& fork	...	0 10 0
1 bright bay mare & stone colt	...	16	00	0	1 Ivery seal tipt with silver	...	0 3 0
1 brown mare	...	10	0	0	300 oz of silver plait at per oz		
1 silver hilted sword	...	2	00	0	1 <i>p</i> spectacles with silver hups	...	0 5 0
1 horse called Colsery	...	4	00	0	1 <i>p</i> stone buckels	...	0 6 0
5 garron	...	10	00	0	A parcell of books	...	10 0 0
5 guns	...	3	00	0			
by cash rec ^d . for Lams	...	8	12	0			
By cash rec ^d . bro. Riall	...	10	08	0			
To 3 hogs	...	3	00	0			

128 7 0

We are fortunately able to let the reader view the library.

An acc^t of whot books I have X^{ber.} of 1698.

1 Bible in English
 1 Bible in Duch and french
 Ye Golden Rule
 Dod on ye ten commands
 Saints Everlasting Rest

An alarm to unconverted sinners
 Wm. Baites four last things
 Ye deceitfullness of mans heart
 A french novel given by I.B.
 Two pamphlets on anatimism.

The horses it will be observed far outnumber the books and we can well fancy Benjamin dozing over the "Saints Everlasting Rest," while on the other hand an inspiring glimpse of him is afforded mounted on his horse called Colesary, his pistols stuck in his belt and the "bleu clooke" flying in the wind revealing his

holland shirt withal old. In 1699 he made a voyage to Holland mainly it would seem to renew his supply of linen. "Memento that one Mr. Samuel Lefébur of Haislem has the best and cheapest linen that can be had in Holland." An inventory of the new purchases includes shirts "fine, midlin, and corse," muslin ruffles, cravats "doon with red" and cambric handkerchiefs. The secret of all this fuss about *lingerie* innocently enough peers out a few pages later.

Benja Vaughan and Ann Wolf were joynd in Matrimony in Dublin
Novr ye 19, 1700.

This event proved to poor Benjamin as to so many others but the beginning of sorrows. No fewer than eight daughters and four sons were born of the union, and from this time he was concerned with the weight of his purse rather than the cut of his cravat.

During the second half of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th, the staple industry of Ireland was wool growing. Through dearth of population consequent on the Cromwellian wars, agriculture was impossible; cattle raising also ceased to be profitable owing to an Act of the English Parliament of 1666. In that year the country gentlemen constituting parliament, prohibited the importation into England of Irish cattle dead or alive. Accordingly this country became a huge sheep walk.

Benjamin Vaughan in addition to farming his own lands at Ballyvaughan and Ballyboe set up for an extensive sheep grazier.

Acc^t of whot sheep was at Ballydoile at shering time it being
14 June '99, with Thomas Rion

821 Ews	Sold of cullin lams 60 at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ 15s. 0d p sc[ore]
780 Lams	Sold two ram lams and one Rigin do.
19 Weathers	Sold 47 bullocks for 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ 00. 00.
52 Rams	Sold 1 sorrell horse & hardin 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ 00 00.

Acc^t of whot sheep I had at Clougharogeen and Ballyglishenbeg
with Dennis Kelly at shering time June 22 '99

466 weathers

A^{cct} of whot cattell is on Ballyboe Darby Querck both
shepherd and cowboy April 21 1699

407 Hogsheads	9 yearlings
18 cows	6 garrons &ct.
18 Plow bullocks	

He had besides numerous flocks at 'Killowrny' Ballyknocken and

elsewhere. But the wool industry was rapidly becoming unprofitable. In 1684 the price of wool in the Clonmel market was 12s. 6d. a stone, while in 1703 it had fallen to 5s. 6d. Vaughan however sought other paths to fortune. He purchased woods from his neighbours and had the timber cut and sold by retail. In 1704 he bought "Newtown Lenard" from Colonel Butler for £36, but the net profits after all expenses paid amounted only to £2 18. 3½. His purchase of Gurteen wood was more unfortunate, for it turned a loss of £25 2. The details of these transactions are sufficiently curious. He seems to have boarded his sawyers.

	£	s.	d.
To one bushel wheat to ye sawer	0	2	0
To one weather to do	0	4	0
To paid for fire for one of ye sawers	0	8	6
To a cow yt was fat to ye sawer	1	2	0

He sold the timber at from 3s 6d to 5s a cord, the bark at £3 a ton. "Cozen" Perry bought 32 large rafters 18 feet long for £2 8. In those days ploughs were made of wood, the rude sock being merely tipped with iron. Hence

To 6 plow beams sold Cha : Shaw	0	4	0
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The primitive cars of the time were mounted on solid wheels into which the revolving axletree was mortised.

To 9 acceltrees for weins [wains] and 1 beam for Do. Sold			
Cozen R. Hickison 1 acceltree more to Do.	1	1	8

The following are evidence of labour and wages in Tipperary during the first year of the eighteenth century.

To Patrick's diet 19 week 5 days at 18d a week	1	9	6½
To paid Patrick	0	3	8½
To 1 bush wheat to Darby Coram	0	3	3
To Darby Coram 1½ white peas	0	3	9
William Coram 14 days worck at 5d	0	5	10
To ½ bush peas to Coram	0	1	6
To 60 nights grazing	0	5	0
To tobacco 6d to tobacco 8d	0	1	2

But if wages were low, the price of provisions was equally so. In 1702 a barrell of oats might be bought for two shillings, a lamb for a shilling, a ewe for three shillings and a wether for four.

Vaughan's farming operations did not prove lucrative and like so many men on the downward grade he seems to have given up keeping accounts. For more than a decade no item whatsoever is furnished. When he next appears it is in negotiation for the sale of his lands.

1717, Monday Aprill 1, Mr. Hercules Beer and his bro: Morgain came here with whom I went to Clonmell, there meet Mr. Burdite and Mr. Edw. Mandivell by ye perswasion of them and Bro: Perry I set ye lands of Ballyboe to Mr. Beer for 37 years at ye rate of 10s an acre round.

6 Aprill Saturday I took a house in Watterford from Mr Rogers for 21 years with a clause of surrender as per note that day perfected

11 Thursday at Polecery putting some goods aboard a boat to send to my house in Waterford

19 Friday at Polecery sending down some of my goods John Daniell went in ye boat to Waterford with them.

22 Munday John Lonergane came from Watterford and said that ye first parcells of my house hold good got safe, that he had sowed my garden and that tuesday last I had drinck brued there. Mr Jackson, John Cooke and his wife Tho Harris and Char Atkins dined at Ballyboe. After dinner Mr Beer came heer and I sold him all ye movables I had to spair and he is to leave behind him at ye expiration of his lease ye Parlour Closet as he finds it and 5 chimley peeces as per agreement. In ye afternoone we had an account that Mr John Marshall this day in Clonmell cut his own throght of which he instantly Dyed.

Now that Benjamin had given his parting dinner to his Tipperary neighbours, the work of packing went on apace while three days later "Mr Ja: Power of Gurteene" came over as arbitrator to value the stock. At length Benjamin Vaughan and his interesting family bad adieu to their old home in Ballyboe.

30 Aprill Tuesday I went with my wife, Molly, Nancy and Benny to Ballyknockan on there way to Watterford.

May 1, Weinsday my wife and ye above children went on horse back to Watterford, and Betty, Beckey, Sally and Shucky went with my goods by boat, after that I called at Ballydine.

A man who at thirty-eight sets up to trade is not likely to be a great success. Still less if he has been bred a gentleman and failed

as a farmer. But Benjamin Vaughan was now in earnest. He began again to keep a diary and memoranda; he copied verbatim "Mr Spencer's Instructions for Learning Italians [*sic*] Booke Keeping." He would let no grass grow under his feet and within a fortnight began to negociate for a share in a ship.

20 May Munday I spoke to Mr Mañdivell and he promised me that if he was concerned in a deall ship that I should have part soe did Mr Robt Glin.

What does it profit a man to gain the whole world, &ct., but could not a man gain both?—

June 5 Wensday I went with a great many to Clonmell to ye Ordination of Mr Jackson and Mr Taylor, between Carrick and Clonmell my she Cozn Harriss fell off her horse and broak her leg.

Thursday I saw Mr Jackson and Mr Taylor ordained. Mr Weld and Mr Actkinson managed ye Ordination. After ye Ordination I agreed with Tho Harriss for 2000 calves skins at 3½d. a pound.

8, 9, 10 I was in Clonmell and sold some peeces of muslin and half a peece of moade.

But keeping a diary is a labourious and exacting duty and so a fortnight later it was given up. When under the stimulus of new years resolutions it was resumed 1 Jan 1718, we find the versatile Vaughan engaged in the fish trade.

3 Jan friday. I went from home and dined at an Inn near Harry Morrisses with Mr. Green and Mr Polter. Sold Polter 1 barrell white herring for 16s 3d I went from that to Callin and sold Mr. Conny and three more merchants 12 barrell of white herrings at 16s.

I went to Feather and sold there 12 barrell of white herrings at 16s delivered in Clonmell and lay there that night.

13, Munday. I sold Mr. Wm Morony 100 bar of white salt at 2s 8d per 100 weight and after that I bought 13 bar of white herrings of Mr. Archdecon (a) at 14s per bar, and 3 bar of red herring of Mr. Portingall at 14s per bar.

Ten days subsequent the diary keeping was relinquished again. Meanwhile financial troubles were coming on and Vaughan went to consult his Tipperary friends on the sale of his landed

(a) This family left Waterford soon after because of the difficulties created by the penal laws. They settled in France and the present representative was mayor of the V Arrondissement of Paris a few years ago. His is now a member of the Chamber of Deputies in the "Nationalist" interest.—[Edit. *W.A.F.*]

estate. He purchased a half pound of tea for 9s. 1d. which he presented to Mr. Burdite. The elevating influence of the rare liquor appears from the fact that a loan of £120 was negotiated. Mr. Burdite however, Mr. Matt Jacob of St. Johnstown, Counsellor Slatteri of Redmondstown and Dick Perry, all advised him "to sell Ballyboe intire by cant in Dublin." Whether he took their advice or not does not appear; henceforward the only notes committed to his memorandum book related to the ongoings of his family.

Son William Vaughan got into London June 13, 1722.

Son William was married July 17, 1726 to Mrs. Mary Bond in London.

Son William was sworn a Ticket Broker and free of the City of London March the 2, 1727.

Son William appears to have had a better knack of getting on in the world than father Benjamin. The character of his business may be gathered from the following.

Sailers Acct of Ticketts sent son William.

1734, Nov 20.	To Mansfields Tickett who was discharged in Lisbon out of ye Dolphin Man of War Capt ⁿ Vincent Commander w ^{ch} I paid him for it.	...	£12	..	6	..	6	
	To gave me for ye Discount	...		3	..	8	..	6
								£15 .. 15 .. 0
	To Discount	...	3	..	8	..	6	
	To got by Exch ^a at 8½ p.c.	...	1		3		9½	
			4		12		3½	
	English Disct and Postidge	...	1		4		0	
	Got by it clear	...	£3	..	8	..	3½	

Son William was his joy and his crown. Every present received from London was carefully noted. Guineas, hats "Chesheer" cheeses, brass cribbage table, a bottle "skrue," silver buckles, medals of King William and Queen Mary were among the gifts to the father, while the mother was comforted with worsted, cambric handkerchiefs, thread, "a pair of sizers" and so on. Both parents went over to view their magnificent boy. The voyage of the father is sufficiently curious.

Benja Vaughan Senr left Watterford Nov 11, 1736. Sailed in Frénch at 4 that night. Ye 13 I landed on ye key of Bristoll went in ye Flying Coach, got to London ye 20th and my sons William and Ben and Cozen Atkins mett me at ye Tun and we supp'd at a Tavern Mr. Davis of Bristoll a Merc^t with us who took a greate deale of care of me on ye Road.

Benja Vaughan Senr arrived from London to Watterford the 7th Sept 1738 after being at Pill 10 dayes afterwards putt into Minehead, then into Comb, left that and lay under Lundy one night and Putt back again to Comb, was in all about seaven weeks comeing over.

However the sunset of the Vaughans' life was not altogether cloudless. For

Son William became a Banck Rupt Nov^r 1738.

At an earlier period we find the memorandum,

The mellancolly news of my Son John Vaughan's being cast away in ye Collwell Gally on ye Goodwin Sands with five shippes more on board of said six shippes were 60 soules, out of which number not one soul saved nor any of ye goods This account came feb 18, 1725 he was bound from Rotterdam to Cork. Those shippes that left ye Brill ye tide before and ye Tide after all got safe.

At length after forty-one years of married life Benjamin Vaughan and Anne Wolf were separated. The event touched him to the finest literary effort in the diary. It reads in parts curiously like the description of the valiant woman in the Book of Proverbs.

About Aprill 1741 my Dear wife Mrs. Anne Vaughan began to faull away, soe that she ust to say that she might slip through her stays. Aftewards she gattered fatt but when she walked but a little she grew very weary and on Sunday the day she always loved ye best of any in ye week being ye 9th of August we Perceived an alteration in her and her memory to fail. Sunday ye 16th she grew worse and could not be Perswaded but it was Saturday aiter that she grew worse and took to her Bed. Sunday ye 23rd Dr. Edwards the Rev Mr Dennison & all about her thought that she would have Dyed she being speechless. A Munday and Tuesday she grew fine and harty & Eat & Dranck better then she had for some time then she had a Relaps and Dyed Sunday ye 30, of August 1741 a little after 10 a clock at night.

She was one of ye most Patientest persons that could be, taking everything she was Bid & Doeing everything she was Desired & went off with out a Sigh or a grown like a Lamb. She Resigned her soul to her God whom early in her youth she began to serve & soon entred into covenant with him at his Table never missing that Ordinaunce when she was able

to goe to it, for when she lived in the country no weather would keep her from Church, she Proved her self to be one of the Best of Christians, wives mothers neighbour & nurse tenders to ye sick & of Universall charity. None could take more Pains or care in ye Education of her children she having ten alive when she Dyed Espeshally as to their Eternal Happyness, the Last she allways took care to instill in all children that was under her care. She was 64 years of age from ye 14 of May last and was married to me Benja Vaughan ye 19 of Nov 1700. But is now as I Doubt not Glorifieing her God and her Redeemer among angels & ye spirits of just men made Perfect.

The Doctor saise that she Dyed of a Nervious Disorder & a Decay of her spirits.

Whether the highly scientific opinion of the doctor was correct or not there can be little doubt that Vaughan himself died of a decay of his spirits. Six months after, his daughter wrote immediately underneath,

My father died ye 5 Feby 1742.

We part from these memorials with regret. They speak of a life sincere, tranquil and kindly ; they tell of trials meekly borne, of prosperity graciously enjoyed. In the ambition and fever of modern life, we might envy the lot of these gentle, amiable, old-world folk (b).



(b) Waterford readers may be interested to know that the earliest local newspaper properly so called "Ramsay's Waterford Chronicle" was established by Vaughan's son-in-law. "Mary Vaughan was married to Hugh Ramsay Stationer in Waterford Jan'y 26 1740 by Parson Sando." Further the first institution corresponding to our modern club was set up in Coffee House Lane by another son-in-law. "William Crawley was married to Sarah Vaughan June 28, 1738. William Crawley set up a Coffee House in Watterford Sept. 1738."—
[Ed. W.A.ȝ.]



Old Waterford No. 2.



AVING by the aid of Vander Hagen's picture, taken a bird's eye view of Waterford as it appeared two hundred years since (a) we purpose in the present paper to begin a series of explorations into the old city. We will walk the narrow streets, peer into the dark, stuffy houses, learn something of the men and manners of "the good old times."

Starting from Ballybricken we find outside of St. Patrick's Gate a large waste over which were loosely scattered a number of grimey thatched cabins, some only of these had chimneys, for the hearth-money tax was in force, many were lighted only through the doors and so eluded the window tax. Beyond were the burghers lands called after the old time families "Leonards parks," "Dobbyns parks," "Walshes parks." Whether the Cromwellians hoped to improve the place by re-naming it is not certain. They translated 'bally' into 'town' and called it 'Brickenstown' (b). But in vain; the acropolis of Waterford refused to part with its classic appellation. A Master of the Rolls of the past generation, himself a native of Waterford, has left a graphic sketch of Ballybricken and its bull baiting in the eighteenth century (c). A souvenir of the barbarous sport still exists in the

(a) September No. of *Journal*, 1902.

(b) So in Down Survey, P.R.O.; they similarly changed Ballytruckle into 'Trucklestown.'

(c) Walsh, "Ireland Ninety Years Ago."

“Bull Post,” while the curious in these matters may read in the old corporate minute books “Ordered that ye Mayor forthwith provide a bull rope for Ballybricken.”

ST. PATRICK'S STREET.

On the destruction of the ancient fortifications St. Patrick's Gate was converted into the city courthouse and as such enjoyed a prolonged and honoured old age. Descending St. Patrick's Street the open space at the junction with Stephen's Street was once filled by a wedge-shaped block of buildings on either side of which narrow lanes gave access to Stephen's Street. Opposite this block at the lower corner of “Corrigeen” stood the oldest and best known of the Waterford inns. It dated back to the early part of the seventeenth century and even in the days of Charles II. as “The Black Boy” (*d*) was the theme of travellers. Here the tired wayfarer from the County Tipperary or remote Waterford dismounted from his jaded hack or with aching limbs and shaken frame climbed off the coach to refresh himself with the roast beef and drown his pains in the ‘sack’ for which the house was famous. Here the county gentlemen constituting the grand jury met for the assizes and the Croker and the Christmas, the Osborne and the Congreve of the day made a picturesque figure with his three-corner hat, his embroidered coat, his ruffles, his gorgeous damascened vest, his silken hose and silver-buckled shoes. Here too was drunk confusion to Popery and the Pretender, the pious and immortal memory was toasted, and the victories of our General Marlborough in Flanders duly celebrated. At length after a chequered career of nearly two centuries and a-half the old inn disappeared, not indeed by natural decay but by fire. The writer saw it in its last years. The staircase albeit crazy, was still intact with its graceful sweep, its stucco and its corkscrew balusters. But though “The Black Boy” has passed away some coeval buildings still remain in Patrick Street. If the curious reader will enter through one of the narrow lanes he will discover to the rear of the houses huge masses of masonry, great broad-shouldered

(*d*) I have seen in some French towns inns with the kindred name *Au bon Diable*.

chimneys and stone-mullioned windows of the time of James I. A more interesting example of the frame houses of an earlier period may also be seen. It stands with its gable fronting the street three doors from the end. Exteriorly it does not present much evidence of antiquity, but its internal economy has undergone little change for probably four centuries. It well deserves attention for the light it throws on the life and habits of our civic ancestors. The ground floor extensive and unbroken was obviously the shop and warehouse. Over this and forming the whole of the first floor was the living room of the merchant and his family. This room corresponds to the hall in the contemporary 16th century castles. A huge Tudor mantelpiece is still *in situ*. On the hearth no doubt were the usual 'dogs,' the fire serving the double purpose of cooking and comfort. There was no privacy in our sense of the word; the family and servants lived in common and the compartments subsequently constructed as *withdrawing* rooms were unknown. A steep staircase in the corner led to the third or attic storey. Though much of the original woodwork still exists there is no evidence to show that this the sleeping part of the edifice was divided into separate rooms. It seems rather to have been one large dormitory. The study of such a house as this will enable us to understand as nothing else can, the social equality, the frankness of manners, the quaint unconventionality depicted in the pages of Chaucer.

THE CROSS.

Leaving Patrick Street so rich in historic memories we find ourselves at "the Cross." Old people still so speak of the locality though the cross itself has been pulled down some hundred and fifty years. Fortunately the map-picture of the town made in 1673 enables us to form a tolerable notion of its style and detail. The base or plinth consisted of several steps on which rested the 'lantern.' This was four sided; narrow columns at the angles supported a Gothic canopy which was surmounted by the cross proper. As far as one can judge from the minute drawing, it seems to have been identical with the cross of Kilkenny. From it in early times 'a poor friar of the order of St. Francis' occasionally

preached on market days. The city proclamations were made there. When war was declared the mayor and brethren came over from the Guildhall to read that the King of France instigated by the devil and not having the fear of God before his eyes had taken up arms against his Britannic Majesty wherefore, etc. At the conclusion of peace the fact was similarly announced. Many a stirring scene was enacted beneath. When in 1603 Sir Nicholas Walsh, Recorder of Waterford, ascended the steps to proclaim the accession of James I. to the throne the people infuriated because of his version from the old religion pulled him down and mobbed him (e). Here too in 1646 the ban of excommunication was laid by Rinuccini on all who adhered to the peace with Lord Inchiquin. Seven years later the old citizens were summoned to the cross by 'beate of drum' to hear the proclamation read ordering them outside the walls within which they and their ancestors for four hundred years had lived. Surely if, as Ruskin teaches, we feel sympathy with stones that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity, if the true language and life of a building is in the fact that its walls have been witnesses of suffering and its pillars risen out of the shadows of death, then this old cross was Waterford's most vital, most eloquent memorial, and all right thinking men must deplore the thoughtlessness that removed it as an obstruction or the cupidity that sold it for its stones.

THE BROAD STREET.

Opposite the Cross occupying the south corner of St. Peter's Street stood the Guildhall. In the map, of 1673, it is represented as a sort of tower topped by a spire. This apparently is not altogether fanciful for it is probable that one of the towers of the ancient line of fortification was incorporated into the building. The Guildhall was the focus of ancient civic life. Here the burgesses met for purposes of trade or local government, and here the municipal hospitalities were dispensed. Occasionally a lord deputy, or some exalted personage arrived from England, and the Mayor and brethren met him and conducted him with great state to

(e) Cox, History of Ireland.

the Guildhall where fulsome addresses in Latin hexameters, were read. Old Hooker (*f*) describes one of these spectacles in his own quaint way.

“When the Lord Justice [Sir William Pelham] in 1580 visited Waterford, at his landing the Maior and Aldermen arraied in their scarlet gownes, met him and presented unto his lordship the sword and Keis of the gates which foorthwith he redelivered to them againe and the sword the Maior bore and carried before his lordship. He went first to the church and by the waie upon two several stages made for the purpose there were two orations made unto him in Latine and at his return from the Church, he had the third in English at the doore of his lodging.”

A still grander display was made in 1599 when Essex, Lord Lieutenant, came to the city after his hunt-the-slipper campaign against the Desmonds. But the Guildhall was the theatre of more moving scenes than feudal mummery. In it in the early sixteenth century were held the sworn “Inquisitions” into the possessions of the local monasteries preliminary to their being granted away to royal favourites. In it too, a century subsequent, the Cromwellian commissioners sat for months together making “terriers,” or lists of the lands of the ruined Irish for the purpose of surveying and distributing them to the conquerors (*g*). When the Guildhall disappeared its place was taken by an edifice that scarcely yields to it in interest. The native of Waterford is often struck by that huge block of building fronting Broad Street and Peter Street, now broken into several shops. It stands four storeys high, head and shoulders as if, over its humble compeers. Time was when the citizen never passed it by without a hang of the head, and a far away look coming into his face. This was the home and bank of Mr. John O’Neill. In an age of gigantic fraud, this celebrated “banker” out-distanced all competitors. During the four years of his meteoric career he managed to get the public to accept his paper to the extent of £150,000. When in 1803 the run came he

(*f*) Hollingshed's Chronicles, p. 429.

(*g*) Civil Survey of Waterford, 1654, still existing.

paid out £40,000 and then closed his doors. Two generations ago popular ballads sang his praises but time at length has dimmed the glory of this financial comet. (*h*)

Following the line of the ancient city wall to the rear of the Guildhall, we reach one of the most prominent landmarks of old Waterford—Arundell's Castle. This stood where Arundell Lane enters the square. In justice to the corporators they had a tenderness for the old building and took it down only when age made it totter. The present square similarly to the other open spaces was once filled by a block of buildings. These would appear to have been removed in the early part of the eighteenth century. Immediately outside Arundell's Castle, fronting Broad Street, was situated the ancient grammar school of Waterford. By an act of the Irish Parliament of 1560, grammar schools were to be established in each cathedral town. In Waterford, Peter White, dean of the diocese, set up the school—if it had not existed previously. He, in consequence of uncompromising hostility to the Reformers, was deprived of his deanery and ultimately forced to leave the city. A John Shearman was appointed some years subsequently. After a few months residence, the antipathy of the citizens was excited by his strong Protestantism and he wrote to his patrons to be relieved of his burthen. His letter, which is still preserved in the Public Record Office, London, is one of the most curious documents of the period. The next head of the school seems to have been a successful teacher. The celebrated Luke Wadding, who studied the rudiments of Latin under John Flahy, pays a graceful, generous tribute to the learning, zeal and kindness of his old master. When the Protestant Ecclesiastical Commissioners appeared in 1617, they summoned Flahy before them, but he was nowhere to be found. At length, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, after various vicissitudes the old grammar school was incorporated with Bishop Foy's foundation so that it may be said to have continued in existence down to our own time.

(*h*) Mr. Robert Dobbyn when a boy often listened to those ballads: one of them began—

“Johnny O’Nail has a very fine shop,
’T would dazzle your eyes to look up at the top,” &c.



Waterford Wills

(1583-1810).

IN our present number we continue the Calendar of the Wills of Waterford. The prerogative wills of the county though not more numerous than those of the city, are of far greater interest and value.

Seeing that they cover a period of nearly seventy years prior to that great social *bouleversement* the Cromwellian settlement, it is disappointing to find amongst them so few wills of the older Waterford families. The Fitzgeralds of Dromana, the Hores of Dungarvan, the Walls of Coolnamuck, and the Aylwards of Faithleg, figure with two wills each ; the Barrons of Stradbally, the Goughs of Kilmanahan, the Sherlocks of Leitrim, have only one; the Powers of "the Power Country," the O'Briens of Comeragh, and the McGraths of Sledy, do not appear at all. On the other hand the "undertakers" of Elizabeth's reign and the planters of the Commonwealth period are well represented. The oldest will in the collection is that of John Thickpenny (1583) a sutler (or caterer, as we should now say) to the English forces operating against the Desmonds. He is followed by Thomas Banester, Sir John Dowdall and others who built themselves up on the ruins of that ill-starred race. A reference to "Lismore," "Tallow" and the other place-names of that locality, shows the settlers introduced by the Earl of Cork ; the families founded by these have for the most part long disappeared ; a few are still

traceable but curiously enough, utterly alien to their forebears in creed and politics.

Among the wills are those of some who attained more than a local celebrity. Sir James Geoghe (1628), whose beautiful home, Kilmanahan Castle, is now the seat of the Earl of Donoughmore, was the head of the Catholic Parliamentary deputation to James I. The speech of "the wisest fool in Europe" in reply to Geogh and his fellows is one of the curiosities of history. Valentine Greatrakes (1684) of Affane, the "stroker" as he was called, attracted so much notice as a medical thaumaturgus that he was brought over to Whitehall to gratify the curiosity of the gay monarch. His cures were the subject of angry debate among "the faculty." Pepys in his Diary records the perplexity in the gossips, and Sir William Petty, with his companions of the Royal Society, met to take counsel on the matter. James Roche (1723), whose heroism as a swimmer preserved Derry for King William, received a grant of land in Glinn, as a reward for his services. Zachary Cooke (1764), whose vagaries in dress and dietary so much interested the philosophic Smith (*a*), anticipated by a century the sect of White Quakers. Henry Eeles (1781) wrote "Letters from Lismore," remarkable as one of the earliest contributions to the literature of electricity. On a clear day, from any part of West Waterford or South Tipperary, may be discerned a pimple on the summit of Knockmeldown. This is the tumulus beneath which, in accordance with his own directions, he, his horse, dog and gun lie buried together. Thomas Wyse, (1775), St. John's Manor, the founder, with Dr. John Curry, of the original "Catholic Association" which obtained the first relaxation of the penal laws.

A

- 1804 Acheson, William, Glenhouse.
- 1593 Aylward, Peter, Faithleg.
- 1626 Aylward, Sir Richard, Faithleg.
- 1747 Alcock, Alexander, Dean Lismore.
- 1784 Alcock, Henry, Nymphall.
- 1733 Anderson, Alexander, Gracedieu.
- 1769 Andrews, John, Tallow.
- 1724 Andrews, Richard, Tallow.
- 1725 Andrews, Richard, Tallow.

B

- 1772 Bagge, Rev. John, Monea.
- 1719 Bagge, Leonard, Kilbree.
- 1781 Baggs, James, Lismore.
- 1742 Baggs, Richard, Lismore.
- 1592 Banester, Thomas, Kilbrye.
- 1639 Barefote, Walter, Lysfynen Bridge.
- 1722 Barnes, Thomas, Kilculliheen.
- 1623 Barron, William, Stradbally.
- 1684 Bateman, Anne, Ferrypoint.

1666 Bellam, Michael, Tallow.
 1703 Bengen, James, Tallow.
 1807 Bolton, John, Mount Bolton.
 1735 Bowers, Mary, Stonehouse.
 1638 Bragg, William, Kilcaugh.
 1769 Brenon, John, Tallow.
 1678 Brigin, Elizabeth, Stonehouse.
 1757 Browning, Richard, Affane.
 1719 Browning, Robert, Affane.
 1783 Browning, Samuel, Affane.
 1724 Browning, William, Old Affane.
 1790 Brownrigg, Edmund, Richmond.
 1758 Bryan, Oliver, Lismore.
 1700 Bucknor, William, Coolfyn.
 1776 Bunbury, Matthew, Lismore.
 1762 Butler, Peregrine, Dungarvan.

C

1721 Carew, Robert, Ballinamona.
 1793 Carew, Thomas, Ballinamona.
 1758 Carey, Joseph, Ballynaronon.
 1778 Carr, Page, Ardnindeen.
 1803 Carr, Thomas, Ardnindeen.
 1638 Carter, Margery, Tallow,
 1637 Carter, Thomas, Tallow.
 1808 Carty, Dame Mary, Tallow.
 1638 Chappell, Richard, Tallow.
 1787 Chearnley, Anthony, Springfield.
 1791 Chearnley, Richard, Saltbridge.
 1671 Chettle, William, Lismore
 1687 Christian, Patrick, clk, Kilrossenty.
 1721 Christian, William, Old Grange.
 1749 Christmas, Thomas, Whitefield.
 1747 Christmas, Thomas, Whitefield.
 1656 Clanchey, Roger, Furleigh.
 1774 Clark, John, Tallow.
 1798 Clark, Page, Tallow.
 1753 Clark, Mary, Dungarvan.
 1775 Coates, John, Lismore.
 1798 Coleman, James, Ballyduff.
 1714 Collman, James, Cappoquin.
 1720 Comby, Catherine, Dunmoon.
 1720 Comby, William, Dunmoon.
 1809 Congreve, Ambrose Ussher, Mount
 Congreve.
 1801 Congreve, John, Mount Congreve.
 1801 Congreve, John, Landscape.
 1810 Cooke, Bridget, Dungarvan.
 1742 Cooke, William, Canphire.
 1764 Cooke, Zachary, Tallow.
 1735 Coughlan, Jeremy, Lismore.
 1668 Croker, Hugh, Ballyhamlis.
 1704 Croker, Thomas, Ballyankor.
 1727 Cronyn, William, Sledy.
 1767 Crosse, Sylvester, Passage.
 1746 Crotty, Andrew, Modeligo.
 1788 Crotty, Andrew, Ballygillane.

1741 Crotty, Anastace, Cappoquin.
 1784 Crotty, John, Ballygallan.

D

1771 Dalton, Grace, Killonkert.
 1806 Delahay, George B., Tallow.
 1803 Delahay, William, Apothecary,
 Tallow.
 1711 Demarcon, Lewis Duvay,
 Waddingstown.
 1749 Dennis, Rev. William, Archdeacon,
 Lismore.
 1779 Devereux, Thomas, Tallow.
 1743 Dobbyn, William, Ballymakill.
 1613 Dowdall, Sir John, Pilltown.
 1708 Downing, Richard, Lismore.
 1793 Downrayl (*sic*), Elizabeth, dowager
 Vicountess of, Kilmeaden.
 1707 Doyle, Dennis, Ballymacar.
 1694 Drew, Barry, Ballyduff.
 1788 Drew, Francis, M.D., Mocollop.
 1804 Drew, Francis, Bishopstown.
 1735 Drew, John, Turcullen.
 1807 Drew, John, Tallow.
 1711 Drew, Margaret, Kilwinny.
 1757 Drew, Samuel, Scart na Crohy.
 1781 Duckett, Richard, Whitestown.
 1808 Dudley, Robert, Suirville.
 1709 Dusauze, Benvist, merchant,
 Dungarvan.

E

1781 Eeles, Henry, Lismore.
 1662 Elmore, Richard, Ballyphilip.
 1792 English, Andrew, Little Bridge.
 1626 Eylars, Sylvester, carpenter,
 Cappoquin.

F

1630 FitzGerald, Dame Eleane, widow
 of Sir John of the "Deceis."
 1616 Fitzgerald, Garrett FitzJames,
 Dromana.
 1665 FitzGerald, John, Dromana.
 1657 Fitzgerald, Maurice, Ballyheeny.
 1705 Fitzgerald, Richard, Scartmolego.
 1806 Fling, Daniel, Rathcormack.
 1799 Flynn, Denis, Flynnville.
 1759 Fortin, Eleanor, Lismore.
 1783 Foulke, Digby, Tallow.
 1724 Francis, Rev. John, Dean of
 Lismore.
 1749 Fraser, Claude, Gracedieu.
 1803 Funicane, Benjamin, Ballyscanlan.

N

- 1800 Nash, Andrew, Ballygalon.
 1740 Neesham, John, Tallow Bridge.
 1681 Nettles, John, Fourheen.
 1715 Nettles, John, Foureen.
 1728 Nettles, John, Foureen.
 1630 Nicholet, Richard, Tallow.
 1803 Nugent, Edmond, Borheenclough.

O

- 1783 Odell, John, Odell Lodge.
 1807 Odell, John, Southpark.
 1763 O'Flaherty, Edmond, Aglisli.
 1639 Olding, Catherine, Lismore.
 1696 Osbern, Nicholas, Cappaph.
 1713 Osborne, Sir John, Taylorstown.
 1717 Osborne, Sir Thomas, Tickincor.

P

- 1811 Parker, Farmer, Ballyhamlist.
 1775 Parks, Richard, Lismore.
 1797 Penrose, William, Newtown.
 1750 Poole, Mary, Ballyanker.
 1746 Poole, Thomas, Ballyanker.
 1784 Poole, Thomas, Tallow.
 1805 Power, Alexander, M.D.,
 Ballygallane.
 1785 Power, Catherine, Georgerstown.
 1780 Power, David, Knockaderry.
 1802 Power, Edward, Knockaderry.
 1734 Power, Elizabeth, Ballygarron.
 1790 Power, Hugh, Seafild
 1686 Power, John, Clashmore.
 1694 Power, John, Inishane.
 1754 Power, John, Clashmore.
 1810 Power, John, Clogheen.
 1779 Power, Laurence, Bolindesert.
 1775 Power, Maurice, Tyroe.
 1657 Power, Nicholas, Kilballykiltie.
 1754 Power, Nicholas, Magehy.
 1788 Power, Nicholas, Rathgormack.
 1795 Power, Nicholas, Ballymakill.
 1749 Power, Paul, Ardpadin.
 1695 Power, Pierce, Knocklaher.
 1717 Power, Pierce, Glassy.
 1798 Power, Richard, Ferrybank.
 1734 Power, Thomas, Gardenmorris.
 1688 Power, Valentine, Clashmore.

Q

- 1796 Quinn, Alice, Tramore.
 1779 Quarry, John, Johnstown.

R

- 1692 Radcliffe, William, clk., Tallow.
 1808 Rea, Joseph, Chistendom.
 1685 Rice, John, Grange.
 1809 Rivers, Bartholomew, Tramore.
 1723 Robison, Thomas, Camphire.
 1744 Roch, James, Dungarvan.
 1793 Roch, James, Odell Lodge.
 1723 Roch, James, Glynn.
 1774 Roderick, Martin, Dungarvan.
 1743 Rodgers, Luke, Curraghdobbin.
 1797 Rodgers, Pierce, Portlaw.
 1784 Rogers, Thomas, Killure.
 1710 Ronayne, Dominick, Turcullen.
 1788 Ronayne, Dominic, Fin Knock.
 1787 Ronayne, James, Dlaughlane.
 1746 Ronayne, Maurice, Dlaughane.
 1783 Ronayne, Patrick, Dlaughane.
 1773 Ronayne, William, Cappoquin.
 1804 Ronayne, Uniacke, College Green.
 1639 Russell, Edmund, Tallow.
 1737 Russell, John, Tallow.
 1791 Ryder, Rev. John, Dean of Lismore.
 1751 Ryland, Richard, Dungarvan.

S

- 1674 Sargente, John, Croreagh.
 1803 Sheppard, George, Grange.
 1776 Sherlock, Paul, Butterstown.
 1629 Sherlock, John Fitz George,
 Leitrim.
 1724 Silver, John, Fountain.
 1628 Silver, Maurice, Ballyhander.
 1662 Smyth, Boyle, Ballynetra.
 1688 Smyth, John, Ballynetra.
 1790 Smyth, Penelope, Ballynetra.
 1657 Smyth, Sir Percy, Ballynetra.
 1712 Smyth, Richard, Ballynetra.
 1797 Smyth, Roland, Ballynetra.
 1794 Smyth, William, Headborough.
 1756 Sowton, Stephen, Dungarvan.
 1805 Stephens, Edward, Kilmuckeridge.
 1794 Stephens, John, Passage.
 1799 Sterling, Rev. Anthony, Coolfin.
 1701 Strange, James, Barristown.
 1701 Strange, Paul, Rockets Castle.
 1806 Sullivan, George, Lismore.

T

- 1627 Taylor, Robertson, Tallow.
 1617 Taylor, Thomas, Culgoodagh.
 1773 Teap, William, Tallow.
 1583 Thickpenny, John, Clashmore.
 1803 Thompson, Thomas, Dungarvan.
 1632 Tottenham, Barnabas, Ballyduff.
 1791 Towell, James, Tallow.

U & V

- 1802 Uniacke, Robert, Woodhouse.
 1756 Usher, Arthur, Ballintaylor,
 1768 Usher, Arthur, Camphire.
 1790 Usher, Beverley, Canty.
 1748 Usher, John, Lismore.
 1757 Usher, Beverley, Kilmeaden.
 1716 Villiers, John, Ballynaboly.

W

- 1730 Wadington, Arthur, Kilmacthomas.
 1666 Wale, Edward, Lower Butlerstown.

- 1671 Wale, Elizabeth, Butlerstown.
 1613 Wale, Garrett, Coolnamuck.
 1631 Wale, William, Coolnamuck.
 1786 Wall, James, Dungarvan.
 1747 Wall, William, Coolnamuck.
 1812 Walsh, Catherine, Ballyduff.
 1801 Walsh, Edmund, Ballybricken.
 1630 Walsh, Robert, Hackardstown.
 1769 Walsh, Valentine, Garrane.
 1600 Walsh, Sir Patrick, Co Waterford.
 1639 Warren, John, Sovereign Tallow.
 1605 Wawen, James, "Chippen."
 1792 Welsh, James, Ballyduffbeg.
 1667 Welsh, Thomas, Pilltown.
 1776 Welsh, Thomas, Taylorstown.
 1794 White, John, Whitesfort.
 1738 White, Thomas, Pembrokestown.
 1763 Whitty, Nicholas, Castletown.
 1781 Whyte, Joseph, Whitesfort.
 1771 Wigmore, John, Lismore.
 1736 Williams, John, Ballygarrett.
 1796 Winston, Henry, Ballyneil.
 1627 Wooldridge, John, Crook.
 1711 Wyse, Francis, Ballymabin.
 1799 Wyse, Francis, St. John's Manor.
 1706 Wyse, John, Ballinacourty.
 1775 Wyse, Thomas, St. John's Manor.

FINIS.



The Ancient Forts of Ireland.

T. J. WESTROPP, M.A.

(Dublin: HODGES & FIGGIS).



R. WESTROPP has done well to reprint this essay from the *Transactions* of the Royal Irish Academy. There is no subject in which popular archæologists are so much exercised and none about which there is so little exact knowledge.

The headings of his chapters—Types, Age, Use, Features, and Distribution show that he has used the synthetic method of investigation. The results are promising—for with the caution of the true student he claims only to have said the first word on the subject.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Westropp does not seem acquainted with the labours of English antiquarians in the same field. Take one class of forts, namely, 'motes.' It is almost demonstrated that these are no older than the Normans and owe their origin to them. To confine ourselves to our own district, we find one at Tibroughney (near Carrick-on-Suir) another at Kilsheelan, a third at Knockgraffan, a fourth at Lismore. Now we know that the Norman invaders made each of these places the head of a feudal barony and as such a "castle" was no doubt erected there. Cambrensis even records the erection of "castles" at Tibrach, Ardfinnan and Lismore.

But apart from this the book is a scientific contribution to archæology. It marks a long advance into an obscure subject; we trust that other runners in the path will carry the enquiry to the final stage—if indeed such be possible.—*Ed. W.A.ƒ.*



Documents Illustrating the History of Waterford.

(SECOND SERIES).

I.—THE PROTESTANT DIOCESE OF WATERFORD IN 1615.



THE following report is taken from a manuscript in the British Museum (Additional MSS. No. 19,836). The original, a thin folio, bears the title "Liber Regalis Visitationis." It was purchased by the Trustees at the sale of the library of Sir William Betham, Ulster King at Arms. As the autograph signatures of the members of the Commission are given, the manuscript is probably a fair copy (perhaps one of several) of the rough minutes of the evidence taken.

In 1614 King James I. having in great measure carried through the Ulster Plantation, set about the long deferred task of putting the Protestant Church Establishment in order. Various complaints and isolated reports (for example one of Waterford in 1607) had been made from the days of Elizabeth down. Now however a thorough examination was to be held and abuses were to be corrected. Accordingly on August 7, the King wrote to Chichester, Lord Lieutenant.

The Kingdom being now in a settled peace such as none of his predecessors enjoyed and because the good success of his government chiefly depends on the sufficiency of the clergy there ; he is anxious to understand how every particular diocese of that Kingdom is furnished with able and learned men ; and for that

end he is to issue a Commission under the Great Seal and among the Commissioners are to be Thomas, Archbishop of Dublin, the Chancellor and Christopher, the Primate of Armagh, and William, Archbishop of Tuam, who (or two of them) are to be of the quorum. And as many of the livings of most of the dioceses are now or have of long time been either detained by noblemen or others pretending to be patrons, or conferred by them on their sons or servants who are laymen and many of them popishly affected, whereby the church is deprived of her best members and the people are robbed by such drones who live upon the fat of their labour and yet suffer the poor souls to perish for want of spiritual food, the Commissioners are therefore to inquire diligently into this matter, after which inquiry the Commissioners are to make up a book wherein they are to set forth the true value of all the livings throughout the Kingdom, and by whom they are now enjoyed, the state of the clergy, the worthiness of the incumbents and the number of preachers in each diocese, to be transmitted to the Privy Council here (a).

No much however was done ; the following December an Irish correspondent named Blundell wrote to Secretary Wynwood. "The commission for the visitation of the clergy has no motion at all. The pretence is that the bishops cannot travel in winter for want of provisions, which if they keep in the good towns as I know they will, can be but a weak excuse to slacken their proceedings in a business of this kind. *Other commissioners should be nominated and joined with the bishops to set the business forward and to look well into it when it is doing that one of them may not favour another to such an extent that the abuses of their clergy may by that means be hidden.*" A draft commission was therefore prepared which included two laymen and it was proposed to execute the commission through paid officers (b). This however proved impracticable and it was not until the following June that the commission was finally sped. It was addressed to the Lord Chancellor and dated 22 June, 1615. The suggestion of the shrewd English official, Blundell, was fully adopted for the proportion of laymen to the Protestant bishops was as thirty-one to five. Among the local members of the commission appear the names of Sir Richard Aylward, Sir Henry Power, and Sir Richard Boyle. The terms of reference also were enlarged : the visitation was to extend to all dioceses ; the commissioners were to take evidence on oath as to the number and fitness of the incumbents, where any livings were conferred on laymen or *popish priests*, what the value of the different livings was, what was the condition of

(a) St. P., James I., 497.

(b) State Papers James I., pp. 533, 543.

the churches. They were empowered moreover to punish delinquents by ecclesiastical censures, to sequester livings and so on.

DIOCESE OF WATERFORD. (c)

WATERFORD 10 AND 11 JULY, 1615.

John Lancaster, Doctor of Sacred Theology, makes report on the value of this and the bishopric of Lismore which follows. We are not quite satisfied as to what return to give, for the Bishop of Waterford asserts without fear of contradiction that the value of this bishopric does not reach £40 per annum, and that the value of the other does not exceed the sum of £60 yearly. Besides he alleges and handed to us in writing a certain memorandum in which he estimates the value of these bishoprics at seven or eight hundred pounds a year. Also he affirms that the manors and lands belonging to the said bishoprics and now in the possession of Sir Richard Boyle, Knt., made a yearly return in value of the before named sum. On the other hand the said Richard Boyle in the presence of some members of this commission (*coram aliquibus nostrorum*) made an offer of £200 sterling of a yearly rent out of the aforesaid episcopal property.

Now from the rolls and reliable evidence (with all possible care) we have ascertained that the four predecessors of the present bishop, namely Patrick Walsh (*d*), in the time of Philip and Mary, Middleton (*e*) and Wetherhead (*f*) in the time of Elizabeth and the Archbishop of Cashel (*g*) who first obtained these bishoprics *in commendam* and afterwards, as he asserts, *in titulo*, all laboured to this intent, and made strenuous effort (*sedulo in hoc fuerint intenti et navant operam*) to reduce these bishoprics, once prosperous with numerous manors and abundant revenue, to poverty and even beggary.

(We call those 'resident' who are living in the same diocese in which they are beneficed clergy or curates.)

(c) The Visitation is in Latin; but the translation will be more acceptable to the general reader.

(d) Walsh, originally appointed by Edward VI. in 1551, lived through the Catholic reign of Mary and the Protestant of Elizabeth until 1578. He was, to put it in the mildest form, a religious temporiser.

(e) Marmaduke Middleton appointed in 1579 in reality the first Protestant bishop. He was translated to St. Asaph 1582.

(f) Thomas Weatherhead 1589-1592.

(g) The notorious Miler McGrath.

THE CHURCH OF WATERFORD.

There is here a cathedral church situated within the city walls and dedicated to Christ whence it is popularly termed Christ Church. The dean of the church has the cure of souls therein. Attached to the church are four dignitaries, four prebendaries, four chaplains, an organist and an econome (aedituus). These dignitaries, prebendaries, and chaplains have individually been accustomed to serve the cure of the eight parish churches which are in the said city. These churches are now very ruinous and almost deserted not only by the parishioners but even by the ministers themselves. For even the Dean who is *ex-officio* bound to attend divine service in the cathedral church and has the cure of souls of another parish likewise in the city, absents himself and is non-resident. We have given him peremptorily and solemnly notice in writing, to take up personal residence in future in this city. He has here an official residence close to the cathedral. Furthermore he and the cathedral chapter are bound to keep in repair the chancels of the other churches in the city, from which they derive their revenue. The nave and choir (ecclesia et cancella) of the Cathedral are in good repair. The other churches in the city, namely the seven churches,

Saint Olave's
 Saint Peter's
 Saint Patrick's
 Saint Stephen's
 Saint John's
 Saint Michael's and
 The Church of the Holy Ghost (*h*)

are in such a state of ruin that any one that would see them would easily be led to imagine there was no religion (*i*) whatsoever professed in this city (adeo sunt ruinosae ut quicumque eos aspexerit

(*h*) This of course was never a parish church, and its revenues never formed part of the corps of the Cathedral. Its cure, as also that of St. John's, was probably an arrangement by Bishop Walsh consequent on the dissolution of the monasteries.

(*i*) The contemporary correspondence in the State Paper Office, London, the Jesuit Archives, &c., show that there was religion in abundance, but it was not the religion cognizable by Royal Commission.

inducetur facile ad cogitandum in animo nullam esse in illa civitate, professionem Religionis). We have taken serious action with the Mayor and Sheriffs of the city (*j*) not only by our special mandate in writing but also by repeated personal injunction, to compel them within a year and three months (which time we peremptorily limited) to put in repair these seven churches. Also to supply books for divine service therein, to provide a table for communion and the other requisites for furnishing said churches. By so doing we shall be able to testify to our King that there is one point in which the people of Waterford are conformable and obedient to the law. (*k*) They (Mayor and Sheriffs), no doubt governed, or rather seduced and slavishly obedient to the directions of Jesuits and seminary priests strenuously began to object to our advice and injunctions. They raised difficulties to us about the poverty of the city, that it was crushed by custom dues, rates (oneribus) and taxes (exactionibus). To all which allegations and different excuses our answer once and for all was, publicly and privately laid down in writing, that they should enter into Recognizances under the public seal of the city binding themselves to our Lord, the King, under a penalty of five hundred pounds, to put these churches in repair within the time fixed, namely before the Feast of All Saints in the next year. (*l*)

But by no persuasions or even threats could they be induced to find office (*m*) in this district, as required by right and the ordinance and provision of law. We however, indignant at their unbearable contumacy and contempt of the public law, have in the name of our Lord, the King, issued a special writ under our own

(*j*) Nicholas White, Mayor ; James Lumbard, Sen. ; James Lumbard, Jun., Sheriffs.

(*k*) The Latin would perhaps admit of a more pointed translation. "In one particular only (the repair of the churches) we shall be able to witness to the King that the people of Waterford are conformable and obedient to law." "Ut in hoc unico articulo testimonium Regi nostro possemus perhibere populum esse conformem in Waterfordia et legibus obedientem.

(*l*) Anno *ipso* in original is an obvious slip.

(*m*) The Latin here is somewhat obscure "Ut officium in hae parte de jure requisitum et legibus hujus Regni prae-scriptum et mandatum praestarent." The meaning, judging from contemporary evidence, is that the Waterford jurors would not present on inquisition, the names of the persons absenting themselves from Protestant service and otherwise offending against the laws of Elizabeth enforcing conformity.

hands to the Mayor and sheriffs appearing before us and the Lord President of Munster (*n*) at Cork for that purpose. We require them to answer for the superstitious burial of Sir Nicholas Walshe, late Justice of the Common Pleas of our Lord the King (*o*) before the Lord Deputy and the Council of this Kingdom on the fourth day of October next. At which time (unless we receive direction to the contrary) we have unanimously decreed to commit their bodies to the prison of our Lord the King and further to proceed against them for this act of contempt according to the requirements of law.

[*In English*]. The end of this matter appeareth in the copy of a lettre sent to me the chancellor undertaking the building and reparacon of those churches in the end of this booke.

The economy of the Cathedral Church at the disposal of the Dean and Chapter amounts to one hundred marks.

THE DEAN OF THE CHURCH.—*Non-resident*.

Richard Boyle (*p*), a Master in Arts, Minister and Preacher. His dignity is of the value—as he states—of forty marks yearly. But we think it is more valuable.

The ancient revenue of the Dean consisted of private tithes. Owing to neglect of his duty, in the payment of these the charity of many has doubtless grown cold. He holds also the Archdeaconry of the Church of Lismore value £40 per annum, and also the wardenship of Youghal (*q*). We do not know under what conditions he holds the latter (*r*), but we know that in former times this benefice amounted to the sum of £200.

PRECENTOR OF THE CHURCH.—*Resident*.

John Lancaster, a son of the Bishop, a Reading Minister. Through the resignation of the late incumbent he was recently promoted to this dignity, value £16 a year.

(*n*) Donough O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, whose tomb may still be seen in the chancel of St. Mary's, Protestant Cathedral, Limerick.

(*o*) He lived a Protestant and dying a Catholic was buried in the old Franciscan Church amid a great demonstration. In a future number we may be tempted to put together a biography of this clever, unscrupulous, libertine lawyer. He is a characteristic sample of the men of the spacious days of Elizabeth.

(*p*) A son of the Sir Richard of Lismore after the 'great' Earl of Cork.

(*q*) *i.e.*, of the ancient college founded by one of the Earls of Desmond.

(*r*) By the strong hand, and the gift of his pious father.

CHANCELLOR OF THE CHURCH.—*Non-resident.*

Robert Cooke, Minister and Preacher, value £6.

TREASURER OF THE CHURCH.—*Resident.*

Thomas Quoan, Reading Minister, value £20.

ARCHDEACON (s).

Robert Hustler, Deacon.

PREBEND OF KILRONAN.

This is vacant ; no one will take it; for it has been leased for many years to Paul Sherlock (*t*) by the Archbishop of Cashel who lately held the bishoprics of Waterford and Lismore *in commendam* or by title. There is a reservation of 10s. of the yearly profits.

PREBEND OF ROSDUFF.

Also vacant and no one will accept it. It is set to farm for three years at the yearly rent at 6s. 8d.

PREBEND OF CORBALLY, *Resident.*

Robert Hustler, deacon holds it in sequestration.

Names of the parish churches within the city of Waterford and the curates therein.

THE CHURCH OF ST. OLAVE.

Ffabian Read, Minister and Preacher is curate.

THE CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL.

The same curate.

THE CHURCH OF ST. PATRICK.

The curate is Robert Hustler above-mentioned.

THE CHURCH OF ST. PETER.

The same curate.

THE CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN.

Thomas Quoan, Treasurer of the Cathedral is curate.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY GHOST.

The same curate.

KILMEADAN.

The Rectory belongs to the dean and chapter. The vicar of the church is John Quoan, a Reading Minister. The valuation £20.

(s) From the enumeration *supra* ranked as a prebendary not as a dignitary.

(t) The Sherlocks were, of all the Waterford families, the one most enriched on the spoils of the church. Not to mention more remote possessions they obtained large grants of the property of the priory of St. Catherine, Waterford, the priory of St. Mary, Cahir, &c.

It has been suggested to us that this vicar is guilty of great negligence in the service of the church. Wherefore we were led to examine him on oath about certain particulars. Being pressed on oath he acknowledged that during the past nine months he held neither divine service nor prayers in that church. (*u*) Accordingly sentence of deprivation has been passed against him and the profits sequestrated. The dean and chapter as patrons of the said vicarate were noticed by us to present a successor therein, a sufficient minister and preacher. This they have faithfully promised to do.

KILROTHERAN.

The rectory is inappropriate as is also the vicarate. Paul Sherlock and Richard Butler are farming them. The church and chancel are in ruins ; there is no curate ; there are no books. We have issued a decree to sequester the profits but could find no one in whose hands we could intrust the sequestration.

LISNEKIEL.—*Resident.*

Is the corps of the Treasurership of the Cathedral. Thomas Quoon is both rector and vicar ; the church and chancel are in ruins. We have bound the rector to put them into repair.

RESKE.—*Resident.*

The rectory belongs to the Chancellorship of the Cathedral. The late Chancellor, a consummate hypocrite (*insignis hypocrita*) set it to a merchant to farm. (*v*) The vicar of the church is Thomas Quoon substituted by the dean and chapter to whom the presentation of the said vicarate belongs.

KILLURE.—*Resident.*

The rectory and vicarate are inappropriate. Sir Laurence Esmond, Knt., and Patrick Sherlock farm them from the King. The curate is Maurice Harney, a Reading Minister ; the church and chancel are in ruins.

(*u*) *Sacra vel sacramentalia* have of course a very definite meaning in the Canon Law, but the above translation comes nearer to what probably was in the mind of the commissioners.

(*v*) This character would appear to be well deserved for this John Quoon deceived even the royal inquisitors of 1607 who reported him as "a sufficient man."

KILL ST. LAURENCE.

The rectory and vicarate are impropriate ; the same persons as above farm them from the King, the above Maurice Harney is also curate.

DRUMCANON.

The rectory and vicarate are impropriate ; the same persons Esmond and Sherlock farm them from our lord the King. Also the before mentioned Maurice is curate ; the church and chancel are ruinous.

Regarding these and other ruined churches in the possession of Sir Laurence Esmond, Knt., and Patrick Sherlock (as we could not find in these districts a suitable sequestrator) we have sent two letters to the said Laurence, that as soon as we return to Dublin he is to meet us and enter into a recognizance to our lord the King, binding him under a penalty of five hundred pounds to repair the chancels within a time fixed by us. We are daily expecting his arrival. (*In Margin.* This the foresaid Laurence executed before me the Chancellor on the 12 day of September 1615. Thomas of Dublin, Chancellor).

KILBARRI.

The rectory and vicarate are impropriate. Richard Wadding farms them (*w*). The church and chancel are in repair but there is no curate and there are no books.

THE CHAPEL OF KILBURNE.

The rectory and vicarate belong to the dean and chapter. The curate is Maurice Harney—a man who is little equal to so many cures ; he is hardly fit for a vicarate. The chapel is in ruins.

"THE PARTICLE" OF BALICASHENE.

This belongs to the Precentorship of the Cathedral. It was

(*w*) Richard Wadding a cousin german of Fr. Luke, the Franciscan annalist, held the manor of Kilbarry with the lands adjoining. He represented Waterford in the famous parliament of 1613, and was an active member of the Catholic party. A government note-taker of "the recusants that were the principall disturbers of the parliament" gives him the following character "Richard Wadding, a known malicious Papist, undutifull speaker to Sir Nicholas Walsh, busy in the parliament, a man excommunicated and heretofore deprived of his mayoralty for refusing the oath of supremacy."—Carew Papers vol. 600, p. 51.

set to farm by the last incumbent, the precentor being little concerned about it (x).

BALLANEKILL.—*Vicar Resident.*

The rectory is impropriate. John Skiddy farms it. The vicar is Thomas Quoan before mentioned, a Reading Minister, the valuation £6. The church there is in good repair, the chancel is ruinous, but John Skiddy is bound by recognizance to put the chancel in repair before the Feast of All Saints.

BALLEGUNNER.—*Resident.*

The rectory belongs to the dean and chapter; the vicar of the church is Thomas Quoan, a Reading Minister, before mentioned.

MONOMOYNTREE.

John Quoan is rector and vicar; the valuation is £40; there is no church or chancel there.

KILMACLEGE.

Belongs to the chancellorship; the late chancellor set it to farm; there is no church or chancel.

KILCARAGH.

Belongs to the dean and chapter; it is a part of Ballygunner. (y)

FFAYLING ALIAS FFATELIGE.

This is an impropriate rectory, Sir Richard Aylward, Knt., farms it, its vicar is Thomas Quoan; the valuation £5; the church and chancel in good repair. (z)

(x) Or "It was set to farm by the last incumbent who had little regard for the precentor,—*dimittitus ad firm' per ult' incumb' precentor' parum considerent.*" In the early sixteenth century there was a law suit between the dean and chapter and John Nugent about certain lands in Ballicoshine and Butlerstown. A commission of *Dedimus Potestatem* was issued 24 Nov., 1547, when the dean and chapter produced an award by the official of the diocese bearing date 1 August, 1542. Upon this the commissioners decreed to the dean and chapter "all right title and possession of the ground lying on the east side of Cashilmoroughe and thence southward by the King's highway leading from Kilonane to Waterford; and also from the said Cashelmoroughe northwards to a rough low ground or valley and thence over athworthe eastwardlie almost to the extremity of the wood Curagheraure alias Moneegaromee and thence straight to the hafte of Carriginegone and so forth to the meares of Kilbarye otherwise called Lyabenlye." Pat. Rot. Hen. VIII.

(y) The site of the old churchyard is marked on the Ordinance maps. It is now covered by farmhouses but some of the tombs were removed within living memory.

(z) In 1638 Sir Peter, son of Sir Richard, obtained a grant of the rectory of "Whalling" alias Faithlegge and the tithe fish thereof.

THE PRECEPTORY OF CROOKE—*Curate resident.*

The rectory and vicariate impropriate ; the curate is John Meyler, a Reading Minister ; the church and chancel are in good repair. (aa)

KILL SAINT NICHOLAS.

Is a part of Killure ; Richard Aylward and Patrick Sherlock farm it ; the curate is John Meyler above mentioned ; the church and chancel are in ruins.

KILCOPP.

The rectory and the vicariate are impropriate ; John Wyse farms them ; there is neither church nor chancel there.

ILANAKANE AND KILLBRIDE.

The rectory and vicariate are impropriate ; Laurence Esmond, Knt., and Patrick Sherlock farm them ; Maurice Harney is curate ; the church and chancel are ruinous. (bb)

KILLEAGH AND RATHMOYLANE.

These two vicarates were granted by the last vicar to farm for 99 years with a reservation of a total rent of £3 per annum. This lease was confirmed by the Archbishop of Cashel. (cc)

KILLONE.

Rectory is impropriate, vicariate vacant ; there is no curate ; the church is in good repair.

KILMACOMB.

The rectory and vicariate belong to the chancellorship of the Cathedral Church ; they are set to farm at a small yearly rent.

(aa) The old preceptory of the Knights Templars of Crooke was well endowed ; the property consisted of the entire 'lordship' of Crooke—the lands in the town of Crooke, Upper and Lower Newtown near Waterford, Raheen, &c., the tithes of the parish together with the tithe fish.

(bb) An inquisition of 1589, defined the bounds of Kilbride parish "from the way of Ballewynarde on the west of Carrigbrontore to the eastern and northern parts of the land of Carrigbrontore ; containing the two villages of Quillens, Killbryde and Monewee even to Pickardistone lands, the glebe of said rectory consisting of two messuages and one acre in Killbryde and two acres in Quillen." —Inquis, Eliz., 32 Anno.

(cc) These rectories with the right of presentation to their perpetual vicarates were claimed by William Wyse in the reign of Philip and Mary as portion of the possessions of the priory of St. John the Evangelist nigh Waterford ; his son was found seized of them in the reign of Elizabeth. In 1577 they were granted to George Moore and in 1616 to Sir James Ware. In 1635 they passed from the Crown to Robert Wise, grandson of James Wise ; and finally in 1674 the tithes of them were granted to Thomas Wise of London who having exhibited his claim in remainder as an 'innocent papist' it was allowed.

[*In English*] the number of Preachers in this Dioces is four whereof three resident. The number of reading ministers five.

There is in the Cittie of Waterford kept by the citizens a publique Schoolmaster one ffahie who hath great nombre of schollers resortinge to his schoole. Vpon our comming to Waterford wee first sent for him but could not gett him to appeare before vs. Wee then required the Mayor and sheriffes of the citty to bring him before us which they answered us they could not doe by reason the said ffahy did fly out of the citty a little before our comming. Whereupon wee left a lettre with the Lo: President of the Province (*dd*) under our hands praying and requireing him in his Maiesties name to take order to suppress him from the exercise of teaching and instruction of youth for he traynes vpp scholers to become seminaries (*i.e.*, priests educated in the seminaries created by the Council of Trent) beyonde the seas and ill affected members which the Lo: President did vndertake to perform.

CONCERNEING THE CHURCHES IN WATERFORD.

Memorandum that after our returne from his Maiesties Royall Visitation the Mayor of Waterford sent a lettre vnto me the Chancellor in haec verba.

May it please your good Lordship,

Vppon receipt of your last lettre touching the churches I assembled my Brethren and conferred seriously with them touching the contents thereof and howbeit soe great a worke to which they are putt by the neglect of others seemed in manner impossible to them to be fynished in soe short a tyme. Yett considering that the act is pious, pleasing to his Maiesty and contenting to their good friends they have resolved to tread all difficulties vnder foote and to vndergoe the worke. And therefore by their appointment and direction I forimely passe vnto your good Lordship the worde and credit of the Corporacon by this my lettre that the porcons of the parishoners of St. Michells, St. Patricks, St. Peters, and St. Olaues churches being such as are onely ruinous of the nyne churches within this citty shalbe sufficiently built and made vpp

by the first of November which shalbe in the yeare of our Lord 1616 being nowe in a reasonable forwardness with that of St. Patricks And soe humbly takeing leave I rest

Your honorable Lordships humble servant to command

ALEXANDER LEONARD

Mayor of Waterford.

Waterford the 7th of
September 1615.

Which lettre wee have accepted and with all care and diligence will look vnto the performance of the contents hereof.

II.—INQUISITION INTO PROPERTY OF THE PRIORY OF ST. JOHN'S, WATERFORD—TIME OF HENRY VIII.

The following inquisition is taken from the contemporary record in the 'Great Parchment Book' of the city of Waterford. Like all the legal documents of the period it is in Latin. We have preferred however to give a literal translation.

INQUISITION INDENTED taken in the city of Waterford in the county of Waterford (*cc*) on the eighteenth day of September in the twenty eight regnal year of King Henry the Eight [1536] before William Lincolln, Mayor of the said city and escheator of the said lord the King for the said city in virtue of a writ of the lord the King directed to said escheator. The inquisition herewith annexed was taken on oath by John Morgan, Patrick Walsh, Thomas lumbard, Nicholas wise, Nicholas deüeras, James Wodlok, Henry walsh, James white, William Maddan, Maurice wise, John wise and William Browne.

Who say upon their oath, that the monastery, priory, house, hospital, convent or cell of St. John the Evangelist near the said city of Waterford in the aforesaid county of the order of St.

(*cc*) The city was not a county in itself until the subsequent reign of Elizabeth.

Benedict is popularly called "the priore, monasterie, house, hospitall or Sell of Saint Johns."

That the brethren and sisters of the same, as also the name of the said monastery, priory, house, hospital, or cell, and its order with its dependencies once subject to Nicholas Bathe then prior or warden of the said monastery, priory, house, hospital, convent or cell, were, in virtue of a commission of the said lord the King by his letters patent, suppressed and extinguished and are so at present.

And the jurors aforesaid say, that before and at the time of the suppression, extinction and dissolution of the late monastery, priory, house, convent or cell, there was one regular monk, four sisters and three brethren, popularly called "The Brethren and Sisters of St. Leonard" living therein and professed by the authority of the before mentioned late prior.

And at that time the monk, brethren and sisters under the said prior were translated to other monasteries or places, and leaving the monastery, priory house, convent, hospital or cell as a profanated and desecrated place (*locum prophanum et desolatum*) they withdrew from it. Wherefore divine worship, prayers, almsgiving, and the other works of piety which in the church and foresaid late monastery, priory, house, hospital or cell, according to the statutes and ordinances of the first foundation, used take place, or were accustomed or ought to take place, did altogether cease and remained unperformed, and up to this have ceased and remain unperformed. Thus the foresaid monastery, priory, house, hospital, convent, or cell are totally extinct and dissolved and continue so.

The said jurors say, that the foresaid late house, monastery, priory, hospital, convent or cell, was founded, erected, endowed and established by the progenitor or progenitors of the said lord the King, once Kings of England, at a time before which the memory of man does not exist, in honour of God and St. John the Evangelist as a priory and convent of regular monks of the Order of St. Benedict, to maintain the brethren and sisters of Saint Leonard therein.

And further the said jurors say, that the late prior and convent, the said brethren and sisters before and at the time of the suppression, extinction and dissolution of the said house, monastery, priory, convent, hospital or cell, were seized of the lordship as of fee in right, of the house, monastery, priory, convent or cell, and of the church of the said monastery, there constructed, raised and dedicated to the honour of St. John the Evangelist. Also of the cemetery adjoining the said church. And of the foundation, site, circuit, and precinct of the said monastery, together with all the houses, buildings, gardens, lawns, orchards and curtilages contained within the said site.

Also of and in the chapel of Blessed Mary the Virgin of the castle (*ff*) together with all the offerings and proceeds of the same.

And of all tithes, oblations and proceeds belonging to the said church of St. John the Evangelist. Further of all messuages, lands, tenements, rents, fields, meadows, pastures, moors, waters, mills and other hereditaments undermentioned and named.

Two carucates (*gg*) of land in lisdugyn and Listore within the liberties of the foresaid county with all and singular their appurtenances.

Two water mills with a mill race and the tithes of the same. One of these is called "Watkyne is myll" and the other "Saint John is myll."

Forty messuages, twenty acres arable land, ten acres meadow, twelve acres pasture.

The reversion of two messuages and three localities adjoining commonly called "Dokks" in the tenure of William Wise and his heir male, and of two shillings yearly rent of the same.

The reversion of thirty four messuages with their appurtenances in the tenure of Edmund marreis, Helene Deverex, Thomas,

(*ff*) Perhaps the dedication was "Our Lady of the Camp."—*beate Marie virginis de Castro*—though "I do not remember to have come across such a title anywhere." The old castle of St. Martin stood close to our Lady's Chapel in the present Lady Lane and this may be the chapel mentioned.

(*gg*) This unit of measurement obtained in Waterford, and other counties in which the early English settled. Dr. Reeves in a paper on the "townlands" of Ireland (Proceedings R.I.A.) quotes an English record of Richard I. in which the carucate or plowland (*caruca* a plough) is set down as containing 60 acres. In Waterford I have found it generally equivalent to 160 Irish acres.

Katherine, Nicholas and Margaret Deverex, John Mayliner, Edmond Walshe, John Moricis, Elisee Mores, Thomas fitzWalter, Dermot Colan, John fitzDavid oge, William Tobyne, William Busher, Nicholas flyn, Egidia Butler, John Classan, John Morow, John poer, Patrick quemerford, John Maddan, Margaret Morky, William Moran, Katherine Tobyn, John Duff, William White, Richard Cadan, Robert Calvan, Hene Knok (*sic*), Elice Walsh, Peter venge, William Wise, Richard Norragh, John Walsh, Thady Tirry, Robert Gybbe and Margaret Ogan, which are held individually for the term of their lives, and of £12 annually issuing from the same.

The reversion of four messuages in the tenure of William Wyse and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten and 12s. 4d. annually issuing out of the same.

The reversion of two messuages and one chapel (capelle) in the tenure of John Collen and his heirs male and of two shillings annually issuing out of the same and the annual celebration [of Mass] for the benefactors of the brethren and sisters of St. Leonard.

The reversion of one messuage with its appurtenances in the tenure of James Shee and of 2s. 1d. annually issuing out of the same.

Also the court baron within the limits of the parish of St. John the Evangelist and of all and everything that pertains to the court baron.

All which property they held of the Lord the King but by what signory the foresaid jurors are completely ignorant. All the before mentioned messuages, lands, tenements, meadows and pastures are situated and lie within the foresaid parish of St. John the Evangelist in the suburbs of the said city within the franchises of the same. Their annual value in all proceeds, except reprisals, is £40.

And furthermore the said jurors say that the said church, foundation, land, site, circuit, or precinct of the same late the monastery, house, priory, hospital or cell, and all and singular the premises herinbefore specified with all and singular their appurtenances now revert and devolve and ought revert and

devolve into the hands of the aforesaid Lord the King as his escheats by reason and in virtue of the extinction and dissolution of the monastery, house, hospital, priory, convent or cell aforesaid. (*hh*)

That the foresaid prior or warden and the convent, the brethren and sisters held no other lands, tenements or hereditaments of the Lord the King in demesne or in seignory, in chief or otherwise, or of any other person, in the said city of Waterford at the time of the suppression, extinction, and dissolution before mentioned. In witness of which both the foresaid testator and foresaid jurors have put their seals to this inquisition.

Given on the day, year and place above mentioned.

Finally the said jurors add that the heirs of William Lyncoll and James Rice hold the said mill called "Saint John is myll" to them, their heirs and assigns for ever, an annual payment of 10s being made to the house of St. John the Evangelist.

[FINIS.]



(*hh*) One wonders if the legal draughtsmen of the time were paid by the word. This clause is an excellent example of professional jargon.

Notes and Queries.

The Ancient Franciscan House, Waterford.—We take the following from the *70th Annual Report of the Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland* (issued November, 1902) :—

In December, 1900, the Board received an intimation that there was a strong local feeling that the ruins of the old Franciscan Friary, known as the French Church, in the town of Waterford, should be placed in their custody under the provisions of the Ancient Monuments Protection Acts.

In the thirtieth year of Henry VIII.'s reign, by Royal Letters Patent, the whole of the buildings of the Franciscans was granted to the Trustees of the Holy Ghost Charity, in whose hands they have been ever since.

In 1545, after the friars had been dispossessed and the alms house established, a second storey was built over the nave of the church, and the ground floor of the nave was used for interments. In 1695 the choir was set apart for the use of a colony of Huguenots who had settled in Waterford in that year. It was from this cause that the ruins became known as the "French Church." The last pastor of the French community died in 1819 [Rev. Mr. Franquefort], and was buried in the nave.

The floor of the choir and tower, as well as the nave, has been used for interments, but the right of interment is now limited to certain families, among which are the members of the family to which Field Marshal Earl Roberts belongs.

The existing ruins comprise the nave, tower, transept [Lady chapel rather], and choir, all roofless, except the tower and transept. The style of work is the early English of the 13th century with later additions of the 15th century.

At a meeting of the Trustees of the Holy Ghost Hospital, held on 20th September, 1901, it was resolved to hand over the

ruins to this Board, and a deed has been executed by them appointing the Board guardians of the nave, tower, and choir under the Ancient Monuments Protection Acts.—pp. 8-9.

[The ruins have been scheduled for repairs] as soon as the state of the funds admit.—p. 49.

[When this will be no information is afforded ; for the present policy of the Board is to build up a large reserve. Out of £1,091 5s. 9d. available for the purposes of the Acts last year, a sum of £500 was invested in consols.—*Ed.*]

History of the Diocese of Ossory.—Of making books about Ossory there is no end. Not to mention older writers like Rothe and De Burgo, we have had in our own days Moran, Prim, Graves, Hogan, Healy, Egan and others of the Ossory Archæological Society. It was then with something like consternation we learnt that four quarto volumes of Ossorian matter are to be dumped down on the public. Surely after all the previous builders every substantial fact had been put into the fabric and there was nothing left but the mere “spalls” and dressings of knowledge.

Not so, the Rev. W. Carrigan has gone into the native quarries, he has excavated for himself original material, he has devoted his life to the labour, and we may say without extravagance, that the results will rank with the best topographical work of Reeves or O'Donovan. Through the kindness of the late Dean Hare he obtained the loan of the Red Book of Ossory, the foundation of all authentic research relating to the diocese ; the British Museum and the Public Records Offices were visited at frequent intervals ; every ecclesiastical ruin in the diocese was examined and measured, every churchyard gone into, every tomb decyphered, every source in fact of information public or private unweariedly sought out. His scholarship indeed is of a kind rarely found out of Germany, and the book is German like in its completeness, its minute accuracy, and the freshness of its information. We welcome it coming from a member of our Society. Hitherto his pen has been seen too little in our pages ; we trust that now that he is freed from his life burthen we may obtain some of the bye products of his industry.

History of Carrick-on-Suir.—Some years ago this work was announced by a Mr. J. F. Meagher of that town, since deceased. A portion was printed in the shape of two pamphlets. Can any reader give information if the manuscripts or materials collected are still in existence?

Rosca Castle, Cahir.—An account of this castle by Major Otway Wheeler Cuffe appears in the current number of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries*. Somebody has been pulling—to use a colloquialism—the gallant Major's leg. "The owners and chiefs of that district in the days of Charles I." were not the Burkes, but the Butlers, an offshoot of the house of Cahir. Theobald Butler, the master of Rosca, took part in the attack on Golden Castle in the spring of 1642, for which, contrary to all the laws of war, he was tried at the Cromwellian court in Clonmel in 1653 and hanged ("Memorials of the War," by James Kearney of Fethard, in the Carte MSS., Bodleian, Oxford). The connexion of the Burkes with Rosca did not date for a century subsequent. They then indeed identified themselves with the history of the place just as the parvenu purchaser of antique silver points to it as the treasured possession of "the old governor."

Waterford Printing.—This Day is Publish'd; by Pat Lord, Bookseller in Cook-street, Dublin; and Jer. Calwell, Printer, in Waterford.

Proposals for Printing by Subscription (that celebrated piece of Antiquity) The Assertion and Defence of the Seven Sacraments by Henry VIII. K. of England, against Martin Luther. To which will be profixed, The Oration of Mr. John Clark, his Majesty's Orator, on his exhibiting the Royal Book in the Pope's Consistory: With his Holiness's Answer to said Oration. And, a Transcript of the Bull of Pope Leo. X. (extant in Sir Thomas Cotton's famous Library) by which his Majesty, for the above incomparable Work, was dignified with the Honourable and Glorious Title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. To which will be added a Chronological Table of all the succeeding Popes down to the present Benedict XIV. Specimens of the Work may be had of, and Subscriptions taken in by Pat Lord, in Cook-street, Dublin;

Mr. H. Ramsey, in Waterford ; and T. Cronin, in Cork, Booksellers ; by Mr. P. Brennock, in Clonmell, Mr. J. Brown, in Mitchelstown ; And Jer. Calwell, Printer, in Waterford, for the Undertaker. [1747].

History of Co. Wexford.—P. H. Hore.—The promised fourth volume of Mr. Hore's work will be of exceptional interest to this locality. The part of the county with which it deals is classic ground. Fethard, long the home of the Bishops of Ferns, Kilclogan the preceptory of the Knights Templars, Hook Tower, Loftus Hall, and Duncannon Fort. The materials for a history of the last-mentioned are embarrassing in their fulness, from its erection under Elizabeth and its six weeks siege by Preston down to 1798, when the first Napoleon made an enquiry into its defences. Mr. Hore's research deserves the highest commendation; he knows the localities and he knows the sources of their history. The maps and illustrations add much to the value of the book while the facsimiles do no harm.

Irish Dominicans, by O'Heyne. Edited by Rev. Ambrose Coleman, O.P. (Dundalk : Tempest). This is a reprint of an old book first published in Louvain, in 1706. We bring it under the notice of our readers for this reason that it contains in the editor's appendix the fullest account hitherto published of the old House of Blackfriars, Waterford.

Some Old Irish Anatomists.—In an article on this subject which recently appeared in a Dublin newspaper, one can discern the sure hand of Dr. Michael Cox. We condense therefore the following :—

Dr. Bernard O'Connor of Kerry (1666–1698), who was physician to John Sobieski, King of Poland, wrote "Evangelium Medici," in which are set forth some anatomical and physiological opinions, the truth of which has only been established by the latest research. Dr. Bryan Robinson, who graduated T.C.D., in 1707, and died 1754, was the first discoverer of oxygen and its functions in physiology. Dr. Edward Barry, also a graduate of T.C.D. as early as 1726, put forward the theory of bacteriology in relation to consumption while Dr. David McBride (1727–1778) demonstrated

the use and value of antiseptics in his "Experimental Essays" published in 1764! The "Colles Fracture," "Colles middle perinaeal fascia," "Colles triangular ligament," "Alcocks canal," "Hargraves triangle," and the like bear witness to other discoveries of Irish surgeons.

Taking of Carrick in 1649.—In reply to "Local Antiquarian" we feel bound to say there is no historical foundation for the tradition that Carrick was taken by the Cromwellians only after a long and bloody resistance. The Marquess of Ormond hoped to intercept Cromwell in his march southwards. With a view to this all available troops were gathered on the line of the Barrow. Accordingly the garrison of Carrick was reduced to about one hundred men and officers. After the rapid captures of Wexford and Ross the Cromwellians unexpectedly threw themselves across the Barrow, Ormond retiring on Kilkenny. Colonel Reynolds, finding his way open, pushed on with twelve troops of horse and three of dragoons, to Carrick. Dividing his forces he drew the little garrison to one side of the town by a feint, while a division with scaling ladders entered the town on the other. Some of the defenders escaped the rest offered no resistance (a). Shortly afterwards, on 24th October, Lords Inchiquin and Taaf made an attempt to recover the place, but though their forces were sufficient they had neither ladders to scale the walls nor cannon to breach them. After a loss variously estimated at from 500 to 1,000 men, they withdrew. These events were the subject of much controversy at the time. The Irish bishops charged Ormond with betraying the town:—

Carrig being betrayed by the Protestant ward there, our army afterwards appearing before the place, the soldiers were commanded to fight against the walls and armed men, without great guns, ladders, petards, shovels, spades, pickaxes, or other necessaries:—Declaration, 23rd August, 1650.

Ormond's reply was "When they (the Cromwellians) marched over the bridge at Ross towards Carrick it was believed they meant

(a) Cox's account is "He amused the garrison with one party the other entered at another gate and took the town."

to march to Kilkenny and if we had not been diverted by a false alarm we had as our purpose was engaged them to fight before their getting to Carrick, It is more than hath or can be proved that Carrick was betrayed by the Protestant ward that was in it (surprised indeed it was)."

"When the rebels were removed and retired into their winter quarters so harassed that their speedy marching forth was not to be feared we designed the gaining of Carrick and Passage first, then of Ross and Wexford."

"The endeavours of recovering that place was not under our immediate conduct we going that day it was attempted with a party to Waterford. But who it was that importuned the falling on of the men so unprovided Sir Lucas Dillon and others then present as we have heard are able to inform you.—Reply 2 Oct. 1650."

Archæological and Literary Miscellany.—The list of recently published books coming under the heading of antiquarian, is not very considerable, the principal items being Mr. R. I. Best's translation of "The Irish Mythological Cycle," a Celtic Mythology written some years ago by the famous French Celticist, M. D'Arbois de Jubainville (Dublin: O'Donoghue); "The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel," edited and translated by Dr. Whitley Stokes (Paris: Bouillon); "The Courtship of Ferb," translated by A. H. Leahy (London: Nutt); Part II. of "Studies in Irish Topography," by R. A. S. MacAlister (London: Nutt); "Keating's History of Ireland" (Irish Texts' Society, London); "The Petrie Collection of Ancient Irish Music," Part II. (Boosey & Co., London); "Literature of the Celts," by A. Maclean (London: Blackie); "The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland," by H. Zimmer (London: Nutt); Part III. of "Seventeenth Century Dublin Printed Books" by E. R. McC. Dix (Dublin: O'Donoghue); and "Calendar of the Marquess of Ormonde, MSS.," new series, Vol. I. edited by E. Litton Falkiner (London: Eyre). In biography, we have to note O'Heyne's "Irish Dominicans," by Rev. A. Coleman (Dundalk: Tempest); "The Story of St. Patrick," by J. Sanderson, New York (London: Low); "The Discalced Carmelites," by Rev. J. P. Rushe (Dublin: Sealy); "Henry Grattan," by Percy

Roxby (London : Unwin) ; " Robert Emmet," by D. J. O'Donoghue (Dublin : Duffy) ; " Robert Emmet, by D. A. Quaid," same publisher ; " Peplographia Dublinensis " (London : MacMillan) ; " Blake Family Records," by M. J. Blake (London : Stock) ; " Barrymore, or the Barrys of the Co. Cork," by the late Rev. E. Barry (Cork : Guy & Co.) ; and the " Life of St. Finbar," by Rev. C. M. O'Brien (Cork : Guy & Co.) In topography are to be noted a new and enlarged edition of " Wakeman's Irish Antiquities " (Dublin : Hodges) ; " The Story of Inicathaigh," by D. Mescal (Dublin : O'Donoghue) ; " Stuart's Armagh," edited and enlarged by Rev. A. Coleman (Dundalk : Tempest) ; and " The Salmon Rivers of Ireland," by A. Grimble (London : Kegan Paul). There is further to be noted Mr. Stephen Gwynn's " To-day and To-morrow in Ireland " (Dublin : Hodges) ; and " Irish Bibliography : a subject guide to Irish Books," a very useful compilation which reflects much credit on its author and publisher, Mr. J. King, 53, Khedive Road, E. London ; the Third and part of the important Index, now complete, of the Journals of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland, up to last year's volume.

The recent issues of the quarterly journals of the R.S.I.A., and Cork Archæological Society, as well as of the Ulster Journal, are very readable ones ; the paper by Mr. P. J. Lynch, Limerick, on the " Antiquities of the Dingle Promontory," in the last R.S.I.A. *Journal* being an exceptionally able and interesting one. In the revised issue of the " Dublin Penny Journal " we have a much needed weekly medium for the record of much antiquarian and archæological matter, apt to be lost sight of in the more ponderous and eclectic quarterlies. Colonel Vigors of Holloden, Bagenalstown, who has done so much for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland, is about to bring out what promises to be a very unique and comprehensive work, profusely illustrated, on the Church Plate of the various religious denominations in Ireland. It will be limited to 500 copies, at thirty shillings each, and be published by Elliot Stock, London.

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