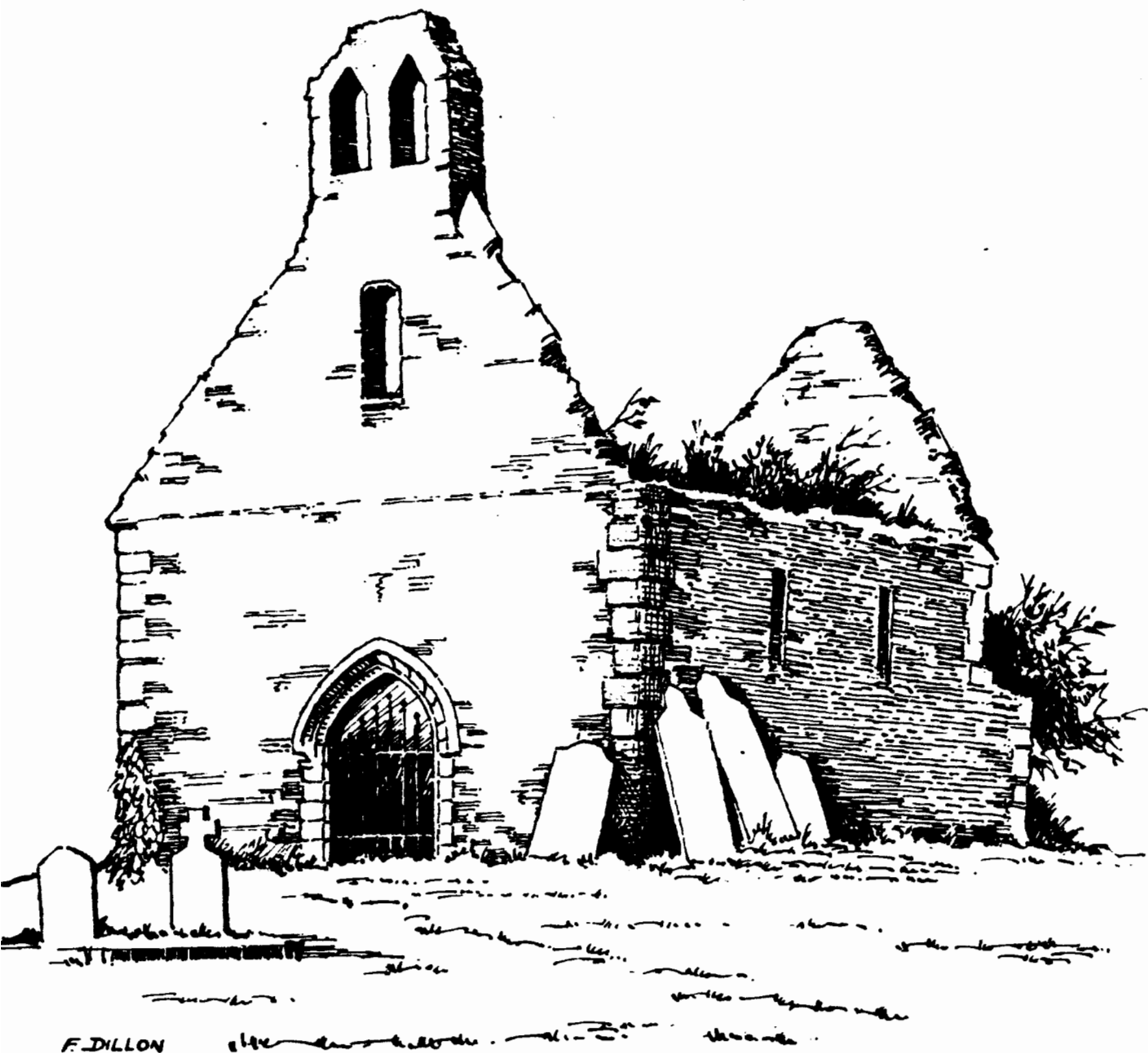


Old Waterford Society

DECIES

NO XXXX

SPRING 1989.



F. DILLON

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FRONT COVER:

Our cover illustration shows a view of the early mediaeval church at Faithlegge, a few miles east of Waterford City, where there has been a place of Christian worship since ancient times. The building is in a precarious condition at present and action to conserve it is urgently needed.

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We extend 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 .

The discovery earlier this year in Central London of the remains of the Elizabethan Rose Theatre and the efforts of theatre folk and conservationists generally to preserve them in the face of a proposed commercial development on the site serve once again to highlight the difficulties involved in trying to resolve problems of this nature. As we write that particular problem remains, apparently, unsolved.

A similar situation exists, albeit on a smaller scale, in Waterford City where the remains of the mediaeval church of St. Peter were unearthed on the site of the new shopping development planned for the Peter Street/Olaf Street area. Original plans would, it was understood, have provided for the retention of the church ruin as an historical feature in the basement of the new building but it now appears that, in accordance with revised plans, a car park will be located in the basement, the church ruins being removed for re-erection elsewhere in the city. We can only deplore this move and regret that the original arrangement was not adhered to, but such it would seem is the price of progress. We can but hope that the ancient stones will be re-erected without undue delay in a location where the reconstructed ruin can be viewed and appreciated as an educational and tourist facility.

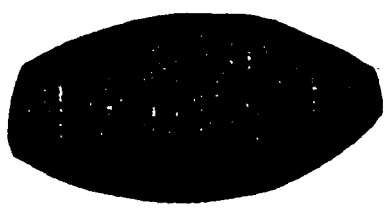
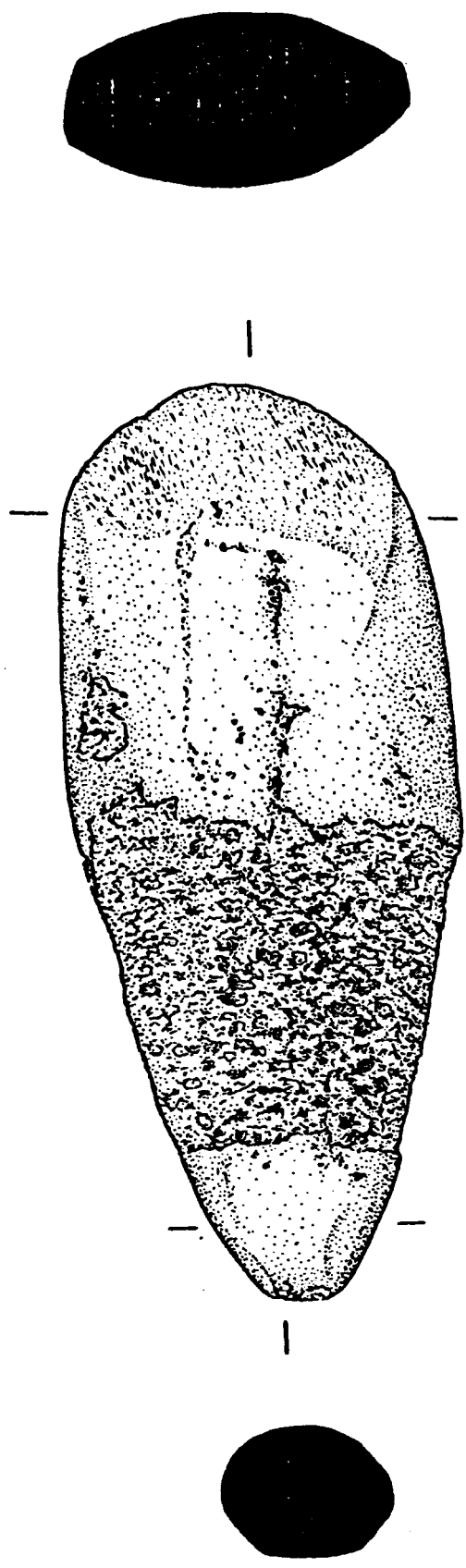
As further development takes place in the older parts of Waterford City it is to be hoped that the opportunities thus presented for thorough archaeological investigation will be availed of so that a fully documented record of the city's past will be available for future study.

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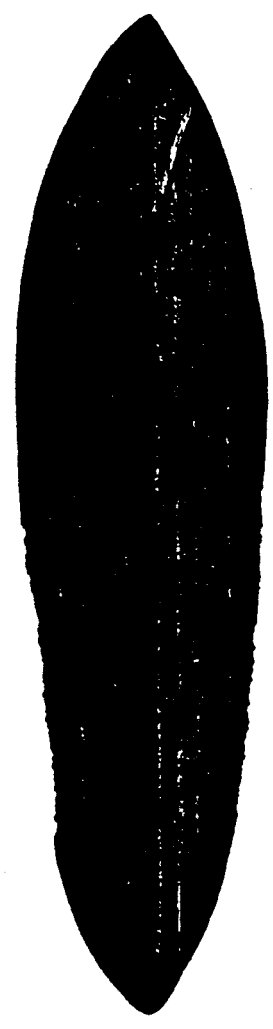
We offer our sincere apologies to all our members and indeed to all readers of DECIES for the delay in producing this issue which was due to a number of circumstances outside our control.

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DEP. BY JOHN WALLACE

A Stone Axe from County Waterford.

Heather A. King

This note describes and illustrates a polished stone axe found by Mr. Sean Fitzgerald of Ballycoe, Dungarvan on the farm of Mr. Thomas Sullivan at Islandhubcock near Stradbally, Co. Waterford (Par. Stradbally: Bar. Decies without Drum: NGR X 345 952: O.S. 6" Sheet No. 32, 21.0 from N: 14.5 from W). The axe does not come from any clear horizon or deposit however, as it was picked up in a farmyard close to a load of aggregate which had been delivered to Mr Sullivan's farm from Cappagh, near Whitechurch, approximately twelve miles to the north west.

DESCRIPTION: The axe is triangular in outline with pointed butt and the wider end was bevelled evenly on both sides to produce a cutting edge. The edge is not symmetrical with the butt which is also bevelled and had a chipped tip. The stone was originally pecked to remove irregularities and then polished to give the axe a smooth uniform surface. Traces of the original pecking can still be seen in small areas in the centre of the lower face and on the lower right side of the lower face (Fig. 1). The area which would have been covered by the handle has been deliberately roughened by coarse pecking, after polishing, to provide a better grip for the haft. The profile is thick and shows slightly convex faces tapering to the butt. The sides also taper - more markedly to the butt than to the edge - and there is a clearly defined junction between the sides and the edge. The section near the edge displays a rounded oval with one side broader than the other. This broad side has also got the maximum zone of pecking which suggests that this side was the front of the axe. In addition the wear-striations on the bevel and the wear marks on the edge support this suggestion.

Maximum dimensions are: Length 154mm, width 65mm and thickness 40mm. The axe is widest at 65mm just below the pecking. It weighs 525gm.

The material from which the axe is made has been identified by Dr John S. Jackson as a volcanic ash (or tuff) in which the individual component 'grains' are unworn angular fragments. There are fragments of eutredal and hemihedral crystals of felspar. Angular and unworn quartz is also common. He notes that this type of rock is not uncommon in the stratigraphic succession of the district as the Stradbally area coincides with the western limits of an Upper Ordovician (Caradocian) north-east - south west trending belt of volcanics and pyroclastic rocks which run from Wicklow Head and Arklow Head on the east coast to that part of the Waterford coast which extends from Tramore westwards to Stradbally.

A Stone Axe From Co. Waterford

COMMENT: This axe is a typical example of a Neolithic tool which would have been used to chop or work wood sometime in the period c. 3,000 - 2,000 B.C. It is a fairly big axe and morphologically compares with Cooney's 'larger' axes in County Louth which are between 120-160mm in length and 50-70mm in width (1985, Fig.1) and which, it is suggested, were possibly used for felling trees (Cooney 1985, 83). The source of material, from which the axe is made, appears to be in the volcanic rocks which occur along the coast near Stradbally and the tool, whether it was originally dropped at Stradbally or Cappagh, would seem to have remained close to the place of its manufacture for the last five thousand years. Accordingly the axe could either be a surface find from Islandhubbock, Stradbally or it could have fallen out of the aggregate from Cappagh. Coincidentally, among the nine other known polished stone axes from County Waterford (seven are on record in the N.M.I. and two in Reginald's Tower), there is one recorded from Cappagh Caves (NMI 1948, No.207). Altogether only ten polished stone axes are now known from the county and so this example provides an additional indicator of the presence of Neolithic man in the south Waterford area.

Cooney, Gabriel. 1985, Stone axes of County Louth: A First Report. CLHAJ Vo.21, 78-99

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: My thanks to the finder, Sean Fitzgerald, and to the landowner Thomas Sullivan. I am particularly grateful to Dr. John Jackson for identifying the material, to John Wallace for drawing the object, to Michael Gibbons and Seamus Ryan for information on the numbers of stone axes in the county and to Gabriel Cooney for his enthusiastic and helpful interest.

A Promontory Fort and Ogham Stone at Knockmahon, County Waterford.

Conleth Manning

At Knockmahon ¹, to the east of Burmahon, on the Waterford Coast there is the remains of a promontory fort with an ogham stone lying within it ², neither of which has been previously published.

The promontory fort (Fig. 1, Pl. 1)

The site is on a small promontory with cliffs rising some fifty feet above sea level immediately to the east of a small cove with a shingle beach marked Stage Cove on the 6" map. Across the neck of the headland the remains of a bank and ditch can be seen. Continuing out from the headland and cut off from it and from each other by narrow channels are two tiny grass-topped islands or stacks marked as Gully's Island on the map. These probably formed part of the interior of the fort originally but have been separated from it by the sea.

At a point where the headland measures about 35m across it is defended by a single bank and ditch. These have been badly damaged by cultivation and survive best at each end under and outside the cliff-top field fence. In its damaged state the ditch appears to be some 8m wide and the bank, which is c. 6m wide, rises 1.20m above the bottom of the ditch. No entrance is at present discernible. The area within the bank is at present only 20m long but if the two islands were once part of the interior it would have measured at least 90m.

The cliffs of the Waterford coast present many suitable locations for promontory forts and the known examples have been published by Westropp as part of his pioneering and as yet unsurpassed study of this monument type in Ireland ³. The Knockmahon fort with its single bank and ditch would conform to Westropp's type (a) ⁴. It is overlooked by gradually rising ground to the north and by higher cliffs to the east so that its position commanding Stage Cove, where boats could be beached, may have been the main reason for locating the fort here. It should also be noted that the immediate surrounding area has rich copper ore deposits which were mined in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and probably earlier because the exposed veins of ore in the cliffs would have been easy to detect and mine.

The ogham stone (Fig. 2, Pl. 2)

This was found lying in the ditch of the promontory fort against the field fence on the east side. It has a relatively fresh appearance and may have been unearthed during ploughing in recent years and placed out of the way against the fence. Some narrow scratches on the stone may have been caused by a plough.

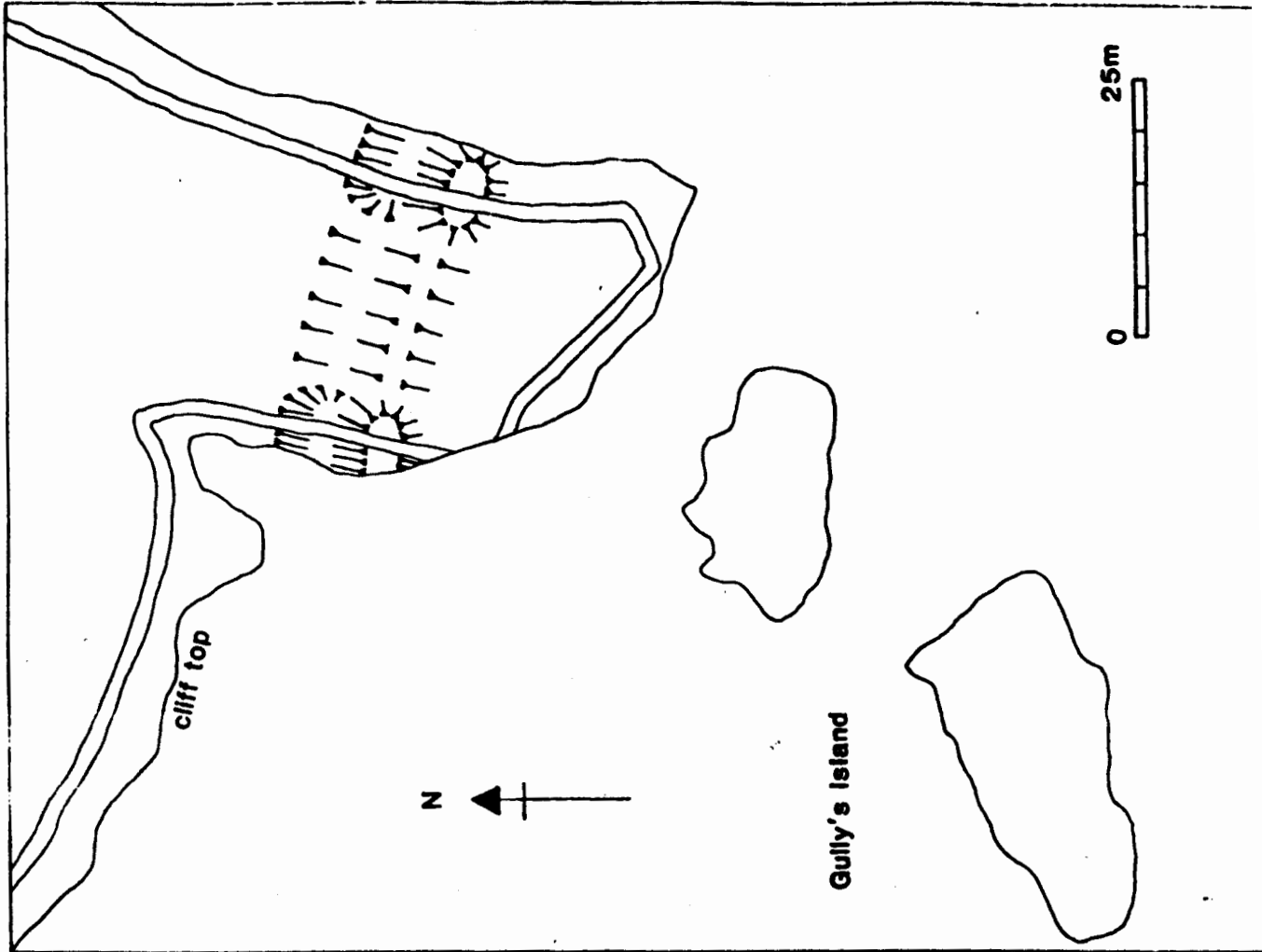


Fig. 1. Knockmahon promontory fort, based on the Ordnance Survey by permission of the Government (Permit No. 3096) with remains of bank and ditch added in.

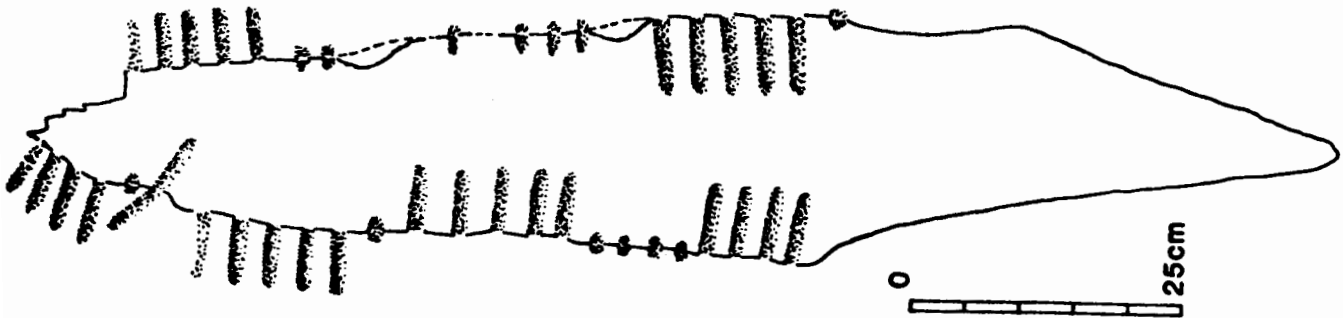


Fig. 2. Knockmahon Ogham Stone.

The stone measures 1.20m long by 0.24 x 0.30 at the centre. It is pointed at both ends and roughly lozenge-shaped in section. The inscription is cut only on the upper two thirds of the stone, the remainder presumably being below ground when the stone stood as a pillar. A small portion of the top of the stone is missing, leaving the inscription incomplete.

The ogham strokes, where undamaged, are clearly cut into the stone. The first word is complete and reads SENAQ. The second word begins with the letters MAC (or Q), after which the tip of the stone is missing. The first letter after the missing portion appears to be a Q, though, as the first stroke is damaged, it might be a C. After this there is a partly damaged section, 0.35m long, which appears to have had vowel strokes only, some of which are clear. The final two letters are clearly NA. The inscription with gaps and uncertainties therefore reads: SENAQ MAC (or Q) Q (or C) 2-3 vowels NA. As the missing tip of the stone could not have accommodated much more than six to nine strokes the most likely reconstruction of the inscription would be: SENAQ MAQ (I MU)C(OI E)NA (SENAQ descendant of ENA). As the last gap contains vowels only the last word, no matter how reconstructed, would appear to be some form of the name Enna or Enda.

The clearest part of the inscription is the name of the man commemorated, SENAQ or Senach, the first occurrence of this name on an ogham stone ⁵. The name occurs in the genealogies of the Deisi ⁶ who occupied the Co. Waterford area in Early Christian times. In the section on the Ui Rossa branch of the Deisi there is a Senach who had an ancestor called Enna ⁷ and who may therefore be the man commemorated on this stone. In this pedigree Senach's great great grandson is one Boeth the deaths of whose two sons are recorded in the annals ⁸. According to the Annals of Ulster Daithgus son of Baeth, king of the Deisi was killed in 732 and Niallgus son of Baeth, king of the Deisi of Brega, died in 758 ⁹. Allowing 20-25 years per generation an obit date in the first half of the seventh century is possible for this Senach and is therefore tentatively suggested for the stone.

This new find comes from an area rich in ogham stones, for the bulk of the known examples in Ireland come from counties Kerry, Cork and Waterford ¹⁰. The association of ogham stone and promontory fort is unusual though not unique, for one of the largest of these forts in Ireland, Dunmore in Kerry, has an ogham pillar still standing within it ¹¹.

NOTES

1. The site is in the townland of Knockmahon, parish of Kilbarrymeadon, barony of Decies without Drum, Co. Waterford. O.S. 6" sheet 25 (124mm: 075mm). Nat. grid ref. X 444 986.
2. The monuments were discovered by the writer during the planning of an outing of the Archaeological Society, University College Dublin in 1974.
3. T. J. Westropp, Fortified headlands and castles on the south coast of Munster, part 11, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 32c (1914), 188-226.
4. Ibid. 200-201
5. R. A. S. Macalister, Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum Vol. 1. Dublin 1949.
6. M. A. O'Brien, Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae, Dublin 1962, 157, 162. Seamus Pender, Deisi Genealogies (unpublished, proof copy, 1937, in present writer's possession), 165-6.
7. O'Brien, op. cit., 157. Pender, op. cit., 23-5



Pl. 1. The ditch and bank of Knockmahon promontory fort from the west.

Plate 1.



Pl. 2. Knockmahon Ogham Stone (30 cm scale).

Plate 2.

8. Pender, op. cit., 41, 58, 87, 154.
9. Sean Mac Airt and Gearoid Mac Niocaill, The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131), Dublin 1983, 184-5, 211-211.
10. Macalister, op. cit.
11. Ibid. T. J. Westropp, Promontory forts and similar structures in the County Kerry, Part IV, Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland 40 (1910), 265-96. Judith Cuppage, Archaeological survey of the Dingle Peninsula, Ballyferriter 1986, 89-90.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Fionnbarr Moore M.A., Archaeological Survey, O.P.W. for much helpful advice on the reading of the ogham stone.



SIR WILLIAM F. BUTLER
From a photograph in the Public Archives of Canada

General Sir William F. Butler - the Green Redcoat.

On a June day in the year 1910 a boy knelt at a confessional in the Roman Catholic Church at Kilmoyler, near Bansha, Co. Tipperary. While he waited one of the priests came by and spoke to him, saying "I am going to the funeral and you should go too, for you will never see anything like it again." The boy acted on the suggestion and what he saw made such an impression on him that he spoke of it to the end of his life.

The funeral was that of General Sir William Francis Butler who had died a few days previously in his home at Bansha Castle and whose mortal remains were now going to join those of his forefathers in the little churchyard at Killardrigh, a few miles away, with all the sombre pomp and ceremony laid down for such occasions in the regulations of the British Army.

William Francis Butler was born at Ballyslateen, near Bansha, on the 31st October, 1838, the seventh child of Richard and Ellen Butler. The Butlers were one of the great families of Ireland since the arrival of the first of them, Theobald Fitzwalter, in the year 1177. In his memoirs William Butler makes only a passing reference to his ancestry when he speaks of the birth of his father and eight or nine generations of his family at nearby Ballycarron, where Black Tom of Carrick, the tenth Earl of Ormonde, had settled his brothers and some of his followers after the destruction of the Desmonds in 1584.

From his earliest years until his death William Butler never lost a strong sense of his Irishness and it seems likely that this was also a family characteristic because he relates that while living with relatives in Artane, Dublin, to whom he had been sent at the age of four, he was brought to visit Richmond Penitentiary where he was lifted overhead by a big man who cried out "Hurrah for Tipperary." The big man was Daniel O'Connell who was confined there at the time.

In 1846 young William returned to his home by the Suir just as the full horror of the potato famine of 1846/47 was about to break over the land. The scenes of desolation that he witnessed then and during the following years were to remain indelibly impressed on his mind and must have helped to create that spirit of sympathy for the underdog which was one of his outstanding characteristics and which found expression in many of his writings.

In September, 1947, at the age of nine, he was sent as a boarding pupil with two of his brothers to a school run by the Jesuits at Tullabeg, Co. Offaly, where he spent two rather unhappy years. At this time he was a frail child and had to

endure the bullying which was a feature of boarding school life in Ireland as elsewhere. It is interesting to read the following extract from a notebook listing new arrivals at Tullabeg which is now in the archives at Clongowes College:

William Butler (brother to above) came Septmeber 12th, 1847. 9 years old 31st October. No Latin, no French, no English grammar. Can spell but poorly and also with reading. Simple addition and subtraction. No Communion. No Confirmation.

This entry bears the signature of William Butler in a childish scrawl and it appears that for some reason pupils were required to sign the entries relating to themselves.

About this time the family fortunes, never by all accounts very great, were further impoverished by his father's efforts to alleviate the distress of the starving peasantry and this fact, coupled with the death of their mother, caused the young Butlers to be taken from Tullabeg and to be kept at home until an improvement in their father's financial position made it possible to send them to a private school in Harcourt Street, Dublin, run by a Dr. Quinn. The interruption in young William's formal education was to some extent offset by an experience of the harsh realities of life in the Ireland of the famine years and immediately after. He tells how at the age of twelve he was taken by his father to witness an eviction and having described the crowbar brigade as the lowest and most debauched ruffians, he concludes "the thatched roofs were torn down and the earthen walls battered in by the crowbars (practice had made these scoundrels adepts in their trade): the screaming women, the half naked children, the paralysed grandmother and the tottering grandfather were hauled out. It was a sight I have never forgotten. I was twelve years old at the time but I think if a loaded gun had been put into my hands I would have fired into that crowd of villains as they plied their horrible trade by the ruined church of Teampall da Voun (the church of the east window)."

There seems never to have been any doubt in his mind that he was destined for a military career. As a boy he had listened eagerly to old veterans of the Napoleonic wars tell stories of battles and personalities of the Peninsular Campaign, so that Corunna, Badajoz, and Vittoria were very real to him. His military inclination did not, however, receive the willing approval of his father. Butler senior was of the opinion that advancement in the service without the advantage of a substantial private income could only be achieved by the abandonment of one's religion, as some of his relatives had done. At that time, it must be remembered, promotion through the commissioned ranks in the British Army was by purchase, so that in peacetime an impecunious officer could and often did remain on the lower rungs of the ladder for his entire service.

Parental objections were apparently overcome and in September, 1858, young William Butler was gazetted ensign (the lowest commissioned rank) in the 69th Infantry Regiment and commenced his training in their depot at Fermoy. He was a lively character and by all accounts something of a hit with the ladies, with whom he flirted outrageously. He had developed from a somewhat puny child into an athletic young man and he tells how, at a sports meeting in Limerick, he won the two hundred and fifty yards hurdle race against the south of Ireland garrison. He also found time to listen to the stories of the hard drinking veterans of the Crimean War and earlier conflicts and their accounts of campaigns and "battles long ago" were the food for which his imagination hungered.

To read William Butler's account of that period of his life is to be time warped into a different age. Queen Victoria was but twelve years on the throne and the British Empire had yet to achieve its maximum expansion. Militarily it was still the era of a Napoleonic army in colourful uniforms fighting with musket lance and sabre. Sail still dominated the high seas and the internal combustion engine lay somewhere in the future.

In July of 1860 orders came for India and the regiments using the Fermoy depot went their several ways. The 69th draft embarked at Queenstown for Madras

to join the rest of the regiment then stationed in Burma. Here Butler had plenty of time to indulge his taste for hunting and exploration. The country was peaceful and duties were of a routine nature but the humid climate was debilitating. The main body of the regiment had been there three years and officers and men were in poor physical shape. It was with relief, therefore, that orders were received to embark for India: any change being, hopefully, for the better. Crossing the Bay of Bengal the elderly troopship ran into the path of a hurricane, for which it was ill-prepared. Butler describes this adventure in his autobiography and gives full rein to his colourful literary style:

"There is no sea running and no sky and no air. They have all become one vast, black, solid, gigantic animal. The sea cannot get up and run before that vast wall of wind. It lies down at first and the wind mows it like grass, shaves it off in swathes of white foam which are caught up into the rushing wind itself, so that no eye can open against it and no face can face its saltiness. But the roar is the thing that lives longest in memory: it seems to swallow even the thunder, as though that too, like the sea, had been brayed into it."

The regiment was finally installed in quarters at Fort St. George, near Madras, whereupon most of the officers immediately went on leave to Simla, the hill station in the North of the country where the climate was cooler and something like a normal social life could be enjoyed. Characteristically Butler went off alone on horseback to explore the Nilgherry Mountains of Southern India. Even at the relatively early age of twenty four he had begun to draw his own conclusions from his observation of the life he saw around him. One comment is worth quoting: "It has yet to be proved, in our rapid development of intellectual power among the people of India, whether it be possible to graft upon the decaying trunk of an old civilisation the young offshoot of a newer and more vigorous one. For my part I think that the edifice we are uprearing in India has its foundation resting upon sand. (The native of India) believes our religion to be a thing of yesterday compared to the antiquity of his own. He knows that by bribery and violence, oftentimes by trickery and fraud, we obtained possession of his lands. He knows that by force of arms and strength of discipline we hold our possessions: nevertheless he hates and fears us and while he adopts and uses the discoveries of our civilisation he still holds that civilisation in contempt. I can see signs that this great structure we are building will be a ruin before it is completed."

Early in 1864 the 69th Regiment was ordered home, so shattered by fever, sunstroke and alcohol that the ship resembled a floating hospital. The voyage home was uneventful except for one thing: the vessel called at St. Helena and stayed two days. Since his youth Butler had hero worshipped Napoleon Bonaparte and the visit provided a golden opportunity to view the scenes of the Emperor's exile and to reflect upon his rise and decline. His reverence for Bonaparte never left him so that forty years later he was able to describe this visit as "two days so steeped in thoughts of glory and of grief that if I lived for a thousand years they would live with me." A biography of Napoleon, written many years later, never found a publisher. It is likely that, as Butler's critical faculty became almost totally suspended when speaking of his hero, the work was too one sided or biased to be of much value as a biography.

His return to garrison duty at Aldershot gave him the opportunity to undertake a walking tour through Flanders and northern France, the scenes of Fontenoy and the Waterloo campaign. One can visualise him walking through that countryside which had changed very little since 1815, hearing in his imagination the cannon's roar and the cries of the men engaged in those terrible conflicts of earlier years.

A brief spell of service in Guernsey in the Channel Islands followed in the summer of 1866 and was enjoyed both by Butler and the men under his command. He relates with a hint of disapproval that drink was so cheap that if one tendered an English shilling (!) for a glass of brandy twelve Guernsey pennies were handed back

as change, the islands copper currency having become debased.

It was not the price of drink, however, which made the posting memorable for William Butler. Guernsey was also the home of Victor Hugo who was living there in exile. The two men met and became friendly, spending much time in each other's company. Hugo even indicated his intention of visiting Ireland and touring this country the following year with Butler as his guide. Butler's diary for 26th November, 1866 records that Hugo said: "I also am an Irishman. I love Ireland because she is to me a Poland and a Hungary, because she suffers. I want to see that island and its people. You shall be my guide there."

It is interesting to speculate on what the outcome of this project, described with such Gallic extravagance, might have been but unfortunately it never came to pass for, in August of the following year, the 69th Infantry were ordered to Canada and there began for William Butler a love affair with that country which he never outgrew and which produced some of the most popular and colourful of his writings.

At that time the relationship between Canada and the United States was at best an uneasy one. After several changes and agreements the border had been fixed on the 49th parallel of latitude. Now there were fears of an invasion of Canada by Fenians anxious to strike at England through her North American colony, after the failure of the 1867 rising in Ireland. Fenians in large numbers, their ranks swelled by discharged veterans of the American Civil War, had assembled at points along the frontier. The Canadian authorities had called for assistance and the young Colonel Garnet Wolseley, a rising star in the British military firmament, was sent out to organise local militia and volunteer units and to supervise their training. By the time the 69th regiment arrived in Canada, however, the threat of invasion had receded, the few feeble attempts had been repulsed and Colonel Wolseley was on his way back to England.

While this posting contributed nothing of military glory to William Butler it brought him into close contact with the scenes of his boyhood reading. Like most Victorian boys he had eagerly devoured the works of Fenimore Cooper, R.M. Ballantine, Henty and others like them and had dreamed of a life of action and adventure in the great plains and woods of North America, living in the open and hunting the deer and the buffalo. Now his dreams had come true, or had they? The land was there but the wild animals were missing. The march of civilisation had driven them westward beyond the Mississippi and Missouri. The obvious thing, therefore, was to seek them out in those distant regions and to this end he lost no time in obtaining three months leave of absence from his duties and set forth.

He achieved his ambition of participating in a buffalo hunt and describes the experience graphically. By all accounts he was a good marksman and many of these great animals fell to his aim. Later on, when he witnessed the virtual elimination of the bison he spoke with regret of his contribution to the decline of the great herds.

In the course of an adventurous life his travels took him through four of the five continents but nowhere else had for him the fascination of this vast land of prairie and forest, lake and river. He was to return there many times and under a variety of circumstances, seeing it in high summer and in the extreme depths of winter but, while he may have had reservations about some of the people he met, his love for the country never left him.

Early in May, 1863 he was appointed officer in charge of the 'look out' on the Canadian frontier. It became his duty to visit the various posts along the frontier once a month, entailing a journey of about 1500 miles for each round of visits. This work proved most congenial. He was on his own and free to move as he pleased. The summer landscape was beautiful and the men he met and talked with were picturesque characters whose stories, no matter how far-fetched, fascinated him.

At this time he met a Yankee with the unusual name of Horatio Nelson Case who invited him to invest money in a patch of land where it was believed oil might be found. Oil had been found in Ontario some few years before, near the village of Enniskillen, the name of which had thereupon been changed to Petrolia in honour of the discovery. £400 was as much as Butler could raise and so a brother officer was invited to join the venture. Eventually the three men became the owners of 200 acres of oil-bearing swampland near Petrolia early in 1869. Before this end could be realised it became necessary for Butler to return to Ireland to raise the money and while he was there his father fell ill and died. This depressed him and about this time too he appears to have become disillusioned with army life. Promotion was not to be his through lack of funds to purchase a captaincy, so that officers junior to him were being promoted by purchase over his head.

The alternatives facing him were singularly unattractive to a man of his temperament. He could serve on and endure the dull routine of barrack life or he could abandon the military life of which he had always dreamed, and become the governor of a penitentiary or the secretary of some club. These were unthinkable alternatives to someone, every fibre of whose being craved for active service. In his own words "To bury myself in some out of the way place out of sight of scarlet coat or sound of bugle would have been unbearable." Thus was his mind occupied when one day in April, 1870, news came of trouble in Canada, in the Red River settlements not far from the modern city of Winnipeg and of the dispatch of an armed force against the malcontents. Butler realised that this was the opportunity for which he had been waiting. He immediately telegraphed the Commander, once again Colonel Garnet Wolseley: "Please remember me. Butler, 69th Regiment." Without waiting for a reply he took ship for Canada and presented himself to Wolseley in Toronto only to be told that all staff appointments had been made and that there was no place in the expedition for him. He suggested that perhaps there was such a post, that of Intelligence Officer who, travelling through the United States, would move ahead of the column and having ascertained how matters lay, join up with it somewhere in the three hundred miles between Lake Superior and Red River. Wolseley and the authorities fell in with this suggestion and the appointment was made.

Up to this time Canada had consisted of the four Eastern provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Its western-most point was at Winnipeg, then a mere village about one thousand miles from the eastern seaboard. The whole vast area east of the Rocky Mountains, what are now the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and the North West Territories lay under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company, which ruled its subjects with paternal authority and because it was in its interest to keep the country a wilderness did not encourage widespread settlement. Towns and cities were therefore non-existent and the only settlements were the scattered trading posts and forts on the Red River, the Assiniboine, the Saskatchewan and others. The only area of concentrated settlement west of Ontario was the Red River Valley, where at the time of which we speak the two main ethnic groups were the descendants of Scots settlers established there by Lord Selkirk in the early years of the century and the Metis, of mixed French and Indian blood. These two groups were divided by their culture, religion and mode of life. The Scots were farmers but the Metis, while also holding land, were by inclination trappers and hunters, trading their catch with the Hudson's Bay Company in return for items such as guns, knives, blankets, buttons etc. This simple life, however, was destined not to last. The rapid increase of settlers into the American mid west brought the very real danger that the tide of immigrants would spill over into Canada. The Canadian Prime Minister reported to London that "the United States Government are resolved to do all they can, short of war, to get possession of the western territory and we must take immediate and vigorous steps to counteract them." So long as the north-west was the preserve of the Hudson's Bay Company it was vulnerable and so in 1868 the British and Canadian Governments negotiated with the Company for the purchase of all its territorial rights to the vast tracts of land from the border of Ontario, west to the Pacific and north to the Arctic Oceans. This was duly given the force of law by the passing of the North America Act. The Metis

people of the Red River Vally, however, felt that the Act did not guarantee their traditional life style and their fears were fuelled by violently sectarian newspaper articles emanating from Toronto. They realised that with the end of Company rule settlers would pour into the valley and spread westward and the traditional way of life of the Metis would come to an end.

At this point there appears on the scene the colourful figure of Louis Riel. He was a Metis, educated in Montreal where he had studied for the priesthood. He was a fervent believer in the separate nationhood of the Metis and was determined to force the Canadian Government to negotiate with his people and guarantee their rights and titles to the lands they lived on. His opportunity came in an interim period between the surrender of its rights by the Hudson Bay Company and the assumption of responsibility by the Canadian Government. Riel and his followers seized the local administrative centre, Fort Garry, and setting up a provisional government headed by himself he proceeded to assert his authority by imprisoning some citizens who did not acknowledge it. The white settlers who had in the beginning been somewhat sympathetic to him finally became alienated by his dictatorial behaviour and things came to a head when he made the mistake of trying and executing one Thomas Scott, an Orangeman from Ontario and an outspoken critic of Riel's regime. This understandably drew down upon his head the wrath of every Protestant in the country and compelled the Government to act by sending a military expedition to restore order. Lieutenant William Butler was quite clear in his mind both as to the cause of all the trouble and what should be done about it:

Any ordinary, matter of fact, sensible man would have managed the whole affair in a few hours, but so many high and potent powers had to consult together, to pen despatches, to speechify and to lay down the law about it that the whole affair became hopelessly muddled Nothing would have been easier than to have sent a commissioner from England to Red River who would have ascertained the feelings and wishes of the people of the country relative to the transfer and would have guaranteed them the exercise of their rights and liberties under any and every new arrangement that might be entered into.

One cannot help feeling that his own choice of someone for this post would have been himself, young as he was.

As the expedition's intelligence officer his function was to travel on his own westwards, learn what he could of the attitude of the people of Assiniboia, both white and Metis, and of the likelihood of raids into the area from the American mid-west where the Fenians were once again believed to be assembling in force. He travelled by train and river boat and finally reached the vicinity of Fort Garry. His arrival did not go unnoticed and as there was a very real possibility of his being shot as a spy if caught - he was wearing civilian clothes - he beat a retreat downriver to Lower Fort Garry, a loyal Anglo-Saxon community, from where he could assess the situation. Though not instructed to do so, he was determined to enter Fort Garry and talk with Riel if possible. It subsequently transpired that he was in fact in danger of arrest and had made his escape just in time.

Having sized up the situation in and around Winnipeg and Fort Garry Butler made preparations to join Wolseley and his force, travelling by canoe and on foot. Shortly before his departure he received a message in conciliatory terms assuring him of the loyalty of the Metis and inviting him to visit the fort. This was his chance to cast himself in the role of representative of the Dominion and the Empire, to strut a little, and he made most of it. He accepted the invitation on certain conditions, among them being the removal of the Metis flag (a shamrock and fleur de lis on a white ground) from the flagstaff. He treated Riel high handedly, refusing to call on him but agreeing to meet him if Riel called to the house in which he was staying. The meeting was unsatisfactory. Butler was playing billiards when Riel arrived and, Drake like, did not interrupt his game. Riel made to with-

draw but was persuaded to remain and in the conversation which followed he pointed out that he did not want power for himself but wanted to hand over to a properly constituted government and that what he had done had been done for the sake of peace. Rather uncharacteristically Butler was unmoved by the intensity of Riel's utterance and failed to appreciate the passion and fanaticism which would bring the Metis to the gallows fifteen years later. He saw only a rather ridiculous figure wearing the unlikely combination of a black frock coat and Indian moccasins and was struck by his vanity and presumption rather than by his devotion to a cause. The interview terminated and Butler, feeling as he said like Daniel emerging from the lions' den, left Fort Garry and set out to join his Commander-in-Chief, which event took place twelve days and 400 miles later.

Military glory was again to prove an elusive prize for when the expedition reached Fort Garry they found the place almost deserted. Riel and his fellow conspirators had fled less than one hour before. After a period of celebration the Hon. Mr. Adams Archibald was sworn in as Lieutenant Governor of the new province of Manitoba and the North West Territories. A small pen picture of Butler at this time appears in a note written by a member of the militia who attended the governor's investiture:

Lt. Butler and Dr. Schultz arrived together, both remarkable for their magnificent physique and almost gigantic stature, as well as for the contrast they afforded, Butler being dark haired and bearded, Schultz being golden haired like a Viking of Old."

When the army left for the east a few days later Butler remained behind, saying he would return the way he had come. In fact, the Canadian north-west had cast its spell on him and he had no desire to shake it off and return to the haunts of men. Nevertheless, when he learned at this time of the French defeat by the Prussians at Sedan he had almost determined, as an ardent Francophile, to offer her his sword, when he received a request from Governor Archibald to undertake a mission to the valley of the Saskatchewan and the sparsely populated region of the north west. He was required to assess the need for a military presence, ascertain the extent to which the small pox had spread (bringing such medicines as were necessary for distribution "to missionaries and other intelligent persons found in settlements outside the forts") and to examine the nature and extent of the fur trade and its potential.

He was also required to furnish a report on the result of his survey for the information of the Canadian Government, this report to include his recommendations as to how the rule of law might be brought to this vast region. Butler lost no time in preparation. He assembled his supplies and equipment and with two companions, an officer of the Hudson Bay Company and a French half-breed he set out from Fort Garry in late October, 1870. He travelled with two carts, some spare horses and a small black Canadian horse which he reserved for himself and to which he became greatly attached.

His journey lasted four months, in the course of which he covered almost 3000 miles. In early December the Canadian winter descended and the temperature dropped to 22 degrees of frost for most of the time with frequent descents to 40 and 50 degrees. The rivers froze, which was an advantage as it enabled the travellers to cross them on the ice. Butler's little black horse fell through the ice and could not be rescued. He was obliged to shoot the unfortunate animal and he confesses that afterwards he sat down on the frozen ground and cried like a child. His account of the incident concludes "In that happy Indian paradise where horses are never hungry and never tired Blackie at least will forgive the hand that sent him there if he can but see the heart that long regretted him." That he was a man of sensitivity and feeling is evident from the foregoing and at other times when he describes the relationship between a man and his four footed companions. With a gun, a horse and a dog, he seems to say, what more does a man want. The picture that emerges of him at this time is that of an elemental

man, revelling in the privations to which he had subjected himself and at all times ready to pit his great strength against the wilderness.

That he was capable of inspiring the softer emotions can be inferred from the following romantic little story told by a Mrs. Mary McKay many years after Butler had sheltered from a blizzard in her father's house on the Canadian prairie:

"Once long ago, when I was a young girl, there was an officer who came to Fort Pitt. He was tall and very good looking and he could talk so well. I thought I could have loved him. He came out of the snow and storm one night like someone from a different world. When he was away I thought of him often. Afterwards when he came back I was glad."

As well as providing material for an official report this great journey and the military expedition which preceded it became the subject of the first and probably the most popular of William Butler's many books. The Great Lone Land was an instant success. The Victorian reading public could not get enough of tales of derring do in remote parts of the world and Butler's narrative, told in his own colourful style, is one of the best of the genre. His vivid descriptions of the country through which he passed and his accounts of the adventures which befell him are interspersed with his views and opinions on life in general and the occasional sideswipe at bureaucrats, speculators and the men of money, whom he tended to despise.

One of the results of his trip and his report was the establishment two years later of the Canadian North West Mounted Police, constituted on the lines he had recommended. It was thought that it might have been possible for him to remain in an official capacity to supervise the implementation of his recommendations or even to take command of the new force but nothing came of this except polite noises from the politicians in Ottawa and London. His petition for a half-pay company and the rank of Captain met with a flat refusal so that having served the Empire for twelve years he was still but a Lieutenant and a frustrated and embittered one at that.

He returned to England and on the expiration of his leave rejoined his regiment at Chatham Barracks and occupied himself in writing The Great Lone Land which found a publisher almost immediately. Fortune smiled on him at last when he was gazetted Captain to an unattached company on half-pay, and news came of the finding of oil on the land in Canada of which he was part owner. He promptly sold his share for £1000 and decided to return to Canada to continue his journeying of the previous year and by taking land became one of the pioneering settlers in the Saskatchewan valley.

He commenced this second journey in January of 1873 and travelling by dog sled and canoe made his way through the bleak north-west, further north than he had ever been, crossing the Rocky Mountains and finally arriving in Vancouver, a distance of more than 3000 miles. He disposed of his dogs with the exception of one named Cerf Volant, or Swift Deer. This was a magnificent husky which had accompanied him on his earlier travels and had recognised him when he was selecting a dog team on his return. He completed his journey by railroad eastwards across the continent and finally parted from his faithful dog in Boston. He had in his pocket the manuscript of his next book, The Wild North Land, which had been jotted down piecemeal whenever opportunity offered.

He had not, it would seem, finally made up his mind to settle in Canada and was undecided what to do when he learned of a British military expedition to the Gold Coast to punish the powerful Ashanti tribe for various offences committed against their neighbours and against British trading interests on the coast. This news was all the prompting he needed and he immediately despatched yet another cable to the Commander in Chief, Sir Garnet Wolseley, which said simply "Remember Butler. Will sail by first steamer."

I do not propose, in a paper of this length, to go into the details of the West African Expedition. Suffice it to say that it was not an unqualified success. The tribes opposed to the Ashanti failed to display any worthwhile fighting spirit and were more of a hindrance than a help. Not for nothing is the area known as the white man's grave and sickness took a heavy toll of the British troops. Having worked himself almost to a standstill Butler fell ill with a virulent fever and his condition declined to such a degree that at one stage he was given up for dead. Invalided home, he was consoled to learn that his contribution to the campaign had earned him much favourable comment in high circles in London, including the House of Lords. He was visited in hospital by no less a person than Queen Victoria herself who enquired solicitously as to his welfare and thus began an association with the Monarch which resulted in his being appointed an extra A.D.C. to her in 1883. Coincidentally, around this time the young woman whom Butler was to marry was also brought into close contact with the Queen. Miss Elizabeth Thompson was a virtually unknown young artist until her painting "The Roll Call" was hung in the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition of 1874. The picture illustrates an incident from the Crimean War: a roll call of soldiers after the battle of Inkerman. It created a sensation and Miss Thompson was the talk of the London salons. During the exhibition itself police had to be detailed to guard the painting and control the crowds thronging to see it. Queen Victoria made a special visit to the Academy to view the painting and bought it. This set the seal on Miss Thompson's success and she went on to establish herself as a leading painter of military subjects, many of her works finding their way into the Royal collection.

While all this was going on William Butler was far away in Kerry, recovering from his illness and writing an account of the Ashanti campaign - "Akin-Foo, the Story of a Failure." This was not a great success. Victorian England did not want to read about failures, the venture had been well worked over in the newspapers and the public had had enough of it. When he read of Elizabeth Thompson's success Butler remarked jokingly to his sister "She seems a fine woman. I wonder if she would marry me."

While in Kerry Butler learned that he had been promoted to the rank of Major and received a telegram from Sir Garnet Wolseley who had been appointed Governor and High Commissioner of Natal, inviting him to come along as a member of his staff. Wolseley was being sent to South Africa so that by diplomacy and the weight of his reputation the power of the Natal Legislature would be reduced as a prelude to the creation of a federation of the South African colonies. In time Wolseley was recalled and replaced by Sir Henry Bulwer whose staff included a youth who fifty years later recorded his impression of Sir Garnet's entourage: "The one who impressed himself most deeply upon my mind was Major (afterwards Sir William) Butler. He was most agreeable and took the trouble to talk a good deal to me although I was but a lad." The name of this youth was Henry Rider Haggard, who afterwards found fame as a novelist and whose works included King Solomon's Mines, Allan Quatermain, She and many others for which he drew on his South African experiences.

Butler returned to England in September, 1875 and was employed at the War Office as Deputy Asst. Quartermaster General, but events in South Africa were to draw him back there. Following the British annexation of the Transvaal preparations were made to annex Zululand but, King Cetewayo refusing to see the logic of this move, four invading columns crossed the border from Natal and within two days one of them suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Cetewayo's forces at Isandhlwana - what has been described as the washing of the spears.

When Butler heard of this he immediately volunteered for service in South Africa and sailed for Natal, but his work there was to be, not on the battlefield but in the Quartermaster's department in Durban where it became his melancholy task to arrange the funeral of the young Prince Imperial, the son of Napoleon III and the Empress Eugenie, who had been killed by a party of Zulus. Butler had earlier met the boy and become drawn to him - why not, with the blood of the great Emperor flowing in his veins. His part in these proceedings and his obvious

solicitude for the unfortunate youth earned Butler the gratitude of the Empress who afterwards became a close friend and gave him a diamond stickpin as a token of her feelings.

The Zulu War drew to a close and Cetewayo was made a prisoner. Before he left for home Butler learned that the king was asking for green rushes so that sleeping mats, such as he was used to, might be made for him. Butler arranged for this to be done and personally delivered the rushes at the castle in Cape Town where the king was confined. Cetewayo wept when he saw them and said to the interpreter "Say to him that he has brought sleep to me. Now I can rest at night." Butler was deeply moved and wrote afterwards that it was like putting a bit of green sod into the cage of a lark.

Prior to his departure for South Africa there had occurred an event of some importance, i.e. his marriage to Elizabeth Thompson, who was now regarded as the foremost painter of military subjects in England. This receives but a passing reference in his autobiography in complete contrast to the numerous prideful references to him in that of his wife who speaks frequently of "my Will" and "my soldier" etc. He evidently felt that his private life should not concern the general reader. The couple were married by Cardinal Manning on 11th June, 1877. It was widely regarded as a good match and they enjoyed a long and happy life together.

John Ruskin wrote to Butler to congratulate him, saying "I am profoundly thankful for the blessing of power that is now united in your wife and you. What may you not do for England, the two of you." If by that remark Ruskin meant enlarging the Empire, he was mistaken. Butler was no imperialist and his sympathies were always with the underdog. He had a deep distrust of the Establishment, the men of trade, commerce and the Stock Exchange and was an outspoken critic of "the mania for acquisition", his description of empire building.

The years 1881 and 1882 saw the publication of two more books: "Rovings Retold", being a collection of essays on his travels and other subjects some of which had already appeared as magazine articles and "Red Cloud, the Solitary Sioux," a book for young people which enjoyed enormous popularity and in later years was published in a Irish translation. More significantly in a third book published in 1882 entitled "The Invasion of England" he foretold what he saw as an inevitable war with Germany, for which England was quite unprepared, having as he saw it become preoccupied with the false gods of industrial and commercial success so that military training had become outdated. He describes with startling realism the manner in which a successful invasion might be mounted and the shattering impact of war on a rural community. The following passage reads like a credo:

"Our victories had so often been achieved against great odds that we had come to think we were the chosen people of God and that whatever harm might befall other nations we were safe - a dangerous belief even if it be held in unison with a firm faith in a Supreme Being, but a false hallucination when it is found side by side with a most palpable abandonment of God's teaching, and the open denial of his precepts."

1882 found Butler in Egypt as a member of Wolseley's staff, an expedition having been sent out to quell an uprising led by Arabi Pasha against the British-supported government in Cairo. The revolt was stamped out at the battle of Tel el Kebir and Arabi was captured and sentenced to death. Always generous to a defeated enemy, Butler took the unprecedented step of going over Wolseley's head to plead for clemency for Arabi as there was a strong current of opinion in favour of executing him. The calls for mercy proved the stronger and Arabi was spared.

A further exploratory journey in western Canada to assess its agricultural potential on behalf of a joint stock company followed Butler's return to England. This gave him much pleasure, enabling him to visit the scenes of his earlier travels but civilisation was starting to encroach and he found himself lamenting

the disappearance of the buffalo herds and the breaking up of the old Indian tribes.

Late in 1883 there arose in the Southern Sudan, then under Egyptian suzerainty, one Mohammed Ahmed who believed himself to be, and had convinced his followers that he was, the Mahdi, the second prophet chosen by God to clear the infidel out of Egypt and lead his people to freedom. Having annihilated a British led Egyptian army 10,000 strong, the Mahdi invested Khartoum and there commenced the final chapter in the life of General Charles Gordon who was in command in the city. The Liberal government in London were in no hurry to come to his rescue but finally, after a considerable delay, a relief expedition was mounted with the ubiquitous Sir Garnet Wolseley at its head. He gathered round him the members of his old staff, known by now as the Wolseley Ring, and including William Butler, recently promoted Lieutenant Colonel.

Butler had met Gordon some years before and had been impressed by his personality. In many ways the two men were alike, each imbued with a strong religious faith, individualistic and clear sighted, all characteristics which did not endear them to officialdom. The relief of Gordon, therefore, assumed in Butler's mind the character of a holy crusade, the only campaign of his military career having a high moral purpose. Wolseley and he had agreed that the only practicable way of getting to Khartoum was by boat up the Nile, a daunting task. Both men had seen light whale boats used on the rivers of Canada and felt that similar craft would be as effective on the Nile. After much deliberation in Whitehall Butler was authorised to organise the building of a fleet of 400 boats and with another old colleague of Red River days, Colonel Alleyne, set about the task. By spreading the work across forty seven boatyards around the English coast the work was accomplished in one month and a month later the first of them were at Aswan, the remainder arriving, as he said, hand over hand. Butler threw himself into the task of getting his fleet upriver with all his usual energy, so convinced was he of the urgency of the cause, but his efforts were all in vain.

It is a matter of history that the expedition arrived at Khartoum too late. Gordon had died at the hands of the Dervishes but two days earlier and the city was in the hands of the Mahdi. This was a bitter disappointment for Butler, particularly as he knew there had been delays from the very beginning. His disappointment was all the more bitter because of the fact that Wolseley, apparently concerned lest Butler's criticism of his less energetic colleagues might cause dissension, had forbidden him to go upriver beyond the Third Cataract. From that point on somebody else would take command of the fleet. Butler did not take this rebuff meekly and replied in strong terms, but to no avail. For some reason he was out of favour with Wolseley and relations between the two were less than cordial for some time afterwards. It may have been that Wolseley did not want around him too many men of ability and this might be inferred from his complaint, in a letter to his wife, of Butler's individualism with the comment that Wellington was right to have only duffers around him. Butler wrote an account of the whole affair under the title "The Campaign of the Cataracts" which appeared in 1887 and in which he expressed his opinions in his usual trenchant fashion.

Britain was not yet ready to wage large scale war, that would come later, and so the expeditionary force was ordered out of the Sudan. Butler's efficiency during the withdrawal restored him to Wolseley's favour and he was given command of the new Egyptian frontier at Wady Halfa with the temporary rank of Brigadier General. He distinguished himself during the next few months in a number of engagements and earned the thanks of the G.O.C. in Cairo, but even as the enemy in front vanished another, in the form of sickness, began to show itself in the ranks camped along the frontier. Even though it was yet but the month of February and the weather was still comparatively cool, men began to sicken and die. The troops were living under canvas without hospital equipment of any kind and Butler, realising what would happen with the onset of hot weather, began to bombard his superiors up the line with requests for hospital and medical supplies such as mattresses, linen and bedsteads as well as materials with which to build huts.

As there was no apparent response and with his men dying in ever-increasing numbers, these communications took on a tone of asperity which must have stirred someone in authority as instructions finally came through from London for the withdrawal of the troops at Wady Halfa and to the south. By the time the withdrawal was complete many more had died and Butler was left on his own, as he said "A General without troops on a hostile frontier, while the temperature soared to 115 degrees Fahrenheit". He was to remain there for two more months until, with the help of the senior army doctor at Aswan he was invalided home, worn out with frustration, the heat and sheer exhaustion. To add insult to injury his temporary rank of Brigadier General was not confirmed and he was placed on half pay, amounting to less than £200 per year. He therefore gathered round him his family and books and departed for Brittany where living was cheap and stayed there eighteen months. A change of heart took place at the War Office during this time and he was confirmed as a Brigadier General. He was also awarded the K.C.B.

Scandal touched him briefly when in November, 1886 he was cited as one of the co-respondents in a divorce action brought by Lord Colin Campbell, a younger son of the Duke of Argyll, against his wife. This nobleman was not popular in London society because of his haughty and overbearing manner and nobody believed that any improper relationship had ever existed between Butler and Lady Colin to whom he had been introduced a few years previously. To everyone's surprise, however, Butler declined to go into the witness box thereby giving the impression that he had something to hide and drawing on himself some censorious comments from the bench. Why he adopted this course remains a mystery. The only evidence against him was that he had called to the Campbell's house on two occasions with another person present most of the time. It has been suggested by Edward McCourt, his biographer, that Butler was run down in health after his Egyptian experiences and generally depressed at the lack of appreciation shown him for his efforts (this was before his knighthood and confirmation in rank) and disillusioned with that section of society represented by the Campbells and their like. Like her husband, Lady Butler makes no reference to the case in her memoirs and their marriage remained unaffected.

In the spring of 1888 the Butlers moved from Brittany to Delgany, Co. Wicklow. At this time Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill had failed, a Conservative Government sat in Westminster and a policy of coercion was in operation in Ireland. While at Delgany Lady Butler painted her picture "Evicted", reputedly at her husband's suggestion. This shows a young woman standing distraught before the smoking ruins of her cottage and did not find favour in England. When hung at the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1890 the picture was the subject of facetious comments by Lord Salisbury who remarked on the breezy beauty of the landscape which almost made him wish he could take part in an eviction himself. The artist's comment: "How like a Cecil." The painting now hangs in the Department of Folklore, U.C.D.

Charles Stewart Parnell was then at the height of his power and living 20 miles away at Aughavannagh. He and Butler became friends, shooting and hunting together and meeting socially. Butler regarded Parnell as one of the most remarkable men in the British Empire and the outstanding leader of his generation, an opinion which time and subsequent events did nothing to change.

While living at Delgany Sir William kept busy and among other writings produced a Life of General Gordon which still remains a seminal work, in the words of Edward McCourt communicating "Gordon's personality as does no other book of the time, with the exception of Gordon's own journals."

In 1890 he was offered and accepted an overseas command in Egypt where he spent the next three years, which he numbered as among the best of his life. He studied the history and topography of the region, exploring on foot and by donkey, and with Lady Butler visited the Holy Land. Needless to say the scenes of Napoleon's campaigns in Egypt and Palestine received his attention and it is characteristic of his paradoxical nature that he can switch from a highly coloured account of the Battle of Esdraelon to reflections on the life of Christ which

demonstrate his deep spirituality and religious feeling. Writing of the Plain of Esdraelon and the view from it he says:

"How much of human destiny has lain between these two points, Nazareth and Bethel. It was at the southern most end of that long view that the mysterious promise was made to the sleeper at the foot of his dreamladder: 'Thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth and thou shalt spread abroad to the west, the east, the north and the south and in thee and thy seed shall the families of the earth be blessed. And it was here at Nazareth, fifteen hundred years later, the Son of the Carpenter, looking out over Esdraelon, should be silently awaiting the appointed time for the mighty mission which was to be the final fulfilment of that promise of benediction."

On his return from the Middle East there followed periods of command at Aldershot and Dover but events in South Africa were moving towards their bloody climax of the Boer War and the most controversial phase of Sir William Butler's life was about to begin.

With the discovery of gold in the Transvaal in 1886 large numbers of speculators began to pour into the country so that by the end of the century they already outnumbered the Boer population. By the 1890s these Uitlanders as they were called, many of whom were British, were paying considerable sums in taxes and were demanding equal voting rights with the Boers. The Government of Paul Kruger insisted on a fifteen year residence qualification before these demands would be met. Relations between the Boers and the British had always been uneasy and the Jameson Raid of 1895 had done nothing to allay Boer anxiety as to British intentions. This was the heyday of the British Empire and a large body of opinion at home held that it was every Briton's patriotic duty to extend its boundaries. When this extension involved the acquisition of great natural wealth so much the better. So it was with the Transvaal and when at a conference in Bloemfontein in 1899 Sir Alfred Milner, the British High Commissioner at the Cape, demanded equal voting rights, immediately, for all Uitlanders who had lived more than five years in the Transvaal a confrontation was inevitable. President Kruger refused this demand crying tearfully "It is our country you want." Milner, who with Joseph Chamberlain, the Foreign Secretary, was convinced of the need for war as a means of resolving the impasse, immediately terminated the meeting and the first step on the road to war had been taken.

Into this situation came Sir William Butler, as the new Commander in Chief at the Cape. When the appointment became necessary in 1898 Milner had asked for a man of energy and resource and ironically he got Butler whose views on the South African question were diametrically opposed to his own. Butler did not particularly want the appointment but his rule as a soldier was always to go wherever he was sent. He was in fact the very worst choice, as his sympathies lay with the Boers whose country he saw as next in line for annexation.

Once in South Africa he took over the duties of acting High Commissioner, relieving Sir Alfred Milner who had gone home on three months leave and was thus involved in South African politics immediately. He directed all his energies towards averting war and in a speech he made shortly after his arrival said: "South Africa in my opinion does not need a surgical operation; she needs peace, progress and the development which is only possible through the union of many hearts and the labour of many hands." This type of statement did not endear him to the Imperialist element, so that while he was hailed by the Boers he was denounced by the Uitlanders and their party who saw in him a man to fear. As Commander in Chief he reviewed the military strength at his disposal and produced a report highlighting its inadequacy in the event of a Boer invasion and as an offensive force with which to invade the Transvaal.

On this as on many other points he found himself at odds both with London and with Milner who described him as this "Brilliant but impossible Irishman", while

acknowledging that Butler knew better than anyone the military situation in South Africa, saying that "his merit was that he knew the size of the job." In this, he stood almost alone in recognising the fighting qualities of the Boers, this handful of farmers as they were contemptuously called. In his commitment to peace he stood alone also, all his actions in South Africa being founded on the philosophy that war was an evil thing, stemming from human greed and to be avoided if at all possible. Milner could do nothing with him. Punctiliously correct in so far as his military duties were concerned, he was not prepared to do anything of his own volition which might further Government policy or even suggest that he was in accord with it. As a soldier he saw very clearly that sabre rattling such as the arrival of staff officers, including Col. Baden-Powell, in South Africa, the purchase of large numbers of mules and other equipment, including six million rounds of ammunition, while giving joy to what he called the Jingo party would set the Boers in a state of greater unrest than ever and alert them to the need for making their own preparations before British forces in South Africa could be made strong enough to assume the offensive.

He had earlier stated, in a reply to complaints from the War Office as to his attitude, that a war between the white races in South Africa would be the greatest calamity that ever occurred in that country. His position finally became completely untenable when he was told in effect to obey orders and not to interfere in matters of Government policy. His warnings and interpretation of the situation as he saw it were falling on deaf ears and he realised that the only honourable course open to him was to resign. He accordingly did so in July of 1899. Before his departure he wrote to William Schreiner, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony: "Try to remember me as one who did his best according to his lights, for South Africa and her people." Schreiner valued this note on the back of which he wrote: "I would not lose this for a great deal."

The Boer War broke out in October, 1899 and went badly for the Crown forces who suffered a series of reverses in the early months. Butler, now serving as Commander in Chief of the Western District at Devonport, offered to return to South Africa and serve in any capacity but his offer was turned down. How he would have acquitted himself in the field or whether he would have been any more successful as a commander than some of the others who were out there must remain a matter for speculation. Significantly, when he again visited that country after the war the Boer generals Smuts and Botha paid him the compliment: "It was lucky for us, General; that you were not against us in the field."

With the war going badly public opinion in Britain needed a scapegoat and Butler was the obvious choice. He was accused in the press of having betrayed the Empire, being so pro-Boer, neglecting his duty in South Africa, unpreparedness and much more. He received a flood of anonymous hate mail so that he became, in the words of a friend "the best abused man in England." His desire to publicly justify himself was frustrated by direction of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff who directed that he remain silent. It was only with the setting up of a Royal Commission on the war four years later that he had an opportunity of clearing his name. Some amends were made him then when he was given the important job of investigating what became known as the War Stores Scandal, involving profiteering by military contractors and there was a certain amount of "Sorry about that. You were right all along, Sir William."

In 1905 he retired from the army and came to live at Bansha Castle, Co. Tipperary, a substantial house at the edge of the village. Retirement did not mean idleness, however, as for the remainder of his life he was much in demand as a public speaker in which capacity he addressed groups throughout the country, frequently on the subject of temperance. Any subject was grist to his mill and, as always, he was never slow to voice his opinions. Waterford heard him in 1908 when he addressed the students of the newly established Central Technical Institute at the annual prize giving.

He continued to write newspaper articles, essays and official reports flowed from his pen. One of these last was a report produced at the request of the

Government on the feasibility of constructing a tunnel under the English Channel, a project opposed by many on the grounds of national security. In Butler's view these people saw France through the eyes of 1815 as the ancient enemy, whereas he saw that conflict with Germany lay not far in the future and that there was nothing to fear from France. The next thirty years saw him twice proved right.

Matters in Ireland occupied his mind not the least of which was the prevalence of intemperance. He wrote: "The moral sense and physical stamina of the people of these islands are now being eaten into by the canker of drink. What is the use of talking about the increase of temperance and the spread of enlightenment and a dozen other delusions when the total drink bill of the nation stares at us in black and white at some fourteen millions sterling?" The importance of goods which could be manufactured at home caused him to fire a few shafts at that target, ending with the words: "Are we never to awake out of the profound trance into which our unhappy past seems to have cast us?"

As a family man he was an autocrat, feared and loved by his children. His daughter Eileen, Lady Gormanston, wrote: "To me as a child he was an idol, but an idol to be worshipped from afar. My love for him was one of the strongest emotions of my life but I was too shy ever to be able to demonstrate it to him." She did so by wearing herself out at school to please him by bringing home all the prizes possible. "Beneath his stern exterior" she wrote, "there beat a tender heart which craved affection." An explanation for this may be that as a busy public figure his various activities, military, social and literary, necessarily distanced him from his children to a greater degree than would be the case if he had been employed in a normal 9 to 5 profession. It is noteworthy that those who worked for him never wanted to leave his service and when his autobiography was published the year after his death one reviewer spoke of his loveableness.

As a writer he inclined to a colourful and, at times flowery style, not without the occasion purple patch. This sometimes found its way into his reports, to the annoyance of his superiors who would have preferred a more sparse and austere form of communication. Through much of his writing there runs a vein of humour which breaks out in the occasional pun or when he recounts some humorous anecdote and he comes across as a man who could see the funny side of things.

He retained his fine physique to the end of his days and some of the residents of Cahir and Bansha can still speak of the tall, white whiskered old gentleman described to them by their parents. Unfortunately the generation which remembered him at first hand has all but vanished from the scene.

His long service to the British Empire was rewarded when in 1906 he was appointed Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath and in 1909 a member of the Privy Council in Ireland. Other appointments included membership of the Senate of the National University of Ireland, a Governor of the Royal Hibernian Military School and as a Commissioner on the Board for National Education. These honours, nevertheless, did nothing to diminish his Nationalist convictions and he remained a fervent Home Ruler to the end. He was not one to spend his time looking backwards and meditating on the ancient wrongs done to his race. Instead his patriotism took the form of so bearing himself in the great world outside that people would say of him "What an Irishman that is." In Wolseley's view: "Had he lived in mediaeval times he would have been the knight errant of everyone in distress. A lost cause appealed to his deepest feeling." Speaking of him after the Boer War, Viscount Esher writing to King Edward VII said: "There is no doubt that he is among the ablest of your Majesty's servants and possesses an intellect capable of grasping large problems and dealing with them in a practical manner."

Sir William Butler's long and adventurous life came to an end on 7th June, 1910, after a short illness. A few days later, preceded by a military band, his body was borne on a gun carriage to the little country churchyard at Killardrigh, a few miles from Bansha. On the coffin were placed his plumed hat, his medals and his sword crossed with its scabbard. Immediately behind was led a charger with empty saddle and

empty riding boots reversed in the stirrups. The hedges along the way had been cut back to permit the passage of the cortege along the narrow road. The most eloquent testimonial to the regard in which he was held was provided by the spectacle, behind the representatives of Church, Army, State and family, of a long procession of the plain people of the countryside, some of them barefoot, come to pay their last tribute to their famous countryman.

Cannon from the artillery detachment at Cahir boomed in salute as the coffin was lowered into the ground, thus carrying out his wishes as expressed in the following short poem found in his papers after his death:

Give me but six foot three (one inch to spare)
Of Irish earth and dig it anywhere;
And for my poor soul say an Irish prayer
Above the spot.

Let it be hill where cloud and mountain meet,
Or vale where grows the tufted meadowsweet,
Or boreen trod by peasants' shoeless feet:
It matters not.

I loved them all, the vale, the hill,
The moaning sea, the water lillied rill,
The yellow gorse, the lake shore lone and still,
The wild birds' song.

But more than hill or valley, bird or moor,
More than the green fields of the river Suir,
I loved those hapless ones, the Irish poor,
All my life long.

Little did I for them in outward deed,
And yet be unto them of praise the need
for the stiff fight I waged 'gainst lust and greed;
I learned it there.

So give me Irish grave, 'mid Irish air,
With Irish grass above it - anywhere;
And let some Irish peasant say a prayer
For my soul's care.

Perhaps the words of his widow to her daughter after his death sum up his life and his passage from this world, when she said "He taught me how to live and now he has taught me how to die."

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I am indebted to the late Mrs. Margaret Sheehan, Chair, for favouring me with her personal recollections of Sir William Butler in his last years, to Mr. Jerry Sheehan and Mr. Joe Walsh, Cahir, for much valuable and interesting information and to the present mistress of Bansha Castle, Mrs. Theresa Russell, for her kindness and hospitality when I called to her home in the course of researching this paper.

Waterford Cloth in 11th Century Novgorod.

Will Forbes

Perhaps the most important manufacture exported from Ireland in later medieval times was the heavy woolen cloth and the garment made from it, known in Irish as falaing, and in English as falding. O'Neill discusses this trade in the context of the later medieval period. He describes the falding as "a capacious garment of coarse wool, to which the closest modern equivalent would be a large poncho." He further states that Waterford was "the principal area of manufacture and distribution of what in the 16th century came to be known as "Waterford rugs".¹

O'Neill cites two examples from the later 11th Century which show that this industrial export predates the Anglo-French colonization. Liferis' Vita Cadoci, written c 1100, is fairly specific: "... coccula, a certain type of garment which the Irish use out of doors, full of prominent tufts or coils like hair." ² This establishes the presence of the exported finished garment in Wales at the end of the 11th century. ³ O'Neill further mentions the mantle of St. Brigid in Bruges, given to the cathedral by the sister of Harald King of England, and said to be of Irish origin. ⁴

Bruges in Flanders was one of the premier centres of both the manufacture of and trade in cloth throughout the medieval period. ⁵ Sawyer, in discussing the commercial links between the east Baltic and Western Europe, refers to cloth coming from Flanders and Frisia to Novgorod in Russia, citing in particular Adam of Bremen, the historian of the great northern diocese of Hamburg. Adam, writing before 1075, says that:

"Then for woolen clothes, which we call faldones, (the inhabitants of that county) exchange precious martin skins." ⁶

I assume that what Adam states his North Sea - littoral contemporaries called faldones, are lengths of Irish-made frieze cloth, that is faldings/falaing.

The Irish word falaing/fallaing is cited as cognate to the medieval Latin faldinga, which is quoted, with its "d" from c 1200. ⁷ The word in Irish is known from at least c 1100, when it occurs glossing a biblical text. ⁸ Spenser in the 16th century (infamously) characterizes the Irish mantle as "a fitt house for an outlaw, a meete bedd for a rebell and an apt cloke for a thief." ⁹ Spenser's description helps us to postulate an origin, in Irish, for a word we know from medieval sources in Irish, Latin and English.

The word fal in Irish, among other things, means "fence", "hedge", "enclosure". The garment, as described by Spenser and elsewhere, could be seen as offering the enclosing protection of a hedge or fence to its wearer. Falda, in both Latin and

and Irish has the sense of "animal enclosure", and specifically in Insular Latin, "sheep enclosure." 11

I think it likely that the root "fal" is Indo-European, and common to its Latin, Celtic and Germanic derivatives. Thus English (sheep) - fold would be cognate to, not derivative of Latin Falda. The term falaing, I propose is an Irish coinage, referring specifically to a local artefact: and came into Latin (and Flemish/German) from Irishmen naming an item of merchandise to their continental customers, as the term was certainly brought into English. 12

In my understanding, Adam of Bremen tells us that an Irish-derived word was used in Flemish commercial circles in the 11th century to describe an Irish-manufactured cloth product 13 they were merchandising in Novgorod and/or other east Baltic locations. 14 This implies a certain familiarity on the continent with this specifically Irish product, and that the trade was already well-established c 1065. 15

Waterford in late medieval times was the major center for the export of mantles and falding-cloth, which must have been manufactured in both the city itself and its broad hinterland. It was perhaps always the center of this trade. Some material of a later medieval date and North German/Flemish origin has been recovered from archaeological excavations in Waterford: if analysis of the 11th century material reveals artefacts from that part of the world, we can be perhaps allowed to imagine cargos of locally-made frieze cloth, being shipped from Waterford, and at several removes, reaching Novgorod. 16

Notes

1. O'Neill, pp 68-70. see also, Childs and O'Neill. A source I might have profitably consulted is Lucas.
2. quoted in O'Neill, p 68.
3. O'Neill states without reference that "the Irish mantle was well known on Britain and the continent from ... the eight century." (ibid, p 68). In matters of material culture, Vita Cadoci cannot of course, be used as evidence for a period much anterior to its author's lifetime. Coccula is defined as "Irish mantle", Latham, p 93.
4. O'Neill, p 68. He gives no specific reference for this. At the two crisis points in the political life of Earl Godwine's family, 1051 and 1066, part of the family went to Flanders, and part to Ireland. (see Hudson).
5. "Yersche mantels" continued to be exported to Bruges as late as 1497, and presumably well into the following century. O'Neill p 140.
6. "Itaque pro laneis indumentis, quae nos dicimus faldones, illi offerunt tam preciosas martures." Schmeidler, p 246 (book IV, chapt. 18): Sawyer, p 129.
7. Latham, p 184.
8. Stokes, pp 4, 41: DIL, p 294. Giraldus Cambrensis, c 1190, uses the term: quoted in Stokes, p 41.
9. quoted in O'Neill, p 68: the regard was apparently mutual.
10. DIL, p 294. Fal is cited as a masculine O-stem: fallaing (without the sin fada) as a feminine I-stem.
11. Latham, p 184: DIL, p 294.
12. Etymology is notoriously treacherous, particularly to those, such as myself, with a small amount of linguistic knowledge. Both Stokes and the editor of Fasculus "F" of DIL regard falaing as a loan word in Irish from Latin.
13. Adam seems to indicate lengths of cloth, rather than finished mantles: cp faldying clothe, O'Neill p 69.

Waterford Cloth in 11th Century Novgorod?

14. ibid. for later medieval evidence that faldings were coming both directly and via England to Flanders/Germany.
15. A falaing would be a very utilitarian addition to the wardrobe of one enduring a Novgorod winter! There are Hiberno-Norse coins in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad: I'm uncertain if they came there from Finland, the Baltic Republics, or Russia itself. They are discussed in Dolley, which I've been unable to consult.
16. Trade of any regularity in this direction and over such a distance, is probably unlikely before the early to middle 11th century: after full exploitation of Harz silver, and the establishment of the pax Cnutica. Sawyer is informative on some of the major economic forces, and much else. Wallace, pp 219-220, 222, refers to Irish cloth merchants in Bristol and Cambridge, which should warn us of the possibility of trans-shipment of Irish cloth via English ports to the continent: he also refers to finds of luxury fabrics from the Islamic and Byzantine world in Dublin. Wallace assumes (p 220) that the Irish cloth merchants are from Dublin. He quotes a 12th century Chester list of Irish imports that does not include cloth (p 229). I take this as confirmation of Waterford's pre-eminence in the cloth trade: Chester was probably not a major destination of Waterford ships. Bristol, on the other hand, is geographically better sited to receive Waterford trade. The ship which brought Mael Isu Ua hAinmire to become The first Bishop of Waterford was almost certainly a Waterford merchant ship trading with Bristol. Large quantities of Bristol pottery have been recovered in recent Waterford excavations.

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A Remote Survey of County Waterford.

M. Gibbons

In an earlier edition of Decies Gibbons (1987, 41-2) outlined briefly the background and scope to the Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) for Co. Waterford (Gibbons et al. 1988). The work on Waterford was completed in October 1988. It is worthwhile re-stating both the primary aim of the survey and its scope. The aim was to collect and collate all the pertinent archaeological information on the county from a wide variety of cartographic, bibliographic, archival and aerial photographic sources. From this extensive archive we produced two documents. The first is a book of archaeological constraint maps at a slightly reduced 6" scale and the second is a manual produced by our computer which lists all the sites in the county on a sheet by sheet basis. This list also provides basic standardised data regarding the location and description of the various sites. These documents were then sent to various agencies in the county involved in landscape change. Use of these documents means that for the first time the archaeology of the county can be easily incorporated into state, semi-state, monument conservation and management plans. The SMR office now holds an extensive archive. Each site receives an individual identification number (SMR number) referring to a file containing all the relevant documentation. This can vary from as little as a single line reference in an article to a detailed survey backed up with numerous accounts and photographs of the site.

This article presents in table form a useful summary of site types with a discussion on a selection of categories which have hitherto received little attention in archaeological literature. Some significant findings are discussed and a preliminary analysis of the aerial photographic results is presented.

The SMR has increased substantially the known number of sites in the county. A total of 1,925 areas of archaeological interest have been recorded, ranging from individual sites like Knockeen Dolmen (SMR No. 17:34) to large complexes of sites, for example, the upland field system, enclosures and cairns at Graignagower (SMR No. 5:21) in the Comeragh Mountains. Of the 1,925 sites listed 65% form archaeological constraints and the remaining 35% have not yet been precisely located because of the vagueness of the locational information available to us. Many of these sites are known to us from placename evidence alone and the work by Power (1952) in this regard is of primary importance. We have been able to locate during fieldwork a number of these sites including, for example, an Early Christian site at Knockatumory (SMR No. 7:74). It is likely that many of the placename sites and sites marked on early maps will be precisely located once fieldwork commences. In the meantime these sites could be tracked down by any interested members of the Old Waterford Society.

Co. Waterford

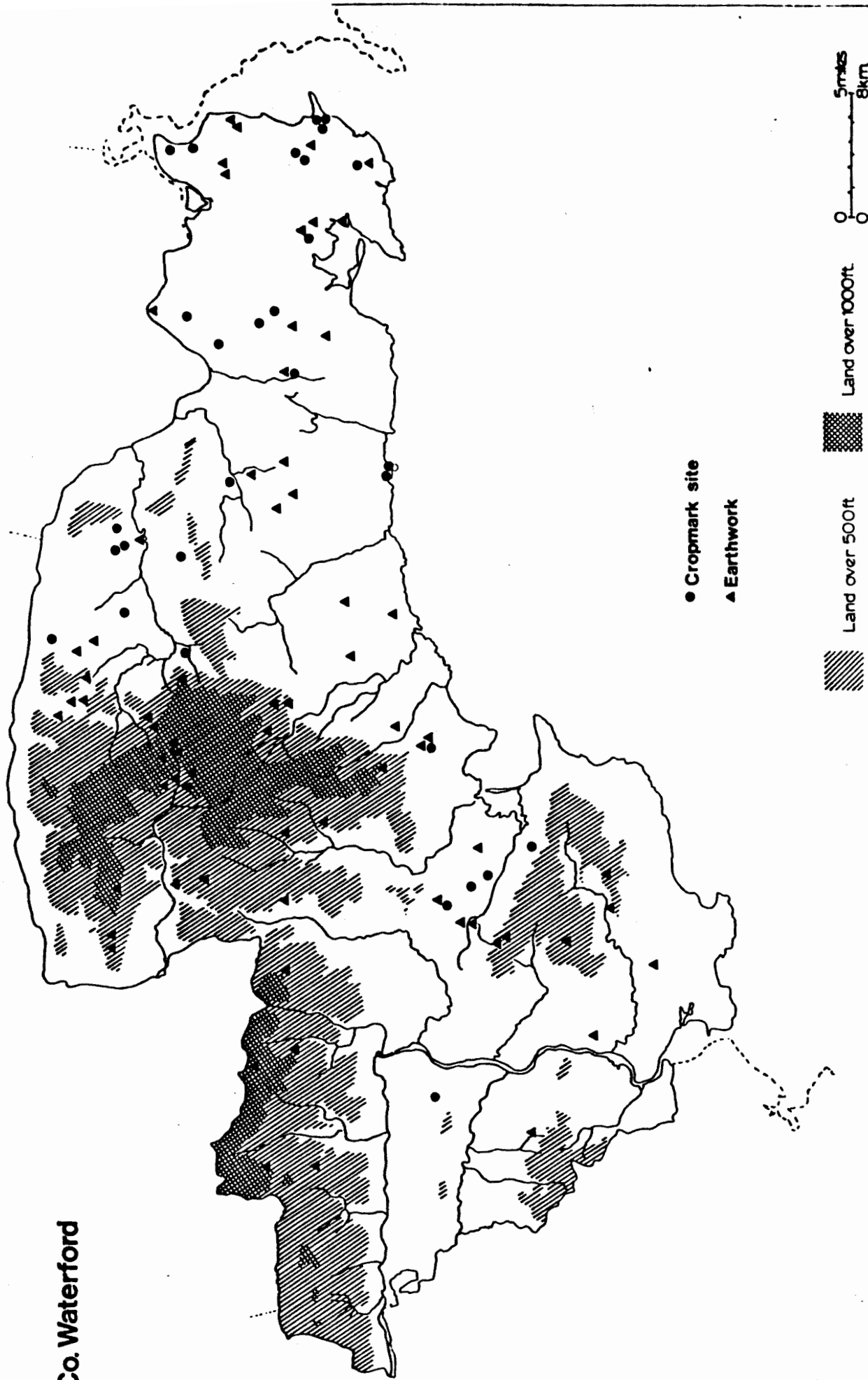


FIG. 1

The terminology used to describe many of the sites has remained general and objective. Many sites will be re-classified once fieldwork commences. The most numerous classification - enclosures, includes a broad range of sites from the prehistoric period on, but it is clear from aerial photographic survey and by analogy with results from other counties that many of these will be identified as circular ditched enclosures of the Early Christian period, i.e. ringforts.

BREAKDOWN OF SITES

Description	No.	NPL	Description	No.	NPL
<u>Neolithic/Bronze Age</u>					
Megalithic Tombs	12	4	Barrows	1	—
Portal Tombs	10	—	Cemeteries	14	3
Passage Tombs	3	—	Mounds	9	2
Wedge Tombs	2	—	Cists	8	5
Court Tombs	1	—	Burials	9	7
Megalithic Structures	8	—	Archaeological		
Stone Rows	1	—	Complexes	7	—
Henges	1	—	Rock Art	3	3
Middens	7	3	Stone Circles	2	1
Settlement Find Spreads	3	—	Urn Burials	4	1
Standing Stones	76	32	Tumuli	3	—
Cairns	46	23	Stone Alignments	2	—
Fulacht(a) Fiadh(a)	53	9	Stone Settings	2	—
<u>Iron Age</u>					
Promontory Forts	30	2	Hillforts	2	—
Linear Earthworks	10	7			
<u>Early Christian-Secular</u>					
Enclosures	834	48	Toghers	1	1
Earthworks	37	3	Horizontal Watermills	6	2
Souterrains	39	9	Stone Lamps	2	—
Ringforts	13	—	Crannogs	3	—
<u>Ecclesiastical Remains</u>					
Ecclesiastical Remains	203	72	Chapels	3	2
Churches	120	11	Altar Tombs	3	—
Grayeyards	104	11	Leacht Cuimhne	2	1
Holy Wells	82	22	Abbeys	2	—
Ogham Stones	61	11	Altars	2	—
Bullaun Stones	37	9	Effigies	2	—
Grave Slabs	31	—	Cross-Inscribed Pillars	1	—
Fonts	18	1	Medieval Altar Tombs	1	—
Crosses	9	1	Oratories	1	—
Cross-Inscribed Stones	8	1	Preceptories	1	—
Children's Burial Grounds	8	1	Round Towers	1	—
Inscribed Stones	5	—	Saint's Tombs	1	—
Rectories	5	3	Sheela-na-gigs	1	1
Holy Stones	1	—	Cells	1	—
<u>Medieval</u>					
Dwellings	227	212	Manors	2	2
Castles	96	25	Motte & Baileys	3	—
Mills	38	32	Watermills	3	3
Weirs	34	32	Fish Ponds	2	1
Mansions	27	10	Kilns	2	1
Towns	10	1	Moated Sites	3	—
Villages	9	9	Pigeon Houses	2	1
Bridges	7	—	Forges	1	1

Description	No.	NPL	Description	No.	NPL
Mines	6	6	Fortifications	1	—
Mineworking	8	6	Gallows	1	1
Bawns	6	1	Glass-working	1	1
Settlement-Deserted	5	4	Market Houses	1	—
Fords	3	1	Millstones	1	—
Mottes	5	2	Mine Shafts	1	—
Barracks	3	1	Star-shaped forts	1	—
Fish Weirs	3	3	Statues	1	—
Lime Kilns	3	3	Windmills	1	—
Architectural Fragments	12	1			
<u>Other</u>					
Potential Site-Name	29	27	Battlefields	4	2
Roads	19	3	Wells	3	1
Miscellaneous	15	6	Field Banks	3	—
Linear Ditches	5	1	Field Systems	3	—
Buildings	13	4	Stone Sculpture	6	—
Settlements	12	1	Farm Buildings	1	—
Potential Site-Air Photo	11	—	Wellhouses	1	1
Quern Stones	7	—	Hut Hollows	1	1
Towers	7	1	Pits	2	—
Field Walls	5	1	Potential Site-Tradition	1	1
Walls	1	—	Hut Sites	19	1

DWELLINGS

The various habitation and settlement sites used by the people of late medieval, seventeenth century and early eighteenth century Waterford are classified under a number of different headings (including 'Dwelling', 'Mansion', 'Deserted settlement', 'Earthwork' etc.) highlighting in a sense both the lack of research and of a satisfactory terminology for the material of this period. Many of the 229 entries listed under 'Dwellings', are mentioned or marked on the Down Survey (Ms 722, NLI) and the Civil Survey (Simington 1942). The category 'Dwelling' disguises a wealth of information about seventeenth century settlement patterns and about the individual house types themselves. It is a study that is from a strictly architectural point of view still in its infancy but in which a significant start has been made by pioneers in the field like Leask (1961), Waterman (1961) and Craig and Garner (1977).

It is almost certain that most of the sites referred to as cabins in the various sources were probably mud cabins of one sort or another that could easily be swept away with the passage of time. Their simple undiagnostic architecture at any rate would make them indistinguishable from nineteenth century vernacular houses. It is the large numbers of 'Stone Houses', 'Chimney Houses', 'Thatched Houses' etc. that hold out the greatest promise for further studies. Many of these more substantial structures were likely to have been incorporated into larger eighteenth and nineteenth century farm and estate houses.

Analysis of the house types covered by the term 'Dwelling' in the SMR mainly from the Down and Civil Survey.

Type	No.	Type	No.
Cabins	47	Outhouse	2
Chimney	32	Chief House	2
House(s)	16	Tiled House	2
Thatched House	15	Decayed House	2
Thatched Stone House	12	Large Slate House and Bawn	1
Stone House	12	(Barnakile)	1

<u>Type</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>No.</u>
Slate House	6	Little Stone House	1
Cottages	6	Old Stone House	1
Building (Ecclesiastical)	3	Thatched Chimney House	1
Mansion	3	House with Tower	1
		Good House	1

In general there is a direct correspondence between the Down Survey and Civil Survey with only occasional minor differences being noted. It is clear that in addition to individual houses and cabins embryonic villages or hamlets were also present in seventeenth century Waterford. Occasionally sites which are listed as 'Thatched Houses' in the Down Survey are described as 'Thatched Village' in the Civil Survey (Simington 1942, 18) as at Ballydonagh (SMR No. 5:33) for example.

The condition of the houses are variously described - 'House in Repaire', 'Out of Repaire', 'Never Made Up', 'Decayed', 'Fine', 'Faire', 'Good', or 'Handsomely Built'. The minor differences that occur between the two surveys often refer to the age or the condition of the site - 'Stone House' or 'Old Stone House' on the Down Survey may be described as 'Slate House' or 'Handsomely Built House' on the Civil Survey.

The range of house types has as much to tell us, perhaps, about social stratification in society as it does about the houses themselves. At the upper end of the range of house types one is tempted to pick out the 'Large Slate House and Bawn' or 'Chief House' or 'Mansion' as being analagous to the early 17th century house described by Craig and Garner (1977, 113-115) west of Lismore at Ballyduff Lower (SMR No. 20:11), with the various 'Stone Tiled' and 'Slate Houses' being in next order of ranking followed by 'Thatched Stone House' and 'Chimney House'. The mention of one 'House with Tower' suggests that some of these sites may be descendent or adaptations of towerhouses proper. The occasional mention in the Civil Survey of orchards and quick sets about these houses as at Ballynamucke (Civil Survey, Simington 1942, 36) raises the interesting but difficult question of identifying garden, ornamental and other associated landscape features as earthworks on the ground. The bulk of the houses from the Down and Civil Surveys would appear to be thatched but with a prominent use of slate and the interesting occurrence of at least some tiled buildings, for example at Monatray East (Civil Survey, Simington 1942, 29) (SMR No. 40:12) and Ballynacourty (Civil Survey, Simington 1942, 35) (SMR No. 31:55). It is not clear whether 'Thatched Chimney Houses' were a progression from houses thatched without a chimney. One can presume that the various stone houses also had chimneys. The term 'House' probably embraces all forms of the house type. In addition to human habitations the Civil Survey (Simington 1942, 80) mentions two pigeon houses, one at present day Castlequarter (SMR No. 23:35).

The other major sources which contributed to the category 'Dwellings' were the Bateman maps of the Bride valley (Ms 6148-49 NLI). These account for 138 houses in all. These houses should be relatively easy to track down and study as their locations are marked clearly on Bateman's 12" maps of the area. It would be interesting to see whether they are substantially different in their architecture from the mid-seventeenth century houses or whether they represent a development from them.

MANSIONS

Larger houses are listed under Mansion (27) or Manors (2) or Market House (1). The bulk of these houses are in fact substantial seventeenth century houses. Craig and Garner (1977) list over 10 of these. Others are known to us from the Civil Survey. Interestingly enough, though listed as 'Mansions in the Civil Survey some are described as 'Chimney Houses', Stone Houses' or 'Elizabethan Houses' (as at Ballynatray Demesne (Civil Survey, Simington 1942, 20), (SMR No. 37:5))

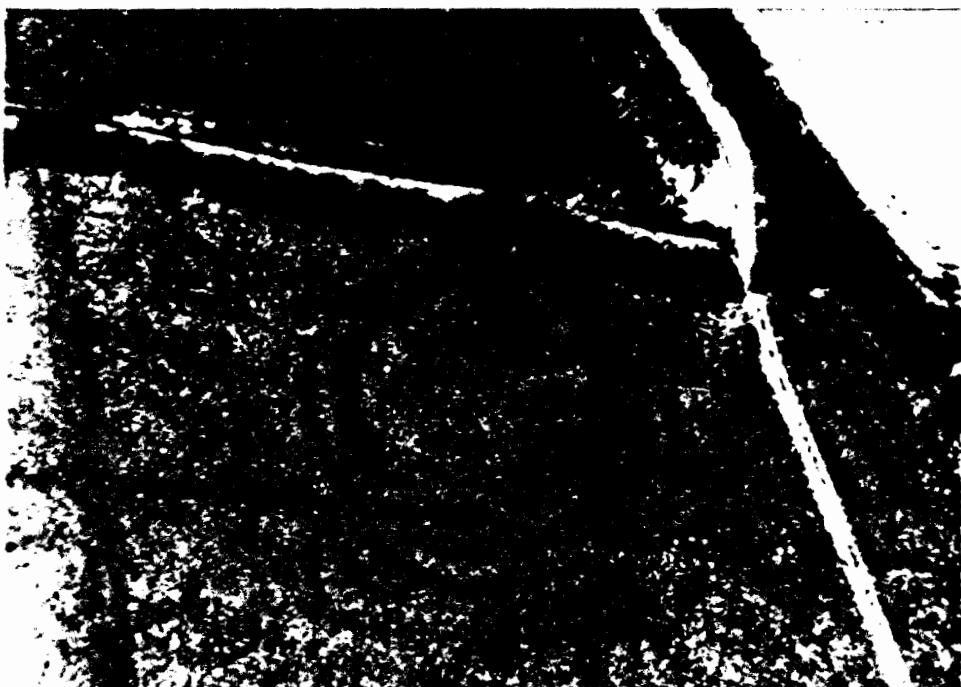


Plate 1

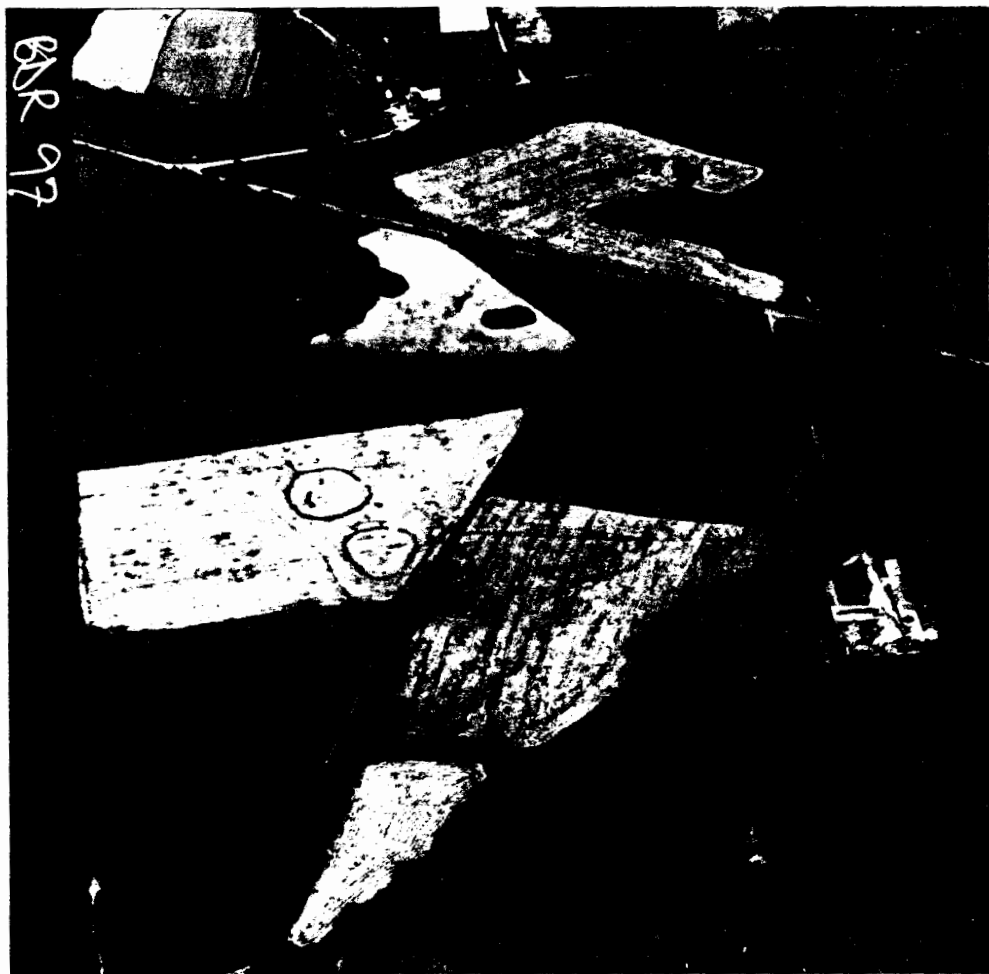


Plate 11

on the Down Survey. One site simply marked as 'Castle' on the O.S. map is described in the Civil Survey (Simington 1942, 78) as a large slate house with bawn and outhouse (SMR No. 23:11). Another is described as 'the Defensible House of the McCraighes' (Civil Survey, Simington 1942, 60) at Ballykernan (SMR No. 22:59). Others included are the 'Seates' of powerful Anglo-Norman and English families, for example, the 'Seate' of the Osbournes at Cappagh (Civil Survey, Simington 1942, 50) and the 'Seate' of the Fitzgeralds at Templemichael (Civil Survey, Simington 1942, 2).

DESERTED SETTLEMENTS

A rich seam of information on deserted settlement is provided by placename evidence and it was very successfully utilized by Canon Power in all his work. Of the 29 sites listed under 'Potential Site - Name' 26 refer to 'Sean Sraid' interpreted by Power to mean old village. The evidence from placename references points to the abandonment of a large number of sites whether through reform of the church in the twelfth century, war, pestilence or the establishment of new settlement during the plantation of Waterford. It is also clear from the Down Survey and Civil Survey that many castles had small clusters of cabins about them, some of which may have developed into villages proper. Many native and plantation settlements must surely have been abandoned, some permanently, during the upheavals of the 1650's. A good example of an abandoned site is one described thus in the Civil Survey (Simington 1942, 75) - "Parish of Rosmyre whereon standeth the walls of several ruined houses and a paved street intended before the rebellion for a plantation" (SMR No. 15:67). Cappoquin (SMR No. 21:35) is described as having a castle and a ruined plantation in the Civil Survey (Simington 1942, 7) and many other early villages must lie buried or hidden within the larger estates which were laid out afresh remoulding the existing landscape, "Leath Bhaile" two miles west of Lismore (SMR No. 20:7) being a possible example. The Geneva Barracks (SMR No. 18:24) is a classic example of a failed settlement from the eighteenth century..

Of the 9 village sites listed 6 are marked either on the Scalé (Ms 7216-18 NLI) or the Bateman (Ms 6148-49 NLI) maps of West Waterford. Two are suggested by placename evidence and one is listed as 'Thatched Village' at Inchiqueale, present day Whitesfort (SMR No. 1:39) (Civil Survey, Simington 1942, 91).

The numerous houses, mansions, cabin clusters and villages together with the ample placename evidence for former villages and settlements offer great scope for locating lost medieval and seventeenth century settlements in Waterford. However, many may have been so short lived that the tell-tale earthworks of a classic deserted medieval village may never have come about.

INDUSTRIAL ARCHAEOLOGY

The Down and Civil Surveys are also important for throwing light on the industrial archaeology of the county. 34 of the 38 mills recorded come from these sources. The mills come in a variety of forms, the bulk of them perhaps, being corn mills with the occasional tuck, grist or steel mill as at Ballynatray (Civil Survey, Simington 1942, 20) (SMR No. 37:4). Evidence for the extraction and manufacturing of various metals particularly iron and bronze is widespread throughout the county. Cowman (1982) has shown that the 'Bronze Age' mines at Bunmahon are in fact nineteenth century in date. There is extensive evidence for ironworking in the county particularly in the later medieval period (Power 1977 and 1978).

From the Bateman maps and accompanying texts in particular it is clear that access to even quite small streams was important for any farm. We have references to 6 horizontal mills and 3 water mills. The horizontal mills are generally thought to be Early Christian in date and one site in Waterford, at Ballydowane West (SMR No. 26:67) has been dated to 841-9AD (Baillie 1980). In addition to mills there were numerous fishing weirs recorded on the major rivers



Plate 111

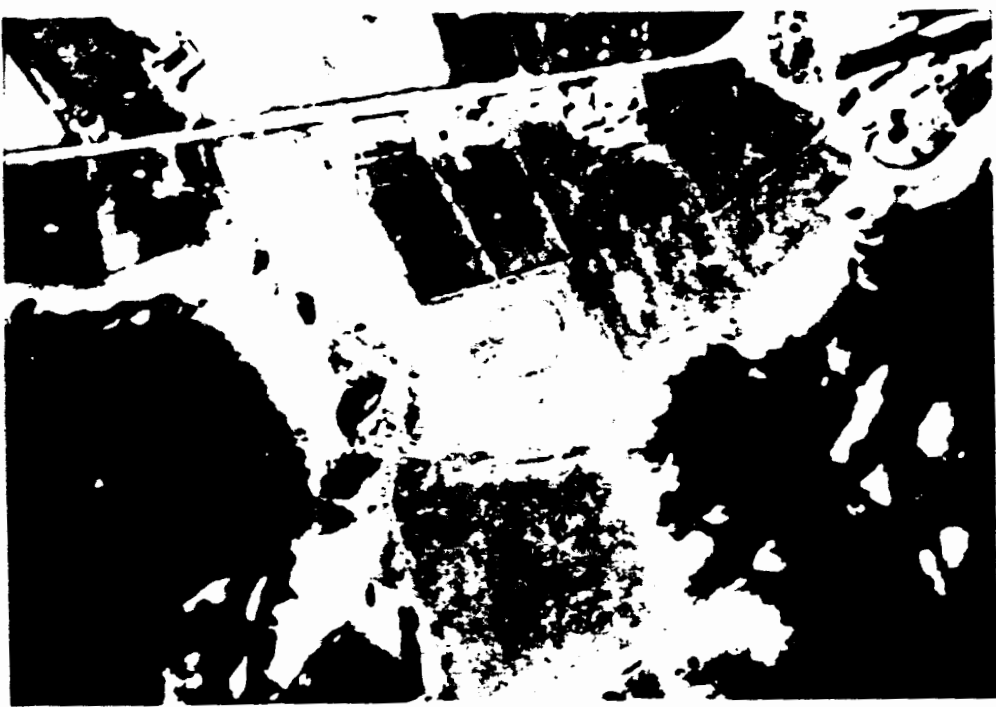


Plate 1V

and coastal estuaries. Indeed many of these weirs were so called head weirs to catch the migrating salmon. At Faithlegg, for example, the Civil Survey mentions eight weirs (Simington 1942, 164). Went (1946) deals at length with some of these and we were able to pick out a number of the familiar v-shaped patterns that they make in the estuarine muds. It is clear that many of the present day mills and weirs are sited at the same locations as the medieval weirs.

EARTHWORKS

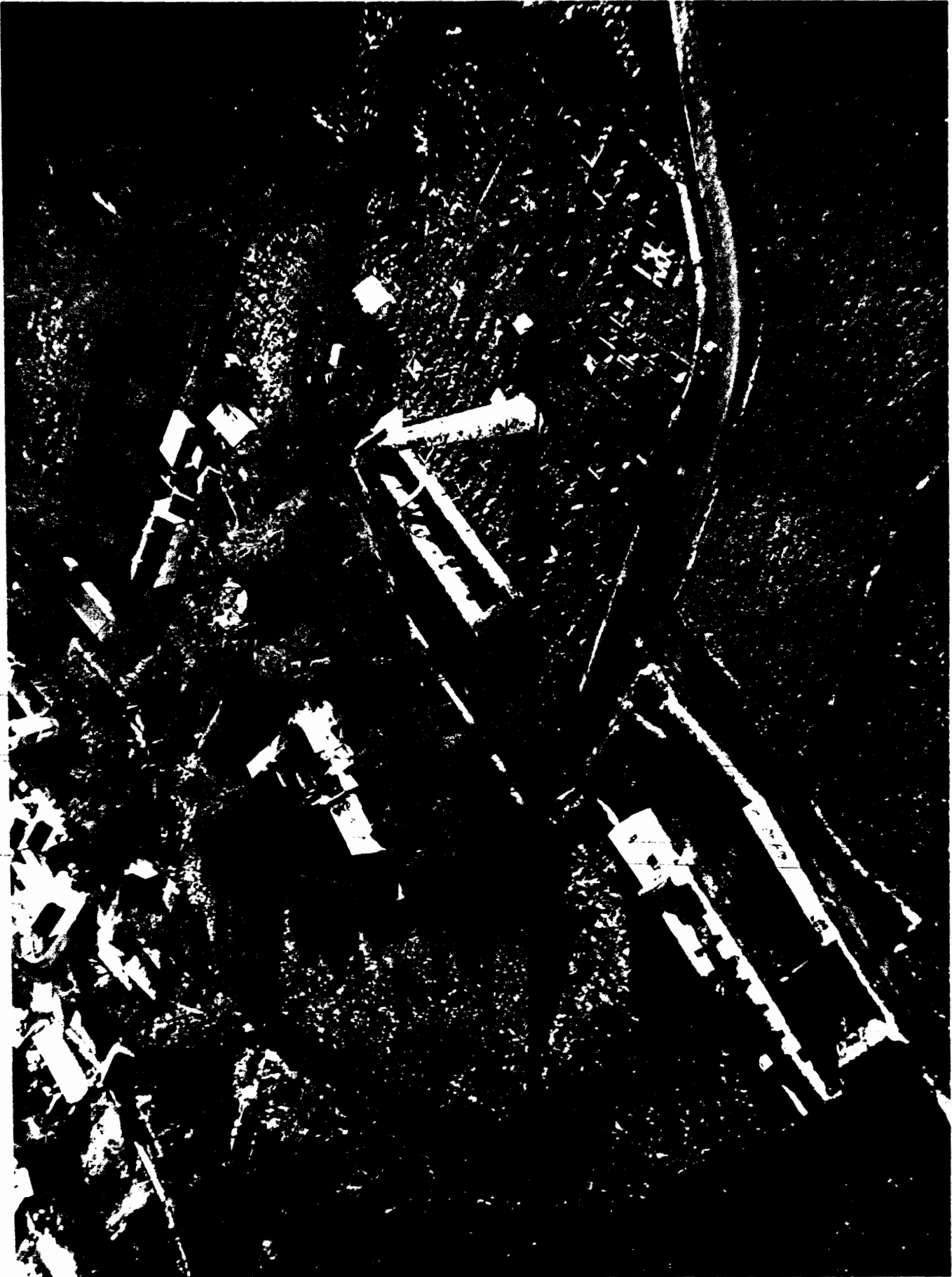
37 sites or portions of sites are classified as 'earthworks'. These include a great diversity of site types from raised circular platforms discovered from aerial photographs to a number of linear banks, possibly the remains of old roadways. 10 are earthworks associated with Early Christian sites either the foundations of buildings, internal walls or the occasional large earthwork around a site, like that massive one that partly surrounds the Church at Ardmore. There are a number of earthworks associated with castle sites and there is an unusual reference in the Civil Survey (Simington 1942, 103) to a decayed fishpond and old ditch at Coolnamuck Demesne overlooking the Suir (SMR No. 3:59).

ECCLESIASTICAL SITES

Waterford has a rich and deep-seated ecclesiastical heritage as an analysis of the 'ecclesiastical remains' category demonstrates. It is the second largest site type in the county numbering 203 entries. The type encompasses both medieval and Early Christian sites. Of the 203 sites listed 89% (180) include definite and probable Early Christian foundations. 23.3% (47) of this type have both medieval and Early Christian features. This latter figure suggests wholesale abandonment of the simple early ecclesiastical sites in the Medieval period. Of the 180 definite and probable Early Christian sites 63.5% (114) have townland or placename evidence suggesting an ecclesiastical foundation. 19 of the 180 are included on the basis of placename evidence alone. The figures bear out the importance of placename evidence. Only a small percentage of these ecclesiastical sites would have developed into large monastic centres like Ardmore, Kilmeadan and Kill St. Lawrence and they are too numerous to be considered solely as eremitic monasteries. Their distribution is broadly similar to that of ringforts. Hurley (1982, 311) suggests that the majority of these should be regarded as small church sites which provided religious services for the local community. While this may well be true the sheer numbers involved raises interesting questions about Early Christian population levels in Co. Waterford. Fanning (1981, 160) and Hamlin (1982, 291-3) suggest that these simple sites represent the earliest stratum of monasticism in Ireland. Cuppage (1986, 258) suggests that the large numbers of church sites in areas such as the Dingle and Iveragh Peninsulas (and Waterford), are explained by the continued attraction ecclesiastical settlers had towards areas where Christianity was thought to have been introduced first. The reason for these concentrations of simple church sites must be far more complex. If one compares the numbers of early ecclesiastical sites to ringforts in such areas one is immediately struck by the high number of ecclesiastical sites in relation to the number of secular sites identified.

	EECL	RINGFORTS	
Waterford	(180)	(750 Approx.)	1:4
Dingle Peninsula	(67)	(456)	1:6

Waterford has one ecclesiastical site for every four ringforts while the Dingle Peninsula has one ecclesiastical site for every six ringforts. The large numbers of early church sites do seem to indicate a far greater Early Christian Population than that suggested by the 750 or so ringforts. Alternatively, it may suggest a function and role in society for simple ecclesiastical sites other than as centres providing the surrounding population with religious services. Are they in fact the habitations and religious centres of the christianized part of the population during the fifth to the eighth centuries?



Ardmore, Co. Waterford - an example of an ecclesiastical site.

PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT

Of the 12 sites listed as settlements, 3 are cave sites showing evidence for prehistoric occupation. One of these is the famous Kilgreany Cave site. Recent work by Molleson (1985/6) on the excavated skeletal material had produced two reliable calibrated Neolithic dates for the site - 263BC and 287BC. 8 are prehistoric (Mesolithic and Neolithic) settlements identified by the Ballylough project. These form only a fraction of the 400 or so Mesolithic and Neolithic sites identified (Green 1988, 34). They are however the sites which from a planning point of view are justifiable as development constraint areas. The remaining ones are so small that their inclusion could not be justified given the dispersed nature of the material.

UPLAND SITES

Among the more significant sites brought to light during the course of our work is a small group of upland sites including a remarkable complex (SMR Nos. 6:24:27) identified initially by Mongey (NMI Top. Files). It consists of a number of ceremonial, ritual and domestic monuments located on a high ridge between 900 and 1,000ft overlooking the Nier river in Tooreen East and West townlands. Among the sites are two fine ring-barrows, a large enclosure (a possible settlement site), a stone circle with outlier, a stone row with outlier, a fulacht fiadh and some ancient field walls. While it is impossible to assign a date to the group the presence of a fulacht fiadh suggests a mid Bronze Age date for the complex. The hillside has unfortunately been extensively forested in recent years.

A second and highly unusual Bronze Age site is located in the gap of Bearna Madra at over 1,600ft (Power 1952, 152-3, Murphy 1976, 4) in Coumaraglinmountain (SMR No. 14:11). The site includes a small sub-rectangular dry-stone enclosure, three standing stones, two of which are presently prostrate, and a small box cist with displaced capstone. The location of the complex on a high mountain pass is surely significant both from the ritual and possibly territorial point of view.

The Bearna Madra sites overlook a very fine group of sites in the townland of Scartnadrinnymountain (SMR No. 14:9 and 14:10). The sites were identified during fieldwork and are located in a natural saddle on the lower slopes of Seefin Mountain between 900 and 1,000ft. They consist of a very fine house site with annex, a stone setting (possibly a localized version of a stone circle) and two stretches of ancient field banks, one constructed largely of boulders and the other of earth and stone. A partly robbed cairn defines the site on its southern end. This site, when taken together with the Bearna Madra, Tooreen East and West sites and possibly the complex at Graingnagower points to a large scale occupation of the Waterford uplands during the mid Bronze Age.

DEFENSIVE SITES

During the past few years a number of dramatic defensive sites have turned up in Waterford the most spectacular being two very large and unusual linear earthworks at Garrybrittas (SMR No. 28:8) and Tallowbridge (SMR No. 28:12). They have been discussed in some detail by Condit and Gibbons (1988, 18-28). These and other linear earthworks combined with the recently identified hillforts (Condit and Gibbons 1987, 22-4 and Jackson 1988, 21-29) and previous work by Westropp (1906) point to a considerable later prehistoric presence in Waterford. Taken together they alter significantly the complexion of later prehistoric Ireland.

AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY

Aerial photography proved itself to be a powerful research technique for detection and interpretation of crop- and soil-mark sites in East Waterford and for locating numerous upstanding earthworks throughout the county. In some cases sites long since levelled have been recorded as standing earthworks on early aerial photography, thus enabling them to be described and classified, the photographs in

some instances being the only record of the sites. They are also invaluable in interpretation of sites. Over 100 previously unrecorded sites ranging from isolated enclosures to large complexes were located throughout the county. We used three main sources of vertical photography; the Geological Survey of Ireland (GSI) collection, the Air Corps coastal coverage together with sporadic runs taken for the Waterford Corporation by private companies. Though these collections were originally commissioned for a wide variety of end users from the military through to road engineers they are of immense importance to archaeologists. The GSI photographs which provide full stereoscopic coverage were taken between 1973 and 1977 at a height of 15,000 ft. giving a photo scale of about two inches to one mile. The collection was analysed using the latest Wild Stereoscopic viewer (Wild APT1). The vertical aerial photographs are supplemented by a small collection of obliques taken by Cambridge Committee for Aerial Archaeology in the years 1963-1971. Some additional photography was provided by Dr. Daphne Pochin-Mould.

The distribution of 'new' sites identified from aerial photographs in general is evenly spread with some obvious Gaps in the valleys of the Bride and Blackwater in west Waterford. Lowland sites as a rule tend to be found in areas where there are existing concentrations of sites thereby thickening the existing distribution pattern. In the uplands and areas of marginal land significant new discoveries were made in areas which had a low archaeological presence up to this. The most important of these upland sites is a complex of enclosures, field clearance cairns and fields at Graignagower (SMR No. 5:21) overlooking Ballymacarbry. This site is located on a ridge top and has escaped both being cleared and/or incorporated by agricultural expansion of the nineteenth century and the recent afforestation. It now stands as an island of uncultivated ground bounded by forestry on one side and modern fields on the other. The date of this complex is uncertain but a prehistoric context is likely given the presence of Bronze Age sites in the uplands.

However, the majority of sites identified from aerial photographs are single enclosures of one sort or another and the bulk of these are likely to be ringforts. Occasionally cropmarks can also reveal both associated and internal features of a site (Plate I, Knockhouse Lower). One rare example clearly has the remains of a souterrain visible as a cropmark (Plate II, Deerparkhill/Killahaly West). The distribution of cropmark sites is uneven (see Fig. 1, map) which may be partly explained by the varying suitability and responsiveness of the underlying soils to cropmark development, the small percentage of the county under tillage and the absence of flying programmes aimed at recovering cropmark data.

In addition to site discovery aerial photography has proved itself useful in interpreting sites. In this way the large enclosure at Castletown (SMR No. 17:60) when viewed in 3D could clearly be seen to have a steeply dished interior, a diagnostic feature of the Boyne type of henges (Pers. Comm. G. Stout). A ground inspection later confirmed the site as one of this group (Condit and Gibbons 1988, 5-9). The little-known star-shaped fort at Duagh (Plate III) is clearly visible on the Air Corps photography with two of its striking characteristic star-shaped bastions appearing as cropmarks. From another Air Corps photograph the once well-preserved deserted village site surrounding Kilmacleague Church (SMR No. 27:19) is visible. Its low banks, rectangular platforms (possibly house sites) and graveyard have recently been bulldozed. Aerial photographs in both these cases allow us to retrieve valuable information on levelled sites, the photographs becoming artifacts in their own right. Among the more unusual sites noted are two sub-circular enclosures inside and outside the large promontory fort at Dunabrattin (SMR No. 25:69) (Plate IV). These enclosures, visible as cropmarks were noticed on different sets of vertical aerial photographs taken at widely different times. The Dunabrattin cropmarks highlight the need to consult all available photographs where possible. The importance of the Cambridge photographs as historical documents is considerable also. The classic example of this is their photographs of the fine promontory fort at Dunmore East (SMR No. 27:35) which gave its name to the town. They show the fort in good condition. It was subsequently bulldozed without excavation during development of the quay. Its destruction was totally unwarranted and the site lies empty to this day.

CONCLUSION

The integrated use of the various forms of evidence, cartographic, documentary and aerial photographic has proved very successful in throwing fresh light on various aspects of Waterford's archaeology. The extensive archive built up by this largely remote survey provides a firm foundation for all future archaeological research in the county. In its present form it allows for major distributional studies to be carried out on specific monument types. It pinpoints specific research topics that could usefully be followed up, for example, upland settlement during the Bronze Age or vernacular architecture in the seventeenth century. It is clear that fieldwork will continue to bring sites to light and further aerial photographic coverage particularly low level vertical in the upland areas and oblique coverage in the cropmark producing areas would be very productive, not just for site detection but also for site monitoring and management. The importance of the SMR for Waterford archaeology of the county can be fully integrated into the planning process both at a county and local level.

Acknowledgements

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Gravestone Inscriptions at Mothel, County Waterford.

McENNEREY: GEORGE
See Baldwin, Patrick (No. 29)

McENNEREY: MARY.
See Baldwin, Partick (No. 29)

MAGRATH: DARBY (No. 116)
Here lies the body/of Darby Magrath who/died August 15th/1777 aged 55 yrs/also James his son who/died November the 4th/1787 aged 17 Yrs/

MCGRAH: DAVID (No. 232)
Here lieth the body of/David McGrah of Curraghat/agt who departed this life/Feb the 26th 1784 aged 90 yrs/

McGRATH: JACK (No. 241)
In loving memory of/Jack McGrath/Joanstown Cross/died July 1961/

MAGRATH: JAMES.
See Magrath, Darby (No. 116)

MAGRATH: MICHAEL.
See Magrath, William (No. 61)

MAGRATH: WILLIAM (No. 61)
This is the burying place of/William Magrath of Scrahan & the/last of ye family interred was Michael Magrath/son of ye above who dept this life/the 23 day of January in the year of our/lord 1776/

McGUIREY: ELLEN (NO. 160)
Ellen McGuirey/Dyed Xber 7th/1739 aged/17 years/

MAHER: MARGARET ALIAS BRYAN.
See Maher, Philip (No. 147)

MAHER: PHILIP (No. 147)
Erected by Thos Maher of the City/of Waterford in memory of his father/Philip Maher who dept this life the 14th/March 1797 aged 69 years/also the body of his wife Margaret/Maher alias Bryan who departed/this life April the 1st 1800 aged 65 years/

MAHONY: JOHN (No. 190)

This stone erected by Denis/Mahony in memory of his son/John Mahony who departed this life/October the 20th 1800 aged 26 yrs/

MARA: JAMS (No. 27)

Erected by Jams Mara of Munsborough/in memory of his son Jams Mara who/died the 15 April 1803 aged 17 years/also his brother Wilm Mara who/died May 17th 1803 aged 32 yrs/

MARAH: MARY ALIAS WALSH (No. 94)

Mary Marah/alias Walsh/died August/15th 1792/aged 47 years/

MARA: PATRICK (No. 56)

Here lies the body of Patrick /Mara of Gloun....god who/depd this life October 9 1827/aged 76 years/Erected by Thomas and Michl/Mara/

MARA: THOMAS (No. 54)

Here lies the body of/Thomas Mara son to Wm/of Knockalauy who dept/this life January ye 9th/1779 aged 34 years also his/brother Willm Mara who/depd May ye 17th 1768 aged/24 years Lord have mercy on their/sould Amen/

MARA: WILLM.

See Mara, Thomas (No. 54)

MEAGHER: CAITHRE ALIAS POWER (No. 63)

Here lies the body of/Caithre Meagher alias Power/Wife of John Meagher of Kilbrack/who died April 26 1799 agd 32 yrs/

MOLONEY: ELLEN.

See Mullins, Thomas (No. 130)

MORRES: WILLIAM (No. 230)

Here lies ye body of/William Morres son to/Oliver Morres of Garry/Maurice who parted/this life June ye 12th 1753/aged 27 years/

MULCAHY: (No. 161)

Erected by/William Mulcahy/in memory of his/Father Mother/& two brothers/

MULLINS: JAS (No. 107)

Here lies the body of Jas Mullins/of Seskin Clothier who departed/this life October the 6th 1776 aged/57 years/also his wife Mary Mullins als/Power of said place who depd this/life June the 12th 1777 aged 56 yrs/may their sould rest in Peace/Amen/

MULLINS: MARY ALIAS POWER.

See Mullins, Jas (No. 107)

MULLINS: THOMAS (No. 118)

Erected by Bridget Mullins/in memory of her husband/Thomas Mullins of Grageva/lla who depd this life the 26th/August 1810 aged 75 yrs/

MULLINS: THOMAS (No. 130)

Erected by/Johana Moloney of Feddins/in memory of her/Father Thomas Mullins/who died 6th January 1843/aged 96 years/also her daughter/Ellen Moloney who died/4 May 1853/aged 30 years/May they rest in peach Ame-/

MURPHY: DANIEL (No. 189)

Here lies the body of Daniel/Murphy who departed this life/9th of May 1797 aged 60 years/

MURPHY: THOMAS (No. 3)

Erected By/Hanoria Murphy/in memory of her husband/Thomas Murphy/who died at

MURRY: REVEREND FATHER JOHN (No. 68)

Here lieth the body of/the Reverend Father John/Murry Parish Priest of/Mothill who departed/this life April ye 18 1768/aged 33 years/

MURRY: ELINOR.

See Phelan, John (No. 132)

NEWGENT: JOHN (No. 71)

This stone erected by Patrick/Newgent of Ballynarrow in/memory of his father John/Newgent who died September/the 8 1789 aged 68 years/

NOONAN: JOHN (No. 202a)

Here lies the body of JOHN NOONAN/who departed this life August 15th 1811/aged 56 years/Also his mother MARY NOONAN/who died Sept 1795 aged 57/Requiescat in Pace Amen/

NOONAN: MARY.

See Noonan, John (No. 202a)

O'BRIEN: PATRICK (No. 140)

In loving memory of/Patrick O'Brien/Motel/who died 2nd Feb 1979/aged 67/R.I.P./Erected by his friends/

O'CONNELL: THOMAS (No. 59b)

In loving memory of/Thomas O'Connell/Ballydurn Kilmacthomas/died Feb 10th 1946/aged 84 years/GO DTUGA DIA CABHAIR/LENA ANAM/

O'DONNELL: JOSEPH (No. 102)

Here lies the body of Joseph/O'Donnell Esq of Carrick-on-Suir who/departed this life/aged 75 years in...../Erected to his memory as a small/tribute of gratitude/by his affectionate son/
(This is an altar-tomb now broken into fragments)

O'DONNELL: OWEN (No. 216)

O God be Merci/ful to ye soul of/Owen O'Donnell/who died March/ye 1st 1768 aged 79 yrs/

O'MARA: REV WILLIAM (No. 69)

Erected of the inhabitants/of the United/Parishes of Mothel and Rathgormack/in memory of the Rev William O'Mara/who had been their faithful/Pastor for fourteen years and died on the/2nd May 1827 aged 70 years/May he rest in Peace Amen/

O'TOOLE BRIDGET ALIAS O'DONOGHUE (No. 32)

Erected by Johanna O'Toole/Currakiely/in memory of her Mother Bridget O'Toole/alias O'Donoghue Kilgroven/died 18th May 1893 aged 78 years/also/her sister Margaret Died in America/and her sister Nanno and Niece/Bridget O'Toole/

Collins Watd

O'TOOLE: BRIDGET (No. 33)

Here lies the body of/Bridget O'Toole/who died Nov 2nd 1864/ aged 70 years/also her nephew/Patrick O'Toole/died March 6th 1855/aged 62 years/May they rest in Peace/

O'TOOLE: BRIDGET.

See O'Toole, William (No. 31)

O'TOOLE BRIDGET.

See O'Toole, Bridget (No. 32)

O'TOOLE MARGARET.

See O'Toole, Bridget (No. 32)

O'TOOLE: MCE.

See O'Toole, William (No. 31)

O'TOOLE: MCE.

See O'Toole, William (No. 31)

O'TOOLE: NANNO.

See O'Toole, Bridget (No. 32)

O'TOOLE: PATRICK.

See O'Toole, Bridget (No. 33)

O'TOOLE: WILLIAM (No. 31)

Erected by/Johanna O'Toole/in memory of her Father/William O'Toole Carrakiely/Died 24th June 1884 aged 78 years/Also/her Grandfather and Grd mother/Mce & Bridget O'Toole/and her uncle Mce O'Toole/

Collins Watd

PHELAN: CATERINA.

See Power, Gualterus (No. 15)

PHELAN: HONORIA (No. 133)

Erected/by/Thomas Phelan Brownswood/in memory of his daughter/Honoria who died/July 11th 1881 aged 27 years/also his brother patrick Phelan/who died August 15th 1885/aged 60 years/and his son Michael/who died Feb 7th 1886/aged 26 years/R.I.P./

PHELAN: JOHN (No. 132)

Herelies the body of John Phelan/of Seafield who depd this life August 24th 1794 aged 39 years/also his mother Elinor Murry Depd/June 3rd 1794 aged 60 years/

PHELAN: MARGARET (No. 234)

Erected by Patrick Phelan in/memory of his mother Margaret/Phelan who died Febr 1st 1823/aged 60 years also her husband/Philip Phelan who died April 1st/1824 aged 64 yrs/

PHELAN: MICHAEL.

See Phelan, Honoria (No. 133)

PHELAN: NICHOLAS (No. 152)

Here lieth the body of Nicholas/Phelan of Tullimain in the/County of Tipperary who depd/this life April 1st 1811 aged 51 yrs/

PHELAN: PATRICK.

See Phelan, Honoria (No. 133)

PHELAN: PHILIP.

See Phelan, Margaret (No. 234)

PHELAN: RICHARD (No. 165)

This stone erected by William/Phelan of Miltown County/Tipperary in memory of his/Father Richard Phelan who depd/this life May 8th 1804 aged 70 yrs/

POWER: ANDREW.

See Power, Nocholas (No. 196)

POWER: ANASTATIA. (No. 24)

Erected by/Michael Power/Breanor Co. Kilkenny/in memory of his/Wife/Anastatia Power (died Sept 6th 1876) aged 65

POWER: ANNE (No. 181)

Erected in memory/Anne Power/of Rath who died July 12th 1875/aged 80 years/also her beloved husband/Maurice Power and family/

POWER: CATHERINE.

See Power, Honora (No. 153)

POWER: DAVID (No. 30)

Erected by/Mary Cullinan/of Kilmacthomas/in memory of her father/ David Power of Curraduff/who died 2nd July 1856/aged 50 years/and her Mother Mary/died Feb 25th 1858 aged 68 years/The above Mary Cullinan/ died October 31st 1913 aged 75/and her son Philip/Died Nov 29th 1902 aged 33/R.I.P./

O'Keefe and Sons Watd.

POWER: DAVID.

See Power, Michael (No. 212)

POWER: EDMOND (No. 47)

Erected by John/Power in memory of his/father Edmond Power/ Graigavalla/died May 1st 1900/R.I.P./

POWER: ELEANOR ALIAS HURLEY.

See Power, Laurence (No. 100)

POWER: ELEANOR.

See Power, Mary alias Hickey (No. 253)

POWER: ELENOR (No. 204)

Here lies the body of/Elenor Power who departed/this life September 15th/1790 aged 65 yrs/

POWER: ELIZABETH ALIAS WALSH.

See Power, John (No. 220)

POWER: ELLEN (No. 1)

The/Burial Place of/Ellen Power/Kilballyquilty/

POWER: ELLEN ALIAS CALLAHAN.

See Power, James (No. 172)

POWER: ELLEN.

See Power, Richard (No. 66)

POWER: GEOFERY (No. 105)

Geofery Power of Ross/Co Waterford died/July 8th 1810 aged 21 yrs/ John Power of Ross/Died 5th March 1830/aged 74 yrs Mary Hou/lahan Died June/4th 1843 aged 80 yrs/May they rest in Peach/Amen/

POWER: GUALTERUS (No. 15)

HIC JACET GUALTERUS POWER GENEROSUS ORIUND EXTANTIO..... FAMILIA JOHANNIS GULIEL MI ET UXOR EJUS CATERINA PHELAN QUI SUTS SUMPTIBUS CONSTRUXERUNT HOC MONUMENTUM.....

QUORAM.....

16 JUN 11.....

ANI MAB.....

1628.....

PROPTIE.....

TUR DEUS.....

POWER: HONOR.

See Power, Nicholas (No. 196)

POWER: HONOR LATE KEN.

See Power, Nicholas (No. 196)

POWER: HONORA (No. 153)

Erected by John Power of Clondanel/in memory of his mother Honora/
Power who died Aug 15th aged 80 yrs/also his son Thomas who died/Jan'y
25th 1824 agd 19 yrs and his son/John Power who died April 10th 1835/
aged 19 yrs his daughter Catherine who died Decmr 1837 aged 20 yrs/
May They Rest in Peace Amen/

POWER: HONORA.

See Power, Mary alias Hickey (No. 253)

POWER: HONR ALIAS COLEMAN.

See Power, Pierce (No. 182)

POWER: JAMES (No. 103)

Erected by Catherine Power of/Carrick-on-Suir in memory of her Son/
James Power who dep June 4th 1818/aged 30 yrs/

POWER: JAMES (No. 172)

Erected by/Thomas Power of/Kilballyquilty in memory/of his father
James Power/who died 8th Feb 1850/aged 88 years/and his mother Ellan
Power/alias Callahan who died 3rd April 1847 aged 67 years/also two
of his brothers/and three of his sisters/

POWER: JAMES.

See Fitzgerald, Jas (No. 78)

POWER: JOHN (No. 38)

Erected by Alice Power alias/Connell in memory of her/husband John
Power of Clon/moyle who dept this life/March 26th 1817 aged 51 years/

POWER: JOHN (No. 109)

Here lies the body of John Power/who depd this life July 19th 1793/
aged 61 years May his soul rest/in Peace Amen/

POWER: JOHN (No. 220)

Here lieth the rems of John Power Balleneanle/who departed this life
the 20th March 1768 agd/40 years as also the body of Elizabeth Power/
alias Walsh wife of Jams Power Ballinalimone/in the county of
Tipperary who died the 24th/August 1807 in the 37 year of her age/
Requiscat in pace/

POWER: JOHN.

See Power, Geofery (No. 105)

POWER: JOHN.

See Power, Michael (No. 120)

POWER: LAURENCE (No. 100)

Herelies the body of/Laurence Power who/departed this life Feb 24th/
1773 aged 61 years/also Eleanor Power alias/Hurley his wife departed/
June 14th 1783 aged 64 years/

POWER: JOHN.

See Power, Honora (No. 153)

POWER: MARY (No. 104)

Here lies the body of/Mary Power alias Mor/risey the wife of Noch/olas
Power Kilbr...../who depd this life Nov 4th 1796 aged 32 yrs/

POWER: MARY (NEE HOGAN) (No. 227)

In loving memory of/Mary Power (Nee Hogan)/Currakiely/died 30th April 1975/aged 78 yrs/Her husband Michael/died 15th June 1976/aged 81 yrs/
R.I.P./

POWER: MARY ALIAS HICKEY (No. 253)

Erected by Edmond Power in/memory of his mother Mary Power/alias Hickey who departed this/life April 20th 1811 aged 60 years/also two of her daughters/Honora Power and Eleanor Power/

POWER: MARY.

See Power, Thomas (No. 19)

POWER: MARY.

See Power, David (No. 30)

POWER: MARY.

See Power, Honora (No. 153)

POWER: MAURICE.

See Power, Anne (No. 181)

POWER: MAURCE.

See Power, Pierce (No. 182)

POWER: MICHAEL (No. 120)

Erected by/the Rev Mich Power PP of Stradbally/in the year of our Lord 1842/in memory of his father/Mich Power of Feddins/who died in Dec 1834 aged 87 years/And his mother/Ellinor Walsh/who died in May 1837 aged 82 yrs/also his two brothers/John and Thomas Power/

POWER: MICHAEL (No. 212)

Here lies the body of Michael/Power who died in March 1778/aged 45 years also his son David/Power who died in May 1789/aged 25 yrs/

POWER: MICHAEL (No. 122)

Erected by Mary Power of Oldgrange/in memory of her husband Michael Power/who died 6th 1848 aged -6 yrs/also Thomas Power/died 15th Nov 1922 aged 84/his son Thomas/died April 17th/1944/May he rest in Peace Amen/

POWER: MICHAEL.

See Power, Mary (Nee Hogan) (No. 227)

POWER: NICHOLAS (No. 196)

Here lies the body of Nicholas Power/of Oldgrange who departed this life Jan 26/ 1794 aged 69 years also his wife Honor late/Kin who departed Novbr 16th 1787 aged 34 yrs/also 2 of his sons Andrew & Thos also his/daughter Honor depd February 4th 1806/aged 35 yrs/

POWER: PATRICK (No. 223)

Erected by Laurence Power/of Carrick-on-Suri to the memory/of his beloved Son Patrick Power/who depd this life of the/July 1817 aged 29 yrs/

POWER: PATRICK (No. 240)

Erected by/Edmond Power/in memory of/Patrick Power/of Boulagh Wood/died Sep 18th 1855/aged 80/Requiescat in Pace Amen/

POWER: PATRICK.

See Power, Robert (No. 119)

POWER: PETER (No. 108)

Erected by Matthew Power/of Siskin in memory of/his son Peter Power who/depd this life June 12th/1804 aged 32 yrs/

POWER: PIERCE (No. 182)

Here lies the body of Pierce Power/of Rath who departed this life Jan 22nd/1782 aged 83 years also his wife Honr/Power alias Coleman departed July 3rd/1778 aged 68 also his brother Maurice/Power of Bridgetown who departed Feby/1777 aged 63/also the body of his son Robt Power of/Rath who departed this life March the/8th 1808 aged 66 yrs/

POWER: RICHARD (No. 49)

Here lies ye body of Richard/Power who departed this life/of Kilnasbig June ye 24th 1766/aged 50 years the Lord have mercy/on his Soul Amen/

POWER: RICHARD (No. 66)

Here lieth the body/of Richard and Ellen/Power of Ahanenygl/ough who Dept this/life Nov 1780/

POWER ROBERT (No. 119)

Here lies the body of Robert Power/of Rath who departed this life Octbr 28th/1789 aged 70 years also the body/of his daughter Mary Conn alias/Power who departed October the 11th 1791/aged 38 also the body of his son/Patrick Power who departed Apr the/8th 1803 aged 38 years/ Rest in Peach Amen/

POWER: ROBT.

See Power, Pierce (No. 182)

POWER THOMAS (No. 19)

Erected by John Power in memory of his/father Thomas Power of Carrickbeg/died on the 28th of May 1827 aged 78 years/also his mother Mary Power who died/March 17 1833 aged 84 years/and one of his children who died young/Requiescat in Pace Amen/

Michael White Piltown

POWER: THOMAS.

See Power, Michael (No. 120)

POWER: THOMAS.

See Power, Michael (No. 122)

POWER: THOMAS.

See Power, Michael, (No. 122)

POWER: THOMAS.

See Power, Honora (No. 153)

POWER: THOS.

See Power, Nicholas (No. 196)

POWER: WALTER (No. 43)

Here lies the body of Walter Power/of Feddins who departed this life/.....
(Inscription very worn)

PRENDERGAST: REV EDMOND (No. 195)

Here lieth the body of Revernd/Edmond Prendergast late Parish Priest/
of Mothel and Rathgormack who departed/this life 23rd of September
1806/aged 80 years/

PRENDERGAST: MARGARET ALIAS POWER No. 194)

Here lies the body of Margaret/Prendergast alias Power sister to the/
Rev Edmond Prendergast and wife/of Michael Power of Aughmore who/
depd this life 26th June 1797/aged 46 years/

PRENDERGAST: ELEE AL BUTLER (No. 127)

Here lies the body/of Elee Prender/gast al Butler dau/ghter of John
Butler/She died ye 2nd Aug/ust 1762 aged 28 years/

PURCELL: CATHERINE (No. 75)

This stone erected by Matthew/Purcell of Glynn in Memory of his/wife
Catherine Purcell who/Dep this life January the 10th/1788 aged 58
years/

PURCELL: ELLEN (No. 76)

Erected by Philip Purcell of/Glinn in memory of his daughter/Ellen
Purcell who died June/the 1st 1839 aged 23 years/

PURCELL: JOHN (No. 73)

Sacred/to the memory fo/John Purcell/of Clonmel/Died 25th Dec 1873/
aged 42 years/also his Son/Matthew Purcell/Died 28th July 1888/aged
28 years/R.I.P./

PURCELL: MARY ALIAS CARABRY.

See Carabry, John (No. 72)

PURCELL: MATTHEW.

See Purcell, John (No. 73)

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 O'Connell Mr. M., 6 Sweetbriar Park, Wilkin St., Waterford.
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 * O'Doherty Rev. Fr. S., Ballycallan, Kilkenny.
 * O'Donnell Mr. M., "Hill Cottage", Owing, Carrick-On-Suir, Via Waterford.
 O Dubhthaigh Dr. B., Dept. Of Education, Hawkins House 11, Dublin 2.
 * O'Dwyer Mr. M., College Gardens, Callan Road, Kilkenny.
 * O'Flaherty Mr. W., W.R.T.C., Cork Road, Waterford.
 O Griofain Uasal N., Radharc Na Farrage, An Rinn, Dungarbhain.
 O'Hanrahan Mr. M., 12 Oak Road, Dukes Meadow, Kilkenny.
 O'Hara Mr. P., Tully West, Kildare, Co. Kildare.
 O'Keefe Miss M., Grantstown, Waterford.
 O'Mahony Mrs. B., 16 Morrisson's Avenue, Waterford.
 * O Mathuna Mr. S.N., 8 Fawcett House, Stockwell Gardens West, Stockwell Rd., London.
 O'Meara Mr. J., 35 Rockenham, Ferrybank, Waterford.
 * O'Neill Mr. F., 38 Johnstown, Waterford.
 * O'Neill Mr. J., 47 Cork Road, Waterford.
 O'Neill Mr. M.J., "Coolbunia Cottage", Cheekpoint.
 O'Neill Miss. S., 14 William Street, Waterford.
 * O'Neill Mr. L., 63 John St. Square, Waterford.
 O'Regan Mr. T., Lakelands, Athlone, Co. Westmeath.

- * O'Reilly Miss E., 5 Railway Square, Waterford.
- Ommond Mr. G., Gainstown, Navan, Co. Meath.
- O'Shea Mrs. R., "Glengarrif", Grange Park Road, Waterford.
- * O'Sullivan Mr. A., 15 Andrew Street, Waterford.
- * O'Sullivan Mr. K., "Dunboy", 50 Lorcan Road, Santry, Dublin 9.
- O'Sullivan Miss. S., 19 The Mall, Waterford.
- * O'Sullivan Mr. W., "Harbourne", Torquay Road, Foxrock, Dublin 16.
- * O'Neill Mr. P., Ferndale, Waterford.

P

- Phelan Mr. D. & Dr. P., Grantstown, Waterford.
- Phelan Mrs. J., 74 Marian Park, Waterford.
- * Phelan Mrs. M., 10 College Road, Kilkenny.
- Phelan Mrs. M., Carriganurra, Slieverue, Waterford.
- * Phelan Mr. T., Rocklands, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
- * Powers Mr. A.J., Jnr., 9 Cherrywood Drive, Locust Valley, New York, U.S.A.
- Power Mrs. B., 36 Tramore Heights, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
- * Power Mr. D.A., 4 Lenaboy Park, Salthill, Galway.
- * Power Mr. J., Abbeylands, Ferrybank, Waterford.
- * Power Mrs. M., Abberlands, Ferrybank, Waterford.
- Power Mr. M., Ballygriffin, Carrigeen, Waterford.
- * Power Mr. R., Ballygunnmore, Waterford.
- Proudfoot Mr. L., Dept. of Geography, Queen's University, Belfast.
- * Purcell Mr. P., Newtown Hill, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

Q

- Queen's University, Library, Belfast, Co. Antrim.
- Quinlan Lt. Col., T., The Military College, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare.

R

- * Roche Sr. Madeleine, Good Shepherd Convent, Waterford.
- * Royal Irish Academy, 19 Dawson Street, Dublin 2.
- Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 63 Merrion Square, Dublin 2.
- Ryan Mr. H., 29 Main Street, Carrick-On-Suir, Co. Tipperary.
- * Ryan Mr. S., Broad Street, Waterford.

S

- Shanahan Mrs. M., Hilltop, Killotteran, Waterford.
- Sheehy Mr. P., 94 Lismore Park, Waterford.
- * Sheridan Mr. M., 3 Tramore Heights, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
- * Sinclair Mrs. I., "Penrhy", South Park, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
- Stewart Mr. J., "Tivoli", Marion Park, Waterford.
- Strain Mr. F., 16 Sexton St., Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
- Sullivan Mr. M., Georgestown, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.

T

- Taylor Mr. A., 36 Marian Park, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
- Terry Mr. W., The Friary, Aglish, Cappoquin, Co. Waterford.
- Thornton Mr. A., 3 Grange Mews, Waterford.
- Timoney Mrs. M., Keash, Co. Sligo.
- Traynor Mrs. M., "Cherry Cottage", Rochshire Rd., Ferrybank, Waterford.
- Turner Miss M.C., "Cooleen", Church Lane, Thames Ditton, Surrey, England.

U

- Upton Mr. & Mrs. S., 99 Mount Sion Avenue, Waterford.

- * Wall Mr. S., Ballinakill, Glendonnell, Mullinvatt, Co. Kilkenny.
- * Wallace Mr. J., 138 Rathgar Road, Rathgar, Dublin 6.
- Walsh Mr. E., 133 Limekiln Green, Limekiln Farm, Dublin 12.
- Walsh Mr. F.J., 74 Hawthorndene Drive, Hawthorndene, South Australia.
- Walsh Mrs. I., 4 Marian Park, Waterford.
- * Walsh Mr. J., "Cliff Grange", Church Road, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
- Walsh Mrs. M., 82 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.
- * Walsh Mr. P., 56 Barrack Street, Waterford.
- Walsh Mr. W., 20 Poleberry, Waterford.
- Walton Mr. J., Sutton Park School, Dublin 13.
- * Ware Mrs. A., 6 St. Laurence Terrace, Waterford.
- Walsh Mr. P.F., Deerpark, Carrick-On-Suir, Co. Tipperary.
- Warren Rev. D.B.M., The Rectory, Stradbally, Co. Waterford.
- Waterford Branch, Anglo Irish Bank Corp., 8 Gladstone St., Waterford.
- Webster Mrs. E., "Morven", Grange Park Road, Waterford.
- Whelan Mr. A.P., 23 Western Grove, Bromley, Kent, England.
- White Miss E., 7 Summerhill, Waterford.
- White Mrs. L., "Fair Winds", Passage East, Co. Waterford.
- * Whittle Miss B., Clonea, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
- Wigham Mr. & Mrs. M., "Green Bank", Portnahully, Carrigeen, Waterford.

(* Denotes members who have paid 1989 subscription)

List completed on 10th March 1989.

Old Waterford Society

Afternoon outings depart from City Hall at 2.30 pm. Evening visits commence at 7.30 pm., at venue.

SUMMER AND AUTUMN PROGRAMME 1989.

1989.

- May 7th : Dunbrody and environs - conducted by Mr. Michael Moore.
May 21st : Coach outing to Birr (Gardens, Heritage Centre etc.) - conducted by Mr. Shortt. (Separate notice to issue).
June 11th : Inislaunacht/St. Patrick's Well, Clonmel - conducted by Mons. Michael Olden.
June 22nd : Evening outing to Greenville and Kilmacow - conducted by Mrs. K. Laffan. (Meet City Hall 7.30pm.).
July 2nd : Jerpoint Abbey/Kilfane - conducted by Miss M. Hegarty.
July 23rd : Carrick Castle - conducted by Mr. Michael O'Donnell.
Sept. 10th : Kiltinan/Fethard, Co. Tipperary - conducted by Mr. Jim O'Mara.

AUTUMN LECTURES:

- Sept. 29th : Dr. Pocock and his travels - Miss Maureen Hegarty, Chairperson, Kilkenny Archaeological Society.
Oct. 10th : The Waterford Room - Miss Patricia Fanning, member.
Nov. 17th : Ancient Landscapes from the air - Mr. Denis Power, Dept. of Archaeology, U.C.C.

Please note that the above lectures will be given in Garter Lane, Phase 2, (Opposite Trustee Savings Bank, O'Connell Street).

Enquiries regarding DECIES to : Mr. Fergus Dillon,
'Trespan',
70 The Folly,
Waterford.

Membership of the Old Waterford Society is open to all. Subscription for 1989 is £7.00 and may be sent to the Hon. Treasurer:

Mrs. R. Lumley,
28, Daisy Terrace,
Waterford.

Subscriptions fall due with effect from 1st January and it would be appreciated if those who have not yet paid in respect of the current year would do so as soon as possible.

The Society is not responsible for damage or injury suffered or sustained on outings.