

DECIES

No. 9

SEPTEMBER, 1978

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O L D W A T E R F O R D S O C I E T Y.

MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTION.

Year seems to follow year with such rapidity that it is easy to overlook when the last annual subscription was paid. All members who had paid for 1977 have received each copy of Decies for 1978. For those who have not yet paid their 1978 subscription, however, a "reminder" is enclosed, the current subscription of £2.50 having been due since last January. We regret that we cannot continue to send Decies to those whose subscriptions are more than twelve months in arrears as their membership is deemed to have lapsed.

Therefore, if you have received a reminder, please act now. A full list of the 1978 membership will be published in Decies 10 (January, 1979).

New members paying the subscription for 1979 in the last four months of 1978 will be entitled to membership from the time of payment. Membership open to all; the subscription for 1979 is still £2.50 to be sent to:-

Mrs. R. Lumley, (Hon. Treasurer, O. W. S.)
28, Daisy Terrace, Waterford.

EDITORIAL.

We have had many requests for back numbers of Decies. For each issue we had tried to anticipate the numbers required. While it is gratifying to find demand so continuously in excess of our highest anticipations, we do appreciate the frustration of our readership resulting from inability to obtain back copies. However, to reproduce them would be a most formidable task and the publication of current research seems to have greater priority. Instead, we hope to produce a comprehensive index to all issues as soon as possible. Compiling it, however, will be a long and tedious task; we'd be very grateful for offers to help with it from members of the Old Waterford Society. It would also be useful to us for future issues if members would communicate to us their opinions on format and content of this and previous issues.

Our thanks once again to Waterford Corporation without whose help and encouragement we could scarcely survive, and specifically to the much-tried goodwill of our typists, Miss Eileen Murphy and Mrs. Nancy Dunphy. Contributors tend to be taken for granted, but without their research and cooperation there would be no Decies. Our thanks to them and to the dozen or so patient members of our society who have performed the tedious task of assembling, stapling and preparing for post the last three issues.

Held over to Decies 10 are "Reports of Summer Outings", matters "Arising from Previous Issues" ; the promised response to the Supplement on Kill in Decies 8 and reports of recent publications of local historical interest.

VANISHING WATERFORD

(A Record of Recent Destruction and Present Threat)

By Ian W.J. Lumley

Waterford City though possessing many fine and varied buildings and monuments, has yet over recent centuries continually suffered serious losses. The destruction of the Old Christ Church Cathedral, the great stone merchant's houses of the 16th and 17th centuries, and of the old James Gandon Courthouse in Patrick Street, stand out particularly. Nevertheless, all were succeeded by buildings which, if not equal in value or interest to the lost, were yet of the highest quality. The old Cathedral was succeeded by John Roberts' great masterpiece, probably the finest 18th century ecclesiastical edifice in Ireland; the old mansions by the splendour of the town houses of Georgian Waterford with their fine but little known or appreciated decorative plasterwork; and the old courthouse by Sir Richard Morrison's impressive building in the Park.

The last 15 to 20 year period has continued to be one of destruction but with the very important distinction that very little likely to be considered enduringly worthy has been created in compensation, particularly in the City Centre. Destroy but not rebuild has been the general trend, and where rebuilding has taken place it has usually been alien to the general character of the city and impoverished in inspiration. The prospect for the future shows no improvement for there are now more important buildings at present under immediate threat, or with an uncertain future than have been destroyed over recent years.

DESTROYED BUILDINGS AND FEATURES

Though only one of the losses which has occurred in the last 15 to 20 years could be described as of outstanding or national importance, (the interior of St. Olaf's Church), the whole list when put together gives a picture which is quite alarming.

The most important losses (illustrated here) were:

St. Thomas' Church (fig.1)

Excluding the rather doubtful claims for the West gable and doorway of St. Olaf's this was the oldest church remnant in the City. Its history has been a subject of confusion, but the Chancel arch which was the only surviving feature was of undoubted 12th century, and probably early Anglo-Norman date. It was round arched with simple mouldings and bulbous capitals. As the stones have been destroyed it is impossible to comment upon it more precisely. In addition the tombstones of the surrounding graveyard were also destroyed with their inscriptions left unrecorded.

This wreckage was done in 1967 by the owners of the site, as what can only be called an act of vandalism. It is almost difficult to believe that such losses can still happen in this supposedly enlightened age as only the most mean calculation could have coveted the small space of ground which the ruin occupied. For about 10 years nothing was done with the bulldozed site until it was sold and now serves as a public car park.

ST. OLAF'S CHURCH (INTERIOR) (fig.2)

Standing on a Viking site and incorporating ancient remains in its south and west walls, this church is a rebuilding of 1733-'4, by an unknown architect under the direction of Bishop Milles. The Bishop was a noted High Church figure of his time who built many other churches in the Diocese including St. Patricks in the City, now happily serving the Presbyterian and Methodist communities and saved from the fate of St. Olaf's.

St. Olaf's, with its great south doorway and splendidly furnished interior was by far the grandest. With the exception of its glazing it survived unaltered and was a great rarity of its period in Ireland. Sadly the Church of Ireland had neither the numbers nor the resources to maintain it, so that after a number of years of disuse and decay its interior has been systematically dismantled. Much of the destruction was carried out throughout European Architectural Heritage Year, 1975, and still continues. No significant care or protest from any local or national body has been heard. The beautifully detailed western gallery screen has already been removed and mutilated and along with it the 18th century organ with its fine carved case, the marble baptismal font, the black and white marble aisle paving, the pilastered box pews, the rare original communion rail with the steps about it, the marble topped communion table with the parquet floor beneath it, the brass chandeliers and some of the wall panelling have all been removed and distributed to unsuitable locations. The magnificent three decker pulpit and canopied Bishops' Throne yet remain, in a neglected state with carvings damaged, intended to be housed eventually in the restored Cathedral.

The breaking up of St. Olaf's should of course never have been permitted to occur, reflecting both the hopeless inadequacy of planning legislation and the shameful lack of local concern over a church of such very great importance. When all the fittings have been removed it will be a desolate wreck with only the ornate pilasters and scroll pediment of the reredos and the remains of the west gallery left.

CATHEDRAL SQUARE (Figs. 3 & 4)

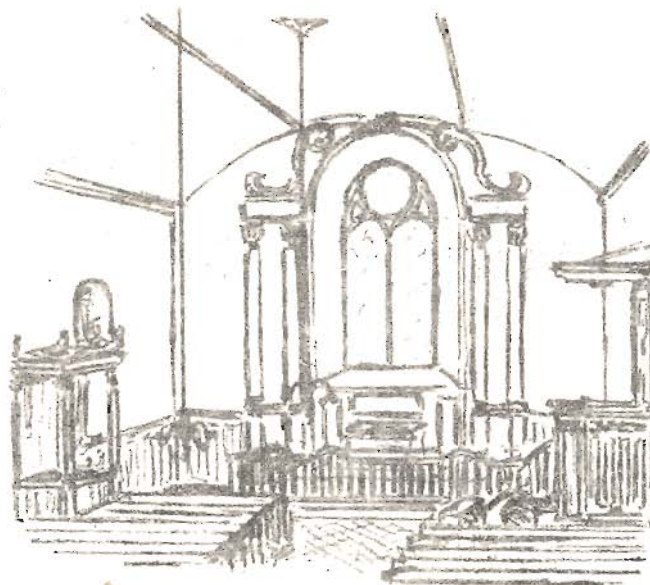
Situated in the heart of the ancient Viking settlement and dominated by the great Church of Ireland Cathedral, the Square and the streets immediately around it form the most interesting and distinctive streetscapes in the City. Until recent years it was an unblemished harmony of 18th century buildings all fitting in with and enhancing each other.

Two disastrous demolitions have now taken place. The more serious was that of the handsome late 18th century house, No. 12, on the Colbeck Street corner, with its fine stone doorcase and sidewing, (fig. 4). Serving in its time as a Crimean War hospital and later as the Bishop Foy Girls' School, it was demolished after a period of shameful neglect in 1974, along with the entire north side of Colbeck Street. The most undesirable views from the Square are now exposed and its whole enclosure destroyed. The replacement proposed and for which Planning Permission was granted (i.e. the two large office blocks designed to fill the sites at both sides of the Bishops Palace) is now thankfully unlikely to be constructed.

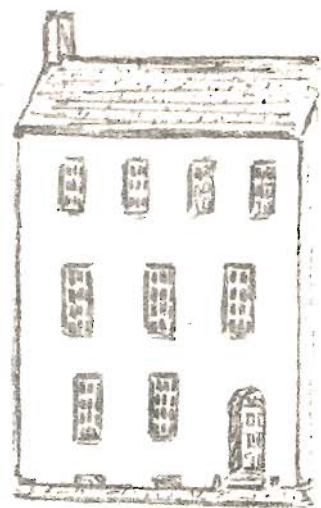
The other loss, that of the mid 18th century house on the Henrietta Street corner, No. 34 Peter Street (fig. 3) has spoiled the north side of the Square. It has been replaced by an unauthorised, low, crudely finished, corrugated iron roofed shed which the planning authorities will hopefully lose no time in removing.



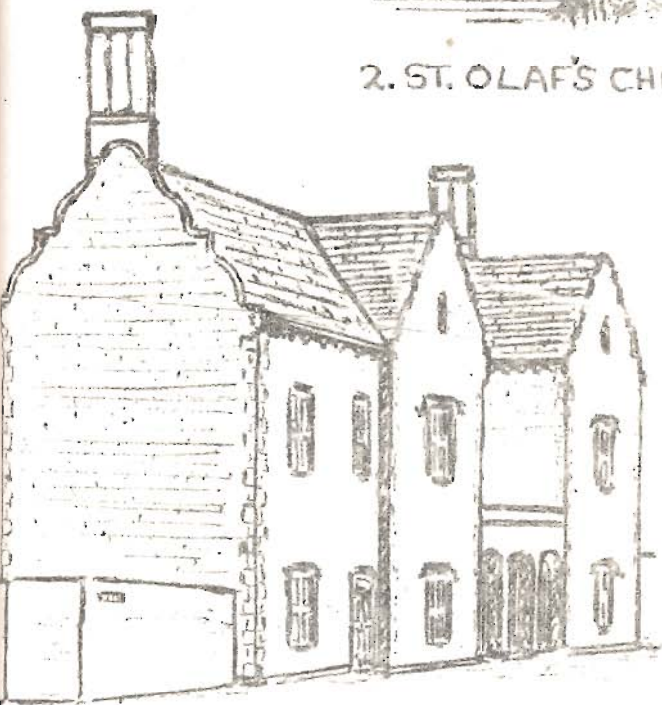
1. ST. THOMAS' CHURCH



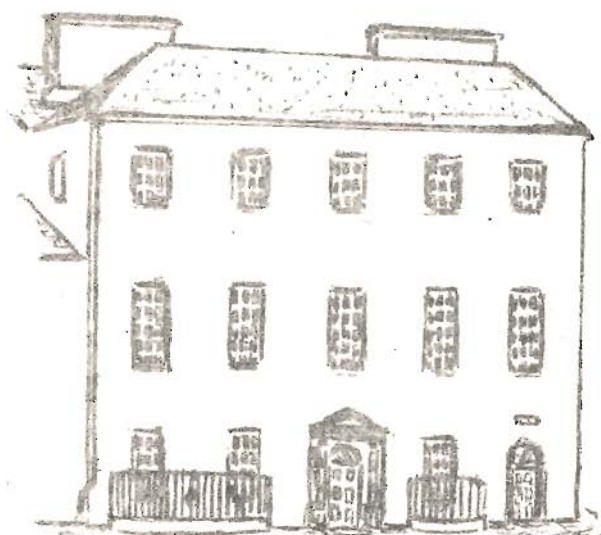
2. ST. OLAF'S CHURCH (INTERIOR). (CATHEDRAL SQ.)



3. NO. 34 PETER ST.



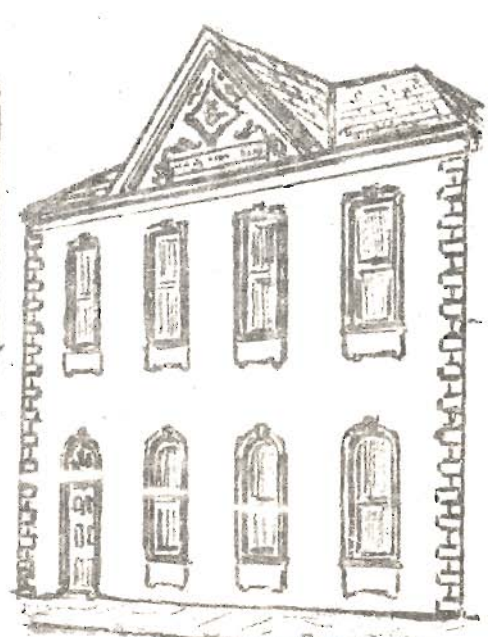
7. MANOR STATION, RAILWAY SQ.



4. NO. 12 CATHEDRAL SQ.



6. ADELPHI TERRACE



5. MASON SCHOOL, LADY LANE

Along with these demolitions there have been other losses. In the mid 60's the old Deanery lost its fine stone doorcase and railings, greatly impoverishing that section of the Square. The railed carriage sweep of the Bishop's Palace with its flanking rusticated gateways, was mutilated in 1974 and unadvisedly destroyed in 1977, with the completion of the restoration work on the building. In addition one of the houses on the north side suffered the insertion of a tasteless new doorway.

If there had been proper planning legislation Cathedral Square should have been made a complete conservation area, but now its unity and enclosure have been destroyed, probably irrevocably.

MASON SCHOOL, LADY LANE (fig. 5)

A beautifully detailed/^{early}Georgian gem, this school was founded in 1740 by Susannah Mason, daughter and heiress of Sir John Mason, for 34 poor girls, thus making it one of the first girls schools in the country. Her fine tomb, by Van Nاست, may be seen in Christ Church. The building was of four bays, with limestone door and window surrounds, quoins and cornices. In the centre was a pediment containing the Mason arms surrounded by festoons and the inscription: "Pietas Masoniana MDCCXL".

The building ended its career as a pawn office and then suffered the usual period of disuse and abuse before demolition, which took place despite the efforts of the Georgian Society to save it. The site is now occupied by a little-used private car park.

ADELPHI TERRACE (fig. 6)

Called after the Adam Brothers' Adelphi in London, this impressive terrace of three houses was built in the late 18th century, by the brothers Samuel and William Penrose. They were of high quality red brick with good doorways and interior decorative plasterwork. The centre house contained a particularly fine staircase with an elaborate plaster vaulted ceiling, supported by slender pilasters. It was similar to one which still fortunately survives in the only remaining great house of New Street, the St. John's Church Presbytery.

The site is now levelled and apparently little used.

MANOR STATION RAILWAY SQUARE (fig. 7)

Serving the Tramore Railway this attractive station was built around 1853 by an unknown architect working under the direction of the contractor, William Dargen, the "Railway King" of the period. It was of red brick with limestone dressings and similar in type to other stations in the south and east. The style was a hybrid one with Elizabethan chimneys, door and window surrounds and with William and Mary style curvilinear gables.

With the lamentable closure of the railway it suffered a long period of disuse before demolition. The site is now occupied by a garage and car park. Fortunately its smaller twin in Tramore survived in worthy care.



8. N^o 33 THE MALL

OTHER LOSSES:

The preceding have been but the more serious losses. There have been many others individually not of great importance but which combine together to complete an alarming picture.

St. Thomas' Church has not been the only part of medieval Waterford to suffer. Though much excellent work has been done by the Corporation in exposing and repairing the City Walls and Towers, small scale mutilation of walls has occurred in other areas. One such site between the Bishop's Palace and Colbeck St. was of possible archaeological importance. The abuse of Blackfriars has continued, particularly by the construction of a commercial extension abutting the North Have wall. The late medieval clergy-house of St. Michael's Church in Little Michael Street has been badly mutilated and its fine segmented arched limestone fireplace destroyed. The clergy-house of old St. Patrick's Church of the same period in Carrigeen Lane has also been abused. In addition the last remains of the 16th century Jesuit College off Arundel Square have been obliterated.

Other losses to Georgian Waterford have been considerable. The destruction of the fine house in Rose Lane off Adelphi Terrace, formerly the Garda Station, and built for Simon Newport of Newports Bank fame, was a particularly regrettable one. No. 12 Lady Lane, the finest mid 18th century house in the City containing some unusual provincial rococo plasterwork, lost one of its best ceilings which became unsafe and had to be taken down. It is likely that in an area so vulnerable as Georgian Waterford that many other losses have occurred within the period, unnoticed and unrecorded. A number of fine doorways in the Lady Lane and Henrietta Street area have been destroyed or mutilated and the doorway of the historic house beside Manor Street School, officially designated for preservation, was also destroyed, apparently by an oversight. The Mall, though many of its buildings had undergone Victorian "embellishment", still retained its Georgian proportion which is now destroyed by the demolitions which have taken place within the last 15 years.

The splendid classical Courthouse of c.1849 in the Park, one of the city's major features, is a building which has come near to loss. Through deplorable neglect it was allowed to fall into severe decay and is now to be restored at great public cost, which could have been avoided if proper maintenance had been ensured over the years. Though the present plans propose to retain the great front unaltered, the building is likely to lose much of its structural integrity.

One very unnecessary loss has been that of the Apple Market Clock. The justification put forward for its removal was the high cost of repairing the broken clock mechanism which however was no reason for levelling the entire structure at a positive waste of public money. It should have been maintained as a landmark and kept for the day when finance might be available to repair the mechanism. Approximately 2 extra cars may now park in the space. Another unnecessary act of destruction was the attack by vandals on the ornate fountain in the Park, destroying its upper stages, probably beyond repair.

Street furniture, i.e. paving and ironwork, is another area where there has been much loss. Its destruction tends to be ignored because it occurs so slowly and unspectacularly. Waterford once had large areas of fine flagged footpaths which were lost mainly due to the apathy and negligence of the various underground pipe and cable authorities. Thankfully the Corporation has at least secured the conservation of some sections in the Mall and Palace ("Flaggy") Lane.

The last 15 to 20 year period has above all seen a dramatic deterioration in the whole quality and character of the Centre City shopping area, most strongly evidenced by the destruction of many of the best shopfronts. The quality of what has generally replaced them is too obviously awful to need much comment - the lurid tiles, aluminium window frames, hideous colour schemes and the plastic letters and signs each vying with the other in vulgarity and brash ostentation. In some cases these garish signs invade whole facades destroying fenestration lines and street proportions. Readers will be immediately familiar with the worst examples.

If such creations are really needed to allure and bait the innocent shopper then the state we have come to is a sorry one. The end result can only be an almost continuous ribbon of bad taste gone wild, anonymous in character and leaving Waterford no different from any other town or city in the Euro-American commercial world.

BUILDINGS UNDER IMMEDIATE THREAT

Among the important buildings whose future is at present under threat two stand out far above the rest in urgency - No.33 The Mall and the Holy Ghost Hospital. Under present circumstances the position of the latter is a particularly serious one.

NO.33 THE MALL (fig. 8)

This unusual late Georgian building, once the town house of a branch of the Carew family, is important both architecturally and historically. The bow front with its large area of window is the only example in the City, and a great rarity in Ireland, Cork being the only place where such features survive in number. In addition, its position on the east side of the Mall, acting as a focus point in both directions, is most important. Historically the house has connections with the Young Irelanders as the Wolfe Tone club met there in 1848 and Thomas Francis Meagher is said to have delivered an election address from its windows to a campaign meeting in the Mall.

The condition of the building has now seriously deteriorated so that unless a leasee can be found prepared to put forward the cost of reconstruction a demolition order will be enforced upon it for public safety. Reconstruction could of course be cheaper than demolition and erecting a new building, which would not be for many years, if at all.

The loss of this house would be disastrous to the Mall which has been badly enough abused already. However present hope for its future is encouraging as the Waterford Association of An Taisce have taken the matter firmly in hand.

HOLY GHOST HOSPITAL: (Figs. 9 & 10)

Designed through an open competition by the Dublin architect, J.J. O'Callaghan this splendid building was erected in 1882-'14 at a cost of £15,000. O'Callaghan was a notable architect of his time and another of his most important works, the Dolphin Hotel in Essex Street Dublin, is also at present in danger. The hospital was regarded as well designed and arranged when built, but has now been replaced by a new one behind it, efficient but architecturally nondescript.

The hospital is set around a square court but the only section worthy of preservation is the front range (fig.9). It is an eleven part two storey composition with a most attractive use of local rubble stone, brick and granite dressings. The entrance is through a pointed archway with wrought-iron gates.

Five fronted gables, surmounted by filials in iron work, give an impressive roofline and a pleasing rhythm to the building. Rising in the centre is the handsome wooden clock structure with its delicately slated spire and wrought iron weather vane. The whole is set in well planted grounds with good front railings and gateway and a very fine gate lodge (fig.10), all of which combine to achieve a most memorable unity.

At present the entire site is in immediate danger of being levelled. The new establishment requires an extension and it is claimed that this can only be done by selling the site of the old building and ground to the front. The only likely purchaser is the South Eastern Health Board who are interested only in a levelled site for the building of a day centre. Unless a purchaser can be found prepared to maintain the front range of the building or unless the Health Board can be induced to do so there is no hope for it. Such a solution apart from other considerations is obviously far more economic. The building is in good condition and the cost of adaptation would be considerably less than that of demolition and rebuilding. There would be ample ground-space for new buildings at the back, leaving the grounds and gate lodge unaffected. As a last resort if it proves impossible to maintain the entire front range then the central section, i.e. the three central gables and the connecting portions between them as well as the clock tower must at the very least be saved. This would create a focus for a new complex of buildings.

Time however is quickly running out

BUILDINGS OF UNCERTAIN FUTURE

There are a number of important buildings whose future may be considered uncertain either because of disuse, abuse or deteriorating condition. The immediacy of threat to them varies greatly, but in no case can it be disregarded.

The most important members of this group (illustrated here) are: -

ST. OLAF'S CHURCH: (Fig.11)

The future of the very structure of this remarkable building is now a matter of uncertainty and disquieting rumour as its roof timber is decaying. At present the wrecked interior is being used as a builder's store and workshop for the duration of the restoration work on Christ Church.

The fate of the church is presently undecided. At all costs its external appearance must be preserved unaltered and the most worthy use which could be found for it would be that of a civic museum and exhibition centre, the structure kept ready for the day when a more appreciative generation might wish to reunite its splendid furnishings and fittings and reverse the deplorable loss which has been suffered.

CATHEDRAL SQUARE: (Figs.12,13,14)

Though an intolerable amount of loss has already taken place there is a prospect of yet more. A number of the houses in the very important group of seven on the north side, (figs.12 & 13) are in poor structural condition and unless repair is done in the near future irreversible deterioration may set in. This could result in some of the houses being vacated and demolition then enforced for safety reasons.

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CATHEDRAL SQUARE: (Figs.12,13,14)

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HOLY GHOST HOSPITAL - 9. FRONT VIEW (Above), 10. GATE - LODGE (Below).



Among the houses whose future is so endangered is No.1 on the Henrietta St. corner, one of the most historic in the City (fig.12) United originally with No.2 it once had a central pediment and another line of windows now blocked up. Until 1746 it was the Bishop's Palace and stands on Elizabethan foundations. After that it was the town house of the architect John Roberts and his large family, two of whom Thomas and Thomas Sautelle Roberts were distinguished Irish artists of their time. Among the other houses, No.6, unoccupied for some time and obviously deteriorating, is in the worst danger.

Also on the north side of the Square the building on the Peter St. corner (fig.14) has been vacant for some time though in excellent condition. Its disuse seems absurd for it contains perfectly desirable office accommodation. It is to be hoped that it will be brought back into use before any deterioration sets in.

The work being carried out on the Cathedral stands out amid the gloom as very encouraging particularly in the removal of some of the disastrous effects of the Sir Thomas Drew "restoration" of 1891. Worthy proposals have been put forward to redecorate and refit the Cathedral bringing back some of its lost 18th century appearance which will hopefully be in true harmony with John Roberts original intentions.

The prospect of a square being left with only the main buildings standing, and all the rest turned to ruin rubble and motor cars is not an unreal one. If this came to be, the value of the restoration of the Cathedral and Bishop's Palace could only be greatly undermined, indeed the value of the palace restoration has been badly enough undermined already. However the Corporation's excellent proposal to acquire and landscape the site at each side of the Palace should affect a major improvement.

All of the remaining buildings in the Square are of such importance that no further loss can possibly be suffered. Indeed there is no reason why anything more should be lost, for it makes simple good sense that deterioration should be halted in its early stages and that buildings when they become vacated should be brought back to life as quickly as possible.

WATERFORD ARMS, COLBECK STREET (Fig.15)

This attractive early 19th century building is the only one of the City's old coaching inns to survive intact. The main feature is the large stucco representation of the City Arms over the entrance.

For some time unoccupied the building is likely to deteriorate unless it is repaired and brought back to life in the near future. If this is not done its chances of survival are likely to diminish progressively after a number of years have passed.

METHODIST CHURCH, GREYFRIARS:(Fig.16)

This late Victorian Church has been unoccupied for a number of years though it remains in good condition. The interior is very dull but the front by contrast is of fine quality. It is of rough hewn limestone with granite dressings and carved features. The central composition of windows is of a particularly pleasing design.



11. ST. OLAF'S CHURCH



12. JOHN ROBERTS' HOUSE,
CATHEDRAL SQ.



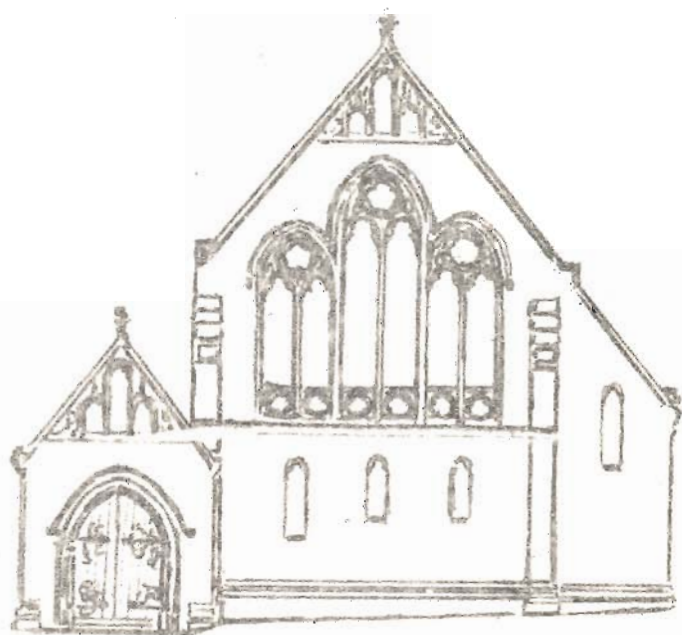
13 NOS 3 to 7 CATHEDRAL SQ.



14. N.W. CORNER BUILDING,
CATHEDRAL SQ./PETER ST.



15. WATERFORD ARMS, COLBECK ST.



16. METHODIST CHURCH, GREYFRIARS.

Before any decay sets in, it is important that a new use be found for the building, such as a hall for indoor sport, which would preserve the front unaltered.

C O N C L U S I O N S

The complete picture of destruction and threat of destruction emerges as a very serious one. The main cause is simply the general lack of public concern for the state of the city. To judge this one has only to look at the once noble Quay now almost totally spoiled by ill planned intrusions on the waterfront and with a large number of buildings in seriously deteriorating condition. The pattern of abuse is of course a national one and the destruction which has taken place in our cities and towns merely parallels the incredible losses which have been suffered in Dublin in recent years. That however is no excuse for the apathy which has prevailed in this city, the effect of which will only be appreciated by the next generation when it is too late.

There have however been a few signs for improvement and the Corporation has recently passed an encouraging motion on city renewal. In the city centre three examples of recent redevelopment call for credit. The Irish Life building, the Quay / Barronstrand St. is a worthy modern development integrating well with the streetscape around it. Dawson's premises on the Quay is a fine example of rebuilding with a particularly attractive new wooden shopfront. The former Medical Hall in Broad Street, after a number of years neglect, has undergone a very sympathetic reconstruction which retained the decorative plaster window frames. Developments like these will hopefully set the example for the future but so far stand out as exceptions amid the depressing rule.

It can only be said that the destruction which has occurred is enough and any more would be intolerable. It is no use pointing fingers of blame for what is past; we must merely learn from what has happened and accept it as an expensive lesson for the present. The time has come to wake up and look around, and more than that - to act before it is too late.

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PIRACY OFF TRAMORE BAY , 1546

By Julian C. Walton

Many readers will know of the extensive trade between Ireland and Spain in the 17th and 18th Centuries, and of the large number of Irish merchants who settled in Spain during this time. What is not generally known is that at an earlier period - the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII - England too had an extensive trade with Spain; relations between the two countries were cordial, and quite a few English merchants settled in Spain, mainly in the Bilbao and Cadiz areas..

The Reformation brought this happy state of affairs to an abrupt end. Henry VIII's rejection of Papal authority, divorce from his Spanish queen, marriage to Anne Boleyn , and dissolution of the monasteries, did not help the popularity of his subjects living abroad. The English merchants in Spain were subjected to harrassment by the authorities, confiscation of their goods, and in some cases torture by the Inquisition. They packed their bags and returned to England.

However, some of the more daring of their number had no intention of taking their defeat lying down. If they could no longer trade with Spain, they would make a profit out of the Spaniards in a more dramatic fashion - by piracy. Spanish merchantmen were an easy target for the wily English, and if the victims were returning laden with treasure from the New World, the rewards reaped by capturing them were often great. Piracy became frequent, relations between the two countries broke down, and by the middle of Elizabeth's reign we are in the time of the great buccaneers such as Sir Francis Drake.

The Anglo Spanish trade and its degeneration into piracy is the subject of a book entitled Forerunners of Drake, by Gordon Connell-Smith (published by Longman's, 1954), from which the following incident is taken.

In the summer of 1546, the Santa Maria de Guadalupe, captained by Asencio Perez, left Bilbao for Chester with a cargo of wood and iron. When approaching Ireland, she was attacked by an English vessel under the command of Michael James, a West Country adventurer. After firing upon the Spaniard with guns and arrows, James and members of his company boarded her , and according to Perez, "put him and all his company in prison under hatches by the space of two days and one night or thereabouts ... where they had no space to stand nor sit, but did lie one upon another like hogs, bound fast with ropes and cords". James condescended to spare the lives of the Spaniards, but he warned them "to beware for they should meet with many ships which would sink them". Then, having plundered the ship of much of its wood, he and his comrades departed, mousing further threats. When Perez and his company "did perceive that the said pirates were departed from their ship, they did begin to creep out of their said prison", and gingerly continued their way towards Chester.

Their troubles however, were far from over. When they had got as far as Tramore Bay they espied another English ship approaching them, commanded (as it turned out), by Leonard Sumpter, another enterprising English "merchant". As the enemy vessel bore down upon them, the Spaniards recalled their treatment at the hands of Michael James, and his warning. When the Englishman was within gunshot of them, their nerve cracked and the whole company, including Perez, rushed for the boats, abandoned ship, and headed for the shore with all possible speed. Sumpter took the ship without firing a shot.

Sumpter and his mariners had rather a different story to tell when defending their actions before the Admiralty Court. They claimed that they had come upon the ship off Tramore Bay, and had given chase. When they came up with her, Sumpter "called with a loud voice thereunto", but received no answer. A boarding party found "nor man nor child" on the ship, so they took charge of her "as a thing found floating upon the sea". But for their prompt action, they claimed, the derelict would have perished in the storm that arose shortly afterwards.

James & Sumpter put in at Penarth, in Wales, where they disposed of their booty to "divers honest men of Cardiff". Shortly after, Miguel de Poza, a Spanish merchant was standing on the quayside in Bristol watching the unloading of some wood and iron, when he suddenly recognized the markings on the wood as being those of a merchant he knew in Bilbao. It was the stolen cargo! He hastened to report the matter to one of the sheriffs of the city, who impounded the goods. All in vain - de Poza had no licence to claim them, and in due course they were all returned to the "honest men" who had bought them from the pirates.

ICE-FLOES THREATEN "TIMBERTOES" - JANUARY 1881

From Ted O'Regan

Amongst the Archives in the Muniment Room in the City Hall is a Minute Book of the Bridge Commissioners, the Company which had a monopoly of the toll charges on "Timbertoes". Since this wooden bridge had been built across the Suir in 1794 the original shareholders and their descendants had earned 10% to 12% annually on the original investment. Therefore, it was obvious that there was more than civic concern in their reaction to the possible destruction of the bridge when a freak cold spell froze the Suir in mid-January 1881. The minutes of a meeting of their executive committee held on 1st Feb. 1881 tell afterwards what happened and at what cost.

"The late severe frost and ice commenced heavily about 15th January, and it being ascertained that much ice was accumulating in the long reach, Mr. Ernest Grubb's steam tug, Father Matthew, was employed to cut it, so that it might come against the bridge with less force and weight. The ice came down by the bridge on the 20th and formed a solid mass across the river extending upwards about as far as Suir St. On the 21st, a special meeting of the Committee was held and Mr. Edward Jacob was authorised to endeavour to explode the ice with dynamite. This failed and then the Committee, having met on the bridge with Mr. Edward Jacob & Mr. Mc Lelland, arranged that the steam tug should be employed in clearing a semi-circle in front of the central part of the bridge, taking the strain off the wide arch and off about 6 or more piers at each side. The Committee thought the result was very satisfactory. The ice receded upwards with nearly every tide, but to a very small distance and returned in increasing quantities up to Tuesday 25th. At this time much apprehension in respect of the bridge was generally expressed. The Committee had not, nor had Mr. Mc Lelland, any great heart, but felt it incumbent on them to take every precaution, and to this end employed two steam tugs, the Father Matthew and the Suir, constantly from 22nd to the 29th.

Mr. Palliser's life reverts to drabness soon after. We have a shoemaker's bill:

May - To shoes made	10/0
Nov.- Boots soled and heeled	4/4
Nov.- Pair of small red shoes &	2/6
Two pairs of small soles	2d

One notes that Mr. Palliser's shoes cost much more than Black John's coffin and that the cost of his children's diminutive footwear would have tolled the funeral bell twice over.

The Palliser hardware and ironmongery account (paid to Joshua Jacob & Son, Waterford) adds little of interest to the record of this year - scrubbing brush 2/6; black lead brush 1/3; chamois skin 1/3. Then in November we meet Mr. Supple, glove manufacturer, Waterford, who "Begs leave most respectfully to inform the Nobility, Gentry and Citizens, that he has opened the above establishment (the only one in WATERFORD) taking care to have every article Manufactured under his own immediate Inspection". This aptly named tradesman provides the Rev. Palliser with,

Two pairs of lined kid gloves	7/0
A pair of black gaiters	5/0

The most revealing account belongs to Mr. Thomas Keogh, the Apothecary; it explains why I refer to 1831 as a drab year. There are numerous payments for blasters, castor oil, acidulated mixtures, pills for child, pills for Mrs. Palliser, ointment for Mrs. Palliser, ointment for child and a hideous item, "eighteen leeches at 9/0". The cost of these little blood suckers would almost buy three kid gloves for Mr. Palliser and would be more than adequate for a coffin for Black John. There was also "anti-spasmodic mixture" at 2/- as well as camphor for Mrs. Palliser, but the really important entry is -

March 3 - Spirits of Hartshorn in vial for Mrs. Palliser	10d
April 3 - Spirits of Hartshorn for Mrs. Palliser	8d
May 11 - Spirits of Hartshorn for Mrs. Palliser	8d

Hartshorn was the nineteenth century equivalent of Valium. One's heart goes out to Mrs. Palliser in that Spring of 1831.

In Part II next January I will deal with the more tranquil year of 1832 in the life of the Pallisers.

NOTES ON A FORGOTTEN CO. WATERFORD RELIGIOUS HOUSE.

By Thomas Power

FOUNDATION AND EARLY HISTORY:

It is often forgotten by historians of Co. Waterford that for a short period in the late 12th and early 13th Centuries a small Cistercian house existed in the area. The name of this establishment is variously known in English as Glanwydan and variants thereof, in Irish as Gleann na Foighdean or Glangragh, and in Latin as Vallis Caritatis, ("Valley of Charity"). The scant ruins of the house are to be found in the townland of Ballynagigla, about 2 miles immediately north-east of Bunrathon.

The origin of Gleann na Foighdean is closely associated with the rapid development of Cistercian monasticism in 12th century Ireland. The Cistercian ideal of the religious life was a more strict observance of the Rule of Benedict, and under the influence of St. Malachy this ideal found its first expression in Ireland with the foundation of Mellifont, Co. Louth, in 1142. From that time forward the Cistercian Order experienced a phenomenal expansion in Ireland. By 1171 there were 12 Cistercian houses in the country and by 1200 the number of houses had doubled. Mellifont had a number of daughter houses, that is, houses which had been established or colonised from Mellifont itself. One of these daughter houses was at Maigne, Co. Limerick, from which Inislounaght or Suir Abbey, Co. Tipperary, was founded. Inislounaght is of most direct concern here for it was from this abbey that Gleann na Foighdean was established.

Houses belonging to the Mellifont filiation exhibited a strong Gaelic bias, while other houses founded after the Invasion, like Dunbrody (1182), and Duiske, (1204), were strongly Norman in their allegiance. Inislounaght was a Cistercian house with deep roots in the Gaelic world, for among the benefactors who supported the community with endowments of land were Maelseachlainn O'Faolain, King of Deise, and Dombnall Mor O'Brien, King of Thomond. In fact Inislounaght abbey was situated in the northern kingdom of the Deise (Deise Thuaiscirt), ruled over by the Ui Phaolain. The southern kingdom of the Deise (Deise Dheiscirt), situated south of the River Suir and the Knockmaeldowns, was ruled by the Ui Bric sept, and it was in this area that the religious house of Gleann na Foighdean was situated.

It is more than likely then that when Gleann na Foighdean was founded in 1171, it was probably endowed and supported by one of the local Gaelic Septs the Ui Phaolain or the Ui Bric. The fortunes of the house were closely associated with the fate of these Gaelic septs. The Gaelic supremacy was soon to be superseded for in 1177 King Henry II granted Co. Waterford as far as Lismore to the Norman, Robert le Poer. Yet in practice it took a considerable time for this grant to be realised and effected, for the process of the Normans supplanting the native Irish at a local level was gradual, and it was not until the early 13th century that the two chief Deise septs were actually superseded. The declining influence of these septs is reflected in the changing circumstances of Gleann na Foighdean.

"THE MELLIFONT CONSPIRACY:

Another movement also influenced the fate of Gleann na Foighdean. In fact in the first third of the 13th century its destiny was decided by the issues involved in what historians have termed the "Mellifont Conspiracy". Since the introduction of the Cistercian Order into Ireland there had been a fairly prevalent hostility between the Irish monks and the French monks sent over to establish the new order on a firm footing in the new country; later there was animosity between the Irish and the Norman and Anglo-French monks. There were language difficulties, and the Irish tended to maintain their own conception of the monastic life. There were renewed attempts by the General Chapter, i.e. the ruling body of the Cistercian Order, to bring Irish monastic practices into uniformity with those on the Continent. For instance, there were attempts to enforce attendance of the Irish abbots at the Annual General Chapter meetings held at Citeaux in France. Absence from these annual meetings, at which regulations for the government of the Order were enacted, was regarded with particular disdain. The absence of the Abbot of Gleann na Foighdean was noted in 1208, for in the statutes of the Order for that year it is stated: -

"Let the Abbot of Vallis Caritatis (i.e. Gleann na Foighdean), who ought to have come to the Chapter and did not come, pay the penalty enjoined by the General Chapter. Let the Abbot at Abbeydorney (Co. Kerry), give him this warning." 1

Absenteeism was only a minor symptom of a broader hostility which the Irish felt towards the Anglo-French culture being imposed on them from outside. This hostility developed into an actual revolt in which the houses belonging to the Mellifont filiation defied the sanctions of the General Chapter. Many missions from the central Authority of the Cistercian Order were sent to Ireland in an effort to impose standards and to correct abuses and enormities in the houses of the order there. The most well documented of these visitations is that carried out by Stephen of Lexington in 1228.

Stephen arrived in Ireland around March 1228 and at first had his base in either Dunbrody or Tintern, both Norman foundations in Co. Wexford. While resident there Stephen addressed a letter to the community at Gleann na Foighdean. Because it is instructive of the economic state of the abbey and of the laxity of its monks, this letter is worth quoting in full. Addressing the community, Stephen writes: -

"..... The visitor who is going to travel to those parts gives warning that the possessions of the house should be carefully looked after and not frittered away in any manner whatsoever. On arriving in these parts on the authority of the General Chapter, with full powers over the arranging and providing for the reformation of the Order throughout the whole of Ireland, we have learned from the reports of certain persons that certain monks without sufficient care and discretion are squandering and wasting the possessions of your house. For this we give instructions to you, as being the faithful sons in Christ of obedience and your order, enjoining you the more severely in our charge of obedience, that you take diligent and effective care as much of all the lands which are your concern as of all other things, in no way permitting that any monk from his own house or any other house should contribute to any squandering of this nature by way of sale or mortgage or any other type of disposal whatsoever and thus extend his own

possessions - and that for all future time, so that God and the Order must commend you worthily in the matter of your obedience. As for ourselves, let us see that it proves more pleasing and agreeable for you to look to the interests of your house, just as it is more pleasing and agreeable to look to the interests of God and the Order and yourselves. Goodbye. " 2

From this letter it appears that by 1228 the economic condition of the house was one of decline, due to the alienation of monastic property. It was declared that less than 3 carucates* of land constituted the abbey's possessions. In addition, the monastic personnel had fallen in number to eight monks and nine lay brothers, and there was no abbot to rule over them. To Stephen, this situation was intolerable, and it appears that he decided to visit Gleann na Foighdean to put matters there in order. If he did so - and it is more than likely that he did, given the tone of his letter above - he must have received a similar reception as he later got at Gleann na Foighdean's mother-house, Inislounaght, where he was resisted, attacked and harassed by the monks and their supporters.

At any rate, because of his knowledge of conditions there Stephen decided to suppress Gleann na Foighdean as an independent foundation. So at a meeting of abbots in Dublin, presided over by Stephen himself, and held in June 1228, it was decided to suspend the Co. Waterford Cistercian house because of its poverty, its laxity of discipline, and its insufficient personnel. Whatever possessions the house had were to be united to those of Dunbrody. This union was confirmed by King Henry III in October 1232 when it was stated that henceforth the lands of Gleann na Foighdean were to constitute merely a grange of Dunbrody.³ There is evidence to suggest that this union was acceptable neither to the monks at Gleann na Foighdean nor to the mother-house, Inislounaght. Firstly, Stephen of Lexington wrote to the abbot of Maigue, Co. Limerick, ordering him to make sure that the union between Gleann na Foighdean and Dunbrody was enforced, and that monks who resisted the measure were to be disciplined. Stephen's letter to the abbot of Maigue states :-

"Let your whole body know that we, in virtue of the authority transmitted to us by the General Chapter, have wholly entrusted to the abbot of Maigue the execution of the union of the house of Gleann na Foighdean with the house of Dunbrody, so that he has power to punish all who rebel or resist, according as he sees it to be expedient." 4

Secondly, in 1234 Inislounaght and Dunbrody were in dispute almost certainly over Gleann na Foighdean's union with the latter, and the former's resistance to it.

LATER HISTORY:

After 1228 the abbey or cell of Gleann na Foighdean no longer existed as an autonomous foundation. However bitterness seems to have continued between Inislounaght and Dunbrody over the lands of the Co. Waterford house. In 1274 the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order ordered that the restrictions imposed by Stephen of Lexington on the Irish Cistercian houses in 1228 be

* (A carucate is another name for a ploughland which originally was an area of arable land which a plough team could cultivate. Put simply, a carucate is a unit of land measure. Some estimates give a carucate as being equivalent to 120 acres).

relaxed. In effect this meant that Mellifont and its filiation of houses were restored to their former status. Under this stimulus it appears that Inislounaght (which had been placed under the Abbey of Furness by Stephen in 1228 as a disciplinary measure), renewed direct associations with Mellifont. Inislounaght also felt strong enough to regain its possessions in Monksland in 1278, against the wishes of Dunbrody.

Gleann na Foighdean seems to have been reduced to the status of a parish church; this is evident from a taxation list of 1302 which gives the valuation of "Glynafaydan" as £18-7-8.⁵ Inislounaght seems to have retained its possession of lands at Gleanna na Foighdean right up to the time of the Reformation. The evidence for this is contained in the catalogue of Irish monastic possessions compiled at the Dissolution in 1540 - '41. At that time among the Co. Waterford possessions of Inislounaght were the vill of "Glanwydan" containing a water mill, 200 acres arable and pasture, with a wood containing 60 acres valued at 100/-, and leased to one Peter Dobbyn, for 66/8. Also belonging to Inislounaght was the Rectory of "Glamewydan", the tithes were stated to be 66/8, with the altarages assigned to the Curate leased for a term of years to Peter Dobbyn for 40/-.⁶ Peter Dobbyn was the Proprietor in 1541, but in the following year he was to be dispossessed in favour of a new owner. Thus a patent of 10th November 1542 granted "Glanwedan" - stated to be part of the estate of the "late monastery of Inyslawnaghe" - to Thomas Lord Cahir for the better support of his honour.⁷ Lord Cahir did not retain possession for too long, for on 6th October 1577 a patent granted the rectory and tithes of "Glanwydan" to one Cormack Mac Teige.⁸ Gleann na Foighdean may have continued to function as a rectory or parish church, for in the period 1683 to 1688, the rectory of "Glanaydon" was in arrears to the sum of £3-0-0 per annum in its payments of Crown rents. The officials collecting the rents gave as their reason why "Glanaydon" was continuously in arrears; "Cannot find this rectory".⁹

It seems that Gleann na Foighdean maintained its associations with Inislounaght for even by the mid-19th century clergymen of the Established Church were serving the united parishes of Inislounaght and Monksland, although the two were a considerable distance apart. In 1867 however, the link with Inislounaght was broken and Monksland was instituted as a separate parish under its own incumbent, J.S. Fletcher. But Monksland existed as an independent parish only for a short period until 1875 when it was re-united, this time to Stradbally Parish.¹⁰

LOCATION AND NOMENCLATURE:

Before the work of Canon Power the exact location of the Co. Waterford Cistercian houses had not been known with any certainty. Cistercian monastic historians suggested places as far apart as Cloyne and Down as being the site of the house; Offaly, Cork and Westmeath were also forwarded as being possible locations. However Canon Power's identification of the Cistercian house as being situated in the townland of Ballynagigla, parish of Monksland, Co. Waterford has now been accepted as correct.

Indeed that the area had strong monastic associations is indicated by the survival in usage of the placename "Monksland" or "Fearann na Manach", which means "Domain of the Monks". The survival of the name of the actual abbey itself, i.e. Gleann na Foighdean, is more difficult to identify. Two alternatives present themselves. Firstly, it is possible that the name "Gleann na Foighdean" has been altered from its original form due to anglicisation and the usage of centuries. If this view is accepted then it is still possible

to see some correspondence between "Gleann na Foighdean" and "Baile Bhaidin" or Ballyvaden, the adjoining townland to the north of Ballynagigla. If this is so then "Baile" would be a more modern substitute for "Gleann" and "Bhaidin" would be a corruption of "Foighdean". Secondly, and more simply, one may suppose that originally two names existed, i.e. Gleann na Foighdean and Baile Bhaidin, but that one (the former) fell out of usage, leaving the latter to continue in existence. This process may be explained as follows. At one time the long valley in this parish was known as Gleann na Foighdean (i.e. Wadding's Glen), but the homestead of this Wadding was more narrowly called Baile Bhaidin. In time the broader term declined in usage, leaving the more localised Baile Bhaidin to survive.

This involvement with placenames is tedious but necessary. It is possible to conclude that the name of the monastery does not survive in popular usage, and that the actual monastic site itself is located in Ballynagigla. Having established these facts it seems appropriate to dismiss the name "Glangragh" as having any bearing on the nomenclature of the monastery. On the basis of information gained locally I understand that some years ago the noted Cistercian historian, the late Fr. Killian Walsh wrote an article on the Monksland area for the Irish Independent. In this article he gave the name of the monastery as "Glangragh", which was a free translation of his into Irish of "Vallis Caritatis" (Vale of Charity). This name, Glangragh, was subsequently adopted by the compilers of the Map of Monastic Ireland (1959), but in fact the name is not found in the sources.

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

Before the 19th century there is little information on what kind of a monastic structure Gleann na Foighdean actually was. The Civil Survey, (1654-1656), rather inaccurately states of the Parish of Monksland: "The said Parish hath noe towne manners, edifaces or places of eminence therein". But in contrast the notes to the Down Survey (1657) map mention that "there is att Ballysiselly an Old Church and mill out of reparaire and four cabins, noe other improvement thereon".

The fullest account, however, of the dimensions and architectural features of the monastery in Monksland is given in the John O'Donovan Letters of 1841 written in conjunction with the compilation of the Ordnance Survey. In 1841 O'Donovan found that the cell measured 46ft.6ins. in length by 17ft.8ins. in breadth, but the building was very much in ruin with only the west gable, the north wall, and 9ft. of the south wall at the west end remaining. The north wall was 2ft.6ins. in thickness and about 16ft. in height, and it consisted of brown sandstone and slate coloured stones irregularly laid and cemented with lime and sand mortar. The north wall had a breach of 16 ft. down to within 3 ft. of the ground. The west gable had a rectangular doorway placed within 1ft.1in. of the south wall and measuring 5ft. 7ins. in height and 3ft. 6ins. in width on the inside, where it was crossed by 3 flags or lintels. On the outside the structure was very dilapidated. At about 1ft.8ins. above the doorway was window made of hammered stones, but nearly destroyed. In the middle of the west gable about 18ft. from the ground, there was a quadrangular window of cut stone, which appeared to be quite old. This window measured 2ft. 6ins. high by 8 ins. wide on the outside. The west gable was surmounted with a belfry covered with ivy.

As this account of 1841 indicates the monastery when in a good state of repair must have been a singularly imposing structure on the landscape. By 1896 when Canon Power first wrote on this topic, the west gable was still

standing at 13 ft. in height , and there were also the remains of supports for an internal loft, a feature that O'Donovan had not mentioned.

Today very little physical evidence remains to remind the observer of the former existence of the Cistercian house in Monksland. The west gable is now almost completely demolished, and the bare outline of the monastic buildings is now almost obliterated.

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THE FENIAN LANDING AT HELVIC, 1867

By Sylvester Murray

On the road overlooking Helvic pier stands a monument commemorating the landing of the American Fenians in 1867. It was unveiled in 1955 by Cathleen Clarke, wife of the 1916 leader, Tom Clarke. The tradition of republicanism lived on in the Ring area and na Finini are remembered with pride. What may not be generally known, however, is the accidental nature of the Helvic landings and the fact that no guns actually came on shore. Before describing the Helvic episode, it will first be necessary to look at some aspects of the Fenian movement.

THE FENIANS IN AMERICA:

American Fenianism was in many ways different from its Irish counterpart: It was neither secret nor oath bound. American Fenians merely took a pledge and accounts of their meetings, speeches and resolutions were widely published in American newspapers sympathetic to Fenianism. This in fact was the British Government's first source of information on the movement and it appears that they were not aware of the existence of Fenianism in Ireland at the time of the Chicago Convention in November 1863.¹

The dissensions which ruined the American movement were due in part to the extensive powers held initially by John O'Mahony. Many of the principal figures in the movement felt however that better organisation was required as Fenianism spread across America to the Irish communities in Chicago, Cincinnati, Ohio, etc. In 1865 at the Philadelphia Convention the direction of the movement was placed in the hands of a Senate to whom the President (Head Centre) would be answerable. O'Mahony refused to accept this decision and a split resulted.² The Senate wing under W. Roberts favoured striking at Britain through Canada while the O'Mahony wing remained more committed to a Rising in Ireland.

The American Civil War ended in April 1865 and soon American officers began to arrive in Ireland. This naturally aroused the Government's suspicions and the ports of Cobh and Dublin were closely watched. At this time American public opinion was very anti-British because of Britain's support for the South during the War. Britain had built ships for the Confederates, had continued to trade with them and the "London Times" had been pro-Confederate in outlook.³ The Chief Secretary at the time, Wodehouse, regarded Fenianism as a very serious threat because of its American connections.⁴

The U.S. President, Andrew Johnson, and the Secretary of State, William H. Seward, relied upon the support of the Irish voters - which explained their attitudes to Fenianism. Both were quite willing to tolerate the involvement of high-ranking army and Civil Service personnel in the movement, the buying of arms by Fenians, etc. This changed somewhat after the raids on Canada in 1866, when they realised that the activities of the Fenians could seriously embarrass the U.S. internationally. They then took a much firmer stand against the movement. The Foreign Office in London was kept informed of the state of affairs in the U.S. by Bruce, the British Ambassador in Washington. Then in September 1865 the authorities here decided to act. The "Irish People" was suppressed and the leaders were arrested. As more evidence reached the Government of Fenian activities, the Habeas Corpus Act

was suspended in February 1866 and all through that year hundreds of rank and file members were arrested. Many of the leaders, however, escaped to England and there began to plan the Rising. In America also planning began. A meeting of former Union officers was held on February 18th 1867 under James Kelly, a Lieutenant Colonel of the 69th, New York. John Warren was elected Secretary.⁵ This Committee seems to have been the source which directed the expedition that eventually left for Ireland.

THE JACMEL SAILS :

Meanwhile (March 1867), the Rising had taken place in Ireland without waiting for American help. It had been a complete failure. Hundreds of Fenians were in prison and the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for a further year. The real nature of the defeat did not reach the New York Fenians and a letter from the Fenian leader in England, Thomas J. Kelly, appealed to the O'Mahony wing for help implying that all was not yet lost.⁶ Plans were therefore set in motion to send arms and men in a boat just purchased.

This was an 81ft. brigantine called the Jacmel Packet. It had been built in Medford, Mass. in 1861 and was first called the Henrico. Her first owner was Henry Okill of Jacmel, Haiti. In 1866 the ship was owned by John A. Dawes. When Dawes tried to sell the Jacmel to an Italian in Colon, Panama, the American Consul seized the vessel. The U.S. Marshall for Southern New York sold her to a man called Charles F. Blake.⁷ Whether he was a front for the Fenians we do not know. However we do know that the reason for the seizure in Colon was debts incurred through non-payment of seaman's wages, pilotage fees etc.⁸

Towards the end of March 1867 the Jacmel was berthed on the East River waterfront while the planning was done from nearby Chatham Street in the Bowery district of New York. Arms were transferred to newly made boxes labelled as wine and machinery.⁹ James E. Kerrigan, a U.S. Congressman, was in charge of the expedition and the loading was supervised by the first Officer William Sweetman. Various estimates put the number of arms from 5,000¹⁰ to 8,000¹¹. Mostly these were surplus Union arms from the Civil War and also some which had been used by the Confederates - Spencer Repeaters (Union weapons), Enfield Rifles (mostly used by the Confederates), Austrian rifles (Union), Sharp breech loading rifles (much used on Western trails) and Burnside breech loading rifles plus three 6lb. guns and ammunition.

On April 12th, 1867 the Fenians met in a house in East Broadway and were joined by Captain Cavanagh. They then took a steamer down river to Sandy Hook, where they waited until the evening of the 13th. When the Jacmel came up they all went aboard and stood off for Cuba to avoid suspicion.¹² There seems to be some confusion as to what the Captain's christian name was. Devoy says he was John F. Cavanagh of the U.S. Navy, while John Savage who became leader of the Fenians in America in 1867 says that he was a U.S. naval officer but intentionally omits his name.¹³ John F. Cavanagh had been a member of Congress but Joseph B. Cavanagh of Passage East Co. Waterford, was an officer in the U.S. Naval Reserve and had served in the Civil War. After the War he had lived in New York where he came into contact with the Fenians through a fellow Passage man called Baston who had a bar room in the Bowery.¹⁴

Capt. Cavanagh had not seen the Jacmel before he boarded the vessel at Sandy Hook. On the following day he changed course for Ireland and on Easter Sunday, April 21st renamed the ship the "Erins Hope". They finally picked up land on May 18th at Blackrock Lighthouse on Eagle Island off North Mayo.¹⁵ A messenger had been sent from New York on April 20th to inform Kelly of the ship's arrival. Kelly had asked especially for a landing at

Sligo,¹⁶ as the Donegal coast was not well patrolled -- no Naval ships were stationed between Belmullet and Lough Swilly.¹⁷

THE ERIN'S HOPE ARRIVES:

The renamed Jaemel had a crew of 5 and 40 Fenians. J.E. Kerrigan was in command of the Fenians -- William J. Nagle and John Warren were his assistants. Conditions aboard were reasonable as sleeping accommodation had been prepared for the extra passengers. On arriving off Sligo, the Jaemel showed her prearranged signals -- a certain type of light by night and a furled jib during the day.

Several days passed and there was no acknowledgement from shore. By May 23rd Capt. Cavanagh had begun to grow impatient and decided to go ashore himself to investigate, taking with him two Fenians named Doherty and O'Shea. While they were away a fracas seems to have arisen between the crew and the Fenians, resulting in two sailors (James Nolan and John Smith), being shot and injured by a Fenian named Buckley. To add to the confusion the local pilot, Michael Gallagher, from Towney near Teclin, decided they needed his services and came aboard. He had to be detained and was told a false story about the vessel being bound from Spain to Glasgow with fruit. Cavanagh then returned just before another visitor arrived. He transpired to be Richard O'Sullivan Burke who later planned the Manchester Rescue, and had been posing as an artist named Walters, staying at the Imperial Hotel in Sligo.

Burke told the Fenians the true state of affairs in Ireland and suggested they bring the arms and men to Cork where Captain Lomasney was still active. Cavanagh accepted the advice, but now had to deal with the detained pilot and two wounded sailors. He put all three ashore at Milk Harbour near Streedagh that night (24th May) in charge of Patrick Nugent. Burke was also put ashore in the company of three other Fenians.

Meanwhile, suspicions had been aroused about this cruising brigantine: Nugent and the sailors were arrested¹⁸ shortly after landing and a gun boat was making its way from Lough Swilly.¹⁹ The Erin's Hope had gone however by the time it arrived and was making its way to the Cork coast.

From May 27th to 30th the Erin's Hope cruised between Toe Head and the Galley. Provisions were now running low, so Capt. Cavanagh tried to put Warren ashore for food near Rosscarbery on the evening of the 30th. However, two coastguard boats came out and he was forced to stand off. He then decided to try and land Nagle and Warren near Ballycotton but it began to blow from the South West and he was forced to run eastwards during the night of May 31st.²⁰

Early on Saturday, June 1st, the Fenians arrived off Helvic. There they sighted a hooker from Ballinagoul hauling trammels. It was a foggy morning. A swell from the South was still running and the Ringmen had difficulty hauling their hake nets from the bottom. The Captain asked the skipper, Paid Mor O'Faolain, to take two men ashore for £2 which he agreed to do. However, on going up alongside the brigantine, 32 men came aboard the hooker. Cavanagh asked for them not to be put ashore until evening but it was hardly reasonable to expect Paid Mor to sail around all day with an overloaded hooker. He landed the Fenians on the beach near Ballinagoul pier, but by this time the fog had lifted and George Jones, a coastguard in Helvic, saw them and alerted the R.I.C. who set out in pursuit.



John B. Cavanagh of Passage East, Captain of the Erin's Hope.



The "redoubtable" Augustine E. Costello who became the scapegoat.



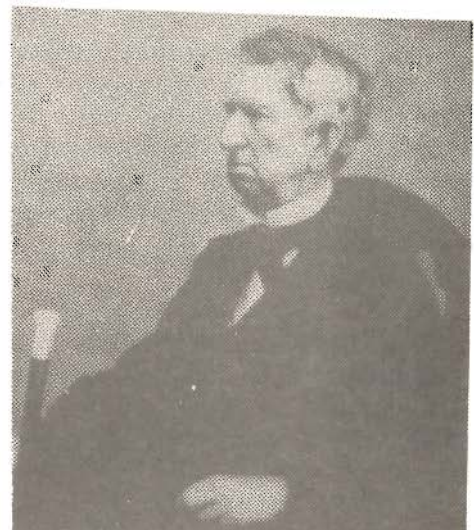
Baile na nGall village as it possibly was when the Fenians landed nearby.



Official prison photograph of John Warren taken in Kilmainham.



Captain Ricard O'Sullivan-Burke who met the Erin's Hope off Sligo.



William H. Seward, U.S. Secretary of State, who became involved in the campaign to free the Erin's Hope prisoners.

Cavanagh then sailed off into the Bristol Channel. With him at this stage were three of the crew and several Fenians including the leader, Kerrigan. They cruised off Land's End for a few days and returned to Mine Head on June 6th where they seem to have expected instructions on what to do with the arms on board. Receiving no signal from shore they continued westward to Toe Head and set sail for America. Food had run very low when they hailed a trawler on the Grand Banks in Mid July and finally arrived in New York on August 1st.²¹

Cavanagh had sailed 9,000 miles in 107 days and had evaded the British Navy on more than one occasion. The Jackmel had been sighted by British men-of-war several times, but as brigantines were commonly used in coastal trade, suspicions were never aroused. On one such occasion before the Helvic landing they had made preparations to fight if the Naval frigate came close. P.G. Kain mentioned this in a letter to O'Donovan Rossa on Augustine Costello's death in 1909.²² John Devoy commented that they had proven that arms could be landed despite the presence of the British Navy and Capt. Cavanagh said, "there was no point of the coast at which I stopped that I could not have landed considerable quantities of arms had preparations been made to take them from me"²³ The Admiralty had issued a description of the Jackmel on June 14th,²⁴ apparently obtained from William Million, one of the prisoners who turned informer. However, the Government was not too hopeful of arresting Cavanagh as "by this he has made his way to some French port for provisions and will make his way back to North America, perhaps for more arms", observed Larcom in a letter to Lord Mayo.

ARREST AND TRIAL:

Meanwhile, the American Fenians had been easily recognized with their high boots and broad-brimmed hats. Most of them had headed for Cork but were picked up before evening between Ring and Youghal. Two made it to Carrigtohill and four escaped arrest altogether. One of these had changed his clothes in the locality. Another was one of the Downing brothers from Skibereen.²⁵ A third had relations named Whelan in Ballinagoul. He hid in a ditch all day and was sheltered by them that night. He eventually made his way back to America under an assumed name.²⁶

All the others were brought to Dungarvan to appear before the Magistrates. One of their number, Augustine E. Costello, spoke on their behalf asking the Magistrates under which law they were being detained.²⁷ The Magistrates had the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act to fall back on and adjourned the case. The prisoners were shortly afterwards transferred to Waterford Gaol where they were joined by John Warren and William Nagle and the two arrested in Carrigtohill. When these prisoners were being marched under armed guard from Lady Lane Police Station to Ballybricken Jail, a riot occurred in which one man was killed and another badly injured. Five people were sentenced to terms of imprisonment for their part in the riot.²⁸ It could be said that the police reacted violently to stone-throwing, but nevertheless pro-Fenian sympathy was strong in the City at the time. Corridan, the Fenian informer who visited Waterford to identify the prisoners on June 10th also met with a very hostile reception and had to receive an armed guard on his way from the Railway Station to the Gaol.²⁹

Through the months of June and July the Crown case against the Helvic prisoners was in course of preparation. At this time the Liberals had been defeated and a minority Government under Lord Derby ruled. The Duke of Abercorn and Lord Mayor were appointed to Ireland with Sir Thomas Larcom as Under Secretary. Samuel Lee Anderson was given charge of the Crown case and he seems to have taken a personal interest in securing convictions. It appears that at one stage he secretly entered Kilmainham to persuade one of the prisoners, William F. Million, to divulge the Jackmel's signalling system

This was afterwards denied by Larcom,³⁰ but Million was released on August 7th. He went to New York where he was shot dead by Michael Doheney's son.³¹

September came and still Anderson did not have a good witness as he prepared the Crown brief.³² The prisoners meanwhile kept up a war of propaganda from their cells in Kilmainham. Letters and notes were smuggled out to be published in American newspapers, being later republished here in the "Irishman". These seriously embarrassed the Government which was then trying to establish good relations with America. In August Congressman Wood of New York had complained to President Johnson of the continued detention of Warren, an American citizen. Johnson placed the letter before the U.S. Cabinet and William F. Seward was ordered to confer with the British Ambassador on the matter. Bruce telegraphed the Foreign Office recommending Warren's release.³³ "It becomes the question of right involving the liberty of every American citizen that sets foot on this soil", wrote Nagle,³⁴ Seward continued to press for Warren, Nagle and Costelloe's release. Larcom however was unwilling to accede to the American's request as he thought it would be difficult to hold the rank and file if the leaders were released. One Civil Servant in Dublin Castle dismissed Seward's requests as "Yankee impudence".

Of the two sailors injured in Sligo, Nolan recovered quickly but the other, Smith, died from gangrene in December 1867. James Nolan was a native of Cork who had gone to America at the age of 14. He had joined the U.S. Navy in 1865 but deserted after 8 months and worked as a deckhand on cargo boats afterwards. He got a job as a cook on board the Jacmel. His wife and child were living in New York and were to draw the money while he was away. He was now 27 years of age and did not relish the idea of a long term in prison. Anderson soon realised this and set about getting information from him. Unfortunately for the Fenians, Nolan knew some very startling facts about Daniel J. Buckley, (which is presumably what lay behind the earlier shootings). Buckley was an Irish - American who had served in the War as a Lieutenant. He was involved in some kind of unpardonable conduct at the Battle of Cranston Ridge and was terrified lest the American authorities should hear of it. Nolan told this to Anderson and the Crown Solicitor threatened to inform the Americans unless Buckley became a Crown witness. In order to avoid a Courtmartial and possible execution, he became the principal witness at the trials of Warren and Costelloe.³⁵ The solicitor for Warren and Costelloe was Henry Mills, on the instructions of the U.S. Consul. He acquired the services of a Barrister called Heron to defend both prisoners.

Of the three whom the authorities took to be the leaders of the expedition, William Nagle was perhaps most fortunate. He had been born in America, was a Captain in the 88th New York, and became a Centre in Washington where he held a Government job.³⁶ As he would have to be tried by a Jury of aliens, Anderson took no immediate action against him, merely holding him under the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. John Warren on the other hand was born at Ross Carbery, Co. Cork. He had emigrated to America, became proprietor of a liquor store in Boston, then took a job as reporter with the Daily News in New York where he became Captain in the 63rd Brigade. The evidence marshalled against him was damning and he was sentenced to 15 years penal servitude for Treason Felony.

Most interesting of all, perhaps, was the trial of Augustine E. ("Gus") Costello. He was born in Killimor, Co. Galway and had served as a Lieutenant in the Civil War. He had worked as an actor in New York and was active in organising the expedition. The Jury failed to agree to the charges against him, however, and a retrial was ordered, using the same witnesses and before the same Judge Keogh. Despite a spirited defence by Costello, who at one stage cross-questioned the informer, Corydon, the second jury found against him and he too was convicted.³⁷ He was sent to Portland to serve his sentence in the

company of Devoy and O'Leary. He seems to have been a man of much intelligence and integrity and these qualities may so have distinguished him above the others involved that he possibly became something of a scape-goat for the entire incident.

The rank and file members of the party were offered a passage to America provided they apologised for their part in the expedition. By February 1868 only 8 prisoners remained in custody. Nolan and Buckley the informers had been discharged; Smith the sailor had died in December 1867; P.J. Kain and Laurence Doyle had contracted T.B. while in prison and were released; the remainder apologised and were put aboard the liner in Cobh. One man from Charleville, Co. Cork was allowed to stay at home because he said he could not get the money to pay his passage.

As the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was to expire in March 1868, Anderson hurriedly prepared for the trial of Nagle, Patrick Nugent (who had accompanied the wounded men ashore), and six others who had refused to apologise. These cases were to be heard in Sligo but a jury of aliens could not be found for Nagle and Nugent's case was postponed as the judges had to attend Roscommon Assizes.³⁸ They were all released shortly afterwards. Nagle returned to New York arriving in mid June 1868. Warren too was released in May but remained in Ireland.³⁹ Only the redoubtable Costello remained in prison.

SEQUELS:

The trials and subsequent publicity brought about some strange alignments making and marring assorted reputations. In Helvic, the two fishermen who simulated obtuseness in giving State evidence, are still remembered with pride. Paid Mor pretended that he was deaf and could not understand English. He "identified" Judge Keogh as being one of those he had landed at Helvic, calling him "fear an da ribe". His colleague, Brown, developed a complete loss of memory, and declared he had never seen any of the Fenians before. The third fisherman, Collins, was more co-operative and though he had little English, his evidence was helpful to the prosecution. He lives on in local memory in the lines: -

"A Dhonail Uí Choileain na feicidh tu Dia,
is a Dhonail Uí Choileain na feicidh tu an ghrian".

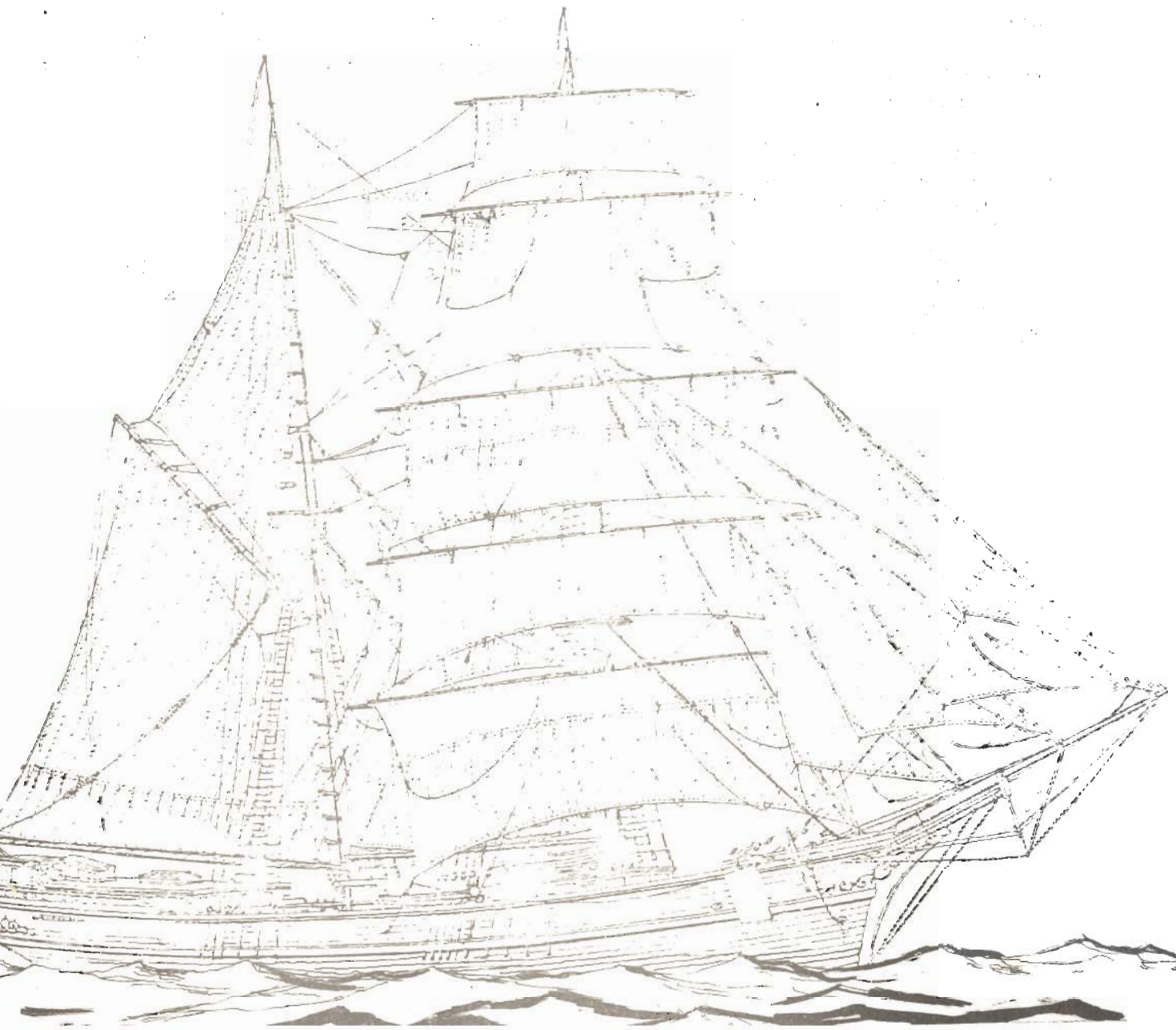
Another local man, Andrew Roche, had escorted Warren and Nagle to Youghal. He was a small farmer in Ring. It was said that he did not have enough money to pay his rent and on being offered £10 he agreed to be a Crown witness: -

"Dhein se mar phlean e chun teacht ar an goios
Na deich bpuint a ghlacadh is na fearaibh a dhial".

Other groups and individuals emerged more unequivocally in favour of the Fenians. Early in 1868, for instance, George Francis Train, the eccentric American public works contractor arrived in Ireland to speak on behalf of the prisoners. He was arrested for debts in March and placed in the Marshalsea. The Dublin Authorities referred to him as a "noisy demagogue".

TOP (across): Contemporary cartoon showing the threat which the authorities felt the campaigns waged by journalists like Pigott posed to law and order.

BOTTOM: A Brigantine of the same kind as the Jackmel (Erins Hope) - from The Ship by Bjorn Landstrom, p. 207 (New York, 1961)



More useful perhaps was the campaign waged in the "Irishman" by the journalist Pigott,⁴⁰ later to earn notoriety as the writer of the forgeries linking Parnell with the Invincibles. Early in 1868 himself and R.M.O'Sullivan were sentenced to twelve months for seditious libel - i.e. publishing accounts of Fenian affairs in America.⁴¹ The campaign nevertheless continued and in the following February Pigott reminds his readers of Costello's idealism, calling him "every inch a king".⁴²

Presumably this type of rhetoric was a powerful force in moulding public opinion into demanding the release of Costello, the sole remaining prisoner. There was also considerable pressure from the American-based Amnesty Association and from both Houses of Congress which passed a Bill setting out the rights of naturalized Americans on 27th July 1868.⁴³ That month the Chief Secretary asked for the file on Costelloe but nothing further was done until February 1869 when he was transferred from Portland to Mountjoy and then released.

Costello went home to Galway and got a hero's welcome. After 21 months in custody he remained unbowed. "As long as I have breath I will conspire and plot to overthrow the British Government", he told a large crowd in Ballinasloe⁴⁴. Both Warren and himself, however, decided to return to America. On the eve of their departure, April 30th 1869, they were guests of honour at a banquet in the Imperial Hotel given by the Mayor of Cork.⁴⁵ Once they had gone, the episode closed.

However, it is still recounted in history books dealing with the Fenians and the monument at Helvic perhaps enhances the myth. From the evidence available it would now appear that the original concept of the Jacmel - Erin's Hope expedition was based on misinformation; that selection of Helvic as a landing spot was pure chance; that no threat was posed to the authorities by the arrival of thirty two unarmed men, and that not all of the participants (protagonists or antagonists) acquitted themselves with honour. Of such is history made.