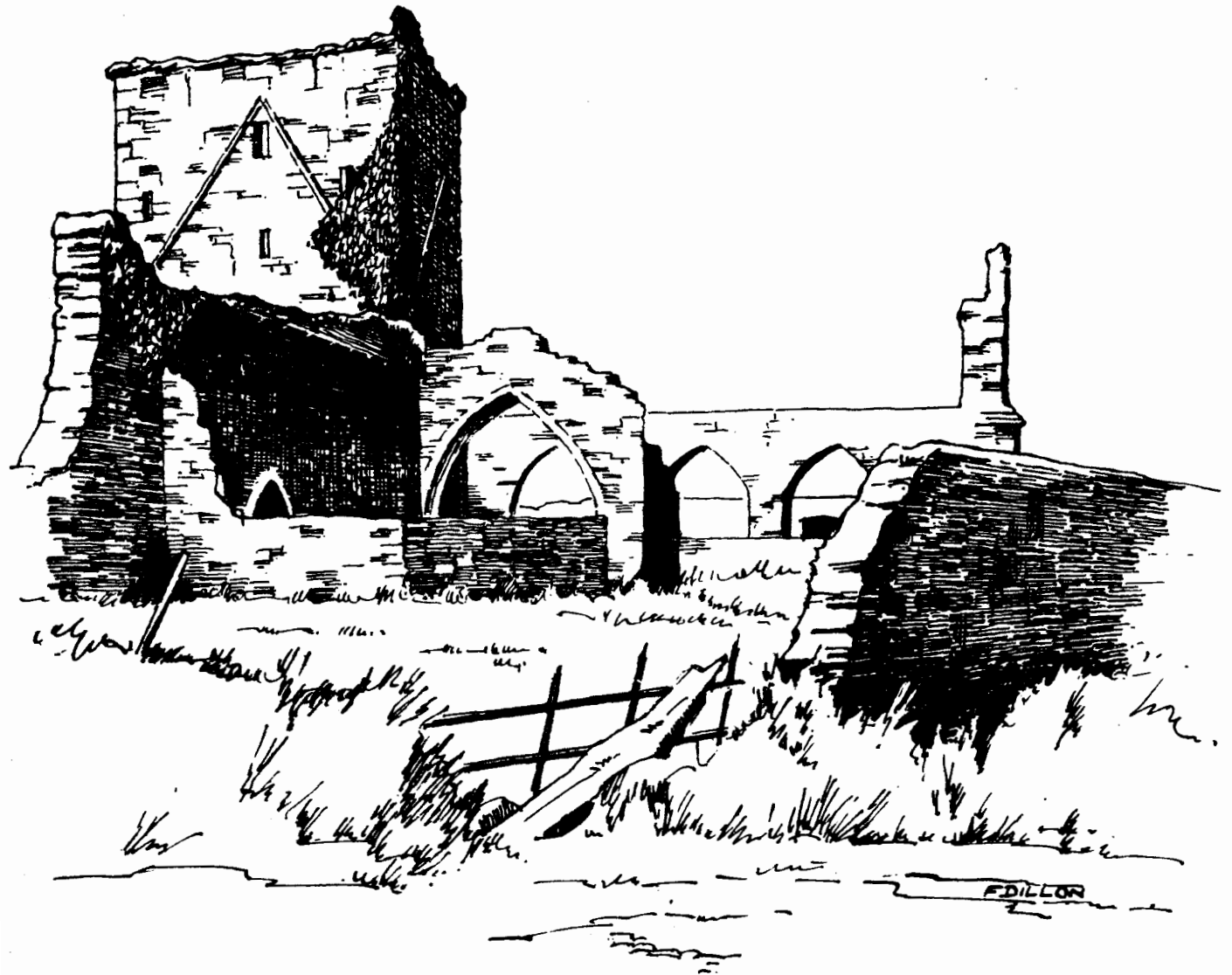


Old Waterford Society

DECIES

XXXVII

SPRING 1988



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FRONT COVER:

Our cover drawing shows an unusual view of portion of Kells Priory, Co. Kilkenny visited by the Society last Summer, when Fr. Sean O'Doherty was our learned guide.

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We wish to express our sincere thanks to Waterford Corporation and to Waterford Regional Technical College for their valued assistance in the production of this issue.

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E D I T O R I A L

Now that DECIES is entering upon the 13th year of its life and before the season of goodwill recedes too far into the past, it seems an appropriate time to express our thanks and appreciation to all who have helped to make the journal what it is today.

During the years of its existence, articles have appeared over the names of many distinguished academics and a very high standard has been set. This standard has been worthily matched by the contributions of amateur historians, including many of our own members. They have demonstrated a capacity for painstaking research and an ability to describe their findings with clarity and lucidity, at the same time producing articles of interest and easy readability.

Contributions from our readers are always welcome. As history is not an exact science it is to be expected that at times some of the conclusions drawn and opinions expressed will conflict with the view of some of our readers. In this connection we would like to point out that the pages of DECIES are always open to any reader who may feel the urge to enter the lists and engage in friendly disputation and, in fact, we would welcome this as helping to make for a lively publication.

We would like to acknowledge especially the help given by Waterford Corporation and Waterford Regional Technical College in the production of the journal. Our thanks must also go to Mrs. Eileen Johnston for the diligence with which she produces typescript ready for printing, to the officers and committee of the Society for their help and co-operation and finally but by no means least to all our members and our general readership for their unflagging support

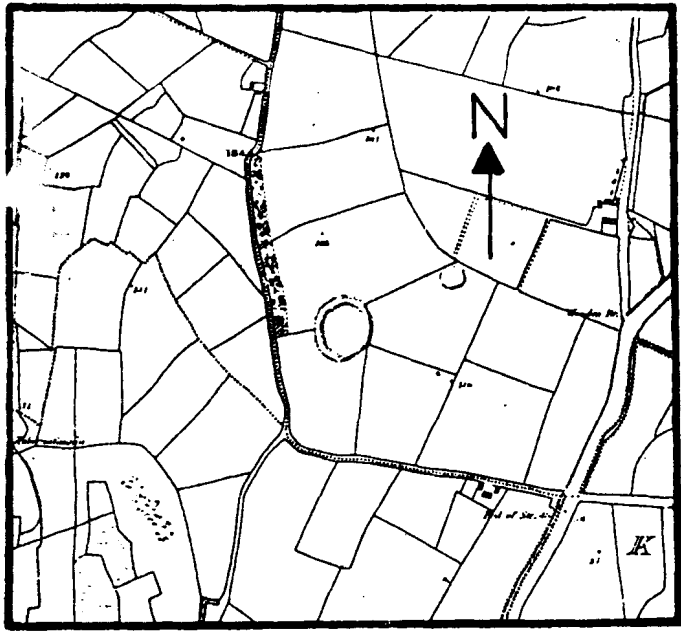


Fig.1 Ordnance Survey 1st edition representation of Castletown site. Scale 6" to a mile.

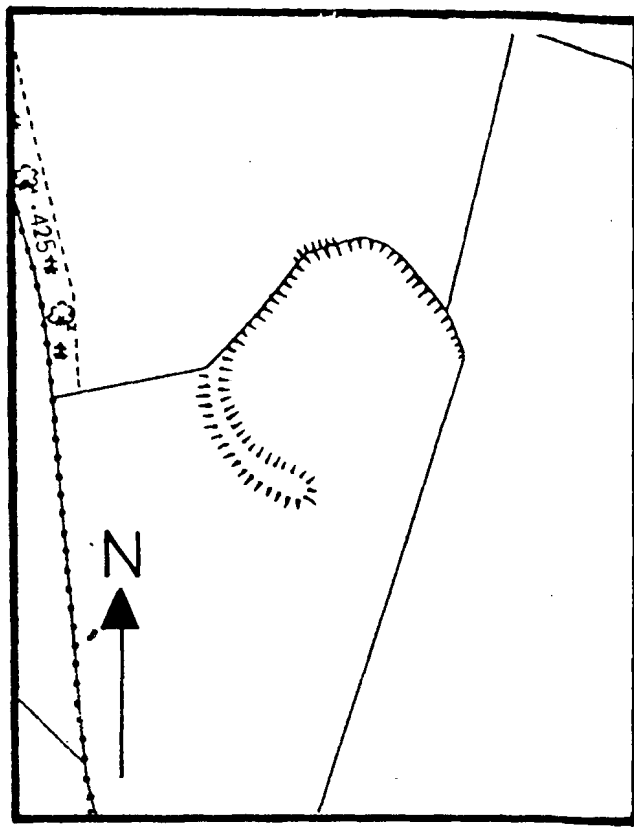


Fig.2 Ordnance Survey 25" Representation of Castletown site.

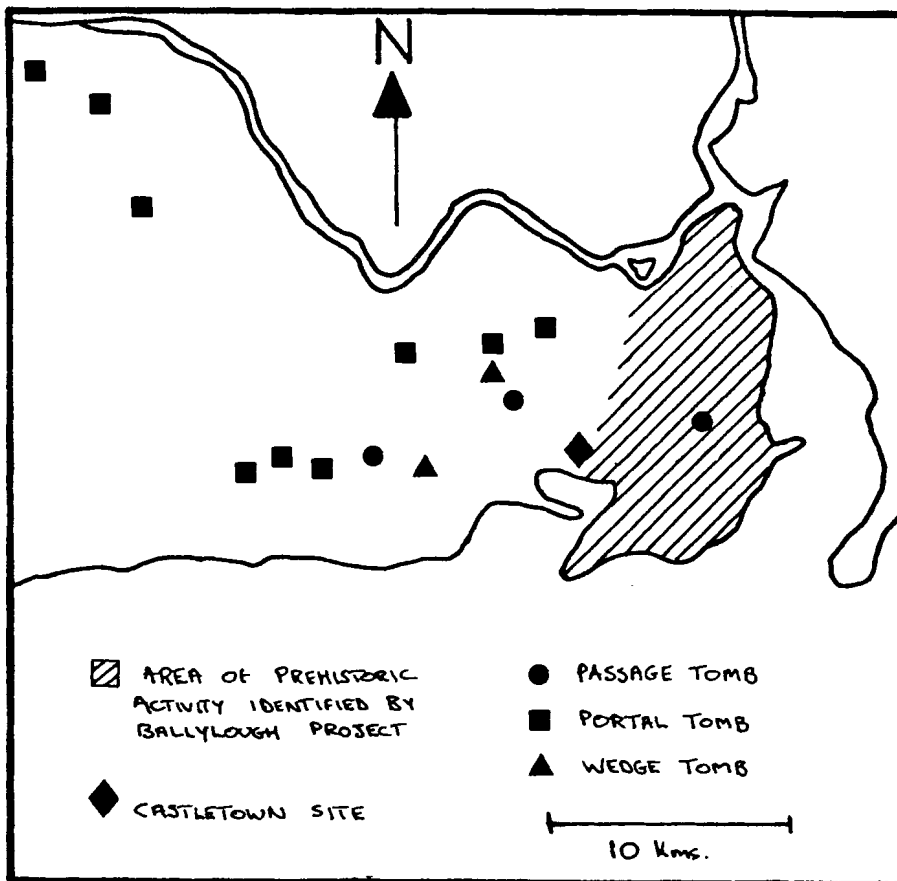


Fig.3 Map showing Castletown site in relation to other prehistoric sites in east Waterford.

A Henge-type Monument at Castletown, Co. Waterford.

Thomas Condit and Michael Gibbons.

This site was identified as a henge-type monument in the course of the compilation of the Sites and Monuments Record for Co. Waterford. The identification of a ritual enclosure of this type provides further evidence for widespread prehistoric activity in Co. Waterford.

The site is located about 5 miles south of Waterford city in the townland of Castletown (barony of Middlethird; O.S. six-inch sheet, Waterford 17, 79, 3cm from east and 4.0cm from south; sites and monuments record no. WA 17:60).

The site is situated on gently sloping terrain commanding extensive views in all directions. It survives as a poorly preserved earthen bank, sub-circular in plan, enclosing a steeply dished interior. The overall dimensions of the site are c.90m north to south and c.80m east to west. The bank has been extensively interfered with in the northern half of the site where it has been scarped and incorporated into the modern field boundary (Figs. 1 and 2). In the south-east the bank has been almost totally levelled. The enclosure is best preserved from the south to the west where it survives as a broad flat-topped bank measuring 2m - 2.5m high, 3.5m wide on top and c.11m wide at base. There is no indication of any ditch and no original entrance or entrances are visible. The presence of an upright boulder in a disturbed portion of the bank in the north-east may indicate that the bank is not entirely constructed of earth.

Discussion:

The word 'henge' is used to describe sites of different forms. Generally they are circular enclosures and are thought to have served a variety of ritual functions. The term 'henge' appears to be derived from 'hang' and was thus applied to the raised lintels at Stonehenge. The name 'Woodhenge' was given to a crop-mark site near Durrington in England which consisted of a circular ditch and rings of pits on the analogy that it was the wooden counterpart of Stonehenge. The title 'henge' has been extended to refer to sites composed of a roughly circular bank and internal ditch broken by an entrance or entrances, with no implication of lintels or any 'hanging' element. Henges are common throughout Britain and henge-building is generally thought to

6. A Henge-type Monument at Castletown, Co. Waterford.

be a British phenomenon. However Harding & Lee (1987, 87-8) have pointed out that henges in Britain may be analogous with similar sites on the Continent.

In Ireland there are sites to which the name 'henge' has been applied. O'Riordain (1979) prefers the term 'embanked enclosure' because many of the Irish examples don't necessarily fit the 'classic' definition, many of the Irish 'hengings' not having ditches. A common feature of such sites is that the banks, usually of large proportions, are constructed by scooping out the interior sites which led O'Riordain to state that 'their design suggests an inward-looking amphitheatre rather than any defensive function' (1979,15). There is a marked concentration of embanked enclosures in the Meath area coinciding with the passage-tombs in the Boyne Valley (Eogan,1986, 222). This association is further emphasised at Ballynahatty, Co. Down (CDAS, 1966,89-91), where the massive enclosure known as the Giant's Ring has at its centre a chambered grave which is most likely the remains of a passage-tomb. Among the finds from Monknewtown, Co. Meath (Sweetman,1976) was a Carrowkeel pot usually associated with finds assemblages from passage-tombs. The Castletown site fits well into this context if it is seen in association with the Tramore group of passage-tombs. (Fig.3).

The origin of classic henge building in Britain is dated to the 2nd half of the 3rd millenium B.C. ending c.1800 B.C. with some attention being conferred on the sites (by way of further burials and depositions) down to the later Bronze Age. Evidence from the Orkneys would suggest that henge building may have started closer to 3000 B.C. (Ritchie,1985,130). In Ireland excavated examples present a complicated picture as there appears to be multiperiod occupation and use of these sites. For the most part finds fall into the 'Beaker tradition'/early Bronze Age. However, at Ballynahatty, Co. Down and Monknewtown, Co. Meath, the presence of Neolithic material may indicate that this type of monument has its origins in the Neolithic as is the case in the Orkneys, with the Beaker material representing secondary re-use of the site.

The identification of a henge-type enclosure in south-east Waterford gives an important new dimension to the archaeology of the county and the region in general. Moreover it comes as no surprise when one considers the increasing evidence for prehistoric settlement in this area provided by the Megalithic Survey, (O'Nuallain ,1983; O'Nuallain and Walsh 1986) and preliminary results of the Ballylough Project (Green and Zvelebil,1983,1984). While the Castletown site may appear to be unique in the south-eastern region another henge-type enclosure was noted in Annamult in Co. Kilkenny (sites and monuments record no.KK 27:22) by Ms.Ellen Prendergast (NMI Correspondence Files). This site has since been levelled.

We are still at a very early stage in our understanding of the development, chronology and function of henge-type enclosures. Excavation will shed more light on the material remains of the people who used these sites. However, the meaning, significance and ritual aspect of these sites may never be fully understood.

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WILLIAMS NEVINS (1650 -) = Jane ____ (16__)
Ballinderry, Co. Antrim

Archibald (1682-1767) = Anne Greer (1683-1757)
Parsonstown. To Edenderry, Co. Kildare

Deborah (1719-80) James (1721-77)
= John Boardman

Thomas (1723-63), Kilglass Co. Kildare
= 1749 Rachel Pim (1731-74)
Nurney, King's Co.

John (1726-73) Archibald (1728-61)
= 1758 (in Edenderry)
Sarah Wyly (1722-67)
(3 children)

Archibald, (1752-1800)
Kilglass 2 = 1777,
Grace Penrose, (17 - 18)
Ballykeane, Co. Wicklow

Rachel (1755-94)
= 1778 in Edenderry
Williams Penrose, (1745-99)
Waterford merchant

Pim (1757-18)
to Leeds,
merchant

Susanna (1762)
spinster

Susanna (1778-18)
= 1802
Gotliffe

Thomas (1779-1838)
Waterford = 1812 in
WTFD Hannah Fayle (1787-1848)

Archibald (1782-1811)
Waterford + St. John's
merchant = Jane - (17-18)

Pim (1785-18)
Waterford
merchant
= Elizabeth
Fawcett

John (1790-18)
to London

Penrose (1786-1818)
Waterford merchant
= 1817
Anne Wakefield

Robert (1792-18)
Waterford &
St. John's & London,
merchant

Thomas F. (1813-)
Waterford
merchant

Mary Anne
(1818 -)
spinster

Penrose
(1820-)
Liverpool
merchant

Hannah
(1821-)
Elizabeth
(1823-)
Charlotte
(1824 -)

Thomas Pim
(1811 -)
(3 other
children)

Thomas Anne
(18 -) (18 -)

Hugh(1817-)Roanmore
= 1851
Isabella White (1827 -)
(9 children)

The Nevins Family 1800-1840

John Mannion.

One of the distinctive features in the formation of Waterford's extensive merchant community through the 18th century was the relocation of Quakers there from Leinster and Munster. Lured primarily by the growth of Waterford's overseas commerce in salt provisions and the numerous ancillary trades that it fostered, over thirty heads of what became major Quaker merchant families or clans settled in the city. Most came from beyond the margins of Waterford's commercial hinterland, a reminder of the considerable geographical mobility characteristic of middle-class Quaker society in Ireland at that time. Among the pioneers of this intermittent migration to the southeast were William Penrose of Ballykeane, Co. Wicklow, Joseph Jacob of Cork, his nephew Isaac of Limerick, and Denis Cherry from Co. Tipperary.

Penrose was the second surviving son of a big farmer and typified the social background of many young men entering trade in Waterford. He began as an apprentice to a tanner there before 1700, married in 1702 and set up trade on his own as a skinner and tanner near St. John's gate, on the southern edge of town. No fewer than 15 of his descendants bearing the Penrose name became merchants in Waterford in the 18th century. Others of the name moved from Wicklow and Cork to join their kinsmen in trade and several important Quakers became established merchants in Waterford through apprenticeships in Penrose trading houses or marriage to Penrose daughters.

One of the most notable was Isaac Jacob. In 1722 he inherited his uncle's ironmongery, established in Waterford in 1702, and married William Penrose's daughter in 1727. The Jacobs in turn spawned a large mercantile clan and acted as a magnet for further recruits to the trading community. Among them was Joshua Strangman of Mountmellick. He began his career as a clerk for Isaac Jacob in mid century, became a partner through the marriage of his sister Hannah to Isaac's son Joseph in 1757 and was founder of one of the major merchant dynasties in the south of Ireland. Strangman's cousins John Courtenay of Dublin and Henry Ridgway of Bally-carroll, Queen's County started as his clerks and later succeeded to full partnerships. Richard Davis of Mountrath, Queen's County, began as a cooper for Strangman, married one of his daughters and set up a brewing business with one of Strangman's five merchant sons.

Several other important Quaker merchants trace their origins in Waterford to linkages with the pioneer families. Robert Watson of Rathrush, Co. Carlow was a Jacob relative. Samuel Cherry, son of Denis, William Strangman, brother of Joshua and Thomas Barcroft married three Penrose sisters and Henry Ridgway, Joseph Goff, Samuel Pim and Simmon Max all had Penrose spouses. Jonathan Gatchell of Mountmellick began as a Penrose clerk, learned the craft of compounding in their glass works and eventually took over this branch of the family's diverse Waterford enterprises. Three other noted entrepreneurs became established in Waterford through marriage to Cherry daughters: Thomas White of Harristown, Co. Meath, Isaac Wood from Clonmel and Thomas Sykes, likely from Birr.

The Nevins Family:

One of the last Midlands families in this trickle south were the Nevinses of Killyglass, on the borders of West Kildare. Their roots in the region extended back to the early 18th century when Archibald Nevins left his native Antrim to take up a large farm near Edenderry (Figure 1)¹. His son, Thomas, secured a farm at Killyglas and married Rachel Pim of Nurney, member of one on the leading Quaker families in the area. Another Pim daughter married, in 1759, Francis Penrose of Ballykeane who settled at Nurney. Thomas Nevins's eldest surviving son, Archibald, married Francis Penrose of Ballykeane, a niece of Francis Penrose, and Archibald's sister Rachel Nevins married William Penrose, a merchant in Waterford.

Affinal Links:

The affinal links with the Pims and Penroses were instrumental in establishing in trade at Waterford five sons of Archibald Nevins following his early death in 1800. Through inheritance and marriage settlements Grace Nevins and her children had considerable interests in 1,000 acres of land along the borders of Kings County and Kildare. They included 237 acres in Killyglass, leased for £330 a year, 225 acres in Balrannet valued at £185 a year, 168 acres in Nurney at £120 a year and 367 acres in Enaghen, nearby. The family's share of the capital derived from the leases of these lands was used by Grace Nevins to establish her eldest son Thomas in the Waterford provisions trade. Probably a central factor in the decision to move to Waterford was the sudden death there in 1801 of Richard Penrose, a provisions merchant and a brother of Grace Nevins. She rented his house and substantial premises off the New Quay in the west end of the city from her other brother Thomas, Richard's executor, for £210 a year. Part of the Penrose estate since 1725, the property was located behind structures fronting the New Quay and the west side of George Street and included dwelling houses on the north side of King Street. In accordance with his mother's marriage settlement and subsequent agreements, Thomas Nevins promised to pay over £2,500 to his four brothers and a dowry of £500 was given to his sister, recently married.² One brother, Archibald, then 21 years old established a mercantile partnership with another Quaker, George Kewson, his former trading partner.⁴ These moves were typical of the nascent Irish merchant, short of capital and struggling to find a secure niche in trade.

Thomas Nevins had secured such a niche in Waterford. His premises were in the heart of an area long dominated by Quaker merchants focusing on the salt provisions trade. Beside him on the quay were his first cousins, the three sons of William Penrose. They had recently inherited from their father the leading house in Waterford's extensive 18th century Newfoundland trade. Nevin's uncle Richard had also been involved in supplying the cod fishery as indeed were most of the other Quaker merchants in the west end. Thomas quickly followed his relatives and neighbours into this specialized branch of Waterford commerce. In March 1806, for example, Nevins advertized 40 tons of Newfoundland cod oil, worth around £800, and some seal oil at his stores on the New Quay.⁴ He took on two other brothers, Pim, (22) and Penrose (19) as partners and employed at least one vessel, the Peggy exclusively in the passenger and provisions trade between Waterford and St. John's. In July, 1807, for example, the Peggy, "a constant trader" was back in Waterford having delivered passengers and provisions to St. John's that spring. Her cargo, containing 100 barrels of train oil, 100 barrels of herring, prime Newfoundland cod, seal skins, calf skins, cow hides, Canadian birch and maple and sugar from the West Indies, was consigned to Thomas, Pim and Penrose Nevins. They advertised the vessel for a second voyage, offering freight to St. John's at 35/- a ton, with room for 50 tons, and accommodation for a few passengers at £5 sterling each plus securities. A week earlier Nevin had written the firm of Ledgard, Gosse, and Chancey of Poole, who had a fishery in Corbonear, Newfoundland, offering provisions.⁵

The Newfoundland Trade:

It was a propitious time to invest in such traffic. The Newfoundland cod fishery was on the crest of a boom as salt fish from other sources was curtailed in the lucrative south European markets due to the war. Prices for Newfoundland cod rose precipitously, even in the Irish market; so did wages for Irish passengers across the Atlantic and the cost of Irish provisions. Under Nevin's management the Peggy made four transatlantic trips a year, bringing out primarily salt pork and butter, bread, flour, oatmeal, porter, soap and candles and salt and passengers and bringing back Newfoundland produce and sometimes fishermen⁶.

Despite their substantial involvement in the Newfoundland trade, no known member of the Irish Quaker merchant community settled in Newfoundland in the 18th century. They worked almost exclusively on a commission basis, supplying primarily southwest English merchants and masters whose vessels called into Waterford each spring en route to Newfoundland and, less frequently, on the homeward journey in the late fall. The Nevinses were the first and only Waterford Quaker family to send family members to Newfoundland and trade there on their own account. In 1807 Archibald Nevins made his final move when he took up residence in St. John's. He was later joined by his younger brothers, Pim and Robert. The Nevinses were also unusual in employing their own vessels in the trade. The attempt towards vertical integration, an important innovation in Waterford Quaker trading tradition, came at a time of transition in the organisation of the fishery. The old migratory mode, involving the departure each spring of thousands of men from southwest England and southeast Ireland, and their return in the fall, was dying. Fewer and fewer fishermen returned after 1800. The permanent population of Newfoundland expanded

rapidly as women joined the exodus. St. John's emerged as a major entrepot for this highly commercial resident fishery. The intensive shipping of supplies and emigrants from Waterford and to a lesser extent, New Ross - and the growth of return cargoes resulted in the migration of merchants from the southeast to St. John's. Residence there became more desirable in the management of a merchant fishery that spanned the Atlantic. Most of the Irish merchants in the town were Catholic, but a number of Protestant houses also established branches there, notably from New Ross. One other family of Quaker ancestry, the Goffs of Tottenham Green and New Ross actually preceded Nevins in St. John's. Fade and William Goff acted as agents for Thomas Nevins prior to Archibald's arrival and Nevins hired a third brother, Jacob Goff, as a clerk.⁷ Some indication of the magnitude yet insecurity of their commercial relationship in St. John's is suggested in a writ issued by Archibald against Fade Goff for £1,073 late in 1807 and another writ by Jacob Goff against Nevins for his wages.

The available evidence does not make clear the nature of the trading relationship between Archibald and his brothers in Waterford. He may have been acting as an agent for the Waterford firm on a salary or commission, or he may have been acting independently, paying his brothers but was not legally part of the firm. Archibald not only acted as a wholesaler and retailer of commodities imported through his brother but also sold on commission goods exported by other Irish merchants. Among his clients was the Quaker house of Harvey, Deaves and Harvey of Youghal and Cork.⁸ Although never a large scale supplier he offered a wide range of goods at his premises, located in the west end of St. John's, near the Goffs.⁹ Apart from the traditional Irish supplies these included American beef and butter, rum and molasses, from the West Indies, tea, coffee, from continental Europe, clothes, footwear, furniture, other household goods, and technology for the fishery.¹⁰

Passenger Trade:

From the outset the Nevinses were also involved in the passenger trade, transporting young men and occasionally families to St. John's. In April, 1807, for example, the Peggy brought out 70 adults from Waterford at five guineas per passenger. Like all resident merchants or agents in the trade, Archibald's task was to direct these migrants or immigrants to their places of employment, collect their fares in the fall after their wages had been paid and remit the resulting bills to the family firm in Waterford.

Nevins did not restrict his trade to St. John's. In 1808 he bought a 30 year old Newfoundland brig, the Success, which he registered in St. John's, using it as a coaster and as a supplement to the Peggy in transatlantic trade. In November, 1809, the Success, just back from Waterford with provisions, sailed back again from Ferryland, south of St. John's, with cod, oil and timber for his brothers, proceeded on to Liverpool for salt and was back in St. John's by late May, 1810. The vessel completed another round trip to Waterford before going to Burin on the south coast that fall for another cargo of cod and oil.

Nevins also prosecuted the northern fishery. Among his clients to the north was a Poole merchant in Trinity and five Irish planters and their servants in distant Labrador whom he supplied in 1810 with boats, fishing gear and provisions in exchange for a promise of their fish in the fall. This system of barter and the extension of credit by merchants characterised the Newfoundland fishery for centuries. Another indication of Nevin's direct involvement in the fish trade was his attendance at the annual meeting of merchants in St. John's to set the prices for fish.¹²

Like the majority of Irish merchants, the bulk of Nevin's Newfoundland trade was confined, however, to St. John's and was overwhelmingly with an immigrant Irish clientele. They included shopkeepers, publicans, coopers, carpenters, tailors, bakers and other artisans from the southeast. Others were boatkeepers and their servants in St. John's or in coves and harbours nearby. Nevins also dealt with Irish merchants in the town such as the Flannery brothers in Stradbally, the shipowner Pat Redmond of Waterford and the leading Irish merchant, James MacBraire, a native of Enniscorthy. An analysis of 48 writs used by or against Archibald Nevins in St. John's between 1808-1813 reveals that 4 were with Greenock merchant houses, 4 with English houses, 4 with settlers of English origins and the remainder, accounting for fully ³90% of the £5,600 involved, were with Irish clients and dealers.

With little experience in the Newfoundland trade, Nevins probably attempted to expand too rapidly. Between 1 November 1810 and 27 March 1811 a number of St. John's merchants and dealers used bills of exchange amounting to £1,760 drawn by Archibald on his brothers in Waterford to pay a Waterford merchant, Richard Fogarty, for provisions. Because Archibald was drawing bills too liberally, payment was refused by Thomas Nevins.¹⁴ The bills were returned. Extensive litigation ensued between the trustees of Archibald's insolvent estate, the Nevinses in Waterford and the various creditors and debtors in St. John's and elsewhere. The leading claimants were the Nevinses in Waterford, who sued the trustees for £1,500 and the firm of Harvey, Deaves and Harvey who sued for £500.

Nevin's insolvency was due to more than a prodigal drawing of bills. Like most merchants he had problems collecting debts from his customers. Writs issued by him, and later by the trustees, amounted to over £2,700, compared to £2,900 against him. The court proceedings were still in progress when Archibald died tragically on 21 October 1812. While attempting to aid another man in trouble on board a ship in St. John's harbour, he fell from the main deck to the lower hold and fractured his skull. He left a widow and four young children. Their substantial house on the waterfront with the shop, store and gardens were advertised the following year and Mrs. Nevins departed St. John's for good with her family.

Archibald's insolvency and death caused a restructuring of the family firm in Waterford. Pim and Penrose established a separate firm in 1812 housed on land leased earlier by Thomas Nevins west of the bridge. The youngest brother, Robert, who, like Pim had been in St. John's prior to Archibald's death, continued to spend his summers there and represented the family in the administration of

the bankrupt estate.¹⁵ He re-established the trade with Waterford, particularly with Thomas. In 1813, for example, Thomas Nevins exported over £2,500 of bread, flour, pork and a little oatmeal which were advertised for auction by his brother in St. John's.¹⁶ Pim and Penrose had made dramatic progress in Waterford trade, shipping over £30,000 of bacon and pork in 1813. By this time, however, most of their commerce was with southern England. In the spring of 1813 Robert had actually accompanied Pim on a trip to Bristol, Southampton and other southern ports in search of markets. He was back in Newfoundland that summer, however and divided his time between St. John's and Waterford over the next five years.¹⁷ Nevins leased a house on the waterfront and became active in local affairs, serving on the jury, joining the Benevolent Irish Society and donating money and food to alleviate the expanding poverty amongst the post-war Irish in St. John's.

Despite the depression in the fish trade that followed the war, Thomas Nevins exported provisions to St. John's on at least three different vessels in 1816 and Robert sent these vessels back to Waterford with Newfoundland produce and some passengers.¹⁸ This pattern of transatlantic family commerce, typical of a number of Irish merchants continuing in the fishery after the war, endured until a fire demolished Robert Nevins's stores on Water Street late in 1817. Nevins departed St. John's for good early in 1818. He appointed the New Ross merchant Samuel Kough, whose wife was a sister of the Goffs, to manage what remained of his business. Unable to pay his debts, Robert was declared insolvent in St. John's. The principal claimant on the estate, as in 1812, was Thomas Nevins, who issued a writ against the trustees for over £2,000.

As a safeguard against creditors, one of the devices resorted to by small scale entrepreneurs such as the Nevinses was to keep family businesses legally separate so that, in the event of bankruptcy, one side could claim against the other. Such a strategy, common amongst the Irish, was seen as skull-duggery and raised the hackles of British traders. Nicholas Gill of St. John's, for example, claimed he was owed between £600 - £700 by Archibald and Pim Nevins, but received only 2/6 in the pound. He called the Nevinses "swindlers and adventurers" and had Robert Nevins thrown in jail in St. John's. He further advised that "the many Waterford adventurers in this place ought to be booted out of the island." Nevins sued, and was awarded £20 damages. No record of Robert's total debts in St. John's is known, but apparently he was owed less than £200 by creditors there, a trifling sum when compared to debts owed Archibald at the time of his demise.¹⁹ He moved to London as a correspondent for Irish merchants in the provisions trade, including his friends, the Keoghs of New Ross.

The collapse of Robert Nevins's enterprise in St. John's terminated the family's interests in Newfoundland trade. Thomas Nevins developed instead his trade with mainland North America, particularly with Canada. As early as 1807 the Nevinses imported barrel staves from Philadelphia, New York and Quebec. The demand for staves had expanded steadily through the 18th century with the growth in Waterford's exports of provisions, almost all of which were packed in Barrels made by coopers in the city. North America had long been a source for staves and other timbers imported by Waterford merchants. The traffic was enhanced with the closure of

the Baltic, the other main source overseas, during the Napoleonic wars. Several Quaker houses were engaged in the transatlantic stave and bulk timber trade, including Nevinses' cousins, the Penroses. In 1808 Thomas Nevins moved his headquarters across the river to Ferrybank where he established a stave and timber yard. This business came to dominate his enterprises in Waterford. Initially much of the timber was shipped from or through St. John's but from 1814 onwards arrived directly from Quebec. It included oak and pine logs deals, plank, laths, potash and pearl ash as well as staves.²⁰

Timber was a high-bulk commodity that required extensive ship space. Hundreds of vessels were engaged in its transport to Irish ports. One of the main problems facing shipowners in this distinctive trade was securing cargoes for the outbound journey. There was little or no market outside Newfoundland in North America for Waterford's traditional exports. After 1815, however, emigration to the mainland ports increased and the timber ships began to take on passengers. Thomas Nevins was one of a dozen or so Waterford merchants who extended their Newfoundland passenger trade to the mainland, returning with timber products instead of cod and cod oil. Advertisements for vessels seeking passengers and freight appeared almost annually in the Waterford newspapers between 1815 and Nevins's death in 1838 and the trade was continued into the 1840's by his sons. Sometimes these notices included comments on Canadian conditions. In 1816, for example, Nevins noted -that artisans, forbidden to enter America, were allowed into Canada.²¹ A few years later he advertised crown land for potential emigrants 18 miles west of the port of Quebec.

As Irish and British settlement expanded deep into the Canadian interior, along the great St. Lawrence river system, timber flowed back in increasing quantities to Irish and British ports. Quebec was at the hub of this far-flung forest empire and dominated the timber trade to Waterford. The vast majority of Nevins's advertisements, and those of other Waterford merchants in Canadian trade, were for timber products from the port of Quebec. Nevins also sent vessels out with passengers to collect timber in St. John and St. Andrews in southern New Brunswick, to Charlottetown in Prince Edward Island and to the Miramichi in northern New Brunswick, all important areas of Irish settlement. St. Andrews was advertised as ideal for emigrants bound for Boston but Nevins was also involved in the traffic in passengers and staves between Waterford and the American ports, notably Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Thomas Nevins acted as a broker for British and North American shippers; he also employed ships of his own. They included the Penrose, Thomas, Mary, Nassau, Argyle and General Hewitt, amongst the largest vessels belonging to the port of Waterford in the first half of the 19th century.²² These vessels were almost exclusively committed to the timber trade. The Mary, for example, made three round trips between Waterford and Quebec in 1819. Apart from passengers in the spring, Nevins's ships generally sailed in ballast, although sometimes they carried commodities such as salt, glass and glue. Most of the captains and probably the crews employed were from Waterford and its hinterland. Nevins specialised in supplying ships' victuals at Ferrybank and in the sale of vessels built in Canada. He was among the pioneers of steam navigation, advertising with his brother Pim a weekly service to Liverpool as early as 1831.

In contrast to most Quaker merchants, however, Nevins abandoned the salt provisions trade after the collapse of his Newfoundland connections. Although his brothers Robert and John were both in London as agents in the provisions trade there is no evidence of Thomas's involvement. He was not, for example, amongst the list of 100 exporters in Waterford in 1827. Much of his considerable property in Ferrybank and Waterford was leased to corn and bacon merchants.²³

During the earlier part of his mercantile career, Thomas Nevins did invest in one of Waterford's most pivotal and traditional of trades, the importation and refining of salt for the preservation of local meat and butter and of fish in Canada. In 1804 Nevins advertised for an experienced salt boiler and was recorded as an importer of white and rock salt and rough salt petre from Liverpool.²⁴ A few years later he established a partnership with Henry Scott, formerly a prominent miller in Kilkenny city, to manufacture salt beside the old slip in Ferrybank. They invested £500 each and each agreed to re-invest $\frac{1}{4}$ of the profits from the trade. Salt refining required considerable capital and Nevins was forced more than once to mortgage property to keep the enterprise afloat.

The Quaker merchant community was prominent in the reclamation and development of marshlands along the river west of the old city during the 18th century. Among the pioneer developers of the west end were the Penroses who leased an extensive section of the recently surveyed lots west of Barronstrand St. from the Corporation. Land rents were low but head tenants like the Penroses agreed to build a quay - called the New Quay - along the northern boundaries of their lots and build around allotted spaces for streets and lanes. More than a dozen Quaker families followed the Penroses to the west end of Waterford. Thomas Nevins was amongst the last of these, renting part of Penrose's former timber yard, used by the family for some time as a provisions premises. Shortly afterwards he advertised one of the houses on this property for rent. It contained six bedrooms, two parlours, a kitchen with city water, a laundry room, a good wine cellar, and was well furnished.²⁵ The premises were used by Nevins in 1806 as security for capital drawn from time to time in sums not exceeding £1,000 on a London merchant house to continue trade. Nevins himself leased two undeveloped lots bounded by gardens on Summerland road (Summerhill) the following year. Here he built some houses, sheds and a salt and bacon cellar. The new property was mortgaged by Nevins for £1,500 from his London bankers in 1810, together with his lands in Kildare for £2,850.²⁶ Such strategies were typical of Waterford merchants in their perennial search for funds to finance trade. Nevins demised the Summerhill property to his brothers, Pim and Penrose. They established a salt meat export trade there and operated a timber yard, offices and stores on Charles Street. In 1817 the Corporation leased an extra half an acre to Thomas, beside his existing property, and his two brothers rented yet another lot adjoining. A year or so later Penrose Nevins was dead, the firm was bankrupt and several of their properties were advertised by Thomas for rent or for sale. A complex round of property transfers involving Thomas, Pim, various tenants, investors and creditors ensued. Pim retained part of his Charles St. premises and continued to trade there, sometimes jointly with Thomas, until a second bankruptcy in 1833 forced him out of business. Moreover, Thomas Nevins retained his interests in these properties and in 1838 bequeathed them to his son²⁷

In a world of frequent failures and changing fortunes, property was a relatively stable commodity, not readily relinquished.

Nevins's principal premises were across the Suir at Ferrybank. In 1808 he leased a walled lot with a 100' frontage on the river from the Alcocks, a leading landed family in Waterford. Two years later he rented an adjoining lot, containing 144' on the river jointly with Henry Scott. Here they built an extensive salt works and Nevins also established a stave and timber yard. Among his neighbours were Joseph Jacob and Richard Pope, both, like Nevins, shipowners engaged in the Canadian timber trade. Nevins quickly augmented his holdings, leasing several fields in Sion Hill, behind his premises, and building a villa there. Short of capital in 1812, he mortgaged his interests in the Ferrybank premises and land in south Tipperary for a loan of £480 from his partner. Three years later the partnership was dissolved, in keeping with the original contract. By then, however, Nevins owed Scott £3,400 and an elaborate schedule of repayments was devised, using the Salt House Concerns as security. Nevins persisted with the enterprise, borrowing money from a Dartmouth banker through contacts in the Newfoundland trade. He succeeded in retaining his Ferrybank property and later built a steam engine mill there. In 1836 Nevins mortgaged the mill, a new house by the ferry slip and a premises nearby. But in 1842 these properties were passed on by his widow to their son who lived in Ferrybank and had inherited the family trade.

Like most merchants, Nevins acquired interests in properties in the city which were not used for personal accommodation or family trade. Some of these properties were valuable and the profits probably used from time to time as merchant capital. They included two dwelling houses on John Street, leased at £14 a year, a premises on Quay Lane worth £37 a year which Nevins improved "at considerable expense" and then sold for £300, a premises on St. John's Hill costing £73 a year which he mortgaged for £1,125 and a premises in Kilkenny city with an annual rental value of £100. He also acquired an interest in the Abbey House just east of Ferrybank, and nine acres of land which his widow sold for £700. In 1826 Nevins paid £190 for the interests of his bankrupt cousins the Penroses, in two houses on High Street. These he bequeathed to his son. He also purchased the Penroses' share in the lands of Nurney and Balrannet and these lands, amounting to over 360 acres, were still in the possession of his representatives in 1853.²⁸ Nevins's son inherited interests in an extensive premises on the New Quay through Hannah Fayle, the daughter of a Quaker merchant who married Thomas Nevins in 1811. Thomas Fayle Nevins was probably the last of the family in Waterford trade. A brother, Penrose, moved to Liverpool and became a merchant, following in the footsteps of two uncles and a granduncle. Other members of the clan were to follow, part of a steady migration of Quaker sons and daughters seeing fewer opportunities for advancement through trade in their native city.

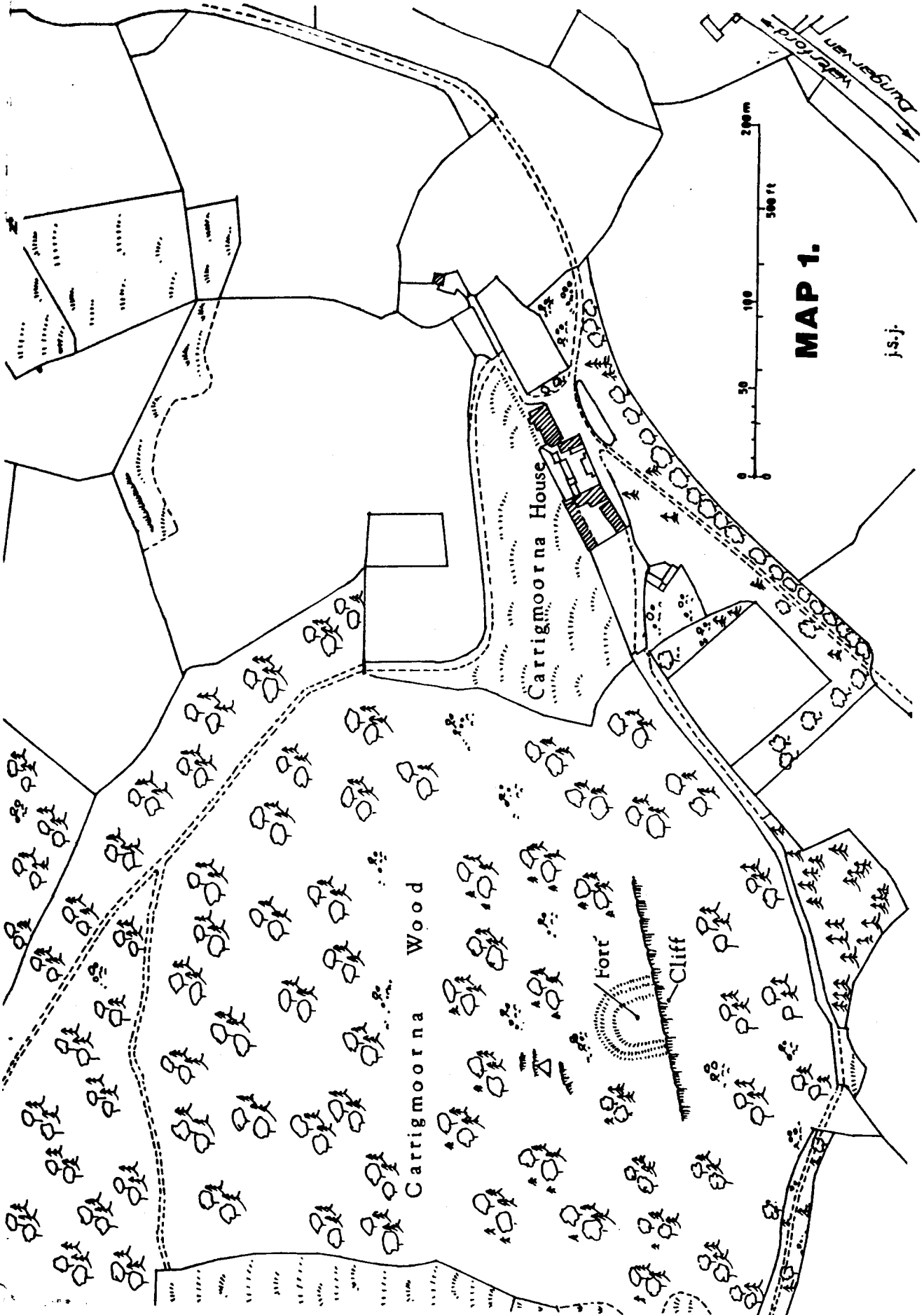
The Nevins Family, 1800 - 1840.

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MAP 1.

j.s.j.

An Inland Cliff-top Fort in Co. Waterford.

John S. Jackson.

(1) INTRODUCTION:

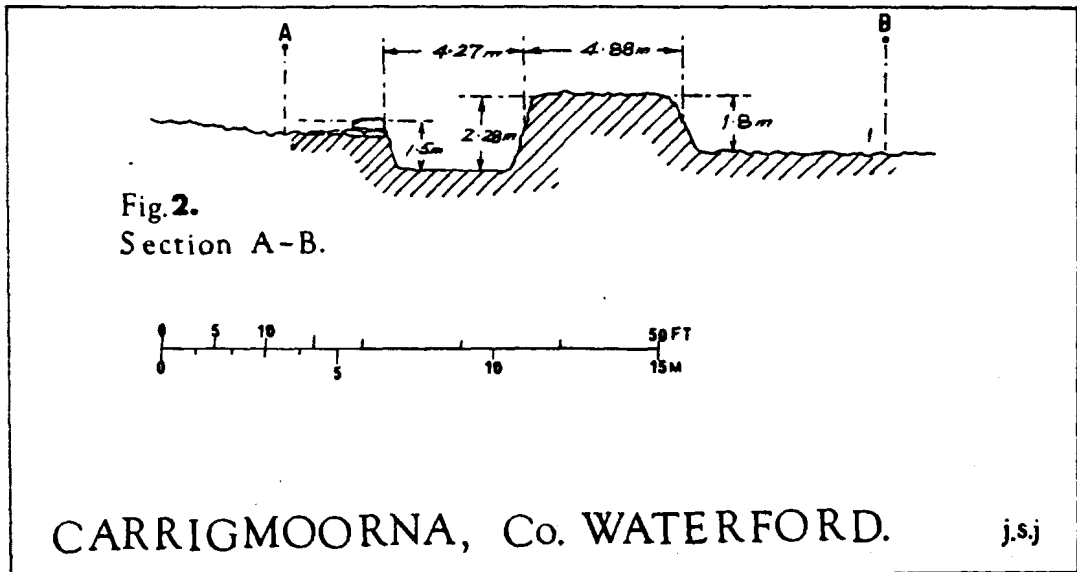
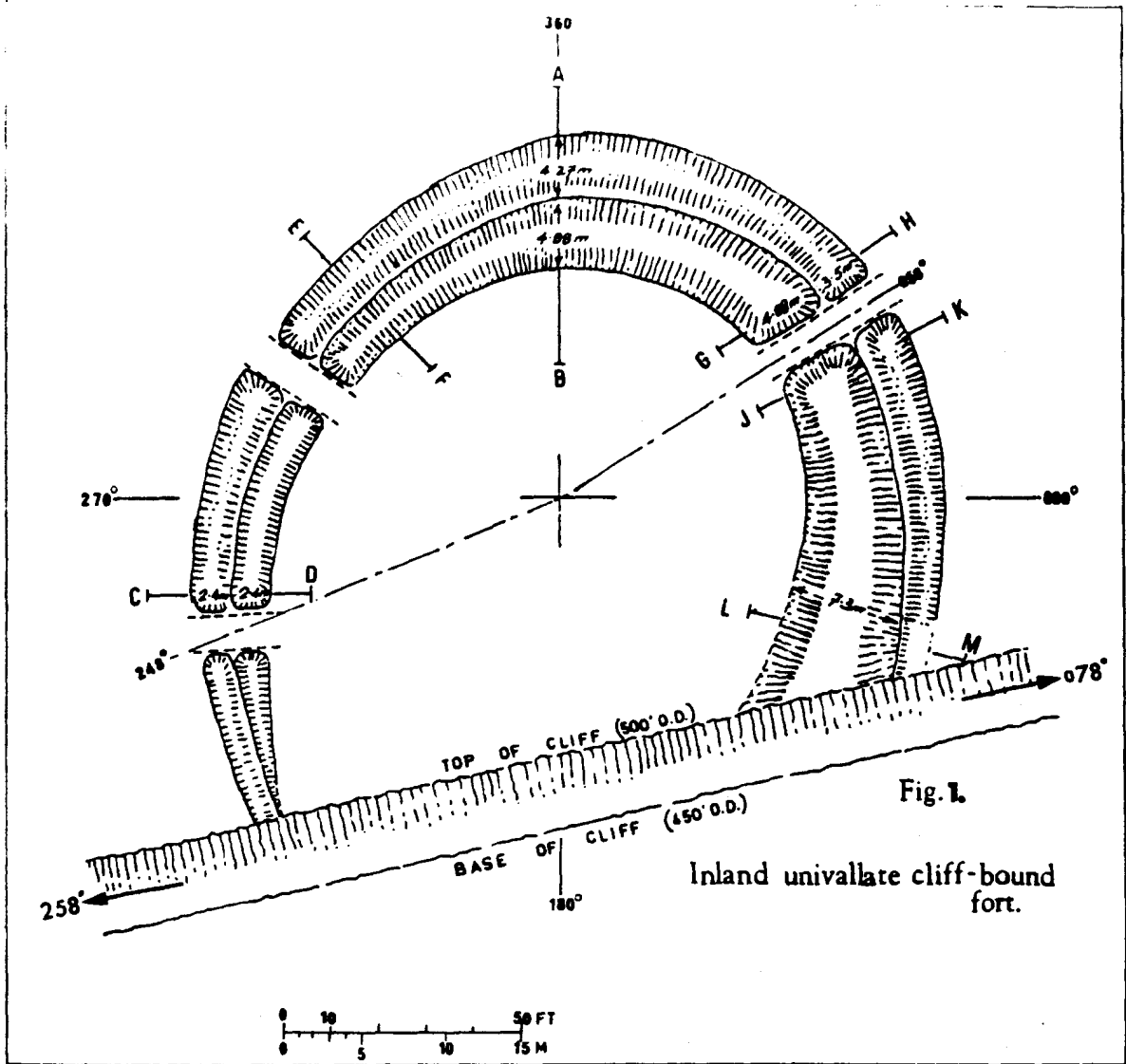
In 1966, when surveying the locations of a series of exploratory diamond drill holes recently completed in Carrigmoorna and Gortavicory townlands, (6" O.S. Waterford quarter sheet 23/4), the drill hole sites were surveyed relative to a triangulation point, (577 feet (176m.) O.D.), located at the highest point in Carrigmoorna Wood. (See Map 1). In clearing sight-lines through undergrowth for taking compass bearings and to facilitate measurements by tape on the ground, an interesting 'fort' was discovered near the southern boundary of Carrigmoorna Wood, cut in rock and bounded on the south side by a 15.24m (50') cliff. The structure was considered to be sufficiently important to merit returning subsequently to the site in order to carry out preliminary measurements which were completed with a hand-held compass and measuring tape. These measurements were used in the preparation of Figures 1 - 3. The survey of the 'fort' must therefore be regarded as provisional and it is accepted that a future detailed survey will probably modify the dimensions presented here.

There can be little doubt that the failure of successive aerial photographic surveys to reveal this site has been due to its unusual location within mature woodland. Less understandable is the apparent absence of any local tradition connected with it. The landowner, whose property includes Carrigmoorna Wood, was unaware of its existence, notwithstanding its being located less than 300m from Carrigmoorna House, (See Map 1). Mr. Mongey, pharmacist in Dungarvan and a noted local antiquarian, was also unaware of its existence, (in 1966).

In his "Placenames of the Decies" the Rev. P. Power, (p.148), interprets the townland name, (Carrigmoorna), as 'Carraig Muirne' or 'Muirne's Rock'. Hennessy, (1865, 83), interprets Carrigmoorna as "the rock of Morna. This Morna was, perhaps, the father of Goll MacMorna, the rival of Fin MacCumhail, who was the recognised chief of the Fenian band called Clann Baiskny, while Goll was looked up to as the leader of the Clanna Morna."

(2) LOCATION OF SITE:

Carrigmoorna Hill is located on the north side of the main Waterford-Dungarvan road (T12) and lies some 10½km. from Dungarvan and 2¼km. north-north-east of The Pike, a well known local landmark and clearly shown on the half inch map, (Sheet No.22). Carrigmoorna House is shown on the half inch sheet as also is the 577' triangulation point on Carrigmoorna Hill. Carrigmoorna Wood is shown by the appropriate cartographic symbols but is not named as such. The National Grid reference to the location of the 'fort' is: X308996 and on the twenty five inch sheet, (25" O.S. Waterford 23.12),



CARRIGMOORNA, Co. WATERFORD.

j.s.j

the centre of the 'fort' is 6.8cms. from the western sheet margin and 6.4cms. from the southern margin.

(3) TOPOGRAPHIC SETTING OF THE 'FORT':

Carrigmoorna is a modest hill which lies on the north-east-south-west trending belt (Caledonoid trend) of the complex sequence of volcanic and pyroclastic rocks which runs across south-east Ireland from Wicklow Head and Arklow Head on the east coast to that part of the Waterford coast which extends from Tramore Bay westwards to Stradbally. The volcanic/Pyroclastic succession of rocks is of Caradocian age, belonging to the Upper Ordovician System and, because of its general resistance to erosion, it imparts an obvious 'grain' to the landscape in the south-east of the country, conspicuous in the geomorphology of Counties Wicklow, Wexford and Waterford.

Carrigmoorna rises to 176m (577') above Ordnance Datum. Notwithstanding this modest elevation, the hill is a conspicuous topographic feature due to its relative height above the low ground surrounding it and from the ground flanking its summit it commands a wide panoramic view over the low flat ground to the south and south-east which backs the Waterford coast, part of the 70m 'coastal peneplain'. (see Orme (1964) who describes erosion surfaces in the area south and south-west of Dungarvan.) At the Waterford-Dungarvan road, due east of Carrigmoorna, for example, the elevation is at 90m O.D. (296'), indicating an elevational difference between road and hill summit of 86m (281').

(4) DESCRIPTION OF 'FORT':

The Carrigmoorna structure is a univallate 'fort' of modest dimensions, its internal diameter (I.D.) ranging from 31m. to 32.6m, (average 32m.), and its external diameter (E.D.) ranging from 39m. to 48m., (average 42.5m.) .

TABLE 1: Internal and external diameter of Carrigmoorna 'fort'.

	(A) Internal diameter, (to proximal face of rampart). (I.D.)	(B) External diameter, (to distal rim of fosse). (E.D.)	(C) I.D. expressed as a percentage of E.D.
(i)	31.09m	40.23m	77.3%
(ii)	32.00m	39.00m	82.0%
(iii)	32.60m	48.16m	67.7%
Averages.....	31.9m	42.5m	75.6%

The internal diameter expressed as a percentage of the external diameter ranges from 67.7 to 82 percent, averaging 75.6 percent, (See Table 1.) In expressing the internal diameter as a percentage of

the external diameter it is obvious that these values will be maximum in the case of those 'forts' lacking an external fosse or in univallate structures. O'Riordain, (1979, 30), observed that " a triple ramparted fort may have an external diameter of about 120m while the innerspace is only 45m in diameter....." Here the I.D. expressed as a percentage of the E.D. is 37.5 percent, or half the average value for Carrigmoorna, (See Table 1, col. 'C'). The space enclosed within the rampart or bank at Carrigmoorna is a modest 0.08ha. (804m²): (r=16m; see Table 1, col. 'A').

(4) (a) THE FOSSE:

The 'fort' at Carrigmoorna is bounded on the south by a 15.24m cliff. The fosse is cut in a coarse, angular agglomerate (very coarse volcanic ash) with angular fragments of felsite and sandstone and belonging to the Carrigaghalla Group (Lower Caradocian) of the Ordovician rocks of Co. Waterford, (Reed, (1899, 1900). The rocks are strongly cleaved by a well developed fracture cleavage which strikes 070° 1 250°, dipping northwestwards (340°) at 60°. The cliff has developed as a result of differential weathering of the rocks, the resistant agglomerates forming the high ground occupied by the 'fort' to the north, less resistant, easily eroded black graphitic shales forming the low ground to the south. The walls of the fosse, although still steep in places, must originally have been essentially vertical. The floor of the fosse is now covered with fallen rock so that its depth is reduced and the values presented in Table 2, (Cols. 'B' and 'C'), are conservative. Excavation will eventually reveal the

TABLE 2: Dimensions of fosse and rampart of Carrigmoorna 'fort'.

Section: (See Fig.1)	Fosse. (See Figs. 2 & 3)			Rampart (bank) (See Figs. 2 & 3.)		
	(A) Width.	(B) Depth, (distal face):	(C) Depth, (proximal face):	(D) Width.	(E) Height, (at distal face):	(F) Height, (at proximal face):
A-B	4.27m	1.50m	2.28m	4.88m	2.28m	1.8m
C-D	2.40m	0.53m	1.07m	2.40m	1.07m	0.3m
E-F	3.35m	0.68m	1.37m	3.05m	1.37m	0.46m
G-H	3.50m	0.61m	1.22m	4.88m	1.22m	0.46m
J-K	3.35m	0.23m	0.46m	5.33m	0.46m	0.46m
L-M	(Obliterated by infill.)			7.92m?	(Rampart collapsed.)	

(Note: Depth of fosse at proximal face (C) = Height of rampart at distal face (E).)

true depth. At its deepest, i.e., Section A-B, Figs. 1 and 2, the fosse is 1.5m deep at the outer (distal) face but, coupled with the excavated material built up on the inner (proximal) face, a 2.28m rampart is created. Elsewhere the fosse is considerably reduced in depth, the amount of infilling increasing progressively southwards so that, ultimately, the fosse is obliterated at Section L-M. Here the rampart

(or bank) is interpreted as being 7.3m wide but part of this width may extend onto the infilled fosse.

(4) (b) THE RAMPART, (or bank).

The rampart is most impressive at Section A-B on the north side of the 'fort' where it is 2.28m high (distally), 4.88m wide and 1.8m high (proximally). (See Fig.2). As it is predominantly material from the rampart which collapses into the fosse it is evident that the height of the rampart also decreases southwards and that, concurrently, the depth of the fosse diminishes, due to progressive infill from the unstable rampart.

(4) (c) MORPHOLOGY OF 'FORT':

The 'fort' is horse-shoe shaped, or 'C' or 'D'- shaped, an incomplete circle truncated by the cliff on the south, (see Fig.1). That this shape is original is self evident and is patently not due to erosion of the cliff resulting in the northward recession of the cliff-line. Dr. Barry Raftery has alluded to this fact (in litt.) and refers to "the oft-expressed idea that Dun Aengus was once circular until half of it fell into the sea.... but now with Carrigmoorna and Cahercommaun, both sites definitely built up against a cliff (edge), the case for accepting Dun Aengus as original is strengthened."

(4) (d) ENTRANCES TO 'FORT':

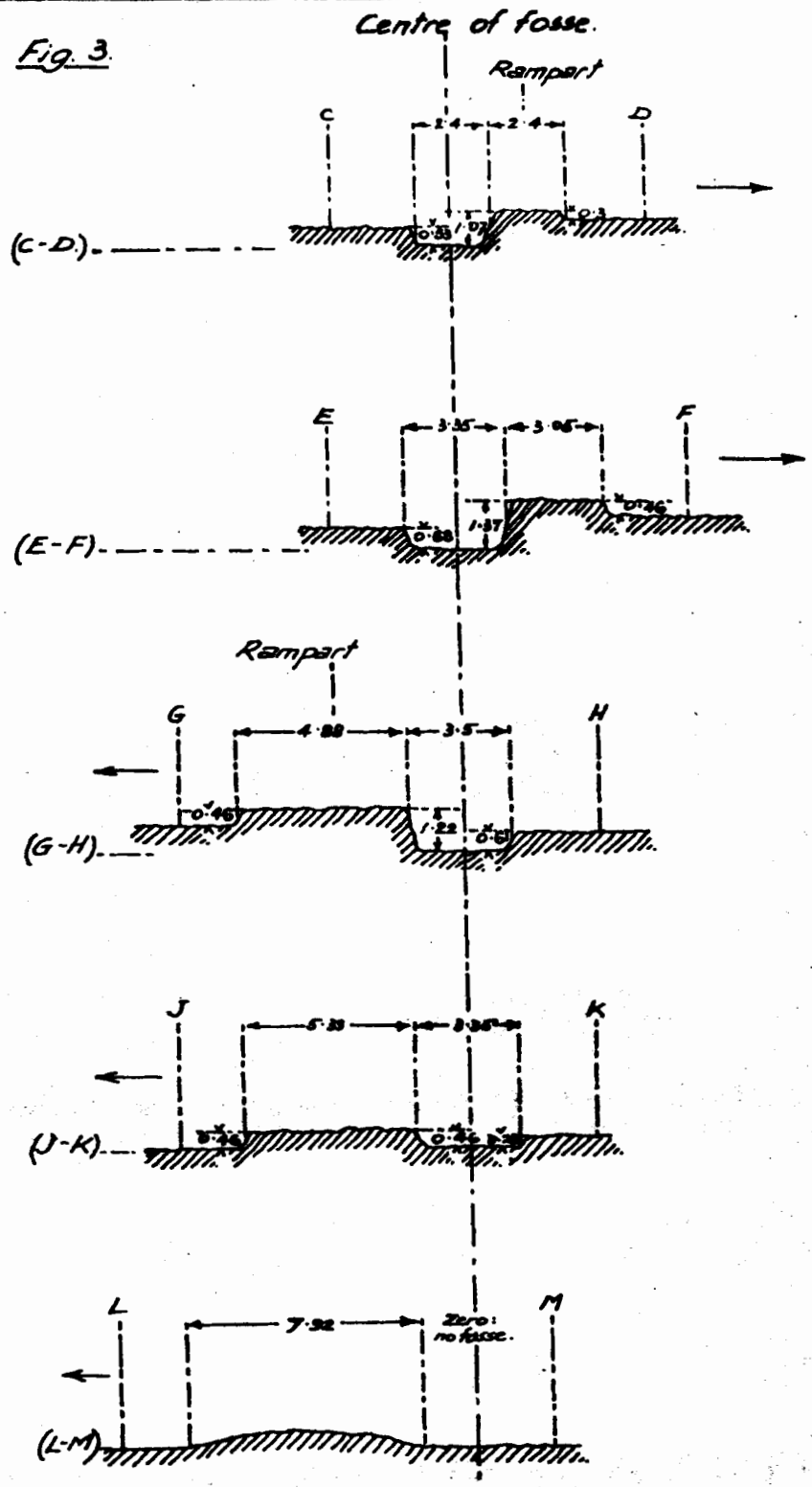
There are three distinct entrances to the 'fort' which are orientated approximately north-east, west and north-west. The presence of three entrances would seem to militate against the interpretation of the role of the 'fort' as exclusively a defensive one. Also the siting of the 'fort' in relation to the summit of Carrigmoorna, (176m O.D.), is interesting as the 'fort' does not encircle the summit and is not a contour-controlled structure. In fact the 'fort' is sited on sloping ground, lying south-east of the hill below it. The siting would effectively reduce the defensive role of the 'fort' and these several factors, taken in conjunction with each other, may suggest a ritual role also.

(5) TYPOLOGY AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE CARRIGMOORNA 'FORT':

Classification of 'ring'field structures is notoriously unsatisfactory, a situation in which semantics is a contributory factor. For example, the term 'fort' is at best ambiguous and frequently inappropriate. It is impossible to reconcile the Carrigmoorna 'fort' with the classification of hill-forts proposed by Raftery in 1972, (p.39), viz.,

- "Class I - Simple univallate sites of earth or stone with or without accompanying ditch.
- Class II - Sites with widely-spaced multivallate defences:
(a) hill-top, (b) cliff-top.
- Class III - Inland promontory forts. "

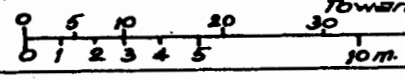
Fig. 3.



Carrigmoorna, Co. Waterford.
Sections C-D to L-M.

j.s.j.

Scale:



Arrows are directed
 towards interior of ring fort.

The Carrigmoorna structure occupies an inland cliff-top site and therefore, although not possessing 'widely-spaced multivallate defences', Class II(b) would appear to be the most appropriate category. Although Carrigmoorna might be loosely described as an "inland promontory fort" it cannot be reconciled as such with "sites where the natural defences are such that artificial defences are only required along one side of a steep-sided plateau." (my italics), (Raftery, (1972), 47). Therefore, by expanding Raftery's Class II to include univallate sites, this Class could embrace the Carrigmoorna site. Perhaps because of the inherent nature of the 'forts' no classification system can be entirely satisfactory. Dr. Barry Raftery (in litt.) observed, a propos the Carrigmoorna site, that it "has elements of promontory fort, hill fort and ring fort"

In this context it is of interest to note that Michael Gibbons of the Sites and Monuments ~~Record~~ Office of the Office of Public Works has remarked (in litt.) that "the Carrigmoorna site could be considered part of an expanded Class II (of Raftery) univallate cliff top hill fort. On the other hand it is similar to some sites included as inland promontory forts in the Donegal survey....." (See Table 3 below). Michael Gibbons' suggestion that the Carrigmoorna site could be described as "a univallate, cliff-bound enclosure" has the semantic advantage of omitting the term 'fort' altogether.

For convenience of reference the enclosure at Carrigmoorna has been referred to in the foregoing text as a 'fort', the term being enclosed in inverted commas to convey the provisional nature of the assignment. To call it a 'ring fort' would inevitably infer an Early Christian, or later, date. The criteria which can be adduced to demonstrate that the structure is not a 'hill fort' (sensu stricta) are: (a) the 'fort' does not encircle the summit of Carrigmoorna hill and, as a consequence, is not a contour-controlled structure, (b) the 'fort' is sited on sloping ground and lies some 60m to the south-east of the summit and some 24m below it and (c) the enclosure is small, with an internal diameter of about 32m and an external diameter (to the outer face of the fosse) of about 42½m. The area enclosed by the rampart (or bank) is some 0.08ha. Although the internal diameter is greater than the average ring fort, 15-20m, it is considerably less than the average hill fort, in excess of 45m. Notwithstanding these reservations it is considered that the Carrigmoorna structure is a hill-fort (sensu lato) and Michael Gibbons (in litt.) has remarked that "it (cliff-top hill-forts) clearly belongs to the same tradition of defensive sites as hill and promontory forts...." A modification of Raftery's classification could take the form of a dichotomous system such as that presented below. (The dichotomous choices for Carrigmoorna are underlined in each case):

			<u>Univallate</u>	<u>Chevaux de frise absent.</u>	
		<u>Stone</u>		Chevaux de frise present	
Hill-forts) (Class II(a))	<u>Inland</u>	Cliff-top fort.	Multivallate		
			Univallate		
		Earthen	Multivallate		
			Stone	Multivallate	
	<u>Coastal</u>		Univallate		
		Earthen	Multivallate		
			Multivallate		

In terms of this classification Carrigmoorna would be a univallate, stone constructed, inland cliff-top fort without a chevaux de frise.

Cliff-top hill-forts are comparatively rare in Ireland. Raftery, (1972), on a countrywide basis, listed thirteen "widespaced multivallate" hill-top hill-forts, (Class IIa), two cliff-top hill-forts (IIb) and three inland promontory forts (III). In the intervening fifteen years since the publication of that paper a number of county archaeological surveys or archaeological inventories have been published which add considerably to these numbers, (see Table 3 below). However, the paucity of cliff-top forts should be noted: they represent 7 percent of the three categories tabulated below.

TABLE 3: Promontory and cliff-top forts.

<u>County.</u>	<u>Reference.</u>	<u>Promontory Forts:</u>		<u>Cliff-top:</u>
		<u>Coastal:</u>	<u>Inland</u>	
Donegal	Lacey, (1983,218-230)	27+(4)*	4.	1.++
Dingle Peninsula	Cuppage,(1986,81-96)	19.	2.	-
Louth	Buckley,(1987, 27-28)	1+(1)	5.	3.
Meath	Moore,(1987, 48)	-	5.	1.
TOTALS:		47+(5)	16.	5.

*Number of problematical or destroyed sites are in parenthesis.

++ Listed as 5 inland promontory forts but at least one is a cliff-top fort.

(6) DATE OF CARRIGMOORNA FORT:

It is impossible at present to assign a date to the Carrigmoorna site and this will remain conjectural until the matter is resolved by excavation. Raftery, (1972,51), noted that "the problem of dating Irish hill-forts in general is rendered extremely difficult because of the limited amount of excavation which has up to now (1972) taken place." However, Michael Gibbons, (in litt.), has observed that "a cultural context for (Carrigmoorna) is provided by a probably univallate hillfort site at Garrabaun just a few miles due south and the large number of promontory forts in Waterford." (Condit and Gibbons, in Decies XXXVI).). This would suggest an Iron Age date for Carrigmoorna. (Garrabaun is some 1½km south of The Pike, a location already referred to in Sect. (2) above.)

There is also a strong resemblance between the cliff-top location of Carrigmoorna to Cahercommaun in Co. Clare, though the latter is multivallate. Raftery, (op.cit.,51), observes that "since Cahercommaun is the only Class II fort as yet excavated (in Ireland) its date is important...." He re-examines the evidence from Cahercommaun and presents a compelling argument for an Iron Age date

rather than the 9th century A.D. date proposed by Hencken, (1938).

Therefore, although a date cannot be assigned to Carrigmoorna at present it is considered that it is probably of Iron Age.

(7) Acknowledgements:

It is with pleasure that I record my thanks to Michael Gibbons for reminding me of Carrigmoorna and prompting me to write it up, to Dr. Barry Raftery for commenting on preliminary drawings and for making valuable observations on them and to Mr. Noel Cassidy for inviting me to publish this paper in Decies.

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The Waterford Steamship Company in the 1880s

Michael O'Donnell.

This is not a history of the Waterford Steamship, rather it is intended as a segment towards a history. And it may, in its own way, show the availability of transport between Waterford and various ports in Britain, though in this decade there were other shipping companies sailing between Waterford and Irish and British ports.

The article has been compiled from a series of advertisements, consequently there is no reference to the numbers of passengers who may have availed of the sailings or the tonnage of the goods carried. But over the decade one can perceive which were the paying runs and which had to be axed. Both the Bristol and the Liverpool sailings did survive the various changes; and, of course, the local New Ross/Duncannon sailings. Both goods and passengers were taken on board for each sailing, and the company did underline the need to ensure punctual sailings by having all goods aboard two hours before the ship left harbour and all cattle should be boarded at least one hour.

The advertisements are taken from the Clonmel Chronicle of the following dates: 5th Oct. 1870, 3rd Oct. 1877, and 8th Oct. 1879. Some account of the steamers mentioned in this article can be gleaned from an article by the late J.S. Carroll in Decies No.7 (May 1978).

To Bristol:

In 1870 there was a direct sailing to Bristol on each Tuesday of the month, leaving at either 3.30 in the afternoon or 9 in the morning. There was a return sailing from Bristol on each Thursday departing at either 8 in the morning or 4 in the afternoon. The advertisement informs us that a cabin fare on the vessel was 15s., with servants and children costing 10s. The return fare was 25s. which charge was valid for one month. Deck passengers paid 7s.6d. Females, we are told, were in attendance on the ladies' cabins. We are not informed what the freight charges were.

By 1877 the sailings to Bristol had increased to two days a week each way: Tuesdays and Fridays and returning Wednesdays and Saturdays of each week. The outward sailing times ranged between seven in the morning and two in the afternoon. The fares still remained at the 1870s prices. Two years later, in 1879, the sailings to Bristol had not changed from those of 1877. The fares were also the same.

To Liverpool:

The sailings from Waterford to Liverpool, in 1870, were on Tuesday and Friday of each week, while the return journey from Liverpool was also on Tuesday and Friday. The sailing times varied considerably and may well have been influenced by the tides. For the journey the cabin fare was 15s., and children and servants cost 10s. On this route, also, females were in attendance on the ladies' cabins. Access to the deck only cost 7s.6d. for adults and 4s. for children. In Liverpool the steamers tied up at the Clarence Dock.

The Waterford/Liverpool route, by 1877, had had its sailings increased. The vessel now journeyed outwards on Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday of each week. The ship left the Waterford harbour anytime between 10am. and 3pm. The return sailings from Liverpool had also increased: Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday. On this route the fares had risen since 1870. A cabin now cost 17s.6d. For servants travelling with families, and for children, the cabin charge was now 10s. The deck only fare was 10s. with children being charged 5s. Ships continued to berth at the Clarence Dock.

The sailings had been reduced from the four of 1877 to three (Monday, Wednesday and Friday) in 1879. And from Liverpool the steamer sailed on the same three days. The fares had not changed from those of two years previously.

To London:

On every Thursday, at four in the afternoon, a steamer left Waterford for London according to the advertisement of 1870. A return run was made from London on each Wednesday, leaving that place at eight in the evening. The cabin fare for the journey was 20s., and access to the deck cost 10s. The advertisement did not quote children's fares or return fares. The loading berths in London were the British and Foreign Steam Wharf, Lower East Smithfield and the West Kent Wharf, Southwark. This run also serviced Plymouth. Seven years on, by 1877, the service to both Plymouth and London had been dropped.

To Plymouth:

This route was serviced by the steamers plying between Waterford and London. As with London, the steamer left Waterford for Plymouth at 4pm. on each Thursday; the boat left Plymouth for Waterford at 8pm. on Thursday of each week. In the Plymouth advertisement of 1870 the company recorded that they were in a position to carry goods for Portsmouth, Southampton and Falmouth. The cabin fare on this run was 20s. while the deck passenger paid 10s. By 1877 this service, too, was dropped.

To Newport:

A weekly service between Waterford and Newport in Wales had

The Waterford Steamship Company in the 1870s.

been introduced in 1879. The advertisement does not, unfortunately, give the day of the sailing; nor are the charges listed.

To Belfast:

In 1870 the company had a service to Belfast. The steamers left Waterford at 2pm. on each Saturday of the month, and the return journey from Belfast was on each Tuesday on times that ranged between noon and 6pm. The cabin fare was 15s. with a deck passenger paying 7s.6d. For children the charge was 4s. For their berthing facilities at Belfast the company availed of Donegal Quay. The steamers listed for service on this route were the same as those on the Waterford/Plymouth/London route, though it is hardly likely that the company sailed its boats via Belfast to London. This service had been dispensed with by 1877.

To Dungarvan:

The company, in 1877, began a sailing to Dungarvan. The boat left Waterford at various times between 7am. and 2pm. on Monday, Wednesday and Friday of each week. The return sailings from Dungarvan were on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. Again, the passenger charges for this run are not quoted. By 1879 the Dungarvan sailings had been reduced to one day in the week and the steamer now sailed onwards to Youghal. The sailing from Waterford was at 4pm. on Saturdays with the boat leaving Youghal, to return via Dungarvan, on Mondays at times as the tide permitted.

The Local Services:

The steamship company ran two local services. The first was to New Ross. This sailed on each day except Sundays, leaving Waterford at 3.15pm. The sailing from New Ross, which was also on a daily basis, left that place at 8.45am. The other service was to Duncannon. The steamer left Waterford for this latter place at 3.20pm. on every day except Sunday. The sailing from Duncannon was at 8.15am. Charges for those routes are not quoted in the advertisements. The company had not in any way changed its local services in 1877, and they were still unchanged by the end of the decade in 1879.

Offices and Representatives:

The Waterford Steamship Company had its head-office at The Mall, Waterford.

At Bristol, in both 1870 and 1877, its offices were at 32 Prince Street. In 1879 it had moved to temporary offices at 55 Excise Avenue, Queen Square. In London its representative was Anthony G. Robinson, 20 Mark Lane; and the loading points were at Smithfield and Southwark. Henry J. Waring, The Wharf, Milbay, represented the company in Plymouth. The company's agent in Newport was Thomas & Co., Dock Street. The Liverpool offices for the years 1870 and 1877 were at 23 Brunswick Street, Washington

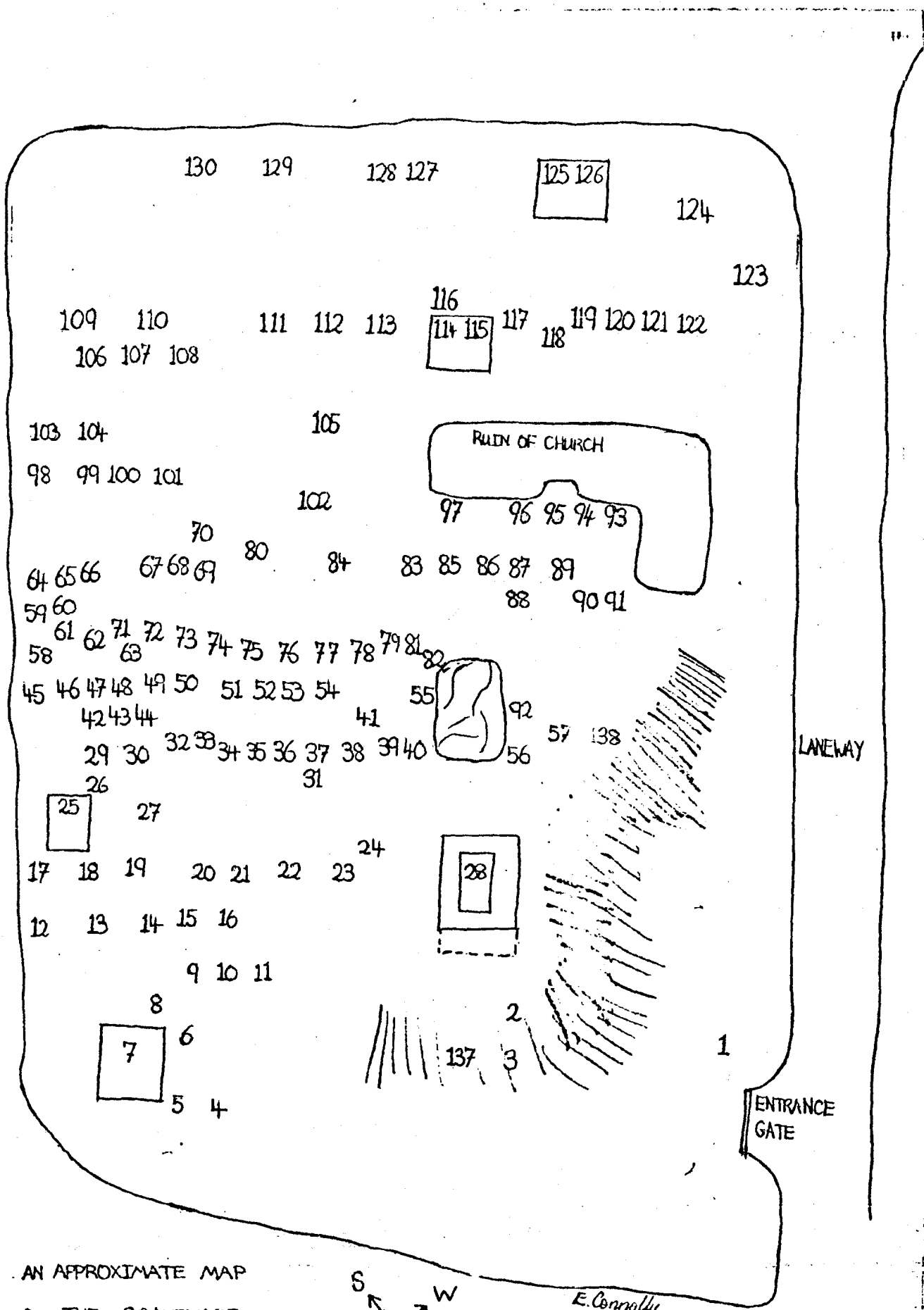
Buildings. They had, in 1879, been shifted to 20 Water Street in that city.

While sailing to Belfast, the company was represented there by R. Hendedson(sic) and Sons, Donegal Quay. In Dungarvan Mr. T. Downey, Main Street was their agent, though it is not known where the company's offices were situated in Youghal. Nor do we know the whereabouts of the offices in either New Ross or Duncannon.

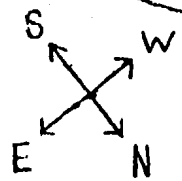
The Ships:

The advertisements of both 1870 and 1879 disclose the names of the company's steamers.

In 1870 on the Bristol run the company used the Gipsy and the Calypso. Between Waterford and Liverpool, in the same year, the company used the Lara and the Lion. The Lion was a screw steamer which had operated on the London service for the company (see Carroll, Decies, No.7, p.6). The two steamers on the London route were the Aurora and the Vesta. These also serviced Plymouth. The company's advertisement of 1870 notes that these two steamers were also used on the journey between Waterford and Belfast. We are not told the names of the ships on the local services. In the later 1879 advertisement the company listed its steamers without specifying the route of each. They were: Reginald, Comeragh, Lara, Zephyr, Ranger, Ida, Tintern, Erin, Ross and Express.



AN APPROXIMATE MAP
OF THE GRAVEYARD



E. Connolly

Gravestone Inscriptions at Old Rathgormack Graveyard.

Edmond Connolly & Gerard Greene.

Rathgormack parish is situated in the north of County Waterford close to the Comeragh mountains in the barony of Upperrthird. The site of the "old" Rathgormack church is to be found one half mile north of the present village near Rathgormack castle and contains a graveyard of some interest.

The inscribed headstones, broadly speaking span the period from the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the present century by which time another graveyard was being availed of.

Apart from the genealogical value of such a record we are afforded an insight into Irish life during this period. For instance, we must assume a period of relative prosperity in the area during the latter half of the 18th century and up to 1820 approximately as marked by the extensive number of inscriptions referring to this period. The high infant mortality rate is indicative of the welfare of the population.

Such a document is valuable when researching the past but we must remember that, by and large only the relatively prosperous section of the community is represented and factual details presented are often incorrect.

The results of the survey are arranged in alphabetical order with original abbreviations and spellings being retained. Inscriptions are listed under the first surname occurring with other names and aliases cross-referenced. Numbers refer to position of monuments on plan.

"Old" Rathgormack Graveyard.

- 91: BARTON, Mat, Here lieth the body of Mat Barton who depd this life July 14 1780 aged 55 yr.
- 29: BRAZEL, Patrick, Here lies the body of Patrick Brazel of the Pr of Regormick who depd life March 17th 1824 agd 10 yrs.
- 124: BRAZEL, William, Here lieth the body of William Brazel of Lirekilequan who departed this life Sepr 16th 1828 aged 74 years.
- 129: BRIEN, Elenor, Here lieth the body of Elenor Brien who died in Decr 1799 agd 60 yrs.
Also the body of Laurence Power who depd this life Nov. 1807 aged yrs.
- BRIEN, Margaret, see under Casey, William
- 138: BURKE, Burke, Carrowleigh (new stone).
BURKE; Bridget, see under Cullonan, Philip.
- 84: BUTLER, Edmond, Erected by Edmond Butler of Coolnamuck in loving memory of his wife who died 25th March 1913 aged 27 yrs.
Also her infant son Michael Edward who died 22nd April 1912 aged 9 months.
- 82: BUTLER, (stone partly broken and beginning of inscription missing)Mc Butler alias Godfrey who died April 16th 1817 agd ? yrs. His brother Patrick Butler died Jany 16th 1820 agd 18 yrs. his Brother John Butler died April 13th 1837 agd 31 yrs and his Sister Bridget Butler died Feby 1st 1838 agd 28 yrs. Five of his children who died young.
- 79: BUTLER, James, Erected by James Butler of Kilballyquilty in mem. of his son Patrick Butler who died Jany 15th 1821 agd 31 yrs.
- 76: CANTWELL, John, Here lieth ye body of John Cantwell of depd this life March ye 25th 1766 agd 47 years.
- 108: CASEY, William, Here lies the remains of William Casey who died July the 19th 1830 aged 35 years. Also the remains of his mother Margaret Casey alias Brien of Kilgeny who died December the 28th 1831 aged 71 years.
Erectd by her son David Casey.
- 41: CARROLL, John, Erected by John Carroll of Ballycashin in memory of his father Patrick Carroll who died 30 May 1844 aged 70 years. Also his mother Eleanor Carroll who died 8 August 1841, aged 67 years. Also 6 of their children who died young.
- 4: CARROLL, Mary. In loving memory of Mary Carroll, ~~Kilgeny, Clonall~~
Died 27th Jan. 1971 aged 81 yrs. Also her mother Mary Christopher Died Oct. 1932 aged 67 years.
CHRISTOPHER, Mary - see Carroll, Mary.
- 107: COLLINAN, Mary, Mary Collinan departed Novbr the 11(?) 1791 aged0. years. Also Joan MocklerOctr 30th 1781 aged8 years.
- 90: CONNEL, James, Here lies the body of Jams Connel who depd this life June 20 1777 aged 39 yrs. Also his son John Connel who died 24 of April 1793 aged 21 yrs.

- 72: CONNELLY, Philip Here lieth the body of Philip Connolly of Glinpatrick who died April 11th 1803 aged 61 years. May his soul rest in peace amen. Erected by his son Patrick.
- 73: CONNELLY, William Here lieth the body of Wilm Connelly of Graigevalia died 17th Augst 1795 aged 33 yrs. Also his father Edmd Conlly died Augst 1760. Also Catharine Connlly alias O'Brian who died Augst 1794 aged 61 yrs.
- 71: CONNELLY, Eleanor Here... the body of Eleanor Connelly alias Rai..th...s (?) who departed this life Decbr 18th 1878 aged 56 years.
- 12: CONNELLY, John Erected by John Connelly in memory of his father James Connelly of Brownswood who depd this life March 13th 1812 in the 33rd year of his age.
CONNOLLY, Anne See under Rowe, Patrick.
CONNOLLY, James see under Cullinan, Anastasia.
- 74: CONNOLLY, John Here lies the body of John Connolly of Liernarelah who died March 1st 1820 aged 24 years.
CONNOLLY, Honor see under Lonnergan, Edmond.
- 133: COUGHLAN, John Erected by John Coughlan of Carrickbeg in memory of his mother Mary Coughlan nee Murphy who died 27th Aug. 1898 aged 59 years.
CROTTY, Ellen see under Lonergan, Mary.
- 104: CROTTY, Patrick Pray for Patrick Crotty 21 Glenegad Rd Clonmel died 9th July 1946. His wife Mary died 17th Sept. 1959. Daniel and Margaret Crotty of Clonmel died 2nd March 1892 and 27th February 1911.
- 112: CULLENAN, John Erected by John Cullenan in memory of his father James Cullenan who departed this life 21 of Decr 1798 aged 68 years also his Mother Catherine Cullenan who died 19 Decr 1815 aged 65 years. Also three of his sisters who died young.
- 13: CULLINAN, Anastasia Erected by Anastasia Cullinan of Ballynacurra in memory of her husband James Connolly who died 24th Decr 1840 Agd 42 yrs. Also three of their children who died young.
- 20: CULLINAN, Darby Here lieth the body of Darby Cullinan Cooper who depd this life March the 25th 1802 agd 75 yrs. Also 5 of his children who died young also the remains of Maur. Cullinan who died Decr 4th 1822.
- 62: CULLINANE, James: Here lies the body of Jams Cullinane of Shanbally ann(sic) who depd this life Feby 5th 1793 aged 62 yrs.
- 102: CULLONAN, Philip Here lies the body of Philip Cullonan who depd this life March 17th 1792 aged 56 years. Also of his wife Bridget Cullonan alias Bourke who depd this life Decr 18th ...4 aged 60 years. Also the body of Honora Cullonan alias Halfpenny who depd this life Septbr 29th 1809 aged 34 years. Erected by her husband John Cullonan of Gr.....
- 16: CURTIS, John Erected by John Curtis of Kilsheelan in memory of his son John Curtis who died in the year 1818 aged 22 years. Also his son Mourice who died the same year aged 21 years. Also his son James who died in the year 1826 aged 18 years.

"Old" Rathgormack Graveyard.

- 109: DEE, David Here lieth the body of David Dee who depd this life November the 15th 1782 aged 68 years. Also the body of his wife Margrith Kilmarten who depd this life March the 1st 1783 aged 60 years.
- 123: DEE, John Erected by John Dee in memory of his three sons. Here lieth the body of Jno Dee who depd this life Feby 18th agd 21 yrs. Also Wm Dee who depd this life Jany 30th 1819 agd 25 yrs & also Marten Dee who depd this life Augst 7th 1819 agd 17 yrs.
- 110: DEE, William. Erected by Willm Dee of Park in memory of his father Martin Dee who depd this life May 24th 1814 aged 50 yrs. Also his Grandfather Willm Dee who depd this life March 15th aged 85 yrs.
- 61: DOOLY, John Erected by John Dooly in memory of his daughter Cathorine Dooly who died November the 8th 1784 aged 14 years. Also his daughter Mary died Decembr the 10th 1795 agd 11 yrs. Likewise 2 of his children who died young.
DOWER, Mary see under Hahesy, John.
- 31: DOWLEY, Catherine. Erected by Catherine Dowley of Tinvane in memory of her Daughter Margaret Power alias Dowley who depd this life July 6th 1805 agd 30 yrs. Also Mary Foran Wife of Patrick Foran of Balcura depd Septbr 6th 1823 (?) agd 44(?)yrs.
DOYLE, Catherine See under Lonnergan, Edmond.
DUNPHY, Eleanor See under Flaherty, Marten.
- 52: FITZPATRICK, John Erected by John Fitzpatrick of Roughpark in memory of his mother Hanora who died Dec. 17 1847. His brother Thomas who died May 28 1850. His father John who died May 27 1865. Also his sister Hanora who died Dec. 12 1876. Patrick Fitzpatrick who died 3rd March 1940. And his wife Johanna who died 25th Jan. 1963.
- 44: FLAHERTY, Marten. Erected by Marten Flaherty of Ross in memory of his wife Eleanor Flaherty alias Dunphy who depd this life Feby 28th 1827 agd 50 yrs.
- 24: FLEMING, Edmond. Here lies the body of Edmond Fleming who depd February 1st 1779 aged 61 years. Also the body of his son, Perce Fleming who depd May 16th 1794 aged 48 years.
- 69: FLEMING, Pierce. Here lies the body of Pierce Fleming who departed this life 10ber 10th 1785 agd 56 years.
- 78: FLEMING, Walter. Here lieth the body of Walter Fleming who depd this life May the third 1782 aged 70 years.
- 23: FOARIN, Thomas. Here lies the body of Thom Foarin who depd life A.D. 1736 aged 50. Also Honora Power.
FORAN, Mary. see under Catherine Dowley.
- 34: FORHAN, John. Here lieth the body of John Forhan of Knockalavala who died the 3rd of May 1795 aged 56 years.
- 77: FOLEY, James. Pray for the soul of James Foley of Knockalavalla who died 22nd July 1909 aged 37 years. Also his son Patrick who died 29th Sep 1930 aged 31 years.

- 25: FOLEY, John. In loving memory of John Foley of Kilballyquilty died 5th Jan. 1965. His mother Bridget Foley Boula died 23rd Feb. 1958. Also the Rowe family Waterford Rd. Carrickbeg.
- 53: FOLEY, Thomas. Erected by Thos Foley of Cluanfada in memory of his affectionate wife Ellen Foley alias Phelan who died July 11th 1826 agd 30 yrs.
- 27: FOWLEY, Dennis. Here lieth the body of Dennis Fowley of Ballinafina who depd this life Jany the 2d 1789 aged 70 yrs. Also his son James Fowley who depd this life Jany the 17th 1807 aged 77 yrs. Also Mrs. Bridget Hahessy of Scartlea died 28th Oct. 1929 aged 85.
- 134: GALVAN, John. This stone erected by John Galvan of Curraghkeley in memory of his son John Galvan who depd this life Feby 23rd 1817 aged 22 yrs.
- 57: GALVIN, William. Erected by William Galvin, Lyre, Ballymacarbry in Toving memory of his father William Galvin died 1881 aged 50 years. Also his mother Ellen Galvin nee O'Grady Curradough died 12th Aug 1877 aged 54 years. His uncle William O'Grady Lyre, Ballymacarbry died 17th June 1893 aged 84 years. The above William died June 29th 1943. Also William Rockett Kilnasbeg died Aug 1938 aged 62.
- GODFREY, see under Butler.
- 83: GODFREY, Judeth. Erected by Judeth Godfrey in memory of her husband Thos Godfrey who died Aprl 6th 1812 agd 37 yrs. Also his father Denis Godfrey died Decr 1802 agd 60 yrs. also his mother Mary died Decr 1801 agd 60 yrs also his Brother Timy died June 1792 agd 4..(?).
- 125: GOUGH, John . In loving memory of John Gough Ballycullane died 25th March 1948 aged 88 years. His wife Alice died 3rd Nov. 1945 aged 74 years. Their son Patrick died 20th Aug. 1950 aged 59 years.
- 50: GRADDY, Thomas. Here lies the body of Thoms Graddy who depd this life March the 25 1793 aged 59 yrs. Patrick Graddy died April 7 1776 aged 9 yrs.
- GRANT, Margaret see under Hahesy, Mary.
- 97: GREY, Elinor. Erected by Elinor Grey in memory of her husband Thos. Grey who died Decr 26th 1811 aged 34 yrs also his father Thos. Grey died June 6th 1806 agd 70 yrs also his brother Richd. died Feb 28th 1812 agd 43 also Margt Grey died Janry 8ht(sic) 1812 agd 42 yrs.
- HAHESY, Bridget see under Fowley, Dennis.
- 119: HAHESY, John. Erected by John Hahesy of Baliangara in memory of his wife Mary Hahesy alias Dower who depd this life June 26th 1789 aged 52 years. John Hahesy Ck Begg died March 19th 1885 aged 76 years. His wife Catherine Hahesy died Jan 4th 1877 aged 25 years.
- 48: HAHESY, Margaret. Erected by Margret Hahesy of Ballynahinee in memory of her father and mother & sister. Here lies the body

"Old" Rathgormack Graveyard.

of her father Michael Haesy who departed this life February ye 4th 1790 aged 50 years. Also his daughter Catherine Haesy who depd June ye 28th 1792 aged 22 years. And also his wife Mary Haesy who depd July ye 4th 1792 aged 46 years.

- 118: HAHESY, Mary. Erected by Mary Haesy of Carrick-on-Suir in memory of her father Mr. James Haesy who died 21st Janry 1838 aged 58 years. His beloved wife Margaret Haesy alias Grant died August 11th 1861 aged 74 years. Also her brother & sisters who died young. Also the above Mary Haesy who died April 1st 1887 aged 73 years.
- 117: HAHESY, Mary Erected by Mary Haesy Carrick-on-Suir in memory of her father Mr James Haesy who died 21st Janry 1837 aged 58 years. Her mother Margaret Haesy died August 11th 1861 aged 74 years. Also her brother & sisters who died young.
- 6: HAHESY, Michael. Erected by Michael Haesy of Worchester U.S.A. in memory of his father Patrick Haesy of Clonmoyle, died 20th March 1883 aged 66 years. Also his beloved wife Nora Haesy died 7th August 1886 aged 40 years.
- 11: HALFPENNY, Bridget. Erectd by Bridget Halfpenny of Carhoae in memory of her husband Patrick Halfpenny who died Jany 8th 1836 agd 37 yrs.
- 35: HALLY, Nicholas. Here lieth the body of Nicholas Hally who depd this life the 21st day of January 1767 aged 16 years. As also the body of his sister Bridget Hally who departed this life the 20th of April 1783 aged 21 years.
- 8: HALPIN, In memory of the O'Brien & Halpin family R.I.P.
- 1: HARRIS, Maurice. In memory of Maurice Harris died 25th Aug. 1958 and his wife Mary died 15th Nov. 1943.
- 81: HARDING, Thomas. Erected by Thomas Harding of Killshelan in memory of his son James Harding died Aug 8th 1830 Agēd 11 years.
- 111: HARNY, James. Here lieth the body of Jams Harny who died Decembr 1800 agd 40 yrs. Also his son John who died young. Likewise Patrick Harney died in August 1779 aged 21 years and John Harney died in June 1789 aged 20 years.
- HENEBERY, Margaret. see under Power, Michael.
- 38: HICKEY, Ellen. Here lies ye body of Ellen Hickey daughter of James Hickey of Kilballyquilty wife of Michael Phoran who parted this life Februry ye 3rd 1756 aged 25.
- 37: HICKEY, Martin. Erected by Martin Hickey Carrickbeg in memory of his father Thomas died Nov. 12th 1907 aged 84. His mother Bridget died 15th June 1863 aged 40 years. His uncle Maurice Hickey died Dec. 8th 1904 aged 92. And his wife Jane died Feb. 12th 1892 aged 75. Also his Aunt Mrs. Mary O'Brien Carrickbeg died 4th April 1910 aged 91 years.

