

DECIES

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The launch of Decies 60 by the Minister for Transport, Martin Cullen TD. Left to right James Walsh (Chairman), Minister Cullen, Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin (Hon. Editor).

Courtesy of S. Condon

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Members of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society prior to a visit to the Deanery Undercroft and the Double Tower in July 2004, led by Ben Murtagh, Archaeologist, and Vice Chairman of the Society.

Courtesy of S. Condon

EDITORIAL

IT IS no exaggeration to state that the year 2005 was an important one in the field of heritage and local studies in Waterford. While it would be difficult in these pages to highlight everything of significance, the one event that will remain in the minds of the citizens of Waterford is the Tall Ships' Race. For a few days in July, the quays of the city were transformed, as visitors and locals alike were given a glimpse of what a busy port would have looked like during the Age of Sail.

Apart from the presence of these majestic sailing ships, a number of lectures and exhibitions highlighting various aspects of the rich maritime tradition of Waterford and the south-east were also organised as part of the festival. Again, because of their sheer number it would be impossible to mention them all. However, two exhibitions of historic photographs attracted a great deal of attention, one hosted by Waterford Civic Trust in City Square Shopping Centre, and the other by the Waterford Trades' Council in the City Council Library.

On the theme of historic photographs, a welcome development is the acquisition of the Annie Brophy Collection by Waterford City Council. The collection is now housed in the Waterford City Archives. In September, an exhibition of a selection of the more than 60,000 photographs was organised by the City Archivist, Donal Moore, in the library and in a Photo Trail in the city.

In June 1841, the antiquarian John O'Donnovan described the parish of Kiloteran in county Waterford, as 'a Parish of considerable extent and still it contains no remains of antiquity of any description'. This assessment changed completely however in 2003, when as part of the preliminary testing for part of the N25 Waterford City Bypass a major site of archaeological importance was discovered in Woodstown, Killoteran. As O'Brien, Russell and Quinney write in the current edition of *Decies*,

the site was abandoned, and forgotten from history, until rediscovered in 2003. The discovery highlighted how a site of such vastness could remain hidden for centuries with no above ground indications or clear historical record.

As with other heritage sites in the country, most notably Tara and Carrickmines, the initial discovery of the Woodstown site was a source of some controversy both locally and nationally. Originally it was thought that the site would be preserved *in situ*, in other words buried underneath the surface of the roadway. This is the preferred state policy with regard to such sites. However, because of its complex nature, it was classified as a National Monument by the Minister for the Environment Heritage and Local Government Dick Roche TD in 2005, and the route of that section of the bypass moved. Thus from a heritage point of view, the future of Woodstown seems secure. It is hoped that the site will be fully excavated in the coming years, and that the results will continue to be published, thus adding to our knowledge of the past.

It was noted in the Editorial in *Decies 60* (2004) that the current boom in the construction industry was a golden opportunity for archaeological excavation in the country. However in a recent article in *Archaeology Ireland* 18:4 (Winter 2004), Dr. Catherine Swift of NUI Galway, has pointed out that the explosion in archaeological excavation in recent years is not in fact adding to our knowledge of the past in any significant way because of the lack of published post-excavation archaeological reports. Apart from the NRA-funded excavations, there has been a huge increase in other licensed archaeological excavations in the past ten years or so. This has in the main been carried out by commercial archaeological contract companies. In many cases, sadly, the results of these excavations are not published. It has been pointed out by some commentators that it is more profitable to keep archaeologists on site digging instead of writing up reports. The result is that in spite of the huge number of licenses granted, it seems that surprisingly little has been added to our overall knowledge of the past as a result. Again as Dr. Swift quotes from J. O'Sullivan's 2003 monograph, *Archaeology and the NRA*:

Excavating has always been great fun. Now it is profitable too. But writing is hard, lonely and sometimes boring; and unlike digging is largely profitless. Yet converting a medieval earthwork into a spoil heap without publishing the results of the work is neither research nor rescue. It is merely the destruction of the landscape at others expense.

The NRA has a good record in the matter of post-excavation publication, as evidenced by the archaeological reports which have appeared in *Decies 60* (2004), in the current edition of the journal, on the NRA web site as well as in various other journals.

Local History journals around the country are also contributing by publishing a number of archaeological reports. One such example is the publication in the current journal of the recent investigations at Colbeck Gate in Waterford city. The unearthing of the remains of the gate, which had not seen the light of day for many hundreds of years, attracted a great deal of interest from Waterford citizens. Even though these remains are now buried, preserved *in situ*, the record of the discoveries is being published, and will be available to archaeologists and historians into the future.

However in spite of these purely local efforts there is need for a national initiative to provide a forum for the publication of this valuable information. If this is not done, there is always the fear that when site directors move on to other projects, reports will not be written up, and valuable sources will be lost forever.

As Editor I would like to thank all those who gave of their time and expertise in bringing about the publication of *Decies 61*. I would like to thank the members of the editorial committee for their advice, expertise and enthusiasm. I am especially grateful to Eddie Synnott for his expert typesetting and editing skills. However as always, the contributors deserve the greatest thanks.

I would also like to remind intending contributors that the final deadline for the submission of articles for *Decies 62* is the 1st of May 2006. Any submissions received after this date will be held for publication in the following year's journal.

List of Contributors

Michael Byrne was born in Waterford and educated at Waterpark College and Clongowes Wood College in County Kildare. He studied Genetics at Trinity College Dublin before qualifying as a chartered accountant. He then worked in management consultancy with Craig Gardner and later as managing director of a finance company in Dublin's IFSC. In 1990 he moved to London where he has worked in investment banking and more recently as chief operating officer of a City-based headhunting firm. He holds an MA in London Studies and a Ph.D. in History of Science from Birkbeck College London and he has been a member of Birkbeck's governing body since 2000. He also holds an MA in Systematic Theology from King's College London and is a justice of the peace (magistrate) and a Freeman of the City of London.

Mark Chapman is a self-employed decorating contractor with a special interest in the geology and archaeology of the Comeragh Mountains.

Des Cowman edited *Decies 1 – 25* and was Associate Editor of *Waterford History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (1992). Amongst his published works are, *The Abandoned Mines of West Carbery* (1987) and *Perceptions and Promotions: Waterford Chamber of Commerce, 1792-1992* (1993). His forthcoming publication is *The Making and Breaking of a Mining Community: The Copper Coast County Waterford, 1825-1875+* (Mining Heritage Trust of Ireland, 2006).

Peter Coxon is a Professor in the Department of Geography, Trinity College, Dublin, and has a special interest in the quarternary of palynology and the development of the Irish landscape.

Michael Desmond has lived most of his life in Ballymacarbry and has written a book on the history of the area, as well as a short piece on the development of a cluster village in the Nire Valley.

Robbie Goodhue whose interests include clay minerology, is an Experimental Officer on the staff of the Department of Geology, Trinity College, Dublin.

John R. Graham is a lecturer in Sedimentology at the Department of Geology in Trinity College, Dublin. He has a widespread interest in the geology of Ireland.

Patrick Grogan is a native of Waterford and a retired civil servant. He is currently PRO of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society and a committee member of Waterford Music. This is his third contribution to *Decies*.

Pádraig G. Lane is a retired teacher, and taught History at Capuchin College, Rochestown, Cork. He was co-editor of *Laois: History and Society*, and a contributor to *Galway: History and Society*, and Carla King (ed.), *Famine, Land and Culture*. He also wrote *Bastille agus Scéalta Eile* in Irish.

Pat McCarthy was born in Waterford and educated at Mount Sion CBS. He holds a Ph.D. in Chemistry and an MBA from NUI, Dublin, where he currently lives. He is employed in the pharmaceutical industry and is Correspondence Secretary of the Military History Society. He is a frequent contributor to *Decies*.

Brian Mac Domhnaill is employed by Headland Archaeology Ltd. as a Project Supervisor and Archaeological Surveyor. Brian graduated from University College Cork, in 1997 with a BA in Archaeology and Celtic Civilisation. Following graduation he spent five years excavating in the field throughout the Republic of Ireland and in 2003 he completed a Masters in Science in Palaeoecology at Queen's University Belfast, where he specialised in archaeological surveying.

Richard O'Brien is a Project Archaeologist for Waterford County Council. Richard is a native of Cashel, Co. Tipperary and graduated from University College Cork in 1994 with a Masters Degree in Archaeology. He worked as a field archaeologist from 1989-2001, and has been licence eligible since 1997. Richard joined Waterford County Council in 2001 working as a Project Archaeologist in Tramore Regional Design Office. He has published articles in *Tipperary Historical Journal* (2000, 2001 & 2003), in *Boherlahan-Dualla Historical Journal* (2000 & 2003 (x2)), and in *Decies* 60 (2004).

Dónal O'Connor was Professor of Old Testament at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth until 1985 when he was appointed parish priest of Ardmore. He is a frequent contributor to various periodicals, including the *Irish Theological Quarterly*, of which he was Review Editor for some years. His book *Job: His Wife his Friends and his God* was published in 1995 by Columba Press. His booklet, *Walking the Holy Ground* (Dublin, Áis, 2003), deals with early Irish spirituality in Ardmore and Lismore, and is now in its fourth edition.

Emmet O'Connor lectures in History in Magee College, Derry. He has published widely on labour history, including *Reds and Green: Ireland Russia and the Communist Internationals, 1919-43* (Dublin, 2004).

Patrick Quinney is an osteoarchaeologist based in County Kilkenny. He obtained his Ph.D. in Palaeoanthropology from the University of Liverpool, and B.Sc. in Archaeological Sciences from the University of Bradford. His research interests include the archaeology of early mediaeval Europe and the Near East, bio-cultural adaptation in pre-industrial societies, and the analysis of skeletal variation using 3-dimensional techniques. His publications include 'Paradigms Lost: Changing Interpretations of Hominid Behavioural Patterns since Osteodontokeratic' in *Animal Bones, Human Societies* (2000), 'Sexual Dimorphism in the Mandible of *Homo Neanderthalensis*' and '*Homo Sapiens*: Morphological Patterns and Behavioural Implications' in *Archaeological Sciences* (1997), and 'Assessing the Pelvis of AL 288-1' in *Journal of Human Evolution* (1996).

Ian Russell is the Site Director of the Woodstown excavations to date and works for Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd. Ian is a native of Drogheda, Co Louth and graduated from University College Dublin in 1998 with a Masters Degree in Classics. He has been working for Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd. since 1998 as a field archaeologist and has been licence eligible since 2000. Published work includes an article in *Riocht na Mide* concerning the M1 archaeological excavations and in *Decies* 60 (2004).

Prehistoric Drainage Diversion in the Monavullagh Mountains, Co. Waterford

Mark Chapman, John R. Graham, Robbie Goodhue and Peter Coxon

Introduction

This paper deals with part of the Araglin Valley situated just to the south and west of Seefin in the Monavullagh Mountains, County Waterford (Figure 1). The area has been the subject of considerable archaeological investigation and a major settlement assigned to the Bronze Age has been described (Moore 1995,1999). A complex of ritual monuments and settlements recorded by Moore (1995) include ring cairns, kerb circles, standing stones, hut circles and *fulachta fiadh*. Subsequent work by Chapman has extended the list of monuments to include a possible court cairn and more extensive burial grounds (Chapman unpublished).

The aim of this contribution is to document diversion of Bronze Age drainage by early settlers and to suggest that this phenomenon is not unique to the Araglin Valley but can also be seen elsewhere in the Monavullagh Mountains.

Geological Background

The bedrock throughout the area belongs to the Comeragh Formation of the Old Red Sandstone succession consisting of cleaved sandstones and conglomerates (Boldy 1979). Rocks exposed in these riverbeds are assigned to the Coum Araglin Member of the Comeragh Formation. A general dominance of green, micaceous sandstones over conglomerates distinguishes this member from conglomerates of the Comeragh Formation that crop out to the west of the Araglin Valley on a prominent south trending ridge. However, the drainage on the west side of Seefin does not seem to bear any close relationship to bedding, cleavage or fracture orientation within the bedrock. Rather the natural drainage is cut in Quaternary sediments that are locally many metres thick. In most places they comprise tills and moraines overlain by colluvial sediments. In the area of the Araglin Valley discussed here the bedrock exposures are confined to the newly incised channels.

Drainage Patterns in the Araglin Valley

In most of the Monavullagh Mountains the natural stream courses follow a simple, expected pattern of flowing roughly perpendicular to the often closely spaced contours. However, in three areas the streams follow courses that are strongly oblique to the contours (A, B, and C in Figure 2). This obliquity is blatantly obvious on the ground and on detailed topographic maps (e.g. Ryan 1992). There are no reasons suggested from either the Quaternary or the bedrock geology why this should

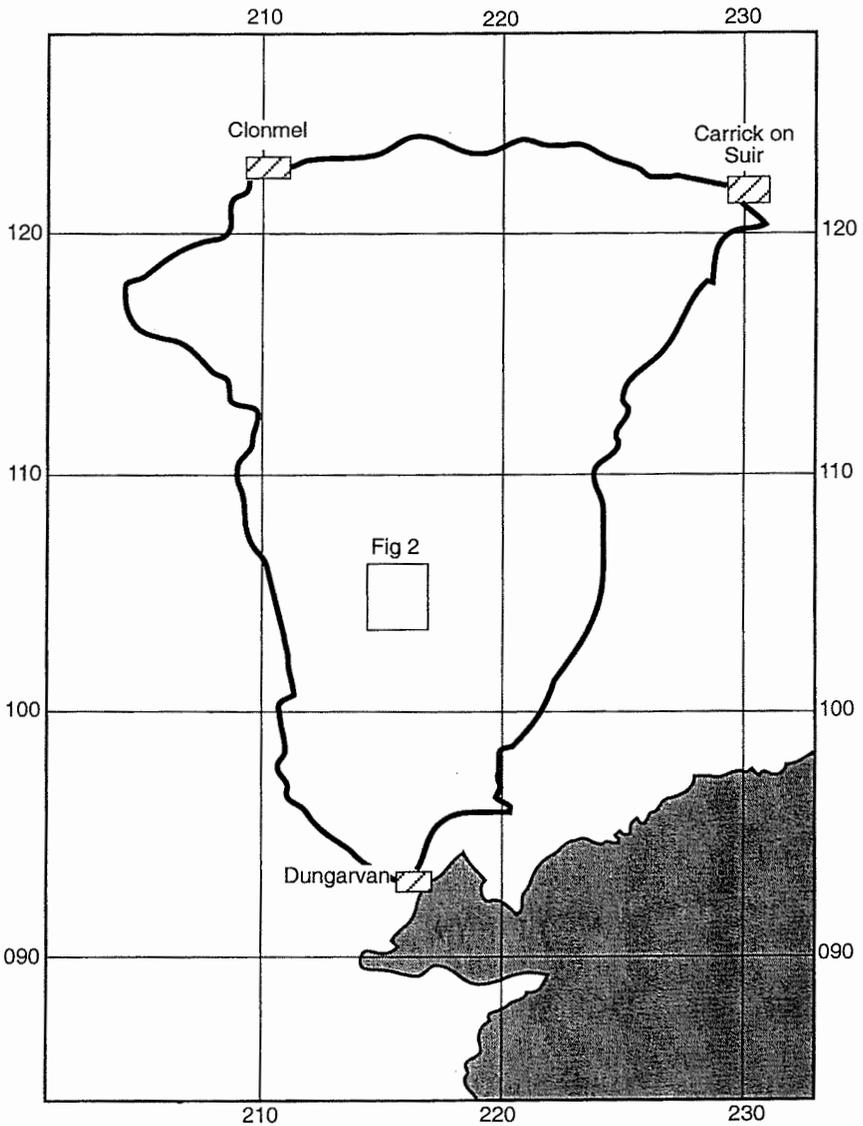


Figure 1 – Location of the Araglin Valley and of the area shown in detail in Figure 2.

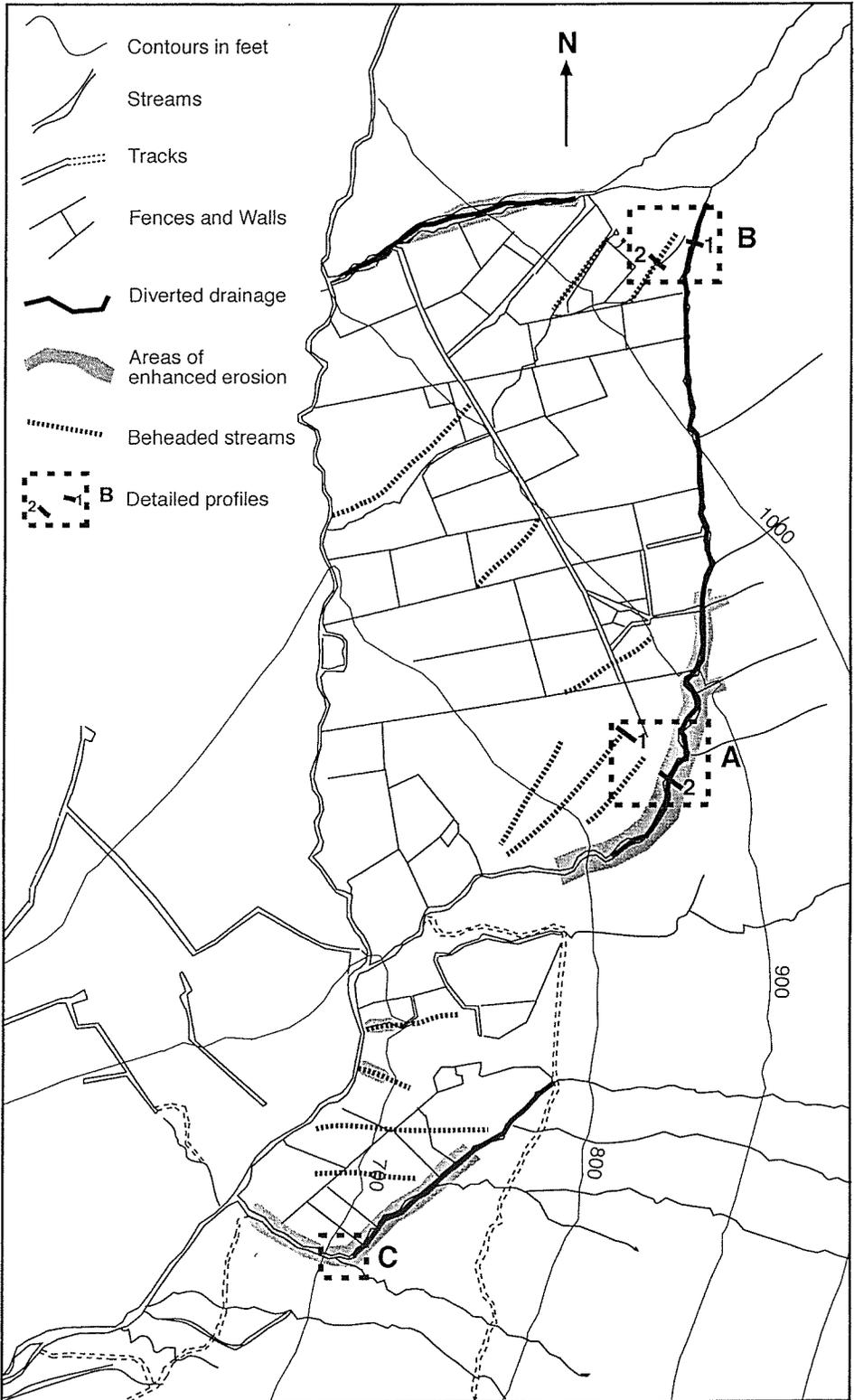


Figure 2a – Detail of part of the Araglin Valley showing areas of diverted drainage.

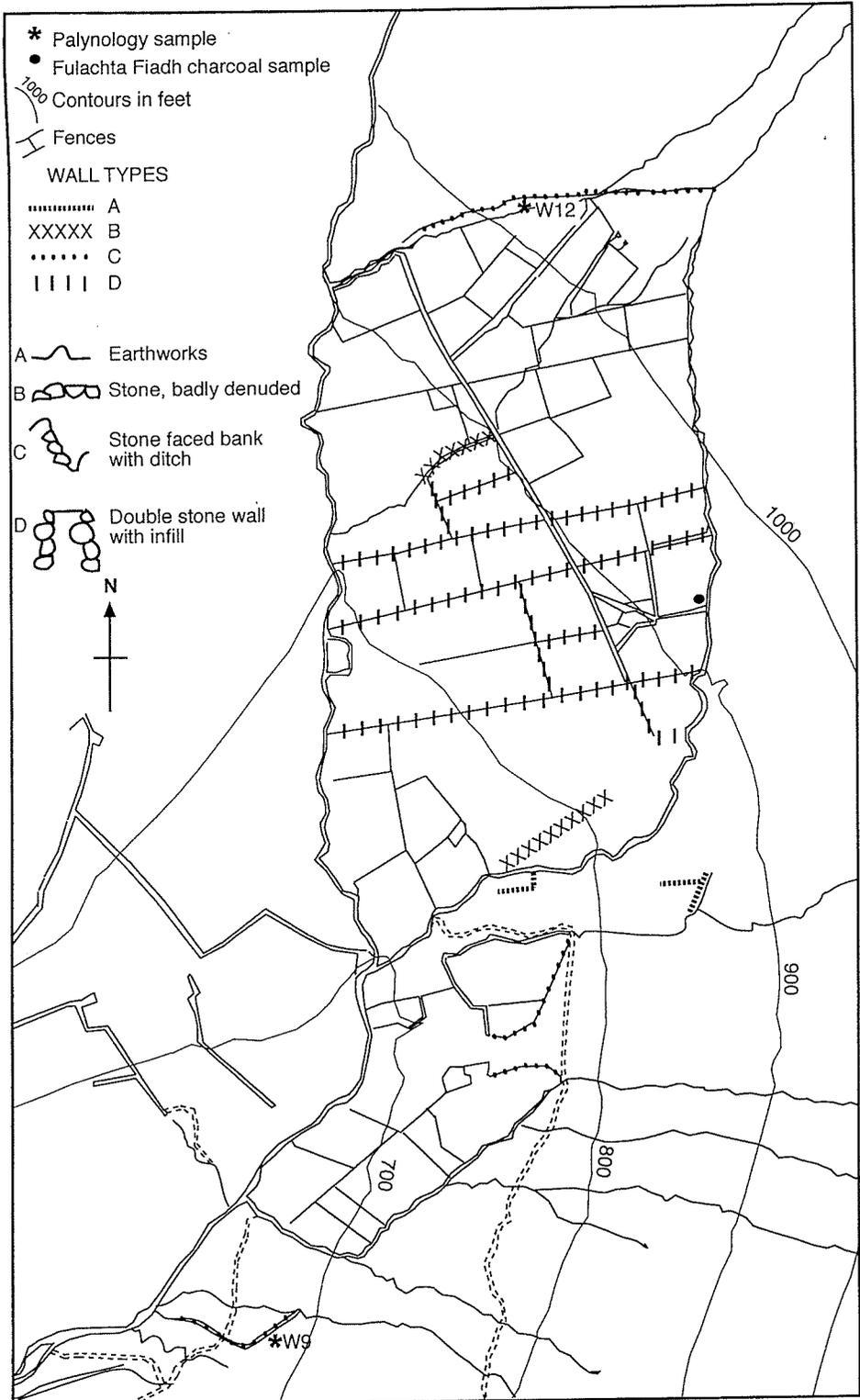


Figure 2b – Detail of part of the Araglin Valley showing ancient walls and location of palynology and charcoal samples.

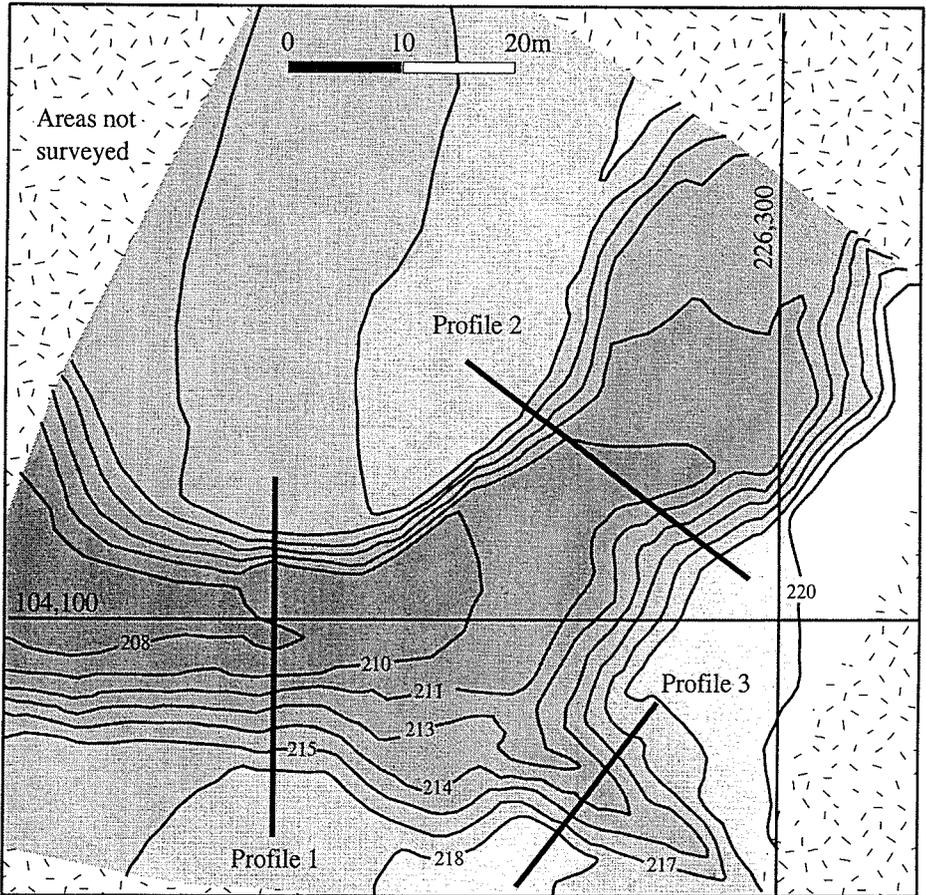


Figure 3 – Differential GPS survey of Area C with profile locations. Contours in metres.

happen. Parts of these streams have been surveyed using a Trimble differential GPS with accuracy no worse than ± 7 cm. Data was processed using ArcVIEW GIS 3.2 permitting the creation of a 3-D ground surface from which seven profiles were extracted (Figures 3, 4). Features which are apparent both on the ground and from the plotted data are:

- Gross obliquity of diverted drainage channels to the general contour pattern
- Signs of former continuity of drainage across the diversion channels
- Enhanced erosion in the diverted channels (artificial 'capture') leading to hanging tributaries and marked nick points

Drainage obliquity

This is best seen by examination of Figures 2a and 3. In particular the streams in areas A and C show marked obliquity to the contours. In the case of stream A this obliquity is very pronounced and obvious on the ground. It is also in these areas that the best examples of beheaded streams are apparent.

Beheaded streams

Beheaded streams have been identified from visual inspection of the topography, from topographical maps (Ordnance Survey, Sheet 75 at 1:50,000 scale; Ryan 1992) and from GPS measurements (Figure 4). The interrupted nature of the regional slope is readily apparent in area A profile 1, area B profile 1, and area C profile 2 (Figure 4). Several streams that take a normal path down the mountain-side now cease when they reach the diverted watercourses. However in several cases they line up with gentle depressions in the landscape that occur on the downslope side of the diverted course (Figure 2a, Figure 4 area A profile 2, area B profile 2). Discontinuity between some of the remnant beheaded valleys and the current streams shown in Figure 2a is due to later agricultural working that has destroyed the evidence due to smoothing out of fields.

Enhanced erosion

Abnormally deep valleys are present in a few areas where there appears to have been substantial recent erosion. Erosion in the diverted watercourses is difficult to separate from the effects of initial construction. However, where the diverted drainage meets the original streams these original streams show deep erosion (Figure 3). Profiles across the diverted channels in the vicinity of the 'beheaded' valleys indicate excavation erosion of >2m for area A and > 8m for area C (Figure 4). Moreover tributary streams show incisions and nick points that are likely to be a natural response to deepening in the main rivers (Figure 3). It is possible that enhanced erosion in the main stream beds can be related to increased discharge produced by artificial river capture or severe climate change. Whilst this general explanation is consistent with the present topography, the modern streams have a 'misfit' appearance. In the absence of any hydrological records it is impossible to be certain if these are really misfits. If they are, then the possibility of either wetter periods in the past or the influence of damming by people and subsequent increase in discharge are possibilities.

Diversion of the drainage of several streams into one channel would act as an artificial river capture. The enhanced discharge would be expected to produce nick points that would, with time, migrate upstream. The initial effect of increased erosion in the main channels would be to produce 'hanging valleys' and waterfalls where tributary streams intersect the main channels. These are shown in Figure 2a and in Figures 3 and 4 (area C profile 3). Similar features can be seen on the ground at grid references 26250445, 26240435 and 26770490.

Because there are so many unknowns it is not possible to provide quantitative estimates of the age of these drainage diversions based on rates of erosion. However, the amount of downcutting is substantial and at least qualitatively this suggests that these features have considerable antiquity.

Age of the Drainage Diversion

Whilst the drainage channels certainly have the appearance of ancient features it is much more difficult to bracket their age with any scientific rigour. Three approaches can be attempted in order to constrain the age of drainage diversion: historical records, field patterns, examination of organic material.

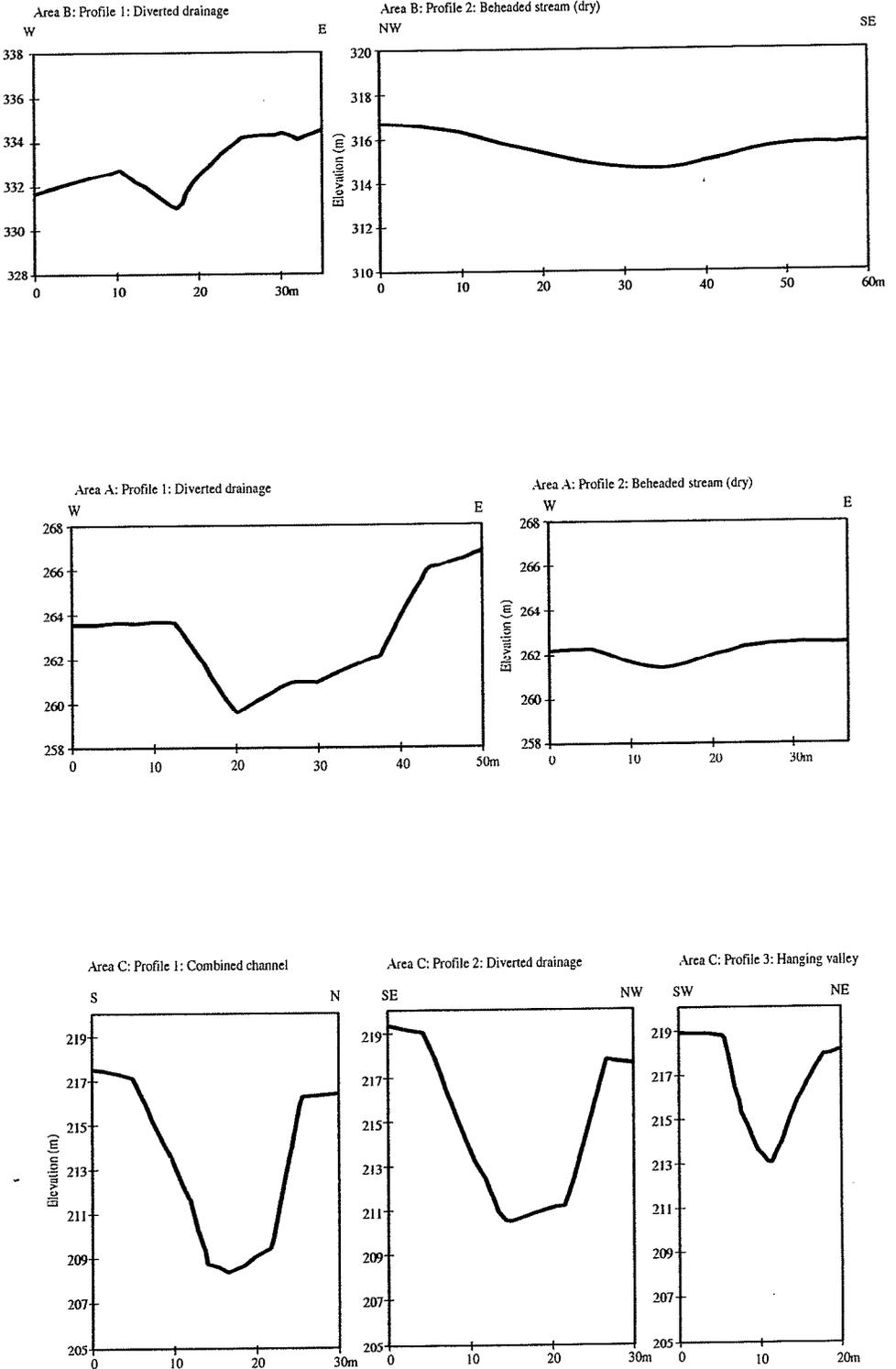


Figure 4 – Cross profiles of beheaded streams. See Figure 2a for locations.

Historical records

Examination of local historical records has not revealed any reference to drainage works in this area. The diverted watercourses appear on the earliest Ordnance Survey maps 1841 and this provides a definitive younger limit for their construction.

Field patterns

The present field patterns have resulted from a normal mixture of early wall patterns followed by periods of replacement, repair, reuse, and removal. Different types of wall structure that can be recognised are shown in Figure 2b. It is very difficult to erect an unambiguous wall stratigraphy but they are arranged A to D in Figure 2b in the order that they are interpreted to have been constructed. The relationship of the walls to the drainage is also difficult to ascertain with certainty. However it does appear at the northern area of the fields that a wall of Type C was built after the drainage diversion.

Organic material

Organic material with potential for palynological or radiocarbon analyses has been collected from two different settings.

(1) *Field Walls*: Several of the walls of Type A consist of earthen structures built on top of an organic rich layer. Two samples (W9, W12) have been prepared using standard palynological techniques. The results are tabulated in Figure 5. Sample W12 indicates a very open landscape of grass (*Graminae*), some herbs and common ling (*Calluna*) with some trees: hazel (*Corylus*), birch (*Betula*), alder (*Alnus*) and oak (*Quercus*). Ivy (*Hedera*) is also present. Sample W9 has fewer trees, although of the same taxa as W12, and more open ground vegetation including plantain (*Plantago lanceolata*), a variety of herbs, ferns, and a possible cereal grain. Biostratigraphically these samples are hard to date although likely to be less than 4,000 years old. There are some suggestions of disturbance and clearance.

(2) *Fulachta Fiadh*: A *fulacht fiadh* is a cooking site consisting of a stone or wood-lined trough excavated into the ground, and filled with water. Meat would have been cooked in it by wrapping it in straw perhaps, and filling the trough with stones heated on a fire in order to bring the water to the boil (Moore 1999: 37). Recent agricultural disturbance has exposed two *fulachta fiadh* on the banks of a depression that represents a beheaded watercourse (Figure 2a). These have yielded some charcoal that has been analysed by Beta Analytic giving a measured radiocarbon age of 3180 +/- 80 BP which equates to a conventional radiocarbon age of 3160 +/- 80 BP. This age has been converted to a calibrated radiocarbon age which provides an empirical correction for short-term fluctuations based on numerous analyses of precisely fixed tree ring data. This gives a calendar age with 95% probability between 1510 - 1380 BC. This would equate to the Bronze Age in Ireland.

Figure 5

Slide W9		date	11.03.03	analyst: pete coxon			
TREES	count	%	HERBS	count	%	count	%
<i>Betula</i>	5	2.4	Gramineae	68	33.0	Typha ang.	
<i>Pinus</i>			Cyperaceae	1	0.5	Typha lat.	
1/2 <i>Pinus</i>			cereals	1	0.5		
<i>Ulmus</i>			Compositae tub.	1	0.5		
<i>Quercus</i>	1	0.5	<i>Artemisia</i>			sum aquat.	
<i>Tilia</i>			<i>Centaurea</i>	1	0.5		
<i>Alnus</i>	3	1.5	<i>Cirsium type</i>			L.Plants	
<i>Fagus</i>			Comp.lig.			Polypodiaceae	
<i>Carpinus</i>			<i>Armeria</i>	2	1.0	<i>Sphagnum</i>	
<i>Fraxinus</i>			Caryoph.			<i>Thel.pal type</i>	
<i>Acer</i>			Chenopodiaceae			<i>Isoetes</i>	
<i>Populus</i>			Cruciferae			<i>Lycopodium u.</i>	
<i>Abies</i>			<i>Filipendula</i>			<i>L. alpinum</i>	
1/2 <i>Abies</i>			<i>Helianthemum</i>			<i>Osmunda</i>	
<i>Picea</i>			Leguminosae			<i>Polypodium</i>	3 1.4
1/2 <i>Picea</i>			<i>Plantago lanc.</i>	3	1.5	<i>Selaginella</i>	
<i>Taxus</i>			<i>Plan. med/maj.</i>			<i>Pteridium</i>	2 0.9
Cupressaceae			<i>Plan. undiff.</i>			sum L.P.	5 2.4
<i>Pterocarya</i>			<i>Polygonum</i>				
sum trees	9	4.4	<i>Potentilla</i>			OTHERS	
			<i>Polygala</i>			Type X	
SHRUBS			Ranunculaceae			PQM	
<i>Corylus</i>	8	3.9	Rosaceae	4	1.9	Indet.	2 0.9
<i>Myrica</i>	2	1.0	Rubiaceae				
<i>Salix</i>			<i>Rumex</i>				
<i>Buxus</i>			<i>Succisa</i>				
<i>Juniperus</i>			<i>Thalictrum</i>				
<i>Hippophae</i>			Umbelliferae	3	1.5		
<i>Hedera</i>			<i>Urtica</i>			charcoal (0-4)	
<i>Ilex</i>			<i>Valeriana</i>			fine (1-15)	
<i>Viscum</i>						medium (15-40)	
sum shrubs	10	4.9	sum herbs	84	40.8	coarse (>40)	
			AQUATICS				
HEATHS			<i>Hydrocotyle</i>				
Ericaceae undiff.			<i>Menyanthes</i>				
E. 35-40			<i>Myrioph. alt.</i>			total poll.sum(P)	206.0
E. 40-45			<i>M. vert.</i>			excluding LP+aq	
E. 45-50			<i>Nuphar</i>			P + aquatics	206.0
<i>E.Cf. Empetrum</i>			<i>Nymphaea</i>			P + LP	211.0
<i>Calluna</i>	103	50.0	<i>Potamogeton</i>				
<i>Rhododendron</i>			<i>Sparganium</i>				
sum heaths	103	50.0				total of all taxa	211.0

Figure 5 continued

Slide W12		date: 11.03.03		analyst: pete coxon			
TREES	count	%	HERBS	count	%		count %
<i>Betula</i>	11	5.9	Gramineae	93	50.0	Typha ang.	
<i>Pinus</i>			Cyperaceae			Typha lat.	
1/2 <i>Pinus</i>			cereals				
<i>Ulmus</i>			Compositae tub.				
<i>Quercus</i>	3	1.6	<i>Artemisia</i>			sum aquat.	
<i>Tilia</i>			<i>Centaurea</i>				
<i>Alnus</i>	5	2.7	<i>Cirsium type</i>			L.Plants	
<i>Fagus</i>			Comp.lig.			Polypodiaceae	
<i>Carpinus</i>			<i>Armeria</i>			<i>Sphagnum</i>	
<i>Fraxinus</i>			Caryoph.			<i>Thel.pal type</i>	
<i>Acer</i>			Chenopodiaceae			<i>Isoetes</i>	
<i>Populus</i>			Cruciferae	1	0.5	<i>Lycopodium u.</i>	1 0.5
<i>Abies</i>			<i>Filipendula</i>			<i>L. alpinum</i>	
1/2 <i>Abies</i>			<i>Helianthemum</i>	1	0.5	<i>Osmunda</i>	
<i>Picea</i>			Leguminosae			<i>Polypodium</i>	2 1.1
1/2 <i>Picea</i>			<i>Plantago lanc.</i>	1	0.5	<i>Selaginella</i>	
<i>Taxus</i>			<i>Plan. med/maj.</i>			<i>Pteridium</i>	1 0.5
Cupressaceae			<i>Plan. undiff.</i>				
<i>Pterocarya</i>			<i>Polygonum</i>			sum L.P.	4 2.1
sum trees	19	10.2	<i>Potentilla</i>				
SHRUBS			<i>Polygala</i>			OTHERS	
<i>Corylus</i>	15	8.1	Ranunculaceae			Type X	
<i>Myrica</i>			Rosaceae	3	1.6	PQM	
<i>Salix</i>			Rubiaceae			Indet.	
<i>Buxus</i>			<i>Rumex</i>				
<i>Juniperus</i>			<i>Succisa</i>				
<i>Hippophae</i>			<i>Thalictrum</i>				
<i>Hedera</i>	1	0.5	Umbelliferae				
<i>Ilex</i>			<i>Urtica</i>	1	0.5	charcoal (0-4)	
<i>Viscum</i>			<i>Valeriana</i>			fine (1-15)	
sum shrubs	16	8.6	sum herbs	100	53.8	medium (15-40)	
HEATHS			AQUATICS			coarse (>40)	
Ericaceae undiff.			<i>Hydrocotyle</i>				
E. 35-40	1	0.5	<i>Menyanthes</i>			total poll.sum(P)	186.0
E. 40-45			<i>Myrioph.alt.</i>			excluding LP+aq	
E. 45-50			<i>M.vert.</i>				
<i>E.Cf. Empetrum</i>			<i>Nuphar</i>			P + aquatics	186.0
<i>Calluna</i>	50	26.9	<i>Nymphaea</i>			P + LP	190.0
<i>Rhododendron</i>			<i>Potamogeton</i>				
sum heaths	51	27.4	<i>Sparganium</i>			total of all taxa	190.0

Figure 5 – Data from palynological counts of samples W9 and W12 (see Figure 2b for location).

Discussion

The evidence presented above has demonstrated that significant human alteration of drainage took place in prehistoric times. Below we discuss the possible reasons for this drainage diversion and what it may mean in terms of social organisation and population structure.

Reasons for which drainage might be diverted are:

- To form a defensive barrier;
- Flood protection;
- To provide a larger water source for power generation or mineral extraction;
- To enhance drainage of the enclosed area; and
- Some combination of the above

The crudely rectangular area now enclosed by the Araglin River on the south and these diverted watercourses comprises about 120 acres and currently forms the best quality farmland in the area. This is in part due to better drainage in this relatively wet area. Thus it is suggested that drainage to enhance agricultural quality was a major function of the drainage diversion. Near the northern corner of the rectangle the two diverted watercourses do not quite meet. A substantial wall of Type C (Figure 2b) plugs this small gap. This may have had the function of retention of stock or may have been constructed largely for defensive purposes. Thus the preferred interpretation is that the drainage diversion was primarily for land improvement by enhancing drainage with a secondary defensive function.

Although the drainage diversion is a dramatic feature of the landscape it could have been accomplished in a relatively short time even with primitive tools. Such engineering suggests a significant population with good organisation and planning. It also suggests a settled farming community. This conclusion is supported by the presence of possible cereal grain and suggestions of clearance from the palynological samples.

An important question is how this drainage diversion relates to the adjacent Bronze Age site described by Moore (1995;1999). All dating of the known Bronze Age sites is indirect and relies on comparison with dated features of similar style elsewhere. This information is summarised in Figure 6. It should be noted that, due to the dearth of dates from these features, the figures do not necessarily display their complete time range. Moreover these dates do not date the complete span of use by Bronze Age people but rather some time during occupation. Similarly the radiocarbon date from the *fulachta fiadh*, whilst providing a firm age for its use, only provides a maximum age for the drainage diversion. However, it is evident that the drainage diversion could overlap the occupation of the Bronze Age site although it could possibly be later.

Other fieldwork by Chapman suggests that the drainage diversion documented here in the Araglin Valley is not unique. Further documentation and dating of these features have the potential to provide fascinating insights into the early settlement of south-east Ireland.

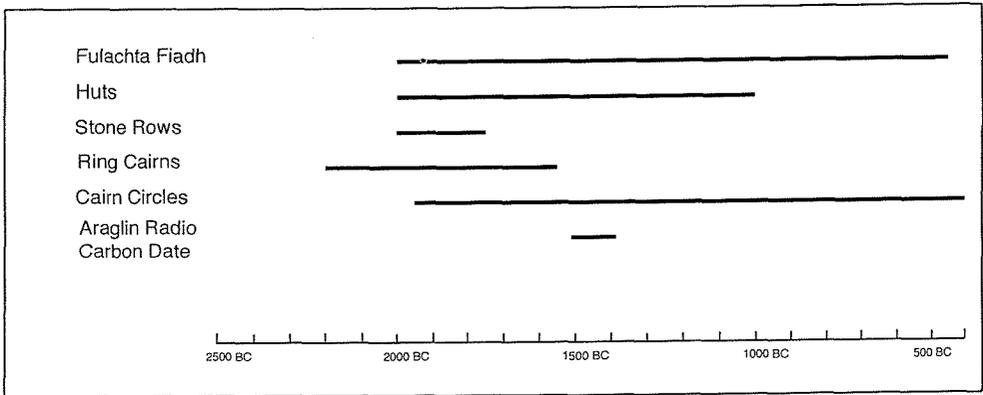


Figure 6: Known age ranges for features associated with the Araglin Valley. See text for discussion.

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Preliminary Report on the Archaeological Excavation and Finds Retrieval Strategy of the Hiberno- Scandinavian Site of Woodstown 6, County Waterford¹

Richard O'Brien, Patrick Quinney, Ian Russell

At that time came Hona and Tomrir Torra, two noble chieftains, and this Hona was a druid; and they were brave, hard men of great renown among their own people; moreover they were of fully noble stock of the great race of Norway. That pair then proceeded with their troops to Luimnech, and from Luimnech to Port Láirge... The Eóganachta and Araid Cliach mustered against them, and they met face to face, and there was hard fighting between them, with the result that they drove the Norwegians into a small place with strong fortifications around it. Then the druid, Hona, who was the elder of them, went up onto the rampart... They were attacked with stones after that, until they could not stand it, but left that place, and went into the nearest marsh... Only two of their noblemen escaped, and a small number of them; and thus the men of Munster won victory and triumph. (*Fragmentary Annals of Ireland AD 860*)

Abstract

During advance archaeological testing works for the proposed N25 Waterford City Bypass excavations were conducted along the route of the bypass, from 2002-2005. In 2003 testing concluded in Woodstown townland, and the largest settlement site, discovered on the bypass was found, called Woodstown 6. It was agreed with the Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government (DoEHLG) that the site would be preserved *in situ*, as is the preferred State Policy for archaeology in Ireland. Consequently, permission for licenced archaeological works was sought from the National Museum of Ireland (NMI) and DoEHLG for the

1 This article is based on the preliminary archaeological stratigraphic report prepared for the Woodstown 6 site. The full stratigraphic report includes descriptions, and lists, of all excavated features, and finds. Some information and conclusions in this article may change, following completion of the post-excavation analysis, and studies. The final, definitive report will appear as part of the archaeological monograph on the N25 Waterford City Bypass.

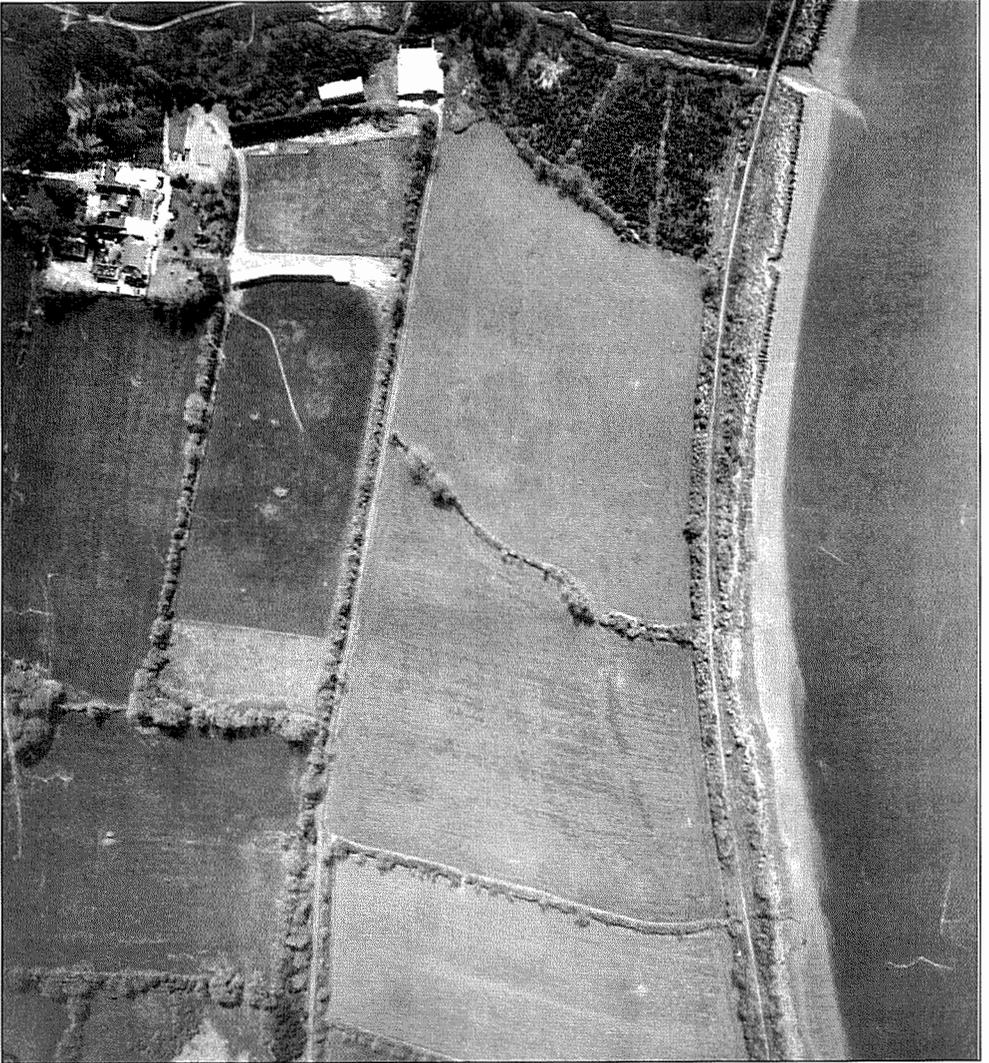


Plate 1 - Aerial view of Woodstown townland in 2001. Manor Court Hotel at top left, & River Suir at right.

WCC

excavation of two proposed culvert areas (Licence Number 02E0441). The archaeological test-trenches excavated in 2003 were simultaneously back-filled by machine, under archaeological supervision, and the spoil metal-detected (Licence Number 04R036).

Numerous metal artefacts were discovered including many lead pan weights and silver ingots, artefacts synonymous with Vikings. Similarly, on site dry- and wet-sieving of topsoil, recovered quantities of smaller artefacts, such as fragmented bone, that normally would not be retrieved from topsoil. During the excavation of Culvert 1 (Field 23) an isolated Viking warrior grave was found, located outside the enclosure ditch. Following this discovery, the preservation *in situ* of the site was no longer viable, and the excavation of Culvert 2 (Field 22) therefore deemed unnecessary. The exposed, but undated, features in Culvert 2 included strong evidence of a separate, curvilinear enclosure ditch. In autumn 2004 specific investigations in the wetland area west of the site, to determine if a harbour existed, necessitated additional testing, geophysics and environmental coring here. Although no evidence of a harbour was found, a valuable environmental record for Woodstown, and the River Suir was retrieved. These investigations proved the wetland acted as a natural defensive barrier for the western, landward approach to the site.

The Culvert 1 excavation lasted from March-June 2004 and measured, 20m x 60m in diameter, at the eastern extremity of the known site, about 500m from the wetland. Prior to excavation Culvert 1 consisted of an upstanding field boundary hedge, with a drainage ditch on each side, dating to the post-medieval period. Two portions of the Field 23 enclosure ditch, separated by a metallised entranceway, were discovered and excavated by hand. Radiocarbon dating and artefact analysis indicated the ditch was first constructed in the early fifth century AD, the late Iron Age period. The acidic nature of the soils largely prevented the preservation of organic deposits on site, although some wood was found within the ditch, and from the wetland.

The excavation of stratified artefacts such as ferrous- and non-ferrous metals (iron, silver, copper, copper-alloy and lead), slag, ferrous- and non-ferrous detritus, crucibles, glass, stone and bone (including antler) from the ditch, suggested some craft-working activities occurred within, and near, the enclosure ditch. The stratified lead and silver finds are the earliest evidence for such metal-workings in the south-east. The discovery of a possible pewter bowl-mould, ivory and amber beads reflected wider contact, typical in the early medieval period. The multi-phase use of the enclosure ditch, including the metal-working, and the finds retrieved, dated between the fifth to the seventh century AD.

The ditch originally extended to the River Suir edge, but the Waterford-Lismore-Dungarvan Railway unfortunately removed this evidence. The ditch continued to the Culvert 2 stream, as the Geophysics Survey suggested, where evidence was found for its western arc terminating. The enclosure ditch was roughly C-shaped, measuring about 200m in length, and at most, about 100m wide from the current river edge. In Field 22 evidence for a second, separate enclosure was found. This enclosure was more irregular in shape, measuring about 260m in

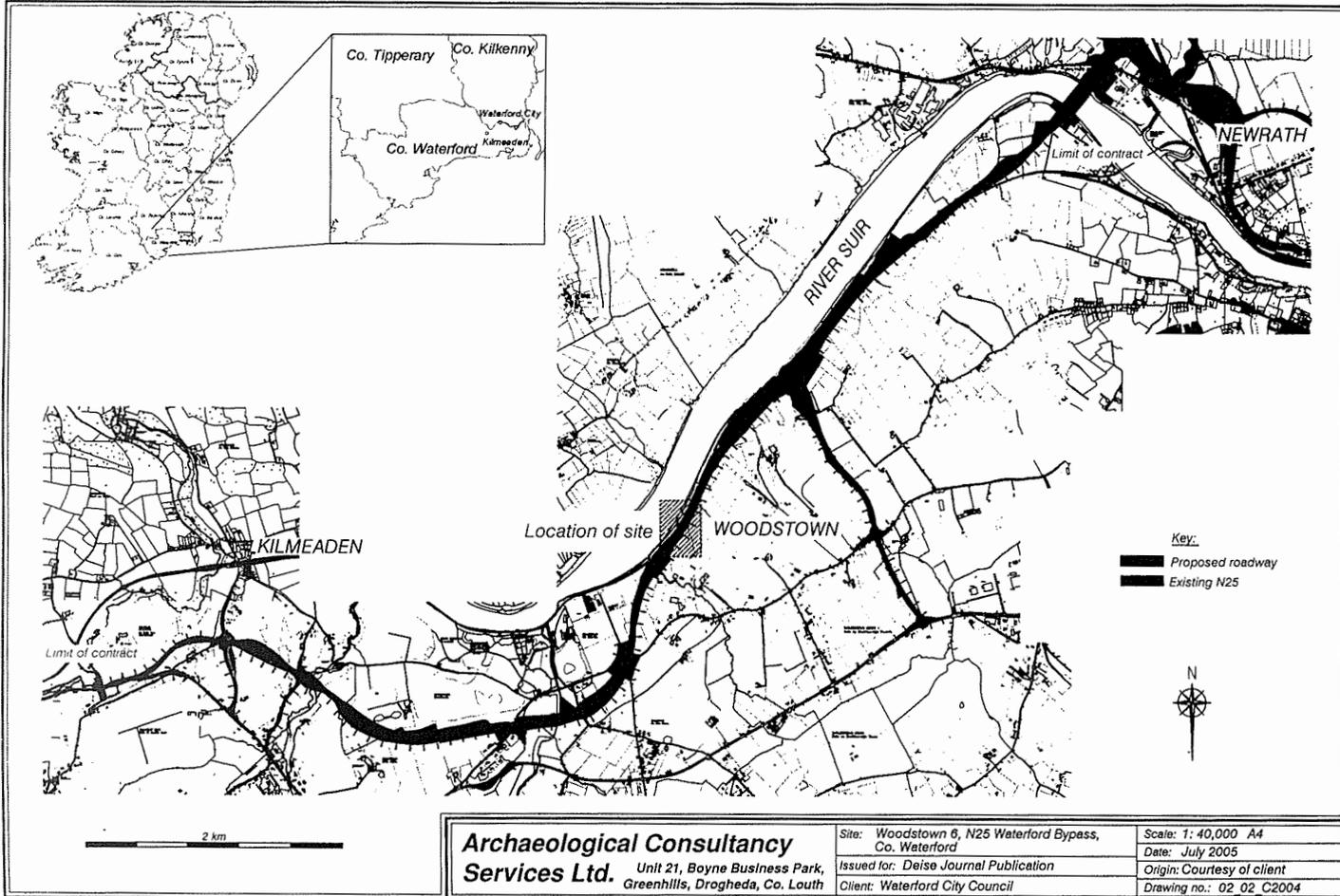


Figure 1: Location of Woodstown, Killoteran Parish, County Waterford

length, by about 100-160m in width. There was no archaeological evidence found for this enclosure ditch extending into the wetland. The geophysics suggested perhaps, a third, smaller, square-shaped enclosure in Field 23, and further potential, linear/curvilinear features, many possibly of geological/modern origin throughout both fields. The results of the investigations suggested a complex, and varied settlement pattern on the riverbank in the Iron Age / early medieval period.

Such an early date would place Woodstown 6 broadly contemporary with the newly discovered vertical watermill in Killoteran, the adjoining townland to the west. It is possible that both sites reflect a wider, Iron Age community established south of the Suir, with Killoteran or the Suir as the *foci*. The Iron Age evidence recently discovered at Newrath 4km from Woodstown, suggests a wider, early historic archaeological zone, centred on both sides of the Suir.² Based on the size, complexity and undoubted artefactual richness of the site, its strategic setting, beside a major route way, and territorial division (the river Suir), coupled with the nearby placename evidence from Killoteran ('kil' a church, plus 'Odran / Otteran', an Irish saint, adopted by the Waterford Vikings in the eleventh century), and the broadly contemporary watermill from Killoteran, suggests Woodstown was a very wealthy site, possibly either an ecclesiastical centre, or site of great, secular significance, perhaps even with royal connotations. In size, setting, and material culture this phase of settlement at Woodstown would have parallels with, for instance, Clonmacnoise, County Offaly (see below).

It is suggested from the discovery of stratified Viking-type objects, and from unstratified Hiberno-Scandinavian arm-ring silver that during the mid-late ninth century Vikings occupied the site, and the defences, whether in disrepair or not, were further strengthened, and possibly expanded. Furthermore, activities such as ferrous and non-ferrous metal-working outside, and undoubtedly inside the enclosures, are suggested from the discovery of a Viking-type furnace. Examples of Viking-type artefacts (including lead pan weights, arm-ring silver and silver ingots) were found throughout the site, at the wetland, and in the upper levels of the excavated enclosure ditch. The remarkable discovery of part of a Kufic coin from Arabia, the first such discovery in Munster, and a honestone, possibly of Norwegian schist-stone, provided evidence of further Scandinavian imports into Waterford Harbour, and the likelihood of other imports on site is clear.

Another significant discovery was a single Viking warrior grave, found with largely intact armour, but no skeletal evidence. The Viking sword pommel can be dated stylistically between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Further post-excavation analysis may define a closer date. The Viking settlement in Woodstown may have been a trading-centre, evidenced by the recovery of large numbers of lead pan weights, the largest collection of such objects outside of Dublin, and quantities of silver, both necessary in pre-coinage economies. Undoubtedly, raiding and slavery were additional occupations, as is evidenced from historical sources,

2 Both the Dooneen vertical watermill in Killoteran, and the Newrath, County Kilkenny evidence were also discovered from testing on the bypass. As well as providing new Iron Age evidence, both sites had traces of Mesolithic activity. In addition, Newrath townland (Sites 34-37) produced Neolithic and Bronze Age evidence (J. Hughes, pers. comm.).



Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd. Unit 21, Boyne Business Park, Greenhills, Drogheda, Co. Louth	Site: Woodstown 6, N25 Waterford Bypass, Co. Waterford	Scale: Do Not Scale
	Issued for: Deise Journal Publication	Date: July 2005
	Client: Waterford City Council	Origin: Waterford County <small>Sheet 7 c.1850</small>
		Drawing no.: 02_02_C2010

Figure 2: Down Survey map County Waterford map (c.1650), showing Woodstown townland

and the recovery of weaponry from the topsoil. Evidence of raiding could be suggested from a number of objects of clearly native ecclesiastical origin but these objects could have derived from the Irish settlement phase, and from Irish raiding.

Vikings operating in County Waterford are historically attested from the 850s onwards, with large Viking fleets arriving from AD 914. Whether there was contemporaneous native and Viking settlement/interaction in Woodstown is impossible to say but, as such instances are historically attested later, the possibility should not be ruled out. In light of the excavation results, the relationship between Woodstown and the early Viking Age in Waterford city needs to be reassessed. Could there be two, early Viking Age sites in County Waterford, separated by a mere 6km?

Woodstown 6 represents further clear evidence of native settlements being occupied, and exploited by opportunistic Vikings. Another recent example is Ninch, Laytown, County Meath (see below). Woodstown 6 is the only definitive, early Viking Age settlement in County Waterford, but similar sites undoubtedly exist on, or near, other waterways in the county. The radiocarbon dates and lack of *classic* medieval pottery-wares suggest that by the middle of the eleventh century, the site was abandoned, and forgotten from memory, until rediscovered in 2003. This discovery highlights how a site of such vastness and richness could remain hidden for centuries with no above ground indications, or no clear record in the historical sources. In early 2005 the Minister of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government sanctioned the preservation of the site *in situ*, altering this portion of the proposed N25 Waterford City Bypass.

Introduction (Figure 1: Plates 1 & 2)

This report is a preliminary account of the archaeological excavation and finds retrieval strategy carried out within the site of Woodstown 6, Barony of Middlethird, Parish of Killoteran, County Waterford. The site is located within the route of the proposed N25 Waterford Bypass, chainage 5920- 6380, Fields 22-23, in the townland of Woodstown (Ordnance Survey Six Inch Sheet 9, 240mm from the west margin and 60mm from the south margin, NGR 255022, 111276, henceforth abbreviated as OS). For a full account of the background to the N25 Waterford City Bypass Project see the published Environmental Impact Statement (January 2001), the 2003 Archaeological Assessment Report (www.nra/archaeology), and (O'Brien and Russell 2004). All site works were funded by the National Roads Authority (NRA) through the auspices of Waterford City Council (WCC), under excavation licence number 02E0441 issued to Ian Russell by the DoEHLG.

Cartographic Information on Woodstown Townland (Figures 2-6)

An early cartographic record comes from the Down Survey of the mid 1650's (Figure 2). Woodstown is depicted as 'Woodhouse', the townland to the east is 'K. house', to the south 'Killoteran', and Killoteran Church is indicated. The riverbank is depicted as almost straight, and a castle symbol is shown between 'Woodhouse' and 'K. house'. Larkin's map of east Waterford from 1818 provides a good representation of the topographical features south of the Suir (Figure 3).

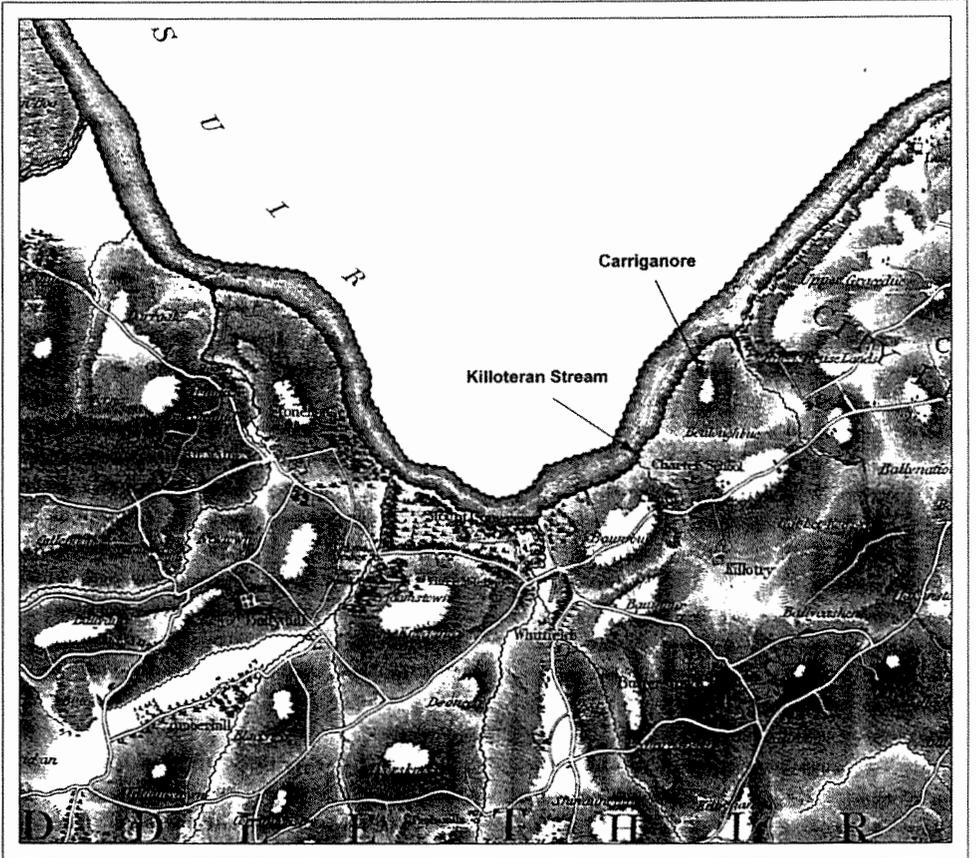


Figure 3: Extract from Larkin map, dated 1818

The Corporation Estate Map of 1835 depicts Killoteran Church, the Killoteran stream kink with its pond, east of the church (Figure 4). The kink in the Suir river-bank is clear, at the present Culvert 2 location. The OS First Edition Map 1842 (Figure 5) depicts a varied arrangement of field boundaries across Fields 22 & 23, and when contrasted with the OS Second Edition Map (revised 1950), the changes have been great (Figure 6). Only those field boundaries at the locations of Culvert 1, Culvert 2 and the wetland boundary remain unchanged. Field 22 has undergone no boundary changes but Field 23 has completely changed.

On the OS Second Edition Map a cluster of trees, set within a curving boundary is shown at Culvert 2, while marsh-type ground is depicted in the middle of the field. A new boundary, not shown on the OS First Edition Map dissects Field 23, right through the archaeological site. An incomplete, arcing boundary is shown in Field 23, but when examined on the OS First Edition this boundary was straight. It is clear that through successive landownership changes the field boundaries have been severely modified even post 1950, as all internal field boundaries were removed within Fields 22-23 (Plate 1).

Before archaeological investigations began in 2003 the only recorded archaeological site in Woodstown was the Earthwork Site, WA009:006, NGR 25495, 11071. On the OS First Edition Map this is indicated as Old Court, and depicted as a circular earthwork, circa 30m in diameter. The site is described in the *Archaeological Inventory of County Waterford* as, ‘On the E bank of a stream. Marked faintly as a circular feature on the 1st ed. of the OS 6-inch map. Not visible at ground level. Farm buildings now occupy the site’ (Moore 1999: 147). Woodstown townland is called in Irish ‘Ballyinkeely’ (Power 1952: 362). This can be translated as ‘town of the wood’ or ‘town of the church’. Power, as often our best source for the area, records the following information for Woodstown:

Woodstown, Baile Na Coille-‘Homestead of the Wood’, Area, 437 acres with five sub divisions

- (a) Old Court (O.M.), Seana-Cúirt. Idem.
- (b) ‘The Long Reach’; portion of the River Suir.
- (c) Sean Dún-‘Old Fort’; name of field in which stood a mound, demolished during building of the railway, and found to contain a large quantity of bones.
- (d) Cloc A Ceannuige-‘The Merchant’s Rock’.
- (e) Cloc An Oir-‘Stone of the Gold’; a large rock on the river bank beside which, the story goes, merchants of Waterford buried a quantity of treasure on the approach of Cromwell.³ (Power 1952: 367)

3 The portion of Carriganore or Cloc An Oir-‘Stone of the Gold’ within the bypass was tested in late 2004, under Directions issued by the Minister of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, Direction Number A009/000. No archaeology was discovered during this excavation.

Of the entries the reference to the *Sean Dún* or Old Fort from the railway building is intriguing (Figure 7). Could it refer to Woodstown 6, the memory of a fort retained in the field name? Yet the Old Court fort is not referenced although it was clearly depicted on the OS First Edition Map. Is there confusion between the two forts?⁴ The post-excavation analysis will examine the original Railway Archives to shed more light on this ‘mound of bones’.

Killoteran Church, WA017:001, NGR 25507, 11053 is described as ‘On the W bank of a S-N stream... The C of I church of St Otteran is now on the site and there are no visible remains of the original structure’ (Moore 1999: 179). St Otteran’s Well is recorded 300m west-north-west of the church site (Figure 6). The name Killoteran in Irish is *Cill Odhráin* or ‘Oran’s Church’, but St. Furaran is the patron of the church (Power 1896: 172 & Power 1952: 366). Odhran (Odran/Otteran) was a sixth-century saint who later became patron saint of Waterford city in 1096. John O’Donovan writing about the entire Killoteran parish on the 5 June 1841 records ‘Killoteran is a Parish of considerable extent and still it contains no remains of antiquity of any description’ (O’Flanagan 1929). Inexplicably, St Otteran’s Well is not recorded in the Archaeological Inventory of County Waterford.

Waterford Historical Information⁵

Little was known about later prehistory in County Waterford until recently, evidenced by a two-page summary in *Waterford History and Society* (1992: 21-23). The best source for early historic Waterford is, of course, Ó Corráin’s seminal offering *Ireland Before the Normans* (Ó Corráin 1972). Before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in 1169, much of County Waterford was controlled by a tribe known as the *Déisi*, who gave their name to the modern baronies of Decies. The *Déisi*, ancestors of the *Dál Cais*, maintained a close political unity until the eighth century, when they divided, and the *Déisi Muman* maintained Waterford, and south Tipperary (Ó Corráin 1972: 8). Samuel Lewis relates that the ancient name for Waterford was *Cuan na Grioth* or *Grian*, which he translates as ‘Haven of the Sun’ (Lewis 1837). It is supposed to have been later known as *Gleann na nGleodh* or ‘Valley of Lamentation’ in memory of a bloody conflict between the Irish, and Danes, in which the former burned the settlement to the ground.

The Irish name for Waterford is *Port Láirge*. The English word Waterford is based on the Danish *Vader Fiord*, meaning ‘the fiord of the father’, i.e. *Odin*. *Port Láirge* was widely used in the Irish annals, and has been interpreted as meaning ‘the port of the thigh’ (Smith 1746: 167). The name *Loch-dachaeach* appears to indicate the general Waterford harbour area.

4 Recent geophysical survey, and archaeological testing in the grounds of the Manor Court Hotel identified a circular enclosure (possible ring ditch), 18m in diameter, with a possible entranceway on the southeast (Noonan 2005). This new site is 80m northeast of the Old Court earthwork site, WA009:006, and immediately south of Woodstown 6, Field 22. The discovery clearly points to an even higher density of occupation alongside the Killoteran stream area.

5 Historical references to east Waterford from the fifth centuries onwards abound in the various Irish Annals, and have been oft repeated in later histories (see Nolan & Power 1992).

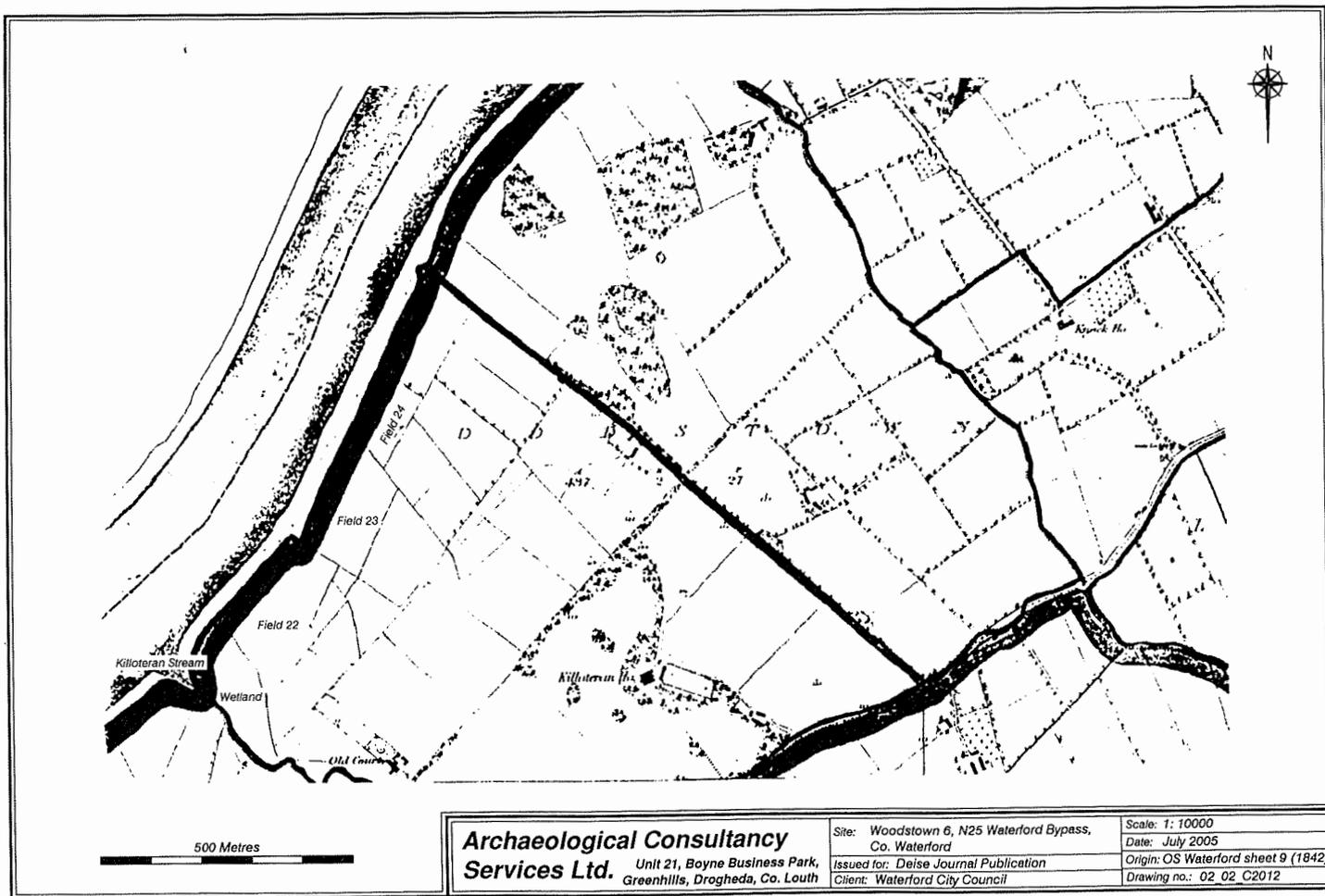


Figure 5: First edition O.S. 6" sheet, number 9, showing Woodstown townland, 1842

In Ireland, four main phases of Viking activity can be identified from the historical sources (Roesdahl 1998):

- AD 795 to AD 830s; hit and run raids on monastic and coastal communities;
- AD 830s to AD 902; larger fleets plunder inland, Vikings over winter in Ireland, foundation of *longphorts*, Irish counterattacks;
- AD 914 to AD 980; Vikings return to Ireland after expulsion from Dublin, large scale raiding, many bases established or re-established, foundation of towns; and
- AD 980 to AD 1170; Viking towns flourish and further political and cultural integration of the Vikings in to Irish society; Hiberno-Norse period.

Waterford is frequently cited to have been founded by Sitricus in AD 853, although this assertion has been questioned (Bradley & Halpin 1992: 105). Throughout the 850s and 860s there are indirect references to Vikings in the territory of the *Deisi* (*Annals of the Four Masters* AD 852, 861, 865, henceforth abbreviated as *AFM*). There are later direct references to Viking fleets operating to and from *Port Láirge*, but ‘while there was Viking activity at Waterford during the ninth century the details remain very vague’ (Bradley & Halpin 1992: 106).

An interesting reference is found in the *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* (henceforth abbreviated as *FAI*) to the Norse group led by Hona and Tomrir Torra in AD 860 (*FAI*: 109, see above). Although the reliability of this source has been questioned (Bradley & Halpin 1992: 105) the reference could refer to Woodstown.⁶ The Vikings of Waterford, Wexford and St Mullins were defeated in 892 (*AFM*). There is a reference to an army, which included ‘the foreigners of Port Láirge’ in 893 (*AFM*). Based on the Viking activity on the Rivers Nore and Barrow a base close to the confluence of these rivers in the Waterford harbour area in the mid-ninth century has been suggested (Kelly and Maas 1999: 133). The likeliest place for this is Little Island. However, Viking raids in Waterford should not be taken as *de facto* evidence for Viking settlement in the area, as the raids on Lismore in 867 and 883 were undertaken by Vikings based in Dublin. For an assessment of the annalistic references of Viking raids on Irish churches, for instance, see Etchingham (1996).

Around 910, several of the Irish annals report on the existence of the Norsemen in the Waterford area, with the note that the ‘foreigners arrived in Ireland and took up at Port Láirge’ (*AFM*). The terms used by the annalists, including *longphort* in 912 (*AFM*) and *longport Gall* in 915 (*AFM*), and, the longevity of the raiding indicate definitive Viking settlement in County Waterford at this time. In 914 ‘A great and frequent increase of Gentiles coming still to Loch-dachaech’ (*Annals of Ulster*; henceforth abbreviated as *AU*) or ‘A great fleet of Norwegians landed at Port

6 In their proposed development of Scandinavian, and Anglo-Norman Waterford, Bradley and Halpin questioned some of the historical sources for early Viking Age Waterford (Sitricus in 853, Hona & Tomrir Torra in 860), but, apart from Smith’s claim, no explanation is proffered why *FAI* may be unreliable.

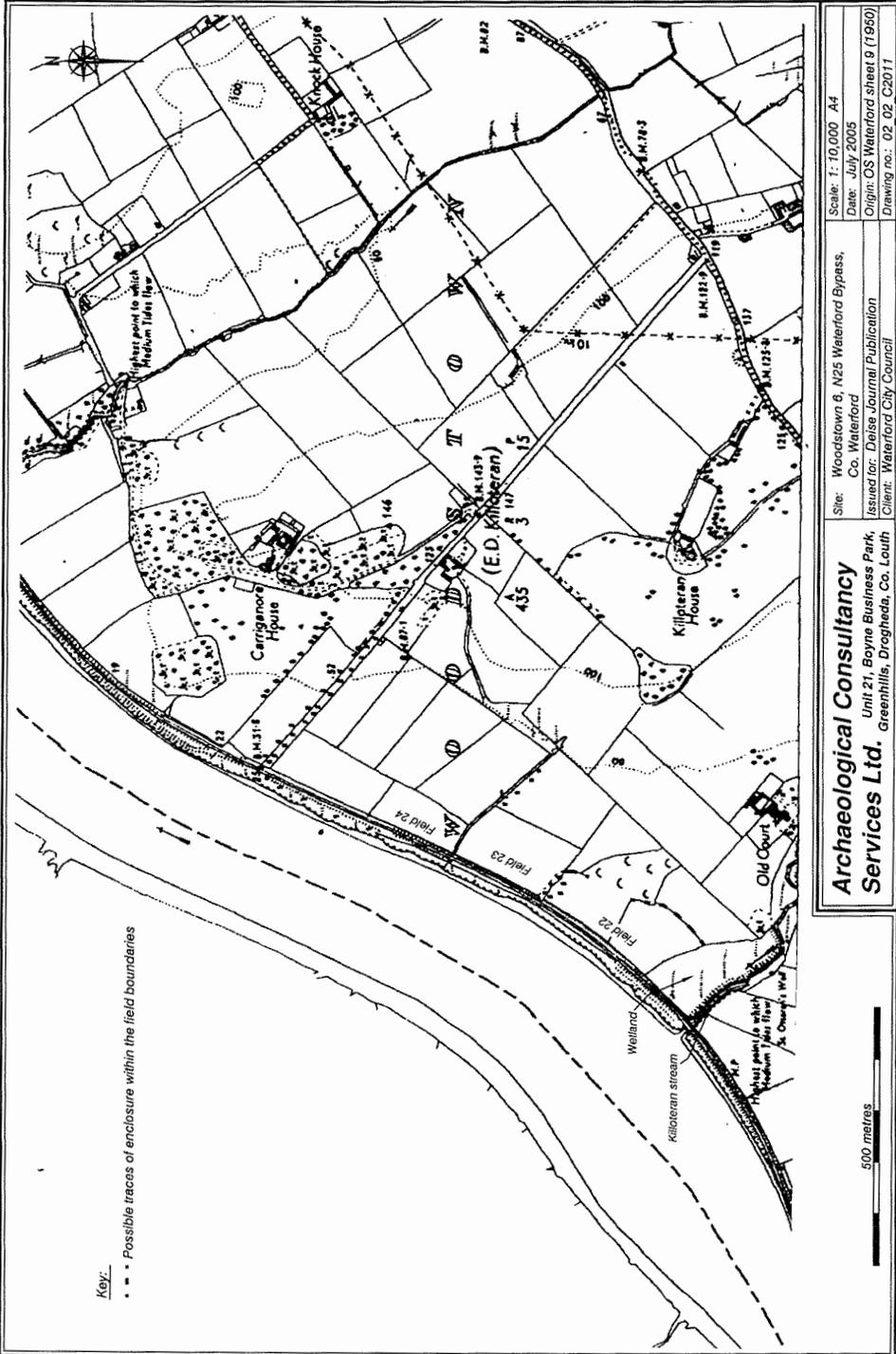


Figure 6: Second edition O.S. 6" sheet, number 9 (revised 1950), showing Woodstown townland, 1950

Láirge, and they plundered northern Osraige and brought great spoils and many cows and livestock to their ships' (*FAI*: 181). In the year 916 Anle, son of the King of the *Uaithne-Fidhbhaigh*, and Loingsech, son of the King of the *Uaithne-Thiri*, were killed by the Vikings (*Gogadh Gaeghel re Gallaibh* AD 915, henceforth abbreviated as *CGG*); 'The Foreigners of Loch-dacaech still plundering Munster and Leinster' (*AU*); '...Ragnall, grandson of Imar, went with his other fleet to the Foreigners of Loch-Dachaech' (*AU*); and 'A hosting of the men of Erin with Niall, son of Aedh, to the Foreigners of Loch-Dachaech, where Foreigners and Gaeidhel were slain...' (*Chronicum Scotorum*, henceforth abbreviated as *CS*).

A colourful source, the *Caithreim Cellechain Caisil* (henceforth abbreviated as *CCC*), a twelfth-century depiction of the battle career of a tenth-century king of Munster has many references to Vikings in Waterford:

[the Irish]...proceed to Port Lairge, the place where the women and families of the Lochlannachs [Vikings] were, and to burn the town...The Danes closed the gates and began to defend the town...and the quick, valiant soldiers of Munster leapt into the town. And the Danes were slaughtered in crowds by them, and the Norsemen were cut into pieces. Sitric left the town and went on board his ship, and his wife with him. And only one hundred fugitives of them reached their ships. The race of Eogan burned the town and plundered the district. (*CCC*: 70-1).

In 937, the Danes of Waterford laid waste the kingdom of Meath and soon afterwards carried out a similar campaign against the kingdom of Kildare. In 939 Waterford was ruled by Macc Acuin and in 984 Waterford was under the control of Brian Bóroma, king of Munster. The years 984 and 895 record significant events in Waterford: 'A great naval expedition by the sons of Aralt to Port Láirge, and they and [Brian Bóroma] exchanged hostages there as a guarantee of both together providing a hosting to attack 'Áth Cliath' (*Annals of Inisfallen* AD 984, henceforth abbreviated as *AI*), and 'The Déisi raided Brian's mercenaries and took three hundred cows. And Brian harried the Déisi to avenge that, and chased Domnall, son of Faelán, as far as Port Láirge, and the whole of the Déisi was devastated' (*AI* AD 985). In 990 '...the son of Ímar abandoned Port Láirge' (*AI*). Brian Bóroma's quickest, and probably, safest route from his stronghold in Cashel to *Port Láirge* was via the river Suir, thereby passing Woodstown on every visit.

Having become Christianised, the inhabitants rejected the Irish see of Lismore and established their own diocese instead and they and Bishop Malchus built Christ Church cathedral for their own use. Through-out the eleventh and early twelfth centuries Waterford was attacked and/or burned (AD 1031, 1037, 1088, 1111 & 1137). The Danes of Waterford controlled much of the surrounding district but did not otherwise have much involvement outside it. It is believed the Hiberno-Norse city was subsequently constructed, covering a 15-acre site in the northeast triangular area, extending from Reginald's Tower along the south bank of the Suir (Figure 8). It was naturally defended on all but the north-western landward side

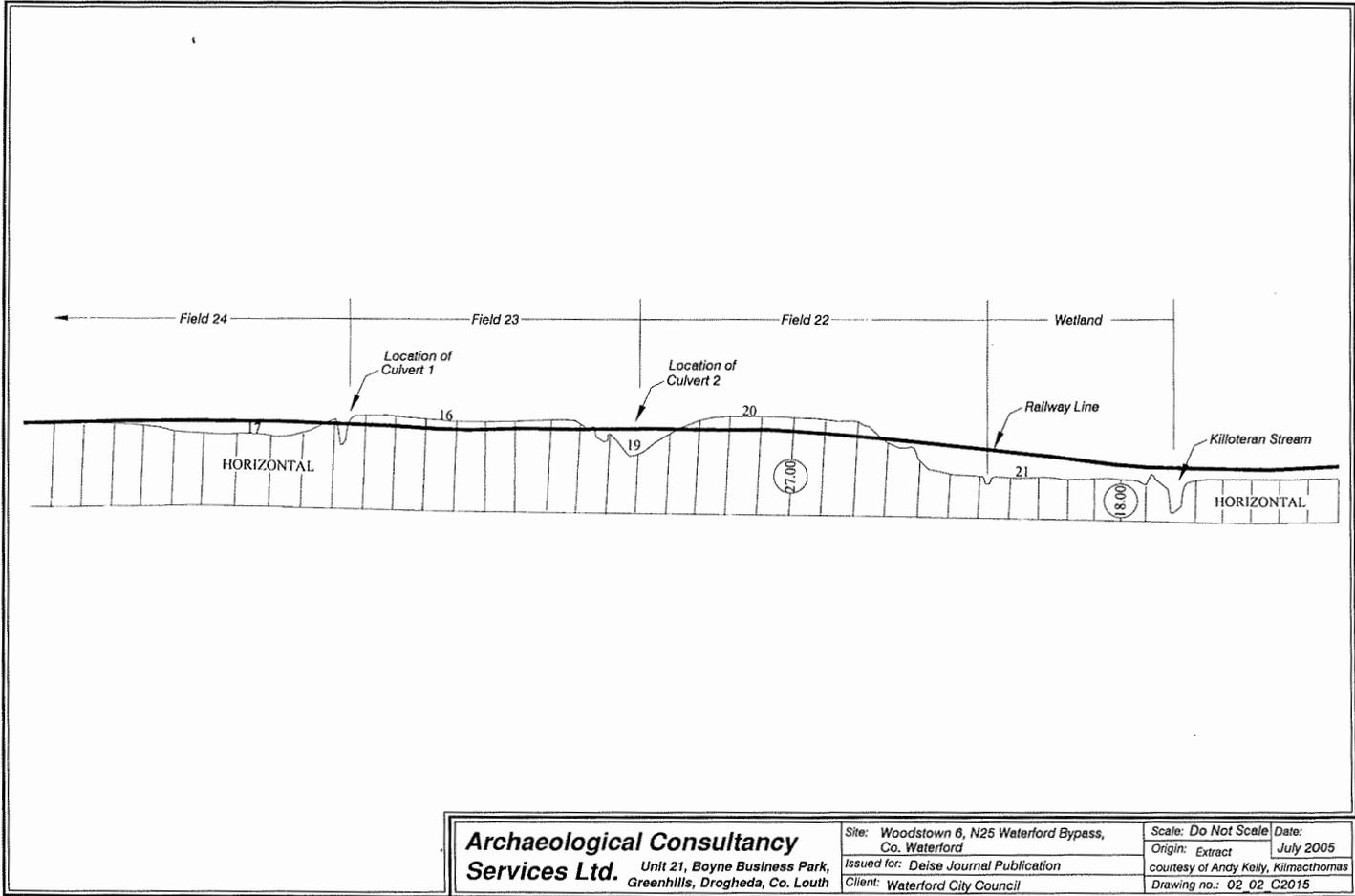


Figure 7: Original sectional profile through Woodstown of the Waterford - Dungarvan Railway, before construction, 1870's (Andy Kelly).

where substantial defences were constructed in a number of stages, being finally completed by the sixteenth century (Murtagh 2004: 9-13). However, the Waterford Corporation excavations between 1986 and 1992 uncovered no dateable evidence of pre-eleventh century settlement (Hurley et al. 1997: 894).

It is well known that Vikings were over wintering in Ireland from the AD 830s onwards and from then the term *longphort* (pl. *longphuirt*) appears in the annals. In AD 840 a *longphort* was established at Lough Neagh (*AFM* AD 839), and in Dublin (*AU* AD 841). With reference to Dublin, Clarke has suggested that this *longphort* may have been located at or close to the monastery of that name while a later *longphort* was located close to the site of *Áth Cliath* (Clarke 1998: 82). This may indicate fluidity in the locations of such sites. These could therefore be relatively short lived as the Viking presence at the early monastic centre of Emly (*Imlech Ibuir*) attested in 968; 'The plundering of Imlech Ibuir, and a camp [was pitched] there for two days' (*AI* AD 968: 159), could be an extreme example of this. Is the two-day reference literary-effect for an occupation of 'short duration', centred on a pre-existing monastic settlement? A recent re-assessment of the monastic settlement on Beginish Island, County Kerry proposed the site represented a long-term Viking Age maritime way-station, with the likelihood of similar sites around our coast (Sheehan et al 2001: 93 & 116).

The Scandinavian settlements established around the harbours of Counties Antrim and Down may have lasted for around twenty years before being destroyed (Bradley 1988: 66). Such encampments may have been constructed in locations that maximised natural defensive advantages, such as higher ground close to estuarine river mouths near tributaries (Wallace 1992: 39; 2001: 38) or on islands in rivers (Clarke 1998: 349). It has been suggested that access to boats was of paramount importance to the Vikings when locating their bases (Wallace 2001: 38), while the wider Viking world abounds with references to Viking cavalry expeditions.

Evidence from other parts of the early Viking world indicates a complex pattern of settlement, other than isolated homesteads or raiding camps. Located on the banks of Lake Tissø, in Denmark the settlement here extended over half a kilometre in width and 200 - 300m in length and was occupied from the sixth to the eleventh centuries AD (Jorgensen 2003: 183). Numerous high status artefacts, including imports, have been recovered from the site, along with weapons. Trading activity is suggested by the recovery of many lead weights and fragments of silver and Arabic coins, and workshop areas for iron forging and metal working areas have also been identified. The recovery of large amounts of nails has been taken to indicate frequent repairs to the small buildings at the site (Jorgensen 2003: 201-203). The recovery of much material was aided by the systematic use of metal detectors.

The site at Llanbedrgoch, Anglesey, in North Wales has been described as a low-lying, fortified, multifunctional centre dating to the ninth/tenth centuries AD. Casual finds of Viking artefacts led to more detailed non-intrusive and intrusive research. Geophysical survey identified a D-shaped enclosure, a mound and linear

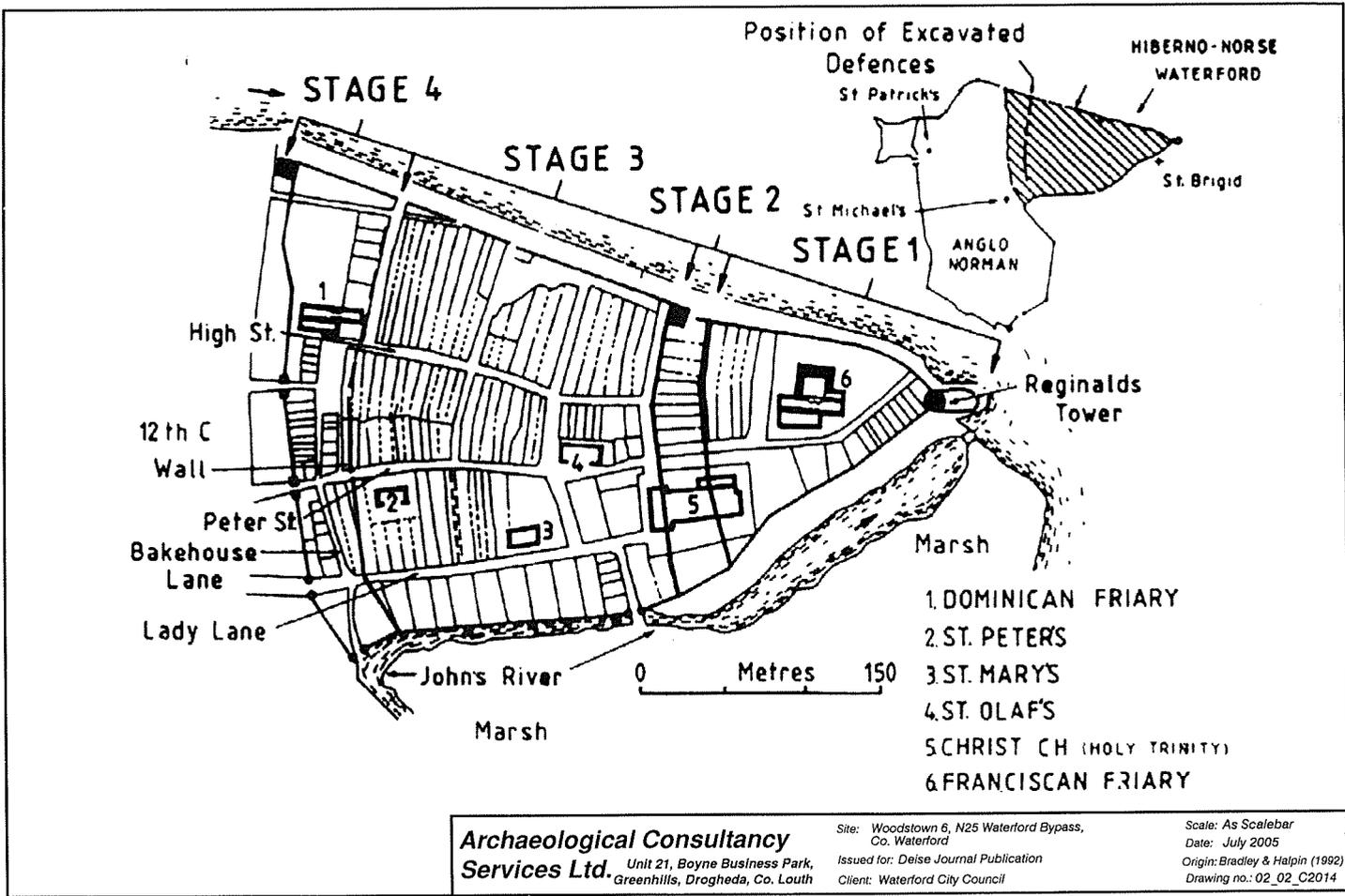


Figure 8: Map of Hiberno-Norse Waterford (Bradley & Halpin 1992, 106, fig. 5.1)

ditches. Excavations in the interior of the D-shaped enclosure provided evidence for rectangular buildings of ninth/tenth-century date. Evidence for bronze, iron and antler working was also recovered, while finds included bronze pins, lead weights and a fragment of hack silver (Graham-Campbell 1998: 125; see Plate 15, and footnote 21 below).

In England there are references in the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* to fortifications in the ninth century (Richards 1991: 23) At Repton, a pre-existing monastic church was incorporated as a gatehouse into a D-shaped enclosure constructed by the Vikings on the banks of the Trent as an over-wintering camp in 873-4. These take the form of a D-shaped bank and ditched enclosure, protected by water on the long side (Richards 1991: 23).

Geophysical Investigations (Figure 9)

A number of geophysical surveys were carried out at Woodstown 6 by Earthsound Archaeological Geophysics (Bonsall & Gimson 2003 & 2004). These surveys included full investigation within and outside the Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO) boundary of Fields 22-24. The survey within the CPO was carried out between the original test-trenches, and these results can be interpreted as representing a large number of pits ranging in size from 0.5 - 2.5m in diameter, hearths, representing occupational layers, some gullies and some substantial ditch features. The survey outside the CPO confirmed the presence of a number of large, curvilinear ditches, with gaps, and that the majority of occupational layers were bounded by these features. The geophysical survey suggests that the boundary of these ditches, although transitory and representative of many phases, can be defined.

The ditches run broadly parallel to the present CPO boundary; the ditches in Field 22 are a maximum distance of *circa* 70m from it. Beyond the ditches in Field 23 the only substantial archaeological remains identified were those of a *circa* 30m square-shaped satellite enclosure; possibly an industrial complex. The remaining features mapped outside the ditches are likely to represent former field boundaries, geological features and possible drainage channels. With the exception of its western end, which may continue in to the former Coilte plantation (albeit unlikely due to ground conditions), the extent of the site was mapped, and the site limits defined.

The Archaeological Testing and Assessment Phase in 2003 (Figure 10)

Archaeological Testing

The first phase of archaeological testing in Woodstown townland as part of the N25 Bypass works was carried out in April 2003 between chainages 5920-6840. A Bronze Age *Fulacht Fiadh* was discovered and excavated at Woodstown 5, immediately west of the Carriganore rock-outcrop in Woodstown (licence number 03E0409). A total of twenty-nine, 2m-wide test-trenches were excavated within what became known as Woodstown 6 between chainages 5920-6380. The archaeological features discovered represented the basal layers or deposits only; the upper fills had been ploughed out.

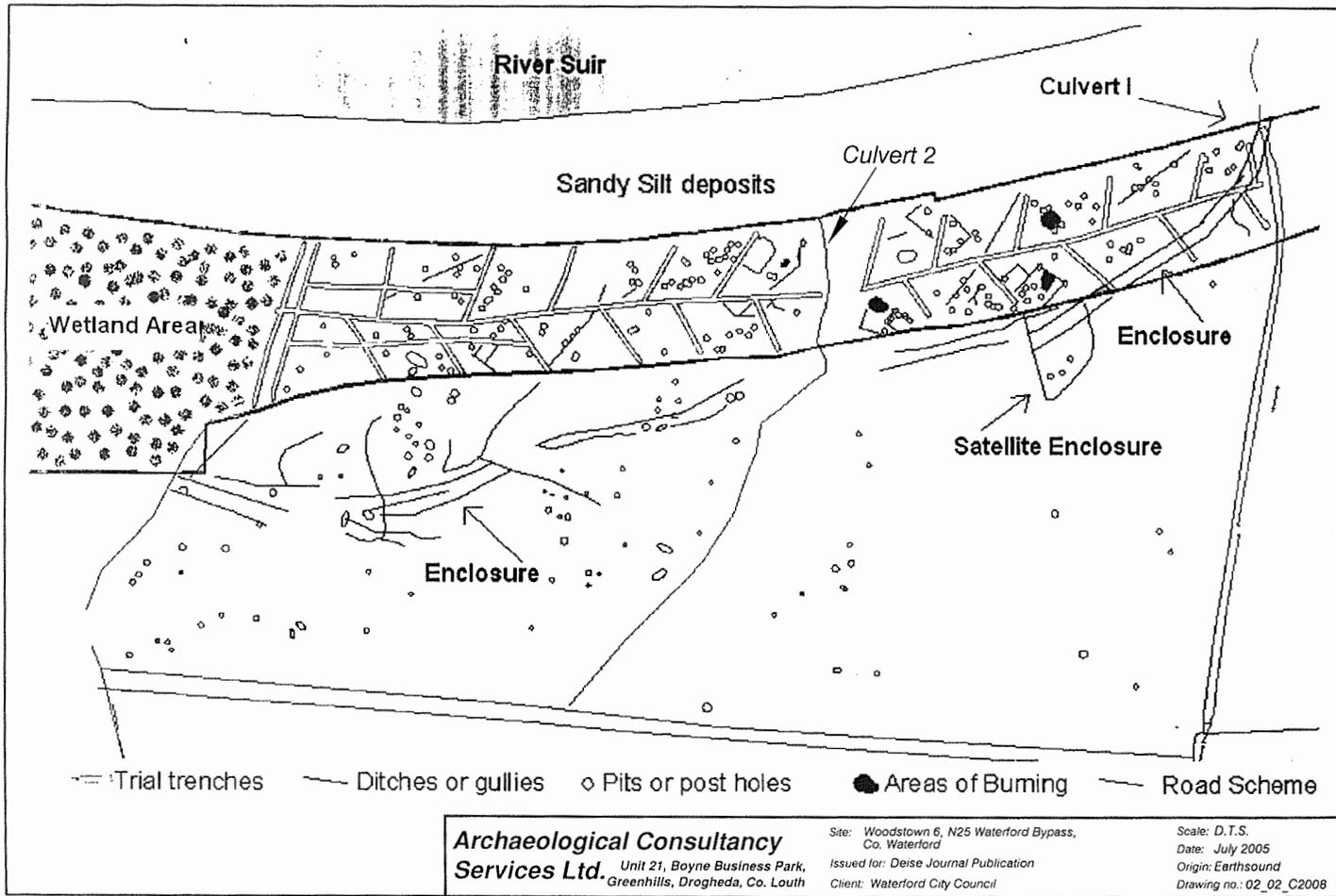


Figure 9: Geophysical survey interpretation of Woodstown 6 (Earthsound Archaeological Geophysics)

The results of this testing phase showed that Field 23 contained a large number of features within a ditched enclosure, some of which may represent possible structures or houses. These included post-holes, stake-holes, hearths, pits, spreads, cobbled surfaces, ditches and linear features. The possible post and stake structures appear to be oval or circular in shape, but the presence of a number of potential slot trenches with post-holes would also suggest that rectangular structures may also be present. A large number of pits, post-holes, stake-holes, and linear features were also exposed in Field 22, but not in such a high concentration as the number in Field 23. It is interpreted that the features within this field may represent further domestic or industrial activity. No traces of the returning ditched enclosure were revealed from the testing in Field 23.

Archaeological Assessment

To gain further information regarding the nature and definitive dating evidence for the site, an archaeological assessment was conducted under the same excavation licence number, between August-September 2003. A specific portion of twelve of the original twenty-nine test-trenches were fully hand excavated. The report concluded ‘the site of Woodstown 6 appears to represent a defended, river-side settlement, with associated industrial-type activity. The historical references, the artefacts, in particular the lead weights, and the radiocarbon dates taken together confirm the site most likely dates within the Hiberno-Norse/Early Medieval Period, 800-1100 AD’ (Russell 2004: 71).

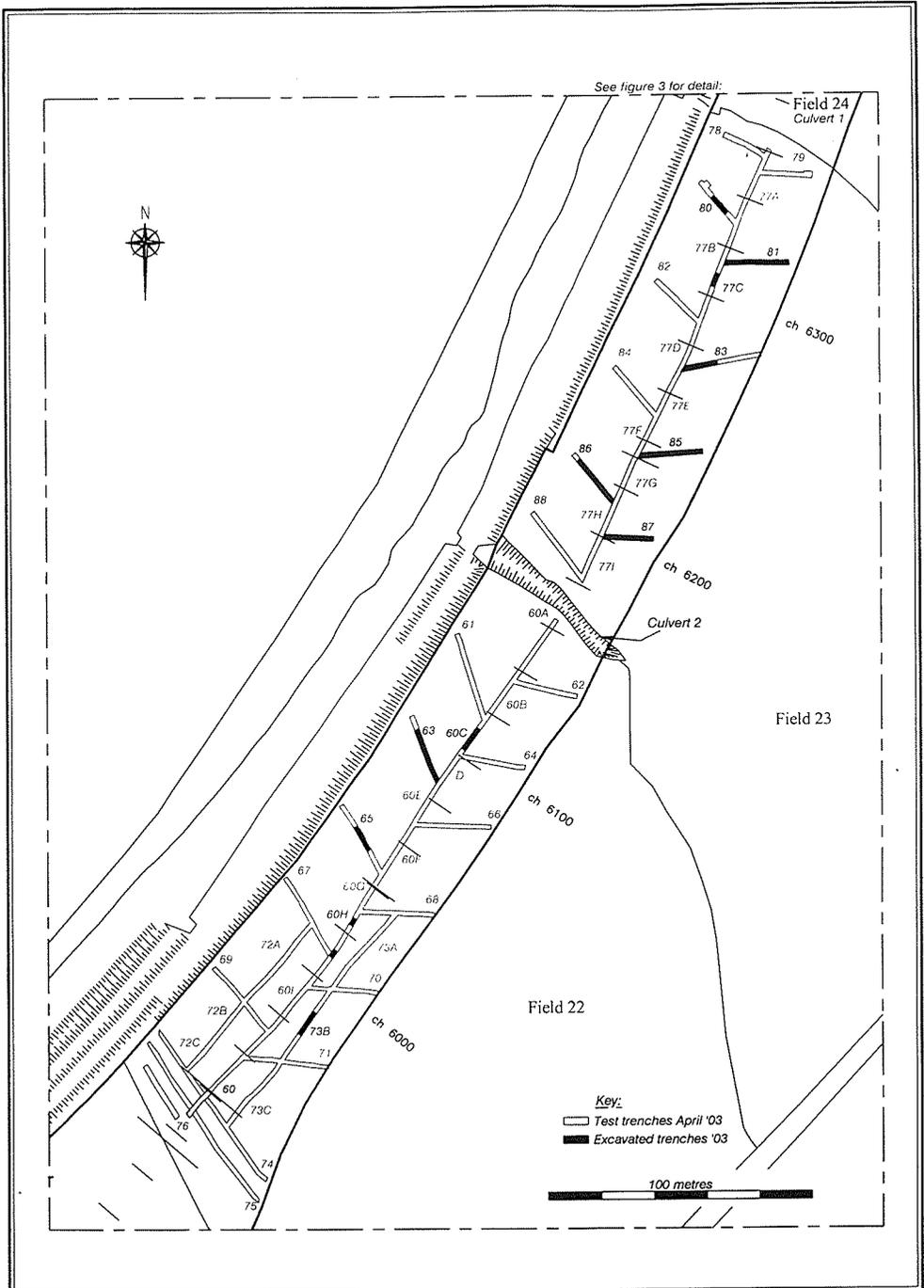
Archaeological Excavation 2004 (Figures 11-16 & Plates 2-8)

Following the archaeological investigations in 2003 and as the proposed Waterford City Bypass alignment in Woodstown was being constructed at ground level or in-fill at certain points, the option of preservation *in situ* of the site was proposed. Following a detailed engineering report, this option was agreed with the DoEHLG in March 2004. Consequently, permission for licenced archaeological works was sought from the NMI and DoEHLG for the excavation of two areas where intrusive works were necessary, Culverts 1 and 2. These drains were necessary to culvert, i.e. pipe, the existing streams on site. The excavation commenced in March 2004.

Culvert 1 Excavation (Figures 11 & 12)

The area designated as Culvert 1 represented the upstanding field boundary dividing Fields 23 and 24, between chainages 6360-6380. The field boundary consisted of a tree- and hedge-covered bank with a deep drainage ditch on each side. These ditches allowed water to drain off the fields and into the river. Field 23 is generally flat for all of its length at an average height of 9.507m OD. Approximately 10m on either side of the boundary was designated for excavation, 20m x 60m in diameter.

The excavation here was divided into four quadrants. It was known that the enclosure ditch discovered in testing would be re-located and therefore fully excavated. It was unlikely that structural evidence, i.e. houses would be found within Culvert 1 as most of the excavation area was located outside the enclosure, but it was likely that external activities would be discovered. This premise was later



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	Client: Waterford City Council	Origin: A.C.S. Ltd.
		Drawing no.: 02_02_C2007

Figure 10: Fields 22-24 showing location of test trenches, assessment areas in 2003 and culverts 1 & 2 in 2004 (ACS Ltd.)

borne out. The first task was the photographic record and topographical survey of the field boundary. The trees and scrub were then removed by hand, and saws. A number of hand-excavated box sections were placed through the bank, to determine its archaeological potential, before the archaeological excavation commenced.

All features described were subsoil-cut apart from the upstanding post-medieval field boundary and hedge. The sod, and topsoil (F600), varied between 0.25-0.40m in depth, and lay directly above the natural, orange-coloured, stony subsoil (F601). All archaeological layers were metal-detected and hand-sieved on site for all metallic, and other small finds.

The Northeast Quadrant

A total of one post-hole, one possible post-hole, one furnace, three linear features, one possible ditch, and the field boundary bank and associated post-medieval water channels (2), and post-medieval ditch and re-cut. The most remarkable discovery was a Viking warrior grave, the first scientific excavation of a rural Viking burial since 1947 (R. Ó Floinn, pers. comm.).

Viking burial (Figure 14 & Plate 9)

The Viking burial F2224 was discovered at the edge of the excavation area within Field 24, and was first revealed as a roughly rectilinear discolouration in the subsoil. Careful hand excavation under the supervision of Osteoarchaeologist Dr Patrick Quinney, confirmed the full outline of a grave with *in situ* grave goods. The grave measured *L* 1.5m, *W* 0.85m, *D* 0.2m and had been sealed by sod and topsoil c.0.25m deep.⁷ The grave was filled with a compact mid brown sandy clay containing moderate inclusions of charcoal flecks, and small round and angular stones (F2256). Three large sub angular stones, possibly the remains of a stone cairn were found within F2256. It was purely fortuitous that ploughing had not fully removed these stones and damaged the grave. Most interestingly the grave was located *circa* 22m outside the enclosure.

Stratified finds included a cone-shaped iron shield boss (02E0441:2256:1), a copper-alloy ring pin and shaft (02E0441:2256:2), the handle and base of a broken iron sword blade (02E0441:2256:3), a perforated honestone (02E0441:2256:4), the broken and displaced point of the sword blade (02E0441:2256:5), an iron spear point (02E0441:2256:6), a spear ferrule (02E0441:2256:7), a possible small blade (02E0441:2256:9), and a possible sword pommel (02E0441:2256:12). The eastern portion of the grave had been disturbed (F2265), possibly by recent ploughing, and had been filled with a mid brown clay (F2225). Several artefacts were recovered from this disturbed context - two small iron rivets (02E0441:2225:1 & 6), two conical copper-alloy mounts (02E0441:2225:2 & 7), a broken iron axe or sword blade (02E0441:2225:4), and an iron battle axe (02E0441:2225:5). All finds were excavated on site and removed by the NMI Conservation Department to Collins Barracks, Dublin. No skeletal remains were recovered from the grave fill apart from two tiny bone fragments of unknown taxa; histomorphological analysis may confirm if these fragments are human.

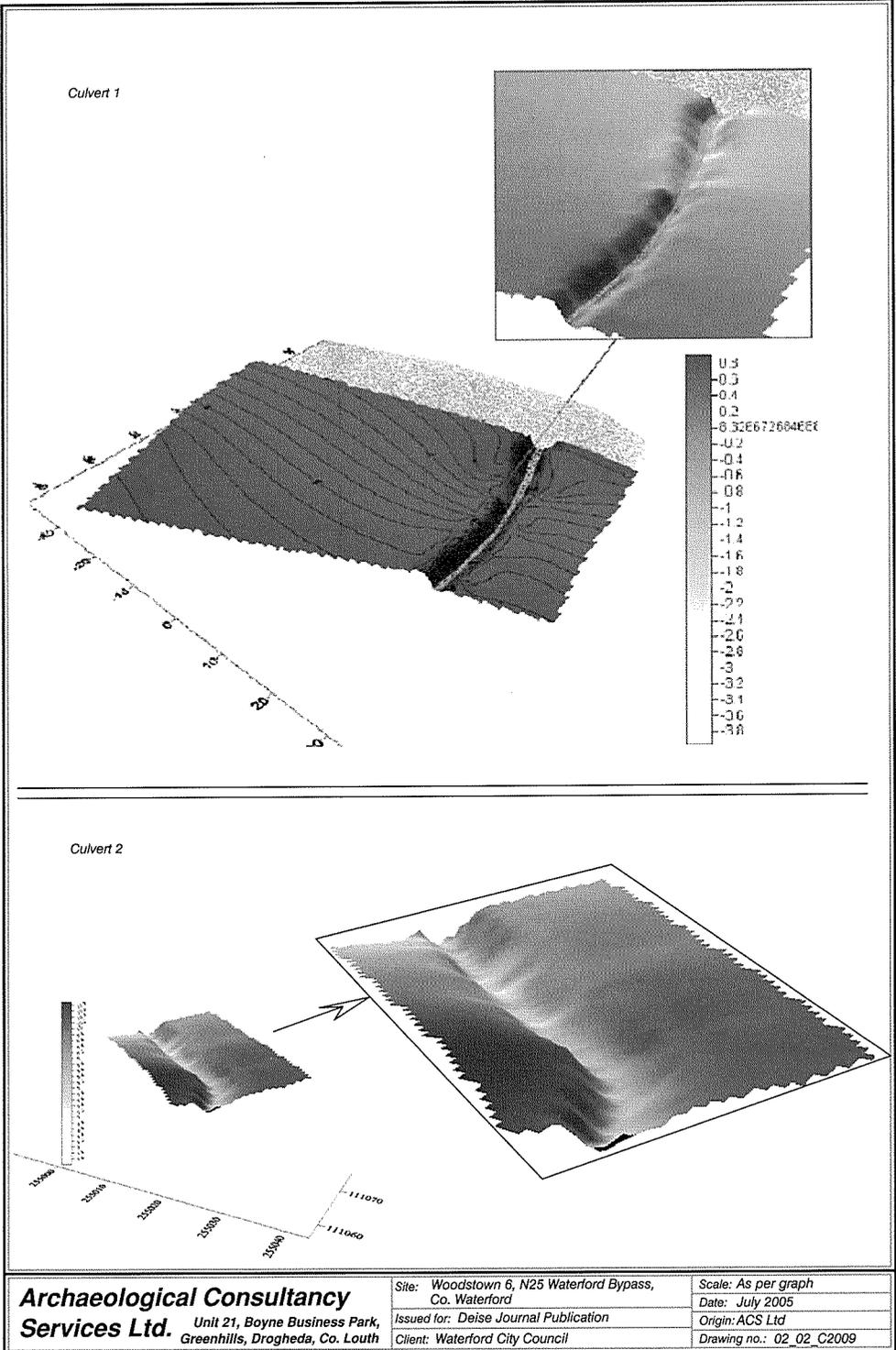


Figure 11: Pre-excavation topographical survey of Culverts 1-2 (ACS Ltd.)

Kiln and post-holes of probable Viking date

A kiln F2302 found outside the enclosure ditch measured *L* 1.04m, *W* 0.98m, *D* 0.29m. The kiln was flat based, with steeply cut sides and contained three post-holes (F2322, F2324 and F2327) around the kiln circumference. These post-holes were sealed below F2303, compact brown sandy, charcoal-flecked clay with inclusions of burnt bone. Above F2303 was a red coloured oxidised clay (F2293) around the circumference of the kiln, measuring *T* 0.18m in thickness to *D* 0.16m, probable evidence of *in situ* burning. A square-sectioned lead weight (02E0441:2293:1) was recovered from within the red oxidised clay. The upper fill was compact black sandy, charcoal-flecked clay (F2307, see below). An isolated post-hole (F2207; filled by F2214) and a possible post-hole (F2325) found near the kiln may represent remains of additional supporting posts. F2207 was oval in plan, measuring *L* 0.31m, *W* 0.18m, *D* 0.19m. F2325 measured *L* 0.23m and *W* 0.18m. This kiln was possibly associated with another, albeit undated, kiln/oven (F2107), discovered in the Southeast Quadrant (see below), and similarly, located outside the enclosure.

Linear features partially exposed near the Viking Grave (Figure 12)

Linear feature F2319 was oriented north-south and measured *L* 2.4m, *W* 1.35m, *D* 0.69m; the fills were grey-brown coloured sandy and silty clays (F2295, F2320, F2321, & F2326) containing charcoal and stones. F2312 was oriented north-south, and measured *L* 0.85m, *W* 0.53m, *D* 0.23m; the fill was sterile, brown silty clay (F2296). F2280 was oriented north-south, and measured *L* 4.0m, *W* 2.5m, *D* 0.55m; the fill was sterile brown, silty, stony clay (F2294). F2310 was oriented east-west, and measured *L* 4.1m, *W* 1.4m and *D* 0.73m; the fill was loose mid-brown coloured sandy clay (F2311), with inclusions of small - large angular stones and charcoal flecking. As there were no finds or sufficient charcoal retrieved for C14 dating, their function remains unknown.

Post-medieval ditch and re-cut

The post-medieval ditch F2243 was orientated east-west and measured *L* 13.0m, *W* 1.3m, *D* 0.8m. F2243 had been re-cut and widened at its western end (F2287). Both ditch and re-cut were filled with a compact mid brown-grey coloured sandy clay (F2279) and lay below a compact angular stone hard core (F2244). From this disturbed layer a hammer-stone (02E0441:2244:1), a stone net weight or rotary honestone (02E0441:2244:2), sherds of post-medieval pottery (02E0441:2244:3, 5 & 6), and clay pipe fragment (02E0441:2244:4) were recovered. Both the primary ditch and re-cut were subsequently cut by the existing boundary ditch (F2263), and disturbed again by modern excavation mechanical enlargement (F2283 & F2285) of the water channel (F2018), to clean-out the drains. The mixture of archaeological and post-medieval finds together is attributable to such activities.

7 The letters *L*, *W*, *D*, *T* & *H* signifies Length, Width, Depth Thickness & Height respectively, and are used here for reasons of space.

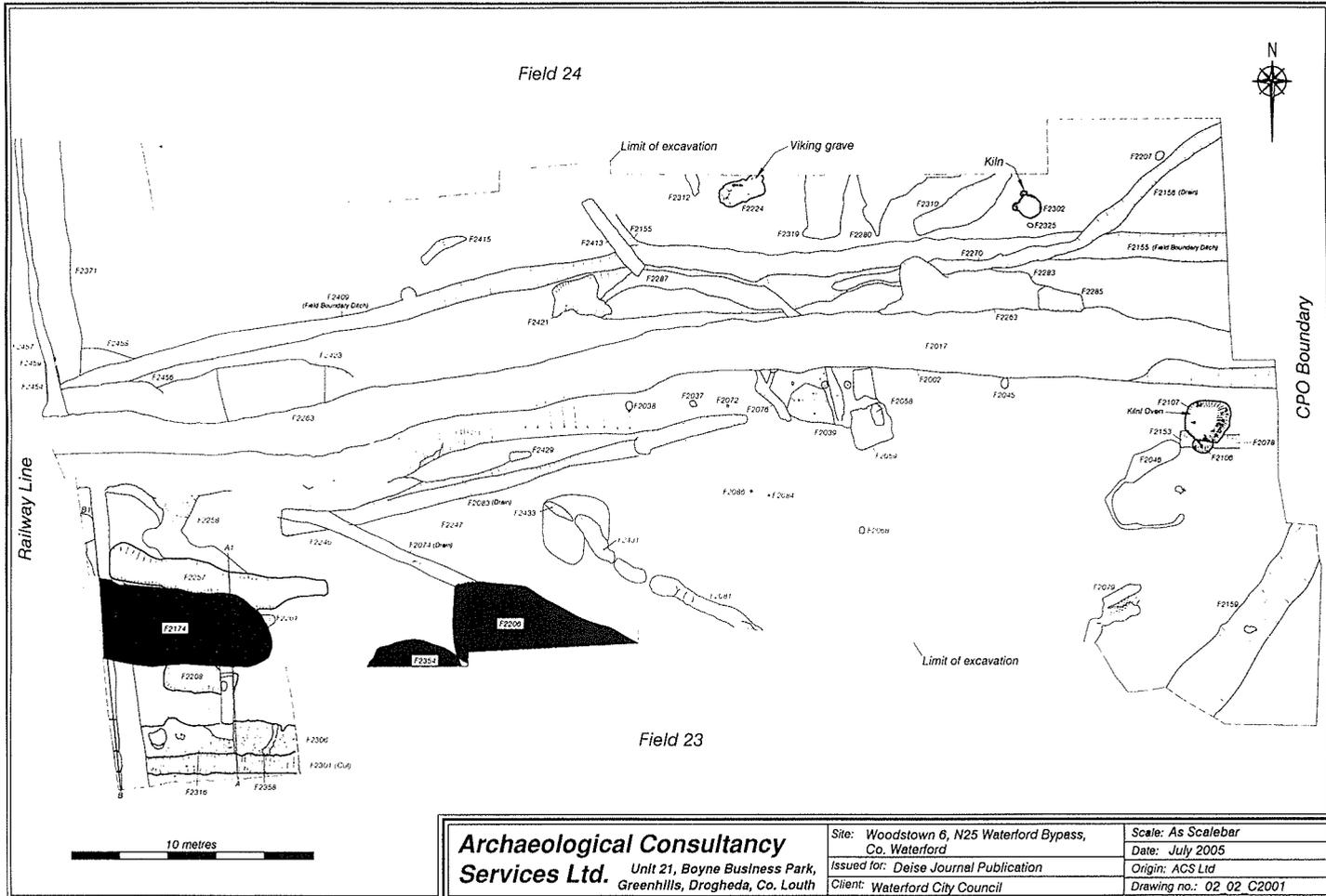


Figure 12: Post-excitation plan of Culvert 1, Fields 23/24 (ACS Ltd.)

Post-medieval boundary ditch

The partial remains of a boundary ditch F2155 were discovered. F2155 measured *L* 0.5m, *W* 0.9m, *D* 0.4m, and had been filled with a series of brown - light grey sandy, charcoal-flecked clays (F2182, F2288 & F2245). A total of thirty-nine finds were found from F2155 including a possible axe, and knife blades (02E0441:2182:18 & 38), a flint flake (02E0441:2182:1), assorted clay pipe fragments, corroded iron objects, and post-medieval pottery and modern glass.

The Northwest Quadrant

A total of one pit, one cobbled surface, one linear feature, a cattle sump, two post-medieval field boundaries, a revetment wall and a boundary bank and wall were exposed. This quadrant terminated alongside the railway boundary and primarily consisted of post-medieval or undated features.

Post-medieval field boundaries

The boundary ditch F2409, filled by F2411, was re-cut by F2456, and widened at its western end. Two tree boles were also exposed, one (F2420) found within, and the second (F2423) close by the boundary ditch. The tree bole F2423, filled by F2425 was sealed below two layers of relayered natural (F2424 & F2414). A possible honestone (02E0441:2425:1) and an incised stone (02E0441:2425:2) were recovered from the tree bole F2423 and a fragment of a clay pipe stem (02E0441:2414:1) from the re-layered natural above it.

The field boundary F2371 was filled by layers F2372 and F2464. A flint scraper (02E0441:2372:1), an iron cylinder (02E0441:2372:2), a dressed stone piece (02E0441:2372:3), an iron hinge strap (02E0441:2372:4), and an incised or decorated stone (02E0441:2372:5) were recovered from F2372.

The Southeast Quadrant

A total of six post-holes, eight stake-holes, two pits, one kiln, four spreads, two linear features, two ditches, a post-medieval earthen field bank, rubble revetment walls, and three drainage channels were exposed.

Post-holes

These features (F2037, F2038, F2045, F2048, F2049 & F2068) were generally filled with charcoal-flecked brown silty clay. All contained small stones except F2038. Examples F2037 and F2038 also contained inclusions of burnt bone. The post-holes measured between *L* 0.24-0.45m, *W* 0.21-0.35m, *D* 0.08-0.18m.

Stake-holes

These features (F2041, F2050, F2051, F2060, F2070, F2072, F2084 & F2086) were generally filled with compact yellow/brownish, charcoal-flecked sandy clay: the fill of F2084 was sterile. The stake-holes measured between *L* 0.07-0.13m, *W* 0.06-0.12m, *D* 0.06-0.16m.

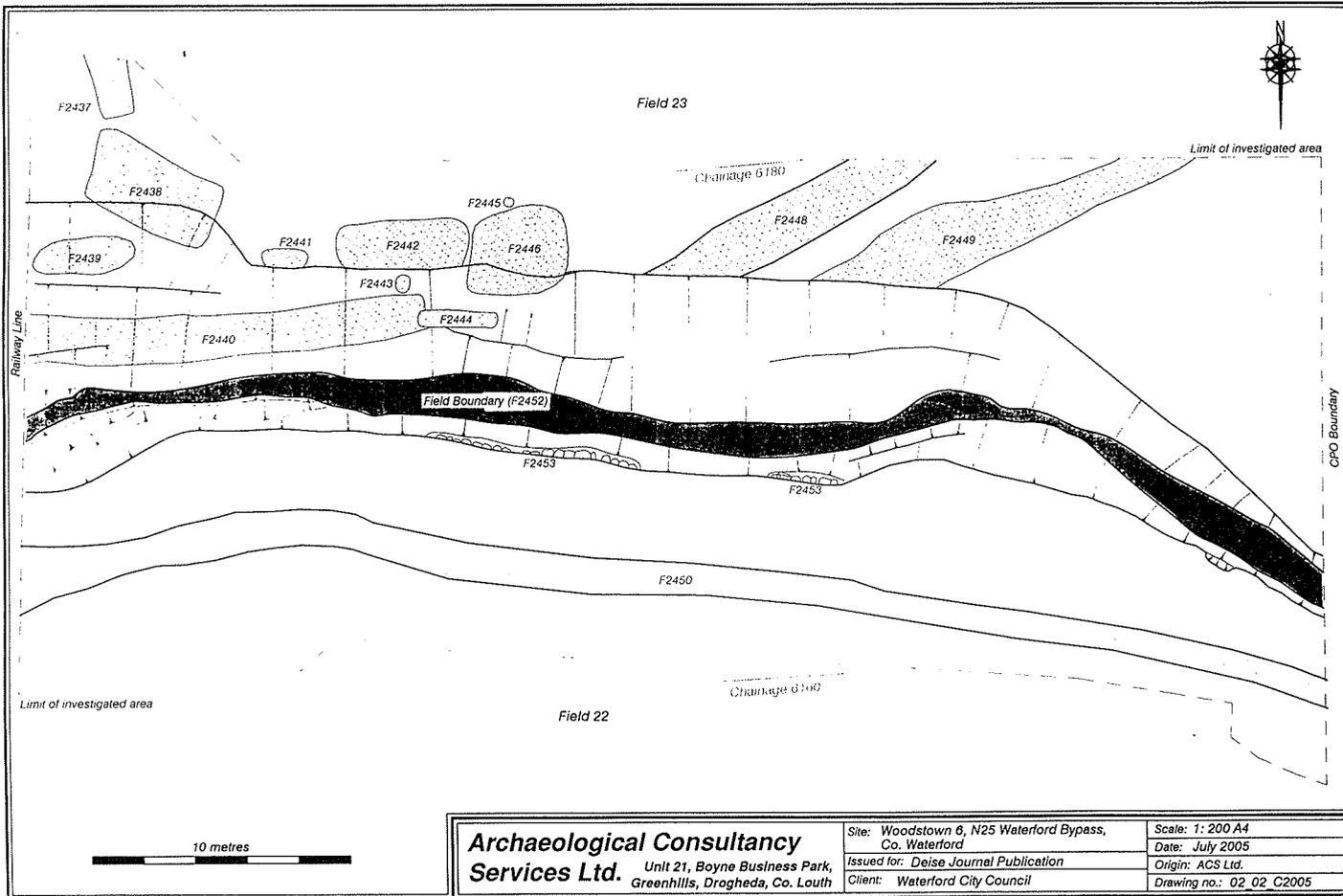


Figure 13: Plan of Culvert 2, Fields 22/23 showing unexcavated features (ACS Ltd.)

Pits

The pit F2079 was sub-rectangular in plan, measuring *L* 1.48m, *W* 0.58m, *D* 0.38m. It was heavily disturbed by root action. The fill consisted of compact brown silty clay (F2064) containing occasional inclusions of charcoal, burnt stone, and frequent inclusions of pebble-sized angular stone. The pit F2106 was oval in plan, measuring 0.85m in diameter and *D* 0.22m. The fill F2066 was dark brown sandy, charcoal-flecked clay with burnt stone.

Kiln/Oven (Plate 8)

The kiln/oven F2107 was sub rectangular in plan, measuring *L* 1.9m, *W* 1.65m, *D* 0.36m, and filled with three charcoal-flecked clay layers, (F2109, F2108 & F2065); these comprised a series of greyish-brown sandy silts, containing baked clay lenses and charcoal lumps - the grey colouration suggests the presence of reducing gases during firing. A total of four post-holes (F2120, F2122, F2126 and F2134) and seventeen stake-holes (F2110, F2112, F2114, F2116, F2118, F2124, F2128, F2130, F2132, F2136, F2138, F2140, F2142, F2144, F2146, F2148 and F2150), were exposed around the internal circumference of the kiln, sealed below layer F2109.

Spreads⁸

The spread F2020 measured *L* 2.2m, *W* 2.0m, *D* 0.2m and consisted of compact yellow-brown, fine sandy, charcoal-flecked clay. The spread F2035 was a disturbed context as a piece of modern glass (02E0441:2035:1) and a corroded iron nail (02E0441:2035:2) were recovered, as well as bone fragments, burnt stone and baked clay, and frequent inclusions of charcoal and slag. F2035 measured *L* 3.0m, *W* 2.46m, *D* c.0.2m.

Linear features

The linear feature F2046 measured *L* 1.6m, *W* 0.46m, *D* 0.06m; it was roughly u-shaped, perhaps representing the basal remnants of a supporting structure for the nearby kiln/oven F2107. Its clay fill (F2036) contained charcoal, stone, bone fragments and a corroded iron nail (02E0441:2036:1).

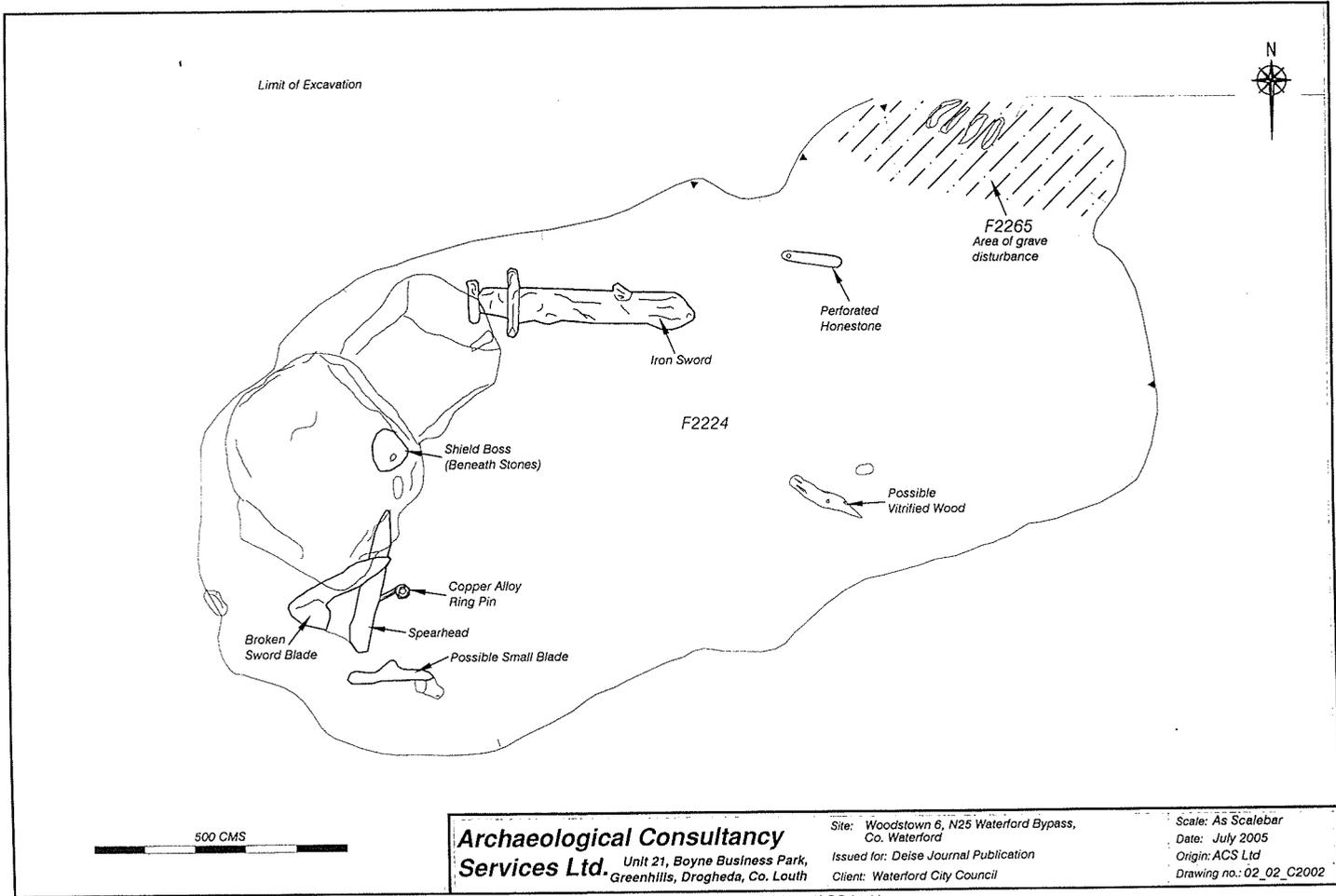
Earthen bank

The earthen bank F2468 was visible as a surface feature marking the southern boundary of Culvert 1 and was constructed from a series of raised layers that represented three phases of construction. These earth banks are the commonest type of field boundary in the region.

The Southwest Quadrant

This was the area of Culvert 1 where the enclosure ditch in Field 23, noted from the previous year's testing had been discovered; the finding of an entrance through the ditch was an unexpected, but welcome discovery. A total of two possible pits (F2208 & F2215), eight ditches (F2174, F2206, F2101, F2103, F2105, F2257,

⁸ Spreads are generally shallow layers of archaeological residue.



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		Client: Waterford City Council	Origin: ACS Ltd
			Drawing no.: 02_02_C2002

Figure 14: Plan of Viking warrior grave, Field 24 (ACS Ltd.)

F2258 & F2175), two ditches/pits (F2261 & F2469), a furnace/kiln, the entrance-way, a earthen defensive bank, a (possible) revetment, one post-medieval earthen field bank, five post-medieval stone walls, one field drain (F2074) and one field ditch (F2371) were exposed.

Pits (possible)

Pit F2208 was exposed at the base of the primary defensive ditch (F2105). It was roughly oval in shape measuring *L* 1.6m, *W* 1.5m, *D* 0.13m. The fill was charcoal-flecked grey clay with small stones (F2248). An unidentified iron object (02E0441:2248:1), a fragment of chert (02E0441:2248:2) and a possible furnace fragment (02E0441:2248:3) were recovered from F2248.

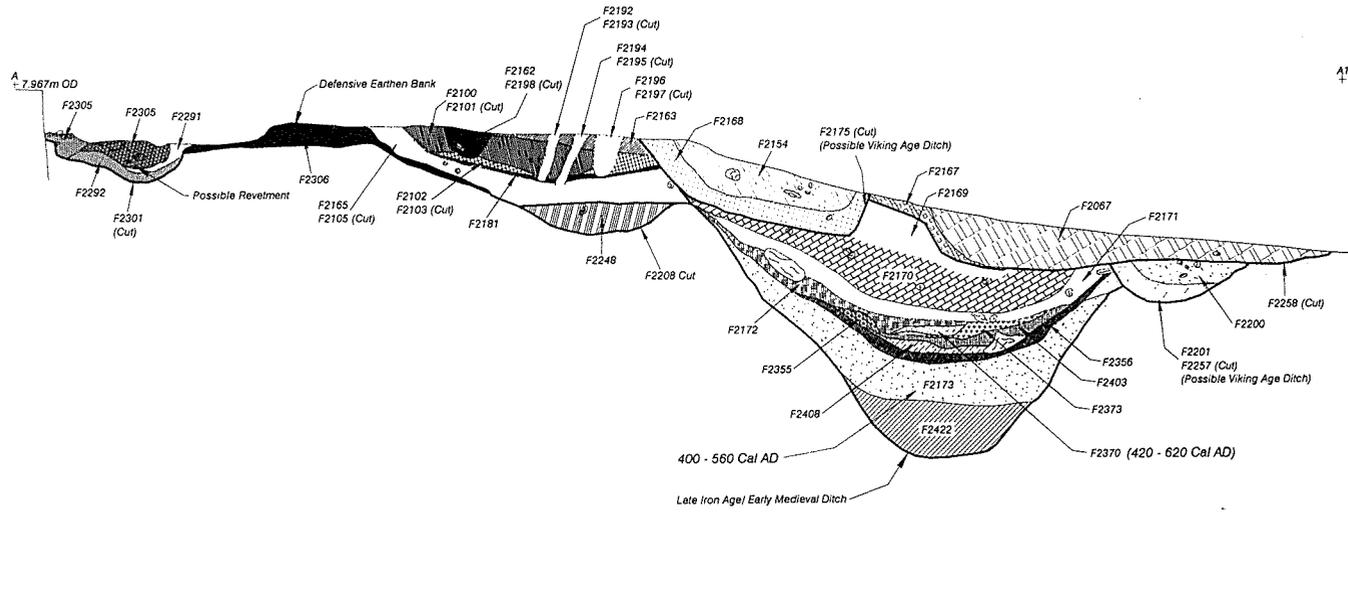
Enclosure Ditch (Figures 12, 15-16; Plates 4-6, 8)

This evidence is represented by a ditch terminal found either side of an entrance-way, and fully excavated by hand. Ditch F2206 was partially uncovered and continued into the unexcavated baulk. The ditch was orientated southeast-northwest and measured *L* 6.8m, *W* 4.0m, *D* 1.48m. F2206 was filled with the following layers: F2094, F2096, F2205 and F2204. F2094 was loose brown-orange stony clay, charcoal-flecked. A number of un-worked, wood fragments were retrieved from F2094. F2096 was compact grey marl-type stony clay, charcoal-flecked. Finds from F2096 included a honestone (02E0441:2096:1), two possible hone fragments (02E0441:2096:2-3), and un-worked wood fragments. F2205 was compact grey charcoal-flecked clay. F2204 was a loose brown sand layer which was later cut by the possible ditch F2261 (see below).

Ditch F2174 was orientated southeast-northwest and measured *L* 7.15m, *W* 2.90m, *D* 1.80m. It originally continued toward the river but the railway destroyed all traces of it here. Ditch F2174 was roughly U-shaped in section and provided the majority of both our radiocarbon dates and, stratified artefacts from the site, including the earliest lead and silver. The ditch also contained evidence for an *in situ*, metalworking furnace/smithy hearth. The basal layer F2422 was compact mid brown silty clay containing moderate inclusions of large and small stones. One artefact, a possible honestone (02E0441:2422:1) came from this layer. F2357 was a layer of light grey clay found only between the ditch terminal and the railway (it is not recorded in either ditch section). One artefact, a fragment of lead (02E0441:2357:1) <1gr in weight, came from this layer. Layer F2357 was found above F2422, and in turn was sealed by F2173.

Layer F2173 was light grey silty clay, moderately charcoal-flecked and containing frequent inclusions of stone. A wide array of artefacts was recovered from F2173 representing a fairly typical assemblage of early-medieval artefacts; a number of possible burnishing or polishing stones (02E0441:2173:1-27), two honestones (02E0441:2173:28 & 35), five possible honestones (02E0441:2173:30-34), a dense iron nodule (02E0441:2173:36), two stones with smoothed-out hollow (02E0441:2173:29 & 37), two amber beads (02E0441:2173:41-42) and a possible

EAST FACING SECTION OF DITCH & BANK, CULVERT 1



Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd. Unit 21, Boyne Business Park, Greenhills, Drogheda, Co. Louth	Site: Woodstown 5, N25 Waterford Bypass, Co. Waterford	Scale: As scalebars
	Issued for: Daise Journal Publication	Date: July 2005
	Client: Waterford City Council	Origin: ACS Ltd.
		Drawing no: 02_01_C2000

Figure 15: Section A - A1 of enclosure ditch (F2174) & earthen bank (F2306) in Field 23. (ACS Ltd.)

glass bead (02E0441:2173:43) (Plate 19).⁹ A radiocarbon date of 400 - 560 Cal AD from F2173 verified a Late Iron Age/early medieval date for this fill (See Appendix).

Layer F2363 was light brown sandy clay, charcoal-flecked and containing large angular stones. It produced no finds and may have been a dump-layer within the ditch. It was cut by a single, isolated stake-hole (F2362), measuring *W* 0.07m, *D* 0.12m, the function of which is unknown.

Furnace/smithing hearth within enclosure ditch (Figure 15 & Plate 5)

The furnace/smiting hearth F2330 was oval in plan and measured *L* 1.4m, *W* 1.08m, *D* 0.32m. A total of nine stake-holes (F2332, F2334, F2336, F2338, F2340, F2342, F2344, F2346, & F2348) were exposed around the circumference of the furnace/kiln which may have been part of a chimney structure? The furnace/smiting hearth was filled with the following layers (F2408, F2406, F2403, F2402, F2373, F2407 and F2370). F2408 was compact dark grey silty clay, charcoal-flecked; a sherd of thin clear glass (02E0441:2408:1) was recovered from it.

F2406 was loose dark brown - black silty clay, charcoal-flecked with frequent inclusions of slag. F2403 was compact yellow silty clay, charcoal-flecked and containing slag. F2402 was compact dark brown - black silty clay, charcoal-flecked. F2373 was compact dark brown - black silty clay, charcoal-flecked with evidence of oxidation, and inclusions of slag. F2407 was compact yellow silty clay, charcoal-flecked. F2370 was compact black charcoal-flecked clay with further evidence of oxidation. Finds recovered from this fill included a sherd of possible pottery (02E0441:2370:1), a possible saddle quern reused as an anvil and furnace base (02E0441:2370:3), and a possible rubbing stone (02E0441:2370:4). A radiocarbon date of 420 - 620 Cal AD from layer F2370 verified a late Iron Age/early medieval date for this fill (See Appendix). If the pottery find is verified this would represent the earliest evidence of ceramics on site, and its identification is crucial.

F2369 and F2367 represented further compact charcoal-flecked dark clay fills of the furnace. Finds recovered from F2367 consisted of an iron strip (02E0441:2367:1), an iron knife blade (02E0441:2367:2) and a square sectioned silver ingot (02E0441:2367:3). F2362 was filled with (F2361), black silty clay, charcoal-flecked and containing occasional inclusions of slag. F2356 was a compact layer of charcoal.

9 M. Comber has listed early historic sites with evidence of amber and glass (Comber 2001: 86, Table 2). The closest site to Woodstown is Dunbell ringfort, County Kilkenny, near the River Barrow. This site produced evidence of amber, and Roman finds, amongst others.

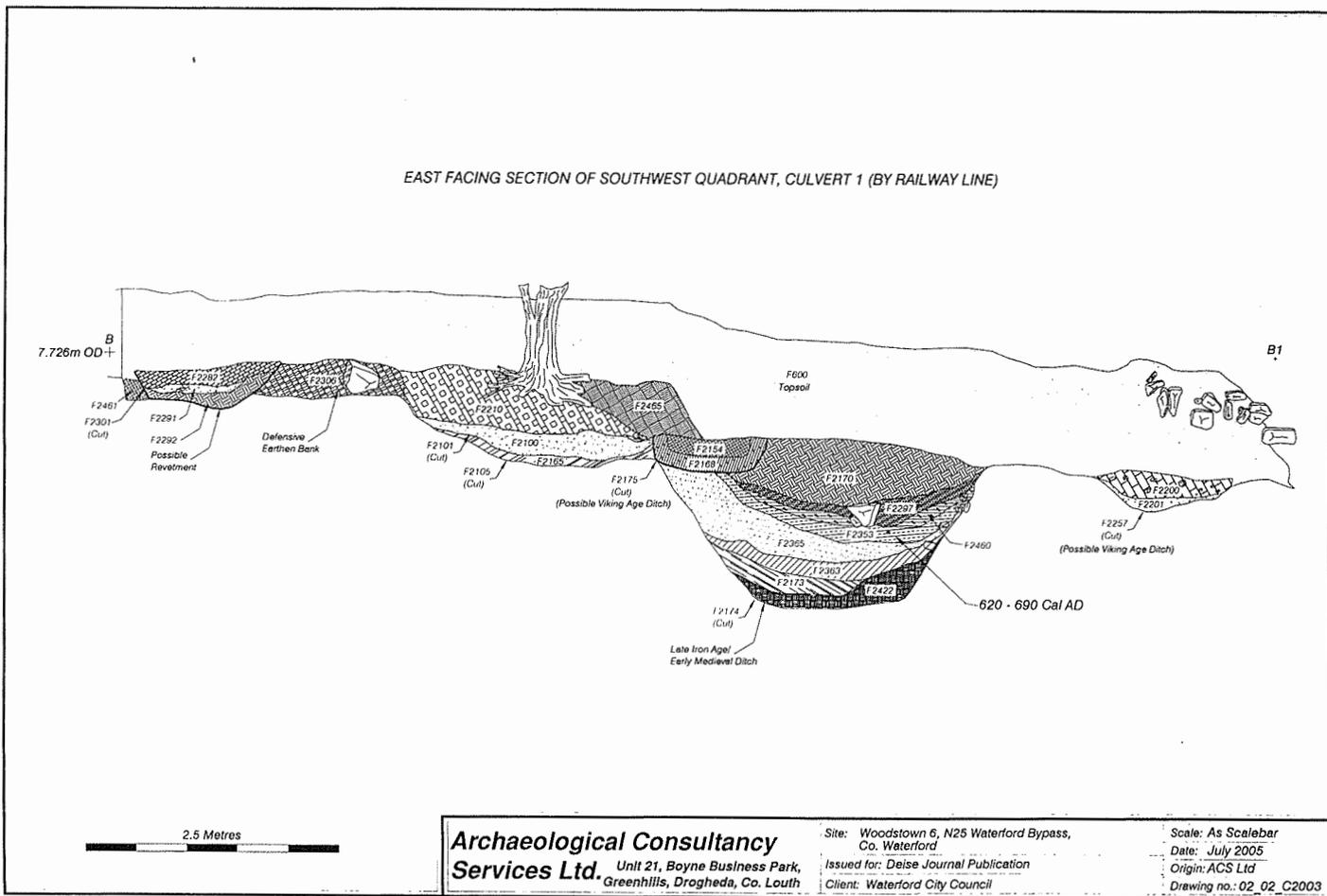


Figure 16: Section B - B1 of enclosure ditch (F2174) & earthen bank (F2306) at the edge of the railway in Field 23 (ACS Ltd.)

Further enclosure ditch layers

F2365 was a very deep layer of dark-grey silty, charcoal-flecked clay, containing occasional inclusions of angular stone. Finds from this layer included two possible copper-alloy casket mounts (02E0441:2365:1-2),¹⁰ three crucible fragments (02E0441:2365:21-23), and an iron rivet (02E0441:2365:60). F2353 was loose mid brown silty clay, charcoal-flecked and containing angular stone. Finds recovered from F2353 included one of the most unusual discoveries from the site, a possible stone mould for pewter bowls, (02E0441:2353:2) (Plate 14),¹¹ two rotary burnishing stones (02E0441:2353:3-4) and a possible copper-alloy pin shaft fragment (02E0441:2353:9). F2355 was compact mid brown silty clay, charcoal-flecked and containing moderate inclusions of angular stone, possibly contemporary with F2353. A radiocarbon date of 620 - 690 Cal AD from layer F2353 verified an early medieval date for this fill (See Appendix).

Layer F2460 was compact light brown silty, charcoal-flecked clay which produced no finds. F2297 was loose dark brown silty, charcoal-flecked clay, containing angular stone. Finds recovered from F2297 included eight crucible fragments (02E0441:2297:1), a copper-alloy pin (02E0441:2297:3), a honestone (02E0441:2297:11), an iron rivet/nail (02E0441:2297:10) and a possible iron nail shaft (02E0441:2297:11).

Layer F2172 was compact dark-brown/black, silty clay, charcoal-flecked. It contained frequent inclusions of slag, and moderate inclusions of burnt bone. Finds recovered from F2172 included a possible barrel padlock fragment (02E0441:2172:1), a possible iron nail (02E0441:2172:4), a possible rotary quern stone reused as an anvil (02E0441:2172:6) and a number of possible knife blade fragments (02E0441:2172:7-11, 13-16).

Layer F2171 consisted of compact mid-grey silty, charcoal-flecked clay. It contained moderate inclusions of burnt bone and slag, and finds included a crucible fragment (02E0441:2171:1), a possible ivory bead (02E0441:2171:2) and a clay *tuyère* fragment (02E0441:2171:5). Layer F2171 is likely to represent the final Irish, sole use of the enclosure ditch on the site, and clearly post-dates the seventh century.

10 These possible copper-alloy casket mounts found from F2365 (dated between the late sixth and early seventh century) represent the first stratified evidence for ecclesiastical finds recovered from the enclosure ditch, if the post-excavation analysis verifies the finds are indeed casket mounts.

11 This technology owed its origins in the British Isles to the late Roman Period, and if the post-excavation analysis verifies the pewter, bowl-mould theory, it will be the first instance of such finds from south-east Ireland. Moore and Woodman highlighted the lack of Roman artefacts from County Waterford, but stressed the likelihood of finding such trading *entrepôts* in the south-east (1992: 23). With the chance discovery of the Anglo-dated strap end from the burial in Mayfield, Portlaw (Gowen 1988: 166-169, Figure 91), is there a river Suir-based, post-Roman sphere of influence emerging in east Waterford?



Plate 2 - Aerial view of Woodstown 6 in 2004 excavations showing location of site.

John Carey



Plate 3 - The enclosure ditch terminals of F2174/F2206 and entrance area.

Richard O'Brien

Defensive earthen bank of the enclosure (Figure 12)

The internal defensive earthen bank F2306 measured a maximum of 0.16m in thickness and consisted of a compact mid brown silty clay containing occasional inclusions of small pebble sized stone. A flint flake (02E0441:2306:1) of unknown date was the only stratified find from the bank, and this find may be residual. The earthen bank was truncated by the following features: one spread (F2430 - *L* 3.0m, *W* 2.0m, *D* 0.1m), one possible slot-trench (F2368 - *L* 1.6m, *W* 0.18m, *D* 0.14m), one post-hole (F2267 - *L* 0.18m, *W* 0.16m, *D* 0.2m) and over 125 stake-holes. These features, or some of them, undoubtedly represented structural evidence in the form of a palisade-defence, on top of the enclosure bank. The possible slot-trench and linear features may represent flimsy evidence (only the base survived the later, episodic ploughing) of a more, complex, defence element. There were no finds except from the linear features.

Revetment footing (possible), cutting the earthen bank (Figure 12)

A possible revetment footing (F2301) may have truncated part of the earthen bank. F2301 measured *L* 6.2m, *W* 0.55m and *D* 0.4m, and the base of F2301 had been cut by a large number of stake-holes (F2360). These stake-holes measured on average 0.06m in diameter, 0.2m depth, and filled with brown silty clay F2359. A pit F2461 exposed in the southwest corner of the revetment footing measured *W* 0.2m and was filled with compact dark - brown charcoal-flecked silty clay. The stake-holes had been sealed by a number of later fills, suggesting their probable defensive use had ended. Possibly, the later revetment fills date to the Viking period and this theory will be verified by further radiocarbon-dating of the fills.

Fills F2291 and F2292 were charcoal-flecked brown silty clays with inclusions of burnt bone and small stones. F2282 and F2305 were similar charcoal-flecked clays but without any burnt bone inclusions. One artefact, an iron bar, with round cross section (02E0441:2282:1) was retrieved from F2282. This artefact will be compared to similar examples to determine possible Viking parallels.

Entranceway through the enclosure ditch

The entranceway lay between the two ditch terminals F2174 and F2206, and consisted of a gap 7.4m wide, with evidence of a number of over-lying metallised stone surfaces. F2328 was a semicircular-shaped metallised surface measuring *L* 1.4m, *W* 0.7m, *D* 0.07m. This was partially sealed by (F2317), a compact dark brown sandy clay from which an unidentified iron object (02E0441:2317:1), and an iron nail (02E0441:2317:2) were retrieved.

The metallised surface (F2329) measured *L* 2.7m, *W* 0.86m, *D* 0.15m. It lay within a shallow depression (F2354), and below a layer of compact dark brown clay (F2318). Finds from F2329 were a honestone fragment (02E0441:2329:1) and a lead off-cut, with one incised line and a worked edge (02E0441:2329:2).

The metallised surface (F2246) measured *L* 3.22m, *W* 1.3m, *D* 0.05m and consisted of a layer of stone set into the natural clay. An iron and copper-alloy comb (?), (02E0441:2246:1) and a possible tile fragment (02E0441:2246:2) were recovered from F2246.

The metallised surface (F2247), contemporary with F2246 above measured *L* 8.8m, *W* 3.0m, *D* 0.05m and consisted of a layer of compact light brown gravelly clay with small stones, burnt bone fragments, and slag.

Linear features of unknown date

The linear feature F2431 measured *L* 4.4m, *W* 0.7m, *D* 0.3m; the fill F2088 was brown-grey, charcoal-flecked silty clay. Four ceramic fragments (02E0441:2088:2), inclusions of burnt bone and a pottery fragment (02E0441:2088:3) were recovered from F2088. This feature is of unknown origin, and date, and although located outside the enclosure ditch, its stratigraphic relationship to the ditch is unknown. F2159 was oriented northeast-southwest, and the exposed portion measured *L* 9.0m, *W* 1.75m, *D* 0.52m; the fills were grey-brown sandy, silty clays (F2157, F2158, F2160, F2176, F2177 & F2187), containing charcoal and stones. F2159 continued outside the CPO.

Linear feature F2081 was oriented north-south, and the exposed portion measured *L* 4.6m, *W* 0.9m, *D* 0.4m; the fills were grey-brown silty clays (F2091, F2090, F2098 and F2099), containing charcoal, and stones. F2081 was sealed with a deposit of loose mid-grey sandy clay (F2088) containing frequent inclusions of oxidised clay, burnt bone, stone, and charcoal. Linear feature F2429 measured *L* 1.35m, *W* 0.42m, *D* 0.25m; the fill F2428 was brown charcoal-flecked silty clay with pebble sized stone and inclusions of burnt bone. The linear feature F2433 measured *L* 1.4m, *W* 0.3m, *D* 0.3m in depth; the fill F2432 was charcoal-flecked brown sand with inclusions of burnt bone and small, pebble-sized stones.

Later ditches of probable Viking date¹² (Figure 15-16 & Plate 4)

The earliest evidence of probable Viking age ditches is represented by a single lead pan weight (02E0441:2201:1) recovered from the primary fill of ditch F2257. Possibly contemporary with this ditch was another, much wider, deeper ditch F2469, this time cut within the original enclosure ditch F2174. Ditch F2257 was orientated east-west and measured *L* 5.2m, *W* 1.1m, *D* 0.35m. It truncated enclosure ditch F2174, and appeared to represent a widening, albeit shallow, of the enclosure ditch at its outer edge. F2257 was filled with compact dark grey charcoal-flecked clay (F2201), from which the lead pan weight was retrieved. This layer was partially sealed by a later layer (F2200), a compact grey, loam layer which contained occasional inclusions of stones, slag and charcoal. The slag represents the earliest stratigraphical evidence for Viking age metal-working on the site, possibly dumped from the nearby furnace (F2302 - see below). A honestone (02E0441:2200:1) and an unidentified iron object (02E0441:2200:2) were recovered from F2200.

12 The evidence dating these ditches to the Viking occupation comes from two finds of stratified lead weights, (02E0441:2201:1 & 02E0441:2164:1). The stratigraphic sequences are represented on the ditch section drawings.

Ditch F2469 cut into the terminal of enclosure ditch F2174, truncating the earlier ditch layer F2171 (see above). F2469 was filled with a primary, very deep layer F2170, a secondary layer F2169 and a tertiary layer F2249 [F2167]. These layers generally consisted of compact brown/grey silty, charcoal-flecked clays. Finds from F2170 consisted of a crucible fragment (02E0441:2170:1), an iron nail (02E0441:2170:4) and a possible iron blade (02E0441:2170:7). One bone comb fragment came from F2169 (02E0441:2169:1). Finds from F2249 were an unidentified iron nodule (02E0441:2249:1) and a possible barrel padlock key (02E0441:2249:2).

Ditch F2258 was orientated east-west and measured *L* 5.1m, *W* 3.25m, *D* 0.73m. F2258 cut the earlier ditch layers F2200 & F2201 (see above) and was filled with loose brown silty clay (F2067). The fill contained two vitrified fragments of unknown ceramic (02E0441:2067:1-2), possibly foreign.

Ditch/pit F2105 was orientated east-west and measured *W* 2.4m, *D* 0.5m. It had been filled with compact light brown sandy clay (F2165), measuring *T* 0.25m. Finds from F2165 included an iron nail head (02E0441:2165:1), an iron rivet/rove (02E0441:2165:2 & 4) and a stone with a smoothed-out hollow (02E0441:2165:3). F2165 lay below a thin spread of loose mid-dark brown, charcoal-flecked clay (F2180), measuring *T* 0.05m. Finds recovered from this fill included an un-worked quartz crystal (02E0441:2180:1) and an unidentified iron lump (02E0441:2180:2). F2180 lay partially below a second spread (F2181), which consisted of compact dark brown - black clay and charcoal. Finds recovered from this spread included two iron nails (02E0441:2181:1-2) and a possible iron gouge fragment (02E0441:2181:3). Ditch/pit F2105 was cut by the ditches/pits F2103 and F2101.

Ditch/pit F2103 was located inside the enclosure ditch. F2103 was orientated east-west, and measured *W* 2.0m, *D* 0.04m. It was heavily truncated by a later feature F2101 (see below). F2103 was filled with compact light grey silty, stony, charcoal-flecked clay (F2102). Finds recovered from F2102 included six unidentified iron nodules (02E0441:2102:1-6) and two possible iron roves (02E0441:2102:7-8).

Ditch/pit F2101 was orientated east-west and measured *W* 2.0m, and *D* 0.3m. It was filled with a charcoal-flecked black clay (F2100) containing occasional angular stone and frequent inclusions of burnt bone. Finds recovered from F2100 [F2164, F2189] included a flint core (02E0441:2100:1),¹³ a possible honestone (02E0441:2100:2), six unidentified iron objects (02E0441:2100:3-8) and three iron blades (02E0441:2100:9-11). F2100 lay partially below layer F2163, which measured *D* 0.16m, and consisted of compact dark-brown/black clay, heavily charcoal-flecked. Layer F2163 was cut by nine post-holes, (F2193, F2195, F2197, F2198, F2374, F2377, F2379, F2381 & F2401) and ten stake-holes (F2383, F2385, F2387, F2389, F2391, F2393, F2395, F2397, F2399 & F2405). These features were only recorded in section, as they were filled with a similar deposit to the layer they had cut into. The post-holes measured on average between *L* 0.12-0.41m, *W* 0.03-0.22m, *D* 0.04-0.45m. The stake-holes measured an average of 0.06m in

13 The possible flint blade 02E0441:2168:2, and the flint core 02E0441:2100:1, found nearby, and dated from the likely Viking levels are the earliest stratified evidence of flints on site.



Plate 4 - The enclosure ditch F2174 during excavation, with in-situ smithing hearth F2330.

Richard O'Brien



Plate 5 - View of earthen bank F2306, the possible revetment footing F2301, and the stake-hole palisade during excavation.

Richard O'Brien

diameter, and *D* 0.15m. None produced finds, and there was no evidence of *in situ* burning. Post-hole F2379 had a charcoal-flecked fill (F2378), which, if sufficient charcoal is retrieved, will be sent for radiocarbon dating.

A third fill was exposed within F2101 towards the northwest, measuring *D* 0.6m. This fill was mid-brown silty, charcoal-flecked clay (F2210). Finds recovered from F2210 included a possible iron nail shaft (02E0441:2210:1), an unidentified iron object (02E0441:2210:2) and a ceramic floor tile fragment (02E0441:2210:3).

Ditch F2261 truncated the terminal of the enclosure ditch F2206. Along with ditch F2257 (see above), is this evidence of a deliberate shortening of the entrance area, perhaps to bolster the defences on this part of the site? F2261 measured *L* 7.0m, *W* 2.8m, *D* 1.7m. F2261 was filled with the following layers: F2097, F2095 and F2203, generally consisting of compact brown/grey sandy, stony, charcoal-flecked clays. Finds from F2095 included a stone net weight (02E0441:2095:1), a possible stone net weight (02E0441:2095:2), and a honestone (02E0441:2095:3). Finds from F2203 included a possible honestone (02E0441:2203:3), and a sherd of green glass (02E0441:2203:8).

Pit F2215 was cut into the upper fill of ditch F2469 (one of the Viking-dated ditches), and itself had been cut by ditch F2175 (the latest, presumably Viking-dated ditch). F2215 was oval in shape measuring *L* 2.08m, *W* 0.8m, *D* 0.12m. The fill was brown silty, charcoal-flecked clay (F2242). A thin iron strip (02E0441:2242:1), an iron nail (02E0441:2242:2) and burnt bone were recovered from F2242. The base of the pit contained a total of fourteen stake-holes (F2217, F2219, F2221, F2223, F2227, F2229, F2231, F2233, F2235, F2237, F2239, F2241, F2251 & F2314). These may have formed part of a possible structure, or have been associated with the furnace (F2302) nearby.

Ditch F2175 may represent a final ditch cutting on the line of the original enclosure ditch F2174, and may be contemporary with the post-hole/stake-hole episode cutting layer F2163 (see above). Ditch 2175 was orientated southeast - northwest and measured *L* 5.15m, *W* 1.3m, *D* 0.6m. It was filled with three layers (F2168, F2154 & F2465). Layer F2168, compact mid-grey silty, charcoal-flecked clay, contained occasional inclusions of burnt bone and slag. Finds from F2168 included a bone comb fragment (02E0441:2168:1), a possible flint blade (02E0441:2168:2) and a honestone fragment (02E0441:2168:3). Layer F2154 was a deep layer (*D* 0.45m), of compact dark grey silty, charcoal-flecked clay. Finds from F2154 included burnt bone, an unidentified iron object (02E0441:2154:1) and two possible anvil stones (02E0441:2154:2-3). Layer F2168 was another deep layer (*D* 0.54m), of compact dark brown charcoal-flecked clay: it produced no finds.

The Culvert 2 Area (Figures 11 and 13, & Plate 2)

The area of Culvert Two is located at the junction of Fields 22 and 23, between chainages 6160-6180. Prior to excavation it consisted of an upstanding clay bank with stones, some mature trees and dense scrub growth. These trees are first shown on the OS Second Edition Map, set within a curving boundary. The field boundary

was topographically surveyed, photographed and then removed, while the area of Culvert 2 was stripped of topsoil under archaeological supervision. The stream was inspected for finds and metal detected. Following consultation with and a site inspection from, the NMI and DoEHLG, it was agreed to photograph, and record the features *in situ* only. When this work was completed the area was subsequently covered with terram and backfilled with topsoil under archaeological supervision, in order to preserve the archaeological features *in situ*. As no features were excavated, their identification remains uncertain and the following descriptions are of the upper fill of each feature only. Two of the ditches, including a possible enclosure ditch were destroyed by the railway construction.

Culvert 2 (Figure 13)

Pits (possible)

The pit F2438 measured *L* 5.5m, *W* 4.6m and was filled with compact dark brown-grey silty, charcoal-flecked clay. The pit F2439 measured *L* 4.0m, *W* 1.5m and was filled with compact dark brown-grey silty, charcoal-flecked clay. The pit F2441 measured *L* 1.8m, *W* 0.7m and was filled with compact dark brown charcoal-flecked clay containing frequent inclusions of angular stone. The pit F2442 measured *L* 5.2m, *W* 0.98m and had been filled with loose dark brown/black sandy, charcoal-flecked clay. The pit F2446 measured *L* 3.1m, *W* 0.6m and was filled with loose dark brown sandy, charcoal-flecked clay containing angular stone and occasional inclusions of burnt bone.

Ditches

A short ditch/linear feature F2437 was partially exposed near the railway boundary. It was orientated north-south and measured *L* 2.6m, *W* 1.7m and was filled with a compact brown silty, charcoal-flecked clay and angular stone. Ditch F2440 was exposed near the railway boundary and could be associated with pits F2442, F2443, F2444 and F2446, features situated at its suspected terminus. Ditch F2440 was orientated east-west, and curved slightly along its course, measuring *L* 15.0m, *W* 2.0m. F2440 was filled with compact dark brown/black charcoal-flecked clay. A short ditch/linear feature F2444 was orientated east-west and measured *L* 3.0m, *W* 0.6m. It was filled with loose dark brown charcoal-flecked clay, occasional inclusions of angular stone and burnt bone. F2444 appeared to cut the suspected terminus of ditch F2440.

Two ditches (F2448 & F2449) running parallel to each other were orientated northeast-southwest, and clearly continued outside the CPO boundary. Ditch F2448 measured *L* 9.5m, *W* 2.0m and was filled with compact light brown charcoal-flecked clay and angular stone. Ditch F2449 was wider, and more irregular than F2448: it measured *L* 15.0m, *W* 3.2m and was filled with loose dark brown-black charcoal-flecked clay, and frequent inclusions of angular and burnt stone. The post-medieval changes to the stream heavily disturbed these ditches and evidence of their terminals was removed. It is clear that one or both of these ditches, was recorded by the geophysical survey, continuing in a south-easterly direction in Field 23 (Figure 9).

Post-holes (possible)

Post-hole F2445 was filled with compact, charcoal-flecked dark brown/black coloured silty clay with inclusions of angular stone. Post-hole F2443 measured *L* 0.68m, *W* 0.49m and was filled with compact dark brown/black, charcoal-flecked clay, angular stone and occasional inclusions of burnt clay. Both post-holes were located beside the larger pits F2442 and F2446, and the suspected terminus of ditch F2440.

Ditch

Ditch F2450 represented a long, curvilinear feature, orientated east-west and measuring the full width of the CPO at *L* 60.0m, *W* 2.4m. The fill consisted of compact dark brown/black sandy clay, moderately charcoal-flecked, with frequent inclusions of angular and burnt stone. Ditch F2450 was identified by the geophysical survey, continuing in a south-westerly direction outside the CPO (Figure 9).

Revetment Wall

Two short portions of the revetment wall F2453 were exposed on the inner face of the field boundary (F2452) and consisted of an un-mortared stone wall, of angular and sub-rounded stones. Outside the CPO the same wall curves where a modern gate has been inserted. This type of field boundary is common in the area.

Culvert Two Discussion

Ditch F2450 provided the only evidence of the eastern arc of a separate enclosure, only found in Field 22. Ditch F2450 could not represent the curving boundary of the tree-cluster, as indicated on the OS Second Edition Map (Figure 6), as it curves south-west, and not south-east, and therefore must be a separate, archaeological feature. Similarly, ditch F2450 does not correspond with the Field 22 post-medieval field boundaries recorded on both OS map editions (Figures 5-6).

Ditch F2440 in Field 23 may represent a separate ditch entirely, i.e. a possible ditch terminal, although it could also represent a continuation of ditch F2448. Ditches F2448 and F2449 may represent the western arc of the enclosure in Field 23. The suggested double-ditch shape may reflect phased-ditch construction. Ditches F2174/F2206 potentially represented the eastern terminus of ditch F2448/F2449, although the geophysics suggested the enclosure cropmark was truncated by the square-shaped satellite enclosure (Figure 9).

In this brief glimpse of the buried strata within Culvert 2 there is suggested evidence of another, separate, curvilinear enclosure to that identified in Field 23; suggesting two large, roughly C-shaped enclosures, separated by the stream in Culvert 2. Without excavation, the Field 22 enclosure, and the distinctive changes along its length, remain undated, and its relationship with the Field 23 enclosure unknown.

Finds Retrieval Strategy (Plates 9-24)¹⁴

This summary account of the overall site assemblage places emphasis on artefacts recovered from stratified layers of known, or likely early-medieval, and Viking

14 The following finds-category analysis is preliminary only. Some categories will change following completion of the specialist finds examination.



Plate 6 - The probable Viking-age re-cuts of enclosure ditch F2174 & earthen bank F2306.

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Plate 7 - Post excavation view of enclosure ditch F2174, earthen bank F2306 & later ditch re-cuts.

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date. Seriation and subdivision of the assemblage was conducted by Siobhan McNamara on site, following the broad classificatory groupings of Ottaway and Rogers (2002). A more detailed analysis of the spatial distribution, and composition, of the Woodstown 6 assemblage can be found in the stratigraphic report, and in Quinney & Russell, (in prep.). Some of the finds have appeared elsewhere in print (O'Brien & Russell, 2004; Sheehan 2005).

The artefactual remains recovered from Woodstown 6 raise a number of important issues relating to the history of site occupation, and function. As noted above, most minimally, two punctuated phases of pre-twelfth-century occupation are suggested by radiocarbon dates from within the enclosure ditch. The first period of occupation dates from the early fifth to early eighth centuries AD, whilst the second period may date from the mid-late ninth to mid-eleventh centuries AD. It is as yet unclear whether continuous occupation or a significant hiatus separates the two phases; however, overlapping statistical ranges for radiocarbon dates from features within the enclosure *may* allow for a degree of cultural overlap during the ninth century. However, seriation of the artefactual assemblage remains equivocal with regards to the pattern and tempo of site development.¹⁵

15 Any attempt to define occupational affiliation using material culture is beset with methodological and conceptual problems with regards to the nature of cultural change, ethnicity, and identity, issues of which have been debated extensively over the last three decades (see Trigger 1989; Hodder 1992; Preucel and Hodder 1996; Renfrew 2000) as part of the Processual and Post-Processual response to the Cultural-History (CH) paradigm. It is understandable why sites such as Woodstown 6 may be viewed in culturally monomorphic terms (e.g. as 'Viking') given the prevalence of CH as the operational paradigm within Irish practice (Cooney 1995). After all, Irish history is punctuated by historical evidence for patterns of migration, patterns broadly supported by phylogenetic analyses (i.e. Hill et al. 2000), which have left an indelible mark on the socio-political landscape of the country. Whilst such migrations introduce new elites or may act as catalysts for social and cultural change (Sensu Shennan 1989) focussing on them as a mechanism for explanation of social change leads to the inevitable pigeonholing of sites into cultural blocks-'Early Christian', 'Viking', 'Anglo-Norman'-hence sole Scandinavian occupation at Woodstown 6 was suggested by various commentators (and sadly, all too often in the popular media) through the presence of lead weights, ship roves, hack silver, and weaponry, with the presence of prestige goods (including the Arabic coin) being explained through raiding, and the distribution of booty. However, recent resolution of pre-Viking archaeology on the site has forced a reassessment of the nature of the whole assemblage, with the possibility that a large proportion of the topsoil finds must derive from earlier, native occupation, or a transition between the two, particularly as it has been shown elsewhere that large-scale, early medieval 'productive' sites, of similar date (e.g. Llanbedrgoch, Kaupang, Hedeby, and Birka) undergo change of use through time. In this respect, Woodstown 6 is likely to be no different, with the long-term evolution of non-urban sites within a fluctuating genetical-social landscape, being the norm, rather than one of cultural fixity. The radiocarbon dates, and artefactual record support the notion of an evolving social landscape, and not one that is 'Viking-only', to the exclusion of all else.

Stratified finds

In all, some 576 artefacts were recovered from *in situ* layers. This comprises both Culvert 1 artefacts recovered from March to June 2004, and materials from the initial phase of centreline, and offset testing (see Russell 2004). The stratified layers include units of clearly post-medieval and modern date, as well as units of clearly medieval or earlier, in date. Chart 1 (below) highlights the relative percentages of different artefact classes making up the stratified assemblage.

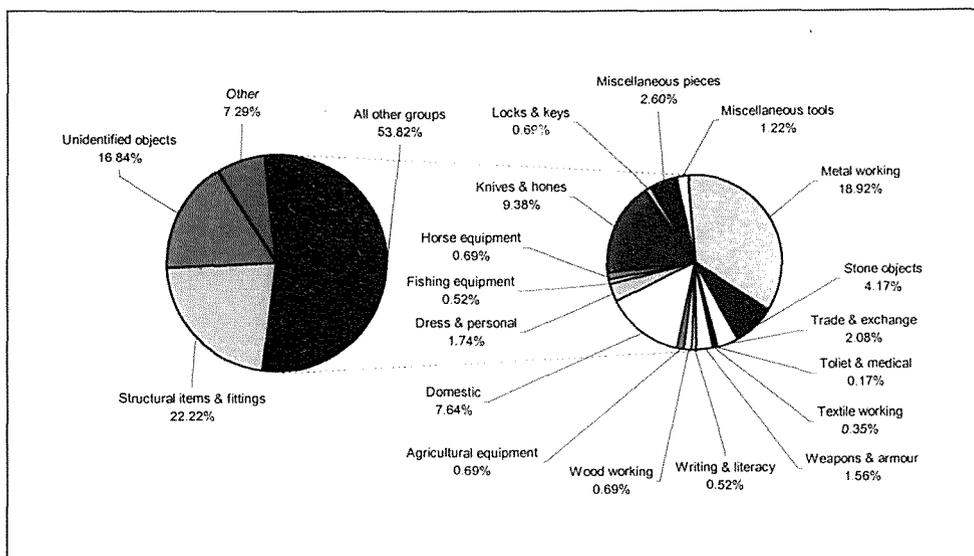


Chart 1 Woodstown 6 - relative proportions of artefact types from stratified contexts.

Craft and Industry¹⁶

One hundred and twenty-nine stratified artefacts were recovered that have been allied with craft working and industry; the majority of these are associated with metalworking. The Woodstown 6 total compares with ninety-three (*n* 93) ferrous craft objects recovered from late Viking age layers in Waterford city (Scully 1997: 469). Combined topsoil and stratified layers from Woodstown 6 have yielded nearly seven times this amount suggesting that craft and industrial specialisation has been an important part of the technological history of the site. The increased quantities also reflect the detailed metal detecting adopted at Woodstown 6 with repeated scanning of soils.

16 Craft and Industry: such headings were given on site to aid in artefactual definition. Only after the post-excavation analysis is completed can an exact definition be attributable to each artefact.

Woodworking (Plate 20)

Very limited evidence for woodworking is suggested by the presence of four ferrous metal artefacts, all recovered from Culvert 1.¹⁷ A ferrous metal wood axe (02E0441:2182:1) and possible wedge (02E0441:1999:23) were recovered from post-medieval boundary features which have possibly truncated and disturbed earlier contexts. A fragmented ferrous metal wood axe (02E0441:2094:1) and a possible gouge bit were recovered from likely Viking Age features which have been stratigraphically demonstrated to post-date AD 690 (660 Cal AD derived from F2353; AD 620 to 690).

Metal working

One hundred and nine registered metal working finds were recovered of which the majority comprise of high temperature debris, in particular furnace linings/bases (*n* 44) and *tuyère* fragments (*n* 13). Two possible clusters of metalworking specialisation were defined by stratified finds. The first was centred on Trench 87, and pits F1347 and F1391, which together yielded thirteen fragments of *tuyère* (finds derived from pit fills F885 and F887), and metallurgical slag. The second area focuses on the late Iron Age /early medieval enclosure ditch F2174, which had evidence of ferrous and non-ferrous activity between the fifth to seventh centuries.

Textile working

Only one artefact associated with textile production was recovered from stratified layers; a fragmented stone spindle whorl (registered as two parts 02E0441:689:1 & 2), of unknown date, derived from a post-hole in Trench 77C.

Fishing equipment

One fragmentary ferrous metal fishhook (02E0441:798:7) was recovered from a pit in Trench 83. Two net weights (02E0441:887:4 and 2095:1) were recovered from a pit in Trench 87 and the fill of ditch F2206 in Culvert 1.

Everyday life

In all, 269 artefacts were recovered that have been allocated to this category.

Domestic materials

Forty-four artefacts were recovered which may be classed as domestic. The vast majority of this was made up of post-medieval or modern ceramic sherds (*n* 35), or clay pipe (*n* 5), all derived from Culvert 1. Only four specimens were of possible or demonstrable antiquity: (1) an unglazed body sherd of possible early medieval date (02E0441:1214:2) was recovered from a burnt spread in Trench 60C; (2) a friable ceramic fragment of possible cooking ware was recovered from stratified

17 The acidic soils were detrimental to both bone and wood recovery over the site. One piece of wood was found at the base of the enclosure ditch in a water-logged, basal layer. Other wood pieces were retrieved in the wetland investigations from the IAWU phase of testing. It is intended to publish the results of the wetland investigations in the future.

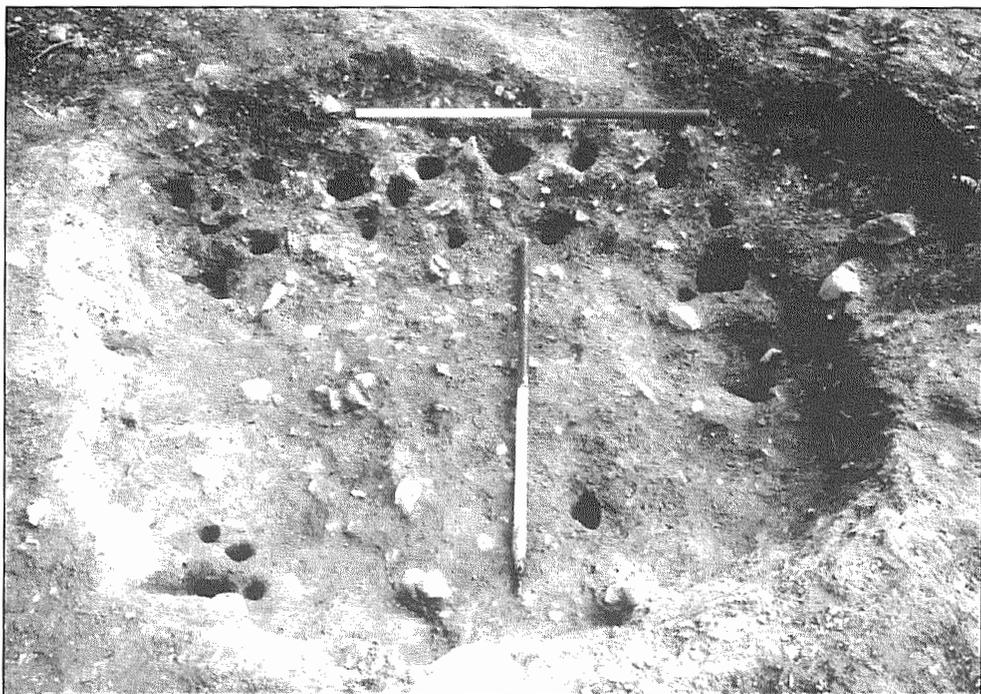


Plate 8 - Post excavation view of kiln F2107 with internal stake-holes.

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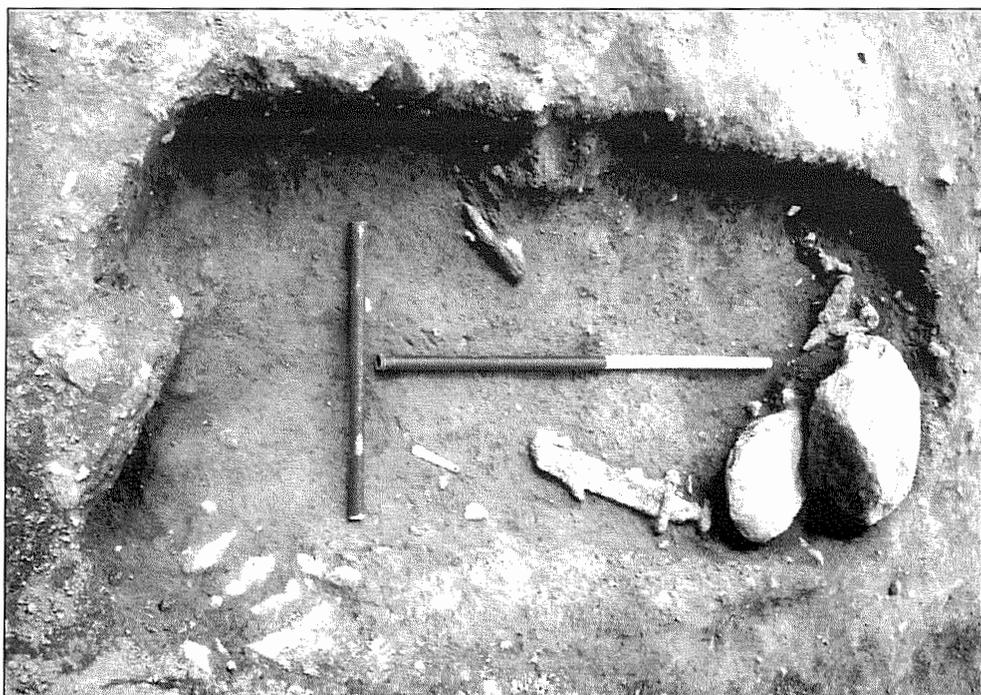


Plate 9 - In-situ grave goods of Viking burial.

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context within the F2330 furnace dated to 540 Cal AD (AD 420 to 620, and: (3) two fragment clusters of possible early medieval or *cf.* Anglo-Saxon pottery (02E0441:2088:3 & :4) were recovered from the primary fill of a shallow linear feature (F2431), located in the southwest quadrant of Culvert 1. Anglo-Saxon pottery, if verified following specialist examination, could suggest associations with the recorded Anglo-Saxon find from the burial at Mayfield, Portlaw (see footnote 11).

Structural items and fittings

One hundred and twenty-eight structural items or fittings were recovered. This category of artefacts makes up the largest component of the stratified assemblage (22.22%), of which twenty-seven specimens were derived from post-medieval contexts. Fifty-five finds were recovered during the testing phase from features within the enclosure (see Russell 2004). Of these, thirty-three specimens of nail and nail fragments (three of which were derived from layers dated to 870 Cal AD), two ferrous metal hooks, three ferrous metal straps, and seventeen clenched nails were recovered.

Forty-six artefacts of probable pre- AD 1200 date were recovered from Culvert 1; the majority of these were nails (*n* 25), roves and clenched nails (*n* 8), straps (*n* 4), and casket mounts (*n* 4). The earliest and largest assemblage of fittings was recovered from the phase 1 fill of ditch F2174 dated between 440 and 540 Cal AD (AD 400 to 620). Fourteen finds were recovered which include nine ferrous metal nails, a possible ferrous metal rivet (02E0441:2365:60), two possible copper-alloy casket mounts (02E0441:2365:1 & 2), and a possible ferrous metal rectangular box, lined with copper-alloy sheet (02E0441:2173:38). Stratigraphically later layers yielded sporadic structural fittings. Securely dated finds are limited to a circular ferrous metal strip (02E0441:2367:1), a ferrous metal riveted strap (02E0441:2172:2), a possible pipe fragment (02E0441:2172:5), and a ferrous metal nail (02E0441:2172:4); all four finds are dated between 540 and 660 Cal AD (AD 420 to 670). The remainder of the assemblage post-dates AD 670 on stratigraphical grounds, and is most probably of Viking Age date. It is primarily composed of nails (*n* 15), clenched nails (*n* 4), and roves (*n* 3).

Locks and keys

Four specimens of lock parts were recovered from stratified layers; all were composed of ferrous metal. Two specimens were derived from post-medieval layers; one barrel padlock key end (02E0441:1999:17) and the butt end of a large solid stem key (02E0441:1999:13), probably from a mounted lock. A possible barrel padlock key and possible barrel padlock case were recovered from pre- AD 1200 contexts (note that both are tentative identifications). 02E0441:2172:1 is thin-walled with rectangular cross-section and a shallow rebate cut into the outer surface, possibly the base of a padlock case; this specimen was derived from re-layered mixed industrial fills dated between 540 and 660 Cal AD (AD 420 to 670). 02E0441:2249:2 is the possible bit-end of a barrel padlock key. The bit is at 90° to

the stem, suggesting it may have been derived from a lock with a T-shaped keyhole, cut into the end and side of the case (after Ottaway and Rogers 2002: 2861). However, it is noted (Goodall 1980 cited in Ottaway and Rogers *ibid.*) that such key types are typically of twelfth to fourteenth century date in Anglo-Scandinavian contexts; the Woodstown 6 specimen was recovered from the fill of a ditch shown to post-date 660 Cal AD (AD 620 to 690).

Knives and hones (Including Viking Grave Goods)

Fifty-four stratified specimens of knife or knife-sharpening equipment were recovered. One blade was derived from a context of post-medieval date (02E0441:2182:38). Four specimens (two honestones and two knife blades) were excavated during testing (02E0441:644:1, 887:8, 1115:13, & 1488:2, see Russell, 2004). A small finely-made perforated whetstone and a fragmented blade (possibly a large knife or fragments of sword blade) were recovered from the *in situ* fill of the Viking grave as part of the burial assemblage (02E0441:2256:4 & 9). The remainder of the knife and hone assemblage (46 finds) was retrieved from Culvert 1 southwest quadrant. A heavily corroded knife blade (02E0441:2318:1) and a honestone fragment (02E0441:2329:1) derive from the entranceway area. Six finds (all honestones) were recovered from fills of the defensive ditch F2206. Three of these hones (02E0441:2096:1 to 3) come from probable late Iron Age/early medieval sediments, with the remainder (02E0441:2095:3 and 2203:3 & 6) from the fills of the (probable) Viking Age re-cuts of the ditch. One of these hones, in particular (2095:3), is an extremely fine polished piece of apparently non-native stone, possibly of Norwegian ragstone schist (Professor D. Skre, pers. comm.).

The remaining thirty-eight finds were derived from late Iron Age/early medieval fills of the enclosure ditch F2174 or from later ditch re-cuts. The early ditch fills/layers F2422, F2173 and F2365 (dated between the fifth to early seventh century) produced thirteen honestones and two fragmented blades in addition to melt debris, burnishing stones, and slag. A ferrous metal knife blade and associated tang (02E0441:2367:2) were recovered from a fill of the F2330 furnace, dated to 540 Cal AD (420 to 620). Four rotary burnishing stones (02E0441:2353:1, 3, 4 & 5) and nine fragmented blades (02E0441:2172:7 to 16) were recovered from re-layered industrial fills overlying the furnace, dated to circa 660 Cal AD (AD 620 to 670). These assemblages were derived from metallurgical activities taking place within, or in proximity to the ditch; some of these materials may have been associated with the smiting of ferrous metal, possibly scrap blade fragments, and the grinding down and/or sharpening of knife blades. Five honestones (02E044:2100:2, 2166:1, 2168:3, 2200:1, & 2297:9) and four ferrous metal knife blades (02E0441:2100:9, 10 & 11, and 2297:9) were recovered from later, probable Viking Age re-cuts of ditch F2174 (all cuts post-dated 660 Cal AD).

Trade and exchange goods

Stratified features provide little direct evidence for trade and exchange with only twelve specimens being recovered, compared with the wealth of trade material recovered from topsoil (*n* 202). Only one piece of hack silver (02E0441:1999:31, mass 7 grams) was recovered from stratified contexts, in this case the specimen was derived from a post-medieval earthen bank. This is in addition to the atypical square-sectioned silver ingot (02E0441:2367:3), mentioned under metalworking above. Only eleven stratified lead weights were discovered, of total mass 606 grams, compared to 167 lead pan weights (total mass 3,448 grams) recovered from topsoil (seven more weights were ferrous). The heaviest stratified example weighed up to 127 grams in mass. Three of these lead weights were recovered from post-medieval layers (02E0441:1999:1, 2 & 15). A square-sectioned pan weight was recovered from the oxidised rim of the kiln F2302, possibly used in the smelting of lead or silver. Three lead weights (02E0441:933:1, 1115:1, & 1214:1), including a highly decorated piece, were recovered from stratified contexts during testing (see Russell 2003).

A half-moon shaped lead fragment (02E0441:2173:39) was recovered from sediments directly dated to 440 Cal AD (400 to 560), although it is an atypical piece. Two lead pan weight specimens of undoubted Viking age (02E0441:2164:1 & 2201:1), both dome-shaped examples (mass 23 and 13 grams respectively), were recovered from the fills of later re-cutting episodes of ditch F2174 (finds post-dated AD 660).

Dress and personal ornamentation

Ten examples of personal ornamentation were recovered from stratified layers; all were derived from Culvert 1 from sediments. Of greatest interest were a series of beads recovered from ditch F2174, the material composition of which would seem at odds with their dating. Two amber beads (02E0441:2173:41 & 42) and a flattened spherical glass bead fragment (02E0441:2173:43) were recovered from a phase 1 fill directly dated to 440 Cal AD (400 to 560). A perforated ivory bead was recovered from phase 3 mixed-industrial sediments overlying the furnace, dated between 540 and 660 Cal AD (420 to 670). A stone bead rough-out (02E0441:2365:35) was also recovered from sediments underlying the furnace. The provenance of the exotic beads is yet unknown.

Two undecorated fragments of bone comb panel were also recovered (02E0441:2169:1 & 2168:1) from fills of the probable Viking Age ditches F2469 and F2175; this is in addition to a fragment of incised decorated bone (02E0441:1111:11) which was recovered during testing, although it is unclear whether this was originally part of a bone comb panel, and hence is not included in this category. The remaining material comprises a composite ferrous metal and copper-alloy comb (02E0441:2246:1) derived from above a metallised surface outside the enclosure (F2246), a fragment of lignite bracelet (02E0441:2006:2) recovered from a post-medieval earthen bank, and the copper-alloy ring pin (02E0441:2256:2) from the Viking warrior grave (F2224).



Plate 10 - Viking burial being recorded.

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Toilet and medical

A possible ferrous metal razor (02E0441:2318:4) was recovered from sediments overlying a cobbled stone surface that represents the entranceway area.

Writing and literacy

Three specimens of possible ochre or mudstone-based pigments were recovered (02E0441:2172:17 & 18, and 2365:5) from the fills of the enclosure ditch F2174, dated between 440 and 660 Cal AD (400 to 670).

Weapons and armour (The Viking Grave-Plate 9)

Nine specimens of weaponry were recovered from stratified contexts; all of these were derived from the Viking grave. The extensive complement of weaponry comprises a cone-shaped iron shield boss (02E0441:2256:1), a broken iron sword blade complete with quillon, hilt, and pommel base (02E0441:2256:3), the broken and displaced point of the sword blade (02E0441:2256:5), an iron spear point (02E0441:2256:6), a spear ferrule (02E0441:2256:7), a possible small blade (02E0441:2256:9), a possible sword pommel (02E0441:2256:12), a broken iron axe or sword blade (02E0441:2225:4), and an iron battle axe (02E0441:2225:5). Two small iron rivets (02E0441:2225:1 & 6), and two conical copper-alloy mounts (02E0441:2225:2 & 7) were also recovered, which may be associated shield fittings.

Other artefacts

One hundred and seventy-eight other artefacts were recovered from stratified contexts. The majority of finds were unidentifiable ferrous metal and copper-alloy nodules and heavily corroded objects (*n* 97) from both demonstrably modern and ancient contexts. The remainder of the assemblage comprised a mixture of pre- and post-medieval artefacts including fragments of brick (*n* 1) and tile (*n* 4), oyster shell (*n* 1), glass (*n* 6), and worked stone objects (*n* 24) of which the majority are flaked or knapped flint/chert (*n* 15).

Artefacts of interest include a fragment of incised stone recovered from a post-medieval field boundary (F2371) which may be a panel of ship graffiti (02E0441:2372:5), fragments of antler tine (02E0441:2365:33 & 59) recovered from F2174 industrial fills dated between 440 and 540 Cal AD (400 to 620), and a finely-polished stone piece (02E0441:2353:2) dated to *circa* 660 Cal AD (620 to 670) which possibly represents a stone mould for pewter bowls.

Unstratified Finds

Four thousand and nineteen finds were recovered from topsoil through metal detection, augmented on a small scale by dry sieving of Culvert 1 topsoil.¹⁸ Unsurprisingly, when divided by material type the vast majority of the assemblage was metallic in composition (n 3776, 91.2%) of which ferrous artefacts made up the bulk of the metal finds (n 3245, 80.7%).¹⁹

Of these, 3,930 topsoil finds were from known trench and culvert locations. Pending specialist analyses, approximately 12% of these finds have been identified as modern in date; this figure may increase appreciably following conservation and x-radiographic study.²⁰ Presently the modern group includes obviously recent ceramics (*china/porcelain*), bottle and reinforced window glass, hexagonal nuts & bolts, wire and washers, horseshoes, ploughshares and tractor parts; the remainder of the assemblage presents a time-averaged mixture. The absence of chrono-stratigraphical information for the topsoil assemblage creates obvious methodological problems in analysis, issues of which have been addressed elsewhere (e.g. Bertran and Texier 1995; Gifford 1981).

Any artefacts recovered from unstratified layers are of limited utility in behavioural reconstruction (even if typologically dated) if it can be demonstrated they have been dispersed with respect to the underlying context of their layer. In this case, they will primarily serve as indicators of the range of behavioural variation

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- 18 In an effort to quantify the range of artefactual material that may be lost from topsoil through conventional methods of de-sodding, a 20 cubic metre sample of excavated topsoil from Culverts 1 and 2 was wet-sieved through 6mm steel mesh. From this exercise, 257 artefacts, generally poor quality were recovered (density 12.80 a/m³), together with a large quantity of burnt bone fragments, and metallurgical slag that will be of limited utility in any further analysis. The artefacts recovered included thirteen pieces of worked bone, twenty-four possible hone or burnishing stones, three amber bead fragments, six crucible fragments, ten fragments of furnace lining, sixty-one ferrous metal items (primarily nails), two lead weights, and two pieces of silver, including a coin of possible medieval date. Forty-seven modern finds were recovered, comprising 18.3% of the assemblage (a higher value than from the metal-detection alone). Metallic sieved finds comprise 27.2%, i.e. this portion of the assemblage went undetected during the metal detection phase of excavations. This is accounted by the high instance of modern, intrusive metallic finds recovered (barbed wire, galvanised nails), corrupting the *real* finds.
- 19 The most recent excavation in Woodstown, within the Manor Court Hotel property yielded six metal artefacts from metal-detected topsoil from a single trench; Trench 8, 10m x 1.5m x 0.40m deep (Excavation Licence Number 05E0366, Noonan 2005: 7-8). None of these artefacts have clear Viking associations.
- 20 Every artefact was recovered during the topsoil examination; during this on-site process Woodstown 6 was believed to represent a *Viking-only* establishment. Therefore, all artefacts, except those clearly of modern nature, were assumed to be Viking. However, this view altered in September 2004 when the radiocarbon dates proved the primary enclosure ditch fills were, in fact Iron Age in date, and the site was multi-phased, over a 600 year period. This meant a complete re-assessment of the artefactual assemblage.

that has taken place on and around the site, but in the main will remain opaque with regards to contextual meaning, patterns of synchronic and diachronic change, and the cultural affiliation of the inhabitants.

Spatial analysis of the Woodstown 6 topsoil assemblage (Russell and Quinney, in prep.) indicates active remodelling of the site mantle since the abandonment of the enclosure, and any artefacts that have been disturbed from underlying features would appear to have been re-circulated within the plough zone rather than, in the main, being concentrated in discrete patches. At best, concentrations may relate to underlying features located within a 50-metre radius. As a consequence, few concentrations of specialisation within the enclosure are proposed, with the possible exception of trenches surrounding geomagnetic features G14 (Trenches 60G and 65), and G27 & G28 (Trench 77E), and the southern end of Trench 60, which may record discrete areas of high-temperature metallurgical working or precious metal specialisation. In general, the plough zone presents a palimpsest of ancient and modern activities, and artefacts recovered thus far appear to carry little, if any, contextually relevant information with regards to underlying features. Chart 2 (below) highlights the relative percentages of different artefact classes making up the topsoil assemblage.

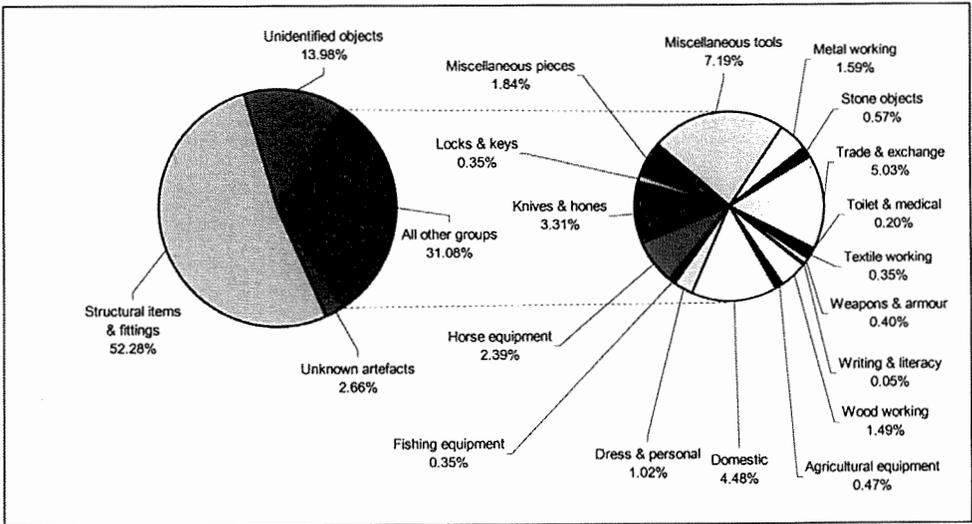


Chart 2 Woodstown 6 - relative proportions of unstratified artefact types.

Diagnostic Artefacts-Structural Items and Fittings

Two thousand one hundred and two structural items or fittings were recovered. This category of artefacts makes up the largest component of the total topsoil assemblage (52.1%); of these 99.7% were comprised of ferrous metal. Pending specialist analyses, approximately 12% of the structural assemblage is of likely modern date. Diagnostic pieces include a significant number of structural rivets



Plate 11 - A five-lobed sword pommel (02E0441:600:503).

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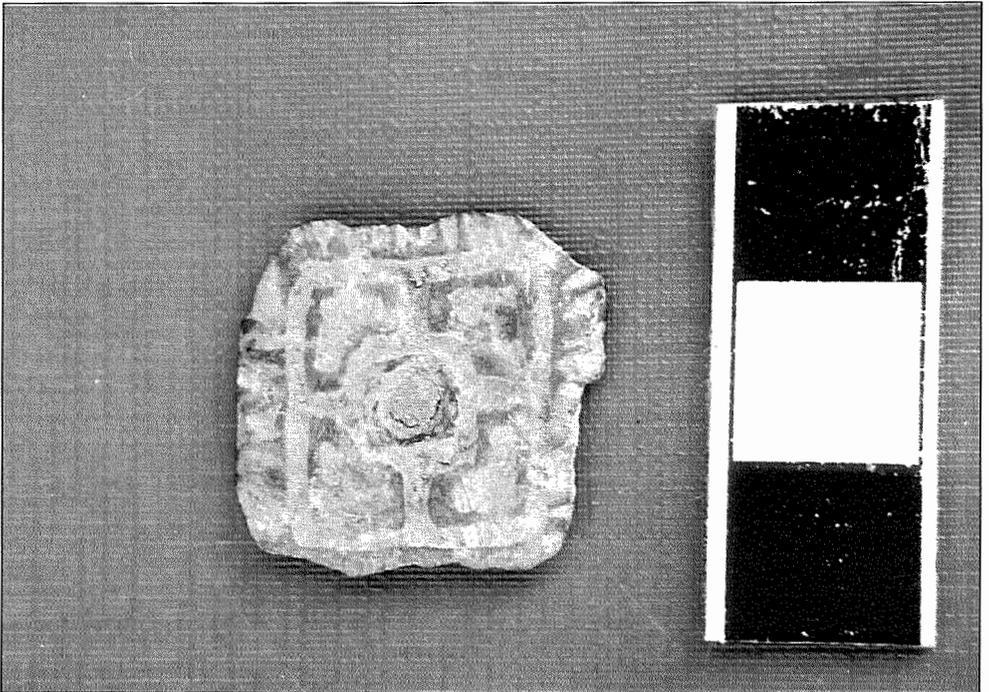


Plate 12 - Portion of a copper-alloy stud mount (02E0441:600:116).

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(clench nails) and roves (rivet heads) (Plate 23). Together these make up 10.7% of the assemblage; when the presence of staples, nails, and spike nails are included, a significant proportion of the assemblage (some 72%) is devoted to wood joining. Whilst some of this material may be medieval in date, it remains likely that a significant proportion is late Iron Age/early Viking in date. Roves and clench nails, in particular, were used for joining hull timbers in ships, and for door panels and other structures (Ottaway 1992: 615-618). Their presence increases the likelihood of ship maintenance and/or building on, or close to the site.

The total number of clench bolts recovered to date (*n* 120) far exceeds the numbers recovered from Anglo-Scandinavian contexts at York, Coppergate where only 86 clench bolts were retrieved from contexts close to the River Foss. However, this is considerably less than the numbers from late Viking age and medieval contexts in Waterford city, where 382 complete or fragmentary specimens were recovered (Scully 1997:474).

Other structural items recovered from topsoil included a series of decorative or ornate finials, knobs, or mounts that may be of late Iron Age/early medieval date. Included was a silver coated copper-alloy finial cone, with possible enamel-decorated tip (02E0441:600:595), a decorated square ferrous metal mount (possibly the decorative top from a lead weight-02E0441:600:2280), a possible stud mount comprising a copper-alloy disc with gold foil appliqué (02E0441:600:858), an ornate circular copper-alloy stud mount with evidence of gold foil inlay (02E0441:600:116) and a hinged copper-alloy escutcheon/enamelled mount (02E0441:600:116) which may be parts of a house shrine or reliquary,²¹ and a possible casket mount hinge piece (02E0441:600:194). Some of this material may be native and clearly ecclesiastical in origin.

Trade and exchange goods

Of two hundred and two artefacts assigned to this category, only five coins of post-medieval date were recovered; the remaining material provides strong circumstantial evidence for the treatment of precious metals, most notably silver, and long-distance exchange evidenced through the presence of the silver Kufic coin (02E0441:600:857) (Plate 18).²² Twenty-three possible ingots, ingot fragments (117.5 grams), and one specimen of ingot (02E0441:600:881) were found (Plate 16). A number of ingots had nicks and pecks from testing the purity of the silver, a rare discovery in Ireland (J. Sheehan pers. comm.).

A very large number of lead weights were discovered; the majority of which appear, at this stage to be pan weights that would have been used in conjunction with small scales or balances (Plate 15). One hundred and seventy-four possible weights were recovered, of total mass 3,624 grams, compared to seven weights

21 A similar object is recorded from Llanbedrgoch, Anglesey, although this artefact is a lead weight, with enamelled mount centrally embedded (Graham-Campbell 1998: 123, Fig. 4.7). Any associations between these sites will be examined during post-excavation analysis.

22 The coin fragment will be examined by Gert Rispling in Stockholm, who has compiled a world-wide database of Arabic coins.

from late Viking Waterford (Scully 1997: 467, Figure 15:12, Weights, 1, 4-6, 9-11). Of the Woodstown weights, seven were composed of ferrous metal, with an average mass of 25 grams. The remaining 167 weights (total mass 3,448 grams) were composed of either plain lead (*n* 140), or lead-based composite (*n* 27), and varied from 3 grams to 216 grams in mass. The composite weights included specimens which may have been copper or iron coated, possibly as high-precision weights. There is a heavy specimen with a large quartz crystal embedded centrally (02E0441:600:65), a specimen with a possible coin embedded centrally (02E0441:600:950) (Plate 17), weight (15g), and the anthropomorphic specimen which may have doubled as a game counter (02E0441:600:505-see back cover of current issue of *Decies*).

Dress, personal ornamentation and entertainment

Forty-one examples of personal ornamentation were recovered from topsoil. Of these, two copper-alloy buttons were recovered which are definitively of modern date. The remaining material includes three copper-alloy buttons, one ferrous metal button, three ferrous metal strap ends, five copper-alloy buckles, and fourteen ferrous metal buckles. Some of the buckles are extremely fine and may represent either personal ornamentation or possible horse furniture. The assemblage includes fragments of possible silver, and ferrous metal arm rings (02E0441:600:347 & 296), and two ferrous metal finger rings (02E0441:600:3606 & 3813). Possibly diagnostic material includes a fragment of lignite bracelet (02E0441:600:843),²³ fragments of copper-alloy and ferrous metal ring pins (02E0441:600:1547 & 2478), a copper-alloy chape (02E0441:600:831), a ferrous metal clasp (02E0441:600:379), a panel of incised bone comb (02E0441:600:1185),²⁴ a circular stud mount, decorated with gold leaf interlace (02E0441:600:2693), which may be part of a penannular brooch, three pieces of arm ring silver, of probable Hiberno-Scandinavian broad-band type and part of the pin of a bossed silver penannular brooch or thistle brooch (J. Sheehan pers. comm.). A possible falconry bell of copper alloy suggest more relaxed pastimes (Plate 21).

Toilet and medical

Evidence for personal hygiene (see also bone comb fragments above) comes from eight artefacts. The majority of these are fragmentary ferrous metal blades provisionally identified as razors (02E0441:600:939, 1691, 2056, 2059, & 3060). One possible example of a fine ferrous metal nail file was recovered (02E0441:600:2915), which displays some evidence of plating, possibly in gold.

23 A fragment of lignite bracelet was recovered from the base of topsoil during the Waterford City Bypass excavations at Adamstown Site 2 in 2003 (Russell in prep.).

24 A fragment of incised bone comb was recently retrieved from a ditch fill on an ecclesiastical site in Oldtown, Swords, Co. Dublin. It is attributed to Dunlevy's Class F, and datable to between the ninth-twelfth centuries (Baker 2004: 17). The Woodstown example will be similarly compared to Dunlevy's Classification.

Two possible pairs of undecorated tweezers were also recovered, one made from a fine folded strip of copper-alloy (02E0441:600:2999), the other of ferrous metal (02E0441:600:2563); these artefacts are relatively common on medieval sites, with seven copper-alloy examples being recovered from twelfth century layers in Waterford city (Scully 1997: 451).

Textile working

Nine lead pan weights were perforated centrally (02E0441:600:311, 02E0441:600:341, 02E0441:600:514, 02E0441:600:601, 02E0441:600:742, 02E0441:600:839, 02E0441:600:849, 02E0441:600:871 & 02E0441:600:1549) eight of these could have functioned as spindle whorls (Plate 13). Only one example (02E0441:600:871) was too light to have functioned as a whorl (R. O'Brien pers. comm.).

Writing and literacy

Only one artefact in this class was recovered. This comprises a fine ferrous metal hinged book clasp with evidence of copper-alloy plating (02E0441:600:343) which was recovered from the Culvert 1 northwest quadrant.

Weapons and armour

Fifteen whole or incomplete weapons were recovered from unstratified layers. Included in this category were two ferrous metal arrow heads (02E0441:600:2110 & 3695), one of which was possibly armour-piercing, and assorted dagger components including a blade (02E0441:600:3405), a silver disc pommel (02E0441:600:658), and a ferrous metal cross-guard (02E0441:600:2788). A possible copper-alloy conical shield boss mount (02E0441:600: 2567), two ferrous metal spear heads (02E0441:600:458 & 667) and a spear butt ferule (02E0441:600:2665) were recovered. In addition, a small ornate spherical copper-alloy spear butt or terminal (02E0441:600:510) (Plate 22) may possibly be Iron Age in date (M. Cahill, pers. comm.).

Sword fittings included a possible ferrous metal sword blade (02E0441:600:2919), two hemi-spherical ferrous metal pommels (02E0441:600:1977 & 2708), and an unfinished five-lobed cast copper-alloy pommel, which displays evidence of casting burrs and spruces (02E0441:600:503) (Plate 11).

Summary

Artefacts from topsoil have been re-circulated since the abandonment of the site; at best, the majority of artefacts may relate to underlying features located within a 50-metre collection radius, and the finds recovered carry little contextually relevant information. However, three discrete areas of metalworking are indicated through finds retrieval (topsoil and stratified) and geophysical prospection, as occurring in or around Trenches 60, 60G, 65, 77E, 87 and the southwest quadrant of Culvert 1. This would suggest two areas focussed on the central/southern end of the enclosure in Field 22, and the centre of the enclosure in Field 23, with the third situated in

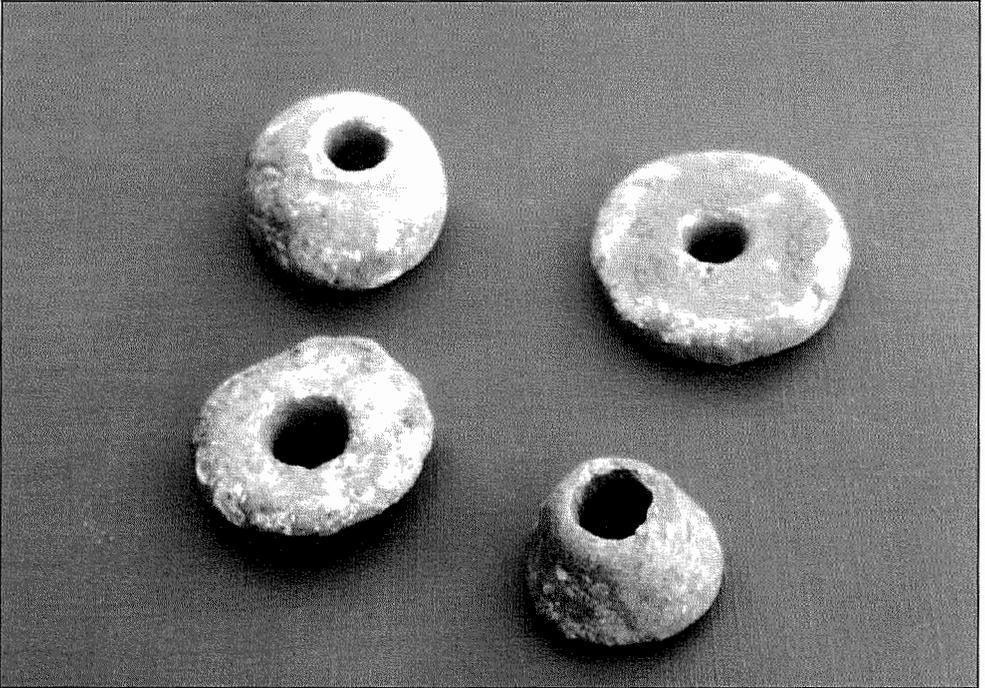


Plate 13 - Four lead spindle whorls.

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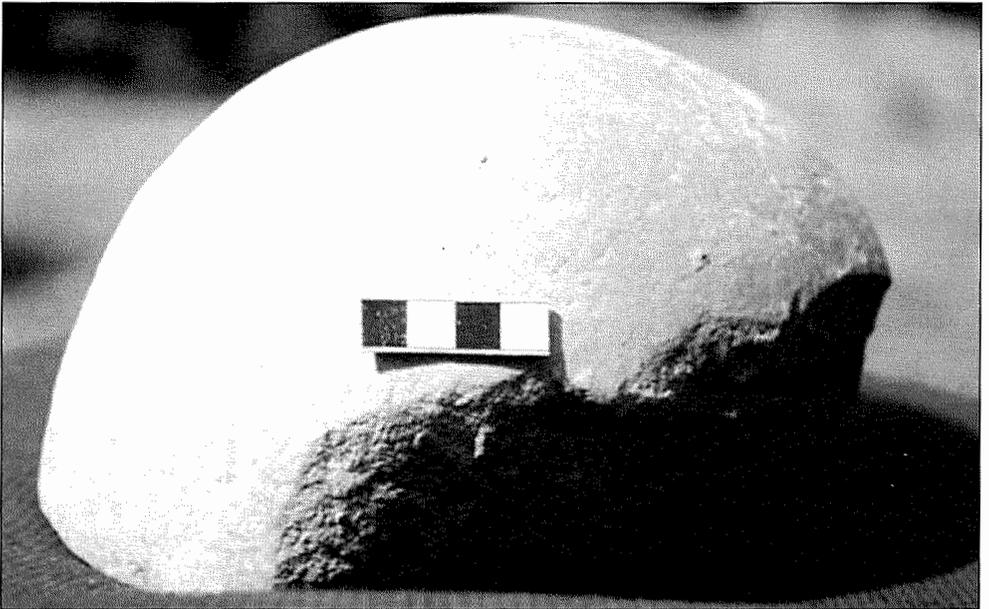


Plate 14 - Stone mould (possible) for pewter bowls (02E0441:2353:2).

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and around the terminus of the Field 23 enclosure at its northern end. The evidence suggests it is likely that small-scale or mixed industrial working in iron, copper, lead, and silver took place within the confines of the site boundaries.

The range of artefact types recovered from topsoil is extremely wide, spanning from Later Prehistory through to the modern period. These include structural items and fittings that may be derived from wooden structures built on or close to the site, quantities of personal ornamentation, some of very high quality, agricultural equipment and machinery, exotic goods and precious metals, ecclesiastical pieces, craft tools and by-products of manufacture and domestic waste. The provenance and cultural affiliation of much of this material is yet unknown, and cannot be assigned to any particular phase of site occupation with certainty. However, the lead pan weights, the silver ingots and arm ring silver are of undoubted Viking origin.

Substantial late Iron Age and early medieval occupation is supported by radiocarbon dates from the enclosure ditch, spanning the early fifth to late seventh centuries, and from both stratified, and unstratified artefacts. Artefacts of clearly Viking provenance were absent from these early ditch fills. Quantities of Irish domestic wares associated with the early medieval occupation are notable by their absence, and the archaeological signature is marked by the presence of exotic goods, such as ivory, amber, (pewter, by inference), which reinforces a wider contact with mainland Britain, and the Continent. Fittings, possibly derived from ecclesiastical reliquaries were also recovered. Artefacts recovered from mixed ditch fills suggest a range of metallurgical industrial activities taking place at the site, prior to the Viking occupation, presumably in the middle/late ninth century.

The number of strictly assigned Viking-type artefacts is limited. Firmly affiliated material is limited to the grave goods-assemblage, although other elements (predominately, from topsoil) such as fine honestones, square- and diamond-shaped roves, the large assemblage of lead pan weights, sickles, arm-ring silver, silver ingots, and sword fittings, have reported parallels with Scandinavian or Hiberno-Norse assemblages elsewhere in Ireland, and on the Continent. In particular, the large number of lead weights and quantities of hack silver would imply import, division/production, and distribution of precious metals on site. However, the relative absence of coinage may suggest the Viking phase at Woodstown did not represent a trading or 'productive' site in the strict sense of an early town or *emporium* (after Jorgensen 2003), or a seasonal market or trading place (Sawyer 2003), as seen elsewhere in early medieval Europe.

General Discussion

The investigations in 2004 were successful in revealing a complex history, both archaeological, and environmental for Woodstown 6. A story beginning long before the *Déisi*, and Viking raiders on the Suir commences around 2500 BC (Late Neolithic period), when the Woodstown/Killoteran area was oak woodland with alder, pine and hazel species growing locally. The closest Neolithic tomb is the

Licketstown megalithic site on the north bank of the river Suir from Woodstown.²⁵ The recent discovery and excavation of the earliest Neolithic houses in Granny, County Kilkenny, are further evidence, albeit much earlier, of human habitation in the river Suir area (J. Hughes, pers. comm.).

Around 1500 BC, the middle/late Bronze Age, some disturbance in the woodland is apparent for the first time, and cereal cultivation has begun nearby. The Woodstown 5 *fulacht fiadh* excavated beside Carriganore, in 2003, may be indicative of such early settlement activity.²⁶ After 1500 BC there is less woodland with further cereal cultivation, and evidence for cannabis being cultivated locally, the earliest record of such plants in the south-east.²⁷

In the early fifth century AD, the late Iron Age period, a deep ditch was dug (F2174/F2206) forming a large defensive barrier for a riverside settlement.²⁸ One enclosure was roughly C-shaped in plan, extending the length of Field 23, i.e. about 200m by about 100m in width.²⁹ A second, undated (F2450), and more irregular-shaped enclosure appears to extend the length of Field 22, i.e. 260m by 100-160m in width. Both enclosures were separated by a stream, and the Field 22 enclosure bordered the wetland. The river provided a natural defence on the north side and the steep slope from the wetland, a natural defence on the west side. The enclosures originally extended further out toward the Suir but the construction of the railway completely destroyed evidence of it here. Approximately 14m of the ditch, a stone-metalled entranceway, 7.4m wide and an internal, raised earthen bank were fully excavated. There was no evidence of an elaborate or defensive gateway, although some structural evidence in the bank suggests long-term defence of the site. Further entranceways are suggested from gaps in the enclosures as recorded in the geophysical survey. The bank held a wooden palisade(s), consisting of over 120 post- and stake-holes, with a possible supporting revetment. This evidence indicates a complex, stockade-type defence of the eastern side of the site.

The relationship between both, possibly contemporaneous enclosures and, between them and the square-shaped enclosure identified in Field 23, is uncertain (see Figure 9). However, it is clear that a densely occupied settlement existed alongside the riverbank, extending for about 500 m in length, and terminating at the wetland.

25 Licketstown, County Kilkenny. KKO45-015. NGR 25400, 11169.

26 Woodstown 5, *fulacht fiadh*, NGR 255338, 111743. Located 1 km east of the wetland, beside Carriganore rock outcrop.

27 Post-dating 3,500 BP cereal cultivation, open-ground and cannabis was being cultivated locally. The extent of the growth of this crop is not yet known but it was probably cultivated to provide fibres for rope and/or hemp cloth. The wetland may have been used as a wretting site where the hemp was soaked prior to extracting the fibre (if it was then future work may recover seeds of *Cannabis sativa* (L)). However the cannabis pollen frequency is low at Woodstown and other, adjacent, ponds or shallow depressions may have been used to treat the hemp (Coxon & Farrell 2004: 13).

28 In the Archaeological Assessment Report 2004 the original theory of a single, double-ditched enclosure has been changed.

29 The width of the enclosures was measured between the present edge of the river and the cropmarks identified from the geophysics (Figure 9).

Contemporary with the early occupation of the site, the Killoteran wetland, and probably the banks of the Suir, continued to be exploited for such activities as grass/reed gathering, and fowl hunting. However, as the uppermost level in the wetland dated contemporary with the enclosure, any later evidence such as Viking, or medieval was removed from the wetland through episodic, tidal flooding, and the creation of the later tree plantation (Murray 2004: 5). No trace of a harbour was discovered in the wetland and it is suggested instead, that ships would have docked alongside the riverbank.

The Excavated Enclosure Ditch

The basal enclosure ditch layers (F2422 & F2357) may represent initial silting-up, suggesting the ditch was open and/or regularly cleaned-out, over time. The earliest stratified finds included a possible honestone, and a tiny fragment of lead <1g in weight. These represent the earliest evidence of craft-working on site, probably occurring within the enclosure. A deep charcoal-rich layer (F2173) dumped into the ditch was radiocarbon dated to between the early fifth and middle of the sixth century. This layer produced an assemblage of artefacts including burnishing or polishing stones, honestones and possible honestones, an iron nodule, worked stones, a possible glass bead, and two amber beads.³⁰ The iron nodule provides the earliest evidence of ferrous metal-working on site. A possible glass bead is the earliest evidence of glass on site, and could have been made locally.

A sheltered portion of one of the ditch terminals was specifically used for further metal-workings (iron, lead, silver, copper and copper-alloy) with the construction of a smithing hearth or furnace. The furnace contained a chimney structure, set around a central firing area. This produced clear evidence of *in situ* metalworking in a controlled environment. One furnace fill was radiocarbon dated to between the early fifth to early seventh century. Metal-working activity within an enclosure ditch is often found on Irish settlement sites of the early medieval period, such as Cathedral Hill, County Armagh (Ryan 1988: 43, Edwards 1990: 90), Ninch, Laytown, County Meath (McConway 2003: 421-424), and Kill St. Lawrence, County Waterford (O'Connell 2004: 49). The furnace was sealed when ferrous, and non-ferrous waste, and finished artefacts, was dumped into the ditch, radiocarbon dated to the seventh century. This evidence indicates that substantial areas of ferrous and non-ferrous metalworking occurred close to the ditch, probably within the enclosure.

Stratified artefacts deposited, over time, within the enclosure ditch included a fragmented quern stone (possibly reused as an anvil), a square-sectioned silver ingot, large quantities of metallurgical slag, iron blades and knives, an iron knife blade and associated tang, iron nails/rivets, crucibles, a shard of clear glass, a possible stone mould for pewter bowls, a possible copper-alloy pin shaft fragment, possible copper-alloy casket mounts, burnt bones, an ivory bead, honestones and rotary-burnishing stones. Some rotary stones may have been associated with the

30 One amber bead is a pendant fragment, re-worked into a bead, possibly indicating amber working on-site or potential evidence of imports from Dublin or abroad (P. Harvey, pers. comm.).



Plate 15 - Three lead pan weights.

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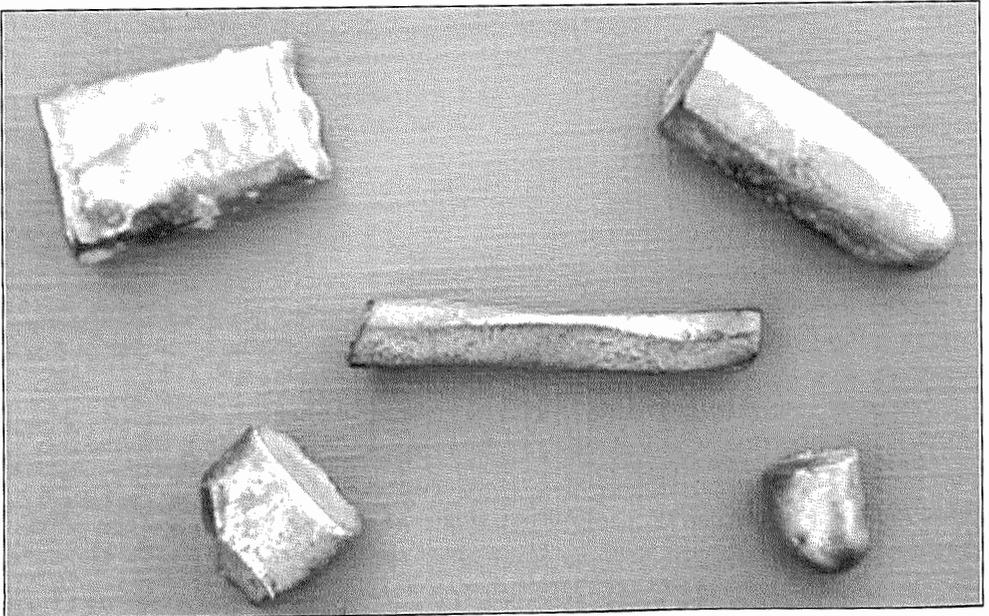


Plate 16 - Five silver ingots, surrounding a possible pin fragment of a silver brooch.

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grinding down and/or sharpening of knife blades. The possible copper-alloy casket mounts are the earliest, stratified, ecclesiastical-type objects from the site. A radio-carbon date in the seventh century was recovered from one of these depositional events, and the ditch was continually being filled with deposits when the first suggested, Viking-dated levels begin.

The Kiln

Archaeological evidence for external-enclosure activities derived chiefly from pyrotechnical processes, represented by the kiln (F2107), and furnace (F2302-see below). As there was no evidence of *in situ* burning or oxidised clay, the kiln/oven theory is proposed for F2107. It may have functioned as an oven for the small-scale manufacture of charcoal as a reducing environment was indicated from the results. The internal stake-holes discovered could have supported a domed-like framework, perhaps of hazel rods, to hold a temporary roof of sods; typical of charcoal manufacture. The output of this kiln may, possibly be associated with the nearby furnace (F2302), although no finds came from the kiln. As it could date from the Irish settlement phase, radiocarbon dating of the kiln fills is crucial.³¹

The discovery of the ingot and four nodules of silver-melt debris in topsoil are further clear evidence that silver was being worked/smelted in Woodstown in the seventh century. This is the earliest such evidence in the south-east. The use of the ditch for metal-working, and the subsequent dumping of materials within, may suggest, the inhabitants were not overly concerned with maintaining the site's defences. With the evidence of the burnt stones dumped beside the wetland (see above), it suggests there were extensive industrial activities throughout the site, as originally suggested from the testing of the site (Russell 2004: 66-71).

An early date of 660-880 Cal AD was recovered from the fill of post-hole (F1387) in Trench 87, which would make it roughly contemporary with the last phases of the enclosure ditch. It was possibly associated with post-holes (F1392, F1406, F1410 & F1413), and stake-holes (F1405 & F1411). These features may have formed part of the structural elements of a house (Russell 2004: 69). A second, similar but broader, date was also recovered from the possible ditch (F1467), at the base of Trench 60 (beside the wetland) which returned a radiocarbon date of 680-980 Cal AD. A third similar date was also recovered from post-hole (F798) in Trench 77d/83, which returned a radiocarbon date of 690-990 Cal AD.

Structural evidence, possibly associated with the metal-working events described above was found south-east, and again, outside the enclosure: these included six post-holes together with eight stake-holes. The post-holes (F2038 & F2037), together with stake-hole (F2072) did appear to form an alignment, representing the remains of a possible post and wattle wall. Similarly, stake-holes

31 Similar archaeological evidence for metal-working was found from the bypass excavations in Adamstown townland, southwest of Woodstown. Here, the undated site of Adamstown Site 3 produced settlement evidence, represented by phased house-constructions. One pit, discovered behind a house was found with *in situ* charcoal twigs, still surviving intact (Russell, in prep.).

(F2041, F2060 & F2051) also formed an alignment and may have formed a wooden wall, associated with the stake-holes (F2050, F2070), and the post-holes (F2049 & F2048), perhaps a wind-break for protecting livestock. The radiocarbon dating of their fills may elucidate their date, and perhaps lead to an association with the metal-working events nearby. However, it should be stressed that these features may also relate to features unexcavated, outside the CPO boundary.

There is a possibility that such a large and, wealthy site could have been ecclesiastical in nature: a number of stratified copper casket- and stud-mounts, dated between the late sixth and early seventh century, were found in the enclosure ditch, and these would be more typical of ornamented objects owned by the Church than the mundane objects found on secular settlement sites. The placename evidence from Killoteran ('kil' a church, plus 'Odran/Otteran', an Irish saint, adopted by the Waterford Vikings in the eleventh century). In size, shape, and material culture this phase of settlement at Woodstown would have parallels with Clonmacnoise, County Offaly (Murphy 2003: 21, Illustration 26), and would have been a larger centre than the one recently investigated at Kill St. Lawrence, County Waterford (O'Connell 2004:51). Although the average size of ecclesiastical enclosures is between 90-120m some examples can reach over 400m (Swan 1988: 5). There is also a possibility that such a complex, and wealthy site, strategically located beside a major route way, and territorial boundary the river Suir, could have been a royal site.

Viking Evidence from Woodstown

During the middle/late ninth century Viking ships sailing on the River Suir landed at Woodstown. Their purpose is unknown but likely involved raiding, and possibly sacking the Irish settlement. Where these Vikings originated from is unknown, perhaps Norway, or from Viking settlements in the south of England or Wales. How the Vikings interacted with the native Irish may never be fully understood, but they certainly settled on the site. The Viking evidence comes from the discovery of many Viking-type artefacts, chiefly from the topsoil, a number of well-stratified Viking lead weights, and a single Viking warrior grave. According to a 1976 distribution map of Irish Viking graves, the Woodstown 6 example is the first recorded from Munster (Harrison 2001: 61, Fig. 1).

The warrior grave

The features found outside the enclosure are dominated by the unique find of the Viking warrior grave. This outstanding and very rare discovery was found completely intact with only minor later disturbance. The grave was of moderately high status; the sword pommel was dated to between the ninth-eleventh centuries AD (Harrison, in prep.)³² It has been suggested that the bulk of artefacts from Viking graves in Ireland date from the ninth rather than the tenth centuries, and all known Viking graves seem to have been deposited within 50 to 100 years (Harrison 2001: 75).

32 The analysis of the grave and grave goods will be conducted by the NMI & Stephen Harrison, TCD, as part of the Irish Viking Graves Project.

In addition to the 100% dry sieving of the grave fill; no skeletal remains were recovered apart from two tiny bone fragments of unknown taxonomic affiliation. Bone preservation on the site is generally poor due to the acidic nature of the soil, and it appears that the burial was destroyed in these prevailing acidic conditions. Most of the animal bone recovered from the site was burnt and any unburnt bone is invariably animal teeth, which survives better in acidic soil. Given the size of the grave, the body was likely to have been flexed, unless it was the grave of an adolescent.

The body was accompanied by a number of weapons and personal items (described above), suggesting that it was a male grave in keeping with currently understood patterns of Viking burial practice (after Parker Pearson 1999). There was evidence for perhaps two swords; the broken sword, possibly containing traces of a scabbard, was discovered on the left side of the grave cut, and the blade end was discovered beneath a partially decayed spearhead to the upper right of the head area. Did the sword break in battle and was carefully placed with the body at the time of burial or was the sword ritually broken by his comrades at the graveside? The positioning of the sword at the left side indicates a right-handed individual.

In addition the recovery of a possible sword pommel, a spear ferrule, and a possible small blade could indicate he was buried with multiple-weaponry. The eastern portion of the grave had been disturbed, possibly by recent ploughing. Several artefacts were recovered from this disturbed context—two small iron rivets, two conical copper-alloy mounts, a portion of broken sword blade, and an iron battle axe.

A copper-alloy ring pin and shaft recovered from the head area may have derived from a coat or cloak. Another item recovered from the head area, actually from beneath the possible burial cairn, was a conical shield boss. Its position here suggests it was placed over the head and right shoulder, again suggestive of careful internment. A perforated, tapering honestone was recovered from the grave fill, once worn around the individual's waist, possibly on a belt or cord. However its position in the grave (near the left leg) may suggest it dislodged during internment.

A number of large round stones exposed at the top of the grave, around the head and upper body area, suggest that the grave may have once been covered by a low stone mound or cairn. This would have it visible from the enclosure, or when approaching the entranceway, only 22m away. It is likely that more large stones covered the entire grave but were removed through later ploughing. Thus it is fortuitous that the grave survived at all, and was perhaps helped by being located close to a later field boundary. Other large stones found dumped alongside both field boundaries and the discovery of weaponry in topsoil, suggest the likelihood of additional graves being present is extremely high. Perhaps the area of high magnetic responses identified in Field 22 from the geophysics may be indicative of a burial ground? However, this was the area where upstanding field boundaries were removed and the magnetic responses could, for instance, represent dumped wire.

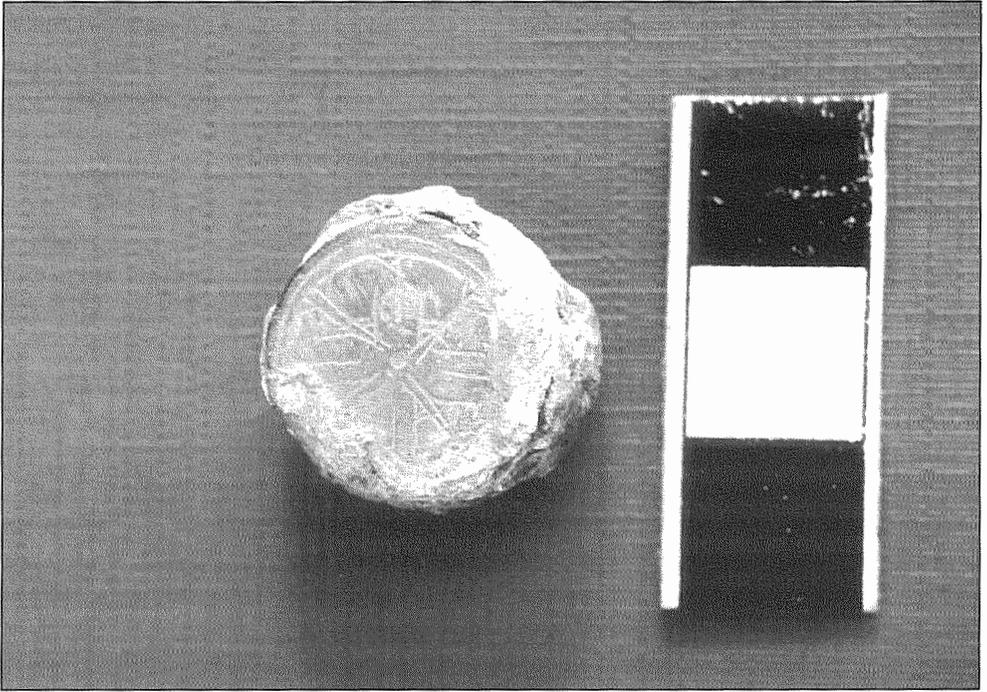


Plate 17 - Lead pan weight with coin/enamelled-mount-insert (02E0441:600:950).

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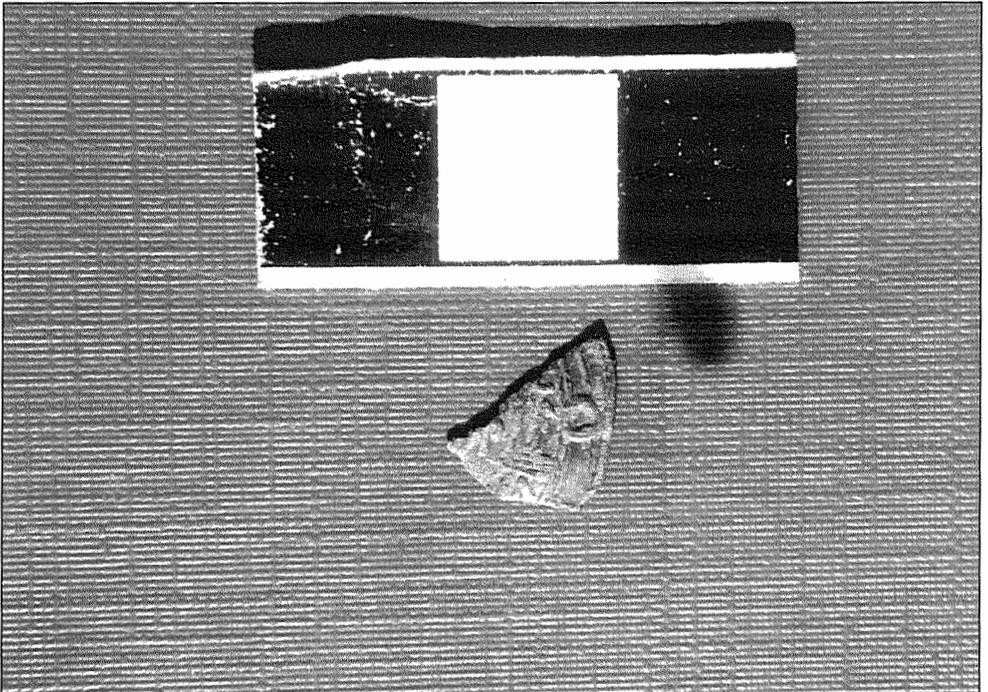


Plate 18 - Kufic coin fragment (02E0441:600:857).

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Viking evidence in the enclosure ditch

On arrival the Vikings set about refortifying the existing enclosure ditch, possibly by expanding its outer edge (F2257 & F2469). Two lead pan weight specimens of undoubted Viking age, both dome-shaped examples (mass 23 and 13 grams respectively), clearly post-date the seventh-century ditch levels. In turn these ditches were cut by a later ditch (F2258), and a ditch/pit (F2105). Two vitrified fragments of unknown ceramics may be foreign imports: the post-excavation analysis may identify the pottery-type. Other Viking-dated artefacts retrieved from these layers include a honestone, iron blades, a flint blade and core, fragments of bone combs, crucibles, iron nails/rivets, slag and possible anvil stones. The palisade appears to have been strengthened with the addition of further posts, although there is no evidence to definitively date this episode to the Viking age.

The geophysics detected a number of magnetic dipoles (G67) close by, which may also be associated with this smelting process. With such metal-working activities occurring both inside, and outside the enclosure, and dating from the *circa* 600 years of Woodstown settlement, the recovery of so many metallic finds, including both finished and unfinished artefacts, slag and metal detritus from the topsoil is unsurprising.

The Furnace

The furnace (F2302) exposed outside the enclosure was possibly used in the smelting of Viking lead or silver, or both. A post-hole (F2207) found to its northeast, and a possible post-hole (F2325) found to its south, may represent structural evidence, associated with the furnace. In addition, three post-holes around the circumference would have supported a flue or chimney, lined with daub, into which a set of bellows was probably inserted; such structures have clear Scandinavian parallels (after Siddorn 2000; Söderberg 2002). The oxidised clay rim indicated high temperatures were achieved during the smelting process, and the recovery of a lead pan weight from this oxidised clay, suggests the kiln was used in association with the manufacture of lead or silver ingots, or possibly the forging of weights, outside the enclosure. The stratified pan lead weight dates the furnace to the early Viking Age. The discovery of further pan lead weights near the wetland suggests Viking settlement, and metal-working, throughout the site.

Scandinavian examples of such furnaces show that they could be used both as a hearth for smithing and as a furnace for the smelting of metals (Söderberg 2002). These structures, have been shown to be multi-purpose in nature, utilised in the working of ferrous metals, copper-alloys, precious metals, and glass, often within the same furnace structure (Söderberg *ibid.*). Examples from Swedish sites record the production of ferrous goods in parallel with jewellery casting (i.e. the Black Earth at Birka; Jakobsson Holback 1999), and the casting of silver and gold, in parallel with the forging of weights, and glass bead manufacture (i.e. Sigtuna; Söderberg and Holmquist Olausson 1997).

Analysis of the finds discovered by the metal detecting and soil sieving indicates one aspect of Viking life in Woodstown clearly involved trading. There were 208 pan lead weights recovered, compared to less than ten from late Viking

Waterford. These pan weights were used by Vikings in weighing precious metals, mainly silver. Seven pan weights were composed of ferrous metal; the remaining weights were composed of either plain lead or lead-based composite. One specimen had a large quartz crystal embedded centrally, and one anthropomorphic specimen may have doubled as a game counter (see back cover of *Decies*). The Woodstown assemblage is the largest such rural collection from Ireland and the majority of lead weights were found in the topsoil. The high recovery rate highlighted the advantages of systematic use of metal detectors on site.

Thirty-six pieces of silver, most of them hacked ingots were found in the topsoil, plus two pieces of silver from stratified contexts (the Irish phase of the enclosure ditch, and a post-medieval field bank). Based on evidence from silver hoards of the period found elsewhere in Ireland the greatest amount of silver was in circulation from the middle of the ninth to middle of the tenth century, and large quantities of silver were amassed in Ireland before the foundation of the Hiberno-Norse towns (Sheehan 2001: 59). Other Viking-type objects found included iron clench-nails and roves (possibly for joining ships timbers). A fragment of silver, Kufic coin of Arabic origin reflects the wider trading contacts normally associated with Vikings. The quantity of lead pan weights recovered, and the likelihood of many more on the site suggests, these Vikings were involved in trading silver, and undoubtedly, other precious commodities. The duration of the Viking settlement at Woodstown is unclear but radiocarbon dating suggests an abandonment of the site around the middle of the eleventh century. Why? We do not know.

The remainder of the excavated features discovered outside the Field 23 enclosure were associated with post-medieval field drainage, or related to the maintenance of the field boundary ditch and bank. The recovery of a hammer stone and a rotary honestone from the field boundary suggest the presence of an archaeological feature disturbed when the boundary was constructed. The lack of organic preservation on site is unfortunate as it places an over-emphasis on metallic, and stone finds.

Conclusion

Contrary to widespread media speculation Woodstown 6 does not represent a Viking-only settlement.³³ The discovery of such a site is still awaited. Woodstown 6 represents a native Irish riverside settlement(s), centred on the south bank of the river Suir, with distinct Viking phase(s), reflected in the excavation record (potential Viking maintenance, and expansion of the enclosure ditch/ditches, and the Viking warrior grave), and artefactual evidence (trade, warfare, raiding, shipping). The historical sources speak of Vikings attacking, and then *occupying* native sites, which makes perfect sense as the Vikings did not require time and effort, in hostile environments, to construct defended bases from which to operate. Even the primary historical sources relate the same scenarios. The two-day Viking occupation of Emly, County Tipperary, recorded in 968, is such an example. But how would this

33 Gibbons has recently re-assessed the evidence for such sites in Ireland (Gibbons 2004: 19-23, 2005: 22-25).

event be recognised in the archaeological record-what would survive, and could the untrained eye recognise such evidence.³⁴ Unless such sites are expertly investigated, before they are developed, a lot of valuable artefactual information may be lost. The chance recovery of the Viking coin hoard from a school goal-post in Clonmacnoise, County Offaly, with additional excavated finds including gold, copper-alloy, worked antler and bone, lignite, crucibles and a mould fragment from only a 4m x 4m cutting is such an example (Ó Floinn 1998: 120-125).

The discovery of Iron Age evidence from Woodstown could suggest associations with the newly discovered vertical watermill in Dooneen, Killoteran, and possibly with the Iron Age evidence retrieved from Newrath, County Kilkenny. As a result of the Waterford City bypass excavations alone, there is now definitive Iron Age settlement evidence on both banks of the Suir, approximately from the bend in the river, at Mount Congreve, to the bend at Newrath, an area about 6 km in extent. Clearly, there were well-established Iron Age communities utilising the Suir as the safe and fast conduit for travel in Waterford, while also exploiting fishing/fowling/reed harvesting nearby.

Could one of these settlements, i.e. one based in the Killoteran stream/Woodstown area have been a monastic settlement? Is it pure coincidence that on the OS Maps the Killoteran townland boundary juts into the Dooneen marsh, exactly where the vertical watermill was discovered? Could the existence of a monastic settlement (with established evidence of workings in precious metals, and luxury goods like ivory, amber, etc.) have been the enticement for Vikings to target Woodstown? Why else choose this part of the river Suir? Do the stud mounts with gold foil, the escutcheon/enamelled mount, and possible casket mount hinge piece, all unstratified, precious objects found in the topsoil, represent treasure trove from Viking, and/or Irish raiding, or could such items have been made on site.

Furthermore, the placename evidence Killoteran (see above) clearly indicates an early church site associated with a saint, whom the Waterford Vikings later adopted. Although there are no historical sources for a Viking raid on the River Suir fitting this location (Etchingham 1996), there equally were no historical references for Vikings in Woodstown. The post-excavation investigations will address these and other issues, in the years of study ahead.

The discovery of Vikings so far up the Suir at Woodstown has, in one single instance, challenged the hitherto accepted chronology for the development of early-Scandinavian Waterford. Do annalistic references to either *Port Láirge* or *Loch-dachaeach* in the ninth to eleventh centuries solely refer to early Viking Age Waterford city/harbour, or could some refer to Woodstown, i.e. (*FAI AD 860*; *AI AD 984*).

The longevity of the Viking occupation in Woodstown is unknown. There could have been intermittent or even long-term re-establishments of Irish settlement in the tenth or eleventh centuries, perhaps in response to changing political fortunes.

34 The construction of houses within the monastic enclosure of Emly may have yielded some evidence of this brief, and violent, Viking interlude.

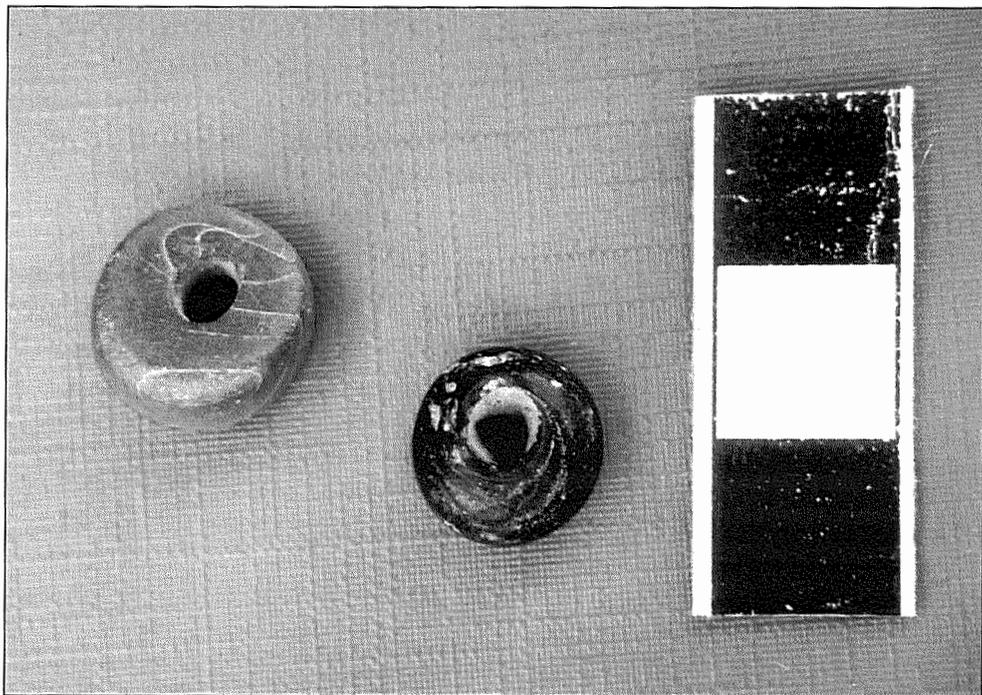


Plate 19 - Glass and amber beads.

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Plate 20 - Iron wood-cutter's axe.

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For instance the rise, and fall of Brian Bóroma in Munster.³⁵ Did events following the Battle of Clontarf in 1014 play a part in the site's demise? Similarly, the evidence from the enclosure ditch provides phases of Viking usage, possibly indicating phased-Viking occupation. Did these Vikings move further downstream, and settle in the present Waterford city, or were the new Viking fleets of the early tenth century in Waterford harbour the impetus for the city's creation, and Woodstown's demise?

These questions aside, sometime in the middle of the eleventh century, the site was abandoned, based on a combination of the lack of *classic* medieval pottery-wares, and based on the radiocarbon dates. Clearly Waterford, whether Woodstown or the city, suffered repeatedly throughout the eleventh century as recorded in the Annals. It is tempting to suggest the Woodstown inhabitants left to establish their next settlement on what evolved into Waterford city, but this contradicts the accepted topographical development model as proposed by Bradley and Halpin (1992), unless there are two early Viking Age settlements on the Suir. Based on present evidence, there was no settlement at Woodstown throughout the high medieval period and the site remained forgotten until its re-discovery in 2003.

The discovery of Vikings in Woodstown should lead to a complete re-assessment (long overdue) of the varied and often conflicting primary historical references, where too much current emphasise is placed on the *longphort* debate. A variety of Viking artefacts have been recorded from inland Irish sites (Carraig Aile I, County Limerick; Cherrywood, County Dublin; Lagore, County Meath), and more recently from sites near rivers or the coast (Woodstown; Ninch, Laytown, County Meath; Beginish, County Kerry).

Furthermore, new Irish ecclesiastical sites are still being found, but only through archaeological excavation (Ninch, County Meath; Oldtown, County Dublin). At the site in Ninch rescue excavations revealed a multi-phased site, including a *rath* or *tuath*, possibly of the *Ciannachta* tribe, an ecclesiastical centre with inhumations, and late tenth to early eleventh century dated Hiberno-Norse, sub-rectangular enclosures (McConway 2003: 421). The parallels with Woodstown are obvious; the primary difference is that Ninch was coastal setting while Woodstown was riparian.

From the discovery at Woodstown we should expect to find Viking evidence on many Irish sites, both secular and monastic. However, in acidic soils the organic evidence may not survive and the weight of evidence would fall on non-organics, such as metal/stone. The results from retrieving quantities of finds from topsoil, through such systematic analysis should lead to similar programmes on other type-sites, adopting the Woodstown methods. Only then can accurate comparisons be made between the artefactual assemblage from Woodstown and sites of similar date, and size, and from areas where Vikings are known.

35 The *Annals of Inisfallen* record for the year 995 'The fortifying of Caisel, Inis Locha Gair, and Inis Locha Sainglenn, and many structures besides, by Brian', (*AI*: 171). Could the episodic re-fortification of the excavated ditch and bank, be an example of these 'many structures besides'?



Plate 21 - Copper-alloy falconry bell (possible).

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Plate 22 - Spherical copper-alloy spear butt or spear terminal; Iron Age date (02E0441:600:510).

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Turning to the burial evidence, how can we account for the lack of Viking burials in Waterford, and indeed, why is the Woodstown 6 example the only such burial from Munster. In fact, there are only two exotic, i.e. foreign burials, from the entire county-Woodstown, and the Mayfield burial (Anglo-Saxon artefact) near Portlaw. As the Woodstown example showed, acidic soils will destroy all skeletal remains, thereby, over-emphasising the importance of the artefacts. In heavily ploughed fields, such evidence can be disturbed, and damaged through time, and therefore, will be difficult to identify, even to an archaeologist. In the case of Viking inhumations without grave goods or, for that matter, Viking cremations it will be very difficult, if not impossible to identify such remains in the field.

For instance, why are there no Viking discoveries (way-station/burial/artefact) from Tramore Bay? Is it simply a result of no-one looking for the sites because history tells us there are no Vikings here? The same can be said for Little Island in the river Suir, which is an obvious location for another early Viking Age settlement. Surely it is time for detailed investigations on the island itself (geophysics, etc), and south of the island, where the Suir bends.

As the discoveries in Woodstown have shown, the location of early Viking Age sites need not conform to established historical and archaeological norms of how, why and where such settlements developed: Sheehan *et al.* have proved this from a re-assessment of the Beginish Island excavations (Sheehan 2001: 109-16). Along the Waterford coast there is the obvious linguistic evidence of Helvick Head, but investigation of the Waterford coastal promontory forts may yield Viking occupational evidence, however transitory, as these sites presented Vikings with ready-made defensive forts with which to control the sea routes of the south-east.³⁶

Future investigations in Woodstown should be part of a wider examination into the nature of rural Irish, and Viking settlement. This should involve a long overdue investigation of some of the *longphort* sites around the country. In County Waterford the Suir is the obvious nucleus for a focused study, to define the nature and extent of contemporaneous sites. The limits of a study area could be set between Portlaw (the Mayfield Anglo-Saxon artefact), and Waterford city itself. South of the Suir attention should be focused on the Coolfinn, and Darrigal Marshes at Portlaw, for possible traces of buried ships timbers, and the smaller rivers here (the Clodiagh, Kilbunny for instance). Nearby church sites at Kilbunny, Kilmeaden, Lisnakill, and Kilonan should be researched for possible associations with Killoteran church.

36 The Promontory Fort of Ballynarrid, County Waterford (OS 32:4:2 (807,602) NGR 24173, 09770) is shown as 'Entrenchment, Dane's Island' on the OS Map. Westropp, reported a number of internal hut sites on the site (Westropp 1914: 219-21). Power (1952: 117) described the site as 'O'Brice's Island...The English speaking natives call the place 'Danes Island', from their tendency to attribute all prehistoric remains to the Danes (Danaans).' The site, as with most Irish promontory forts, has never been excavated. It was not included in Sheehan's assessment of likely Viking sites on the south coast (Sheehan 2001: 115).

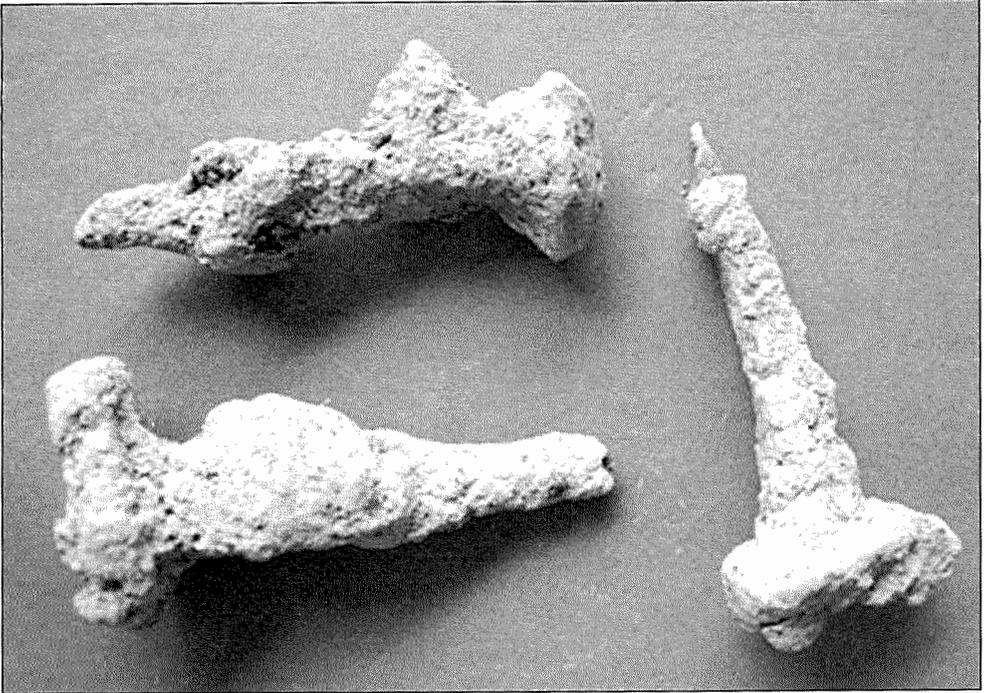


Plate 23 - Selection of iron clench nails recovered from the site.

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Plate 24 - Selection of finds.

Richard O'Brien

The recent environmental evidence emerging from Woodstown and Newrath, through the use of pollen cores and sampling, will yield valuable information on the processes of human exploitation of the Suir over millennia. All future studies should be published, when they are complete. Similarly, a programme of field walking on both banks of the Suir at Woodstown/Killoteran should be undertaken. As a number of fields on the County Kilkenny side are ploughed each year, field walking, using metal detectors (under licence) could yield fruitful discoveries. The cropmark arrangement of some of the field boundaries in Licketstown townland, (opposite Woodstown) are of high archaeological potential. The Ballylough Project proved successful in discovering new prehistoric sites for east Waterford (Zvelebil & Green 1992: 20-23). A similar study should commence with a view to the historic, early medieval, Hiberno-Norse and medieval periods.

A research excavation should be undertaken in Waterford city within the area suggested as the site of the ninth-century Viking settlement. The results could determine if there is early Viking-Age evidence in this part of the city, and if Woodstown represented an upriver trading post, controlled by the main Viking settlement in the city.

The Killoteran stream area, the kinks along its course and its pond, (a wretting pond for flax?) require detailed study. The nearby Killoteran holy well should be recorded, and registered as an archaeological site.

An area, or areas within Field 23 should be excavated by hand, and the potential structural evidence revealed in the 2003 test-trenching investigated. An early date of 660-880 Cal AD was recovered from the fill of the post-hole (F1387) in Trench 87, which would make it roughly contemporary with the last phases of the enclosure ditch. This post-hole, along with four others, and two stake-holes were interpreted as forming part of a wall or structure (Russell 2004: 69).

An area, or areas within Field 22 should be excavated by hand to assess any structural evidence here, and to test the original theory, that this portion of the site was chiefly used for metal-working/industrial activities (Russell 2004: 66-68).

The confluence of the square-shaped, satellite enclosure and enclosure ditch F2174/F2206 requires excavation, principally to define what the satellite enclosure represents, and to define any associations between both features.

Ditches F2440, F2448 and F2449 in Culvert 2 should be excavated by hand to determine their nature, date and relationship with enclosure ditch F2174/F2206. Is ditch F2440 a continuation of ditch F2448 or a separate entity entirely?

The enclosure ditch F2450 in Culvert 2, Field 22 should be excavated by hand to determine its nature, date and relationship with enclosure ditch F2174/F2206 in Field 23, and with the ditches in Culvert 2.

The nature of some of the other, proposed enclosure entrances should be excavated by hand, allowing comparisons with the excavated evidence.

The riverbank on both sides of the Suir should be walked, and investigated at low-tide, using geophysics and further diving, if possible. Dr Aidan O'Sullivan's pioneering work on the river Shannon Inter-tidal zone illustrated the benefits of such an approach.

A study and assessment, of all the historical references to the *Deise*, *Port Láirge* and *Loch-dachaeach* needs to be completed, and published.

The site is now classified as a National Monument and when defining its area of archaeological potential, we recommend an area encompassing the following: the extent of the known archaeology, (based on the evidence from the archaeological and geophysical investigations), the Killoteran stream area, the river Suir itself and both its' banks.³⁷

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³⁷ The final determination of the site's zone of archaeological potential will be made by the DoEHLG.

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The Project Archaeologists Mr Richard O'Brien, Mr James Eogan, and Assistant Project Archaeologist Ms Freya Smith for their hard work, advice, dedication and constant commitment. The NRA Senior Project Archaeologist Ms Dáire O'Rourke and Assistant Project Archaeologist Ms Roisin Barton-Murray for their constant support, and to Dr Patrick Wallace, Mr Ragnall Ó Floinn, Mr Andrew Halpin and Ms Mary Cahill of the National Museum of Ireland, and to Mr Stephen Harrison (TCD), Professor Dagfinn Skree (University of Oslo), and Mr John Sheehan (UCC) for their expert advice and opinions during the excavation and post-excavation works.

All works within the CPO were funded by the National Roads Authority through the auspices of Waterford City Council, the lead authority for the Waterford City Bypass, on behalf of Kilkenny County Council and Waterford County Council.

Complete List of Radiocarbon Dates taken at Woodstown 6, County Waterford.

Number	Beta Analytic Lab No.	Sample	Context	Method	¹⁴ C Result (uncal. BP)	¹⁴ C Result (cal. 2 sigma)
1	Beta-183142	Charcoal	F757, (Trench 81, Field 23). Fill of pit F1288. Fragments of iron slag (02E0441:757:1-5), & flat iron fragments (02E0441:757:6-8) were found from F757. Taken in 2003.	Radiometric	1040 ± 60 BP	cal. AD 885 - 1055 & cal. AD 1085 – 1150
2	Beta-183143	Charcoal	F798, (Trench 83, Field 23). Fill of oval-shaped pit F1263. Iron objects, iron slag (02E0441:798:1-9), & round-headed iron nails (02E0441:798:10-12) were found from F798. Taken in 2003.	Radiometric	1190 ± 60 BP	cal. AD 690 – 990
3	Beta-194062	Charcoal	F1214, (Trench 60, Field 22). Deposit of burnt stones and black clay sealing pits, and the possible ditch F1467. An unglazed pottery sherd (02E0441:1214:2), iron nails & slag (02E0441:1214:3-12) were found from F1214.	AMS	1110 ± 40 BP	cal. AD 870 - 1010
4	Beta-194063	Charcoal	F2353, (Culvert 1 Enclosure Ditch F2174). One of the later ditch fills, sealing the smithing hearth F2370. A possible stone mould for pewter bowls, (02E0441:2353:2), burnishing stones (02E0441:2353:3-4) & a copper-alloy pin shaft fragment (02E0441:2353:9) were found from F2353.	Radiometric	1380 ± 40 BP	cal. AD 620 - 690

Number	Beta Analytic Lab No.	Sample	Context	Method	¹⁴ C Result (uncal. BP)	¹⁴ C Result (cal. 2 sigma)
5	Beta-194064	Charcoal	F1046, (Trench 63, Field 22). Fill of oval-shaped pit F1495. Two round-headed iron nails (02E0441:1046:1-2) were found from F1046.	AMS	1140 ± 40 BP	cal. AD 790 - 990
6	Beta-194065	Charcoal	F2173, (Culvert 1 Enclosure Ditch F2174). One of the primary ditch fills. Honestones, an iron nodule (02E0441:2173:36), two amber beads (02E0441:2173:41-42) & a glass bead (02E0441:2173:43) were found from F2173.	AMS	1590 ± 40 BP	cal. AD 400 - 560
7	Beta-194066	Charcoal	F2370, (Culvert 1 Enclosure Ditch F2174). Fill of smithing hearth F2330 found within the ditch, sealing F2173. A pottery sherd (02E0441:2370:1), a re-used saddle quern (02E0441:2370:3), & a rubbing stone (02E0441:2370:4) were found from F2370.	Radiometric	1540 ± 40 BP	cal. AD 420 - 620
8	Beta-194067	Charcoal	F888, (Trench 87, Field 23). Fill of post-hole F1387, partially exposed at baulk. No finds.	Radiometric	1260 ± 50 BP	cal. AD 660 - 890
9	Beta-194068	Charcoal	F1115, (Trench 60h, Field 22). Primary fill of oval-shaped hearth / kiln F1465. Iron nails / rivets (02E0441:1115:1-16), & a honestone (02E0441:1115:13) were found from F1115.	Radiometric	1130 ± 60 BP	cal. AD 770 - 1020

Number	Beta Analytic Lab No.	Sample	Context	Method	¹⁴ C Result (uncal. BP)	¹⁴ C Result (cal. 2 sigma)
10	Beta-194069	Charcoal	F1466, (Trench 60, Field 22). Fill of possible ditch F1467, sealed by burnt stone deposit F1214. No finds.	Radiometric	1210 ± 60 BP	cal. AD 680 – 980
11	Beta-195833	Wood	Borehole No. 1 - Paleo-environmental coring in Wetland. Sample 4 taken at 2.25m below present ground level (Coxon & Farrell 2004).	AMS	3440 ± 40 BP	cal. BC 1880 - 1650
12	Beta-195834	Wood	Borehole No. 1 Paleo-environmental coring in Wetland. Sample 6 taken at 3.25m below present ground level (Coxon & Farrell 2004).	Radiometric	4300 ± 50 BP	cal. BC 3020 - 2870
13	Beta-197002	Alder root	Trench No. 1A in Wetland – Sample no. 5 from non-archaeological wood from the top of fen peat, 1.70m below present ground level (Murray 2004).	AMS	3810 ± 40 BP	cal. BC 2400 –2380 & cal. BC 2360 - 2140
14	Beta-197003	Alder	Trench No. 2 in Wetland – Sample 14 from non-archaeological wood from the top of moderately humified fen peat, 0.75m below present ground level (Murray 2004).	AMS	1230 ± 40 BP	cal. AD 690 - 890
15	Beta-197004	Alder root	Trench No. 2 in Wetland – Sample 16 from non-archaeological wood from within a linear deposit of cobble-sized stones, 1.30-1.40m below present ground level (Murray 2004).	Radiometric	2760 ± 100 BP	cal. BC 1190-790

Number	Beta Analytic Lab No.	Sample	Context	Method	¹⁴ C Result (uncal. BP)	¹⁴ C Result (cal. 2 sigma)
16	Beta-197005	Oak	Trench No. 3 in Wetland- Sample 19 archaeological wood forming part of an <i>in situ</i> post, 0.40m below present ground level. A further horizontally laid piece of oak (T # 2) abutted this post and a further oak post (T # 3) was situated <i>c.</i> 2m to the west (Murray 2004).	Radiometric	2110 ± 80 BP	cal. BC 380 - cal. AD 60

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
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Beta - 194063	1390 +/- 40 BP	-25.7 o/oo	380 +/- 40 BP
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SAMPLE : 02E441 F2353 Sample 397

ANALYSIS : Radiometric-Advance delivery

MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (charred material): acid/alkali/acid

2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal AD 620 to 690 (Cal BP 1330 to 1260)

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
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Beta - 194064	1160 +/- 40 BP	-26.2 o/oo	1140 +/- 40 BP
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SAMPLE : 02E441 F1046 Sample 152

ANALYSIS : AMS-Standard delivery

MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (charred material): acid/alkali/acid

2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal AD 790 to 990 (Cal BP 1160 to 960)

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
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Beta - 194065	1610 +/- 40 BP	-26.4 o/oo	1590 +/- 40 BP
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SAMPLE : 02E441 F2173 Sample 435

ANALYSIS : AMS-Standard delivery

MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (charred material): acid/alkali/acid

2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal AD 400 to 560 (Cal BP 1550 to 1390)

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
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Beta - 194066 1550 +/- 40 BP -25.6 o/oo 1540 +/- 40 BP

SAMPLE : 02E441 F2370 Sample 403

ANALYSIS : Radiometric-Standard delivery

MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (charred material): acid/alkali/acid

2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal AD 420 to 620 (Cal BP 1530 to 1330)

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
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Beta - 194067 1280 +/- 50 BP -26.4 o/oo 1260 +/- 50 BP

SAMPLE : 02E441 F888 Sample 100A

ANALYSIS : Radiometric-Standard delivery

MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (charred material): acid/alkali/acid

2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal AD 660 to 890 (Cal BP 1280 to 1060)

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
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Beta - 194068 1140 +/- 60 BP -25.3 o/oo 1130 +/- 60 BP

SAMPLE : 02E441 F1115 Sample 134

ANALYSIS : Radiometric-Standard delivery

MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (charred material): acid/alkali/acid

2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal AD 770 to 1020 (Cal BP 1180 to 930)

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
Beta - 194069	1230 +/- 60 BP	-26.0 o/oo	1210 +/- 60 BP
SAMPLE : 02E441 F1466 Sample 161			
ANALYSIS : Radiometric-Standard delivery			
MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (charred material): acid/alkali/acid			
2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal AD 680 to 980 (Cal BP 1270 to 970)			

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
Beta - 195833	3470 +/- 40 BP	-26.6 o/oo	3440 +/- 40 BP
SAMPLE : Bore Hole 1 Sample 4			
ANALYSIS : AMS-Standard delivery			
MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (wood): acid/alkali/acid			
2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal BC 1880 to 1650 (Cal BP 3830 to 3600)			

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
Beta - 195834	4340 +/- 50 BP	-27.3 o/oo	4300 +/- 50 BP
SAMPLE : Bore Hole 1 Sample 6			
ANALYSIS : Radiometric-Standard delivery			
MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (wood): acid/alkali/acid			
2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal BC 3020 to 2870 (Cal BP 4970 to 4820)			

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
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Beta - 197002	3820 +/- 40 BP	-25.6 o/oo	3810 +/- 40 BP
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SAMPLE : SAMPLE 5

ANALYSIS : AMS-Advance delivery

MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (wood cellulose): acid/alkali/acid/sodium chlorite

2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal BC 2400 to 2380 (Cal BP 4350 to 4330) NAD Cal BC 2360 to 2140 (Cal BP 4300 to 4090)

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
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Beta - 197003	1200 +/- 40 BP	-23.4 o/oo	1230 +/- 40 BP
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SAMPLE : SAMPLE 14

ANALYSIS : AMS-Advance delivery

MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (wood cellulose): acid/alkali/acid/sodium chlorite

2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal AD 690 to 890 (Cal BP 1260 to 1060)

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
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Beta - 197004	2770 +/- 100BP	-25.6 o/oo	2760 +/- 100 BP
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SAMPLE : SAMPLE 16

ANALYSIS : Radiometric-Priority delivery (with extended counting)

MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (wood cellulose): acid/alkali/acid/sodium chlorite

2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal BC 1190 to 790 (Cal BP 3140 to 2740)

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	¹³ C/ ¹² C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
Beta - 197005	2090 +/- 80 BP	-24.0 o/oo	2110 +/- 80 BP

SAMPLE : SAMPLE 19

ANALYSIS : Radiometric-Priority delivery (with extended counting)

MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (wood cellulose): acid/alkali/acid/sodium chlorite 2

SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal BC 380 to Cal AD 60 (Cal BP 2330 to 1890)

CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-26.7;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-183142**

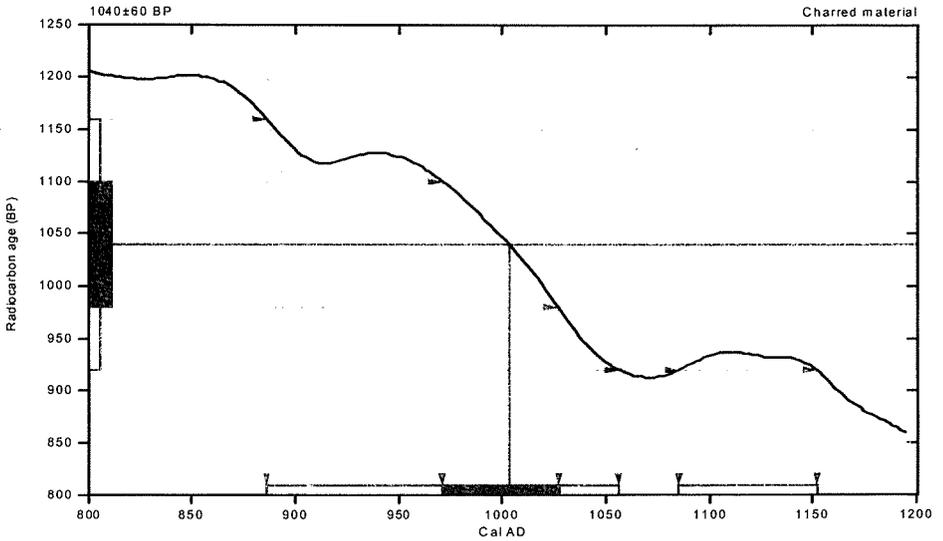
Conventional radiocarbon age: **1040±60 BP**

2 Sigma calibrated results: **Cal AD 885 to 1055 (Cal BP 1065 to 895) and
Cal AD 1085 to 1150 (Cal BP 865 to 800)**

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: **Cal AD 1005 (Cal BP 945)**

1 Sigma calibrated result: **Cal AD 970 to 1025 (Cal BP 980 to 925)**
(68% probability)



References:

Database used

Calibration Database

Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, Radiocarbon 40(3), pxii-xiii

INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Stuiver, M., et. al., 1998, Radiocarbon 40(3), p1041-1083

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, Radiocarbon 35(2), p317-322

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CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-26.3;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: Beta-183143

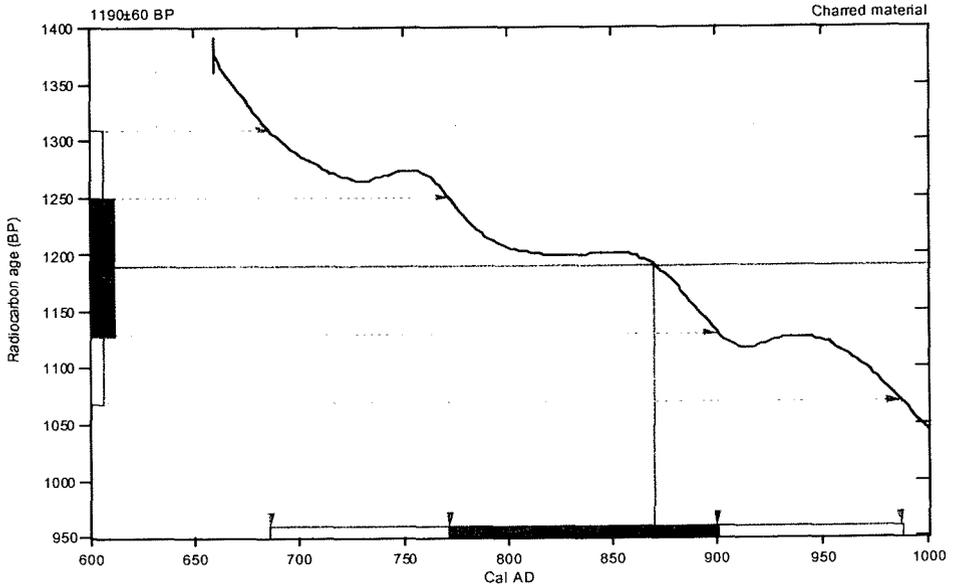
Conventional radiocarbon age: 1190±60 BP

2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 690 to 990 (Cal BP 1260 to 960)
(95% probability)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: Cal AD 870 (Cal BP 1080)

1 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 770 to 900 (Cal BP 1180 to 1050)
(68% probability)



References:

Database used

INTCAL98

Calibration Database

Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, Radiocarbon 40(3), pxi-xiii

INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Stuiver, M., et. al., 1998, Radiocarbon 40(3), p1041-1083

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, Radiocarbon 35(2), p317-322

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CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-27;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-194062**

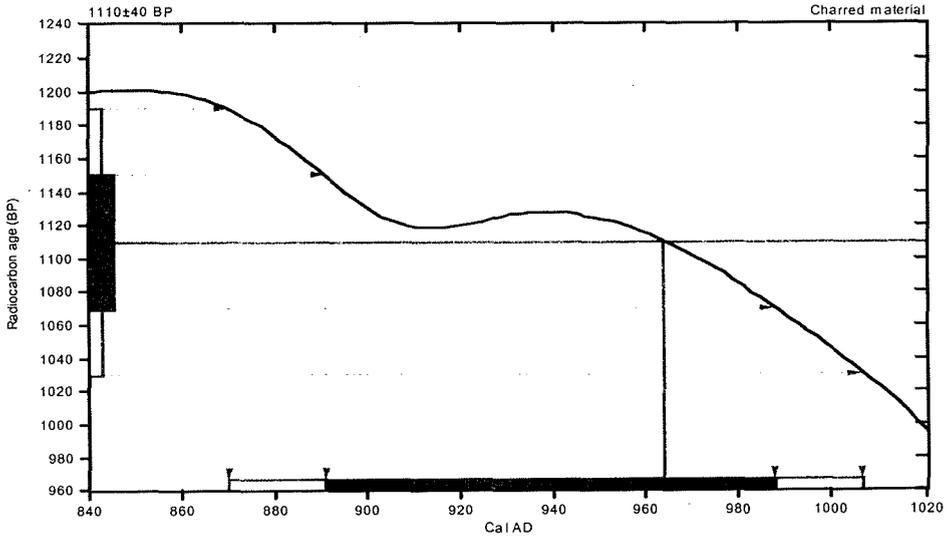
Conventional radiocarbon age: **1110±40 BP**

2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 870 to 1010 (Cal BP 1080 to 940)
(95% probability)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: **Cal AD 960 (Cal BP 990)**

1 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 890 to 990 (Cal BP 1060 to 960)
(68% probability)



References:

Database used

Incal98

Calibration Database

Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, Radiocarbon 40(3), pxii-xiii

INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Stuiver, M., et. al., 1998, Radiocarbon 40(3), p1 041-1 083

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, Radiocarbon 35(2), p317-322

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CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-25.7;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-194063**

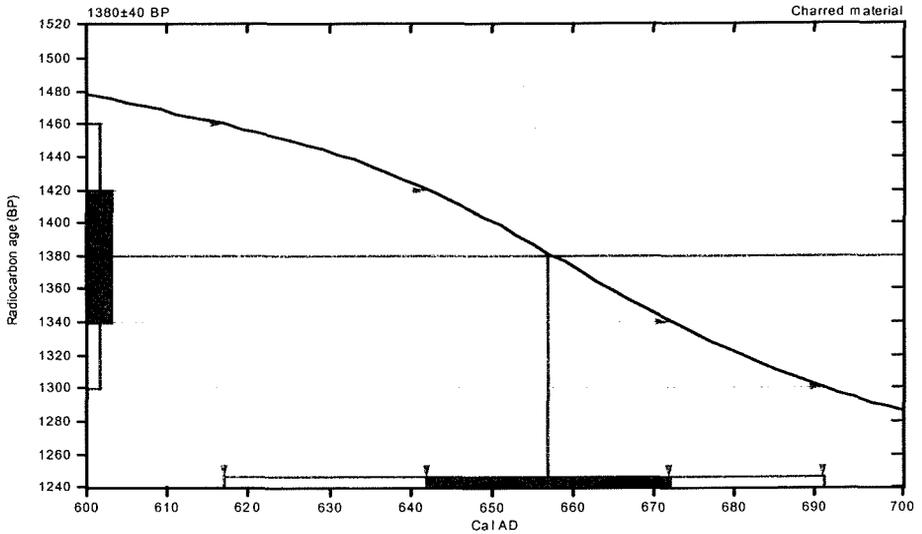
Conventional radiocarbon age: **1380±40 BP**

2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 620 to 690 (Cal BP 1330 to 1260)
(95% probability)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: Cal AD 660 (Cal BP 1290)

1 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 640 to 670 (Cal BP 1310 to 1280)
(68% probability)



References:

Database used

Intcal98

Calibration Database

Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, Radiocarbon 40(3), pxii-xiii

INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Stuiver, M., et. al., 1998, Radiocarbon 40(3), p1 041-1 083

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, Radiocarbon 35(2), p317-322

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Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
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Beta - 183142	1070 +/- 60 BP	-26.7 o/oo	1040 +/- 60 BP
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SAMPLE : 02E0441 F757 Sample 37

ANALYSIS : Radiometric-Priority delivery (with extended counting)

MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT: (charred material): acid/alkali/acid

2 SIGMA CALIBRATION: Cal AD 885 to 1055 (Cal BP 1065 to 895)

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
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Beta - 183143	1210 +/- 60 BP	-26.3 o/oo	1190 +/- 60 BP
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SAMPLE: 02E0441 F798 Sample 5

ANALYSIS: Radiometric-Priority delivery

MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT: (charred material): acid/alkali/acid

2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal AD 690 to 990 (Cal BP 1260 to 960)

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age	13C/12C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age(*)
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Beta - 194062	1140 +/- 40 BP	-27.0 o/oo	1110 +/- 40 BP
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SAMPLE : 02E441F1214S155

ANALYSIS : AMS-Advance delivery

MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (charred material): acid/alkali/acid

2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal AD 870 to 1010 (Cal BP 1080 to 940)

CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-26.2;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: Beta-194064

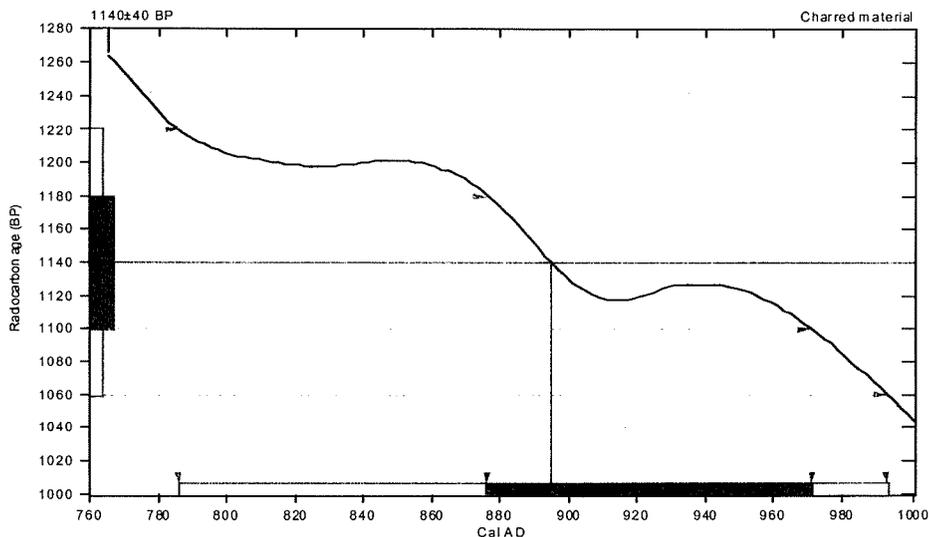
Conventional radiocarbon age: 1140±40 BP

2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 790 to 990 (Cal BP 1160 to 960)
(95% probability)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: Cal AD 900 (Cal BP 1060)

1 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 880 to 970 (Cal BP 1070 to 980)
(68% probability)



References:

- Database used*
- INTCAL98
- Calibration Database*
- Editorial Comment*
- Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), p.xii-xii
- INTCAL98 *Radiocarbon Age Calibration*
- Stuiver, M., et al., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), p1041-1083
- Mathematics*
- A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates*
- Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, *Radiocarbon* 35(2), p317-322

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CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-26.4;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-194065**

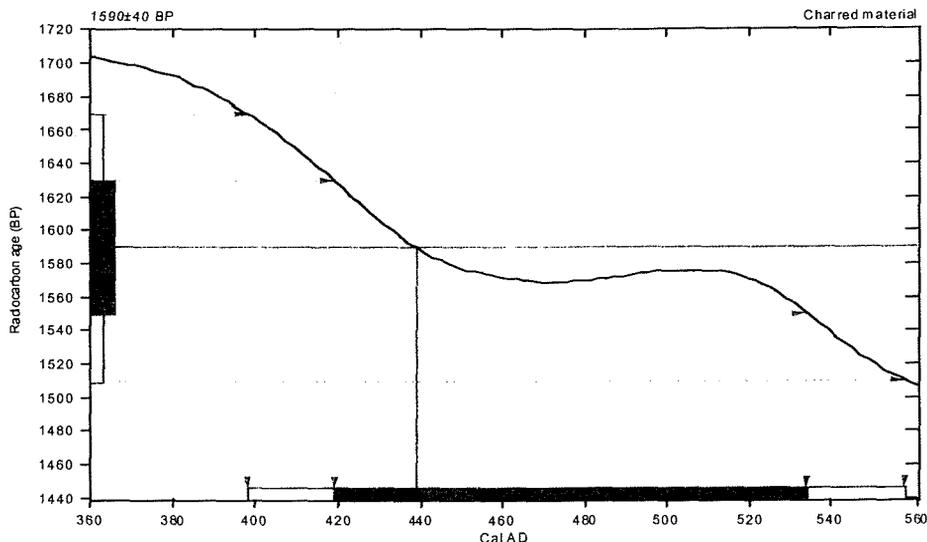
Conventional radiocarbon age: **1590±40 BP**

2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 400 to 560 (Cal BP 1550 to 1390)
(95% probability)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: **Cal AD 440 (Cal BP 1510)**

1 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 420 to 530 (Cal BP 1530 to 1420)
(68% probability)



References:

- Database used*
INTCAL98
- Calibration Database*
- Editorial Comment*
Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), p.xii-xiii
- INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration*
Stuiver, M., et. al., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), p1041-1083
- Mathematics*
A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates
Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, *Radiocarbon* 35(2), p317-322

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CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-25.6;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: Beta-194066

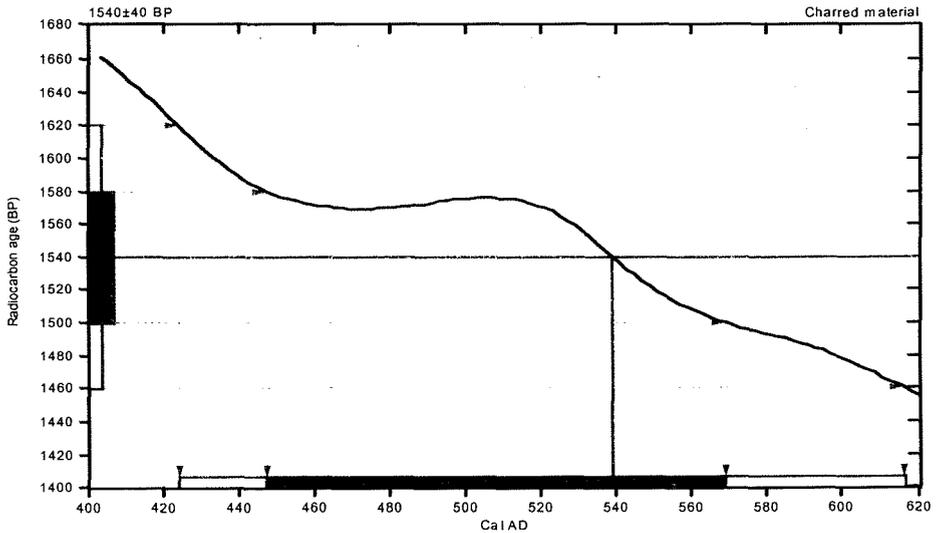
Conventional radiocarbon age: 1540±40 BP

2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 420 to 620 (Cal BP 1530 to 1330)
(95% probability)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: Cal AD 540 (Cal BP 1410)

1 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 450 to 570 (Cal BP 1500 to 1380)
(68% probability)



References:

Database used
Intcal98

Calibration Database
Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), pxi-xiii
INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Stuiver, M., et. al., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), p1041-1083

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, *Radiocarbon* 35(2), p317-322

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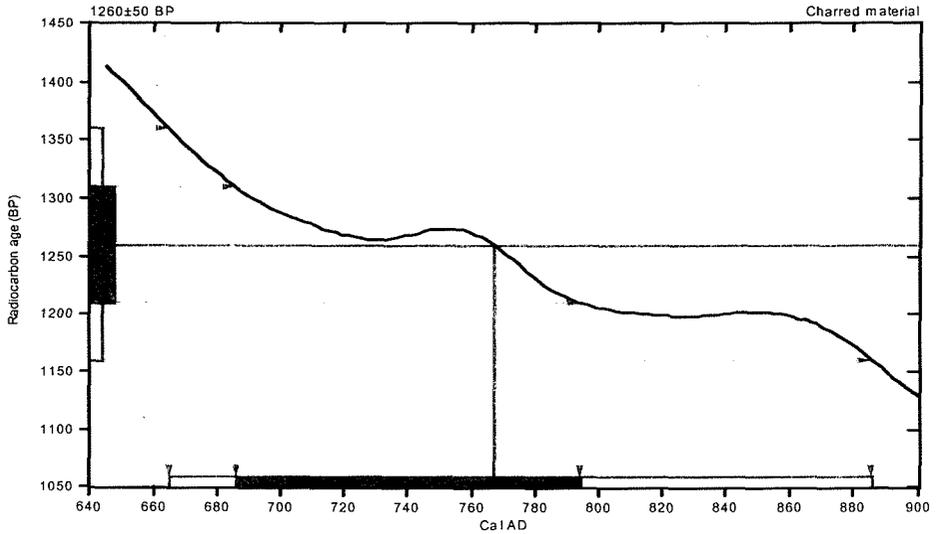
CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-26.4;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-194067**
Conventional radiocarbon age: **1260±50 BP**
2 Sigma calibrated result: **Cal AD 660 to 890 (Cal BP 1280 to 1060)**
(95% probability)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: **Cal AD 770 (Cal BP 1180)**
1 Sigma calibrated result: **Cal AD 690 to 790 (Cal BP 1260 to 1160)**
(68% probability)



References:

Database used

Intcal98

Calibration Database

Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), pxi-xiii

INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Stuiver, M., et. al., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), p1041-1083

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, *Radiocarbon* 35(2), p317-322

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CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-25.3;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-194068**

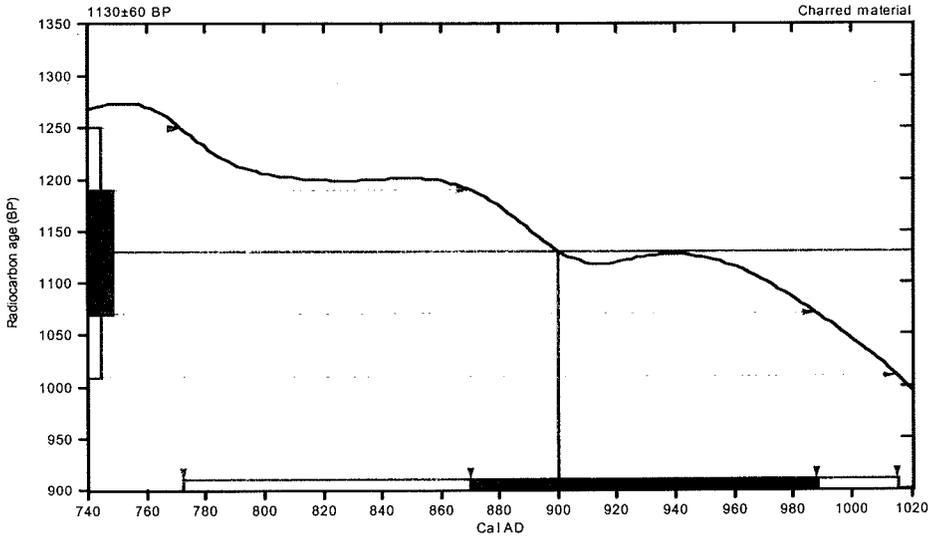
Conventional radiocarbon age: **1130±60 BP**

2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 770 to 1020 (Cal BP 1180 to 930)
(95% probability)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: **Cal AD 900 (Cal BP 1050)**

1 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 870 to 990 (Cal BP 1080 to 960)
(68% probability)



References:

Database used

Intcal98

Calibration Database

Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, Radiocarbon 40(3), pxii-xiii

INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Stuiver, M., et al., 1998, Radiocarbon 40(3), p1 041-1 083

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, Radiocarbon 35(2), p317-322

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CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-26;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-194069**

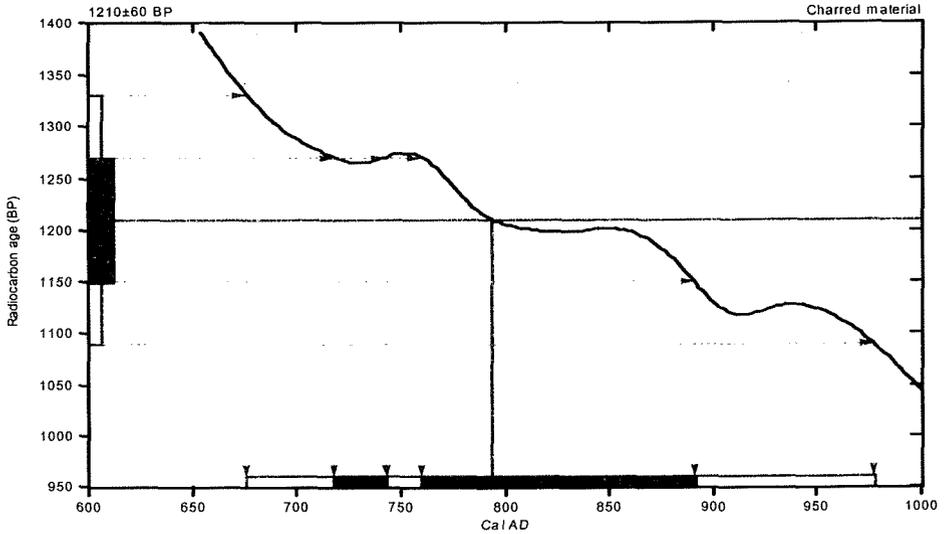
Conventional radiocarbon age: **1210±60 BP**

2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 680 to 980 (Cal BP 1270 to 970)
(95% probability)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: Cal AD 790 (Cal BP 1160)

1 Sigma calibrated results: Cal AD 720 to 740 (Cal BP 1230 to 1210) and
(68% probability) **Cal AD 760 to 890 (Cal BP 1190 to 1060)**



References:

Database used
Intcal98

Calibration Database

Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, Radiocarbon 40(3), pxi-xiii

INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Stuiver, M., et al., 1998, Radiocarbon 40(3), p1 041-1083

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, Radiocarbon 35(2), p317-322

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CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13:C12 = 26.6, $\ln 2$ multi = 1)

Laboratory number: Beta 195833

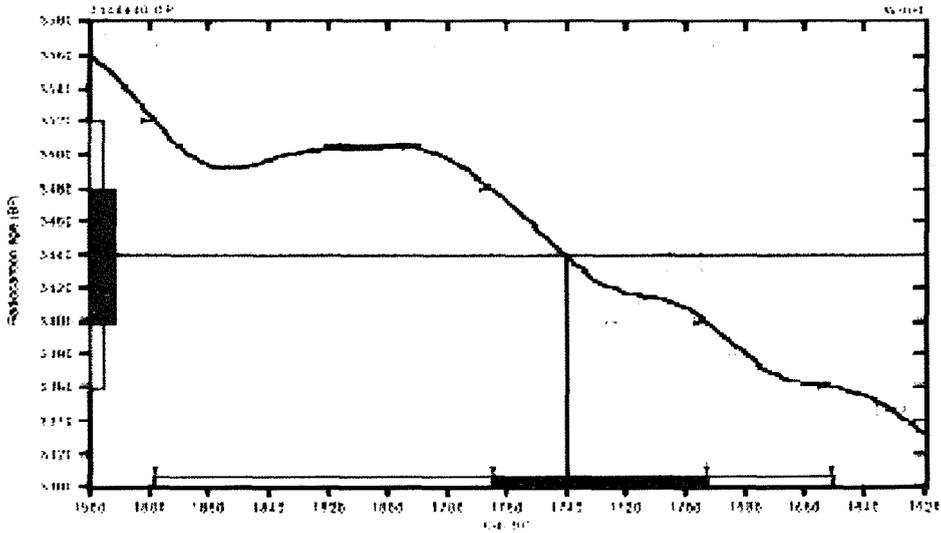
Conventional radiocarbon age: 3449 ± 40 BP

2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal BC 1880 to 1650 (Cal BP 3830 to 3600)
(95% probability)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: Cal BC 1740 (Cal BP 3690)

1 Sigma calibrated result: Cal BC 1760 to 1690 (Cal BP 3720 to 3640)
(68% probability)



References:

Database and
Report

Calibration Database
Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., *see* *see* Paper No. 1997, *Review and* *1000* *years*

18 11 1191 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Stuiver, M., *et al.*, 1995, *Radiocarbon* 40(4), 920-931, 1995

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C-14 Dates

Yamamoto, Y., *et al.*, 1993, *Radiocarbon* 35(1), 85-111

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CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12 = 27.3 ‰, $\delta_{13}C$ = 0 ‰)

Laboratory number: Beta 195834

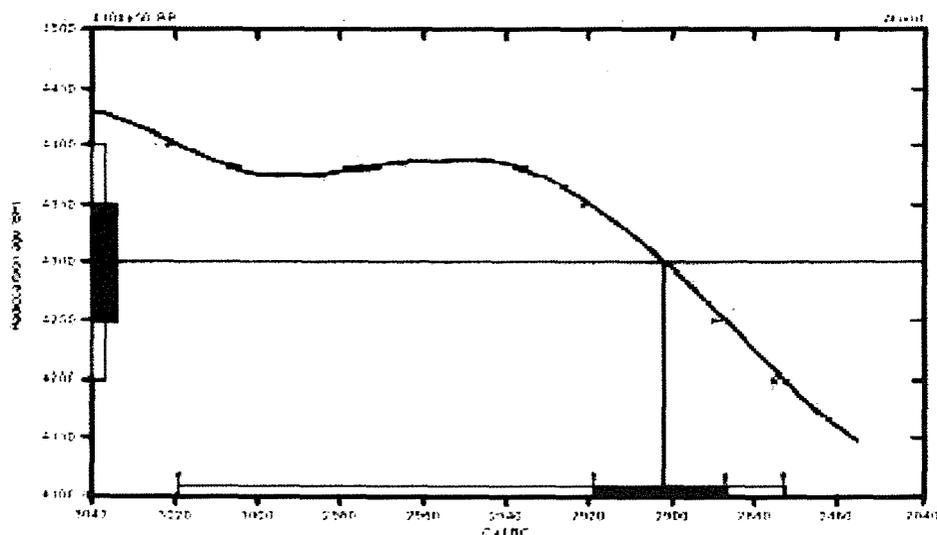
Conventional radiocarbon age: 4300-50 BP

2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal DC 3020 to 2870 (Cal BP 4970 to 4820)
(95% probability)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve Cal BC 2900 (Cal BP 4850)

1 Sigma calibrated result Cal BC 2920 to 2890 (Cal BP 4870 to 4840)
(68% probability)



References

- Database used*
Jaxx 1995
- Calibration Database*
Editorial Comment
Stuiver, M. *in: The Earth 2000*, Radiocarbon 40(2), p. 101-111
- 15 (C, 13) Radiocarbon Age Calibration*
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- Mathematics*
A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates
Telford, I. S., Fogel, J. C. 1993, *Radiocarbon* 45(2), p. 275-277

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CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12 =25.6 lab mult 1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-197002**

Conventional radiocarbon age: **3810±40 BP**

2 Sigma calibrated results: Cal BC 2400 to 2380 (Cal BP 4350 to 4330) and
Cal BC 2360 to 2140 (Cal BP 4300 to 4090)

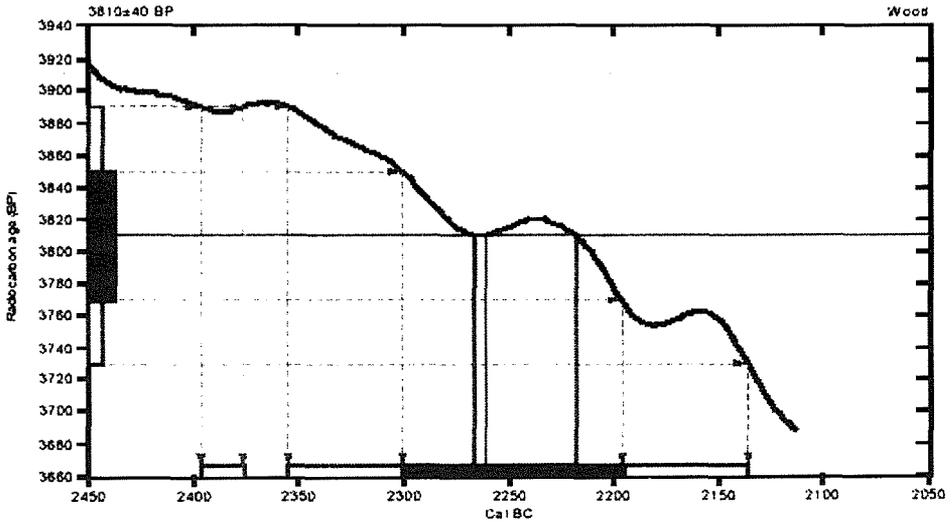
Intercept data

Intercepts of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve.

Cal BC 2270 (Cal BP 4220) and
Cal BC 2260 (Cal BP 4210) and
Cal BC 2220 (Cal BP 4170)

1 Sigma calibrated result:
(68% probability)

Cal BC 2300 to 2200 (Cal BP 4250 to 4150)



References

Database used

IntCal98

Calibration Database

Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, J., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(2), p.103.

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Stuiver, M., et al., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(2), p.1041-1082.

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1992, *Radiocarbon* 33(1), p.17-22.

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CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12 -23.4 lab mult 1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-197003**

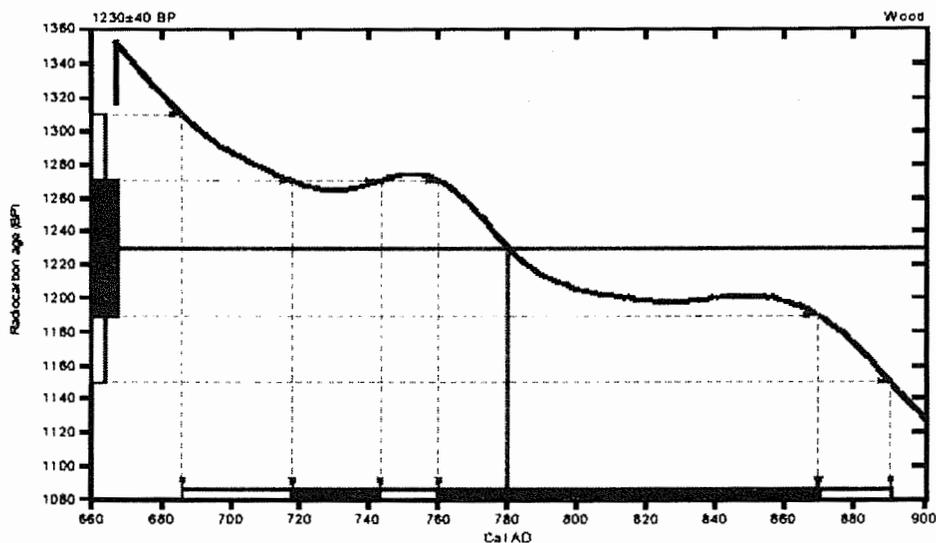
Conventional radiocarbon age: **1230±40 BP**

2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 690 to 890 (Cal BP 1260 to 1060)
(95% probability)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: Cal AD 780 (Cal BP 1170)

1 Sigma calibrated results: Cal AD 720 to 740 (Cal BP 1230 to 1210) and
(68% probability) Cal AD 760 to 870 (Cal BP 1190 to 1080)



References

Database used

IntCal98

Calibration Database

Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., van der Plight, H., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(2), p.101-102

INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Stuiver, M., et al., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(2), p.1041-1083

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Tulma, J. S., Vogel, J. C., 1992, *Radiocarbon* 32(2), p.117-122

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CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables C13/C12 -25.6 lab. mult 1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-197004**

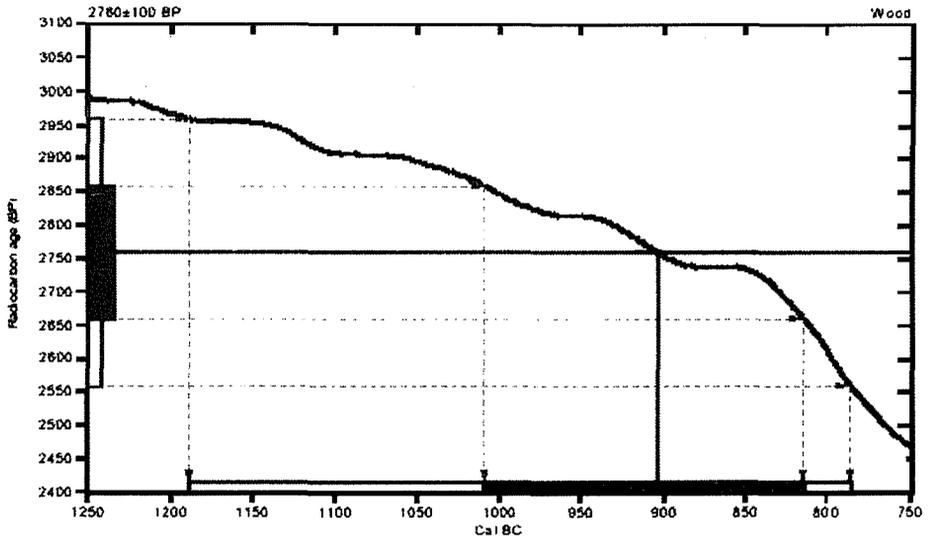
Conventional radiocarbon age: **2760±100 BP**

2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal BC 1190 to 790 (Cal BP 3140 to 2740)
(95% probability)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve. **Cal BC 900 (Cal BP 2850)**

1 Sigma calibrated result: Cal BC 1010 to 820 (Cal BP 2960 to 2760)
(68% probability)



References:

Database used

Intcal98

Calibration Database

Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., Van der Plicht, H., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(2), p.65-69

INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Stuiver, M., et al., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), p.1941-1983

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Fulma, J. S., Vogel, J. C., 1995, *Radiocarbon* 37(2), p.217-222

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CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12 -24, lab mult 1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-197005**

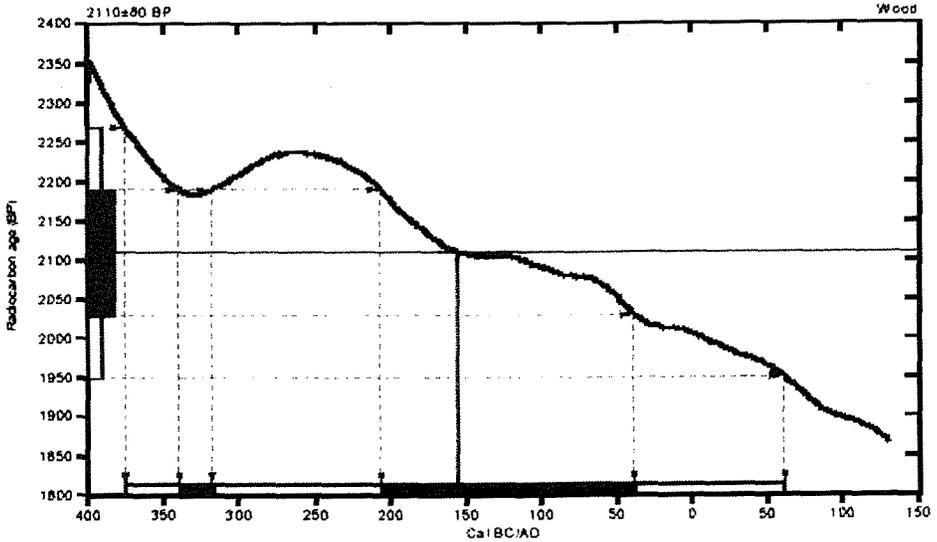
Conventional radiocarbon age: **2110±80 BP**

**2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal BC 380 to Cal AD 60 (Cal BP 2330 to 1890)
(95% probability)**

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: Cal BC 160 (Cal BP 2100)

**1 Sigma calibrated results: Cal BC 340 to 320 (Cal BP 2290 to 2270) and
(68% probability) Cal BC 210 to 40 (Cal BP 2160 to 1990)**



References:

Database used

intcal98

Calibration Database

Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., Van der Plicht, H., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 49(2), p.103-108

INFCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Stuiver, M., et al., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(2), p191-198

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A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Palma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1992, *Radiocarbon* 25(2), p117-122

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Malchus (c.1047-1135), Monk of Winchester and First Bishop of Waterford

Donal O'Connor

In December 1096, Malchus, an Irish monk at the Cathedral Priory of St. Swithun in Winchester, was consecrated bishop of Waterford by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury.

Shortly prior to his consecration Malchus was required by Anselm to take an oath promising canonical obedience to Anselm and his successors. This one sentence had important consequences: it made the small Norse-Irish see of Waterford a suffragan of Canterbury.

The text of the oath was:

I, Malchus, elect of the church of Waterford, and due to be consecrated by you, reverend father Anselm, archbishop of the holy church of Canterbury and bishop-primate of all Britain, do promise to observe canonical obedience in all things to you and your successors.¹

[Author's Translation]

The request for Malchus' ordination came in a letter from 'the clergy and people of Waterford' (*Wataferdia*) supported by King Murchertach Ua Briain and Bishop Dofnaldus (Domhnall) as well as other dignitaries, such as the king's brother Dermeth, and three other bishops besides Dofnaldus, whose signatures are appended to the letter. Unfortunately there were many other signatories whose names were omitted by Anselm's biographer, Eadmer. Not one signature survives of any member of the clergy and people of Waterford.

The letter, however, is of great importance, since it comes from the pen of Eadmer, a younger contemporary of Anselm's and a member of his household at Christ Church, Canterbury. After Anselm's death he published most of the material relating to Anselm's pontificate in his *Historia Novorum*. He also wrote the *Vita Anselmi* (Life of Anselm) which, incidentally throws light on Malchus' presence in St. Omer in 1097 (see footnote 7 below). The text of the letter is given in Appendix 1, of which the following is a translation:

1 A. Wilmart, 'La Tradition des Lettres de S. Anselme', in *Revue Bénédictine* xliii (1931), p. 51, quoting from a transcript among the Cotton MSS at Cleopatra E. i. ff. 16-37 in the British Museum: 'Ego Malchvs aecclesiae Uateferdiae electus, et a te reuerende pater Anselme sanctae Cantuariensis aecclesiae archiepiscope et totius Britanniae primas antistes consecrandus, tibi et omnibus successoribus tuis canonicam oboedientiam me per omnia seruaturum promitto'.

To Anselm, by the grace of God, Archbishop of the English, the clergy and people of the town of Waterford, together with King Murchertach and Bishop Dofnald, greetings in the Lord.

Holy father, the ignorance that causes blindness has long compelled us to endure great loss to our salvation, for we have chosen rather like slaves to withdraw our necks from the yoke of the Lord than like free people to be subject to the obedience of a pastor. But now we realise how profitable is the guidance of pastors since we call to mind similar situations in other affairs, for, without leadership, an army does not risk the dangers of war, nor a ship the dangers of the sea. How then can our little ships, committed to the billows of the world, do battle against the bold enemy without a pastor?

Therefore we and our King Murchertach and Bishop Dofnald and our duke Dermeth, the king's brother, have chosen this priest Malchus, a monk of Walchelin, bishop of Winchester, who is well known to us as of noble birth and character, steeped in apostolic and ecclesiastical learning, catholic in his faith, prudent, of even temper, chaste in his life, sober, humble, affable, merciful, well-lettered, hospitable, ruling his own household well, no neophyte but having good testimony in each of the orders. We beg that he may be consecrated as our bishop by your paternity, so that he may be able to rule over us and help us, and that we may be able to do battle for our salvation under his rule. But that you may know that all our wishes agree in this election, we have each of us, with ready will, confirmed this canonical decree by our signatures with our hands:

I, Murchertach, king of Ireland, have signed.

I, Duke Dermeth, the king's brother, have signed.

I, Bishop Dofnald, have signed.

I, Idunan, bishop of Meath, have signed.

I, Samuel, bishop of Dublin, have signed.

I, Ferdomnach, bishop of the men of Leinster, have signed.

The letter is fascinating for the two analogies it draws on, viz. from military and maritime conduct, both spheres of which the citizens of Waterford had ample experience: just as without the presence of the leader an army does not risk going to war, nor a ship the dangers of the sea, so a spiritual leader is needed in the battle for salvation.

The signatories are regarded as leaders of the reform of the Irish Church at that time. The first signatory is Murchertach Ua Briain, great grandson of Brian Boru. He styles himself 'King of Ireland', and his power was predominantly in the southern half of Ireland, including Dublin. He had petitioned Anselm, earlier in 1096, for the ordination of Samuel Ua h-Aingli, a Benedictine monk at St. Alban's, as bishop of the Norse-Irish see of Dublin. The King's brother Dermeth, is called 'our

duke' (*dux noster*) by the clergy and people of Waterford in the course of the letter, possibly indicating that Dermeth was ruling Waterford in his brother's name; and they call Murchertach 'our king'.

The next signatory is Bishop Dofnald, whose full name is Bishop Domhnall Ua h-Enna. He seems to have been a close associate of Murchertach in the work of reform. The next bishop to sign the letter was Idunan, whose Irish name was Maol Muire Ua Dunáin, who was bishop of Meath in 1096 and later, as papal legate, presided at the first synod of Cashel in 1101. At this synod, attended by the bishops (including, presumably, Malchus) of the southern half of Ireland only, Ua Dunáin is described as 'Noble bishop and chief senior of Ireland' by the Four Masters, who also note the guiding presence there of King Muirchertach Ua Briain.² He died in 1117. Thirdly there is Bishop Samuel of Dublin, recently consecrated by Anselm in Winchester, but whose later irregularities were the subject of a letter which Anselm asked Malchus to deliver to Samuel in Dublin, (see Appendix 4). Finally there is Ferdornach bishop of Leinster.

One may presume that all these important personages, and several others not mentioned, must have held a synod, probably in Waterford city, in 1096 at which they elected Malchus, whom they claim to have known well, and to have signed the letter to Anselm. The citizens did, however, write another letter around the same time to the bishop of Winchester. We know of this letter only from a letter which the same bishop wrote to Anselm, (see Appendix 2).

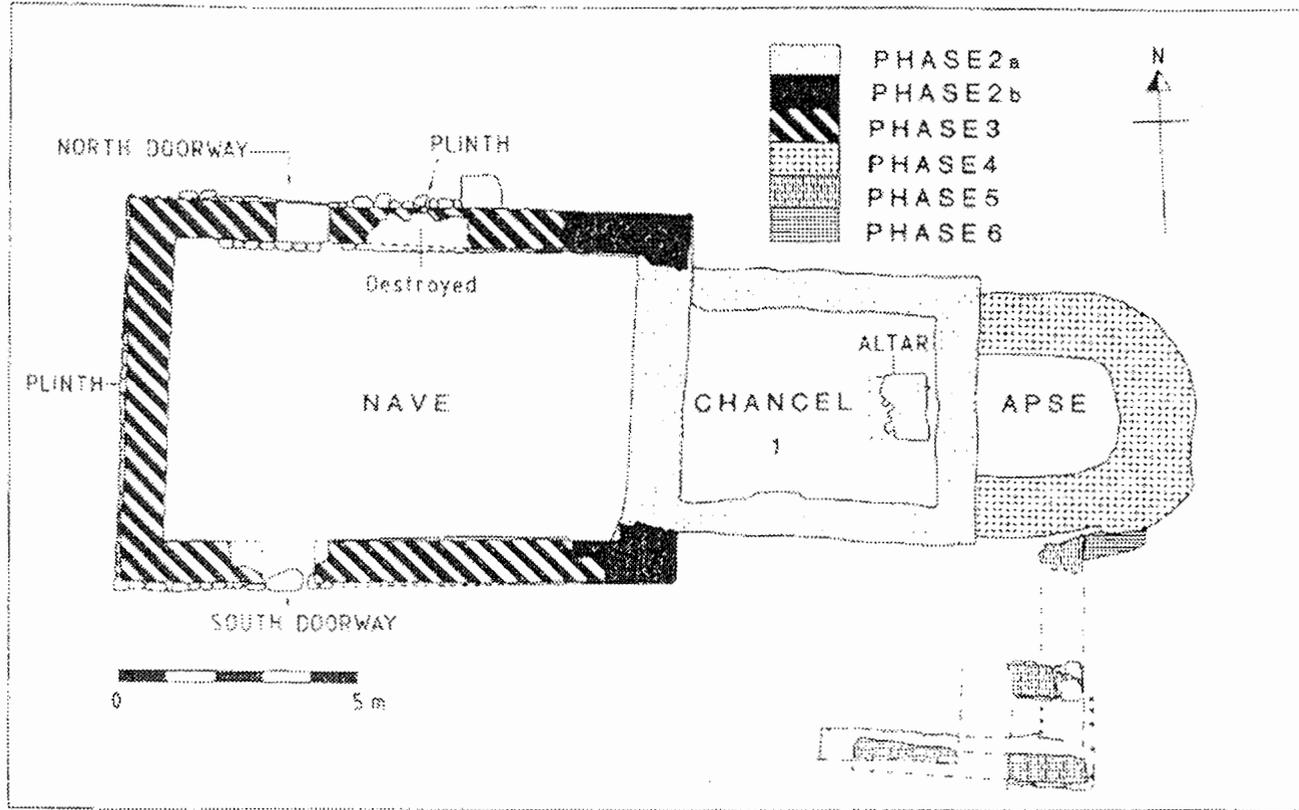
Bishop Walchelin's Letter Concerning Malchus (See Appendix 2)

Walchelin, bishop of Winchester (1070-1098), the author of this letter was a Norman prelate of great energy and daring. His greatest monument is the huge cathedral (162m. in length) which he began to build in 1079, and was completed in the 1120s. He first had to firm up the marshy ground on which he intended to build by sinking thousands of wooden stakes into the soil, a stratagem that sustained the edifice until 1905 when subsidence was so acute that the unstable foundations had to be underpinned with cement concrete. He also decided to demolish the venerable cathedral, Old Minister, which had been the principal church of Wessex, to make room for the new building. And in 1093 when the east arm with its apsidal presbytery had been completed he held a dedicatory ceremony there at which the Benedictine monks, who formed the cathedral priory, participated.³ Malchus, the future bishop of Waterford, was then a member of the community, and would have been both an observer and an active participant in the events taking place in Winchester, not only the large projects like the cathedral; the building of William the Conqueror's palace, the conqueror's *aula*, and the construction of the castle, but also the work going on in some of the fifty-seven parish churches in the medieval city of Winchester. Many of these had originally been lay foundations, built by wealthy families or pious sodalities or merchants,⁴ but sometime later became

2 John O'Donovan (ed.), *Annals of the Four Masters*, (Dublin, 1848-51), at 1101.

3 *Annales Monastici*, ii 33, quoted by M. J. Franklin (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta 8: Winchester 1070-1204*, (Oxford, 1978), p. xxxi.

4 Derek Keene, *Winchester Studies 2: Survey of Medieval Winchester*, (Oxford, 1985), p. 113.



St. Peter's Church, Waterford Twelfth-Century Stone Church.

Source: Maurice F. Hurley, Orla M.B. Scully with Sarah W.J. McCutcheon, *Late Viking Age and Medieval Waterford: Excavations 1986-1992*, (Waterford, 1997), p. 200.

cathedral property. One such church was the parish church of St. Peter's in Macellis (Fleshambles) which started as a lay foundation before 1012, but by 1052 had become the property of the cathedral, and, during Malchus' stay, was being extended, (see Appendix 5).

Such was the city in which a delegation from Ireland arrived in 1096, and Bishop Walchelin's letter is our only source of information on their mission, which was to seek the bishop's consent to the ordination of Malchus by Anselm in Canterbury. Walchelin's consent was necessary as Malchus, like the other monks of the cathedral priory, were subject to the bishop. The delegation, according to the bishop's letter (see Appendix 2) was sent by the Irish king and bishops and the clergy and people of Waterford. For the Waterford members of the delegation this visit was a unique occasion to meet the foremost bishop-builder in England, to see the work in progress on his massive cathedral as well as the various churches undergoing extensions in the city. And, of course, the visit gave them an opportunity to discuss with Malchus what his requirements would be when he would arrive back in Waterford.

And the big question: would Malchus want a cathedral of stone or would a timber structure suffice for immediate purposes? Perhaps Waterford had church buildings already which satisfied liturgical standards at that time.

While an apse at the east end of a church was common in England, the discovery of an apse at the east end of the twelfth-century stone church of St. Peter's in Waterford during the excavations 1986-1992 is a most unusual find in the context of either early Christian or medieval churches in Ireland.⁵ Could there have been the influence of Winchester on the Waterford visitors in 1096?

Comparisons between St. Peter's, Waterford and St. Mary's in Tanner Street as we have to keep naming it, as there were eight other churches in Winchester dedicated to St. Mary, have been recently made by Tadhg O'Keeffe who regards St. Mary's in Tanner Street as 'a morphological parallel for St. Peter's'.⁶

There is every likelihood that Bishop Walchelin raised such practical matters with the Irish delegation, and especially with its Waterford members because, as his letter shows, he was very protective of Malchus, 'my monk', even advising the gentle Anselm to treat Malchus with kindness, and, out of the friendship between Anselm and Walchelin, to hasten the ordination of Malchus so that he could return to Ireland with his compatriots who had their ships ready in Bristol. This letter is unique in the large epistolary file of Anselm for its directness and personal tone. All in all, the bishop of Winchester must have made quite an impression on the Irish visitors, and his good advice, which he would give without being asked, must have been beneficial to Malchus.

5 Ben Murtagh, 'The Architecture of St. Peter's Church', in Maurice F. Hurley and Orla M.B. Scully, *Late Viking & Medieval Waterford: Excavations 1986-92*, (Waterford, 1997), p. 233.

6 Tadhg O'Keeffe, *Romanesque Ireland: Architecture and Ideology in the Twelfth Century*, (Dublin, Four Court Publications, 2003), p. 103.

The Letter of Malchus to Anselm (See Appendix 3)

This short letter is the only document from the pen of Malchus to survive. It was written about two years after his return to Waterford following his episcopal ordination (28 December 1096) and it gives us Malchus' reaction to a very sad event that took place in October 1097 when Anselm, overwhelmed by the anger of King William Rufus against him personally, went into exile to France, where he was to remain until the king's death in 1100. Anselm's grief is depicted in his letter to Pope Urban II begging the pope to free him from the office of archbishop: 'free my soul from the bonds of so great a servitude'. Anselm's biographer, Eadmer tells us that Anselm's spirit was now tormented with bitter sorrow unlike the tranquillity of the spiritual life he enjoyed as a monk at the monastery of Bec.⁷

This is the context in which the opening paragraph of Malchus' letter must be interpreted. And the interpretation is not easy, as Malchus goes on to say he was 'partly glad' at the news of Anselm's departure from Canterbury. How could anyone be glad at such a sad event? Malchus doesn't offer words of sympathy, but still he does offer some consolation: Anselm can feel happy that his patient endurance of such overwhelming tribulation will serve as an inspiration to others should they find themselves in such situations.

The only sadness expressed in Malchus' letter is his regret that Anselm has moved farther away, and that letters to and from him will take longer to deliver.

In the next two paragraphs Malchus makes two requests, both for recent theological writings by Anselm. The first was for his 'book on the Holy Trinity' which Malchus heard was commended by Pope Urban II at a meeting with the representatives of the Greek Church which took place in Bari, in Southern Italy in October 1098, and at which Anselm was present and gave the main address at the invitation of the pope. This 'book' was really his long letter on the Incarnation of the Word (*De Incarnatione Verbi*) which Anselm had addressed to the pope. It was not a devotional *feverino* but a serious theological argument attempting to prove, against the unorthodox views of his contemporary Roscelin, that only the Word, and not the Father and Holy Spirit, was incarnate in Jesus Christ.⁸ The fact that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity was at the heart of Anselm's thesis might explain why Malchus refers to it as 'on the Holy Trinity'. And it was to the Holy Trinity that Malchus dedicated his cathedral.⁹

The second request was for the text of a sermon which Anselm gave at supper at the Benedictine monastery of St. Omer in Normandy on 11 November 1097, and, perhaps to our surprise, at which Malchus was present.¹⁰ Malchus may have asked for a copy of the sermon after the supper, but he doesn't seem to have got it, because he now writes to Anselm repeating his request 'I have asked' (*rogavi*).

7 R.W. Southern (ed.), *The Life of St. Anselm by Eadmer*, (Oxford, 1962), p. 69.

8 R.W. Souther (ed.), *St. Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape*, (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 175-8, 279.

9 Charles Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford*, (Dublin, 1746), p. 173, 'The Cathedral, commonly called Christ Church, dedicated to the Blessed Trinity, was at first founded by the Ostmen, and by Malchus, the first bishop of the see'.

10 R.W. Southern (ed.), *The Life of St. Anselm by Eadmer*, p. 101.

The date of Malchus' letter, judging by the date of the Council of Bari, must be towards the end of 1098 or shortly after that.

This letter affords us a glimpse of the bishop of Waterford still maintaining his erudite interest in contemporary theological controversies, and keeping in touch, both by letter and personal contact, with Anselm, the greatest theologian between St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas.

It also shows that he did not confine himself to Waterford, but travelled to St. Omer in Normandy in the autumn of 1097, the same year as he had arrived in Waterford as its bishop. We may suppose that he re-visited Winchester on occasion, such as the completion of the great nave of the cathedral in 1121 under Bishop William who succeeded Walchelin in 1100. The great nave emphasised the importance of liturgical processions within the cathedral instead of in the outdoors as previously in Winchester.¹¹ Malchus' thoughts about building his own cathedral are not known to us so far. On the liturgical calendar which Malchus may have used in Waterford see Appendix 6.

Anselm's letter to Malchus (See Appendix 4)

About four years after Malchus arrived as bishop in Waterford he received a letter from Anselm with unwelcome news. Anselm had heard of certain irregularities in Bishop Samuel's administration in his diocese in Dublin. Three such irregularities are listed in Anselm's letter to Malchus:

- a) Samuel's refusal to allow the return of the (Benedictine?) monks to the cathedral church in Dublin, even after they had made amends for their petty lapses;
- b) Samuel's causing his cross to be carried before him on his journeys - a privilege he was not entitled to;
- c) Samuel's giving away the goods of the church as if they were his property, whereas they belonged to the church of Dublin.

Along with this letter to Malchus (for the full text and translation of which see Appendix 4), Anselm sent a second letter, this one addressed to Samuel. Anselm asked Malchus 'friend and fellow bishop' to deliver this letter personally to Samuel and also to advise and counsel Samuel to correct these irregularities. This second letter spells out in more detail and with more circumspection the faults mentioned in the first letter. For example after saying 'I have heard that you have given away the books and the vestments and the other ornaments of the Dublin church' he adds: 'if this is true, I wonder why you should do this'.¹²

The whole Samuel affair was a great disappointment for Anselm, who had only four years previously ordained Samuel a bishop in a ceremony in 1096 at Winchester (at which Malchus would have been present, still a monk, a few months away from his own consecration). Anselm had even prepared Samuel for

11 M.J. Franklin (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta 8: Winchester 1070-1204*, p. xxxiv. William, like Malchus, had been a close friend of Anselm's, and is thought to have accompanied him in his second exile in 1103.

12 Ussher, Works IV, *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, Ep. xxxix.

the episcopal office by calling him to Canterbury sometime prior to his ordination so that Anselm could instruct him on his new duties.

The ecclesiastical goods which Samuel had given away had been donated to Samuel's uncle, Donatus, by Archbishop Lanfranc, Anselm's predecessor in Canterbury, when he ordained Donatus as bishop of the Norse-Irish city of Dublin.

Attention to liturgical books and vestments was an important part of the Roman Reform which Lanfranc and Anselm pushed forward in the eleventh century in England, and which Irish prelates did in the twelfth century. Thus Gille, bishop of Limerick from 1106 to 1138, writes that the bishop should use a staff, a ring, gloves and a mitre and a belt, a dalmatic and sandals. He ought also to have the Holy Scriptures and the Patristic Traditions so that he may be able to give a just decision in individual cases and a reasoned response to those who question him on any subject.¹³

Gille gives abundant details on the furnishing of churches, even listing the items which a priest needs for mass such as 'a basin and a towel for washing his hands', and 'a hollow tree-trunk or a hollow stone into which water used for washing the sacred [vessels] is poured away' (*truncus aut lapis cavus ubi aqua unde sacra lavantur effunditur*).¹⁴ Gille was the chief theoretician of the Irish Reform in the first two decades of the twelfth century. In 1111, at the Synod of Rathbreasail, Gille, now papal legate, together with Malchus, the newly appointed archbishop of Cashel, and Celsus, archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland, were the leaders of the Reform. But Bishop Samuel of Dublin did not participate, and when the Synod divided Ireland into two provinces - Armagh and Cashel - Dublin was not included in either. He had continued to defy Anselm's order, which Malchus had passed on to him, concerning his cross.¹⁵

Malchus in Lismore

Bernard's Error

With his arrival in Waterford, presumably in early 1097, Malchus moved into a world vastly different from the one he knew in Winchester. From now on he no longer enjoyed the companionship of the Benedictine community and the sanctification of the day with the Hours of the Divine Office, the library of Scriptural and Patristic texts, the illuminated manuscripts being produced in the scriptorium from

13 Gille, *De Statu Ecclesiae*, lines 269-74, *apud* J. Fleming, *Gille of Limerick (c.1075-1145): Architect of a Medieval Church*, (Dublin, 2001), p. 161.

14 *Ibid.*, line 235. This early twelfth-century reference to the *sacrarium* in the Irish context is of interest to the archaeologists interpreting the post-hole in the centre of the chancel of the twelfth-century St. Peter's Church, Waterford, and which Tadhg O'Keeffe in *Romanesque Ireland*, pp. 102-3, has suggested as a possible *sacrarium*. However, its position to the west of the altar rather than the south - the usual placing - makes one hesitate. The usual position is south of the altar. When a church has two *sacraria* one is at the south of the altar, the other at the north, as in St. Flannan's cathedral, Killaloe.

15 Aubrey Gwynn, *The Irish Church in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, (Dublin, 1992) p. 185.

which the large twelfth-century Winchester Bible would emerge, the theological discussions on contemporary writings such as those of Roscelin already mentioned.

A difficult transition for a monk close on fifty years of age to depart from the relative tranquillity of the monastery into the turmoil of political and commercial city life.

As bishop of Waterford Malchus could not avoid being involved in the political tensions of that city. Where did he and the citizens of Waterford stand in the bitter disputes between 'Murchertach our king' and his brother 'Dermeth our duke', the governor of Waterford, which had only been superficially resolved in 1093 when Diarmaid submitted to his brother, and they both solemnly pledged themselves to remain henceforth at peace with each other.¹⁶ But this gave way to hostilities again between the two, culminating in Murchertach being forced to resign his kingship for a short period in 1116, and eventually dying in 1119, a broken man whose patronage of the Reform had already ceased several years before.

And how faithfully did the Norse-Irish leadership in Waterford submit to the Ua Briain rule? The new bishop could easily find himself caught up in these conflicting interests.

A further difficulty for Malchus may have come from his obligation to correct the abuses which Anselm listed in his second letter to King Murchertach, such as those relating to laxity in the sexual mores of the people: 'that men exchange their wives for the wives of others as freely and publicly as a man might exchange his horse for a horse or any other property... and that they abandon their wives at will and without any cause'.¹⁷

It was in having to deal with contentious issues such as these that Malchus must have yearned for the tranquillity of the cloister, and, at the same time taken heart from the example of patient endurance which St. Anselm showed as he departed into exile to Normandy in 1097. As Malchus wrote to him on that occasion: 'you have set us an example of how one learns to be patient in whatever tribulation befalls one' (see Appendix 3). But whereas Anselm always had the consolation of the companionship of his Benedictine *confrères* even in his exile, Malchus did not.

In such circumstances one would not be surprised if Malchus felt drawn to the monastery of Lismore, with its long tradition of hospitality, its great school and library and its community of monks over whom Nial mac meic Aeducáin had been abbot since 1090, and later bishop until his death in 1113.¹⁸ Malchus would also meet him at the Synod of Rathbreasail in 1111.

It is against this background that we may try to interpret a strange statement by Bernard implying that Malchus' residence after he arrived in Ireland as bishop was in Lismore. Bernard says of Malchus: 'Hic erat quidem Hibernus, sed in Anglia conversatus fuerat in habitu et proposito monachali Wintoniensi monasterio, de quo assumptus est in episcopum in Lesmor civitatem Mumuniae',¹⁹ (He was of

16 Seán Mac Airt (ed.), *The Annals of Inisfallen*, (Dublin, 1951), at 1093.

17 Aubrey Gwynn, *The Irish Church in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, p. 108.

18 This is the bishop for whom the famous Lismore Crozier now in the National Museum of Ireland was made.

19 *Sancti Bernardi Opera, Vol. III, Tractatus et Opuscula*, (Rome, Editiones Cisternenses, 1963), pp. 316-17. Henceforth abbreviated as *Sancti Bernardi Opera*.

Irish nationality, but had lived in England in the habit and rule of a monk in the monastery of Winchester, from where he was promoted to be bishop in Lismore).²⁰ In a footnote to this text Lawlor simply says: 'An error for Waterford. It is explained by, and confirms, the suggestion that Malchus transferred the see (of Waterford) to Lismore'. But J. Lanigan is still impressed by the authority of St. Bernard and even speculates that there may have been two monks by the name of Malchus in Winchester, both ordained bishop, one for Lismore (as Bernard notes) and the other for Waterford. Lanigan concedes, however, that 'the matter is so obscure, that I cannot pretend to decide on it'.²¹

What was important to Bernard when he wrote the sentence quoted was to show that St. Malachy of Armagh had received the best available training in the monastic life from a master (Malchus) who had been formed, not in Ireland, of which Bernard had a low opinion, but in the Benedictine tradition in Winchester. St. Bernard wrote the *Life of Malachy* after Malachy's death in Clairvaux in 1148, availing himself of Malachy's companions for the biographical information. Malachy himself was only two years old when Malchus was ordained bishop. Malachy's real knowledge of Malchus began only in the 1120s in Lismore and his Irish companions, who were with him in 1148, may not have been able to supply Bernard with accurate information about Bishop Malchus' status when he arrived from Winchester fifty years previously.

There is the possibility that when Malchus returned to Ireland after his ordination as bishop of Waterford he took up residence, not only in Waterford city but also in the monastery of Lismore, from where, however, he ruled the diocese of Waterford. He would have found the monastery of Lismore more congenial spiritually, and he would not have impinged on the authority of the bishop of Lismore, where he was a respected guest.

We may find a parallel in what St. Malachy himself did later in 1124 when he was made bishop of Connor, but continued to reside in the monastery of Bangor, as St. Bernard tells us: Malachy, after he had rebuilt the monastery, 'stayed on there *even after he became a bishop*, since the place was close to the city'.²² Another reason for not residing in Connor may have been that the people there 'were Christians in name, but pagans in fact' and 'in the depth of barbarism and the few priests there lived idle lives among the laity'.²³ Bernard thus concedes that Bishop Malachy did not reside in his episcopal 'civitas', but seeks to avoid the implication that Malachy was an absentee bishop by adding that Bangor was 'close to the city'.²⁴ But it wasn't. It was twenty-five miles away on the southern shores of Belfast Lough. It was the site of the famous monastery founded by St. Comgall

20 H.J. Lawlor, *St. Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St. Malachy*, (London, 1920), p. 19 and footnote 3.

21 John Lanigan, *An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, Vol. IV, (Dublin, 1822), p. 75.

22 Robert T. Meyer, *St. Bernard of Clairvaux: The Life of Malachy*, (Kalamazoo, 1978), p. 33.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

24 Aubrey Gwynn, *The Irish Church*, p. 205, 'Bernard was apparently puzzled by this fact that his ideal bishop did not live in his episcopal city'.

(died 603), from which his disciple, St. Columbanus sailed out to evangelise Gaul, as St. Bernard relates. It was from this place 'truly sacred' that the young Bishop Malachy set out to evangelise the people of Connor who so badly needed religious guidance. By residing in the monastery of Bangor he cultivated the contemplative life; by journeying into the diocesan territory he lived the active life of a missionary bishop.

And again, in 1137, when Malachy resigned the primatial see of Armagh, he returned to his own diocese of Down, not to retire there but, as before, to be an active bishop. And once more he resided, not in his episcopal 'city' but in the monastery of Bangor as Lawlor relates.²⁵

With regard to Bernard's error, then, two lines of possible explanation emerge. One (following Lawlor) supposes that at some period in Malchus' long episcopate he became bishop of Lismore, but that Bernard erroneously concluded that this took place immediately after Malchus' arrival from Winchester.

The second possibility is that Malchus did indeed take up residence both in Lismore and in Waterford soon after his return from Winchester, not as bishop of Lismore but as bishop of Waterford, and that he did so for the spiritual reasons mentioned above. He may also have done so at the invitation of the monks of Lismore who wished to be guided by Malchus in the monastic reform movement then sweeping through England and of which Winchester Cathedral Priory was a prime example. Malchus, a Benedictine monk of many years, may even have introduced *The Rule of St. Benedict* to Lismore as part of his reform, (see Appendix 6).

In support of this hypothesis we may cite the following:

- a) the only references to Bishop Malchus residing anywhere locate him in the monastery in Lismore. Of these references four come from Bernard's *Life*, relating to the years 1097, 1121-4, 1127 and 1132 and one from the obituary in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, giving the Irish form of Malchus' name, Maelisa, which says: 1135 'Maelisa Ua hAinmire, bishop of Port-Láirge, and chief senior of the Irish, died after the eighty-eighth year of his age in Lismore'.²⁶ This shows that at the time of his death the bishop of Waterford had been residing in Lismore.
- b) even though no record exists of Malchus ever residing in Waterford we may presume that he was afforded an episcopal residence there and could have divided his time between Waterford and Lismore.

From all this it would seem that Bernard's error may conceal a substratum of historical fact, and while he erred in saying Malchus came from Winchester as bishop of Lismore, he may have been correct in saying that he resided in Lismore soon after his arrival in Ireland.

25 H. J. Lawlor, *St. Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St. Malachy*, p. 64, 'There is no indication in the *Life* that Malachy resided in Down, while there are several hints that Bangor was his headquarters and that he was abbot of the community there as long as he lived'.

26 John O'Donovan (ed.), *Annals of the Four Masters*, at 1135. The *Annals of Tigernach* and *Chronicon Scotorum* record his death in 1135, 'Mael Issa Hua hAinmire, esepoc Poirt Lairge, quievit'.

One may also suggest that St. Anselm never intended to limit Malchus' reform to the confines of the small city of Waterford and its immediate environs. Malchus in Lismore was at the ideal centre of spirituality to which the young Malchus and many others were attached

Malchus and Malachy in Lismore

The young Malachy came south from Armagh to study under Bishop Malchus in Lismore and to inform himself accurately regarding the ritual and the proper veneration of the sacraments (*circa cultum divinatorum et venerationem sacramentorum*) in conformity with the universal church,²⁷ thus avoiding the irregularities which Ireland's isolation from Rome had allowed to creep in. Malchus, with his Benedictine training in Winchester, was considered by Malachy's abbot and his bishop to be the ideal teacher, not only for his orthodoxy but also for his sanctity, of which two examples are set forth by Bernard. Malchus healed a mentally disturbed boy in the act of confirming him with holy unction. He also cured a deaf man who declared in amazement that when the saint (*sanctus*, namely Malchus) put his fingers this way and that into each of his ears, he felt as if two little pigs were coming out of them.²⁸

Bernard goes on to describe how widely respected Malchus was, that people came from as far away as Scotland to meet him and he was treated as a father by both the Scottish and Irish (*Scoti Hibernique*). Malchus' great contribution to the Irish church seems to have been in using his great gifts of wisdom and holiness for the benefit of the many people who came to Lismore for his counsel and blessing. Bernard names two such beneficiaries - Malachy from Armagh and King Cormac MacCarthy from Cashel.

Bernard describes Malachy's first visit (1122-1124) to Malchus. Malachy was sent by his abbot and his bishop and 'was received kindly by the old man' (*benigne a sene susceptus est*). Malchus' graciousness had already been noted in the letters of commendation written before his episcopal consecration (see Appendix 1 where he is described an 'affable, merciful and hospitable', and in Appendix 2 as 'adorned with good manner, erudite in letters'). In all this, we can see Malchus in the mould of St. Anselm, whom he addressed as 'father', and whose example of patience in times of tribulation Malchus sought to follow (see Malchus' letter in Appendix 3).

Bernard also relates how Malchus gave refuge and hospitality to King Cormac MacCarthy of Desmond when driven from his kingdom by his brother. This event took place in 1127, and was also the year when Malchus, by now bishop of Connor, had been ousted from his monastery in Bangor, and came south once more to his friend Malchus in Lismore. Malchus, always gracious and recognising Malachy no longer as a pupil but as a teacher, appointed him as counsellor to the king. The king opted to be treated as a poor penitent, observing such penitential

27 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, p. 316.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 317, 'cum sanctus utriusque auriculae hinc inde digitos immisisset, duos quasi porcellos ex ipsis senserit'. A delightful simile, and quite original, as only a pig-farmer would think of.

practices as having only bread, salt and water for his food - this in spite of Malchus' wish to treat him with royal honours. But his stay in Lismore was short; he was restored to his kingdom before the end of the year, and made a generous gift of two churches in Lismore. His most famous monument was, of course, Cormac's Chapel in Cashel, solemnly consecrated in 1134.

Malchus was still in active in Lismore in the year 1132 when he met Malachy for the third and last time. The events that brought about this meeting go back three years, to 1 April 1129, to be precise, when Cellach, primate of Ireland and archbishop of Armagh, died in Ardpatrick, Co. Limerick and, on his own wish, was buried in the tomb of the bishops in Lismore. When he realised he was dying he made a testament indicating he wanted Malachy to succeed him in Armagh. Such a wish, however, was not acceptable to Armagh, who, on the day after the burial, elected their own candidate, Muirchertach, as the new coarb of Patrick. So hostile was the opposition to Malachy that he refused to accede to Cellach's wish.

In the year 1132, however, Bishop Malchus and Bishop Gille of Limerick called an assembly of bishops and princes, as Bernard relates, and they eventually persuaded Malachy to agree. It took five more years before Malachy was finally accepted in Armagh. This was in 1137, a most important year in the history of the Irish church. By then, Malchus had died in Lismore and his obituary refers to him as bishop of Waterford, as we saw above. By 1137, then, Bishop Malchus' great contribution to the reform of the Irish church bore fruit when the two hundred years of the coarbship of Armagh being held by one family - the Clann Sinaich - was brought to an end by his former pupil, St. Malachy of Armagh. Malachy's fruitful apostolate continued until his death in Clairvaux in 1148. But this is not our concern, except to note that Bernard, who comforted Malachy as he was dying, decided, at the request of Abbot Congan of Inislounaght to write his *Life* in which much of our information on Malchus is contained, having been supplied to Bernard 'by the abbot and monks of Inislounaght'.²⁹

Malchus, Archbishop of Cashel

Of the bishops who signed the *acta* of the Synod of Rathbreasail (1111) only three are named in Keating's account which he copied from 'an old book of the church of Cluain Eidhneach Fionntain (Clonenagh) in Laoighis'.³⁰ But these three are of special importance, as their titles show:

Giolla, bishop of Limerick and coarb of Peter and his legate;
 Giolla Ceallaig, coarb of Patrick and primate of Ireland;
 Mael Iosa O hAinmire, archbishop of Cashel.

29 Colmcille O Conbhuidhe OCSO, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary*, (Dublin, 1999), p. 106. The author considers that the date of Inislounaght's foundation was 1148, and that Congan, an Irish monk, may have been in Clairvaux in 1140 as a novice with Bernard, who refers to this abbey as *Suriense*, since it was located just west of Clonmel on the banks of the river Suir.

30 P. Dineen (ed.), *Geoffrey Keating: Foras Feasa ar Éireann*, Vol. 3, (London, 1908), p. 298.

Malchus, the former bishop of Waterford, has now become the first archbishop of Cashel. When did this change occur? The answer, it seems, comes not from the Irish annals but from *St. Bernard's Life of Malachy*, where he tells how Malachy, after he had resigned from the primatial see of Armagh, and had been made bishop of Down, decided to go to Rome 'especially as the metropolitan see of Armagh lacked to use of the pallium'.³¹ Then Bernard also informs us that Bishop Malachy intended asking the pope to grant a second pallium for another metropolitan see which Cellach, many years previously had established anew: 'Erat et altera metropolitica sedes, quam de novo constituerat Celsus, primae tamen sedi, et illius archiepiscopo subdita, tamquam primati. Et huic quoque obtabat nihilominus pallium Malachias',³² (There was another metropolitan see which Celsus (Cellach) had established which was subject to the primatial see and to its archbishop as primate. Malachy desired that this see also should have the pallium).

Bernard does not name this second metropolitan see, but it must be Cashel, and the year in which Cellach established it, in the opinion of H.J. Lawlor, 1106 because 'only once, so far as we know, did Cellach enter Munster before 1110. It was in the year of his circuit'.³³ Only five years previously, at the first synod of Cashel, 1101,³⁴ King Muirchertach Ua Briain had made over the royal city of Cashel as a gift to the church and even then may have had in mind that he would promote Malchus of Waterford to be its first archbishop.

So, either in 1106 or shortly after that, Malchus, bishop of Waterford, was translated to the new see of Cashel, thereby ceasing to be bishop of Waterford, and also ceasing to be a suffragan of Canterbury. But in order that Waterford might not be deprived of pastoral care the two churches of Lismore and Waterford were joined under the diocesan name 'Lismore or Waterford',³⁵ so that the existing bishop of Lismore would also be bishop of Waterford during Malchus' tenure of the archbishopric of Cashel. How long was that tenure? It certainly did not last the duration of Malchus' long lifetime, because the *Annals of the Four Masters* at 1131 record the death of Maol Iosa Ua Foghladha, archbishop of Cashel, whereas Malchus was active in Lismore the following year when he and Bishop Gille encouraged Malachy, as we saw.

At the Synod of Rathbreasail the bishop of Lismore was Nial Mac-meic Aeducáin, whose name is inscribed on the famous Lismore crozier. He would, after Malchus' promotion to Cashel, have become the bishop of both Lismore and Waterford. He died in the year 1113, according to the *Annals of Inisfallen*.

31 Robert T. Meyer, *St. Bernard of Clairvaux: The Life of Malachy*, p. 49.

32 Migre, PL, 182, *Vita Malachias*, XV, 33.

33 H.J. Lawlor, *St. Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St. Malachy*, p. xxxvi.

34 John O Donovan (ed.), *Annals of the Four Masters*, at 1101, 'An assembly of Leath Mogha at Cashel around Muirchertach Ua Briain with nobles, laymen and clerics, around Ua Dunáin, noble bishop and chief senior of Ireland'. This bishop was the Maol Muire Ua Dunáin who signed the petition to Anselm (1096) to have Malchus ordained bishop of Waterford. This reforming synod may well have been attended by Malchus, but no record is known.

35 P. Dineen (ed.), *Geoffrey Keating: Foras Feasa ar Éireann*, Vol. 3, pp. 299, 305.

During all the years of Malchus' life no new bishop of Waterford is recorded, and at his death in 1135 he is still referred to as 'bishop of Waterford'. The next bishop of Waterford was Toistius³⁶ who was present at the Synod of Kells (1152), by which time Lismore also had its own bishop, Christian Ua Conairche, the papal legate for Ireland.

And so, around the year 1106 or 1107 Ireland had two archbishops, one in the southern half of Ireland and the other in the northern half. Both Cellach and Malchus, however, lacked the pallium, but this did not prevent them from pushing forward the reform.

The Primate and the Archbishop

The presence of Cellach, primate of Ireland was to give the Synod of Rathbreasail an all-Ireland dimension, which the first Synod of Cashel did not have. He was then a young man of thirty-one years. He was the grandson of a former abbot of Armagh and his family had held the abbey of Armagh for two hundred years, and he himself became abbot there in 1105, while still, it seems, a layman. But within a few weeks he took holy orders, and in 1106 he went on a circuit of Ulster, in his capacity as coarb of St. Patrick, and after that, but in the same year, he made a visitation (*cuairt*), for the first time, in Munster.

In that year also several events took place in Munster during Cellach's visitation which laid the foundation for the reform that was to take place five years later.

One event that came unexpectedly was the death of Cainchomhrac Ua Baeighill, 'noble bishop' (*uasal epscop*) of Armagh. He was succeeded by Cellach, who 'received the order of noble bishop (*gráda uasal epscoip*) of Armagh, at the request of the men of Ireland'.³⁷

Cellach, now holding the most prestigious ecclesiastical titles in Ireland, coarb of Patrick and 'uasal epscop' (noble bishop) of Armagh, moved fast to lay the foundations of the hierarchical structures of the Irish church: he established Cashel as the see of an archbishop, to which, soon afterwards Malchus was appointed as its first archbishop. This, in turn, paved the way for Cellach to be primate of Ireland, since no archbishop can be a primate unless he has at least one other archbishop subject to him.³⁸ And the text quoted above from St. Bernard makes very clear the precise relationship between the two, thus avoiding the confusion and embarrassment which Malchus had witnessed in 1093 when his own bishop, Walchelin, was interrupted in his address to the assembly of bishops gathered to hear the official announcement of Anselm's election to Canterbury. Eadmer gives the following account:

36 P. Dineen (ed.), *Geoffrey Keating: Foras Feasa ar Éireann*, Vol. 3, p. 316, 'Toistius easpog Phuirt Lairge'.

37 B. MacCarthy (ed.), *Annals of Ulster*, Vol. II, (Dublin, 1893), p. 77; John O Donovan (ed.), *Annals of the Four Masters*, at 1106.

38 Gille, *De Statu Ecclesiae*, 'ut plurimum obedient ei sex archiepiscopi, ut minimum unus', (At most six archbishops are subject to him [i.e. a primate] and at least one), *apud* J. Fleming, *Gille of Limerick (c.1075-1145): Architect of a Medieval Church*, p. 150.

While Walchelin was reading out the text, and at the very beginning, Thomas, archbishop of York, took serious offence at the reference to the see of Canterbury as 'the metropolitan of all Britain' (*totius Britanniae metropolitana*), and interrupted, saying 'If Canterbury is the metropolitan of all Britain, then York, which is known to be a metropolitan, is not a metropolitan at all'. And, at this, the assembly changed the text to *totius Britanniae primas* (primate of all Britain).³⁹

The same formula 'totius Britanniae primas' was used by Malchus himself when, prior to his episcopal ordination, he swore obedience to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all Britain.

Malchus was a friend of both Walchelin and Anselm and would also be well informed of the earlier dispute between the same Thomas, who was then archbishop-elect of York, and Archbishop Lanfranc, which took place in the royal chapel in Winchester in Easter 1172, again touching the relationship between the primate of Canterbury and the archbishop of York. When Thomas had come to Lanfranc for consecration the latter demanded as a pre-condition that Thomas swear an oath of obedience to him and his successors. At first Thomas refused, but later agreed. Walchelin was then bishop of Winchester and a witness to the dispute.

At the Synod of Rathbreasail, then, Malchus was almost certainly the best-informed prelate on the relationship between a primate and a metropolitan. His experience in Winchester taught him how controversial the whole matter could be. And his later experience of how Anselm, as primate, had dealt with the irregularities of his suffragan Samuel in Dublin directly involved Malchus himself (see Appendix 4). Finally, the division of Ireland into two metropolitans, one of which was primatial, followed the pattern that Malchus had lived under while in Winchester. And with Malchus present at the synod, there was little danger that the young Irish primate would claim to be 'the metropolitan of Ireland'.

We may conclude that Malchus made an important contribution to the reforming Synod of Rathbreasail, where the episcopal sees of Ireland were first established and their names and boundaries set forth.⁴⁰

39 M. Rule (ed.), *Eadmer: Historia Novorum*, (London, Rolls Series, 1884), p. 42, 'Si totius Britanniae metropolitana, ecclesia Eboracensis quae metropolitana esse scitur, metropolitana non est'.

40 P. Dineen (ed.), *Geoffrey Keating, Foras Feasa ar Éireann*, Vol. 3, pp. 298-300.

Appendix 1

Letter to Archbishop Anselm concerning Malchus, Bishop-Elect of Waterford (AD 1096)⁴¹

Text

Anselmo Dei gratia Anglorum archiepiscopo clerus et populus oppidi Wataferdiae, cum rege Murchertacho et episcopo Dofnaldo, salutem in Domino.

Pater sancte, caecitas ignorantiae nos diu detrimenta salutis nostrae sustinere coegit, quia magis elegimus serviliter Dominico jugo colla subtrahere quam liberaliter pastoralis obedientiae subesse. Nunc autem quantum proficiat pastorum cura cognoscimus, cum aliarum rerum similitudines ad mentem revocamus, quia sine regimine nec exercitus bellum nec navis marinum audet attemptare periculum. Navicula ergo nostra marimum audit attemptare periculum. Navicula ergo nostra mundanis dedita fluctibus sine pastore contra callidum hostem qua ratione pugnabit? Propterea nos et rex noster Murchertachus et episcopus Dofnaldus, et Dermeth dux noster, frater regis, eligimus hunc presbyterum Malchum Walchelini Wentoniensis episcopi monachum, nobis sufficientissime cognitum, natalibus et moribus nobilem, apostolica et ecclesiastica disciplina imbutum, fide catholicum, prudentem, moribus temperatum, vita castum, sobrium, humilem, affabilem, misericordem, litteratum, hospitem, suae domui bene praepositum, non neophytum, habentem testimonium bonum in gradibus singulis. Hunc nobis petimus a vestra paternitate ordinari pontificem, quatinus regulariter nobis praeesse valeat et prodesse, et nos sub ejus regimine salubriter Domino militare possimus. Ut autem omnium nostrum vota in hanc electionem convenire noscatis, huic decreto canonico promptissima voluntate singuli manibus propriis roborantes subscripsimus.

Ego Murchertachus rex Hiberniae subscripsi.

Ego Dermeth dux, frater Regis subscripsi.

Ego Dofnaldus episcopus subscripsi.

Ego Idunan episcopus Midiae subscripsi.

Ego Samuel Dublinensis episcopus subscripsi.

Ego Ferdornachus Laginiensium episcopus subscripsi.

Translation

To Anselm, by the grace of God Archbishop of the English, the clergy and people of the town of Waterford, together with King Murchertach and Bishop Dofnald, greetings in the Lord.

Holy father, the ignorance that causes blindness has long compelled us to endure great loss to our salvation, for we have chosen rather like slaves to withdraw our necks from the yoke of the Lord than like free people to be subject to the obedience of a pastor. But now we realise how profitable is the guidance of pastors since

41 M. Rule (ed.), *Eadmer: Historia Novorum*, pp. 76-77.

we call to mind similar situations in other affairs, for, without leadership, an army does not risk the dangers of war, nor a ship the dangers of the sea. How then can our little ships, committed to the billows of the world, do battle against the bold enemy without a pastor?

Therefore we and our King Murchertach and Bishop Dofnald and our duke Dermeth, the king's brother, have chosen this priest Malchus, a monk of Walchelin, bishop of Winchester, who is well known to us as of noble birth and character, steeped in apostolic and ecclesiastical learning, catholic in his faith, prudent, of even temper, chaste in his life, sober, humble, affable, merciful, well-lettered, hospitable, ruling his own household well, no neophyte but having good testimony in each of the orders. We beg that he may be consecrated as our bishop by your paternity, so that he may be able to rule over us and help us, and that we may be able to do battle for our salvation under his rule. But that you may know that all our wishes agree in this election, we have each of us, with ready will, confirmed this canonical decree by our signatures with our hands:

I, Murchertach, king of Ireland, have signed.

I, Duke Dermeth, the king's brother, have signed.

I, Bishop Dofnald, have signed.

I, Idunan, bishop of Meath, have signed.

I, Samuel, bishop of Dublin, have signed.

I, Ferdornach, bishop of the men of Leinster, have signed.

Appendix 2

Letter to Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury from the Bishop of Winchester concerning Malchus, monk of Winchester (AD 1096)⁴²

Text

Domno et patri ANSELMO gratia dei Cantuariensium archiepiscopo: Walchelin Uuintoniensis episcopus salutem.

Rex Hiberniae cum episcopis et clero et populo illius patriae, hunc meum monachum Malchum nomine, Hiberniensem quidem genere, ad pontificatus officium elegerunt constituendum in Uuaterferda, quadam eorum ciuitate. Suam etiam inde ad me legationem miserunt, ut et eorum electioni consentirem, et nobiscum consecrandum dirigerem. Ego autem cum consilio domni Godefridi nostrae ecclesiae prioris, et aliorum seniorum ac fratrum nostrorum assensum dedi eorum petitioni, sciens eundem fratrem bonis moribus ornatum, litteris admodum eruditum, prudentem, humilem, deum timentem, scientia catholicum, et in religione deuotum. Quapropter: eum direxi uestrae paternitati, ut in eo et de eo quod uestri est secundum ordinem aecclesiasticum perficiatis. Rogo uero ut nostri amoris gracia, et humanius eum quia noster est monachus tractetis, et quia illius homines patriae apud Brigestóu reditum eius praestolantur cum nauibus, ordinationem illius accelere-
retis. Valete,

42 F. S. Schmitt, *S. Anselmi Opera Omnia*, IV, (Edinburgh, 1949).

Translation

To the lord and father, Anselm, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury: Walchelin bishop of Winchester sends greetings.

The king of Ireland with the bishops and the clergy and the people of that land have elected this monk of mine, Malchus by name, of the Irish race, to be made bishop in Waterford their city. They have sent their delegation to me in order that I might consent to their choice and for him to be consecrated with us.

I, then, on the advice of Dom Godfrey,⁴³ the prior of our church, and our other seniors and brothers, have given my consent to their petition, knowing that the same brother is adorned with good manners, very erudite in letters, prudent, humble, fearing God, catholic in knowledge and devout in religion. And therefore I have directed him to your paternity that you complete in him and concerning him what is yours to do according to ecclesiastical rule.

Indeed, I request you, because of our love and because he is our monk, to treat him kindly, and to hasten his ordination because his compatriots at Bristol are making preparations for his return with ships. Farewell.

43 Godfrey (Godefridus) was born in Cambrai, and joined the Benedictine Priory of St. Swithun, Winchester, where he later became prior in 1081 / 82. He died in 1107, after being bed-ridden for many years, according to William of Malmesbury, who praises his piety and his hospitality and his literary gifts, especially his poetry. Godfrey is best remembered today for his epigrams, of which 238 are found in his *Epigrammatica*, nineteen in his *Epigrammatica Historica* (of which one is in praise of Walchelin), and nine in *Epigrammatica Miscellanea*. See Thomas Wright (ed.), *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, 2, (Rolls Series 59, 1872), pp. 103-162. See Appendix 6. 'Si donas tristis, et dona et praemia perdis' (if you give sadly, you lose both the gifts and the rewards) is a sample of his wise advice ('Epigram 164') on hospitality - a virtue for which he was lauded, and for which the Irish Letter also praised Malchus (see Appendix 1). There was great scope for hospitality, especially on July 2 and 15 every year, with the many pilgrims converging on Winchester.

Appendix 3

Letter to Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury from Malchus, Bishop of Waterford.⁴⁴

Text

Domno patri ANSELMO, archiepiscopo Dorobernensi, MALCHVS Uuaterferdensis episcopus: perpetuam remunerationem beneficiorum in nos et in omnes.

- 1 Karissime pater, partim fuimus tristes, partim laeti de discessione uestra. Laeti quidem, quia habuimus exemplum discendae patientiae quacumque tribulatione ingruente, tristes uero, quia uos interualla locorum in longinquum separauerunt, qui uoluimus esse propinqui uobis frequentia litterarum, licet absentes personae.
- 2) Multum ego uos rogo ut mittatis mihi et omnibus Hiberniensibus clericis illum librum a uobis compositum de sancta trinitate, et commendatum apostolica auctoritate sicut nuper audiui.
- 3) Rogauit idem uos ut componeretis dictamine illum sermonem incarnationis domini nostril Iesu Christi quem uos narrastis nobis in festiuitate beati Martini ad prandium, quando dimisistis epulas carnales, ut pasceretis nos spiritualibus aescis.

Valeat sanctitas uestra.

Translation

To the lord father Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, Malchus, bishop of Waterford: an everlasting reward to you for your kindness to us and to all.

- 1) Dearest father, we have been made sad on the one hand and happy on the other because of your departure. Happy indeed because you have set us an example of how one learns to be patient in whatever tribulation befalls one (*quacumque tribulatione ingruente*); sad, however, because a long distance has separated you from us who had wished to be near to you by frequent letters, even though you be absent in person.⁴⁵

44 A. Wilmart, 'La Tradition des Lettres de S. Anselme', in *Revue Bénédictine* xliii (1931), p. 52.

45 October / November 1097, Anselm's departure from England into exile (1097-1100) in Normandy.

- 2) I ask you urgently to send to me and to all the Irish clergy that book which you composed on the Holy Trinity, and which was commended by the Apostolic authority, as I have heard recently.⁴⁶
- 3) Also, I have asked you to compose by dictation that sermon on the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ which you preached to us at dinner on the Feast of Blessed Martin when you sent away the banquet of flesh meats in order to feed us with the foods of the Spirit.⁴⁷

May your Holiness prosper.

46 October 1098: At the Council of Bari in Italy, Pope Urban II uses Anselm's letter on the *Incarnation of the Word*. Anselm also spoke at the Council.

47 11 November 1097 the Feast of St. Martin of Tours, Malchus was present at the Benedictine monastery in St. Omer, when Anselm gave that sermon at supper.

Appendix 4

Letter from Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury to Malchus of Waterford.

Text

Anselmus archiepiscopus Cantuariae, amico et coepiscopo Malcho Waterfordiensi, salutem et benedictionem.

Audivi quod dominus Samuel episcopus Dublinensis monachos Ecclesiae Dublinae, aut nulla aut parva occasione eiecit, nec pro ulla satisfactione vult recipere; et quod contra consuetudinem crucem facit gestari ante se in itinere; et quod res Ecclesiae illius ab archiepiscopo Lanfranco datas velut proprias distribuit.

De his omnibus illi nostras mitto literas; et populo eiusdem civitatis mando ut praedictarum rerum distributionem prohibeat.

Et quoniam non invenio per quem literas nostras illi aptius mittam: precor fraternitatem vestram, quatenus eas illi per praesentiam vestram exhibeatis, ut eum charitative viva voce ut monitioni nostrae quam illi scribimus assensum praebeat, rogando et consulando moneatis.

Valete.

Translation

Letter from Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury to friend and fellow bishop Malchus of Waterford, health and blessing.

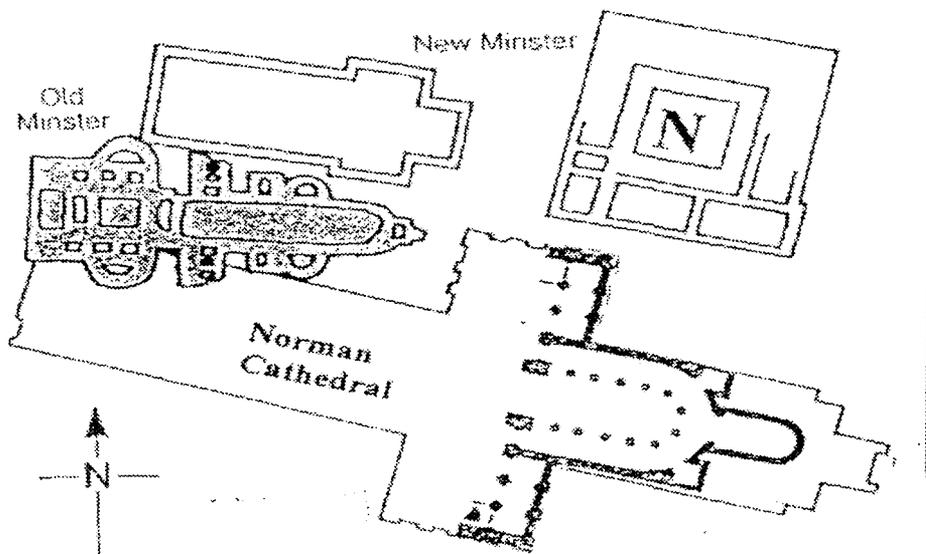
I have heard that Samuel, bishop of Dublin has ejected the monks from the Dublin Church on little or no pretext, and refuses to take them back, no matter what amends they make; and that contrary to custom, he causes his cross to be borne in front of him on his journeys; also that he gave away the goods of the church which Archbishop Lanfranc had donated, as if they were his own personal property.

Concerning all these matters I am sending to him our letter; and I am commanding the people of that city to prohibit the giving away of these aforementioned things.

And, since I do not find a more suitable person by whom I might send our letter to him, I entreat your fraternity that you would present it to him personally, and that you would admonish him, viva voce and in charity, by requesting and counselling, to give his assent to our admonition which we write to him.

Farewell.

Appendix 5 Winchester: Medieval Churches



The three pre-Conquest minsters: Old Minster (developed c.648 – 993); New Minster (founded 903); Nunnaminster, (not shown in drawing) founded by Ealhswith, the widow of Alfred the Great, c.901-3. Bishop Walchelin's Norman Cathedral (in outline) was begun in 1079 and completed in the early 1120s. On 8 April 1093, the dedication of east arm (in black) with its apsidal presbytery took place, with the Benedictine monks attending. Malchus was then a member of this community. On 15 July the relics of St. Swithun were translated from Old Minster into the Norman Cathedral. The Cathedral was 162m in length – the longest cathedral in Europe.

N: Domestic buildings of New Minster from c.964-1110.

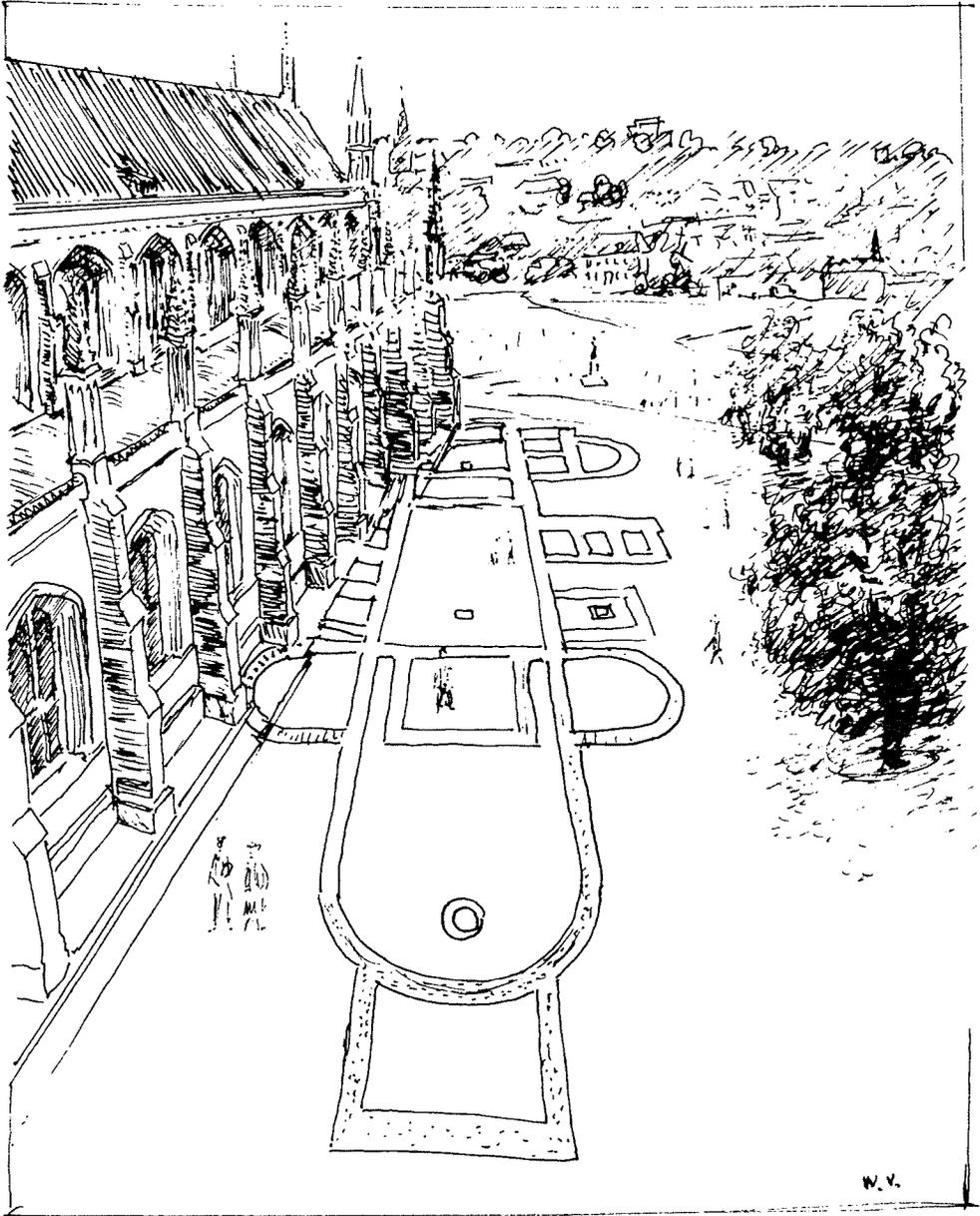
In the apse at the east end of Old Minster there was a stone-lined well in the centre of the floor, 1.7m deep below floor level, and 0.8m in diameter. A similar structure is in the crypt of the Norman Cathedral.⁴⁸

Could this structure throw light on what looks like a post hole in the centre of the chancel of St. Peter's Church, Waterford, as shown in Figure 16 in in Maurice F. Hurley and Orla M.B. Scully, *Late Viking & Medieval Waterford: Excavations 1986-92*? An exciting quest for the archaeologists.

48 Birthe Kjolbe-Biddle, 'Old Minster, St. Swithuns Day 1093', in John Crook (ed.), *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years* (Phillimore, Chichester) 1993, p.19. I thank the author for her private communication on the measurements of the well. I also thank Professor Martin Biddle for other archaeological details on Winchester.

Appendix 6

The Plan of Old Minster



Appendix 6 (continued)

The Plan of Old Minster

The plan of Old Minster in its final form before demolition is seen laid out in the grass beside the north side of the present cathedral (See Appendix 5). After Bishop Walchelin had dedicated the eastern arm and transepts of his cathedral (8 April 1093), and had the reliquary of St. Swithun translated from Old Minster into the new cathedral (15 July 1093), he ordered the demolition of Old Minster, so that the nave of new cathedral could be built over the old nave, as can be seen in the illustration above. In the eastern apse of Old Minster (near the bottom of the illustration) can be seen the site of the circular stone-lined well, referred to in Appendix 5.

Old Minster was among the finest buildings in England, 'embellished with coloured window glass, painted walls, elaborate stone relief, its floor partly laid with multicoloured relief tiles'.⁴⁹

Its destruction must have been lamented by many, not least by the Benedictine community who had graced it with their liturgy and art over a century.

⁴⁹ Birthe Kjolbye-Biddle, *ibid.*, p. 20.

Appendix 7

A Waterford Calendar

St. Swithun was bishop of Winchester 852-862. He was buried outside the west door of his cathedral, the Old Minster. On 15 July 971 Bishop Aethelwold (died 984), one of the great monastic reformers of the tenth century, had St. Swithun's relics translated into the cathedral where it soon became a great centre for pilgrims seeking healing of body and spirit. Aethelwold had earlier (in 964) expelled the secular canons from the cathedral and replaced them with Benedictine monks.

Walchelin however, who was not a monk, on arrival as bishop in Winchester became titular abbot of St. Swithun's Priory, and sought to replace the monks with secular canons, but was prevented by his metropolitan, Lanfranc.

Walchelin's most important decision was to demolish the venerable Old Minster, the Saxon cathedral with so much history behind it, and to replace it with the Norman cathedral. The building was begun in 1079, and by 8 April 1093 was sufficiently advanced to allow the dedication of the east arm to take place, with the monks participating in the ceremony. On 15 July there took place the solemn translation of St. Swithun's remains from the Old Minster to the new cathedral. So from then until Henry VIII had Swithun's shrine destroyed in 1538, Winchester cathedral with its shrine was the focal point of popular pilgrimage and of elaborate liturgical celebration.

While popular devotion could lead to excesses, the correct ordering of liturgical texts preserved orthodoxy. In this context we may look at the mass-sets for the feasts of St. Swithun in the *Missal of the New Minster* in Winchester in the period before 1100 and thus during Malchus' time. They are reproduced by Michael Lapidge in his monumental volume in the *Winchester Studies* series.⁵⁰ In the collect, the secret and the post-communion the prayer is addressed to God, not to the saint whose intercession is invoked, and the conclusion is always 'through our Lord' etc. The petition is generally for the spiritual and the eternal rather than for temporal favours, for example, the post communion for the feast of the deposition of St. Swithun (2 July):

O Lord God, may the reception of this holy sacrament sanctify us, and may the glorious intercession of St. Swithun cause us to join the assembly of the angels. Through...⁵¹

50 Ml. Lapidge, *The Cult of St. Swithun, Winchester Studies* 4: ii, (Oxford 2003) pp. 74ff.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

Of special interest is the unprinted liturgical calendar (early thirteenth century) now in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS CCCC 405) which combines Déise saints like 'Carthach of Les Mór' and 'Décán of Ard Mór' and 'Broccán of Déisi Muman' (8 July) with St. Swithun (whose two feasts 2 and 15 July are listed) as well as several Winchester saints, including Aethelwold (translation 10 September) and Birinus (translation 3 December). The calendar is bound up with materials relating to the Hospitallers of St. John in Waterford.

As M. Lapidge comments 'A simple explanation of how a Winchester calendar came to be available in Waterford and subsequently to be used for the Waterford Calendar in CCCC 405 is that Malchus brought it with him when he returned to Ireland from Winchester'.⁵²

Since Waterford had never had a pastor until Malchus arrived he needed to bring missals and calendars and lectionaries and many other liturgical requirements. And through Malchus' contacts with the monastery of Lismore, he would have been able to incorporate the Déise saints. And St. Bernard's praise of Malchus was primarily for his orthodoxy in matters of ritual and sacraments, as we saw above. That Malchus may have introduced the *Rule of St. Benedict* to Lismore has recently been suggested.⁵³

His reforming influence in Lismore was obviously welcomed by the monks there and was very probably encouraged by King Murchertach Ua Briain who had been Malchus' patron from 1096 on. And it was the fame of Malchus as a reforming bishop in Lismore that attracted the young Malachy of Armagh and many others to Lismore.

And Waterford city would have benefited from the school of Lismore where their candidates for the secular priesthood could receive part of their training. Also of great benefit to Waterford were the biblical, patristic and liturgical texts being produced in the monastic scriptorium, which could be forwarded to Waterford for their use there.

By the year 1204 the Benedictine Priory of the Hospital of St. John in Waterford, which was united to the Benedictine Priory at Bath, was founded and the Waterford Calendar in the Cambridge MS CCCC 405 may have been copied there. The bond with the Winchester saints was still being cherished a century after Malchus' arrival.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

53 Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB, 'The Benedictines in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland', in *The Irish Benedictines*, (Blackrock, Co. Dublin, Columba Press, 2005), p. 86.

New Evidence for the Form and Nature of Colbeck Gate: An Archaeological Excavation at Colbeck Street, Waterford.

Brian Mac Domhnaill

Introduction

In December 2004, under an extension to licence 04E1515, Headland Archaeology Ltd. carried out an archaeological excavation at Nos. 2-3 Colbeck Street, Waterford. The primary objective of the excavation was to preserve by record any archaeological remains threatened with destruction within the proposed development area. As the line of the city wall was known to traverse the site from east to west, the discovery of medieval structural remains was expected and in that event preservation *in situ* would be the preferred option. Although there was documentary evidence that Colbeck Gate was pulled down in 1737, (Dowling 1998: 58) it was not known to what extent the tower survived at foundation level or what lay directly beyond the tower to the south. It was therefore necessary to establish the full extent of the structural remains and to excavate by hand any associated stratigraphy.

Site Location

The site is located within the historic medieval city of Waterford at the corner of Colbeck Street and Spring Garden Alley with the gable end of Dobbyn & McCoy Solicitors property forming the northern boundary of the site (Figure 1). The site comprises two distinct areas each at a different elevation. The northern portion of the site inside of the city wall is the higher of the two and was previously occupied by the Victoria Hotel which included a basement level dug into the natural subsoil. The drop in elevation onto the lower portion of the site on the south side of the city wall has been accentuated by a cut into the natural slope to accommodate the construction of the city wall's foundations. The area opened during excavation extended from the southern limit of the site northwards to just 2m beyond the city wall incorporating some remains of the early nineteenth-century Victoria Hotel basements.

Historical Background

Waterford's first walled defences may have been built by the Vikings in the ninth century. Over the following centuries the city defences were extended in a number of stages to enclose the western suburbs, being finally completed by the sixteenth century (Murtagh 2004: 9-13)

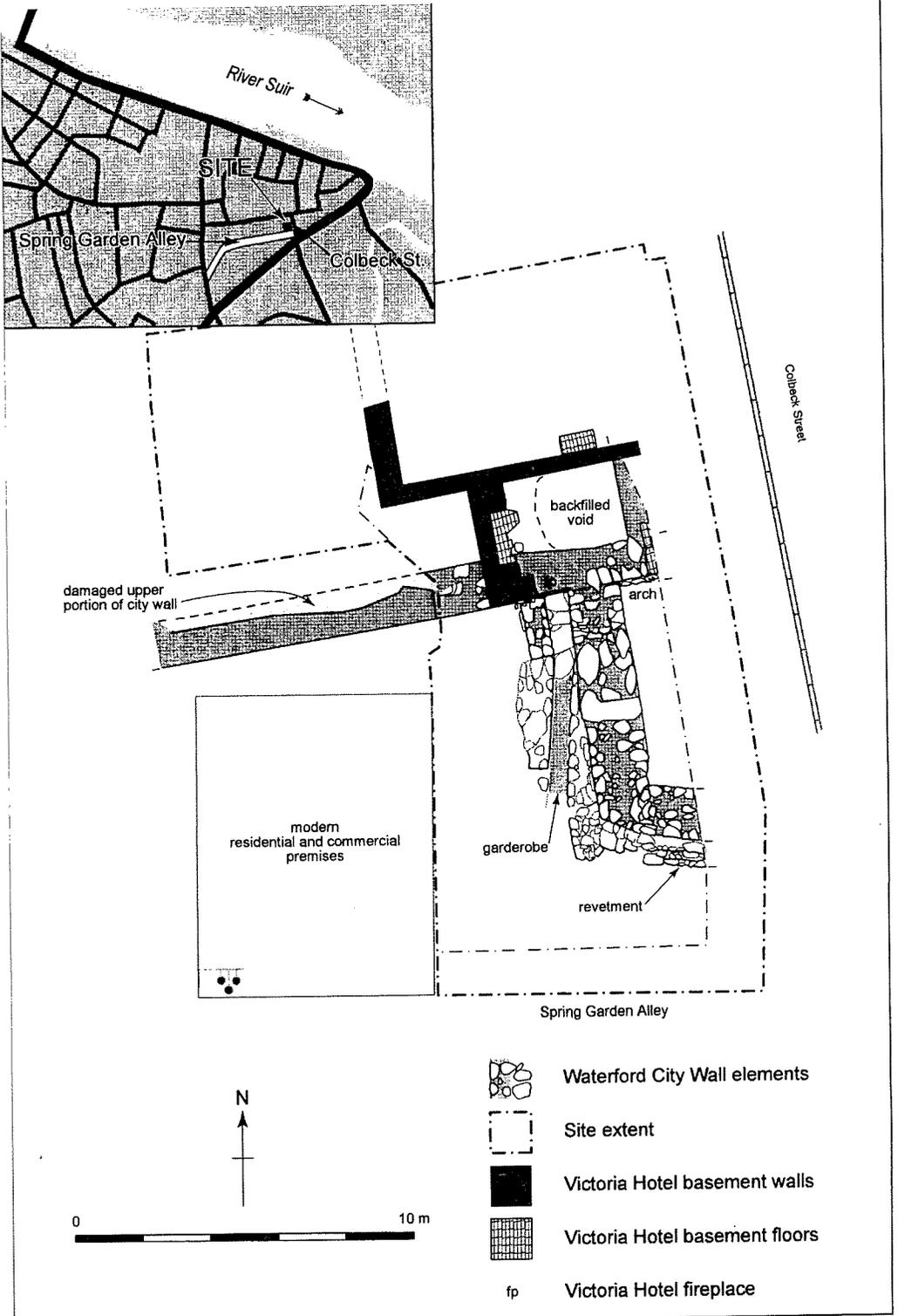


Figure 1 – Plan of the site.

Colbeck Gate, which was located just above the junction of Colbeck Street and Spring Garden Alley, primarily allowed access for the Augustinian canons through the city wall to St. Catherine's Priory located in the vicinity of the present day courthouse (Dowling 1998: 58). The gatehouse was used as a store, armoury and prison in the seventeenth century. One of the upper chambers of the gatehouse, known as the Chamber of Green Cloth, was used by the mayor as a place of detention, especially for corrupt officials and members of the Corporation (*ibid.*).

The word Colbeck is possibly a combination of the Norse words *Kaldr* and *Bekkr* meaning cold stream and pronounced *Kaldbek* (*ibid.*). This may tie in with the depiction of a stream/river terminating at Colbeck Gate in early maps and the similarly named Caldebec Mill located where the smaller waterway meets the river Suir. Alternatively this name of Norse origin may have first been used as a surname and later associated with the medieval gate. A Peter Coldebeck, who acted as a juror in a burglary trial in 1311, may have been a descendant of the family that brought the name to Waterford (*Ibid.*).

Archaeological Background

A 1996 excavation carried out just west of the Theatre Royal on Palace Lane by Orla Scully revealed a portion of the city wall, a later adjoining cellar with arched doorway through the city wall, a medieval stone lined cesspit and a revetting wall 2m south of the city wall. The revetting wall was built on the old marsh that existed prior to the infilling which created the Mall. This wall was interpreted as a possible landing stage or early quay wall (Scully 1996; 1997).

Excavation Results

On the 7th December 2004 an area was excavated from *c.* 2m north of the city wall to *c.* 1.5m north of the southern limit of the site. Baulks of *c.* 1m were also left to the east and west so as not to undermine the footpath and adjacent building. Modern floor and foundation materials were removed by machine.

Phase I: Medieval Structures

As expected, an east-west running foundation wall was found to be in line with the upstanding remains of the city wall (Figure 1). The lower courses of the south face exposed during excavation had been constructed with large sub-angular flat-faced masonry blocks (Plate 4) and built up on its northern side against the terrace with unshaped masonry and rubble. The brow of the hill had been terraced to accommodate the foundations. Colbeck Gate may have been added to the wall sometime later, as there was a break between the two, visible in places along the top of the exposed foundations.

A drain/garderober feature (Plate 5) on the west side of the north-south running foundation wall began at an almost vertical angle but became less steep as it continued south. It continued below the extent of excavation (in depth) probably to terminate flush with the revetting structure to the south. The excavated portion of the stone drain contained post-medieval fill including some pottery (Plate 6).

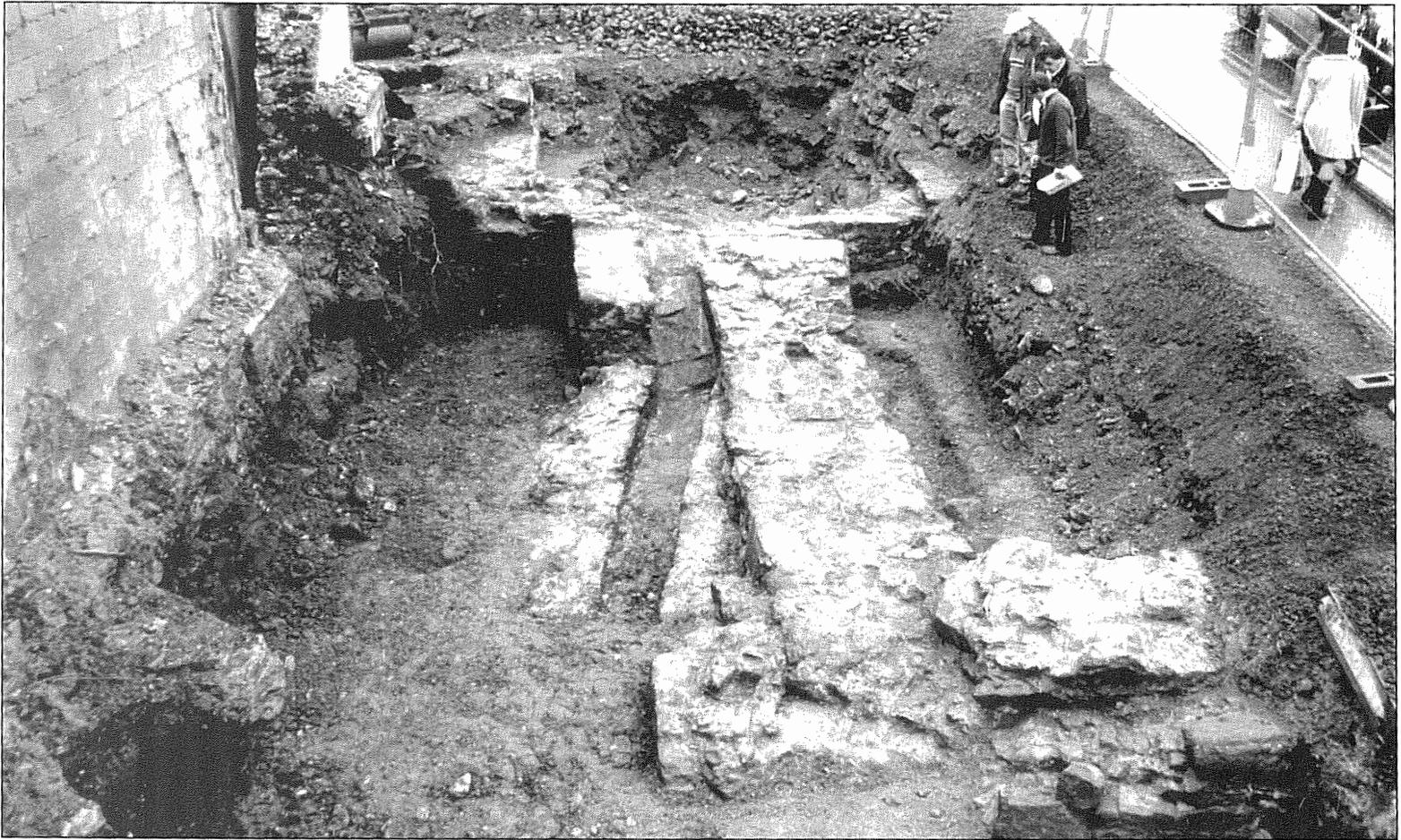


Plate 1 – Exposed foundations of Colbeck Gate.

A stone revetment was recorded *c.* 3.75m from Spring Garden Alley (Plate 2). The revetment had an east-west slightly battered face, which terminated at the yellow sub-soil at a depth of 3m from the surface of the modern rubble. The revetment was found to be very fragmented and stepped at its western end although well preserved at its base. From both the testing and excavation investigations there is evidence for at least 4m of revetment running east-west at the south end of the site with evidence for a continuation to the west incorporating the terminus of the garderobe. The course of masonry facing the marsh is of the same type as that on the south face of the city wall. The structure is best preserved in the south-east corner of the site where its upper courses were exposed during excavation. The top of the structure is 1.2m below the footpath on Colbeck Street, giving the revetment a maximum-recorded height of *c.* 4m from the subsoil. At the south-west corner of the tower's foundations the flat surface continued for approximately 5.5m to the north where the surface began to rise in irregular steps with the natural slope to the line of the city wall.

On the north side of the city wall parallel to and abutting Colbeck Street, there was similar material to the uncut masonry infill found on the north side of the wall. This feature has tentatively been interpreted as the remains of a north-south running structure, possibly a minor wall related to a structure on the north side of the city wall or additional remains of Colbeck Gate. The area immediately west of this had been badly disturbed by the excavation of a large void that, upon investigation, was found to be backfilled with modern rubble (Figure 1).

Phase II: Medieval Rubbish Deposits Accumulation

Accumulated on the subsoil and abutting the revetting structure was 1m of silty waterlogged organic material with inclusions of oyster shells and blackened animal bones (Plate 3). This layer has been interpreted as naturally accumulated river/marsh material with medieval rubbish inclusions. In the absence of dateable evidence from the deposit one must rely on its stratigraphic position above natural subsoil and abutting the revetting structure to roughly place the deposit in a period post-dating the construction of the gateway probably accumulating after the building of the stretch of wall from Reginald's Tower to St. Martin's Gate, incorporating the revetting structure and Colbeck Gate. The excavation of the basement for the Victoria Hotel would have completely destroyed any surviving archaeological deposits on the north side of the wall.

Phase III: Post-Medieval Structures and Deposits

Both the city wall and the foundations of Colbeck Gate had been substantially modified in later times to accommodate basements and levelling for later foundations. The later modifications are difficult to date and identify, but are distinguishable in places from the presence of white mortar, as opposed to yellow mortar that was present in the main fabric of the city wall and the lower courses of the foundations of Colbeck Gate. The beginnings of a possible archway was just visible above the limit of excavation (in depth) built into the foundations of the city wall

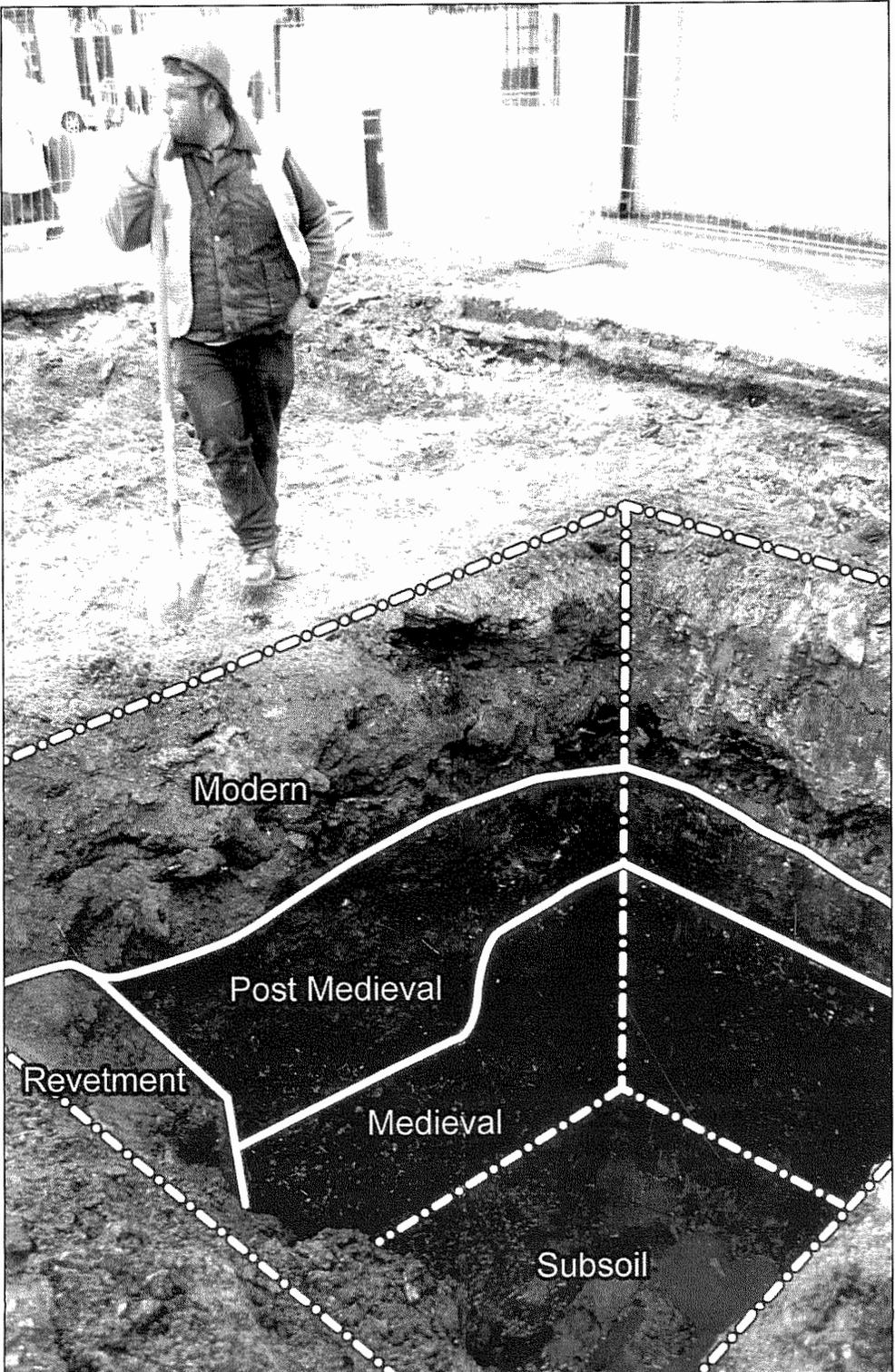


Plate 2 – Test trench at south end of the site.

in the north-west corner of the internal space of the tower (Plate 3). This feature appeared to be constructed using different materials to those of the medieval structures, most noticeably the use of slate fillers and white mortar.

Immediately overlying the medieval silt/rubbish described under Phase II was a series of post-medieval rubbish layers together making up a metre of material (Plate 3). One of these layers was comprised of dark greyish brown silty clay with frequent inclusions of shell and bone. This layer appeared to continue northwards into the drain/garderober (Plate 5), where some post-medieval pottery was recovered (Plate 6). The uppermost post-medieval layer had less bone and shell. A similar deposit was encountered within the interior of the structure at approximately the same depth.

Phase IV: Nineteenth Century

In addition to early structural remains identified during a building survey carried out by Headland Archaeology Ltd. there was some evidence for eighteenth or nineteenth century structures in the form of foundations exposed at the south and west fringes of the site. Modifications also appear to have been made to the medieval structures in order to utilise them as later foundation platforms and basement walls.

A sketch accompanying an 1807 lease of Lot 9, Cawdrons Gardens, a plot of ground between Spring Garden Alley and Colbeck Street (Waterford City Archives) depicts the south-east corner of the site with a square building in the top right corner of the sketch that is omitted from the lease in question (Plate 8). This south-east corner of this smaller square property corresponded with the kink in the general street façade on Colbeck Street that continued to be a feature until demolition in 2004. This same building was incorporated into the Victoria Hotel as a public house and may have included a cellar that reused the cellar space of the west tower of Colbeck Gate. The westernmost third of the leased area falls outside the scope of the proposed development and corresponds with the location of the present day pawnshop/apartment building. This newly constructed building fronting Spring Garden Alley appears to be resting on the foundations of an earlier building. The foundation wall could be seen in section following additional clearance for piling on the Colbeck Street site (Plate 1). The southern wall of the Victoria Hotel depicted on the 1871 Ordnance Survey Map is just on the southern side of the city wall and abuts or is contiguous with a smaller north-south running rectangular building to the south. The location of the east wall of this building corresponds with the aforementioned foundation wall exposed prior to piling.

The southern wall of the Victoria Hotel basement had been built to rest directly upon and incorporate part of the city wall (Figure 1). The remaining basement walls and floors lay directly on top of natural sub-soil (yellow gravel and clay). The back of a fireplace was found to be two thirds of the way into the thickness of the medieval wall and backing onto the drain/garderober feature full of post-medieval rubbish. A ceramic drain/sewage pipe rested on this deposit and ran south to a large ceramic sump at Spring Garden Alley.



Plate 3 – Top of arch leading from tower cellar space to north side of the city wall.



Plate 4 – Exposed masonry of city wall / Colbeck Gate.

Discussion

Between Reginald's Tower and St. Martin's Gate there is an almost continuous section of wall (c. 400m long) extending west behind the Mall past the Bishop's Palace and the back of properties on the north side of Spring Garden Alley, which itself may be on the outer edge of an accompanying fosse. The wall can be up to 4m high externally with perhaps a corresponding depth of stratigraphy on the north side (Moore 1999: 207). There is 7.5m of the upstanding remains of the city wall within the site. The top of the wall was approximately 1.5m from the ground level of the artificially created terraced back garden of the Victoria Hotel. Upon investigation the built-up material on the north side of the wall turned out to be imported garden soil with modern inclusions with no traces of undisturbed archaeology at the original ground level.

The excavation revealed substantial foundations of the city wall and the foundations of an associated structure. In the absence of cartographic or documentary evidence for any other contemporary structure, the associated structure can be interpreted as the foundations of the west tower of Colbeck Gate. Prior to demolition, the tower appears to have incorporated a garderobe on its west side leading into the marsh to the south and a revetted return running east-west possibly related to or contemporary with the revetment discovered at Palace Lane (Scully 1996).

There was no *in situ* stratigraphy between the medieval structures and the later structures demolished in 2004. The medieval foundations had been used as a solid base for the building of later successive structures with the exception of the southernmost 4m of the site which had no medieval structural remains (Plate 2). Construction of the Victoria Hotel, and possibly earlier buildings, resulted in the truncation of any medieval deposits north of the city wall.

If the internal space of the structure is interpreted as cellar space from the western gate tower of Colbeck Gate, then it appears to have been reused in later buildings due to the presence of modern backfill and an arch visible on the north wall (Plate 3). It was not possible to reach any medieval layers in the interior of the tower within the scope of the project. The arched doorway through the city wall may have a parallel with a discovery at Palace Lane (Scully 1996), where a similar opening through the city wall into a later adjoining cellar was recorded. The large backfilled space beneath the basement of the Victoria Hotel on the north side of the wall may have accommodated a stairway to the arched doorway into the cellar space of the west tower.

The former appearance of Colbeck Gate is open to interpretation based solely on cartographic evidence. Although prior to its demolition it is usually depicted as two round towers, the shape of the towers is also depicted as rectangular/square. This may be a difference of interpretation based on the shape at ground level and at first storey level. On the majority of the maps the two towers are not shown to be connected above street level although this is contradicted by documentary evidence which records this very feature causing an obstruction to traffic. It is reported that renovations were made to alleviate this problem. The presence of a structural feature bridging the two towers may explain why the gate is depicted as a single-towered structure on a 1673 map (Ryland 1824).



Plate 5 – Garderobe from north-east.

Although some of the maps depict half of the two towers of Colbeck Gate inside the city wall, there does not appear to be an identical structure on the north side of the wall. A northern half of the western tower may have existed at a higher elevation and been removed leaving no trace. The north-south running structure on the north side of the city wall and the large backfilled cavity may be all that remains. Alternatively the tower may have been built primarily outside the city wall as the remains would suggest.

On a 1685 map by military engineer Thomas Philips the gate is depicted as two round towers on either side of a gap in the city wall that corresponds with the beginning of present day Colbeck Street. Importantly the western tower is shown to abut a river on its south side. The river appears to terminate just before the gate where it goes under ground or filters into the marshland between it and the lagoon to the south-east. This depiction is copied or repeated in 1705 by Henry Pratt. The south-west corner of the structure exposed during the excavation is likely to correspond with the south-west corner of the west tower of Colbeck Gate. A riverine/marsh deposit abutting the revetting feature could be related to the river and marsh depicted on the aforementioned maps. This would suggest that the waterfront/revetment discovered at Colbeck Street did have direct contact with tidal water or marsh. A structure interpreted as a waterfront/revetment was discovered by Orla Scully during an excavation in 1996 at Palace Lane, Waterford (Scully, *pers. comm.*) and was of the same orientation to that at Colbeck Street. Alternatively the deposit abutting the revetting structure may be the waterlogged fill of a fosse or ditch (Moore 1999: 207), the opposite side of which would occur outside the site, possibly under Spring Garden Alley.

Conclusion

The archaeological excavations at Colbeck Street revealed a series of rubbish layers that immediately post-dated the construction of the section of wall from Reginald's Tower to St. Martin's Gate. These have been recorded to a depth below the foundation level of the proposed development at the site. The archaeological structural elements discovered during the excavation have been covered with teram and a protective layer of gravel prior to further work on the site.

Chronology

- 1224** Gate of Coldebec mentioned in an inquisition (Dowling 1998: 58).
- 1311** Peter Coldebek acted as a juror in a burglary trial (*Ibid.*).
- 1495** Landing detachment of the Pretender Perkin Warbeck defeated by a sortie from the garrison at Colbeck Gate (Power 1933).
- 1669** Thomas Christmas Esq. charged one shilling 'for building part of his house on the city wall' (Pender 1964: 286).
- 1670** Sheriff Osbourne ordered to go to the Chamber of Green Cloth at Colbeck Castle to remain until he had given in his accounts as Sheriff Receiver (Dowling 1998: 58).
- 1673** Colbeck Gate depicted on map as a single two storey cylindrical tower with battlements (Ryland 1824).



Plate 6 – Post-medieval pottery recovered from the garderobe feature.



Plate 7 – Retting wall from south-west.

- 1680** Corporation meeting: ordered that city ammunition to be stored in the garret at Colbeck Castle (Dowling 1998: 58).
- 1685** Military engineer Thomas Phillips depicts Colbeck gate as two round towers on either side of a gap in the city wall that corresponds with the beginning of present day Colbeck Street.
- 1690** Council Books of Corporation mention a petition 'complaining of the Irish tenants in Colebeck castle' (Pender 1964: 286).
- 1696** 'Captain Thomas Christmas, giving liberty to alter the front of Colebecks castle to make the passage higher, etc, shall have six shillings per annum remitted unto him' (*Ibid.*).
- 1697** Archway enlarged and heightened to accommodate traffic (*ibid.*).
- 1699** More arms deposited (*ibid.*).
- 1705** A copy of 1685 Philips Map by Henry Pratt shows no changes to Colbeck Gate.
- 1737** Corporation found Castle to be 'in a very ruinous condition, and a great nuisance to that part of the City, and that it will be very necessary to have said Castle pulled down, the entrance into the city being too narrow, besides several persons have been in danger of being hurt under the same, by the narrowness of the passage'. The castle was pulled down in the same year along with adjoining buildings owned by Thomas Christmas and the cost of the demolition defrayed by the sale of stone and timber (Dowling 1998: 58).
- 1745** Map possibly drafted by William Doyle shows two city wall termini abutting either side of Colbeck Street but the towers are absent (Smith 1746).
- 1790** Corporation decided to pave street (Dowling 1998: 58).
- 1811** Charles Kean (celebrated actor) born on Colbeck Street (*Ibid.*).
- 1812** William Vincent Wallace celebrated musician and composer of the opera *Maritina* born in the same house (*Ibid.*).
- 1832** Street widened to the west (*Ibid.*).
- 1834** P. Leahy of Clonmel Map shows the lower half of the site occupied by a large building with an internal division. A terrace of narrower buildings continues north up the street.
- 1841** Colbeck Street described as narrow macadamised street, with the houses generally two-storey, and some three-storey, all slated and occupied generally by private families (*Ibid.*).
- 1850** Colbeck Street property owners: Edward Roberts, Ann O'Dwyer, Edward N. Barrow, Richard Cooke, Richard French, Michael Dobbyn, George Sprigg and Dr Joseph Mackesy MD (Griffiths 1850).
- 1871** Ordnance Survey Map shows the north-west corner of the site occupied by a large square building with a terraced back garden with steps leading to it from the back of the building to a small yard possibly at basement level. To the south are two buildings of similar dimensions that back on to a yard accessible through a gate on Spring Garden Alley. A long rectangular building fills the space to the west of this yard.

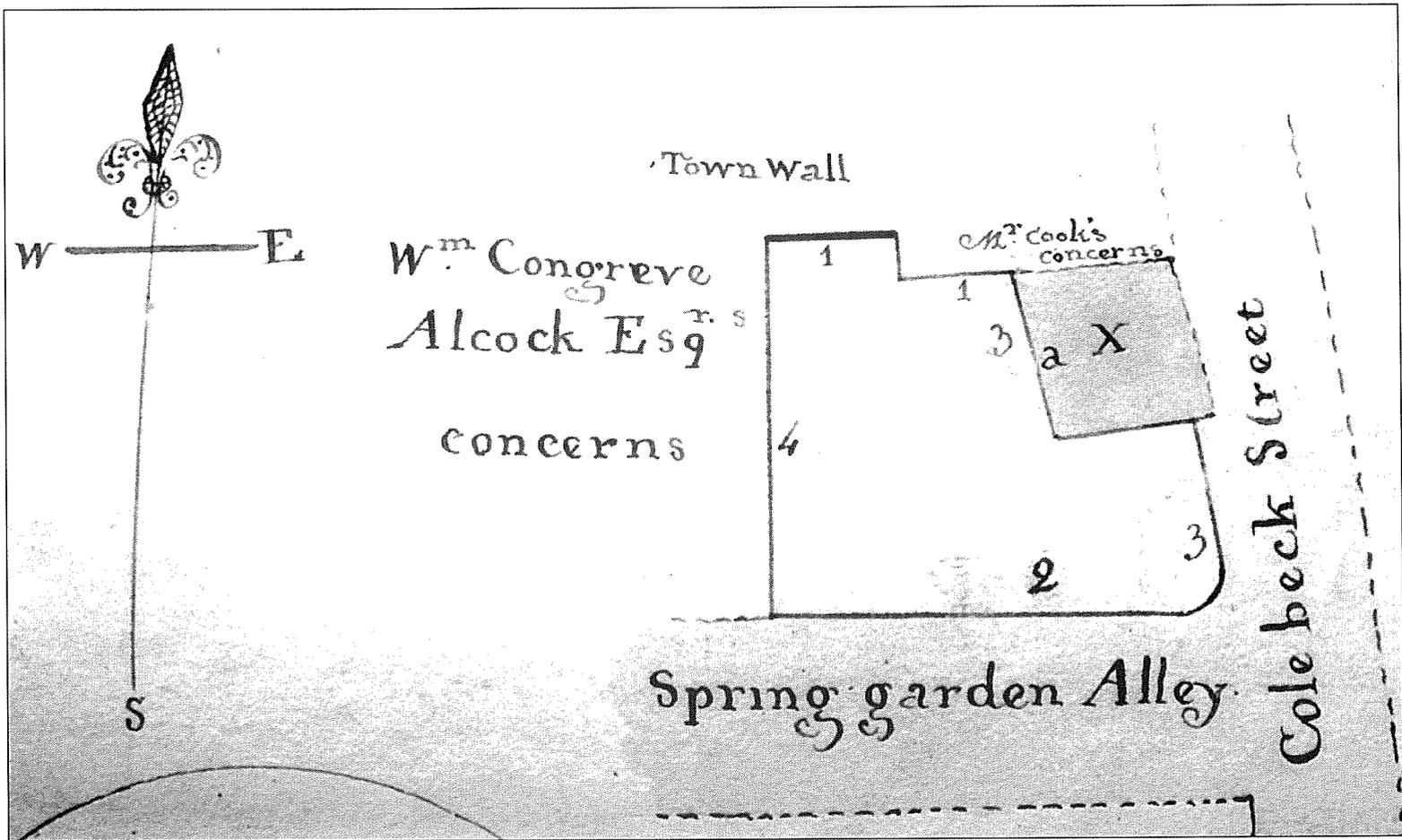


Plate 8 - 1808 site drawing accompanying lease.

- 1906-7** Entry in Rate Book for Victoria Hotel: occupied by Annie Meade referring to large building to north of site with terraced garden to rear (Waterford City Archives).
- 1909** Ordnance Survey plan shows that the building on the corner has taken in the southern half of the yard to the west.
- 1933** Ordnance Survey plan shows the lower half of the rectangular building in the south-west corner as being absent and the upper half divided (possibly knocked and rebuilt) into two separate buildings. The middle building on the street front has been incorporated into the large square building to the north.
- 1940s** Victoria Hotel demolished (Dowling 1998: 58).
- 1973** Ordnance Survey plan shows a large sub-square building on the corner to the south-east with rectangular building of equal length (north-south) to the west. The two buildings are partially separated by an alleyway on to Spring Garden Alley. The large square building to the north (Victoria Hotel) has been replaced with three separate entities which could be a combination of small buildings and/or open yard.
- 2004** Three street-front buildings on lower portion of Colbeck Street demolished *in lieu* of new development.

Acknowledgements

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Map of Waterford in 1685 by Thomas Phillips, Waterford Municipal Library, Map Number 14.

Map of Waterford in 1705 by Henry Pratt, Waterford Municipal Library, Map Number 18.

Map of the City of Waterford and its Environs in 1834 by P. Leahy of Clonmel, Scale 20 inches to 1 mile, Waterford Municipal Library, Map Number 22.

An Old Waterford Graveyard and the Dobbyns of Ballynakill

Patrick Grogan

JUST outside the old Liberties of the ancient city of Waterford, lies the medieval parish of Ballynakill. It was bounded on the north by the river Suir, on the south by Ballygunner, and on the west by the city Liberties. An early mention of the parish is in the listing of Ecclesiastical Taxation of Ireland for Waterford Diocese for the year 1302. The church at 'Ballymackill' with vicarage was valued at 41/2 marks with taxation of a tenth (6 shillings).¹ By the seventeenth century Church of Ireland churches and vicarages were in decay and in 1614 King James I, after the Plantation of Ulster, set about putting the Protestant Church Establishment in order, following various complaints of abuses. Church lands were being exploited by laymen and corrupt clergy, with the consequent neglect of church buildings. A report and value assessment called *Liber Regalis Visitationis*, was made on the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore by John Lancaster, DD, following his visit on the 10th and 11th July 1615.²

Ballanekill, Vicar resident. The rectory is impropriate [transferred to layman]. John Skiddy farms it. Vicar is Thomas Quoan, a reading minister, valuation £6. The church there is in good repair, the chancel is ruinous, but John Skiddy is bound by recognizance to put the chancel in repair before the Feast of All Saints.

It is noted by Dr. Lancaster that,

Thomas Quoan was also treasurer and reading minister at Cathedral Church, value £20, curate at Church of St. Stephen and Church of The Holy Ghost. Thomas Quoan also rector and vicar of Lisnekill, church and chancel there in ruins... *we have bound the rector to put them into repair*. Quoan also vicar at Reiske, substituted by the late Chancellor Robert Cooke, *a consummate hypocrite*, rectory farmed to a merchant. Vicar at Ballygunner was also Thomas Quoan, a reading minister, before mentioned. Rectory belongs to Dean and Chapter. Ffatelige [Faithlegg]; This rectory farmed by Sir Richard Aylward, Knight, it's vicar is Thomas Quoan, valuation £5, church and chancel in good repair.

1 Feardorcha Funnell, 'Calendar of Documents Relating to Gaultire, c.1250-1350', in *Decies* 14 (1980), pp. 61 - 66.

2 Anon., 'Protestant Diocese of Waterford in 1615, report from MS 19836 British Museum', in *Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society* 8 (1902), p. 105. Henceforth abbreviated as *JWSEIAS*.

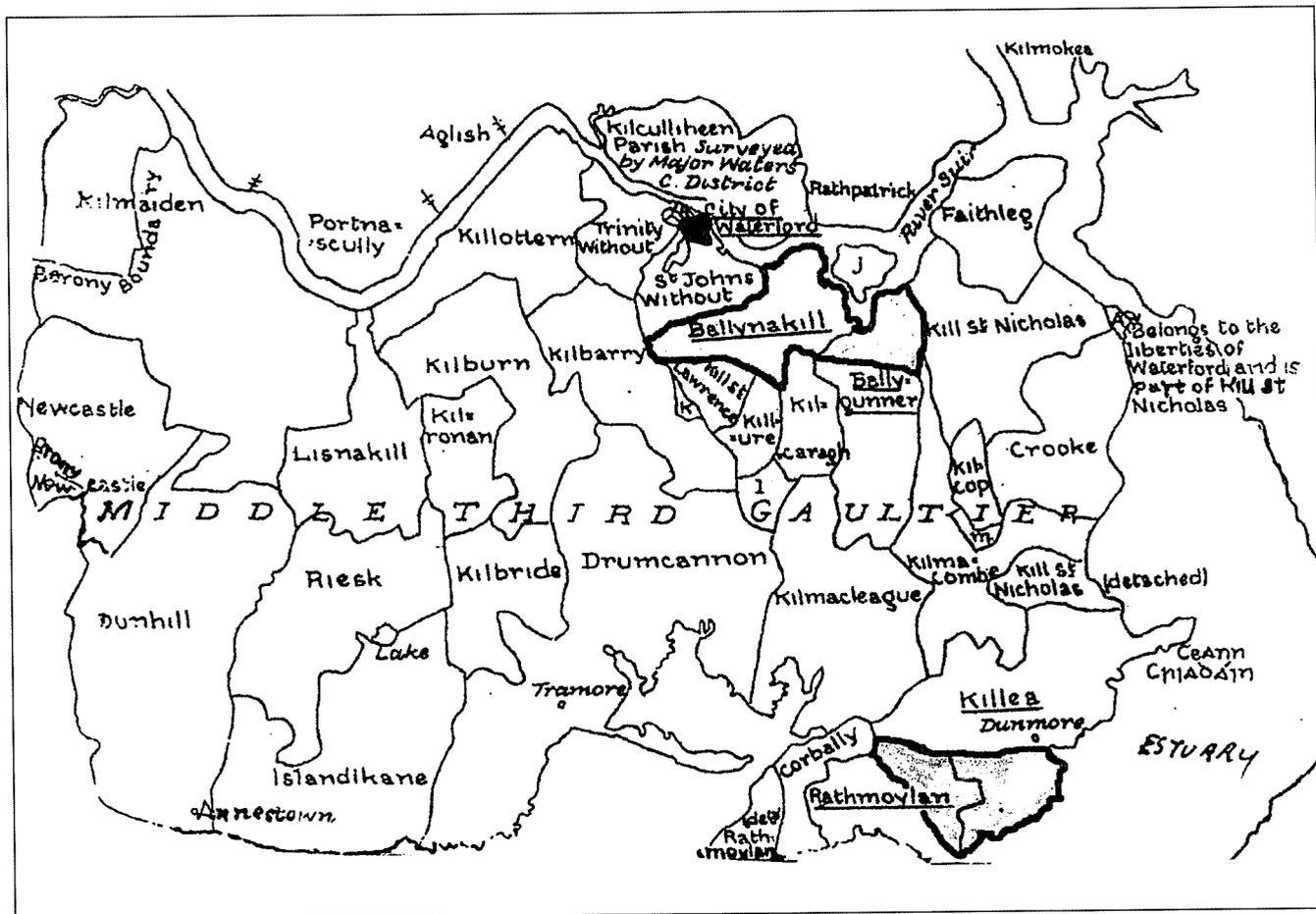


Figure 1: Location of Dobbyn lands (shaded), in the Barony of Gaultier circa 1641.

Chichester, the Lord Lieutenant, was written to by the King on 7th August³ to set up a commission (in a ratio of thirty-one laymen to five bishops) to rectify the abuses, and among the laymen in Waterford were Sir Richard Aylward, Sir Henry Power and Sir Richard Boyle. Waterford's Mayor Alexander Leonard, in a letter to the Chancellor on 7th September 1615, agreed to have the ruined churches in the city 'sufficiently built and made up by the 1st November 1616', out of municipal finances. The decayed churches in the city were St. Michael's, St. Patrick's, St Peter's and St. Olave's. As Ballynakill was outside the city, the ruinous church there was not included.

In the Down Survey of 1654-57, carried out by commissioners under Sir William Petty, who was appointed by the English Parliament, the church and castle at 'Ballymakill' are clearly shown on the accompanying map, (Figure 1).⁴ The glebe land was 4 acres, and valued at 4 marks. This survey was done prior to the confiscation of the prime lands of Ireland from the ancient proprietors, who were deemed to have caused the rebellion of 1641, to satisfy the 'Adventurers' who had financed the war, and the soldiers who had done the fighting in Cromwell's New Model Army in the subjugation of Ireland. Close by the ancient church was the castle, the residence of Peter Dobbin, described as 'Irish Papist'. His considerable ancestral land holdings are also enumerated.

By 1746, in a listing of Church of Ireland parishes, the church of 'Ballynekil' was in ruins, the rectory being the estate of the Dean and Chapter of Christchurch, with a valuation in the King's Book of about £10, with the Rectory valued at £2. 4s. 5d. In 1841 John O'Donovan, noted Irish language scholar, of the Historical Department of the Ordnance Survey, gives the following information:

Name: Is in Irish Baile na Cille, i.e., Churchtown or Townland of the Church. The original church of this parish stood in the town land of Ballynakill, to which it gave name, about 60 yards to the south of Ballynakill House, but no part of the walls have existed these 30 years. The graveyard only remains in which there are burial places for five or six families. The modern church stands about half a mile from it.⁵

Writing in 1906 on Ballynakill Parish, Rev Canon Patrick Power, stated that,

some insignificant remains of the church are visible in the stable-yard of Ballynakill House (about 60 yards away), and part of the ancient cemetery in which a few families retain rights of burial, is surrounded by an enclosing wall. A considerable part of the church building survived until about 100 years ago'.⁶

3 *Ibid.*

4 Julian C. Walton, 'Down Survey Maps, Barony of Gaultier', in *Decies* 44 (1991), pp. 28, 29.

5 *The Letters Containing Information Relative to the Antiquities of the County of Waterford, Collected During the Progress of the Ordnance Survey*, 4th June 1841.

6 Canon Patrick Power, 'Place Names of the Decies', in *JWSEIAS* 6 (1906).

The modern church alluded to by O'Donovan is St Thomas's at Ballynakill, known today as the 'Brass Cock', on account of the weather vane on the tower. It was built in 1816 by the Board of First Fruits at a cost of £900, with a new adjoining graveyard.⁷ However the old graveyard continued in partial use, particularly by the Dobbyn family, still resident at Ballynakill House. Around the end of the seventeenth or very early eighteenth century, the crumbled remains of the old church were used to make a walled enclosure for Dobbyn graves and for those of six or seven other families. A feature from the medieval building is the holy water stoup set low in the wall to the right hand of the gate (Plate 4).⁸ The enclosure measuring 35 ft. by 35 ft. of walls 8ft. high, contains the gravestones as set out in Appendix 1.

I am indebted to Mr. John DeCourcy, whose house adjoins the graveyard, for this listing and for the faithful deciphering of the gravestone inscriptions, which are set out in Appendix 2. Mr. DeCourcy has kept this hallowed place in good order, with the approval of Mrs. Patricia Gossip, formerly a resident of Ballynakill House, and a direct descendant of the Dobbyns. The house is no longer in the possession of the family. The dates of burials range from 1796 to 1921 for the Dobbyn family, and from 1775 to 1852 for the other families. The original graveyard would have covered a greater area than the present small enclosure. Indeed bones were discovered just outside the present walls about twenty-five years ago when post-holes were being dug for a cattle-press.⁹ The adjoining lands became Ballynakill Park about twenty years ago.

The Dobbyns of Ballynakill

According to Patrick Higgins, FRSA, the first of this family, Gilbert Dobbyn, came, together with the Sherlocks, Wyses and others with Henry II, who landed at Waterford attended by 500 knights and 4,000 soldiers, on 18th October 1172.¹⁰ However, this contention is unsupported by any available record. Indeed, the foremost authority on the Normans in Ireland, G. H. Orpen, makes no mention of a Dobbin in his four-volume work on the subject.¹¹ The name is derived from 'Dob', an old English diminutive of the name Robert. According to genealogists, the name is associated with Co. Kilkenny and the city of Waterford from the fourteenth century. The name continues in Co. Antrim, being unrelated, and is now more numerous in Ulster.¹²

There are four references to 'Ballymackill' in Pipe Rolls of the 13th century in a report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records of Ireland:¹³

- 7 Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, (London, Lewis & Co., 1837), vol. 1, p. 158.
- 8 Inspection and appraisal in November 2004 by Ben Murtagh, Archaeologist.
- 9 I am indebted to Niall J. Byrne for this information.
- 10 Patrick Higgins, 'Ancient and Illustrious Waterford Families', in *JWSEIAS* 4 (1898), p. 247.
- 11 G. H. Orpen, *Ireland Under the Normans*, 4 volumes, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1911, 1920), vol. 4, p. 324.
- 12 Edward MacLysaght, *Surnames of Ireland*, (Dublin, 1985), p.175.
- 13 Feardorcha Funnell, 'Calendar of Documents Relating to Gaultier, c.1250-1350', in *Decies* 14 (1980), p. 61.

1289: Account for year ending Easter by Walter de la Haye, escheator of Ireland: Waterford County, account for... sums due in respect of various services, a forth of a service by the heirs of Thomas, son of FitzAntonye of Ballymackill.

1290: Command July 12th from the King to Walter de la Haye escheator, to deliver to John de Weylaund the manors and rents of Ballygunner, Killotteran and Ballymackill.

1292: May 10th, Roll of receipts of Easter term: Waterford, the heirs of Thomas FitzAnthony of Ballymackyle of the same, 10s.

1296: Receipt of services of Tristeldermott in term of Easter: Waterford, the heirs of Thomas FitzAnthony of Ballymackyl of the army of Tristeldermott, 10s.

When the Dobbyns first settled in Waterford it is perhaps impossible to ascertain, but in histories of Waterford there are numerous mentions of the Dobbyn name from the late fifteenth century when it was obvious that they were important in the business and political life of the city, ruled as it was by a political junta of about thirty families, Sherlocks, Lombards, Waddings, Comerfords, Dobbyns etc. with many of them related by marriage. There is a reference also to a seventeenth century Dobbyn castle at Whitfield, Kilmeaden, on the site of the old Whitfield House, also gone.¹⁴

The Co. Kilkenny Dobbins were kinsmen of the Waterford family. Thomastown and Inistioge were regularly colonised even before 1500 by Waterford families such as the Whites, Dobbins, Sherlocks and Aylwards, helped by Waterford Corporation gaining control of all river commerce in south Kilkenny as far north as Inistioge on the Nore.¹⁵ Around 1560, Patrick Dobbin held 200 acres at Thomastown, and Thomas Dobbin held 850 acres at Lisnetane.¹⁶ The enforcement of the Oath of Supremacy by the Parliament of 1613-1615, caused the removal of many officials: Kilkenny had five mayors in six months in 1616, while in Waterford there were a dozen mayors elected and dismissed in the period 1614 to 1617, all due to their refusal to take the Oath.¹⁷ Officials of other towns also suffered, Patrick Dobbin was removed as sovereign in Thomastown, and he and four others were jailed as well as fined.¹⁸

In the Census of 1659,¹⁹ there were listed ten Dobbyn names among the principal Irish in Thomastown, Barony of Gowran, including 'Richard Dobbin, marchant.' In the same census for the 'Parish of Ballymakill, Barony of Galtire',²⁰

14 Julian C. Walton, 'Checklist of the Castles of Waterford', in *Decies 6* (1977), p. 4.

15 D. Edwards, *Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny, 1515-1642*, (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2003), pp. 49, 72.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

17 Eamonn McEaney, *History of Waterford and its Mayors, From the 12th to the 20th Century*, (Waterford Corporation, 1995), p. 130.

18 D. Edwards, *Ormond Lordship in South Kilkenny*, p. 275.

19 S. Pender (ed.), *Census of 1659*, (Dublin, Stationery Office for Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1939), p. 222.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 348.



Plate 1 - Old Ballinakill Graveyard.

Patrick Grogan

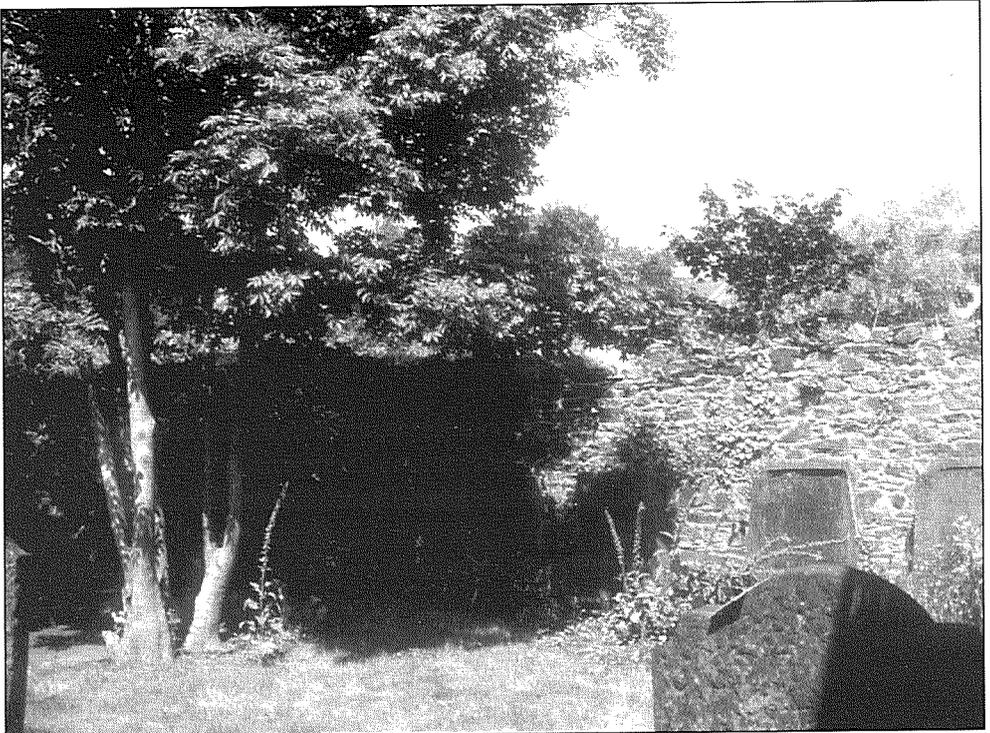


Plate 2 - Old Ballinakill Graveyard

Patrick Grogan

the list of the 'tituladoes' or landowners is not given. There were just two English and twenty-three Irish inhabitants of the parish, while in the whole of the Barony there were seventy-six English and 1,115 Irish, with the Dobbys not listed among the principal Irish names, the most numerous of these being, Power (sixty-nine), Phelan (twenty-five), Flyne/Fling (twenty-seven) and Fitzrichard (nineteen).

There are twenty-two references to members of the Dobbyn family in the manuscript *Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae*, recently translated and presented to Waterford City Library by Dr. Niall J Byrne. These are included in the following chronology of the Dobbyn name in local history. The name was spelt in various forms : Dobbyn, Dobben, Dobbin:

1493 and 1497: Laurence Dobbin, appointed Bailiff of Waterford.

1533 : Peter Dobbin and James Sherlock, appointed Bailiffs.

1535 : Peter Dobbin and Thomas Lombard, appointed Bailiffs.

1536 : Laurence Dobbyn of Ballynakill was one of thirteen landowners in East Waterford, who comprised a jury of inquisition, investigating the considerable possessions in the city of the Priory of St. John the Evangelist, following dissolution under the Act of Absentees of Henry VIII. The early suppression of the house was due to the fact that it's mother house at Bath had already been suppressed. Other jurors included Peter Aylward of Faithlegg, Nicholas Power of Kilmeadan and Dunhill and Nicholas Wadding of Woodstown.²¹

1537: Pierce Dobbyn captained a force of twenty-four men who sailed in *The Sunday* of Waterford to recover a Portuguese ship, the *Santa Maria de Soci*, bound for Waterford laden with 100 tuns of Spanish wine which had been driven by storms into Baltimore Harbour, and seized by the O'Driscolls on 20th February in an act of piracy. Dobbyn and his crew arrived suddenly at noon on the 4th March, boarded the *Santa Maria* on one side, while Gilly Duffe O'Driscoll and his men fled out the other side. Pierce Dobbyn manned the ship, released the prisoners, fired several guns at the great hall of the castle, then sailed for home. There still remained on board 25 tuns or more of the wine. Mayor Thomas Lombard fitted out a fleet, which sailed out on Wednesday 1st April at night, comprising of the retaken ship, another large vessel, and the Great Galley of the city. Bailiff Thomas Woodlock was chief captain, with Pierce Dobbyn, James Walsh, James Sherlock, Henry Walsh and John Butler as under-captains together with 400 men from the city in the sack of Baltimore in retaliation for the piracy of the O'Driscolls, long a thorn in the flesh of Waterford trading merchants.²² The Great Galley of the O'Driscolls was brought back in triumph to the city on Good Friday.

1541: Peter Dobbin was elected Mayor of Waterford. In this year Peter Dobbyn held the lease of the Cistercian abbey lands at Glanwydan, in Irish *Gleann na Foighdean*, at Ballynagigla Bunmahon.²³ This small abbey was established in 1171

21 Niall J. Byrne (trans.), *Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae*, (2004), Waterford Room, Waterford City Council Library; and Patrick C. Power, *History of Waterford*, (Dungarvan, De Paor Books, 1998), p. 53.

22 Charles Smith, *Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford*, (Dublin, 1746), pp. 140, 141.

23 T. Power, 'Notes on a Forgotten County Waterford Religious House', in *Decies* 9 (1978), pp. 28-33.

by monks from Inislounaght Abbey near Clonmel. At the Dissolution in 1541, it was listed among the possessions of Inislounaght, and described as the 'vill of Glanwydan' containing a water mill, 200 acres arable and pasture, with a wood of 60 acres valued at 100s., and leased to Peter Dobbyn for 66s. 8d. The slight remains of the house can be seen in what is still known as the Abbey Field, in the old parish of Monksland.

1544: Among the army of 1,166 men drawn mainly from the south-east and sent into England to fight Henry VIII's wars in France and Scotland, 'a keme to be transported into Inglande to serve the Kyng', was Nicholas Dobbyn, in a troop of eighty men under the command of Edmund Purcell and which sailed out of Waterford. A contingent of 700 of this army served at the siege of Boulogne, having paraded fully armed and with bagpipes, before the King in St. James's Park.²⁴

1546: Peter Dobbin, was elected Mayor.

1550: Laurence Dobbin, was appointed Bailiff. Patrick Dobbyn was made Freeman of the City, and paid the fee of 40s.

1552: Peter Dobbin was elected Mayor.

1557: Peter Dobbin was elected Mayor.

1562: Patrick Dobben and John Walsh were appointed Bailiffs.

1567: Patrick Dobbin was elected Mayor.

1576: Nicholas Dobben was admitted as Freeman, paying the fee of 2 half barge stones and 4s. 8d.

1579: Patrick Dobben was elected Mayor. In January 1580, the new Lord Justice, Sir William Pelham, succeeding Sir William Drury, (who had died in Waterford the previous September), was received into the city by Mayor Dobben and the scarlet-robed aldermen, with pomp and ceremony, a mock battle by the garrison, and the presentation by the Mayor to Pelham of the city sword and keys, which were immediately returned, and the Mayor carried the sword before him to the Cathedral. (Mayor Dobben had sent a fleet of boats to Ballyhack to convey the Viceroy and his company to the city). A congratulatory speech in Latin was made to Pelham on the way, and another in English, on 'his return from church at the door of his lodging'.²⁵

However, despite all the courtesies, there were political tensions caused by the Desmond Rebellion in Munster, while there were religious tensions caused by the new Protestant bishop Marmaduke Middleton, appointed in April 1579, after the death of the old bishop Patrick Walsh, who had been easy about enforcing the Reformation on a reluctant flock. Middleton, however, was a zealot who proceeded to impose Protestantism. The resistance to him was led by his own Dean, David Cleere and Sir Patrick Walsh, recently Mayor and cousin of the late bishop. The Corporation, led by Mayor Patrick Dobbyn, also opposed Middleton. This was a difficult time for a city professing loyalty to the Queen, but not willing to abandon the Old Faith.²⁶

24 T. B. Butler, 'Henry VIII's Irish Army', in *Irish Genealogist* 1 (1937), pp. 3-6; Sr. M. Berchmans, 'Sherlock Family', in *Irish Genealogist* 3 (1906), p. 125.

25 R. H. Ryland, *History Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford*, (London, 1824, reprint, Kilkenny, Wellbrook Press, 1982), pp. 55, 56.

26 Eamonn McEaney, *History of Waterford and its Mayors*, p. 118.

1589: Patrick Dobbin was elected Mayor.

1596: Peter Dobben was admitted a Freeman of Waterford, paying the fee of 4s. 8d.

1599: Nicholas Dobbin appears in the rent books of Waterford Corporation in relation to property at St. Peter's Church and at 'Lumbard's Meddowe... betwixt the Mill Pond and the Pill.'²⁷

1606: Thomas Dobbyn and James Walsh, were appointed Sheriffs.

1626: Matthew and William Dobbyn were admitted as Freemen at a fee of 5s. 6d. each.

1629: William Dobbin was elected Mayor. With the exception of William Dobbyn, 'Papist', serving in 1688 as Sheriff in the short-lived Corporation of 1687-90 set up at the accession of 'Catholic King James II', the Dobbyn name almost disappears from the political life in the city after the defeat of the Stuart cause. There wasn't to be a Dobbyn elected as Mayor of Waterford for 223 years.

1634: William Dobbin Esq., Waterford, and Richard Strange Esq., Dunkitt, Kilkenny, represented Waterford city in the Irish Parliament, which opened in Dublin on July 1634,²⁸ following the appointment in 1632 of Thomas Wentworth as Lord Deputy of Ireland. In religious policy, Wentworth's line was that of Archbishop Laud of Canterbury, (King Charles' chief ecclesiastical advisor), in enforcing religious conformity on the Irish Church. He dissolved the parliament of 1634 without granting the 'Graces' promised to his Catholic supporters.²⁹ We can only conjecture whether William Dobbyn had 'conformed' or not, but what is certain is that Wentworth, in the 1640 Irish Parliament, had reduced the representation of Catholics (in effect Old English, as typified by the Dobbys), to one-third.³⁰ Two members of old families, Richard Butler Esq. and John Walsh, Merchant, were elected to the 1640 Parliament,³¹ but after that date, all the members for the city had New English names.

1651: Peter Dobbyn of Ballynakill died.³² His wife was Beale Wadding of the illustrious Waterford family of Luke Wadding, OFM (1588-1657), Richard Wadding, OSA and Luke and Peter Wadding, SJ.

1652: The Act for the Settling of Ireland³³ followed the victory of the Cromwellian army over Irish and Royalist forces, and prepared the way for the confiscation of the estates of many Catholic landowners, who were held responsible for starting the Rebellion and for the supposed massacre of Protestants in 1641. Dispossessed landowners were generally compensated with lands in Connaught, while the prime lands of Munster and Leinster were granted to disbanded soldiers

27 Niall J. Byrne (trans.), *Liber Antiquissimus Waterfordiae*, pp. 267, 275; R. C. Simmington, *Civil Survey 1654-56*, (Dublin, Stationary Office, 1942), p. 180.

28 P. M. Egan, *Guide to Waterford*, (Kilkenny, 1894), p. 181.

29 Roy F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*, (Penguin Books, 1989), pp. 55, 56.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 82.

31 P. M. Egan, *Guide to Waterford*, p. 182.

32 Patrick Higgins, 'Ancient and Illustrious Waterford Families', in *JWSEIAS* 4 (1898), p. 247.

33 Roy F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*, p. 601.

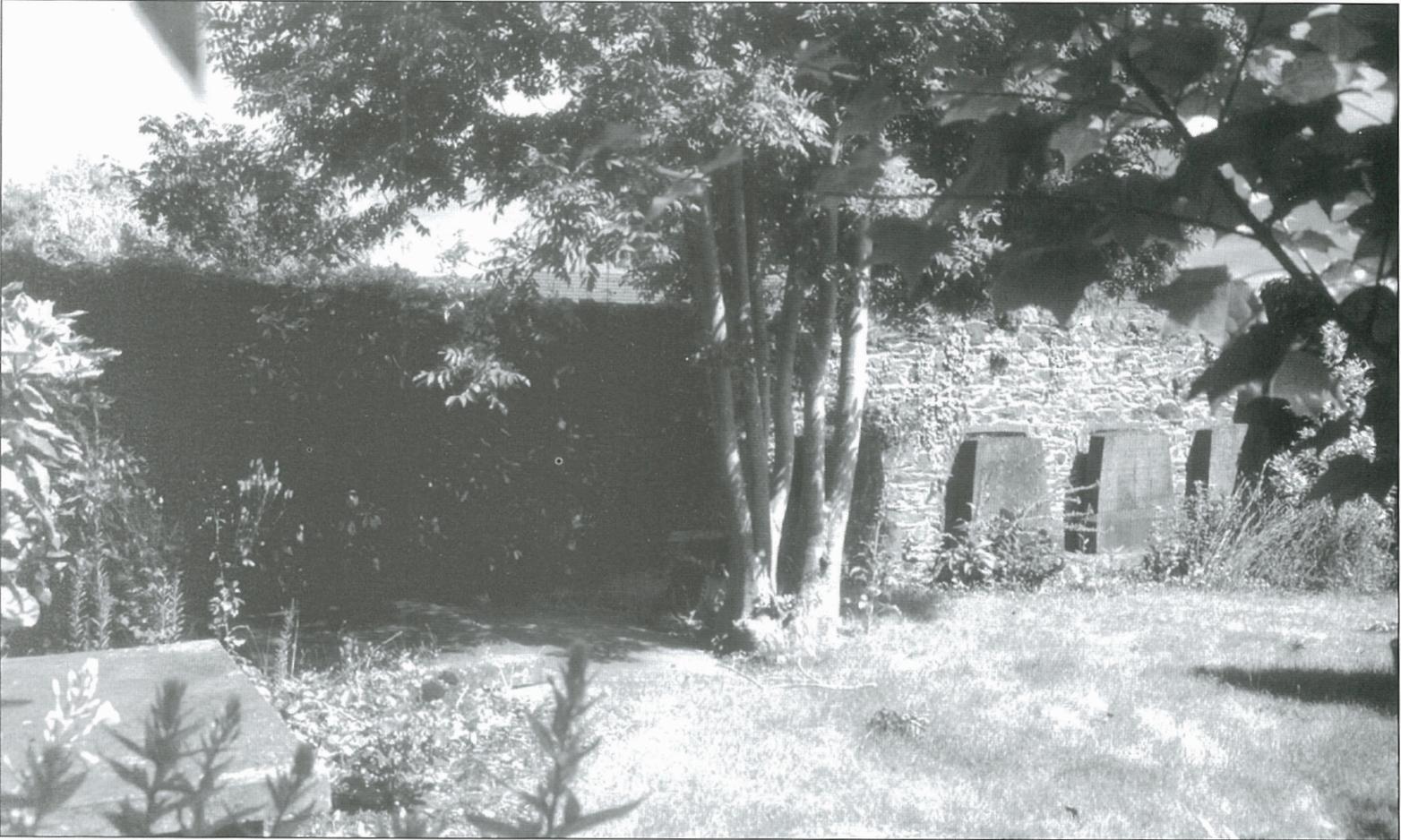


Plate 3 - Old Ballinakill Graveyard. Some Dobbyn Graves.

Patrick Grogan

of the New Model Army in lieu of pay, and 'Adventurers' who had financed the English Parliament's Irish campaign, in the expectation of ample rewards. For instance, in Munster alone, 52% of Waterford lands, 77% of Tipperary and 57% of Limerick were confiscated, while 65% of Cork became a Government reservation.³⁴

This massive confiscation and re-apportionment of lands, required detailed descriptions of every part of the country. This was accomplished in the Civil Survey of 1654-56,³⁵ the work of local juries composed of 'ye most able and ancient Inhabitants of the Countrey upon Oath'. The government also commissioned a series of maps and a more accurate computation and listing of the acreage of each tract of land than could be produced by the local jurors. This huge task was accomplished by Sir William Petty and teams of surveyors, and the results are known as the Down Survey. The maps and listings for the County of Waterford were drawn by Francis Cooper, and signed by William Petty as completed on the 15th April 1657.³⁶ The Civil Survey for Waterford City and County was signed as completed by Jo. Cliffe, Robt. Fawcet and Geo. Cawdron, and assisted by Thomas Evans, Thos. Adams, Tobias Wickham, James Peisley, John Burnet and is dated 1st February 1654. It is regrettable that the names of the jurors, 'the most able and ancient inhabitants,' were not preserved.³⁷

The subsequent history of the Down Survey has been rather unfortunate. Many of the parish maps were destroyed in a fire at the Surveyor General's office in Dublin in 1711, and the remainder was blown up in the Public Record Office in 1922. Fortunately, the maps and land terriers of sixteen counties, including Waterford, had been copied in 1787 for the then Surveyor General. These copies are now in the National Library and available on microfilm. In the Barony of Gaultier, 'Peter Dobbin, Irish Papist, deceased', is listed as holding lands totaling 1,639 acres as follow: (Figure 1)³⁸

Parrish of Ballymakill: Ballymakill 253 acres, Granntstown 190 acres, Farrensheonine 145 acres, Williamstowne 401 acres, Killkohan 180 acres.

Parrish of Ballygunertemple: Knockbwey 140 acres.

Parrish of Rathmealan: Rathmealan-Dobyn 176 acres.

Parrish of Killea: Killagh-Dobbin 154 acres.

William Dobbin, son of Peter, under the Settlement and Explanation Acts of 1666-1684, was granted 908 acres of the estate, but Colonel Thomas Cealy and Major Andrew Rickards, got possession of 401 acres in Williamstown and Sir Charles Wheeler was granted the 330 acres at 'Rathmealan' (Rathmoylan) and

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 110.

35 R. C. Simmington (ed.), *Civil Survey*, p. iv.

36 Julian C. Walton, 'Down Survey Maps of County Waterford', in *Decies* 44 (1991), pp. 23-38.

37 R. C. Simmington (ed.), *Civil Survey*, p. xiii.

38 J. S. Carroll, 'Land Ownership in East Waterford, 1640-1703', in *Decies* 11 (1979), pp. 35-44.

'Killagh' (Killea) near Dunmore East.³⁹ Andrew Rickard's grant of Williamstown and other lands in the Baronies of Gaultier, Middlethird in Waterford, and Owna and Offa in Tipperary, totaling 2,121 plantation acres, is confirmed in the Charter of Charles II presented to Waterford Museum of Treasures on 27th April 2004, by members of the May family, descended from Andrew Rickards, whose daughter Elizabeth married Edward May in 1705. Edward May was Sheriff of the city and MP for County Waterford in the period 1717-1729. The Mays were associated with Maypark and with Mayfield in Portlaw. In the Charter which is dated 20th July 1666, Rickards is described as 'Our well beloved subject.'

Likewise, in the city of Waterford, the following Dobbyn properties were listed and confiscated:⁴⁰

St. Michael St: 3 house plotts, 3 yards [3,600 sq. ft.] all which parcells are now enclosed with a stone wall & joynes of ye south side of Sir Peter Ayleward's house. Proprietors in 1641, Peter Dobbin & John Ayleward, value £48. Now in the possession of Peter Rogers.

St. Olave's Parrish, High Streete: A ruinous house 59ft. x 19ft. at South side of Kempson's lane where Thomas Hore lived, value £16, proprietor 1641 Peeter Dobbin, Grantee : Andrew Rickards.

Rathpaden: James Dobbens Parks 5 in number, 18 acres value £18, possessed in the year 1640 by James Dobbin Irish Papist by lease from the Corporacon at yearly rent of £4. 4s. 6d. of which 45 yeares are unexpired, to Robert Fawcett Esqr. As Tenant to the Commonwealth.

Lisdowgen: A peece of Lisdowgen Greene [4 acres] was in the yeare 1640 possessed by Peter Dobbin gentleman deceased, Irish Papist, holding same from the Corporacon by lease dated 1626 for 101 yeares for 50*li* [£50] fine and 5s. rent of which lease 72 yeares are unexpired. Now possessed by Capten Samuell Wade as tenant to the Commonwealth.

The Little Marsh or meadow: 3 acres which lyeth opposite to Lombards Meadow betwixt the Mill Pond and the Pill value 3*li* [£3] in 1640 in the occupacon of Peter Dobbin as lessor to the Corporacon at yearly rent of 5s. sterl. Now in the possession of Capten Samuell Wade.

Watkens Mill or Boginill: value 30*li* [£30] is part of the demesnes of St. John's Abbey was in the yeare 1640 possessed by the widdow of William Dobben Esqr. Irish Papist as part of her dower now in the possession of Andrew Lynne and others, English Protestants.

Whige's Meadow: [half acre] This parcell lyeth neere the old Tan house which lyeth neere St. Catherine's Abbey possessed 1640 by William Dobben aforesaid deceased as his Inheritance. To Andrew Lynne gent, English Protestant.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

40 R. C. Simington, *Civil Survey*, pp. 223, 236-7, 241, 251.

St. Peeter St.: Dwelling house, stone walls, slated, 84ft. x 21ft., a house backwards, stone walls, slated, 12 x 11, a yard 11 x 10, a garden behind ye same 30 x 22, of Win. Dobbin, value £80, to Sir John Cole.

Broad Streete: A dwelling house to the streete, stone walls, slated, 47ft. x 31ft., a yard 29ft. x 11ft., of Peter Dobbin, value £120, part to Earl of Donegall, part to Sir Richard Gething.

St. John's Streete: A low Tenement to ye streete, stone walls and slated, 36ft. x 26ft., A stable, backwards, stone walls & thatched, 34ft. x 17ft., yard 26ft. x 16ft., a garden backwards 90ft. x 28ft., value £80, to John North.

Shown separately in the *Civil Survey* for Waterford City is 'An account of such houses &c. in Waterford as Colonel Thomas Ceely [This is the man who was granted Dobbyn lands at Williamstown] Possesses in Right of his wife Beale Ceely, the widdow of Peter Dobbin gent, as her thirds.'⁴¹

St. John Streete: A Thatched house or caben backwards of ye streete, a garden plott next ye streete, value £20.

Peirce his Lane: A longe house lowe built & slated, used as a Mault house, stable and dwelling place, a large garden backwards of ye house, value £40, a garden next ye same, value £12.

A Thatcht house used as a Tan house, a garden backwards, value £32.

High Streete: A large house to the streete, stone walls & slated, with a large bakbuildinge stone and cadge worke slated. A Court Ledge to ye streete, value £80.

Key Streete: A house backwards within a lane, stone walles & slated. A backside behind ye same value £32. A house plott and a yard next ye same to ye streete, 40ft. x 16ft., a yard 26ft. x 16ft., value £8. The backpart of ye house wherein James Morgan liveth, stone walls and slated, value £8.

This scenario of post-1654 ownership of Dobbyn properties in Waterford city begs the question: did Beale Wadding, widow of Peter Dobbin of Ballynakill Castle, by her marriage to Colonel Thomas Ceely of Cromwell's New Model Army, save the bulk of Dobbyn lands in the Barony of Gaultier for her son William?

In 1687 the Catholic King James II, dissolved the corporations of Dublin and Waterford, and under the new charter granted to the city of Waterford on 22nd March, Richard Fitzgerald was elected Mayor. There were twenty-four Aldermen and twenty-four Assistants listed, with a mixture of Old English and New English names, and among the Assistants are 'William Dobbyn, Esquire', and 'Thomas Dobbin, Merchant'. Indeed, the Mayors for 1688 and 1689, Thomas Wise and Nicholas Porter, are described as 'Papists' in Charles Smith's 1746 list of Mayors, together with the Sheriffs, among whom are William Dobbyn for 1688.⁴²

41 *Ibid.*, p. 261.

42 Charles Smith, *Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford*, pp. 158, 165.



*Plate 4 - Old Ballinakill Graveyard
Stoup from medieval church.*



*Plate 5 - Old Ballinakill Graveyard
Gravestone of Father Joseph
Power, 1775.*

After his defeat at the Battle of the Boyne on 1st July 1690, James II fled to Dublin where he stayed overnight. Next day, 2nd July, he rode to Waterford Harbour where he went on board a ship that lay ready for him, and sailed back to France via Kinsale with all speed, 'Thus he rode in 24 hours above four score miles'.⁴³

Despite claims that James spent the night before he sailed at Ballinkeele Castle⁴⁴ south of Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford on his direct flight from Dublin to Duncannon Fort on the northern shore of Waterford Estuary, where he took ship, the legend persists that he stayed at Ballynakill, the home of William Dobbyn, where 'a room there is still pointed out as the State Room'.⁴⁵ It is perhaps significant in support of this supposition, that Sir Neal O'Neill, though mortally wounded while resisting the charge of the Huguenots under General Schomberg across the Boyne, accompanied James on his flight south. O'Neill died on 8th July 1690, aged thirty-two, and was buried in the chancel of the old Franciscan Friary,⁴⁶ which was later, perhaps ironically, given over to the Huguenots as their place of worship, thus becoming known as the French Church. The triumph of King William, terminated the short existence of James's 1687 charter, and the Protestant Corporation was restored after the surrender of the city on 25th July 1690. Nicholas Porter was replaced as Mayor in mid-term by David Lloyd, (ousted by Richard Fitzgerald in 1687), and who was to remain Mayor until 1693.⁴⁷

The Dobbyns in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

1701: In the marriage register of Christchurch Cathedral for 31st January is the following entry: William Dobbyn of St. Olave's Parish, and Mrs. Margaret Goodrick of Trinity Parish.⁴⁸ This would suggest that at least some of the family were now members of the Church of Ireland.

1711: One of the foremost monumental sculptors in Ireland, William Kidwell, arrived in Waterford, to erect a memorial in Christchurch Cathedral to Bishop Nathaniel Foy, which may still be seen there, with dramatic depiction of the skull and crossbones together with the coat of arms of the deceased. While in Waterford, Kidwell was commissioned to carve memorial stones for the heads of two of the old Catholic families who had survived Cromwell, William Dobbyn and Peter Synnott. These tombstones now lie in the railed enclosure outside the north-east corner of the Cathedral. Kidwell's elaborate use of the Cross and Passion symbols,

43 *Ibid.*, p. 158.

44 D. Gahan, *People's Rising*, (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1995), pp. 8, 9, 229. Ballinkeele was the home of the Hay family, prominent Catholic landlords. In 1798, while Harvey Hay opposed the Rising, his sons Edward and John were involved, the latter being hung on Wexford bridge on 23rd June 1798.

45 P. M. Egan, *Guide to Waterford*, pp. 89, 90, 551.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 495, 496.

47 Charles Smith, *Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford*, p. 165.

48 H. F. Morris, 'Registers of Waterford Cathedral, (Church of Ireland), 1655-1707, on microfilm PRO Dublin', in *Irish Genealogist* 6: 3 (1982), p. 279.

together with family coats of arms, fifty years after the Puritan invasion of Cromwell is important. Both Dobbyn and Synnott were alive when their tombstones were carved (Synnott died 1714, Dobbyn in 1724), and undoubtedly would have had a say in their design. The inclusion of the coats of arms indicated their ancient status among very recently arrived and suddenly rich neighbours, and the inclusion of Passion symbols stressed their consciousness of their descent from the pre-Cromwellian Catholic merchants and gentry of Waterford.⁴⁹

1723: The Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery, passed in 1703 during the reign of Queen Anne, made it obligatory on converts from Catholicism to Protestantism to provide proof of conformity. A Protestant, according to this Act, was a member of the Church of Ireland only. The legal disabilities in relation to property, professions, etc., imposed on Catholics by the Act, ceased to operate when the person became a Protestant, but from the date of enrolment, not from the date of conformity. The Court of Chancery, under the Act, kept records of such enrolments open to public inspection, which were known as the Convert Rolls. Anne Dobbin, Waterford, was enrolled 9th May 1723, wife to Thomas Dobbyn of Waterford, whose conformity was dated 25th December 1706, and enrolment 8th May 1723.⁵⁰

1766: The will of William Dobbyn of Ballinakill:

This is the Will of William Dobbyn of Ballynakill, who died 3rd July. His wife Harriet Dobbyn otherwise Helsham, sole executress, [by a second marriage]. Settlement on her of £60 per annum on Ballynakill and £40 per annum on Waterford house property. Legacies to sons and daughters, Harriet, Elizabeth, Ann, Michael, Arthur, Catherine, and George Augustus. Also held at time of death were townlands of Cullencastle and Drumrusk. Trustees Shapland Carew of Woodstown and Hans Thomas Fell to raise £4000 on property for younger children. Witnesses: Danl. Sandoz, John Thomas, Saml. Taylor. Deed of administration of foregoing to widow 6th November 1766.⁵¹

1773: A tombstone decorated with Passion symbols of cross, scourge, hammer and pincers, of Mary Dobbyn alias Doyle and dated 1773, is at Rathmoylan old graveyard, near Dunmore East.⁵²

1775: Will of Robert Dobbyn, city of Waterford, was registered on 21st December:

To son Robert, City of Waterford Recorder, my ground and houses in John St. etc., Samuel Barker's land, lands in Upper Grange, houses in

49 Julian C. Walton, 'Pictorial Decoration East Waterford Tombstones', in *Decies* 14 (1980), pp. 67-83.

50 E. O'Byrne (ed.), *Convert Rolls*, (Dublin, Stationary Office for Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1981), p. vi, 78.

51 I. R. B. Jennings, 'Old Wills Waterford and Lismore Diocese', in *JWSEIAS* 17: 2, p. 79.

52 Julian C. Walton, 'Pictorial Decoration East Waterford Tombstones', in *Decies* 14 (1980), pp. 67-83.

Michael St. and Alexander Lane now occupied by David Power, Gent., to which I am entitled under the Will of my father Win. Dobbyn. To son Robt. All my portion of family pictures & all books, bookcase, also my 3 Silver Costers respectively engraved with the O'Callaghan Arms and also my silver Salver in like manner, engraved with the said Arms, which plate I received from my friend Robt. O'Callaghan Esq. Clonmeen, Co. Cork, and desire my son Robert may be careful of the said Plate in regard to the giver, also to said son Robert £50.⁵³

1776: In the *Waterford Chronicle* of Friday January 19th is the following notice 'Died Wednesday at his house on the New Quay, Robert Dobbyn the Elder, Esq., one of the Common Council and formerly Recorder of this City'. [He was son of William Dobbyn of Ballynakill, and married Frances, daughter of Francis Barker].⁵⁴

1776 : 6th February, Admon. (Letter of Administration) by Robert Dobbyn regarding Will of Frances Dobbyn, wife of foregoing Robert Dobbyn, and daughter of Samuel Barker and brother of Francis Barker:

I leave all my money to my husband Robert, to daughter Mary, my gold watch, rings, jewells, trinkets and ornaments and [after my death] £300 and my picture in miniature to my 2nd husband, set round in diamonds, I wore as a bracelet. To daughter Margaret Dobbyn £300, with diamond Earrings and my gold Etwee. To son Robert £150 and my gold snuff box. To daughter Frances Lyon £5 and gold watch & chain. To son William Augustus £150. Sole executor my husband Robt. Dobbyn. Present : Matthias Anderson, Michael Dobbyn.⁵⁵

The foregoing two Wills indicate a very wealthy eighteenth century Waterford family in a prosperous city before the Act of Union.

1778: During the American War of Independence, when regular English forces in Ireland had been sent to fight the war there, the ruling classes formed their own armed volunteer force to defend the country against possible invasion by the French. There were three regiments in Waterford city and county, called the Waterford Independents. The third such infantry regiment was mustered in May 1778 and commanded by Captain Hannibal William Dobbyn of Ballynakill. The uniform was scarlet, faced with green.⁵⁶

1786: In the *Waterford Chronicle* of 18th April, Hannibal Dobbyn advertised 'for letting in small divisions, lands at Ballynakill, near the Liberty Post, through which a road is to be opened between the first milestone and the road leading to

53 I. R. B. Jennings, 'Old Wills Waterford Diocese', *JWSEIAS* 17, p. 117.

54 H. F. Morris, 'Waterford Chronicle, Births, Deaths, Marriages', in *Irish Genealogist* 5: 3 (1976), p. 338.

55 I. R. B. Jennings, 'Old Wills Waterford Diocese', *JWSEIAS* 17, p. 117.

56 P. M. Egan, *Guide to Waterford*, pp. 203-4.



Plate 6 - Ballinakill House - ancestral home of the Dobbys.

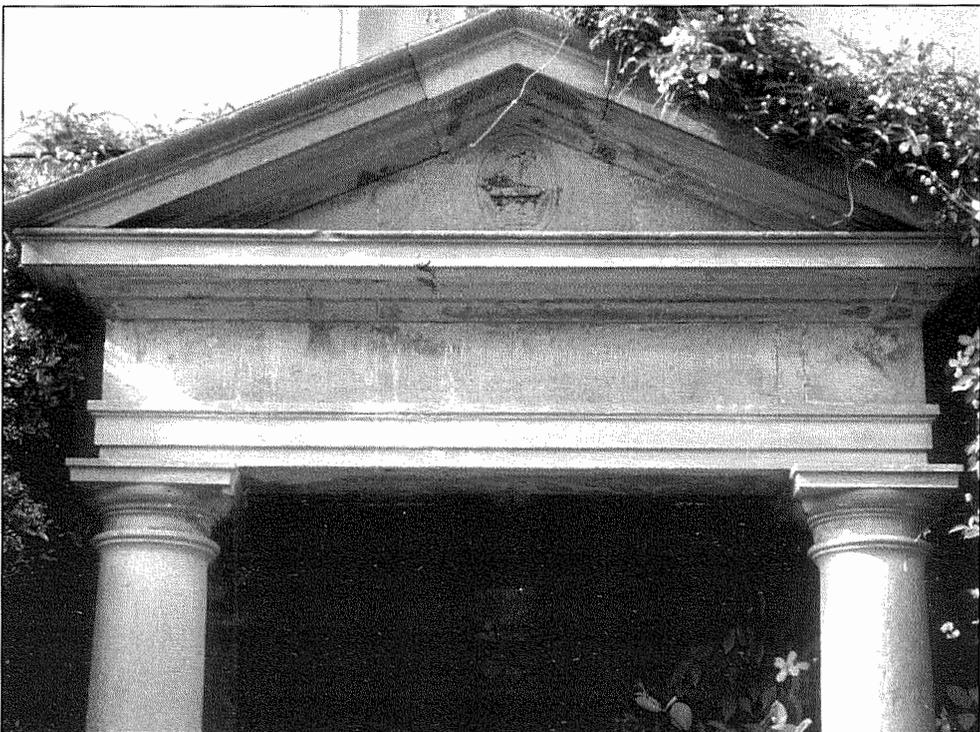


Plate 7 - Portico of Ballinakill House with Coat of Arms of Dobbys.

the Cove, to run by Mr. May's domain to the River Suir', [the present Maypark Lane].⁵⁷

1788: Richard Lucas's *Irish Provincial Directories* lists the following in the Waterford city professions:⁵⁸

Andrew Dobbyn, Lady Lane: Exchequer, Attorney at law, Commissioner for Affidavits.

Michael Dobbyn, Bailey's New St.: Attorney at law, Public Notary.

Arthur Dobbyn, Peter St.: Attorney at law.

Robert Dobbyn, Lady Lane: City Magistrate, City Recorder, Common Councilman, Barrister at Law, Commissioner for Affidavits.

William Dobbyn, Patrick St.: Pewterer, Carpenter, Hardware Merchant.

It is remarkable that four members of the same family should be so prominent in the legal profession of a city.

1807: One third of the books contained in the Library of Christchurch Cathedral Waterford consists of law-books donated by Robert Dobbyn. This collection was built up over at least three generations of Dobbys, by William of Ballynakill, died 1743, his son Robert the Elder, Recorder of Waterford, died 1776, and the latter's son and successor as Recorder, Robert the Younger, whose will stated: 'I bequeath to the Bishop of Waterford & Lismore and his successors, all of my law-books for the use of the Public Library and the citizens of Waterford'. The Recorder was the legal officer of the Corporation, hence the formation of what is perhaps the finest collection of early books on the law in Ireland, outside of King's Inns. The contents include sets of the proceedings of the Irish House of Commons and the Irish Statutes. Many of the books are early and rare editions of well-known works, for instance, the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, containing the commentaries omitted from subsequent editions.⁵⁹

1821: The census of this year shows the following living at 8 Colbeck Street:

Michael Dobbyn, Gentleman, aged 45, William, Brother and Attorney, aged 47.⁶⁰ [This premises still exists as the firm of Dobbyn, Tandy & McCoy, Solicitors, although there are no descendants there of the original partners].

At 16 William St. [3 story house]: Richard Hassid, Gent, aged 45, Richard, aged 6, Michael, aged 3, Margaret Debby, Mother in law, 3 Servants.

The above Richard Junior died in 1839 at the age of 24. Mother in law Margaret Dobbyn died in 1829, aged 78, while Michael became the MP for the

57 H. F. Morris, 'Waterford Chronicle, Births Marriages, Deaths', in *Irish Genealogist* 7: 1 (1979), p. 25.

58 R. Lucas, 'General Directory of Kingdom of Ireland', in *Irish Genealogist* 3: 10 (1965), pp. 403-409.

59 Julian C. Walton, 'Library of Christchurch Cathedral Waterford', in *Decies* 41 (1989).

60 H. F. Morris, *Irish Genealogist* 4: 2, p. 127, 128.

city in 1857. All are buried in the family plot at Ballynakill. (See Appendix 2, Tombstone Inscriptions).

1839: In the Waterford City Polling List (those who registered for elections), are:

Michael Dobbyn Esq., Woodlands, Co. Waterford. Qualification:
Freeman.

Michael Dobbyn Esq., Cathedral Square, Waterford. Qualification:
Freeman.⁶¹

These men were hereditary Freemen of the city, which is the highest honour a city can bestow upon a citizen.

1852: Michael Dobbyn was elected Mayor. The sheriff appointed was Charles Newport, related by marriage to the Dobbyns.

1857: Elected for the city, on 2nd April, for the Parliament of the United Kingdom, along with John Aloysius Blake Esq. King St., was Michael Dobbyn Hassard Esq. JP of Glenville, Waterford, (1817-1869). He was re-elected for the Parliament of 1859-1865.⁶²

1895: In *Slater's Directory* of this year, among the list of private residents of Waterford are:⁶³

Dobbyn, Arthur, 1 Parnell St.

Joseph B., Grange Upper.

Robert, Ballinakill House.

William, Ballycanvan Big, Kill St. Nicholas.

William Alexander, 20 The Mall.

1910: By the 20th century, the family was still prominent in Waterford. William Alexander Dobbyn was Clerk of the Crown and Peace at the Court House. His residence was now 'Riverdale' Newtown, and his address as a solicitor was at Colbeck St. in the firm of Dobbyn, Tandy & McCoy. He was also a Commissioner for Oaths, as was Robert Dobbyn, Land Agent, Ballynakill House, with law offices at 7 Catherine St. Arthur Dobbyn, MRCVS, resided at 1 Parnell St.⁶⁴

1945: William Alexander Dobbyn presented a collection of seventy-three deeds to the National Library in Dublin.⁶⁵ They referred to property in Waterford and environs, which had been in the possession of his forebears, and date from 1654 to 1833. Documents relating to the lands of the Deyos family, Cromwellian planters in Dunkitt parish are included, and deeds record how upon the death of the last of the Deyos, the lands were bought at auction by Robert Dobbyn in 1748-49. A family will of 27th August 1787 is also of interest:

61 Julian C. Walton, *Irish Genealogist* 8: 2 (1991), p. 279.

62 P. M. Egan, *Guide to Waterford*, p.194.

63 I. Slater, *Directory*, 1895, p. 331.

64 F. Porter (ed.), *Thom's Directory of Waterford, 1909-10*, (Dublin, A. Thorn, 1910), pp. 3, 107, 164.

65 Julian C. Walton, *Abstracts of Deeds in National Library: Formerly the Property of W. A. Dobbyn, NLI MSS D 1976 to D 9247*, Booklet in Waterford Room, Waterford City Council Library.

Will of Margaret Dobbyn the elder, of Waterford, spinster. To be decently interred in my family burial place at Ballynakill. Robert Shearman of Grange, Co. Kilkenny is indebted to me and my sister Elizabeth Dobbyn in £200, by his bond dated 20th June 1770. I bequeath my £100 share of this to my sister Elizabeth. To my nephew Robert Dobbyn, Recorder of Waterford, £25. To my niece Anne Bluet of Kilkenny, widow, £25. To my niece Frances Smithwyke, £25. To Agnes Taylor of Waterford, widow, one ring to the value of one guinea as a small token of my friendship and esteem for her. Residue to my sister Elizabeth. Executors, my sister Elizabeth and Robert Dobbyn. Witnesses : Michael Evelyn, Win. Magill. Proved in the Prerogative Court, 18th June, by Robert Dobbyn.⁶⁶

William A. Dobbyn of 'Riverdale' Newtown, was a familiar figure in the Waterford of the 1940s and 50s. A bachelor, he was known by the soubriquet of 'Long Dobbyn', and rode a pedal cycle to his offices at Colbeck Street.

Conclusion

Situated on the south-west shore of King's Channel, the present Ballynakill House, the ancestral home of the Dobbys, was described in 1654 as 'a decayed castle'.⁶⁷ The present structure is a rectangular house of five bays, two floors and an attic, possibly late seventeenth century in date, incorporating parts of an earlier tower house. A seventeenth century fireplace was discovered during renovations.⁶⁸ In the capital of the portico of the house is chiselled the Dobbys of Waterford family crest. It consists of a hand 'couped' holding a javelin. The family motto is *Deus Dexter Meus* (God is my right hand).⁶⁹ At the side of the house facing King's Channel, at the roadside, is a semilunar remnant of the perimeter fortification of the original tower house.⁷⁰ This southern channel of the river Suir at Little Island, was the main navigation route for shipping to the city in medieval times and this ancient house and its inhabitants, were witness to many sailing vessels, passing to and from Waterford in times of peace and of war, and its owners, the illustrious family of Dobbyn, were part of the fabric of the city of Waterford for many centuries.

Acknowledgements

John DeCourcy, for gravestone inscriptions; Ben Murtagh for expert archaeological information; Niall J. Byrne for use of extracts from his translation of the *Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae* and Mrs. Patricia Gossip for help and information on the Dobbyn family.

66 *Ibid.*,

67 R. C. Simington, *Civil Survey*, p. 152.

68 Michael Moore, *Archaeological Inventory of County Waterford*, (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1999), p. 231.

69 Fairbairn, *Book of Crests, Families of Great Britain and Ireland*, (London, Heraldry Today, 1859, 1905, reprint, 1984), p. 214.

70 Assessment by Ben Murtagh, *Archaeologist*, November 2004.



Plate 8 - William Dobbyn's Tombstone, 1711, by William Kidwell, at Christchurch, Waterford.

APPENDIX 1

Plan of Old Ballynakill Graveyard: Position of Graves in Graveyard.

Annette Dobbyn (1857-1921)		John Power (?-1783)
Robert Newport Dobbyn (1893-1916)		Elinor Power (1741-1807)
Robert Dobbyn (1824-1911)	Garret Evoy (1749-1819) Maryanne Evoy (1799-1825) Bridget Evoy (1803-1820)	Richard Power (1740-1798) Catherine Power (1732-1809) Catherine Sinnott (1766-1810)
William Dobbyn (1820-1907)	Ellen Evoy (1761-1852)	
Charles Dobbyn (1832-1890)		Mary Sinnott (1792-1810) Catherine Sinnott (1799-1810) William Sinnott (1763-1829) Ann Carew (1804-1834) William Sinnott (1792-1818)
Richard Hassard (1769-1844)		
Richard Henry Hassard (1815-1839)	Nicholas Hayes (1751-1817)	
Michael Dobbyn Hassard (1817-1869)		Mrs Hester Croker (1750-1798)
Michael Dobbyn (1745-1796)		
Frances Margaret Hassard (1785-1818)		Mary Walsh (1712-1773)
Anne Dobbyn (1834-1847)		Revd Fr. Joseph Power (?-1775)
John Theodore Dobbyn (1816-1856)		
Michael Dobbyn (1788-1858)		
Anne Caroline Dobbyn-Cooke (1792-1862)		
Michael Dobbyn (1814-1868)	Dennis Flynn (1738-1798) Edith Flynn (1741-1801) Fanny Fynn (1814-1816)	
Margaret Dobbyn Dobbyn (1751-1829)	Ann Catherine Flynn (1782-1817)	
Margaret Dobbyn (1828-1834)	Espher Flynn (1808-1880)	

Gate Facing West

APPENDIX 2

Gravestone Inscriptions, Old Ballynakill Graveyard: The Dobbyn Graves.

CHARLES DOBBYN
OF CATHERINE STREET
WATERFORD
SOLICITOR. BORN IN 1832
DIED 31st MARCH 1890

WILLIAM DOBBYN
BORN 1820
DIED 11th JULY 1907

ROBERT DOBBYN
BORN OCT 3rd 1824
DIED MARCH 22 1911

ROBERT NEWPORT DOBBYN
2nd LIEUT ROYAL FLYING
CORPS
BORN JUNE 21 1893
ACCIDENTALLY KILLED
WHILE FLYING
AT HOUNSLOW LONDON
NOV 23 1916

ANNETTE DOBBYN
WIFE OF ROBERT DOBBYN
BORN JULY 16th 1857
DIED SEPT 5th 1921

Here lies the body of
MICHAEL DOBBYN Esqr. Of
the City of WATERFORD who
died on the 20th of August in
the Year 1796 in the Fifty First
year of his age.

Also of his only daughter
FRANCES MARGARET
HASSARD who died on the
2nd of October in
the year 1818 in the 33rd of
her age

Sic Transit Gloria Mundi
ANNE DOBBYN died 22
January 1847

Aged 13 years.
John THEODORE DOBBYN
5 February 1856

Aged 40 years
MICHAEL DOBBYN died 5
October 1858

Aged 70 years
ANNE CAROLINE DOBBYN
otherwise COOKE
Died 28 October 1862 Aged 70
years

Also of MICHAEL Eldest son
of the above MICHAEL
and ANNE CAROLINE DOB-
BYN

who was born on the 7th of
Sep 1814
and died 4th Sep 1868, Aged
53 years.

MARGARET DOBBYN
Widow of MICHAEL DOB-
BYN of the City of Waterford
died 22nd of July 1829, Aged
78

MARGARET DOBBYN
daughter of MICHAEL DOB-
BYN of Woodlands in the
County of Waterford, Esq.,
died the 12th of August 1834
aged 6 years.

Underneath is interred
RICHARD HASSARD
Of the City of Waterford Esq
who departed this life 14th
June 1844

aged 75 years
also RICHARD HENRY HAS-
SARD

Son of the above named
RICHARD HASSARD
Born 16 Dec.1815 died 25 May
1839

MICHAEL DOBBYN HAS-
SARD

of Glenville County of
Waterford JP
late MP for the City of
Waterford
born 10 October 1817 died 7
April 1869

APPENDIX 3

Gravestone Inscriptions, Old Ballynakill Graveyard: Other Family Graves.

Erected by EDMOND HAYES SINNOTT of
Kilbride in Memory of his Father
NICHOLAS HAYES who Dept this life
July 14 1817 aged 66 years

Requiescat in Pace Amen

IHS

Gloria in Excelsis Deo

Here lie the Remains of GARRET EVOY
Who depd this life Sepr the 20
1819 aged 70 years

Also two of his daughters MARYANNE
who died in May 1825 aged 26 years
And BRIDGET who died in March
1820 aged 17 years
ELLEN EVOY died 27th December 1852
Aged 91 years.
[There is a separate small brass plate for Mary Anne
Evoy as above, lying at this gravestone]
This tablet was erected to GARRET EVOY
and family by his friend
William Carew Hunt

Here lieth the body of DENNIS FLYNN
Of Flynnville Esqr who departed this life 23rd
November 1798 aged 60 years
Also the body of
EDITH FLYNN his wife who departed this life
The 3rd of March 1801 aged 60 years. Also the body
of FANNY FLYNN daughter of BARBON FLYNN
Who departed this life 28th November 1816
Aged two years and eight months

Also the body of ANN CATHERINE FLYNN
Wife of BARBON FLYNN who departed this
Life the 1 of February 1818 aged 35 years
Also ESPHER daughter of the above
BARBON and ANN CATHERINE FLYNN
Who died August 18th 1880 aged 72 years.

IHS

Erected by MARY POWER of the City of Waterford
in memory of her father JOHN POWER who departed
this life February 20th 1783 aged? Also the body of his
wife ELINOR POWER who departed this life July
The 20th 1807 aged 66 and...

This stone was erected to the memory of RICHARD
POWER who lies buried underneath who depd this
life May 22nd 1798 aged 38 yrs
Also the body of his wife CATHERINE POWER
Who departed this life
January 29' 1809 age 67 yrs

The Lord have mercy on his soul

Here lieth the remains of Mrs CATHERINE
alias POWER who depd this life January 13th 1810
aged 44 years

Also the remains of her beloved daughters
MARY + CATHERINE the former 18 the latter 11
yrs of age all of whom the Lord was pleased to take
from this transitory life within the space of six
months

Also of WILLIAM SINNOTT Esqr of Christindom
who dep this life 26 Novr 1829 aged 66 years

Also his daughter ANN wife to
JAMES M CAREW of the 22 Reg who died
April 6th 1834 aged 30 years

Also WILLIAM SINNOTT son of the
above William who died Nov 20th 1818
aged 26 years

Requiescant in Pace Amen

Here lyeth the body of
Mrs HESTER CROKER
of Cove who departed this life
3rd April 1798 aged 48 years

Here lies the body of MARY
WALSH wife of EDMOND POWER
who died Sept 24th 1773
aged 61 years

Also the body of Revd
Father JOSEPH POWER son of
The above EDMOND He died June
the 3rd 1775 aged years

Richard Boyle, First Earl of Cork, 1566-1643

Michael Byrne

Introduction

Richard Boyle, the first or 'Great' Earl of Cork, is a fascinating figure in the history of early seventeenth-century Ireland. He arrived in this country in 1588 as a relatively penniless English adventurer but within thirty years he had become one of the wealthiest and most powerful men in Ireland. Boyle was intimately caught up in the politics of his age and his life sums up a good deal of the extended narrative of Ireland's troubled relationship with its nearest island neighbour. Boyle remains known to history not only for his immense wealth (acquired through duplicitous and often fraudulent routes) and his political entanglements, but also because of the continuing success - political, social and, in the case of his youngest son Robert, scientific - which his many children and descendents enjoyed in the generations following the Great Earl's death in 1643.

I propose to look at Boyle's life in three sections. The first will explore his early background and how he managed to gain control of so much land and wealth in the south of Ireland, particularly Munster, in the 1590s and the early 1600s. The second will look at his middle and later life, when the consolidation of his wealth and the attainment of social and political status became his primary objective in life. There were occasions in both these periods when Boyle's affairs intersected with those of Waterford: I will draw attention to those overlaps as they arise. The third and final section of this article will examine some broader themes in Boyle's life which emerge from Nicholas Canny's series of essays about him, collected under the telling title *The Upstart Earl*.

Background - Ireland in the late 1500s

Nicholas Canny has commented that 'the most striking contrast between Irish social conditions in 1500 and 1700 relates to the authority enjoyed by the Dublin government'.¹ At the start of this period the extent to which central government penetrated into Ireland-beyond-the-Pale was relatively limited. In the river-valleys of the east and south-east the principal landowners were descendants of the Anglo-Norman settlers who were - in their way - loyal to the English Crown and generally described as 'Old English'. They usually sided with the Dublin authorities in defending the English interest against Gaelic assault and saw themselves as 'upholders of civil standards in Ireland against the ever-threatening barbarism that surrounded them'.² The FitzGerald earls of Kildare and the Butler earls of

1 Nicholas Canny, 'Early Modern Ireland c. 1500-1700', in R.F. Foster (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ireland*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 88-133.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

Ormonde were the principal Old English aristocrats, and both Henry VII and Henry VIII had consistently chosen the earls of Kildare to act as their personal and political representatives in Ireland.

This delegation of Crown authority suggests that the level of English interest in Ireland up until 1543 was relatively low. But the Old English earls never succeeded in winning general acceptance of their authority even among the Anglicised community in Ireland. In Connaught the Gaelic de Burgh family and in Munster the FitzGerald earls of Desmond maintained an independent local authority. In fact Ireland at the time was fragmented into a series of relatively-unconnected political lordships, each of which sought to maximise its own local political authority, usually by force of arms. The total population of Ireland stood at little more than 750,000 in 1600 and even this showed significant regional variation. Canny comments that 'the more fertile areas of Munster and Ulster were left almost entirely denuded of people in the aftermath of the wars that had been fought over these territories during the 1580s and 1590s'.³ As we shall see, this allowed Richard Boyle great scope for pursuing his strategy of land acquisition in the southern half of the island.

By the time of the Reformation the Catholic Church in Ireland had become almost entirely absorbed into secular society, with constant lay interference in church affairs and the priestly office itself having become almost an hereditary one. The combination of weakly centralised religious authority and equally weak central government served to boost the standing of the powerful local lords. But both these institutions - Church and State - became reformed and reinvigorated during the 1500s and 1600s and this in turn led to a transformation in Irish society. English kings became interested in their Irish territories, though that interest waxed and waned as the reforming zeal (both civil and religious) of the authorities in Dublin met resistance from the Old English lords as well as more than occasional religious rebellion as well. This stop-go approach by the Crown led to extended periods of political paralysis in Ireland.

But just as the London government had moments of interventionism and heightened interest in Ireland, the Catholic Church too was on the move, meeting the forces of Reformation with its own highly-successful revival of Catholic belief and practice. The Old English in particular were brought into close alliance with the reformed Catholicism of the Council of Trent. And as always in Ireland, affairs of religion and politics meshed together to produce more than occasional calamity and disaster. A political revolt by the FitzGeralds of Kildare in 1534 assumed far more dangerous overtones when the Catholic Church lent it support as a proxy resistance to Henry VIII's religious policies. The revolt was brutally suppressed, leading the Crown to convene a parliament in Ireland in 1536 which adopted the key elements of Anglican religious legislation already passed in England. Irish politics then became polarised along religious lines as those of the Old English who refused to adhere to the new religious practices rendered themselves ineligible for appointment to government office. As positions fell vacant in Dublin they were gradually filled by English-born Protestants. And as Canny comments, the Old English complained that

3 *Ibid.*, p. 94.

Those Protestant officials ... who suggested that ... Catholic landowners should be dispossessed, were in fact seeking to provoke a revolt that would create circumstances from which they themselves would derive benefit. Substance was provided for these charges when they pointed to the corruption of military or civil officers, and to the worldly concerns of some of the English appointees in ecclesiastical positions.⁴

The removal from power of the FitzGeralds was short-lived. The sporadic attacks on the Pale which followed their deposition forced the government to respond militarily, but it soon decided that it would be easier to restore the FitzGeralds and to dispossess the local Gaelic chieftains in midland areas. Those Gaelic lords who wanted to make peace were forced to comply with the policy of 'surrender and regrant' and their heirs were removed for education to the houses of English gentlemen either in England or within the Pale. Other schemes of government were tried in later decades, including more vigorous policies of plantation in Laois and Offaly and the establishment of provincial councils and presidencies in places like Munster. As a result of these arrangements, first implemented by the new Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sidney in 1565,

Ireland was quickly invaded by a group of adventurers who had ambitions to revive dormant titles to land which had been occupied by their ancestors at the time of the Norman conquest.⁵

The inevitable resistance followed this invasion of English 'adventurers' and a number of insurrections broke out in Ireland in the late 1560s. The schemes of reform were largely abandoned and most insurrectionary activity then died away, but a particularly severe revolt broke out in Munster in 1579 under the leadership of James Fitz Maurice FitzGerald. It was brutally crushed, as Canny remarks,

Never before had such destruction of property or such systematic slaughter been witnessed in Ireland. The steely determination of government to inaugurate a new era... was demonstrated by its scheme to introduce a coherent English settlement of 20,000 people on the lands of the earl of Desmond and his confederates... This plantation resulted in a massive transfer of property from Irish to English ownership, and the settlement of 4,000 English people on the Desmond lands by the mid-1590s. The settlement in Munster consolidated the Protestant interest in Ireland... they identified as enemies of the English interest all who refused to subscribe to the oath of supremacy [and for the adventurers who arrived in Ireland at this time, usually starting as officials in the Dublin government] their immediate purpose was to establish possession of whatever property they could through legal or extra-legal devices.⁶

4 *Ibid.*, p. 100.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 109.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

It was into this freebooting environment of anarchic and often violent dispossession of existing landowners, both native Irish and Old English, that the young Richard Boyle arrived from London in the summer of 1588.

Boyle's Early Life (1566-1614) And How He Acquired His Irish Estates

Boyle was born in Preston in Kent on the 16th of October 1566. Queen Elizabeth had succeeded her Catholic half-sister Queen Mary eight years before his birth. He was the second son of Roger Boyle, a landowner, and his wife Joan. His father died in 1576 when Richard was ten years old.

Boyle attended the King's School in Canterbury and later went up to Bene't College (now Corpus Christi College) Cambridge. He left Cambridge without taking a degree - a relatively normal practice in those days - and worked as a clerk to Sir Richard Manwood, Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, at the Middle Temple in London. Making little money from this work, he decided to seek his fortune in Ireland. He arrived in Dublin with Sir Edward Waterhouse, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, in 1588 at the age of twenty-two. His total worldly wealth then amounted to £27. 3s.

At this time (as we have seen) many of the great estates in Munster were being confiscated in the wake of the Earl of Desmond's uprising in that province. Boyle attached himself to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Secretary to the Council, and to Sir John Crofton, the Escheator-General, and in 1590 he became deputy-escheator with responsibility for overseeing much of the work involved in identifying, valuing and leasing the confiscated lands. For an impecunious young man like Boyle, the temptation to bend the system in his favour soon became irresistible.

Terence Ranger, in a paper published in *Irish Historical Studies* in 1957, has given a detailed account of how Boyle made his Irish fortune in the years from 1588 to 1614. Ranger begins his account by saying that it deals with 'the obscure adventures of a minor official and petty landowner of unremarkable birth and little influence'.⁷ While we might agree that Boyle's birth was 'unremarkable' and his influence on English affairs was never truly significant, this characterising of Boyle's adventures as 'obscure', his status 'minor', and the extent of his landownership 'petty' seems remarkably inaccurate. In fact Ranger's own paper, an excellent and detailed account of Boyle's activities gives the lie to all three of these descriptions almost immediately: in the very next paragraph Ranger himself contradicts this description of Boyle, telling us that by the time Sir Thomas Wentworth arrived in Ireland as Lord Deputy in 1631 Boyle,

had become earl of Cork and lord treasurer of Ireland. He had been one of the lords justices who ruled Ireland before Wentworth's arrival and had come close to achieving the deputyship itself. He was also leader of the planter party and enjoyed a rent-roll of £20,000 a year to give reality to his authority. In short he towered over his rivals and enjoyed an influence, founded on both position and wealth, which permeated every part of Irish society.⁸

7 Terence O. Ranger, 'Richard Boyle and the Making of an Irish Fortune, 1588-1614', in *Irish Historical Studies*, X:39 (1957), pp. 257-297.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 258.

Wentworth's later investigations into Boyle's affairs - a struggle which was to lock the two men in a bitter and ultimately fatal decade-long dispute - was driven by Wentworth's desire to claim back for the Crown the financial opportunity it had lost in Ireland in the 1580s and 1590s. At that time Lord Burghley, the queen's principal minister, had hoped to implement a scheme designed to repeat the policy which the Tudor monarch Henry VII had implemented a century before in order to restore the solvency of the Crown. This saw officials engaged in a vigorous campaign to recover for the Crown lands known as 'concealments':

ancient royal lands occupied without lease or grant during the wars, lands held by lessees or their descendents although the lease had expired, lands legally forfeit upon attainder or through suicide but hidden and detailed from the crown, lands improperly held from the crown through technical flaws in the lease or grant, and so on.⁹

Henry VII's successful implementation of this policy had allowed him to accumulate significant revenues which he invested in profitable enterprises, thereby laying the foundations for the economic success of the Tudor monarchy. But Burghley did not have access to the resources of personnel needed to re-implement this policy on the scale necessary in Ireland in the 1590s. He found that he could only establish two administrative positions, that of escheator-general and his deputy, and there was little possibility that London-based officials would be able to exercise the necessary level of control over those individuals from a distance. Burghley therefore found it necessary in effect to part-privatise the process of granting concealments. The Irish authorities were to be permitted to issue letters patent under the great seal, leasing concealed lands to the grantee for a specified number of years. Prospective grantees would have to discover such concealed lands and then apply to the escheator for an inquisition before a jury. The process was smoothed by the grantee paying a gratuity to the escheator, some portion of which went to the escheator's aristocratic patron. The balance was reserved by the escheator himself. Everyone benefited from this arrangement - the grantee, the escheator, the patron and the Crown; except, that is, the deprived landowner. Less avaricious Dublin officials who objected to these crooked arrangements had no option but to stand aside as the wheels of greed and high politics began to grind away.

Burghley turned a deliberately blind eye to the corrupt activity of the escheators so long as they delivered the funds which the Crown required. This campaign of resumption continued through the 1580s and 1590s. It generated a chorus of complaint throughout Ireland, all of which was ignored. At the very centre of this maelstrom of corrupt speculative activity was Richard Boyle.

Ranger sees Boyle as 'a typical adventurer, the younger son of a younger son, an orphan, without connections and only a smattering of legal training'.¹⁰ His appointment in 1590 as deputy-escheator owed everything to the patronage of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, the Secretary and Surveyor-General. In this role Boyle was in

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*, p. 262.

day-to-day control of the search for concealments. The scheme itself provided a reasonable profit for the deputy-escheator but, as Ranger points out, Boyle actually embarked on a much more ambitious programme of personal acquisition. The original arrangement envisaged financial rewards flowing to the grantee, the escheator, the surveyor, the patron and the Crown. Boyle's modified scheme consolidated the interests of all the parties in the arrangement other than the Crown. In Ranger's words:

When enough land had been found, Boyle could buy out the possessor of a grant of concealments and proceed to pass the land in a patent ... the deputy-surveyor could help his ally [Boyle] by confirming [the low annual values assessed on the land. This scheme could then be used] to build by these means a considerable estate at a ludicrous annual rent and at a price only of whatever he was obliged to pay to the grantees.¹¹

This was the scheme which was implemented by Boyle between 1590 and 1595. His ally in the arrangement was Francis Capstock, the deputy-surveyor. Boyle used it to amass significant lands first in Connaught and later in Munster. The authorities maintained extensive networks of agents and spies in those two provinces and Boyle made use of these people to find land which could be appropriated in this way. He was indiscriminate in defrauding both the Old Irish and the Old English through such arrangements. It was - at least for Boyle - almost a perpetual motion finance scheme, in that the bribes and gratuities which he accumulated in dealing with other peoples' applications were then used to acquire land for himself. No grantee who was targeted by Boyle could possibly refuse to co-operate: if he sold to Boyle, albeit at a low rate, at least he earned something, whereas if he tried to resist and gain a certificate of ownership over concealed land Boyle could tie the whole process up in such administrative confusion that it was unlikely ever to be resolved to the grantee's satisfaction. And the officials whose co-operation Boyle himself needed - the deputy-surveyor and those charged with implementing the last leg in the process, the obtaining of letters patent under the great seal - were so handsomely 'compensated' by Boyle that he rarely experienced any problems with any part of the arrangement.

Boyle's earliest estates were acquired in 1593 and 1594 in Galway, Tipperary, Clare, Limerick, Longford and Roscommon. They were initially made up of scattered parcels of land with little connection to one another. But the lands which he acquired in Connaught were still in his possession in the 1630s when the plantation of that province gave Wentworth the opportunity of examining Boyle's title to them. As Ranger concludes:

It is now clear how comprehensively Boyle subverted the purposes of Burghley's campaign. It was intended to supplement royal patronage - he wronged the grantees. It was intended to increase royal revenue - he imposed ludicrous rents and in many cases diminished the queen's

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

profit. It was intended to extend royal authority - Boyle's practices infuriated the Old Irish and alienated potential allies from the Crown. It is clear that the rebellions in Connaught and Munster can be at least partly explained by Irish resentment at the search for concealments.¹²

Boyle's second Irish estate came from his marriage to Joan Apsley in 1595. Joan was the co-heiress of Captain William Apsley, sharing her late father's lands with her sister Mary in succession to her brother Edward. These lands comprised the hospital and manor of Any in Limerick; the monastery of Galbally, the land of Balligean and the castle of Dunningrott in Tipperary; several livings impropriate to Any; and some other miscellaneous livings. They were worth about £400 a year.

Unfortunately in January 1595 Edward Apsley, Joan's brother, killed himself. By law all the possessions of a suicide were forfeit to the Crown but the Apsley sisters' step-father, Captain Thomas Spring, appealed to Boyle for help. Boyle effectively harassed and obstructed the agents of the Lord Deputy's secretary, who was trying to procure a reversion of the lands to the Crown. The secretary (Francis Mitchell) was then paid compensation by Boyle for abandoning his claims and for procuring a new grant to the Apsley sisters, and the jury investigating Edward Apsley's death was manipulated into returning a verdict of death by misadventure rather than suicide. Certain members of the Sherlock family, prominent citizens of Waterford, were important intermediaries who helped Boyle to implement these obviously illegal arrangements. Then, on the 6th of November 1595, Boyle married Joan Apsley and presided over a division of the Apsley lands between himself and his new brother-in-law. Boyle's share, which was concentrated in Aherlo, formed the nucleus for a new set of Munster estates which he acquired over the coming years.

Although Boyle ceased to be deputy-escheator in 1596 he was still able to make use of his wide network of connections in Munster to seek out concealments in that province and to have them passed by grant to himself. On various patents which were passed to him in 1597 Boyle acquired the lands of the vicars choral of Lismore, the South Abbey of Youghal and various other church lands in the area. He managed to hold these church lands until the 1630s when Wentworth forced him to disgorge many of them. He gained further lands around Any in 1597 as well as new fragments in Limerick including the manor of Galbally and various lands attached to it. This, as Ranger says, 'Boyle became Richard Boyle of Galbally, gent.'¹³

Boyle's third acquisition was by far his most ambitious and problematic. Since his marriage to Joan Apsley in 1595 he had been increasingly battered by official investigators determined to expose the illegal means he had used to acquire his holdings. These challenges came both from others engaged in the frantic business of searching for concealments as well as from established officials who were disgusted by the brazenness of his frauds. This latter group was concerned that his

12 *Ibid.*, p. 272.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 278.

activities could lead to renewed rebellion in Munster and they managed to convince Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury and principal adviser to the queen, that the charges were accurate and the danger was real. Boyle was imprisoned on a number of occasions and was at least once in danger of execution on a felony charge. By the time he took refuge in London in 1598 Boyle's fortunes were at a low ebb: all his Munster estates had been overrun by rebels and his wife Joan had died in childbirth. He spent six months in prison in 1599 and was released only on Cecil's connivance because Cecil's friend Sir George Carew, recently appointed Lord President of Munster, needed an assistant in this work. Boyle went straight from prison into Carew's service as clerk of the Council. He returned to Munster in 1600.

Boyle's first significant involvement with Waterford occurred three years after his return to Ireland, in 1603. The Recusancy Revolt in Waterford that year is beyond the scope of this article, but it broke out at a particularly sensitive time. Boyle's political master, Sir George Carew, had left for England in February 1603 and while he was away the Queen (Elizabeth) died and was succeeded by her nephew, James VI of Scotland. Many of the Catholic Old English in Ireland believed that James (who had shown considerable favour to the Scottish Catholics) would be sympathetic to the difficult position they had found themselves in since the Reformation. In Waterford the Catholic population engaged in a new bout of religious devotion and public displays of adherence to the old faith. The political and religious temperature in the city began to rise.

Lord Deputy Mountjoy assembled an army to march on Waterford. He was convinced that the possibility of a Spanish invasion could not be discounted, notwithstanding the defeat of the Irish at Kinsale in 1601 and the Earl of Tyrone's recent surrender. Having accepted the submission of Kilkenny, Wexford and Thomastown in his army's march south, Mountjoy arrived in Waterford on the 1st of May 1603. Amid much tension and after considerable negotiation, he was admitted to the city on the 3rd of May where he effectively accepted Waterford's surrender (at least in religious terms) to the Crown. Richard Boyle accompanied Mountjoy in his capacity as clerk to the Council of Munster. This political intervention by Boyle into Waterford's affairs shows that he had public duties which went beyond his purely personal affairs, which continued to focus on the acquisition of estates in Munster.

On that front the focus had now changed from searching for concealments to much more direct forfeiture of land belonging to native rebels. Again, the role of the middle-man was central. As Boyle grew indispensable to Lord President Carew, Carew in turn obtained for him a pardon for his past misdemeanours. 'Thus', as Ranger remarks, 'Boyle became respectable'.¹⁴ He contracted a second marriage, this time to Catherine Fenton, daughter of Sir George Fenton, the Secretary. He was knighted on his wedding day in 1603 and Fenton then did him an even greater favour by permitting him to use the £1,000 which he had received on his marriage to purchase Sir Walter Raleigh's Munster estates.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 282.

Raleigh's extensive holdings included most of the episcopal lands of Lismore and the College of Youghal with its rich revenues. The nucleus of these lands had been granted to him by the queen in 1587 in return for his services to the Crown. He had also acquired the castle, manor and lands of Lismore for a nominal rent from Miler Magrath, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, in 1587. Two years later Magrath was succeeded as bishop by Thomas Weatherhead, who had promised to sell his wardenship of the College of Youghal to whoever facilitated his episcopal appointment. As part of this arrangement Weatherhead also leased the manor of Ardmore and the town and lands of Ballinamona and Corbally to Raleigh. This collection of 42,000 acres constituted the estate which Boyle bought from Raleigh in 1603.

With the addition of the Raleigh estates to his portfolio Boyle now re-directed his attention away from acquiring further new land to the equally tricky business of securing his title to the land now collected together under his ownership.

The new king showed a much more liberal approach to the business of managing his Irish lands, and the years from 1603 to 1614 thus became 'the hey-day of the Irish adventurer'.¹⁵ In 1605 the king formally announced that he would issue no new grants of concealment; instead he instituted a commission of defective titles through which he would grant new patents (that is to say, much more secure titles) to land-owners who were willing to pay for the privilege. But this plan of conciliation and settlement which had originated with Sir Robert Cecil was thwarted just as fully as Burghley's plan of resumption had been twenty years before, and largely by the same individuals - the adventurer class in Ireland, chief of whom was now Sir Richard Boyle. Again Ranger comments:

The commission of defective titles was ... distorted in operation. When dealing with planter or official the commissioners proceeded with unparalleled benevolence ... But when commissioners came to deal with Irish landowners their methods were different ... Rapidly the Irish came to regard the commission as a sinister instrument of English exploitation.¹⁶

After Raleigh's attainder in 1604 Boyle's title to the land he had acquired from him was seriously weakened. He now focused his attention even more firmly on securing his title to that estate. Not only was it important to hold the land under a secure patent from the Crown, it was just as necessary that it should be held under the right *kind* of patent. In fact land could be held from the Crown in three ways: on a lease for years or for life at a fixed rent; forever at a fixed rent (so-called 'fee farm'); or forever rent-free (so-called 'fee simple'). Boyle's objective was to ensure that as much of his land as possible was held under fee simple Crown patents.

To add to the complexity of these arrangements, even land which was held under the best possible lease arrangement - 'fee simple' - could in turn be held under one of two very different tenures or conditions of holding. The first was free

15 *Ibid.*, p. 283.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 283-4.

and common soccage. The second was knight service or *in capite* tenure. Having your land held under free and common soccage was by far the better route because knight service involved the lessee in a variety of costly obligations to the Crown whereas soccage was free from all such obligations. 'It was Boyle's ambition to hold all his lands in common soccage as well as in fee simple'¹⁷ and his life's work from 1603 to 1614 was dedicated to achieving that ambition. This involved him in the same kind of interaction with officialdom in Dublin which had characterised his earlier land dealings. But he pursued his objective relentlessly and was overwhelmingly successful in that endeavour. By 1614 his fortune was made: he was worth some £4,000 per annum, an enormous sum for those days. Now he turned to developing a new career in high politics, ironically as a servant of the same Crown whose power base in Ireland he had so seriously undermined in his earlier role as an unscrupulous adventurer and land-grabber.

Boyle's Later Life (1614-1643) - Consolidation and Social Advancement

From the turn of the century Boyle had found it increasingly important to advance his political career at the same time as he was attempting to ensure the security of his holdings. In 1607 he had been appointed a privy councillor for Munster. He became MP for Lismore on acquisition of the Raleigh lands and he joined the Irish Privy Council in 1613. These appointments all helped him to form the range of alliances with officials in Dublin which he needed to secure the title to his lands.

As a privy councillor and Irish MP, Boyle played a prominent role in Lord Deputy Chichester's parliament of 1613-15, the parliament which confirmed the plantation of Ulster. Then in 1616 Boyle secured the title of Baron Youghal and in 1620 he became Earl of Cork. Boyle's earldom was procured at least in part as a result of the friendship which he had cultivated with James's favourite George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham. Boyle's negotiations for his earldom were intermediated by Sir Edward Villiers, Buckingham's brother, and his elevation as Earl of Cork and Viscount Dungarvan (with the motto 'God's providence is my inheritance') cost him £4,500, paid directly to Villiers. The viscountcy was passed as a courtesy title to Boyle's eldest son, also Richard, and in 1624 when Boyle played host to Lord Deputy Falkland on a state visit to Munster Falkland also knighted Boyle's eldest son. That particular honour cost £31. 10s. Sir Edward Villiers, who had smoothed the path for Boyle's earldom, became President in Munster in 1625 and rented Boyle's house in Youghal as his residence. But Villiers died soon after taking up his appointment and was buried in the Boyle family chapel in the town.

On becoming Earl of Cork Boyle moved from Youghal into the castle at Lismore. The house in Youghal was retained as his point of embarkation for his various visits to England. Here in Youghal he had been visited by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1617 after James I released Raleigh from prison. Raleigh stayed three weeks before setting out on his expedition to Equatorial Guinea which was to end in failure and lead to his execution later that year.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 290.

A second Waterford connection becomes apparent here. Niall Byrne has noted that Boyle also presented Raleigh with 1,000 marks towards the cost of fitting out his ships for his last expedition. Boyle's generosity may have been the reason why Raleigh chose to victual his ships for that journey in Youghal or Cork rather than at Waterford, which was the traditional final port of fit-out for English ships about to embark on a trans-Atlantic voyage. More specifically Byrne points to various developments which had,

Fractured the hitherto high regard of English merchants for the rectitude of their counterparts in Waterford city, while the rampant recusancy and consequent poor relations with both Irish and English officialdom, were now militating heavily against Waterford commerce. In this regards, it is very tempting to associate ... Sir Allen Apsley, Commissioner for Victuals in Munster, with the late Joan Apsley, who had been Boyle's first wife. It is then a natural progression for a devious Waterford mind to perceive a scenario in which Boyle, utilising the multiple factors of this family connection, the critical government office enjoyed by Apsley, the deteriorating relationships between Waterford and the government, and the poor reputation of Waterford now developing in English mercantile circles, to seek official support for, and English mercantile utilisation of, his victualling facilities available in either Youghal or Cork or Kinsale, to the detriment of Waterford.¹⁸

In 1628 Boyle's son Lewis became Viscount Boyle of Kinalmeaky and his son Roger became Lord Broghill. Boyle was also preoccupied with making successful marriages for his children and through this route the family became connected to the Cliffords, the Howards, the Villiers, the Barrys (Earls of Barrymore) and the Fitzgeralds (Earls of Kildare). At the same time as he was arranging these dynastic marriages and acquiring further landholdings Boyle also engaged in important urban developments in Youghal, Dungarvan and Lismore.

Munster's agricultural and trade base had been seriously damaged by the rebellion of the late 1590s. Boyle was thrifty and proved a brilliant planner and improver of his estates. These lands largely lay where the Blackwater opened a way from the fertile inland country to the harbour at Youghal. Boyle built roads, bridges and harbours and settled towns on his estate. As well as castles, he also established alms houses, free schools and churches. He rebuilt Tallow and established new towns in the forests of west Munster - Bandon New Town, Clonakilty, Enniskeane and Castletown Kineagh. Apart from their roles as models of design, the common theme linking all these urban developments was that no Catholics were to be allowed entry to any of the towns. Brian FitzGerald characterises the Earl of Cork as an 'enlightened despot' to every group except the 'Papists'. Fifty years later Oliver Cromwell paid him a dubious compliment when he remarked:

18 Niall J. Byrne, 'Jacobean Waterford: Religion and Politics 1603-25', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, (University College Cork, 2001), pp. 160-1.

If there had been an Earl of Cork in every province, it would have been impossible for the Irish to have raised a rebellion.¹⁹

Boyle played a significant role in industrialising the province in the early 1600s. In the areas under plantation the government had abolished the Irish customs of 'tanistry' and 'gravelkind'; this gave the local tenants some fixity of tenure. All these tenants were of course English. As FitzGerald puts it, this made excellent economic sense but was morally indefensible. Nonetheless fields were fenced and drained in these areas and Boyle and his fellow industrialists sunk a large number of mines and built forges along the riverbanks. The production of bar iron made him further huge profits, although the activities of copper and lead smelting also led to serious deforestation in the local area. He revived the trade in wool and in 1618 Youghal got the exclusive right to export woollens from Munster. Spinning and weaving were established at Clonakilty and linen manufacturing was started in Bandon and Youghal. Again, all the linen weavers came from England.

Commerce increased with trade. Livestock was once again exported to Bristol and fish houses were established in Ardmore. Glass manufacturing began in Cork. Tallow and Lismore were rebuilt and Youghal was expanded but Boyle's principal locus of civic pride was Bandon, a town on which he spent £14,000 in restoration. It was incorporated in 1613 as a wholly Protestant town with admirable roads and bridges.

FitzGerald attempts to defend Boyle's attitude to his local Catholic tenants but without conviction. He notes that Boyle exercised no religious discrimination in choosing local people as workers but they had to take an oath of loyalty to the Protestant king, a requirement which most Catholics were unwilling to undertake. FitzGerald suggests that the New English treated the Irish peasants at least as well as the Old Irish lords had, but although Lord Deputy Chichester had abolished the old serfdom arrangements, the local population remained absolutely at the mercy of the Protestant lords. All that had really changed in the widespread upheaval of the early seventeenth century was the identity of the ruling class.

Despite - or perhaps because of - the relentless legal and governmental challenges which he faced in Ireland, Boyle also made strenuous efforts to gain admittance into the political and noble life of England. Ireland was seen as a distinctly inferior location by those based in England, and Irish titles were definitely less than the 'full thing'. Boyle's life's ambition (in political terms) was to join the English Privy Council and his attempted alliance with the Duke of Buckingham was a further effort in that direction. On the way he continued to acquire property in Ireland: a further grant was obtained in 1629 on foot of a loan to the Crown of £15,000.

In 1629 Boyle was appointed one of the two Lord Justices of Ireland. This followed a visit of the whole family to London in 1628-29 at which Boyle was received by the new king, Charles I. Several thousand pounds found their way from Boyle to Buckingham and Boyle also loaned the king £14,000 in return for

19 Brian FitzGerald, *The Anglo-Irish: Three Representative Types- Cork, Ormonde, Swift (1602-1745)*, (London, Staples Press, 1952), p. 32.

the farm of the Irish customs and a monopoly on tobacco in Ireland. The other Lord Justice at this time was Adam Loftus, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and a deep disdain existed between the two men almost from the moment Boyle arrived back in Ireland in October 1629, landing down-river from Dublin at the small fishing village of Ringsend.

Despite their differences, Boyle and Loftus initially worked reasonably well together. They agreed on the absolute necessity of maintaining Protestantism in the kingdom and together they suppressed various Catholic religious houses including the famous Franciscan church in Cook Street in Dublin. The Jesuit church and college in Dublin were annexed to Trinity College and Boyle ordered the complete destruction of St Patrick's Purgatory on Lough Derg in Co. Donegal. During his political months in Dublin, Boyle lived at Cork House on the site of the later Royal Exchange, now Dublin City Hall. His energy as Lord Justice was rewarded in 1631 when he was awarded the additional office of Lord Treasurer of Ireland. But a development in the following year was to present Boyle with the greatest challenge yet in his long and increasingly complicated career in Irish public life.

In 1632 Thomas, Viscount Wentworth, later 1st Earl of Strafford, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. In FitzGerald's words, 'his arrival brought to a sudden and dramatic close the splendour and the glory of the Great Earl of Cork's career'.²⁰ FitzGerald judges Wentworth as having played a deeply sinister role in Irish history, dragging the Irish common people into Charles I's titanic struggle with Parliament. Originally part of the parliamentary opposition, Wentworth had been imprisoned with John Hampden in 1626. But he was converted to Charles's cause after Buckingham's death and became a friend and ally of Charles's great confidant, Archbishop Laud. It was clear to Wentworth that Ireland's role in the struggle then developing in England would be to provide sufficient revenue to make Charles independent of the English parliament and to provide men for a powerful Catholic army for the king's use in both England and Scotland.

Wentworth and Boyle presented an immediate and very public clash of personalities in the Dublin administration. Where Wentworth - in FitzGerald's words - was 'epicurean, cavalier and conservative', Boyle was 'stoic, protestant and progressive'.²¹ Wentworth was determined to rein Boyle in and their most violent early encounter came when Wentworth demanded that Boyle should move the black marble monument to his wife which he had erected in St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin at the enormous cost of £400. Catherine Boyle, Countess of Cork had died in 1630 and was buried privately at night in the chancel of St Patrick's. When the monument was completed in 1633 her bones and those of her parents and grandparents were transferred to the new tomb which had been constructed in front of a blocked-up door at the east end of the cathedral. The Anglican Bishop of Derry, John Bramhall, joined with Laud and Wentworth in persuading the king himself to insist that the tomb should be moved to a less prominent spot, which eventually it was, to Boyle's great dismay.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

Soon after his arrival Wentworth had summoned the Irish parliament, having taken care to create sufficient new pocket boroughs to ensure that it was packed in his favour. It sat in July 1634 and voted a subsidy of £24,000 to the king, of which Boyle himself paid £3,400. But having persuaded the wealthy to 'donate', Wentworth then persuaded parliament to create a Commission for Defective Titles, a body which Wentworth was to use to attack Boyle and to question the way in which he had amassed his great fortune. Boyle was now the richest man in Ireland. Wentworth used the commission to accuse him of having stolen land and possessions from the Church.

In his struggle with Boyle, Wentworth had been incensed when Bishop Bramhall has reported that 'the alienation of Church possessions by long leases and deeds are infinite - the Earl of Cork holds the whole Bishopric of Lismore at a rent of 40s. or 5 marks by the year'.²² Boyle's cousin Michael Boyle, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore (who had been appointed to the see by his cousin the Earl), re-iterated this complaint about Boyle holding the bishopric of Lismore directly to Archbishop Laud. All the lands currently held by the Earl of Cork had previously belonged to the see of Waterford and Lismore, he complained. It was therefore this complaint by the Bishop of Waterford, Michael Boyle, which opened the litigation between Lord Deputy Wentworth and the Earl of Cork which was to end only with Wentworth's trial and execution in 1641. This was in fact a replay of an earlier attempt to wrest lands which had previously belonged to the see of Waterford away from Boyle: a Bill had been presented in the Irish House of Commons in 1614 with the same objective but it was narrowly defeated.

Notwithstanding their differences, Boyle and Wentworth had become related by marriage when Boyle's heir, Viscount Dungarvan, married Elizabeth Clifford, Wentworth's niece, in 1634. As a wedding gift Boyle had given the couple the old College House in Youghal, now Myrtle Grove, which he himself had formerly occupied. Somewhat ironically, Wentworth now charged Boyle with having illegally appropriated the land and revenues of the College of Youghal after the Munster War in the late 1590s. Originally a Catholic institution, the College had come under the patronage of the Anglican Bishop of Waterford after the Reformation. He had let it to Sir Walter Raleigh whose interest Boyle had bought as part of his great transaction to purchase Raleigh's Munster estates in 1603. Boyle had then bought out the Warden (the Bishop of Cork, another cousin) and the three surviving fellows of the College. Three decades later, on Wentworth's instigation and through Bishop Michael Boyle of Waterford as a formal complainant, Boyle was prosecuted for 'being privy to a fabricated bond [the purchase contract] and for taking or imposing an illegal oath'.²³ After a famously complicated and acrimonious trial Boyle was forced to reach a private settlement in which he was fined £15,000 for the rents he was claimed to have fraudulently collected and forced to surrender all the advowsons and patronage associated with the property, all except the College House itself and a few fields near to the town of Youghal.

22 Niall J. Byrne, 'Jacobean Waterford: Religion and Politics 1603-25', p. 204.

23 Brian FitzGerald, *The Anglo-Irish: Three Representative Types - Cork, Ormonde, Swift (1602-1745)*, p. 85.

Bishop Boyle of Waterford died on the 27th of December 1635. By this time Wentworth was well advanced in his case against Boyle over the College of Youghal. Encouraged by his success in this matter, Wentworth decided to appoint as successor to Bishop Boyle John Atherton, the bishop of Leighlin. As Niall Byrne remarks:

Although Laud had some misgivings, Wentworth appointed Atherton specifically to confront the Earl of Cork, and to regain some of the vast acreages of land previously owned by the See of Waterford and Lismore. King Charles ratified this appointment on 5 April 1636.²⁴

Bishop Atherton embarked on an ambitious campaign to recover the revenues of his diocese, seizing houses for non-payment of rent and also seizing lands, even lands held in Kilcarragh by the Mayor of Waterford, Richard Butler. He also achieved

spectacular successes against the Earl of Cork, forcing a settlement in Lismore manor amounting to £115. 16s. 8d. However his greatest achievement was in the manor of Ardmore ... [where] the Earl of Cork was forced, by an Order in Council dated 19 July 1637, to surrender this entire manor.²⁵

Unfortunately Bishop Atherton came to a sorry end. Accused of sodomy with his steward he was prosecuted under a recently-enacted Act of the Irish parliament. He was found guilty and hanged in Dublin on the 5th of December 1640 and 'at his own request, he was buried on the same day in a rubbish pit located in a corner of the cemetery of St John the Evangelist in Fishamble Street, a foundation where he had served as Prebendary in 1630'.²⁶

In 1637 Boyle suffered a seizure and moved to England to recover. In the growing political turbulence of Charles I's reign, Boyle, still an immensely wealthy and therefore valuable man, stayed close to the king, and three of his sons joined the king's army as it marched north to deal with the Scottish rebels. Charles himself attended the weddings of two of the Earl's children, Francis (later Earl of Shannon), and Viscount Kinalmeaky. Boyle now divided his time equally between Dorset and Ireland and watched aghast as Wentworth, now Earl of Strafford, continued to raise an Irish Catholic army which he placed under the command of James Butler, the 12th Earl of Ormonde, a prominent member of an Old English family whose Norman ancestors had come to Ireland with Henry II in the twelfth century.

Although the Irish army was never utilised and was ultimately disbanded, Strafford could not prevent Parliament from acting against him when it gained the upper hand in its struggles with the king. Both Laud and Strafford were impeached and Boyle helped to frame the Irish part of the articles of impeachment against

24 Niall J. Byrne, 'Jacobean Waterford: Religion and Politics 1603-25', p. 206.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 207.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 209.

Strafford. Much of the charge related to his misgovernment of Ireland and Boyle himself was called as a witness at his trial in the House of Lords. In a diary entry in May 1641 Boyle wrote:

This day, after many long debates and several hearings, the oppressing Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was by parliament attainted of high treason, where I sat present and on the 12th of this [month] he was beheaded on the Tower Hill of London, as he well deserved.²⁷

After Strafford's trial and execution Boyle returned one last time to Munster. Rebellion ignited in Ulster a few days after his return and gradually spread to the south. Several thousand Protestant planters were massacred in Ulster and many of Boyle's English tenants fled back to England. The remaining Munster planters flocked to Bandon which Boyle placed under the command of his son Lewis, Viscount Kinalmeaky. Boyle himself was barracked at Youghal while Lord Broghill held Lismore. Viscount Dungarvan was sent to England to plead for reinforcements and ammunition. Kinalmeaky was killed in action and later in the year Boyle himself was besieged at Lismore Castle after he had transferred there. The king's support for the besieged planters was less than effusive, mainly because he was playing a dangerous game in his attempts not to antagonise the Catholics of Ireland. But by now Boyle was beyond participating in these arrangements. Old and wearied by his years of acquisition and politicking, he died on the 15th of September 1643, aged 76. He was buried in Youghal, 'and with him [as Brian FitzGerald remarks] died the Elizabethan age in Munster'.²⁸

The Inner Man - Nicholas Canny on Boyle as 'The Upstart Earl'

What are we to make of Richard Boyle? If the true character of someone seems lost to history after two or three generations, how can we hope to see the 'real' Boyle after fifteen generations have elapsed? In truth we cannot, and the various accounts of his character which contemporary authors have given us often tell us more about those authors themselves than about the first Earl of Cork. And all these accounts are marked - as Boyle's own account of his life and activities were - by the social, religious and political contexts in which they were written.

To start with an Anglo-Irish author of rather obviously hagiographical intent: Dorothea Townshend published her *Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork* in 1904. We know we face problems of objectivity and restraint with this author when we read in the preface that

The position of the Earl of Cork in Munster was indeed unique. English intruder though he was ... his neighbours of both creeds consulted him as an oracle, and flew with pride on his errands; their daughters refused to marry till assured of the great Earl's approbation;

27 Brian FitzGerald, *The Anglo-Irish: Three Representative Types - Cork, Ormonde, Swift (1602-1745)*, p. 103.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

his tenants carried their troubles to him with complete confidence in his paternal interest; the clergy obeyed him as they would have done a bishop. Wealthy, good natured and domineering, he was the moving spirit of all that was said and done in Munster for well-nigh fifty years.²⁹

A more balanced (though still - it seems to me - less than entirely objective) account of Boyle's life was provided by another author writing from an Anglo-Irish perspective. In 1952 Brian FitzGerald wrote *The Anglo-Irish: Three Representative Types*. In his foreword FitzGerald stakes out his central claim for the Anglo-Irish: that they effectively created modern Ireland, notwithstanding that they were ruthless colonizing capitalists who suppressed the native population in often brutal ways. Here Richard Boyle is seen not as an isolated figure but as part of the large sweep of English intruders into Ireland whose legacy was impressive and, indeed, progressive despite the reprehensible tactics which they sometimes employed. For FitzGerald, Old Medieval Ireland went down at the Battle of Kinsale on Christmas Day in 1601. Thereafter the remains of a society based on Gaelic customs and feudal laws was swept away:

The clan chieftains and Norman lords and ecclesiastics who had ruled for ages vanished away, and their place was taken by a new class of person - land-speculators, manufacturers, merchants - in a word, capitalists. This new aristocracy was the Protestant Ascendancy. And these capitalists ... were the Anglo-Irish.³⁰

This, of course, is all highly debatable. But perhaps the most objective account of Richard Boyle has been provided by Nicholas Canny in his important series of essays *The Upstart Earl*. Canny notes the aura of intense suspicion which hung over Boyle in his own lifetime. Historians have sought to balance this suspicion of Boyle and all his works against the more adulatory account of his life which appears in his own *True Remembrances*, which is generally considered an equally one-sided account written by a series of authors who were in the pay of the Boyle family. The nineteenth-century Irish nationalist historian T.M. Healy and others saw Boyle as 'Lord Cork, prince of patent mongers'; this approach is in keeping with the general Irish Nationalist view of Strafford as the great exposé of corruption among the New English elite in Ireland. Canny's own study of Boyle is less damning of him, focusing on what Boyle himself thought was the proper role of the New English in Ireland and what their appropriate rewards should be.

Canny remarks that the Wentworth papers are not objective about Boyle: in fact Wentworth moulded Boyle's personality to fit the caricature of

29 Dorothea Townshend, *The Life and Letters of the Earl of Cork*, (London, Duckworth and Company Ltd., 1904), p. ix.

30 Brian FitzGerald, *The Anglo-Irish: Three Representative Types - Cork, Ormonde, Swift (1602-1745)*, p. 18.

the anti-noble; that is one who despite his elevation to social eminence lacked the qualities of a true noble, and whose life, as a consequence, was a parody of everything noble.³¹

He believes that this view of Boyle is every bit as distorted as Boyle's own view of himself presented in the *True Remembrances*. Wentworth emphasised Boyle's lack of respect for hierarchy, his greed and the insatiability of his appetite for acquisition, his pretentious exhibitionism, his boasting about his wealth, and particularly the fact that he could not be trusted to keep a promise. For him, Boyle's endowing of schools and almshouses was all a front. In fact he was mean even to his own children and the profanity of the monument in St Patrick's spoke loudly of the ignoble way in which he approached all his dealings with the established church. It was (for Wentworth) ironic that he himself should have been accused by Boyle of fostering popery by introducing the Laudian reforms into Ireland given the contempt which Boyle had shown for the Church in fraudulently acquiring so much of its land.

Sometime after Boyle had acquired Sir Walter Raleigh's lands in Munster, Raleigh's wife and son sought reparation from him because Raleigh (they alleged) had been deliberately forced into an unwise transaction. Boyle countered that £1,000 in gold was the right price for the land and claimed that he also had to pay £2,700 to former tenants and make a gift of 1,000 marks to the queen to free the land of its various encumbrances. He claimed as well that Raleigh had publicly told his son that Boyle had served him well in that transaction.

Boyle offered a more providential explanation of his activity in Connaught in the 1590s and also the matter of the £15,000 fine which he was forced to pay to settle the dispute over Youghal College. In both these cases he argued both from providence (that what had happened could be seen to have been God's will) and also from practicality - that good outcomes (such as his public works - the successful tenanting of his estates with English farmers and tradesmen, building fortified towns, churches, bridges and castles, and maintaining preachers, schools and almshouses) could justify questionable means. But the providential explanation seemed uppermost in his mind and he identified four occasions in his life when God's hand could be clearly discerned in his affairs. The first was his first marriage to Joan Apsley which had brought him land worth £500. The second was his nomination in 1602 to the clerkship of the Council in Munster. The third was his purchase of the Raleigh estates. And the fourth was his marriage in 1603 to Catherine Fenton.

All these events led to a huge increase in Boyle's material prosperity and as such were for him striking signs of God's benefaction. Wentworth had been sent by God to test Boyle's faith, and Wentworth's subsequent trial and execution proved that God was on Boyle's side. Canny emphasises that this attitude was no 'cover-up' on Boyle's part. He genuinely believed in such providentialism, as did very many early seventeenth-century Protestants:

31 Nicholas Canny, *The Upstart Earl: A Study of the Social and Mental World of Richard Boyle, First Earl of Cork 1566-1643*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 14.

Within [this providential framework], Cork was able to argue that his material success was proof that he was endowed with virtue, and that this in turn explained why providence continued to favour him.³²

So long as the ends were virtuous, the means were always justified. It was this attitude which allowed Boyle to see himself as doing God's will in civilising the native Irish and, after he became Lord Justice, in ending toleration for idolatry, closing religious houses, and destroying St Patrick's Purgatory. Canny suggests that Boyle was a 'latent Puritan' but he tolerated an episcopal church, not least because its governing structures allowed him to take further control over local affairs within his estate. He made his older brother John Boyle Bishop of Cork in 1617 and - as we have seen - his cousin Dr. Michael Boyle became Bishop of Waterford and Lismore in 1619. (Both bishops showed little loyalty to their benefactor. I have mentioned Michael Boyle's efforts to recover his diocesan lands from the Earl, and John Boyle of Cork subsequently sided with Wentworth in his disputes with Boyle and was later created Archbishop of Tuam at least in part as a reward for his loyalty in siding with the Dublin administration).

Boyle's cousin Richard became Dean of Waterford in 1604, a position he held until 1620. He was also (and simultaneously) prebendary of Kilcaragh (three miles south-east of Waterford), Archdeacon of Lismore, and Warden of the College of Youghal. Another cousin Dr Richard Boyle was Dean of Lismore until 1620 when he in turn succeeded to the see of Cork. One further cousin, Robert Naylor, became Dean of Lismore and would have been made Bishop of Waterford and Lismore in 1635 had Wentworth not insisted on John Atherton's appointment instead. In accordance with his providential outlook, Boyle saw Atherton's subsequent disgrace as vindicating his own policy of maintaining local control over the church. He supported episcopalianism in public whilst despising it in private. All his children were brought up puritanically.

Canny agrees with Boyle's critics that his political attitudes were invariably double-dealing. He urged Laud to help him reconcile with Wentworth while effectively maintaining the momentum which eventually led to Wentworth's execution in 1641. He refused to take any formal side in the dispute between Charles I and Parliament though he made loans of £15,000 and £1,000 to the king when he needed it most, in 1628 and 1640 respectively. As Canny remarks:

It would be difficult ... to find one in seventeenth-century England whose personality was such a bundle of inconsistencies and illogicalities as that of Richard Boyle looks to have been.³³

Canny excuses this behaviour at least in part because of the precariousness of Boyle's circumstances in Ireland at the time. He headed a group of planters who were surrounded by natives whose attitudes were, at best, restless. This led to a deep insecurity, both political and personal, as well as a need for duplicitousness and more than occasional double-dealing. It was imperative for the security of the

32 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

planters that England, their long-stop, should remain stable. Any disunity in England would mean that the planters were thrown back on their own resources for self-defence. And since the 1630s and 1640s were a period of immense turmoil in England, the psychological temperature among the planters in Ireland was high. Although (Canny argues) Boyle's real sympathies were with Parliament and the puritans, he remained an ally of the king as the 'least bad' guarantor of Boyle's own position in Ireland. Charles in turn gave Boyle some of the public recognition which he craved. This tactic largely paid off for Boyle, who remained a much more complex character than the caricature presented by Wentworth. In Canny's judgement:

Wentworth was correct in assuming that his subject was a typical member of the New English elite in Ireland; he stood apart from them only in being more disciplined, more persevering, more dedicated to duty as he understood it, and hence more successful.³⁴

Canny disagrees with Wentworth's view that Boyle had no regard for hierarchy. In fact it mattered greatly to him and he became a royal courtier after becoming Earl of Cork in 1620. He sought (unsuccessfully) to trace his family back to a distinguished progenitor and his wife Catherine Fenton, the daughter of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, was also the grand-daughter of Dr Robert Weston who had been both Dean of the Arches (the senior ecclesiastical court in the Church of England which still meets today at St Mary-le-Bow in the City of London) and Lord Chancellor of Ireland from 1567 to 1573. The importance which Boyle attached to his public status is also evidenced by the two monuments which he erected in Ireland (one in St Patrick's, the other in Youghal) and two in Kent.

Boyle took great care in arranging marriages for his children as a way of extending the family's network of social and political relations. His daughter Alice was married to David, Viscount Barrymore, and another daughter Joan was married to George, Earl of Kildare. Both were important Old English families; indeed the Barrymores were landowning neighbours of the Boyles in Munster. Viscount Barrymore was continually in debt and it was Boyle's money which saved him and allowed him to become an earl and to re-build the family seat at Castlelyons. When the Earl of Barrymore was killed in the 1641 rebellion he was buried in Boyle's chapel in Youghal.

Joan's marriage to the Earl of Kildare was a similarly calculated enterprise. In 1629 Boyle paid £6,600 to the Duchess of Lennox for the wardship of Kildare. He managed the Earl's affairs while he was still a minor and rebuilt the chapel at Maynooth. Relations between the two men were never cordial, however, and in later life they became deeply estranged. Boyle's other daughters were also the subject of tightly-negotiated marriage settlements, all of which were concluded while they were children and all of which involved significant dowries. Sarah Boyle was married to Thomas Moore, the eldest son of Lord and Lady Moore of Mellifont, and when Thomas died she was subsequently married to Lord Robert Digby,

34 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

Baron of Greaskill and nephew of the Earl of Bristol. Dorothy Boyle was married to Arthur Loftus, heir to Sir Adam Loftus of Rathfarnham. Lettice Boyle was married to George Goring, son and heir to Lord George Goring, who later became Earl of Norwich, and Catherine Boyle was married to Arthur Jones, heir to Lord Ranelagh. Boyle's eldest son and heir, Viscount Dungarvan, married Elizabeth Clifford who, as well as being an heiress and grand-daughter of the first Earl of Salisbury, was also - as we have seen - the niece of Wentworth, Boyle's greatest political opponent.

Other sons' marriages followed the same arrangement, though for his sons it was more important that the wife should bring money rather than significant social status to the union. Francis Boyle married Elizabeth Killegrewe; Lewis (Viscount Kinalmeaky) married Lady Elizabeth Fielding, daughter of the Earl of Denbeigh; and Roger (Baron Broghill) married Margaret Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk.

Boyle also focused his attention on developing close connections at Court. He first sought to use his old political master Sir George Carew, now Earl of Totnes, and Sir Thomas Stafford but these connections were largely ineffective. His main target was James I and Charles I's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, who was assassinated in 1628; but Buckingham, while willing to take Boyle's money, continued to treat him with the disdain that was due to a mere Irish peer. Lord Goring, Boyle's son-in-law, became a key adviser to Charles I after Buckingham's death and it was Goring who arranged Boyle's loan to the king of £15,000 in 1628 which resulted in both a commercial gain for Boyle (he received a patent in return) and a political one as well (he became a Lord Justice of Ireland on the back of this loan and was later to join the English Privy Council through Goring's advocacy of his case).

Canny suggests that Boyle's plan for his own affairs was straightforward: to start in Ireland, accumulate significant wealth there, then transfer back to England where he would obtain an English peerage and Crown office. In the late 1630s he began looking for property in the West Country and in 1636 he bought the manor of Stalbridge in Dorsetshire from Lord Castlehaven for £5,000. He also bought Temple Coombe at around this time for £20,000. These complimented his properties at Lismore Castle and Cork House in Dublin. At Lismore he tried to shape the local countryside in the English fashion and he also built Carrigaline Castle for his son Francis. Despite his success in gaining titles both for himself (as Earl of Cork), three sons (Viscount Dungarvan, Viscount Kinalmeaky, and Baron Broghill) and one son-in-law (the Earl of Barrymore) Canny comments that

While Cork eventually attained most of his social ambitions, he himself was so conscious of his inability to assume the lifestyle of those at court that he never got beyond the stage of role playing.³⁵

He was never accepted as an equal by the English and he eventually reconciled himself to that fate, transferring all his ambitions for social advancement and acceptance onto his sons.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 75.

For Canny, Richard Boyle's was 'probably the most remarkable family ever to be raised in Ireland'.³⁶ Boyle had fifteen children with his second wife, eleven of whom survived to adulthood. His first surviving son was Viscount Dungarvan, later the 2nd Earl of Cork. He also achieved an ambition which had eluded his father by becoming a member of the English peerage as Baron Clifford, later Earl of Burlington. Boyle's second son Lewis became Viscount Kinalmeaky; he was killed in the rebellion of 1641. His third son Roger was Baron Broghill, later Earl of Orrery; he was both a politician and a playwright. His fourth son, Francis, later became Viscount Shannon (after the Earl's death), and his fifth and final son, Robert, became a celebrated natural philosopher and a founder member of the Royal Society of London. Boyle's two most notable daughters were Catherine, Lady Ranelagh, 'the most renowned female intellectual of her generation'³⁷ and Mary, Countess of Warwick, a noted puritan who - according to Canny - 'demonstrated how, through the cultivation of private devotion, a woman could achieve complete independence from the oppressive dominance of men'.³⁸

Boyle was a man of his age in the way in which he treated his sons and daughters differently. Little was invested in his daughters' education and they were usually married off at a young age and without much if any regard for their own personal preferences. The lack of any historical memory of his wife, the Countess of Cork, confirms his insistence that women, being the weaker sex, should stay in the background, concentrating attention on the upbringing of their children and the cultivation of a spiritual atmosphere in the home. Most of the children spent their early childhood away from home and scarcely knew their father until they were much older. A number of the boys were educated at Trinity College Dublin and undertook the Continental tours which were a feature of the education of young men of noble birth at that time.

Conclusion

It is no disrespect to Richard Boyle to say that his son Robert probably merits a larger footnote in history than his father, but the son must have inherited some at least of the father's strength of character as well as his other admirable qualities (not to mention his wealth!). Modern Ireland is now a wholly different country from the land that Richard Boyle found when he arrived here in 1588, but one of the lessons of our recent history has surely been the importance of honouring the various traditions in these islands, not overlooking the weaknesses and self-serving motivation of key historical figures but nonetheless recalling their positive contributions to our complicated national identities. Scoundrel that he was, Richard Boyle too deserves to be honoured in his own country, and I hope this small essay does something to help achieve that.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 78.

38 *Ibid.*

Evidence For Pre-Industrial Mining in Waterford

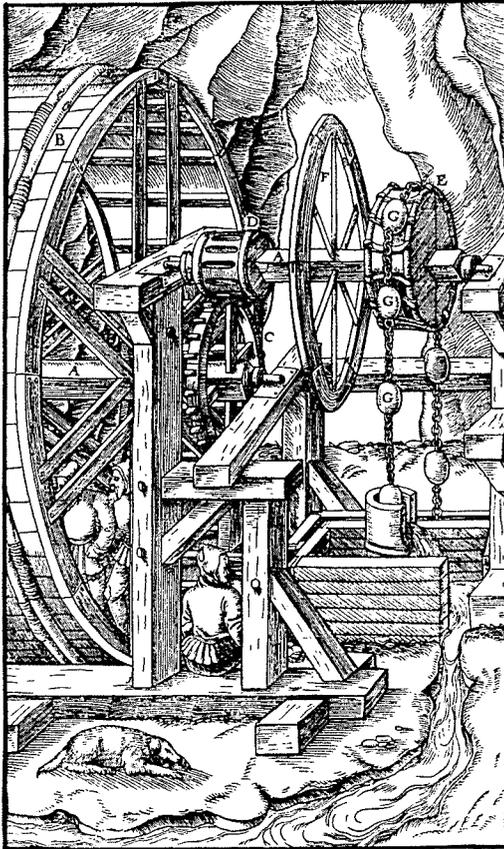
Des Cowman

The Mysterious Waterford Silver Mine

One of the first written references to mining in Ireland is in relation to 'money paid to four miners and a smelter working in the mines near Waterford for wages and other expenses...' in 1264.¹ There obviously had been mining in Ireland previously, copper and possibly gold in the Bronze Age and iron thereafter, but only archaeology reveals their locations and, understandably, no written evidence survives.² The possibility that there might have been Bronze Age mining at Dane's Island in Waterford is not accepted by this author.³ However, archaeological work on the Kilmacthomas bye-pass in 2002 revealed two smelters, one for iron dated fifth-seventh century AD and a slightly later one for copper.⁴ Further research at Kill St. Lawrence and more significantly at Woodstown on the Suir shows lead, silver, copper alloy and iron to have been worked from early historic times to Viking times. However, this does not necessarily mean that the silver was mined locally, nor indeed the lead or copper although the iron probably was.⁵

This sole written record of 1264 therefore comes without context. The most likely mineral to be raised at this period was silver (lead and copper having limited use). The implication is that the mine was near the city. The nearest known lead-silver showing to it is at Faithlegg⁶ while the next-nearest within the county is at Dane's Island,⁷ just west of Bunmahon. A possible site considered 'near Waterford' could have been Bannow in Wexford where silver was later raised in the sixteenth century.⁸

- 1 *Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Report 38*, (Dublin, 1906), p. 33, quoting Pipe Roll XXV, Edward I.
- 2 For context see Des Cowman and John H. Morris, 'A History of Quarrying and Mining up to 1700', in *Journal of the Mining Heritage Trust of Ireland* 3 (December 2003), pp. 25-32.
- 3 Des Cowman, 'Bronze Age Copper Mining at Dane's Island', in *Decies* 20 (1982), pp. 22-27.
- 4 At the time of writing this has not yet been published but I am grateful to Dr. Peter Cloughton for providing me with the results from the Materials Laboratory at Oxford.
- 5 Aidan O'Connell, 'Recent Archaeological Investigations at Kill St. Lawrence', in *Decies* 60 (2004), p. 49; O'Brien, Richard, Quinney, 'Preliminary Report on the Archaeological Excavation and Finds Retrieval Strategy of the Hiberno-Scandinavian Site of Woodstown 6, Co. Waterford' in this issue of *Decies*.
- 6 S.C. and A.M. Hall, *Ireland, its Scenery and Character*, Vol. I, (London, 1843). Julian Walton discovered the overgrown adit in the early 1980s.
- 7 Des Cowman, 'Bronze Age Copper Mining at Dane's Island', in *Decies* 20 (1982), pp. 22-27.
- 8 Des Cowman, 'The German Miners At Bannow', in *Wexford Historical Society Journal* (1986/87), pp. 67-82.



A—AXLES. B—WHEEL WHICH IS TURNED BY TREADING. C—TOOTHED WHEEL. D—DRUM MADE OF RUNDLES. E—DRUM TO WHICH ARE FIXED IRON CLAMPS. F—SECOND WHEEL. G—BALLS.



A—AXLE. B—DRUM. C—DRAWING-CHAIN. D—BALIS. E—CLAMPS.

Figure 1 – Two versions of ‘rag and chain’ pumps such as are described near Lismore. Pre-industrial technology had changed little since ‘Agricola’ used these to illustrate *De Re Metallica* in 1556.

There is a further medieval reference of unspecified date to silver being raised at Argetros ('silver-wood') which Ware⁹ places on the Suir in Ossory. However, not only is this the wrong county, but there is no known mineralisation along that bank of the Suir (Faithlegg, perhaps?). Two late medieval references are also unsatisfactory though they do seem to indicate a noteworthy Waterford silver mine. One, infuriatingly has key words illegible: 'at --- -ne against Waterford, at the --- a silver myne'. This also mentions a silver mine at an unknown Cnock Dry, county Waterford, while an earlier version of this has silver at Islandbrick.¹⁰ This latter is certainly Dane's Island where there was silver but the closest synonym to the former is Knockaderry with no known mineralisation.

However, lending possible confirmation to a silver mine near the city is a separate but vague report dated about 1500: 'there beth besidis Watirford, Knoktoghír and in Ormond a myndys of silver the whiche have ben proved good... that had gret quantities of that sam orys [ore] and also by John Fagan of Watirford'.¹¹ Near Knocktopher there was some silver/lead and the Ormond reference is probably to Silvermines near Nenagh but the 'besidis Watirford' location remains unknown.

Intermezzo - Silver and Copper

From the early sixteenth century on there are no further references to this Waterford silver. This is understandable in that in most parts of Ireland where silver occurs it is superficial and therefore quickly worked out. However, references re-emerge in the 1750s and persist for over a century thereafter, still with no hint as to location. A Rev. H. Walker resided at one of the twelve Newtowns in the county in 1759, his being distinguished as 'Newtown (Silvermines)'.¹² The Rev. Ryland whose county history of 1824 lists in the index under S, 'Silvermines in Waterford' and intriguingly under M, 'Mines and Minerals', 'lead and silver mines in the city'. Both refer to page 207, but neither there nor anywhere else in the book is there anything to justify these tantalising references to the mystery mine.¹³ As though to further taunt the researcher, Thom's Directories for the mid-nineteenth century state that two fairs per year are held at 'Newtown (Silvermines) county Waterford'.¹⁴ And adding almost a conspiratorial touch the *Mineral Statistics* at the

9 'The Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland', in *Antiquities*, Vol. II, (Dublin, 1745), p. 204.

10 Given as footnote in *Antiquities*, Vol. XIV, (c.1822), p. 63, from Harleian MSS reign of James I. However, this seems to be a copy of an earlier survey in Hamner Papers cited in Addenda to the *Calendar of State Papers Ireland, 1601-1603*, p. 670-1, with provenance p. LXXX-LXXXIII, dating the survey to 1497. 'Cnoc Dry' could also possibly be Knockadrina near Knocktopher where silver was found, in which case the county is wrong.

11 G. Mac Niocaill (ed.), *The Red Book of the Earls of Kildare*, (Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1964), p. 12-13.

12 W.H. Rennison, *Succession List... of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore*, (Waterford, c.1920), see index under Walker.

13 R.H. Ryland, *The History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and the City of Waterford*, (London, 1824; facsimile, Kilkenny, 1982).

14 e.g. *Thom's Irish Almanac*, (Dublin, 1863), p. 43.

same time were persistently relocating the Tipperary Silvermines in county Waterford.¹⁵

One of the earliest references to copper mining in Ireland also comes from Waterford. A reference of 1588 mentioned a 'copper mine near Youghal discovered by a Cornish miner'.¹⁶ The most likely location is Ardmore although a reference half a century later places a lead/silver mine at an unknown location on the shore about two miles west of Youghal. This was worked by Richard Boyle. In 1630 he was reported to have been exporting argentiferous lead ore to England.¹⁷ The following year he leased the mine to a silver refiner named Burgh who apparently was to smelt the lead locally.¹⁸ However, no detail survives about that. Ardmore does contain both copper and silver/lead mines of uncertain date¹⁹ but the latter were certainly being worked c.1660 and described as 'a very rich lead mine... and it doth hold much silver'.²⁰ Thirty years later Ardmore was described as 'a decayed village... and not very far from it there were silver mines'.²¹ There is a Newtown in Ardmore parish, which could possibly account for some of the later references.

Iron

Iron is the most common mineral in nature and was particularly accessible in the sandstone belt running through Waterford and Cork. However, it needed great quantities of fuel which up to the mid-seventeenth century were provided by the great forest that still existed there. In the 1580s, it seems Sir Thomas Norreys and others were actively interested in an unspecified way in promoting iron mining on the border between those two counties.²² However, the Desmond Rebellion probably put an end to this venture and not until the new planters established themselves could vulnerable operations such as mining resume. One such planter was Sir Walter Raleigh who reportedly worked the iron deposit at Drumslig west of Dungarvan.²³ Following his fall from grace, Richard Boyle (Earl of Cork) took over lands from west Waterford to Bandon in Cork in 1604.

15 *Mineral Statistics*, (HMSO, annual), 1853 et seq.

16 *Calendar of State Papers Ireland, 1574-1585*, (HMSO), p. 528, Copyger to Walsingham, 20th September 1584. Henceforth abbreviated as *CSPI*.

17 Jennings (ed.), *Wadding Papers*, (Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1953), p. 443, F. Matthews to Luke Wadding, November 1630. The location of the mine is described as 'duobus circiter milliaribus a partu Yogholensi qua iter ad Ardmore et Dungarvan, prope littus'.

18 Dorothea Townsend, *The Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork*, (London, 1904), p. 105, based on the Lismore Papers.

19 Des Cowman, 'Dating the Mines at Ardmore', in *Ardmore Journal* 10 (1993), pp. 22-30.

20 Trinity College Dublin MS 883, p. 9-13. Memorandum of John Powell, silver refiner, c.1655. I would like to thank Dr. Stephen Briggs for drawing my attention to this.

21 Royal Irish Academy MS 24.Q.4 (fragment), Sir. Richard Cox, Report on Waterford, c.1690. I would like to thank Mr. Julian Walton for locating and transcribing this.

22 23 Chatsworth MSS quoted by H.R. Schubert, *History of the British Iron and Steel Industry, c.450 BC to AD 1775*, (London, 1957), p. 51.

23 G.H. Kinahan, *Manual of the Geology of Ireland*, (London, 1878), p. 353.

Possibly no active steps were taken until 1610 when a royal grant of £3,000 was made towards developing an Irish iron industry. Some of it went to a Mr. Tockefeyld who had already by 1610 established ironworks on the Shannon, possibly at Scarriff.²⁴ More of it may have gone to the East India Company which seems to have mined and smelted for a short time on the river Bandon at Dundaniel.²⁵ The main iron mining operation, however, was that conducted by the Earl of Cork in west Waterford and around Bandon in the quarter century from about 1612. The bulk of the evidence from then relates to the smelting operations which has already been comprehensively studied.²⁶ However, it is clearly the availability of fuel for smelting that dictated the location of mining operations. Indeed iron ore was imported from Wales for the furnaces in the Wexford area²⁷ and Boyle himself began by importing iron ore from Devonshire in 1608.²⁸ That there was no policy of replanting felled trees is clear from near contemporary opinion, 'no care was taken in cutting down the timber to preserve a sufficiency for the carrying on of these works... all was destroyed here and a universal havoc made of root and branch' in relation to west Waterford.²⁹ However, it has been pointed out that the forests there did survive and that a far greater threat to forestry was posed by agriculture.³⁰

Boyle seemed to have little trust in the locals and while understandably he had to bring in from England skilled iron-workers, he also brought in more humble wood-cutters and charcoal makers.³¹ He possibly brought in miners also as near his castle in Lismore was Ballyregan on which his main iron mine was developed. By 1615 it had reached a depth of 60 feet and was drained by a rag and chain pump (Figure 1) cranked by five or six men.³² Two further pumps were added over the next seven years and these, it seems, were powered by a waterwheel. A reference to 'floodgates for and pertaining to the boat leat' suggests that either the ore or the finished iron was conveyed to the Blackwater by canal and this is supported by mention of 'small boats for mine carriage' as well as to 'planked keys'. Printed

- 24 *CSPI, 1608-1610*, p. 432, Royal Warrant, 25 April 1610; & p. 530, Chichester to Salisbury, 12 December 1610.
- 25 *CSPI, 1611-14*, p. 381, Smyth to Chichester 3 July 1613.
- 26 See T. Power, 'Richard Boyle's Ironworks in County Waterford', in *Decies 6 to 7* (September 1977 to May 1978), these being based on Grossart's edition of the Great Earl's diaries.
- 27 E. McCracken, 'Charcoal Burning Ironworks in 17th and 18th Century Ireland', in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 21 (1958), p. 135. (It is not clear what her authority for this is).
- 28 J. Andrews, 'Notes on the Historical Geography of the Irish Iron Industry', in *Irish Geography* 3 (1958), p. 146.
- 29 Sir Richard Cox, (c.1690), commenting on Boyle's operation in west Waterford.
- 30 Oliver Rackham, *The History of the Countryside*, (Phoenix Press, 2000), p. 116.
- 31 H.F. Kearney, 'Richard Boyle, Ironmaster', in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 83 (1953), p. 160. Henceforth abbreviated as *JRSAI*.
- 32 Chatsworth MS, quoted by H.R. Schubert, *History of the British Iron and Steel Industry, c.450 BC to AD 1775*, Appendix XI, p. 407 quoting Cork MSS Vol. 13, no. 3 in Chatsworth.

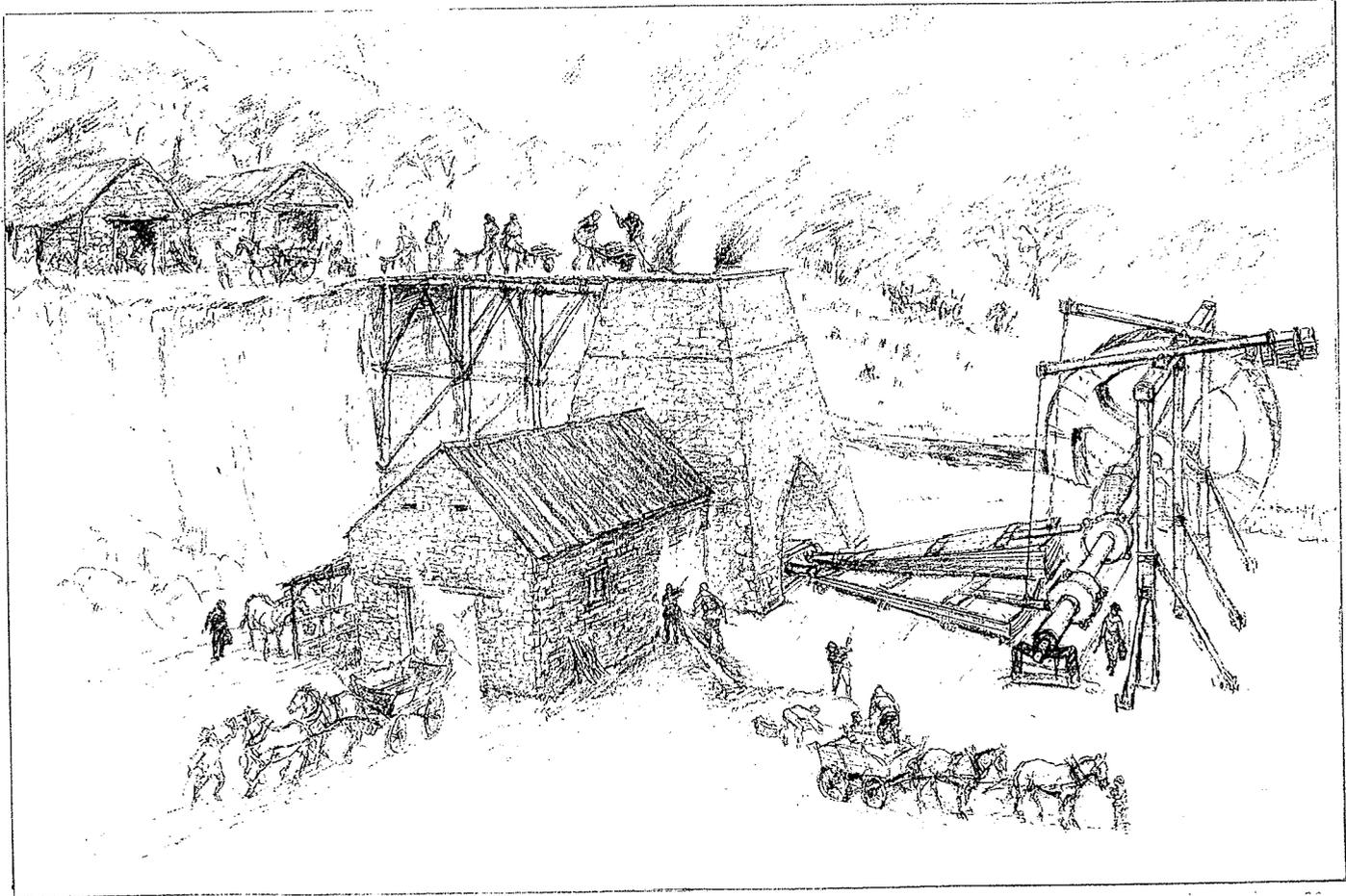


Figure 2 – A drawing commission by Paddy O'Sullivan of Bandon to illustrate the iron furnace there.

sources do not indicate whether the same level of sophistication was maintained at Boyle's other two Waterford mines at Affane and Cappoquin, both operating in 1615.

The smelted product of these mines was first exported via Youghal to Bristol as sow-iron, up to 1,000 tons a year by 1618.³³ However, events on the continent the following year created an entirely new market for his iron. With the outbreak of the Thirty Years War Boyle transformed his operation into something much more sophisticated. First of all he exported bar iron to Holland and from 1625 cannon cast at his new works in Cappoquin.³⁴ How very valuable this was is revealed by a dispute beginning in 1627.

In 1627 two ex-employees of Boyle, Blacknall and Wright saw the opportunity to get in on the big money themselves, somehow obtained royal authority to open iron mines in Ireland, to negotiate on behalf of the king with landowners and to be 'sole makers of iron ordinance, shot and bar-iron in Ireland'. They had proposed to the king that the profit to him would be £12,000 p.a. beside the employment of 800 Englishmen who 'may be enjoined to have arms and serve the king where necessary'. Furthermore it was suggested that by employing the local Deisi it would 'force civility among them!'³⁵

While the value of £12,000 p.a. by early seventeenth century values seems enormous, yet Boyle is reported to have been prepared to have spent £40,000 wrestling mineral rights back from the duo of Blacknall and Wright and proceeded to do so.³⁶ There may have been an element of personal spleen involved, however, as most of the deposits they intended to work adjoined Boyle's land in west Waterford and Bandon. Possibly they had discovered these while working for him, negotiated with the landowners and then got royal authority.

Such may have happened near Tallow where it seems they tested a rich iron deposit, three miles long, sinking shafts up to sixty feet deep on it and then getting favourable terms from the landowner, Sir William Fenton.³⁷ Reportedly Blacknall then headed for London, got his royal patent and on his return to Youghal found himself under arrest!³⁸ It took the direct intervention of Lord Falkland and of the king before Boyle released him.³⁹ Blacknall and Wright then tried to proceed with their mining operation but found themselves subject to continuous harassment

33 A.B. Grossart (ed.), *The Lismore Papers*, 2nd Series, Vol. 1, (London, 1878), p. 118, 189.

34 *Ibid.*, 1st Series, Vol. 2, p. 16, 60.

35 *CSPI*, 1625-1632, p. 339, King to Lord Deputy and Council 8 November 1628; *CSPI*, 1647-1660, p. 74-5, *ibid.*, 'A proposition... from Blacknall and Wright...' about June 1626 in Addenda, Ireland', Charles I and p. 327-8, undated.

36 *Ibid.*, 1625-1632, p. 314, statement by Blacknall and Wright, 22 February 1628.

37 *Ibid.*, 'A proposition...' about June 1626.

38 *Ibid.*, 1625-1632, p. 314-5 report and conditions of lease dated 26 February 1628, Dublin Castle.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 306 and 310, orders from Falkland and the king dated 31 January and 16 February 1628.

from Boyle.⁴⁰ He claimed that they had absconded from his service owing him £500 - a sum which he inflated a few years later to £7,000!⁴¹

Boyle's chagrin against his ex-employees may have been compounded by the fact that they were competing for an ever-decreasing supply of wood for smelting. As early as 1626 over much of the Tallow area it was reported that only 'stubbs' of forest were left.⁴² Blacknall had also got a licence to operate near Boyle's other property at Bandon.⁴³ While there was still plenty of wood left there in 1630 - i.e. twenty miles of forest between the Lee and Bandon rivers ('the largest wood that has survived in Ireland') within three years the pair were reported to have been forced to halt operations 'without sufficient woods'.⁴⁴ In any case a change of alliances following the Treaty of Lubeck in 1629 meant that this particular lucrative market dried up.

While there is no further report of the duo after that, it may have been that Boyle had managed to cut off their fuel supplies as he himself was able to continue in operation until the rebellion of 1641. It is also possible that mining enterprises that did not have landed wealth behind them found it difficult to survive a depression in iron prices in the 1630s.⁴⁵ Only those in the strongest financial position would have been capable of resuming after the difficulties beginning in 1641. Complicating matters even further would have been the death of Blacknall about 1632 but the spleen continued with his widow (a niece of Boyle's wife) taking legal action against Boyle for unspecified reasons.⁴⁶

The rebellion of 1641 and subsequent upheavals put an end to vulnerable operations such as mining and not until the 1660s was it possible to resume. The difficulties then, or indeed previously, may have been well expressed by William Petty, a Kerry equivalent of Boyle's, when he described his operations near Tralee as, 'The ironworks in Kerry, invented in hell (which they resemble) have wipt me cruelly and the misery is I must go on'. Richard Boyle died in 1643 but it seems his ironworks did go on with, probably, accompanying mining at Araglen, Cappoquin, Lisfinny and Tallow, these locations being most likely where there were surviving pockets of forest.⁴⁷ At what stage the smelting and mining drew to a halt goes

40 *Ibid.*, letters from Blacknall and Wright to Weld (p. 549, 20 June 1630), to Lord Conway and to the bishop of London (both p. 551-52, 28 June 1630).

41 *Ibid.*, p. 306, Earl of Cork to Conway, 23 January 1628 and to English Privy Council 28 July 1631.

42 *CSPI, 1647-1660*, listing townlands where woods have been destroyed plus the remaining forested area.

43 *CSPI, Charles I*, p. 304, King to Lord Lieut. (no date) - Blacknall was to co-operate there with 'one Roach'.

44 *CSPI, 1625-1632*, p. 505, letter from Blacknall, 7 January 1630: *CSPI, 1633-1647*, p. 12 King to Lord Dep., 23 May 1633.

45 As suggested by H.F. Kearney, 'Richard Boyle, Ironmaster', in *JRSAI* 83 (1953), p. 158, based on interpretation of the Lismore Papers.

46 Dorothea Townsend, *The Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork*, p. 104, 151.

47 Quoted from family papers by Marquis of Landsdowne, in *Glanerought and the Petty-FitzMaurices*, (Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 20.

unrecorded.⁴⁸ There is however a record of iron mining at Ballypooreen as late as 1770⁴⁹ though this may have been only a short-term revival.

In summary, therefore, west Waterford's entry into the heavy industry was confined to a short period in the 1620s and 1630s, and ended mainly because of depletion of the forest which had provided the fuel for smelting.

48 For discussion see Eileen McCracken, 'Charcoal Burning Iron Works in 17th and 18th Century Ireland', in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 21(1958), p. 123-138 and her 'Supplementary List...' in *ibid.*, 28 (1965), p. 132-6: also J.H. Andrews, 'Notes on the Historical Geography of the Irish Iron Industry', in *Irish Geography* 3 (1956), p. 143.

49 Arthur Young, *A Tour in Ireland 1776-'92*, (republished, London, 1892), Vol. II, p. 57.

Land Ownership in Glenahiry in the Eighteenth Century

Michael Desmond

Introduction

Glenahiry is the smallest barony in County Waterford, containing only one complete parish in the form of Fourmilewater, or the Civil Parish of Kilronan. Glenahiry is the low-lying land that is enclosed between the Comeragh and Knockmealdown Mountains and the River Suir. The area was once in the possession of the Earls of Desmond, and ruled by the McGraths of Sleady Castle and Kilmanahan. After the Cromwellian wars it went through the hands of various adventures and soldiers,¹ eventually ending up being bought by Alan Brodrick. Most of Kilronan remained in the possession of the Brodrick family for five generations from 1683 to 1836.

According to *Burke's Peerage* St. John Brodrick settled in Midleton in 1641 obtaining large grants of land around Cork under the Act of Settlement. In 1715 Alan Brodrick became the first Lord Midleton. Alan Brodrick's first wife was Catherine Barry of Rathcormack; while with his second wife, Lucy Courthope, he had three children, (see Figure 1). The second Lord Midleton married Lady Mary Capel² and this union produced George, who was born in 1730. George, the third Lord Midleton married Albinia Townshend in 1752. Their eldest son, George, born in 1754 became the fourth Lord Midleton while his brother, Charles, became Archbishop of Cashel, and remained an important advisor to George. Eventually Charles's line would inherit the title of Lord Midleton.

In 1683 the first Lord Midleton (Alan) bought 4,995 acres of Kilronan from Lord Stanley.³ Of the remaining 4,413 acres in Kilronan, Lord Osborne of Clonmel owned 3,038 acres consisting of Caherbrack and both Russellstowns, while the Powers of Baunfaune owned the 1,375 acres made up of Glasha, Baunfaune and Sillaheens. The Powers, the most influential catholic family in the area were descended from the Powers of Dunhill and originally settled in Kilronan at Castlereagh in 1640. By 1662 they were in Clonnav and in 1720s they owned Glasha, Baunfaune and Sillaheens. They intermarried with the other strong catholic farmers in the area, the Sheehy family of Baunfaune. More notable members of these two families include Marguerite Power, Countess Blessington, as well as 'Buck' Sheehy who was executed in the same year as his cousin Fr. Nicholas Sheehy. Descendants of the Glasha Powers went on to become priests, doctors and

1 Originally granted to Colonel Sankie.

2 Youngest daughter of the second Earl of Essex.

3 Surrey County Archives, Woking, G145 Box 1, Midleton Papers.

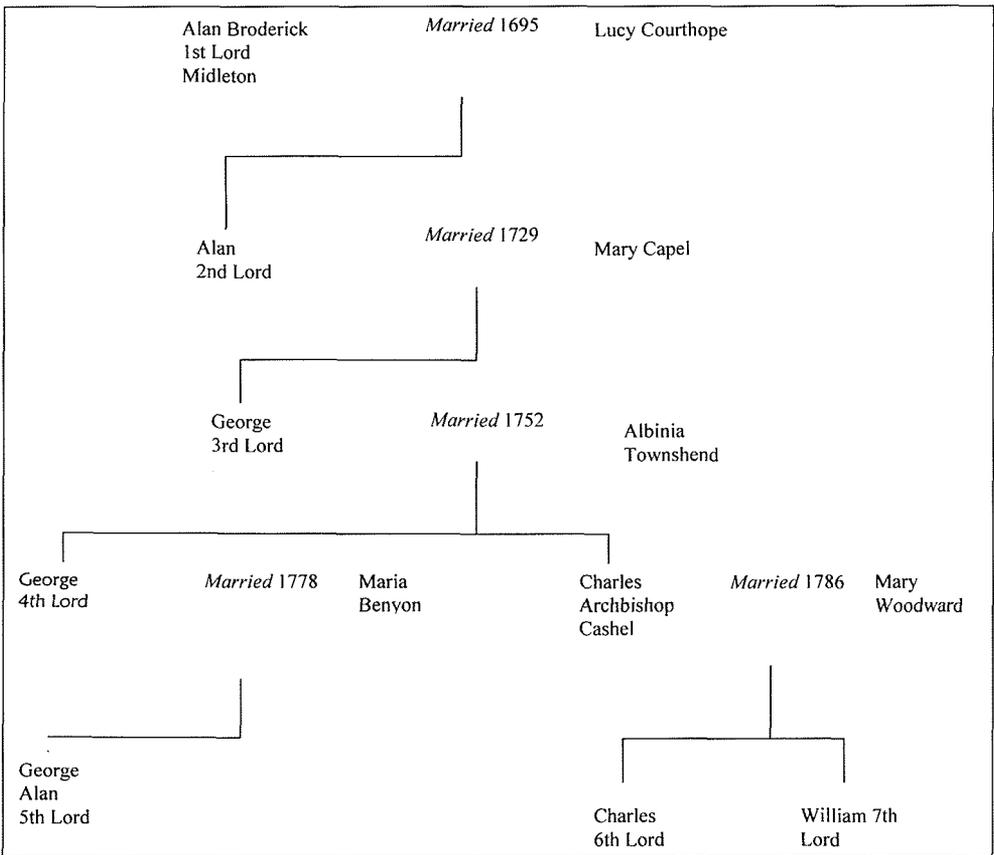


Figure 1 – Midleton Family Tree.

army officers in France and Flanders.⁴ Over the coming century the Midletons became the dominant landowners in the area, firstly by buying out the Powers and then rebuffing Lord Osborne's overtures to being the principle landowner of the area.

On the 28 December 1723 the first Lord Midleton directed the trustees of his wife's (Lucy Courthope's) dowry, the Archbishop of Tuam and a Mr Campbell 'to lay out £400' of the dowry to buy land from 'Power and others'.⁵ The only Power mentioned by name was Katherine Power⁶ and there is no hint as to who the 'others' might have been. However from Power letters we find out that the other Power was Katherine's son John, for in 'The Power Papers'⁷ the sale of the land is referred

4 Thomas A. Murphy, 'The Power Papers: A Chapter from the Life of a Clonmel Family in Penal Days', in *Journal of the Waterford and Southeast of Ireland Archaeological Society* 16 (1913), pp. 103-113, 154-175. Henceforth abbreviated as *JWSEIAS*.

5 Surrey County Archives, Woking, G145 Box 1, Midleton Papers, 'Extracts from a schedule of writing belonging to the right Hon. George Viscount Midleton- taken by Bob Wallis Notary Public June 27, 1760'.

6 *Ibid.*

7 T.A. Murphy, 'The Power Papers: A Chapter from the Life of a Clonmel Family in Penal Days', in *JWSEIAS* 16 (1913), pp. 103-113, 154-175.

to by a Thomas Power MD, a younger son of Katherine. He claimed that his eldest brother John sold the land without his consent, though he was twenty-one years of age.⁸ The exact reason why the Powers sold at this stage remains a mystery, although perhaps it had something to do with the penal laws in force at the time. The penal laws presented catholic families such as the Powers with the dilemma of having to divide the land equally among their sons. As Piers and Katherine Power had eight sons⁹ a large estate would quickly become a small farm. Knowing this they may have decided to sell and liquidate their assets, become tenants, and invest the money in their ability to lease and sub-let large tracts land. Whatever the reason for selling, the Powers remained in the area. According to Midleton's Rent Rolls of 1748 to 1752 an Edmund Power paid rent of £80 per annum for Glasha.¹⁰ The Powers however had gone from being landlords to tenants.

Alan Brodrick, first Lord Midleton died in 1728. However, neither the second nor third Lords Midleton left correspondence behind them, as both died young. The third Lord Midleton died on the 22 August 1765, aged thirty-five, leaving a young widow, Albinia Townshend, and their eleven-year-old son, George, who became the fourth Lord Midleton.

Albinia found herself in charge of large estates in both England and Ireland and had no idea as to what her late husband owned. Two days after Lord Midleton's death, his cousin George Chinnery wrote to Albinia's father, Thomas Townshend, expressing his grief on Midleton's death and stating that he wished he could tell Lady Albinia which townlands her husband owned but, unfortunately as he had never seen the marriage settlement, 'nor heard what lands are comprised in them, this is impossible for me at present to do'.¹¹ Three months later Lady Midleton received a letter containing a list of 131 farms and their leases in counties Waterford, Limerick and Cork. What were referred to as farms at the time would now be called townlands.

Further correspondence showed there was still confusion, 'It is common to assign different names to the same lands and the very same names to land distant and totally distinct from each other',¹² and thus we can understand their predicament. For example one of the farms, Deerpark, was described thus; 'Deerpark is 3,339 acres 3 roods 27 perches'.¹³ This could not have been Deerpark in Kilronan as it would have been over one-third the size of the parish of Kilronan. Not alone did confusion exist as to exactly what each townland consisted of, but according to correspondence the Irish placenames caused even more confusion. Take Newtown for example. The locals called the area Clonanav but it also appears in some documents as Clonaffe, definitely a puzzle to an English landlord from Surrey!

8 Thomas was studying in France at the time.

9 John, Francis, Thomas, Richard, James, Paul, Jasper and Joseph.

10 Surrey County Archives, Woking, 752 G145/96, Rent Rolls for Waterford and Glanworth Estates.

11 Northern Ireland Public Record Office, T2862/4/1, Letter 24 August 1765. Henceforth abbreviated as NIPRO.

12 NIPRO, T2862/4/2, Letter 1 December 1765.

13 *Ibid.*

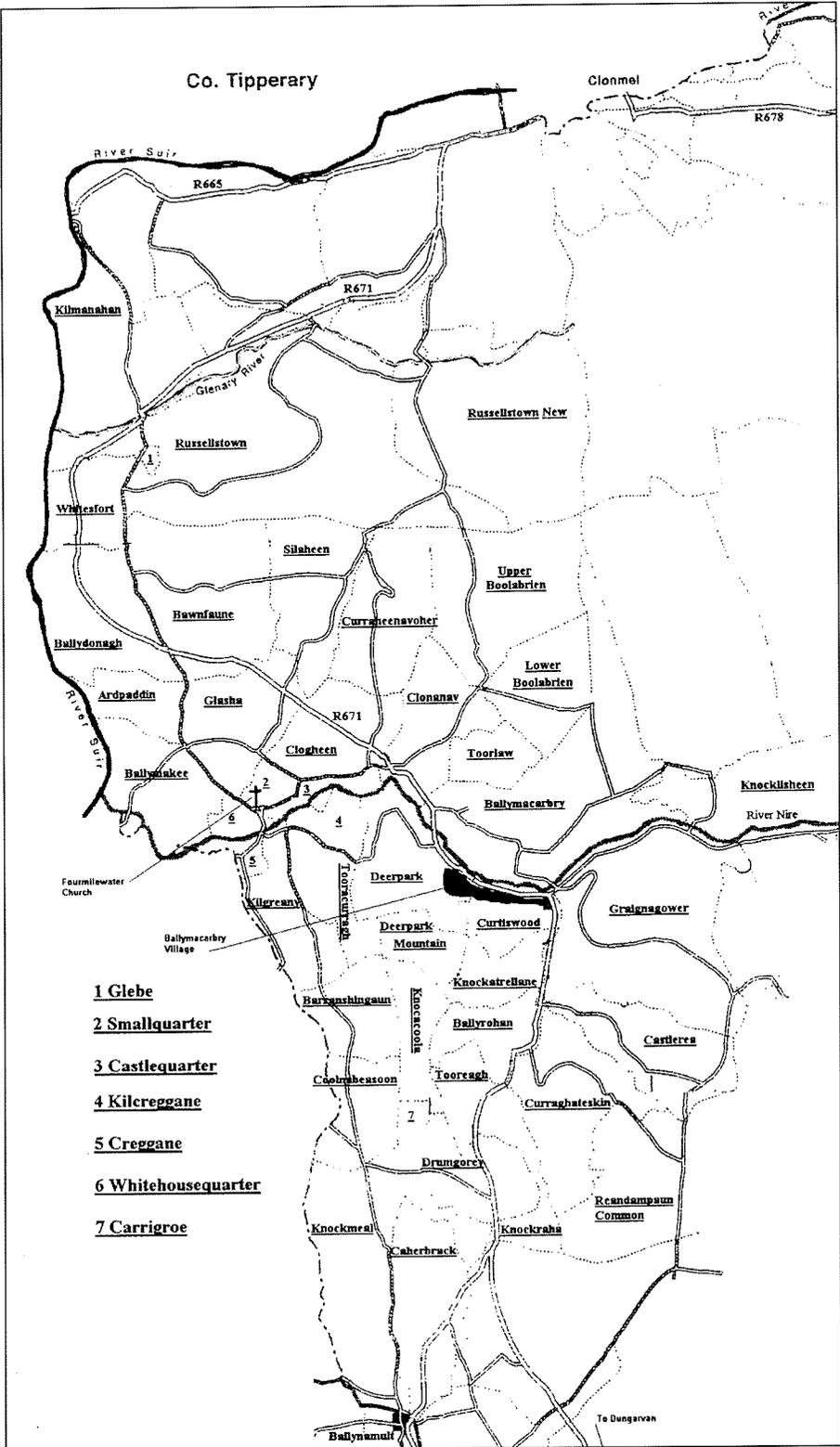


Figure 2 – The Civil Parish of Kilronan.

With the death of the third Lord Midleton doubt arose about the exact ownership of three townlands: Glasha, Sillaheens and Baunfaune. These were the same townlands that Lucy Courthorpe's dowry had bought. On the 27 March 1766 Lady Albinia Midleton wrote that she had found the papers that proved the ownership of Glasha, and that these townlands had been handed over to her deceased husband by his mother 'for the consideration of £10,000 [or] £400 per year'.¹⁴

This gave rise to a very complex situation. The dowry of Lucy Courthorpe, the grandmother of the third Lord Midleton, was used to buy Glasha, Sillaheens and Baunfaune. His mother's dowry (Mary Capel) was used to buy out his grandmother's rights to the land and thus Mary Capel had the land willed to her son, George, for the sum of £10,000 or a lease of £400 per year. George the fourth Lord Midleton was eleven; his father dead; and there was doubt as to the ownership of three townlands. In order to secure the land his mother had to pay off the debt to her mother-in-law.

With Glasha, Sillaheens and Baunfaune now secure another problem appeared. A dispute as to the size of Glasha surfaced. Lady Midleton's agent in Ireland, Mr. Burman, wrote of the difficulty in getting rent for the Glasha farm which he felt should be part of a larger farm valued at £105 per year for 300 acres.¹⁵ However in a follow up letter on the 17 March 1767, Dean Chinnery disagreed with the agent and suggested that Burman had confused various townland boundaries. He went on to advise that a survey of Glasha be made.¹⁶ For this, Chinnery suggested, they employ a surveyor fluent in Irish who would spend some days in the area interviewing the older inhabitants. This would enable the surveyor 'to lay down to moral certainty the bounds'.¹⁷ Lady Midleton agreed and the survey went ahead.

The surveyors immediately ran into trouble when Lord Osborne, of Clonmel, claimed that sixty acres of Baunfaune belonged to him. Furthermore Osborne threatened both Lady Albinia Midleton and the surveyor that, he would bring them before the House of Commons on the charge of entering forcibly on his land if the survey went ahead. Dean Chinnery persuaded Osborne not to pursue the charges and the survey was delivered a week later.¹⁸

The survey provides a list of principle inhabitants with the Powers still dominant in the area.

14 NIPRO, T286/4/4, Letter 27 March 1766.

15 *Ibid.*

16 NIPRO, T286/4/4, Letter 17 March 1767.

17 *Ibid.*

18 NIPRO, T286/4/4, Letter 4 July 1767.

Survey: 4 July 1767

Ballymakee, Ardpadding	Widow Green
Inchiqueale, Ballydonagh	John White
Curtiswood, Boreene Castlequarter	Edmond Power
Clonaffe, Clogheen	Edmond Power
Graignagower, Whitehousequarter	Edmond Power
Ballyronan	John Power
Baunfaune Lower, Sillaheens	William Sheehy
Ballymacarbry, Bennetschurch, Knockatrellane	Pierce Barron
Castlereagh, Tooreagh, Barranshangaun	Pierce Barron.

There is a possibility that the surveyor met with some hostility in the area. The initial incident with Lady Midleton's agent claiming that he should be getting more money for Glasha happened ten days after Fr. Nicholas Sheehy was hanged drawn and quartered and two months before Baunfaune man 'Buck' Sheehy was hanged.

The Scalé Map 1782

The early death of his father, followed by his mother's uncertainty as to what land she owned, compounded by the serious legal threat made against her by Lord Osborne all imprinted upon the young George, the fourth Lord Midleton. During his life he ensured there could be no more arguments about land ownership by having a map of Kilonan produced. One of its purposes would be to define where Osborne's boundaries were. The original idea for a map came from his mother, in a letter dated the 26 March 1767, when she wrote; 'were it not for the expense I wish much for a general map of the whole [estate] and am very much tempted to have it done though it will cost a great deal'.¹⁹

Estate maps were popular in the mid-eighteenth century. The French cartographer Bernard Scalé was considered to be the best in his profession and he was commissioned to produce the map in 1782.²⁰ The Kilonan map came near the end of his sojourn in Ireland and is of national importance. The map is in fact an atlas of maps, with each townland shown on an individual page and for the first time we get in exact detail the size and make-up of each townland.

There are thirty-eight townlands in all and while their names are still recognisable today, some consolidation has taken place to form the modern townlands. In the 1782 map the townlands of Knocklisheen, Knocklisheen Mountain, Knocklisheen Wood and Lackanshanderoheal Wood are now collectively called Knocklisheen. Lackanshanderoheal Wood was a narrow strip of wood on the north bank of the Nire stretching from Knocklisheen Bridge along the Nire to Turrphuca.

19 NIPRO, T286/4/4, Letter 26 March 1767.

20 National Library of Ireland, MS 9977.

The graphics on each map are minimal, with boundaries coloured in a delicate watercolour and the name of each townland appears in flourish in the top right hand corner. The area of each townland appears in the bottom left corner, this area being further split into profitable and unprofitable land. In total the map records 3,600 acres of profitable land and 2,555 acres of unprofitable land in Kilonan. Houses, shown as rectangles, are painted red and pink with some titled, 'house' or 'cabin' while most have no label. The map shows 204 houses of which eighty-eight are cabins. Baunfaune has the most houses at fifteen and several townlands have no recorded house. Curtiswood, where the village of Ballymacarbry is now, has only four houses and all four houses bound Deerpark Mountain.

Other features such as river fords, mills, roads and kilns are recorded on the map. There are two lime kilns at Ballymakee, two cattle pounds, one at Whitesfort and one at Whitehousequarter, a castle and a chapel at Castlequarter and two mills in Clonanav. These mills sit on a small stream that flows through Clonanav and into the Nire River across the road from the old school at Newtown. Trees shown on the map are individually hand-drawn in spring greens or autumn gold, in single stands or in large forests and orchards.

A note on the map records that William Osborne claimed fifty-three acres of Bawnfunne. In mapping Glenahirey and defining the exact boundary of each townland the fourth Lord Midleton had exorcised the ghosts of his childhood and from then on Midleton referred to the map when an application for a lease arose. On one occasion there were lease proposals from John Power for Sillaheens and Baunfaune and from Pierce Power for leases at Clogheen and Curraheenavoher but the interesting one was from James Butler of Castlereagh. James Butler wanted to rent an adjoining farm in Castlereagh but when Midleton referred to the map, he replied to Butler 'that it is by no means adjoining... but distant from Castlereagh as there are several farms between them'.²¹ The other farm was in Kilcreggane, at least three miles from Castlereagh.

Another map from this period was the road atlas by Taylor & Skinner showing the section from Clonmel to Dungarvan.²² What makes the Taylor & Skinner map important, is that the major landowners in the vicinity of the road were shown. Two Greene families were recorded at Kilmanahan, a White family at 'Whitestown' which we know as Whitesfort and a Power family at Glasha as well as Cooney's Castle at Fourmilewater.

On the 1 September 1752 the Rev. Richard Pococke on one of his numerous tours of Ireland journeyed from Cappoquin to Clonmel via Ballinamult. He commented on Ballinamult having an 'old redoubt for soldiers', but the building had become an alehouse by that stage, most likely Hanrahan's pub today. Pococke continued on his way climbing the hill by Knockmeal and Caherbrack finally descending at Kilgreany from where he commented on the fine view of County Tipperary and the River Suir. Travelling on down the steep slope of Kilgreany, he crossed the

21 NIPRO, T2862/7/pp. 24-30, Letter 4 December 1782.

22 G. Taylor & A. Skinner, *Maps of the Roads of Ireland*, with an introduction by Dr. J.H. Andrews, (Dublin, 1778, repr. Shannon, Irish University Press, 1969), p. 127.

Nire and arrived at the village of Fourmilewater, 'a small village where we dined'. Poccocke then travelled through Glasha, Ballymakee, Ardpadding and up hill behind what is now known as the Beehive, from Baunfaune and he again commented on the views; 'Kilbrunatine a very pleasant seat of Mr Rode Greens over the Sure; just opposite to it is Knocklofty'.²³

The Woods of Fourmilewater

An underlying level of provocation existed between the Midletons and the Osbornes. The Osbornes lived at Tickancor, near Clonmel, and owned Russellstown, Russellstown New and Caherbrack. As noted previously, Osborne had threatened the fourth Lord's mother, Lady Albinia, with trespass in her attempts to survey Baunfaune, Glasha and Sillaheens. The Scalé map of 1782 showed that Osborne claimed over fifty acres of Baunfaune. The Osbornes seemed to have been contemptuous of the Midletons as can be detected in a series of letters that were written between 1791 and 1792.

The *Civil Survey* classified 17% of Kilonan as woodland in the 1650s. Woodland was profitable then as now, and the prospect of money attracted the attention of Sir Thomas Osborne who wanted the timber around Fourmilewater for as little as possible. On the 29 July 1791 he wrote a long and rambling letter to Lord Midleton arguing that the forestry in and around Fourmilewater could never attain its full value unless the trees were harvested and sold quickly. He continued that his bridge across the Suir was nearest to the Fourmilewater forests and could ensure the fastest route for the timber out of Kilonan; in return Osborne would give the farmers in Fourmilewater access to the bridge so they could bring in lime. This would increase the productivity of the land and in turn Midleton could raise his rents. Osborne acknowledged a source of lime in Fourmilewater, but questioned its quality.²⁴

Midleton replied with a short, courteous note stating he would write to Ireland to see if the proposal was feasible. However in one telling line he wrote, 'I must confess that it does not readily occur to me how... [I can] give up so large and valuable part of my land'.²⁵ Osborne replied immediately (in a patronising letter) claiming that a road would be developed in the Fourmilewater area to remove the timber and this road would increase the value of Midleton's property. However Osborne did not go into the detail of how this road would increase the value of the Fourmilewater estate.²⁶ Another year passed before the two would again correspond. In the meantime Midleton placed an advertisement, in a newspaper, for the sale of the timber. Osborne miffed by the advertisement wrote again in July 1792, and tried to persuade Midleton that the trees were not mature enough to harvest and thus he would not get the best return for his woodland. A year earlier the

23 J. McVeigh (ed.); *Richard Poccocke's Irish Tours*, (Irish Academic Press), Original Trinity College Dublin, MS 887, 'Dr Poccocke's Irish Tour 1752'.

24 NIPRO, T2862/8/1, Letter Osborne to Midleton, 29 July 1791.

25 NIPRO, T2862/8/1, (miscatologued), Letter Midleton to Osborne, July 1791.

26 NIPRO, T2862/8/2, Letter Osborne to Midleton, 29 August 1791.

forests needed to be cleared immediately, now they could wait thirty years! Osborne now wanted to rent the land at one shilling per annum for thirty-one years, by which time the timber would be mature. Osborne continued that at the end of thirty-one years he would pay double their 1792 valuation, which he placed at £2,500. In a nonchalant, almost throwaway phrase, Osborne wrote that he assumed Midleton had followed up with a survey of his forestry and accordingly should know the good value of Osborne's offer. Osborne went on to pad out the letter with the usual assurance that he would legally bind himself and his heirs to this agreement and telling Midleton how brilliant a deal it was. Again he pushed the idea that the newly developed road would enhance the value of Midleton's Waterford estate. He wrote 'a most remarkable stream runs through the whole of it [Fourmilewater] on which there are situations for mills of any kind'.²⁷ A mill would be built over thirty years later. Despite the bravado in the letter the closing lines reveal the first signs of anxiety in Osborne's mind and some fear that he may have been too blasé with his vague suggestion as to the valuation of the woodland. Ten days later Osborne wrote a short letter attempting to reinforce his arguments.²⁸

However if Osborne had taken the time to read his own letters he would have seen that he was backtracking at every move. The initial letter was all about haste in cutting the timber; subsequent letters talked of waiting thirty years for the trees to mature.

Midleton's reply, quick and to the point, though restrained, oozed anger.²⁹ The letter was written then edited, and Midleton violently crossed out the heated lines, with heavy pen strokes, leaving the cooler more subtle lines. The letter is best summed up by the following quote:

I shall find full employment for any of my money... I should think it infinitely more advantageous to take the present value of them now, than double the present value in thirty-one years hence.³⁰

So ends the correspondence between Midleton and Osborne. Midleton's newspaper advertisement showed his willingness to sell the woodland for a fair price. However Osborne's patronising letters and offers of some notional benefits to be had from an un-built road were never going to persuade Midleton to sell the Fourmilewater woods for a derisory sum.

Fifteen years later two locals, W. Mulcahy and Tim Cashin³¹ offered Midleton £1,800 for the woodland in Lower Ballymacarbray. They proposed to pay Midleton in three instalments. The first payment of £500 would be due on the 1 July 1807, the second payment of £600 on the 1 January 1808 and the final instalment on the 1 September 1808, with Midleton allowing them until the 25 October 1808 to clear the site. Midleton turned down their proposal. Two years later he placed an advert in the *Clonmel Herald* announcing the sale of a fully grown oak wood in Upper

27 NIPRO, T2862/8/3, Letter Osborne to Midleton, 10 July 1792.

28 NIPRO, T2862/8/4, Letter Osborne to Midleton, 22 July 1791.

29 NIPRO, T2862/8/5, Letter Midleton to Osborne, 28 July 1791.

30 *Ibid.*

31 NIPRO, D/1901/1/, Letter Mulcahy / Cashin to Midleton, 16 May 1808.

Ballymacarbry and that the 'wood is of sixty years growth'.³² Midleton never sold the woods as twenty-nine years later in 1839 a survey listed the woods in Fourmilewater thus:³³

	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Roods</i>	<i>Perches</i>
1. Whitesfort	30	6	0
2. Lower Ballymacarbry	251	0	0
3. Lackshanderal (Knocklisheen)	844	10	0
4. Graignagower	2,805	0	0
5. Tooraphuca	1,060	0	0

Midleton's Land Policies

The mid-eighteenth century saw many breakthroughs in farming methods: selective breeding led to larger pigs and more productive cattle; the application of lime brought increased grass and crop production; new crops like turnips provided more winter feed. For a landlord, like Midleton, these new farming technologies meant increased production by his tenants leading to increased rent revenue for him. Understanding the importance of lime, Midleton provided the lime free of charge from a site at Castlequarter, beside the old tower house, prohibiting anyone from buying or selling it, hoping that 'they [the tenants] will convert to lime and plant orchards'.³⁴

Most landlords of the period were only interested in the big picture, the details of the individual tenant was of little or no interest to them. They were happy to lease vast tracts of land to middlemen who sub-let the land to smaller tenants. Midleton, on the other hand believed that all tenants should have an equal opportunity to rent according to their means:

... every tenant should have access to lime for building, turf for fuel, and rights of way to market... I neither approve of great monopolisers nor the mere adventures but if I could find men of industry and good character and of good substance sufficient to stock the lands I think them most desirable tenants... particularly if they have been resident and have improved the lands under a former lease.³⁵

He opposed sub-letting by middlemen, preferring instead to deal directly with his tenants. He advertised farms for lease in small units allowing smallholders to compete with the middlemen. He opposed long leases, a lease of up to thirty-one years, which became common by the end of the eighteenth century,

...where the occupier of the land is not the tenant to the landowner it is not in the power of the landlord in any case to show favour or leniency to the tiller of the soil.³⁶

32 NIPRO, D/1901/1/, Letter Welland to Midleton, 11 January 1810.

33 NIPRO, Mic 253/13, Coates to Stradbroke, valuation of woods by Edward Cullen 1 October 1839.

34 NIPRO, T2862/7/15, Letter 7 November 1782.

35 NIPRO, T2862/7/pp. 13-18, Letter 9 November 1782.

36 NIPRO, T2862/7/pp. 24-30, Letter 4 December 1782.

During the eighteenth century grass burning became a common practice; tenants believed the practice improved the land for potato planting. However burning could devalue the land, as weeds would infest the bare ground. Tension between landlord and tenant grew so strong that a law passed in parliament banned the burning of land without the landlord's permission. So opposed to grass burning was Midleton,³⁷ that in 1797 he disqualified a tenant on another estate from holding land because he had burnt grass without permission.³⁸ However in 1801 Midleton relented and allowed grass burning under special conditions. His agent would have final say as to who should be allowed to burn grass. Those allowed were to have written permission thus preventing disputes.³⁹

On the surface Fourmilewater must have seemed a paradise. The landlord did not allow middlemen to scavenge on the population. Lime for building and farming was in abundance and free of charge; the landlord dealt directly with and listened to his tenant - no matter how small his holding. Tensions remained however in landlord-tenant relations, borne out by a series of interesting letters which began to appear in late 1782.

On the 8 December 1782 Midleton expressed suspicion that John Mulcahy of Ballymacarbry was understating the rent he received from sub-tenants and he told Mulcahy to deal with his agent McCarthy, in future, as Midleton wanted no more contact with him.⁴⁰ Midleton then wrote to his agent, McCarthy, writing that he suspected that, 'Mulcahy is a speculator'. McCarthy lost no time in demonising Mulcahy by confirming Midleton's suspicions. This can be implied from a letter written by Midleton to McCarthy, 'I was by no means surprised at the character you gave of John Mulcahy having by his letters formed the same opinion of him before I heard from you'.⁴¹

However things did not improve. In September 1783 Midleton expressed surprise at the slow arrival of rent payments and correspondence in general. Midleton's inability to see the obvious, that he was probably being swindled by his agent McCarthy, who then went on to blame Mulcahy for underatating his rent, can be accounted for by the fact that he was distracted by his wife's illness and subsequent death. Five months later in February 1784, McCarthy died. A Mr. Swayne from Cloyne Co. Cork became Midleton's new agent. In a letter to Swayne, Midleton complained that the late Bishop of Cloyne should have informed him about McCarthy, whom Midleton described as 'so indolent and negligent... in his lifetime [as] I am convinced he was throughout his agency'.⁴² The connection with the bishop of Cloyne was that the Midletons, originated from the Midleton/Cloyne region of Cork and they held large tracts of land there. Secondly the fourth Lord Midleton's brother, Charles, was married to Mary Woodward who was a daughter of the bishop of Cloyne.

37 NIPRO, T2862/7/pp. 91-99, Letter Midleton to Charles Brodrick, 1 June 1784.

38 NIPRO, T2862/9/pp. 55, Letter Midleton to Samuel Hobson, 17 May 1797.

39 NIPRO, T2862/9/pp. 183-184, Letter Midleton to William Welland, 12 March 1801.

40 NIPRO, T2862/7/pp. 32-33, Letter 12 January 1783.

41 NIPRO, T2862/7/pp. 34-39, Letter Midleton to McCarthy, 19 January 1783.

42 NIPRO, T2862/7/pp. 83-86, Letter 8 April 1784.

Midleton by now was suspicious of all agents and replaced Swayne with his brother Charles.

In one of his letters to Lord Midleton, Charles warned that cattle roaming through the woodland around Ballymacarbray were destroying the forestry. Midleton ordered anyone 'found guilty of depredation in the forest is to be prosecuted'.⁴³ These were the forests that led to the wrangle between Midleton and Osborne in the 1790s.

Changing Land Policies

In spite of Midleton's policy of not allowing middlemen to operate on the estate, it seems that this policy began to change with time.

The case of William O'Donnell who rented 509 acres at Curtiswood, Knockatrellane and Deerpark Mountain,⁴⁴ on a three-life lease is a good example of this change of policy. A letter written to Midleton and dated 1811 indicates that O'Donnell was renting using an unusual derivation of the three-life lease. O'Donnell asked if he could change one of the lives from an individual who was forty-five years old to one who was ten years of age.⁴⁵ This ability to change a named life became common in Ireland as the nineteenth century moved on. It worked on the basis that a named life could be swapped, for a fee equal to a sum of between six months' and two years' rent.⁴⁶ This had the dual benefit of extra money for the landlord and, for the middleman it was almost equal to outright ownership. These middlemen then sub-leased the land, as O'Donnell did.

But the middlemen did sometimes run in to trouble with rents and rent arrears. As would be expected not everyone was able to pay the rent, but it wasn't always the smallest holder who defaulted. The Sheehys lived in Baunfaune and would have been one of the main strong catholic farmers in the parish. With family connections to the executed Fr. Nicholas Sheehy and Edward 'Buck' Sheehy, they would have been well respected by the locals in the parish. On the 30 October 1801⁴⁷ Lord Midleton wrote to his agent Welland worried that long-standing arrears on a farm in Baunfaune and Sillaheens were not going to be paid and he had decided to evict the tenants, the Sheehys. However Midleton was either uncomfortable or unsure of what he was doing because he felt it necessary to first inform his mother of his decision. Whether his mother disapproved, or the rent was paid the Sheehys were not evicted. We know this because a letter twenty-nine years later shows that Sheehy was still in Baunfaune and still in trouble with arrears. This letter of the 8 September 1830⁴⁸ shows the intricate workings of landownership. The Sheehys leased the land at Baunfaune from Midleton; in turn

43 NIPRO, T2862/7/pp. 91-99, Letter 1 June 1784.

44 General Valuation of Rateable Property, County Waterford, Barony Glenahiry, Union of Clonmel.

45 NIPRO, D1901/1/, Letter O'Donnell to Midleton, 12 April 1811.

46 Notes from a lecture by K. Nicholls of UCC, on land leases in Ireland, Cahir Local Studies Diploma, 1999.

47 NIPRO, T/2862/9/pp. 223-226, Letter Midleton to Welland, 30 October 1801.

48 NIPRO, D1901/1/1, Letter Welland to Midleton, 8 September 1830.

they then sub-let the land. There seems to have been a problem in collecting the rent from the sub-tenants and in turn Sheehy could not pay Midleton. With this in mind Welland wrote to Midleton informing him that he went to Fourmilewater with the intention to secure the crops on the Baunfaune farm to prevent them from being removed until the rent was paid. However he decided against this until such time as the November rent was overdue. There was also the fact that if Welland seized the goods before the Gale Day the tenant would have had recourse to the law. Welland also felt that the neighbouring tenants were worried about the Sheehy arrears and had encouraged him to make some attempts at settlement by November. There was an undercurrent of tension, almost rebellion, in the air as Welland was afraid that other tenants would be sympathetic towards Sheehy for he seemed to fear Sheehy's power over the locals. The outcome has not survived though seven years later their name was not to be found on a rent roll for 1837 in Glasha, Baunfaune or Sillaheens.

High on the back road between Sillaheens and Baunfaune, an over-grown boreen leads to a sheltered square field. The field is surrounded by a high stone wall where the Sheehy house once stood.

Midleton sells Kilonan

On the 12 August 1836 George the fourth Viscount Midleton died aged eighty-two. In his long life he had married twice, firstly to Frances Pelham with whom he had one daughter, Frances Anne. His second wife was Maria Benyon with whom he had one son and five daughters. Upon his death his only son, George, became the fifth Lord Midleton. It would appear that mounting debt forced him to sell most of his Fourmilewater estate in 1842 to John Edward Cornwallis the Earl of Stradbroke. Midleton did not dispose of all his Fourmilewater property, he held onto four townlands, Sillaheens, Glasha, Baunfaune and Smallquarter.⁴⁹ These were the same townlands that caused Lady Albinia so much trouble back in 1767. The fact that Midleton was able to detach these townlands from the rest of Fourmilewater indicates their troubled history. Now for the first time in 159 years the Lords Midleton were not in control of Fourmilewater.

Stradbroke, who lived in Suffolk, bought Glenahirey for £40,000.⁵⁰ Out of this money the fifth Lord Midleton paid off a mortgage of £14,550, of which £2,000 went to the trustees of his uncle, Charles Brodrick owing to a will proved in 1752.⁵¹ Alas poor Charles was dead twenty years at this stage. A further £1,875 went to a Mary Brodrick and £1,200 went to his mother Lady Midleton, £1,000 to the trustees of Frances Anne Thomas (née Brodrick) who would have been the stepsister to the fifth Lord. His sisters, Maria, Charlotte, Harriet, Emma and Lucy, each received £3,000. This left £4,375 for himself. It is interesting to note that his sisters each received three times more than his stepsister!

49 Smallquarter only seems to have come into existence in the nineteenth century. Before that it was part of Sillaheens.

50 Surrey County Archives, Woking, G145 Box 5, Midleton Papers.

51 Probably referring to the will of the first Lord Midleton who died in 1752.

Conclusion

The fourth Lord Midleton's earlier writings had outlined his desire to deal directly with his tenants. Eight years after his death we get a third party account of middlemen sub-letting to sub-tenants. On the 25 September 1844 the Devon Commission arrived in Fourmilewater and interviewed Mr Edmund Anthony Power⁵² of Clogheen Cottage, Ballymacarbry. According to Power's submission most people in Fourmilewater rented from middlemen, contrary to Midleton's earlier desire to rent directly to the tenant. By 1844 the new owner of Fourmilewater, Lord Stradbroke, actively tried to stop the middlemen and rent directly to the tenant. More importantly Stradbroke actively discouraged the subdivision of land among sons. Power explained the effects of subdivision upon his family. Power's father had 700 acres but after subdivision Edmund Anthony Power inherited only sixty acres, and so they had gone from powerful landholders to medium sized farmers in one generation.

The Earl of Stradbroke's ownership of Fourmilewater was short-lived, for in 1876 he sold the estate to Fredrick Mason Trench, Lord Ashtown, for £165,000. By 1883 Lord Ashtown's estates consisted of 6,400 acres in Yorkshire and 37,200 acres in counties Galway, Limerick, Tipperary and Waterford. Lord Ashtown's Lodge in Ballymacarbry was bombed and partially burned in 1907 and was finally destroyed in 1920 when it was burned by the IRA.

On the 1 May 1931 the Land Commission bought the Fourmilewater estate from Ashtown for just over £58,890 and thus ended the estate system of ownership in the area.

52 *Devon Commission Report: Evidence Taken before Her Majesty's Commissioners of Enquiry into the State of the Law and Practice in Respect to the Occupation of Land in Ireland*, (H.C. 1845) Witness No. 828, Mr. E.A. Power, 25 September 1844.

Waterford and the Land and Labour Association

Pádraig G. Lane

THE breakdown in political consensus and the arrival of Socialism in Ireland in the 1890s accompanied unrest among both rural and urban labourers. Fragmentary organisations and personalities that had tried to give shape to this unrest under the shadow of the Irish Party seemed now to have found room in which to operate more freely.¹ Marrying Socialist theory to the pragmatic improvement of the lives of the men of no property became an empirical option for the many labour activists in the often small urban and rural centres of the provinces.² While, moreover, Marxist analysis of the *zeitgeist* of such as, say, the farm labourers of Leamybrien did not altogether comfortably fit the profile of that rural underclass, it did give a momentum to a bid to improve the social and economic conditions in which they lived. This study surveys the emergence of one such bid, the Land and Labour Association and how a number of Waterford figures adapted the mind-set of the contemporary labour movement to the progressive improvement of the agricultural workers.³

Davitt, in Waterford, in 1883, had pinpointed the Labourers Act of that year as a step in the right direction towards ameliorating the plight of the farm labourers. Conscious that their subsistence depended on their access to land from which they were increasingly divorced after the Famine, and that their living conditions were wretched, he argued that the new obligations on the Boards of Guardians to provide for cottages and half-acre allotments in the countryside would go some way towards remedying the labourers' plight.⁴ The complaint of the workers of Kilmacthomas in February 1884,⁵ however, that there was built-in resistance among the farmers to any such settlement on their land, underlined the nation-wide obstacles to progress in that matter. Given the few permanent labourers and the

1 Pádraig G. Ó Laighin, 'An Poblachtánachas agus an Soisialachas', *Agus*, February - November 1980; Pádraig G. Lane, 'The Organisation of Rural Labourers 1870 - 1890', in *Journal of the Cork Archaeological and Historical Society*, 100 (1995), pp. 149-60. Henceforth abbreviated as *JCAHS*.

2 See Fintan Lane, 'P.F. Johnson: Nationalism and Irish Rural Labourers, 1869-82', in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxiii, 130, November 2002, pp. 191-208. Henceforth abbreviated as *IHS*; Pádraig G. Lane, 'Pat Deasy, A Bandon Labour Leader', in *Bandon Historical Journal*, 21 (2005).

3 Pádraig G. Lane, 'The Land and Labour Association 1893-1914', in *JCAHS*, 9 (1993), pp. 90-106.

4 E. McKay, 'The Housing of the Rural Labourer, 1883-1916', in *Saothar*, 17 (1992), pp. 27-39.

5 *United Ireland*, 15 September 1883.

seasonal nature of work for casual labour,⁶ as witnessed in the Lismore Union, and the general penury of labourers, even allowing for nominal wage increases as a result of emigration, and allowing for the cost of shop-bought provisions (milk and potatoes no longer being at their disposal readily), conditions were bound to create discontent.⁷

It was against that background, indeed, that L.C. Strange,⁸ the avowedly Marxist Waterford activist, subscribed in Dungarvan in October 1894 to the concept that land was created to reward labour not for the growth of wealth. It was noted that £856,000 went yearly on relief of poverty and the prescript was that rent from land was a check on production and that labourers should have free access to the soil. This, of course, largely echoed principles of land taxation and nationalisation put forward by Davitt and at the formation of the Irish Labour League in Dublin in March 1891, at which the Waterford Trades Club was represented, and which was chaired by P.J. Neilan of the Kanturk Democratic Labour Federation, the motivator of the later Land and Labour Association in August 1894 to which Strange was a party.⁹

That organisation had come from an invitation from Neilan to all the labour organisations in country districts in the south to consider the position of the Irish labour question as it affected country workers.¹⁰ When convened at Limerick Junction on August 15th,¹¹ it saw J.J. O'Shee, the Carrick-on-Suir solicitor, proposed to the chair by Thomas Power, the Poor Law Guardian from Dungarvan, the same J.J. O'Shee who would be selected as the National Federation MP for West Waterford the following year. Also present were L.C. Strange and delegates from Kilmacthomas as the new movement sought a greater political voice for labour and the equitable involvement of farm labourers in any solution to the land question.

In March 1889 the labourers of Ballyduff Upper had complained that farmers were charging £6 per acre for the rent of ground and demanded that a maximum of £4 an acre be demanded for such potato ground.¹² Those same labourers of Ballyduff Upper had complained earlier in January of that year against both the farmers and landlords who voted against the provision of cottages and allotments

6 *Ibid.*, 2 February 1884.

7 *Reports of the Poor Law Inspectors on Wages of Agricultural Labourers*, H.C. 1870 (c.35), xcv, 1; *Report from Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Tenure (Ireland) Bill*, H.L. pp. 203/ no 2148, 59/ no 576, 261/ no 2660, H.L. 1867-8 (129), xxx, 995; *Royal Commission on Labour*, Vol. iv, Part II, p. 84, H.C. 1893-4, (c. 6894 - xxii), xxxvii.

8 See Fintan Lane, *The Origins of Modern Irish Socialism, 1881 - 1896*, (Cork, 1997), pp. 203-9; Emmet O'Connor, *A Labour History of Waterford*, (Waterford, 1989), pp. 81, 98-100, 107-9; Pádraig G. Ó Laighin, 'Ceannróidí Soisialachais' in *Irish Press*, 10 May 1973; *Freeman's Journal*, 16 August 1894; 29 October 1894.

9 *United Ireland*, 21 March 1891.

10 *Freeman's Journal*, 10 July 1894; 7 August 1894; *United Ireland*, 10, 31 July 1894; 7, 16 August 1894.

11 *United Ireland*, 16, 30 August 1894.

12 *Ibid.*, 16 March 1889.

out of fear for both the charge on the rates and intrusion on their properties and farms.¹³ Both complaints, as well as testifying to the existence of an articulate body of labourers in the area, underlined the constancy of the labourers' demand for access to land and the degree to which the rural proletariat's needs were both bound up within the broader land struggle itself such as tenants evicting their labourer sub-tenants, and finding obstacles within it to their needs as an under-class, expressed at a Waterford convention.¹⁴ The linking, indeed, of 'the local trades and labourers' of the Ballyduff Upper workers in May 1889,¹⁵ emphasised the wider bonds of the rural wage-earning class that the Land and Labour Association could reach out to, as distinct from the more unionised industrial and transport proletariat that was centred on the larger urban centres. The professed aim of securing for labour in all its branches enunciated at Limerick Junction on August 15th, 1894, therefore, had its roots in both this consciousness of rural labour as well as an equitable settlement of the land question 'having regard to the rights and interests of the entire country.'¹⁶

In November 1894 a conference of Land and Labour Association delegates met in the Municipal Buildings in Cork¹⁷ with J.J. O'Shee and Thomas Power, TC PLG of Dungarvan, present, as well as L.C. Strange, who proposed the creation of a Central Branch of the organisation. It was O'Shee, as chairman, who pressed for the extension to Ireland of the English Allotments resolution of the previous April, and for a reformed Poor Law Guardians system, Power having earlier demanded greater democratic accountability on public boards.

In January 1895,¹⁸ elections to the Central Council of the Land and Labour Association saw P.J. Neilan, Secretary (thirty-seven), Thomas Power (thirty-six), J.J. O'Shee (thirty-five) and L.C. Strange (twenty-eight) elected with eighteen others co-opted from nine counties. Neilan and Strange, incidentally had earlier attended Keir Hardie's Fabian Society lecture in Dublin, along with Benjamin Pellin of the Knights of the Plough, but it is debatable whether Strange had attended the Hyndman Social Democratic Federation annual convention in London.¹⁹ Strange, however, made clear Waterford's delegation to the Trades Union Congress in June 1895,²⁰ at which the flooding of the urban labour market by the drift into the towns of unemployed farm labourers arose and for which Strange himself proposed the creation of municipal workshops for the unemployed as one palliative. O'Shee, of course, was selected as the National Federation (Anti-Parnellite) candidate at the West Waterford convention in September 1895, at which point of time also a meeting of the Dungarvan Labour Association, along with the Ring Labour

13 *Ibid.*, 26 January 1889.

14 *Ibid.*, 22 December 1888.

15 *Ibid.*, 11 May 1889.

16 *Ibid.*, 16 August 1894; *Freeman's Journal*, 16 August 1894.

17 *United Ireland*, 12 November 1894.

18 *Ibid.*, 9 January 1895.

19 *Ibid.*, 5, 9 November 1894; 7 August 1894.

20 *Ibid.*, 3 May 1895; 4, 5 June 1895.

Association, was proposing a unity of farmers, labourers, shopkeepers and artisans in support of political unity in the area.²¹

At the annual convention in 1895²² there were delegates among others from Ballyduff, Newtown, Kilmacthomas and Kilrossanty, besides Thomas Power and the West Waterford MP, J.J. O'Shee. It was O'Shee who proposed the motion that the State should organise industry to enable the unemployed to earn a living given that the capital was already being advanced to the tenant farmers to buy their land. Furthermore, he argued the Poor Law system should be reformed so that the rural poor were not penalised by the degradation of the workhouse given that unemployment in agriculture was forced on them.

Thomas Power also submitted that O'Shee's advocacy of a tax of 6d. in the pound to fund the provision of cottages and allotments in the Poor Law Union for the artisans, labourers and cottiers be complemented by controls over the contract costs of such public undertakings, given jobbery was affecting the Guardians' provision of such cottages and allotments.

By 1896,²³ at the annual convention in Solohead, O'Shee confirmed a lack of progress in both advancing the organisation itself and the legislative advance of provisions for the labourers' improvement. At this meeting incidentally, we find Kilmeaden added to the list of delegations from Waterford. By February 1897,²⁴ when the organisation's Central Council met in Commin's Hotel in Waterford, Power, O'Shee and Strange were confirmed in attendance, and it was Power who proposed, seconded by the chairman Kendal O'Brien of Golden, that in order to give labourers a greater voice in local affairs that the Parliamentary and Poor Law Union franchises should be assimilated.

On this occasion also the wider labour bonds of the Association were stressed by a resolution on the Waterford bacon issue, while the presence of the organisation at the upcoming Trade Union Congress was a pressing concern.²⁵ The organisation had earlier failed to win accreditation at earlier congresses although the topic of rural unemployment and its effect on urban wage rates figured on the agenda at such meetings. At Waterford however, where O'Shee was on the platform, the organisation pressed the issues of rural emigration, reform of the Poor Law system, inclusion of rural labour in the Employers Liability legislation and the ubiquitous matter of allotments as a form of compensation for rural poverty. Nevertheless P.J. Teevan of the Amalgamated Railwayman's Association saw the need for a proper union of rural labourers, seeing the Land and Labour Association as being but a cover for the political ambitions of its leading figures.²⁶

21 *Ibid.*, 10 September 1895; 18 December 1895; 9 January 1896.

22 *Cork Examiner*, 16 August 1895.

23 *Ibid.*, August 1896.

24 *United Ireland*, 4 February 1897.

25 *Freeman's Journal*, 7 June 1896; *Cork Examiner*, 4,7,8 June 1897.

26 *Cork Examiner*, 15 August 1898; January 1899; National Archives, CSO Inspector General's Report, 1898-9, December - January 1899.

Certainly the concern of the Land and Labour Association in 1898 and in 1899 was the preparation for and later appraisal of the local, it being noted for instance in the Portlaw Union that the labour vote was heavily canvassed.

There was disquiet in other circles also about the effectiveness or not of the Association for while five of the Central Council had become County Councillors, including Thomas Power as Chairman of Waterford County Council and L.C. Strange as Mayor of Waterford city, the parish priest of Ring wondered openly whether the Nationalist MPs with which the Association was working, including O'Shee, had done anything effective in reality for the labourers, contrasting the progress made in England in the matter of allotments with that achieved in Ireland, including West Waterford.²⁷

By 1899,²⁸ the Association had over sixty-six affiliated branches, including four in Waterford, with others in waiting, although it was acknowledged many branches had emerged for election purposes only. There was increasing evidence of discontent, especially in Cork, at the apparently undemocratic control and co-optive membership of the Central Council. Increasingly also O'Shee was bringing the movement closer to the United Irish League and a re-unified Irish Party, having labour branches at his electoral convention in West Waterford.²⁹ Power certainly accompanied O'Shee on the organisation's delegation to a United Irish League Convention in April 1900.³⁰

To conclude, therefore, an organisation born in the Socialist mantras of the early 1890s, and that was to continue to be embroiled in politics to 1914, threw up in Waterford a number of those figures peculiar to the provincial activist spectrum of that transitional period in Ireland, the 1890s. Drawing upon the social and economic needs of a countryside's enigmatic underclass for the *raison d'être* of a new movement, they sought to span the divide between the two forces that most fostered a satisfactory analysis and solution to those social and economic needs, a *proto* socialist political and trade union movement, and, a nationalist party structure that was unable to accommodate putative rivals to its monolithic demands.

27 *Freeman's Journal*, 15 January 1900.

28 *Tipperary People*, 27 January 1899; 19 August 1899; *Cork Examiner*, 16 August 1899;

29 O'Brien Papers, UCC, J.J. O'Shee to William O'Brien, 30 March 1900, Box AKA No. 278.

30 *Cork Examiner*, 27 April 1900; 16 August 1900; 16 August 1902; *Irish People*, 24 August 1901.



*Plate 1 – Captain William Redmond, in his Irish Guards uniform, March 1918.
(Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland, Poole Collection, WP 2750)*

The Irish Volunteers and Waterford Part II, 1916-1919: The Resistible Rise of Sinn Féin

Pat McCarthy

IN the immediate aftermath of the 1916 Easter Rising, the cause of militant nationalism appeared lost for at least a generation. Its Dublin-based leadership was dead and throughout the country its activists were interned. Outside Dublin, many local leaders felt a sense of shame that they had stood idly by while Dublin had fought heroically against insurmountable odds. In contrast, the supporters of the Irish Party mixed outrage with a renewed expression of confidence in the leadership of John Redmond. Yet in less than three years Sinn Féin, as the political wing of the republican movement came to be called, was dominant, except in the North East, as the country slowly moved towards guerrilla warfare and a renewed military challenge to British rule. The course of this transformation in Waterford, where it was less than complete, is the subject of this essay.

1916, Picking up the pieces - the aftermath

The immediate reaction of nationalist Ireland was to condemn the Easter Rising as undermining the Irish Parliamentary Party. Branch after branch of the United Irish League rushed to pass motions of support for John Redmond. A typical example was the Fenor Branch of the United Irish League. At a well-attended meeting, the following motion was adopted unanimously:

That we again express our wholehearted confidence in the policy of Mr. John Redmond.¹

Local representative bodies such as the Waterford County Council and the Dungarvan Union passed similar motions but, as the executions continued, these motions were often amended to plead for a stop to the killings and to pay tribute to the 'misguided patriotism' of the participants. The RIC, as always, gauging the feeling of the people, reported in May 1916:

Public feeling is altogether against the rebellion but there are signs that the public desire that clemency may be exercised towards the rank and file of the movement.²

1 *Munster Express*, 20 May 1916.

2 Public Record Office (henceforth abbreviated as PRO) CO/904/100, RIC Crime Special Branch Report. For a discussion of this source and the Bureau of Military History Witness Statements (BMS WS) see Part I of this series in *Decies 60* (2004), p. 218.

However, sympathy for the rebels was growing and was soon publicly manifest. On 24 June, an immense congregation, many wearing Sinn Féin rosettes, attended a solemn requiem mass in the Cathedral. The principal celebrant was Fr. Michael Dowley, secretary of the Waterford City Branch of the Gaelic League. His sermon was not reported but apparently some soldiers in the congregation took exception to remarks about the rising and walked out. The RIC also noted that the members of the 'Sinn Féin Irish Volunteers' organised a demonstration outside the Cathedral. Sympathisers of the rebellion also had a more practical way to show their support. At a public meeting in the Town Hall a branch of the Irish National Aid Association was formed. Set up to support the dependants of those killed and imprisoned, it was managed by their widows and wives. At the meeting in Waterford, P. Woods, S. Matthews and other members of the Irish Volunteers were elected to the committee but were content to stay in the background. Among the officers elected was Dr. Vincent White who had previously been prominent in the Redmondite National Volunteers. The sum of £53. 17s. 6d. was collected on the night with Dr. White leading the subscription list with £5.³ This was followed by a house-to-house collection which, within a month, brought the total to £242. 6s. The RIC watched on, commenting:

A collection for the Irish National Aid Association was also organised by the Volunteers in the city. It was subscribed to by others than those of Sinn Féin ideas. Speaking generally Sinn Féin ideas are spreading. The German origin of the rebellion is forgotten and sentimental sympathy for the executed rebels is spreading.⁴

Throughout 1916, W. Walsh, S. Matthews and the other leaders of the Volunteers strove to keep their movement together. According to the RIC, attendance at the Volunteer Hall fell away in May but revived with the growing sympathy for the executed rebels. In contrast, Redmond's National Volunteers became completely dormant. In October 1916, the RIC accurately reflected the situation in their monthly report:

Dealing with the Irish Volunteers I may state that, though of course, no drills take place, the leaders are doing all they can to keep their followers together. They still keep on their hall at a weekly rent of 10s. They and the boy scouts [Fianna Éireann] meet more regularly of late. The police have no evidence as to what occurs in the Irish Volunteer Hall, but most of the time is spent in card playing and dancing. This is the means by which the leaders get their followers to attend and probably accounts for their having got a few recruits but no one in the city of any importance has joined them except some members of the Quinlan family who for some time have been estranged from Redmond. William Walsh, the leading GAA official in the City

3 *Munster Express*, 24 June 1916.

4 PRO CO/904/100, RIC Crime Special Branch.

is a Sinn Féiner and might be able to get recruits. During the month the Waterford Gaelic League elected their officers and committee for the coming year. It is noticeable that Sinn Féin have increased their hold on the Committee.

Among the National Volunteers there is little sign as yet of reorganisation. Their leader, W.J. Smith applied to Col. Tristram for the rifles they lent him at the time of the rebellion, Col. Tristram informed him that he had orders from the GOC not to give them pending consideration of the question.⁵

The same report gave a strength of 2,754 for the National Volunteers but this was largely a paper strength. In contrast, the strength of the Irish Volunteers was estimated at sixty, with eight members of Cumann na mBan and eighteen in the Fianna. Though small in numbers, there was a cadre of activists ready to play their part in future developments. In Walsh's words, 'In 1916, we were just marking time'.⁶

Despite the almost immediate labelling of the Easter Rising as the 'Sinn Féin Rebellion', there was no political party associated with the Irish Volunteers. As sympathy for the rebels and their actions grew, a variety of political movements emerged and tried to capitalise on the growth in republican sentiment. Ultimately these were subsumed into Sinn Féin but not before they themselves had tried to harness support throughout the country by holding meetings, forming branches, etc. All of these attempts were resisted bitterly by John Redmond's United Irish League which clearly identified the threat to its own hegemony. The most significant of these movements was the Irish Nation League.⁷ Formed initially in Derry to rally northern nationalist opinion against the proposed exclusion of the 'six counties' from Home Rule, its declared aim was to replace Redmondism and to give constitutional politics one last chance. It was greatly inhibited by having its head office in Omagh and lacking professional organisers throughout the country. It was not until 10 September that it held its first mass meeting outside Ulster. That day, Alderman Kenny of Waterford presided at a meeting in the Phoenix Park which attracted a large crowd, probably helped by the fact that this was the first public nationalist gathering held in Dublin since the Rising. The main speaker was George Murnaghan, a leading Tyrone nationalist. Two months later, Murnaghan and Kenny presided at a private meeting in the Granville Hotel to set up a branch of the League in Waterford. Among those elected to the committee was Dr. White.⁸ The League does not seem to have prospered in Waterford and the following year it merged with Sinn Féin. Thus, after a journey from Redmond's National Volunteers via the Irish National League and an even briefer dalliance with Count Plunkett's Liberty League, Sinn Féin acquired Dr. White, the man who would represent them politically in future electoral battles in the city.

5 PRO CO/904/101, RIC Crime Special Branch.

6 BMS WS 1005, W. Walsh.

7 Michael Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland: The Sinn Féin Party, 1916-1923*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 62-64.

8 *Munster Express*, 8 November 1916.

Conscious, perhaps, of the still nascent but potentially major challenge to his position, John Redmond paid a rare visit to his constituency on 6 October 1916. The heavy rain that fell throughout the day undoubtedly contributed to the small crowds that watched his progress from the railway station to the Town Hall, where that evening he addressed a capacity crowd. Rumours of planned disruption had been rife in the city throughout the day and Redmond's traditional supporters, embodied in the legendary Ballybricken Pig-Buyers' Association, turned out in strength. As expected, as Redmond rose to speak there were jeers and hostile questions from a minority. The objectors were speedily and muscularly dealt with by the stewards in a fashion that subsequently drew criticism from both newspapers and clergy.⁹ That Redmond was heckled in Waterford was symptomatic of the decline of the Irish Party; that the hecklers were dealt with as they were was but a foretaste of politics in Waterford over the next few years. In Waterford, at least, Redmondism would not fade quietly away. Redmond also took the opportunity to visit the newly completed munitions factory at Bilberry - the clearest proof to his constituents that his support for the war effort was yielding local economic benefit. A few weeks later there was a further sign of the deepening animosity between the two sides. One of the bands that had played at John Redmond's reception was engaged to entertain spectators at the County Senior Hurling Final in the Sports Field (now Walsh Park). Members of the Ferrybank team refused to take the field if the band was allowed to play. After a long delay and much discussion, the band left, the game was played and Ferrybank won!¹⁰

1917 - Laying the Foundations of Victory

1917 was the year that saw Sinn Féin emerge as the all-embracing and dominant political wing of militant Irish nationalism. Its rise to dominance was marked by a series of spectacular bye-election wins. Although none of these bye-elections took place in Waterford, each one boosted the morale of Sinn Féin workers nationally and greatly aided the spread of Sinn Féin and of the Irish Volunteers within the country.

The first of these landmark bye-election victories was in North Roscommon where Count George Plunkett, father of the 1916 leader Joseph Mary Plunkett was elected. Significantly he was not a Sinn Féin candidate even though his candidature was endorsed by them. After his triumph, Plunkett saw himself as the leader of Irish nationalism. He called a national convention at the Mansion House on 19 April at which Waterford was represented by Alderman Maurice Quinlan, Alderman Richard Power and Messrs. John Gallagher, John D. Walsh and John Cummins. The Liberty League that he established did not flourish.¹¹ The RIC commented that only thirteen people attended a meeting to establish a branch in Waterford and the League was soon subsumed into Sinn Féin.¹² The same RIC

9 *Ibid.*, 12 October 1916.

10 *Munster Express*, 12 December 1916.

11 Michael Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland: The Sinn Féin Party, 1916-1923*, pp. 103-106.

12 PRO CO/904/103, RIC Crime Special Branch.

report (May 1917) noted that 'the Sinn Féin Party were naturally jubilant over the Longford election and displayed flags and paraded in Waterford and in Dungarvan'. McGuinness, the victor in the Longford bye-election was a Sinn Féin candidate and this marked a further step in the emerging dominance of the Sinn Féin party.

The release of the last of the Easter Week prisoners from Lewes Jail was marked throughout the city and county as was the triumph of Eamonn deValera in the East Clare bye-election in July. The celebrations in Kilmacthomas to mark 'Dev's' election led to a mini-riot and the arrest of four prominent Sinn Féiners - Frank Drohan, G. Kiely, P. Lawlor and Dan Cooney. Drohan was treasurer of the GAA County Board and head of the IRB circle in Clonmel while Cooney was a well-known boxer. They were subsequently tried and sentenced to fourteen days imprisonment.¹³ The roll of Sinn Féin electoral successes was completed that year with the election of W.T. Cosgrave in Kilkenny city.

The growth of Sinn Féin in the city and county was tracked assiduously by the RIC. Their monthly reports summarised the situation:¹⁴

	<i>Number of Sinn Féin Clubs</i>	<i>Number of Members</i>
April 1917	1	60
July 1917	5	240
September 1917	8	531
November 1917	12	703

A recurring theme in the reports for the latter half of the year was 'the only political organisations showing activity are those connected with Sinn Féin'. In December, Patrick C. O'Mahony was dismissed from his position in the Post Office in Dungarvan for his nationalist activities. This was to prove counterproductive for the authorities - he now became a full-time organiser for Sinn Féin. In his own words:

I was appointed Sinn Féin Organiser from the 1st December 1917, and my immediate job was to prepare for the General Election by the formation of Sinn Féin Cumainn. I was at the same time to re-establish the Irish Volunteers and assist the Cumann na mBan. There existed in this a harmonious link which was to survive until the establishment of the first Dáil Éireann, principally because these organisations, being proclaimed, were semi-underground.

I organised a very large number of Cumainn in County Waterford - one in each Parish area. These were controlled by a Dáil Ceanntair,

13 *Munster Express*, 4 August 1917.

14 PRO CO/904/103, 104, RIC Crime Special Branch.

subject to a County Executive. The volunteer company was organised in Parish areas subject to a Battalion Council and finally Brigade. I organised a number of companies and passed them on to the Battalion Council which was established about this time and continued its own development from here on.

County Waterford was really not at any time organised in the past, but now it was very quickly and thoroughly brought under Sinn Féin.¹⁵

The dominance of Nationalist Ireland by Sinn Féin was confirmed at the Sinn Féin Convention in October 1917. Arthur Griffith wisely decided not to challenge for the presidency of the party which he had founded and nurtured for over a decade. Wide-ranging policies were adopted and Rosamund Jacob, one of the Waterford delegates, was instrumental in obtaining a commitment by Sinn Féin in the party constitution to equality of men and women.¹⁶ This was a breakthrough for the women's movement in Ireland. For the first time a national political organisation committed itself to equality. Jacob also secured a commitment to women's suffrage.

Although Sinn Féin had developed strongly in the county, it was not as successful in the city. The holding of the Oireachtas of the Gaelic League in the city in August gave a much-needed boost to Sinn Féin morale there. Early in November, it was announced that Eamonn de Valera and Arthur Griffith would address a public meeting to be held on the Mall on Sunday 11 November. De Valera and Griffith arrived by train at 10.20 p.m. the previous day. They were met by the Irish Volunteers and by torchlight they paraded across the bridge. However, they were stopped at the city end of the bridge by a large contingent of Redmondites 'drawn principally from the Ballybricken district'. The RIC managed to interpose themselves between the rival factions and for the moment at least the situation was defused.

That night the District Inspector of the RIC decided to proclaim the meeting and sent for reinforcements. A column of 300 troops was sent from Fermoy by special train while about 250 extra policemen were drafted in from adjoining counties. On Sunday morning the city was rife with rumours. The troops had sealed off the Mall with barbed wire and had mounted machine guns on the roof of Town Hall. There was a minor riot when de Valera emerged from 11 a.m. mass in the Cathedral and was confronted by Redmondites. Further confrontation was avoided when Sinn Féin moved their meeting to Ballinaneeshagh, just outside the city limits. De Valera and Griffith spoke in the teeming rain to a crowd estimated at several thousand. After the speeches the crowd dispersed peacefully. That night there was a counterdemonstration by the Redmond supporters on Ballybricken Hill. Several hundred then marched through the streets.¹⁷ Although violence had been narrowly

15 BMS WS 745, P.C. O'Mahony.

16 Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries: Women and Irish Nationalism*, (London, Pluto Press, 1989), pp. 125-126. See also Damian Doyle, 'Rosamond Jacob' in Mary Cullen and Maria Luddy (eds.), *Female Activists: Irish Women and Change 1900-1960*, (Dublin, Woodfield Press, 1998).

17 *Munster Express*, 12 October 1917; *Waterford News*, 12 October 1917.

avoided, it was clear that both sides were preparing for a major confrontation should the occasion present itself. They did not have long to wait.

1918 - Elections and the Conscription Crisis

1918 opened with a bye-election victory for the Irish Parliamentary Party in South Armagh. A contingent of Volunteers from Waterford led by P. O'Mahony joined other groups of Volunteers from all over the country in the campaign there but to no effect.¹⁸ The Sinn Féin candidate was beaten by a margin of almost two to one. O'Mahony and his comrades soon had a battle closer to home. On Wednesday 6 March, John Redmond died in London. He had entered a nursing home a few days earlier for a minor operation. Although at first he seemed to be making a good recovery, on the night of 5 March he developed serious heart trouble and died the next morning. Worn out by over thirty years of public life and seeing his life's work slipping away, to many it seemed as if he had died of a broken heart.¹⁹ The news of his death evoked memories throughout Ireland of his great service to his country, nowhere more so than in Waterford City, the constituency he had represented for twenty-six years. The local newspapers and all local bodies paid fulsome tribute to the man who had finally put a Home Rule Act on the statute books but had seen this great prize snatched from his hands by the machinations of the Unionists and the Conservatives and the chicanery of Lloyd George and the Liberals.

The Irish Party moved the writ for the bye-election quickly.²⁰ Polling day was set for Friday 22 March. Determined to hold the seat, the Irish Party fielded their strongest possible candidate, Captain William Redmond, son of John and a serving officer with the Irish Guards on the Western Front. He was also MP for East Tyrone, a seat he promptly resigned to fight his father's constituency. Throughout the campaign he wore his uniform, a move which de Valera commended, and a shrewd political move in a city which had a larger than normal interest in the war. The local economy had thrived on war industry and approximately 35% of the city's male population of military age had joined the army in 1914 and 1915. By this stage too, there were over 500 people employed in the National Cartridge Factory in Bilberry while other local firms such as John A. Hearne's had secured lucrative War Office contracts. Sinn Féin nominated Dr. Vincent White and battle was joined.

The first public meeting was held by Sinn Féin on the Mall on the night of Monday 11th. White and Sean Milroy spoke to a crowd of several hundred Volunteers and supporters but struggled to make themselves heard above the shouting and singing of a Redmondite crowd. Among the songs they sang were:

18 BMS WS 745, P.C. O'Mahony.

19 Denis Gwynn, *The Life of John Redmond*, (London, Harrap and Co., 1932), p. 592-96.

20 The bye-election is described vividly in *Munster Express* 8, 15, 22, 29 March 1918; *Waterford News* 8, 15, 22, 29 March 1918; BMS WS 1105, Nicholas Whittle; BMS WS 1764, Dr. Vincent White; BMS WS 1020, J. Cronin; PRO CO/904/105, RIC Crime Special Report.



Plate 2 – Dr. Vincent White. Photograph taken following his election as Mayor of Waterford, 1920.

(Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland, Poole Collection, WP 2845)

'We'll Hang de Valera From A Sour Apple Tree', and,

White fell into a basket of eggs, parlez vous,
White fell into a basket of eggs, parlez vous,
White fell into a basket of eggs,
The Green, White and Yellow ran down his legs,
Inky, Pinkey, parlez vous.

The songs were followed by a shower of stones and the police had to intervene to keep the crowds apart. On Wednesday, de Valera arrived in Waterford with all the leading members of the Sinn Féin party. That afternoon he got his first taste of 'electioneering, Waterford-style'. Dr. White described the incident as follows:

Eamonn de Valera was averse to bringing in outside units of Irish Volunteers until the following incident happened: Nicholas Whittle, the local Director of Elections, was told by Dan MacCarthy, the Director of the Election, to have a canvasser ready who would accompany Eamonn de Valera on a tour of business houses in Waterford City. This was duly done, and de Valera and Dan Grant, of Waterford City, left to start the canvass, the selected district being Broad St. and Michael St. As they left the election rooms, Comdt. Kelly of Dublin, who had been sent down by the Irish Volunteer Executive to act as O/C over the Volunteers on election duty, turned to Nicholas Whittle and enquired: 'Is the district where Dev. is going to canvass a hostile one'? Nicholas Whittle replied: 'It is bordering on a hostile district'. Whereupon, Comdt. Kelly called in four Volunteers and told them to accompany the two canvassers but to keep about ten yards behind them.

A few minutes later, de Valera burst into the room in a very angry mood. 'Did you order these Volunteers to accompany me'? He asked Comdt. Kelly. 'I did', the latter replied, adding, by way of explanation, 'Nicholas Whittle here advised it Mr. de Valera.' Dev. declared that he did not need an escort in any town in Ireland, and he and his fellow-canvasser again set out about their job. A few moments later Comdt. Kelly called in the four Volunteers again and said: 'Go out again and follow up Mr. de Valera. Keep about twenty yards behind him, so that, if he looks back, he won't know he has a bodyguard. If he gets into trouble, double up and rush to his assistance.'

The four Volunteers did as they were bid, and, after a quarter of an hour had elapsed, we heard shouting and noise in the street outside. On looking out the window, we saw Dev. surrounded by the four Volunteers and Dan Grant, and, behind, followed a yelling mob. Dev. came up to the election rooms, his hat bulged and dirty, and the officer of the bodyguard had in his hand a three-corner-shaped block of timber, weighing more than a pound, which had been flung at Dev.'s head and had missed him by inches. This had taken place in Michael St. The result of the incident was that Dev. began to have other ideas about the need of having a bodyguard in Waterford.

In response, Dan McCarthy sent for volunteer reinforcements from neighbouring counties and from Dublin. Hundreds of Volunteers poured into the city. Soon between 800 and 1,000 were on hand to assist the local Volunteers. Most of these were billeted in the Volunteer Hall in Thomas Street or in Durand's Garage on Manor Street. De Valera and his fellow leaders stayed in the Metropole Hotel. All three premises and the Sinn Féin offices in Colbeck Street had to have a twenty-four-hour guard and were often under siege from mobs of Redmond supporters.

Redmond's campaign was launched with a monster meeting on Ballybricken on Wednesday 13th when a crowd of over 5,000 heard speeches from the mayor and others. The next day Captain Redmond arrived in the city to a tumultuous reception. A parade through the city culminated in a meeting on Ballybricken, where the mayor declared that Ballybricken-men would stand on their home ground supporting Redmond and would never yield it. In response, Captain Redmond declared:

There is one thing of which Ireland can be certain and that is that Ballybricken is there every time to support the patriotic policy, the sane policy, the policy that had brought prosperity to Waterford ... The invasion of Waterford had started but like other invasions would be repelled by the men of Waterford.

Redmond also referred to Sinn Féin's German connections. In a city still mourning the loss of sixty-seven of its citizens in the recent double sinking of the local steamships, *Formby* and *Coningbeg* by a U-boat, this was an emotional and powerful appeal.

The election campaign continued with nightly meetings followed by riots. The Volunteer Hall in Thomas Street was often under siege. On 15th, Patrick Walsh, a Redmondite supporter was shot in the leg as the crowd attempted to storm the hall. A Dublin Volunteer, Owen Passan, was later charged but acquitted. At this stage the RIC appeared to have stood by and observed proceedings unless Sinn Féin appeared to be winning in which case they intervened vigorously.

St. Patrick's Day was marked by a truce. Both sides took part in the customary parade but were kept well apart. From then until polling day hostilities resumed. Troops and extra police were drafted into the city to keep order. Polling day itself was marred by almost continuous rioting. There were about ten polling stations in the city and each had fifty to sixty Volunteers assigned to it. They were matched by at least the same number of Redmondites and so the situation at every polling station was extremely volatile. As Dr. White made his way to his polling station in Mount Sion School, accompanied by Eamonn de Valera, he was struck on the head by a stick wielded by an ex-soldier named Power. After treatment in the Infirmary, Dr. White returned to vote escorted by a large contingent of Volunteers. The RIC cleared a path through the mob for him and he was finally able to vote. Other Sinn Féin supporters had similar experiences. One party of Volunteers led by C. Murphy from Dublin was attacked in O'Connell Street. Murphy was forced to draw his revolver to protect himself and fired once, wounding a Redmondite named Thompson. Murphy himself was badly beaten before being arrested and charged. He was subsequently sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment.

The closing of the polling booths that evening did not mark the end of the violence. Approximately 400 Volunteers paraded to the Volunteer Hall in Thomas Street. They soon found themselves under siege there by about twice that number of supporters of Redmond, confident that they had won the electoral contest and spoiling for a fight. The police sealed off both ends of the street but declined to intervene. They did, however, prevent other Volunteers from reaching their besieged comrades. Meanwhile, outside the Volunteer Hall, both sides produced firearms. Just when it seemed that bloodshed could not be avoided, Eamonn de Valera managed to make his way to the scene. Tense negotiations with the RIC District Inspector followed before the latter ordered the Redmondite crowd to disperse on the assurance that the Volunteers would leave the city the following morning.

The next morning, the result was declared at the Court House:

Captain William Redmond: 1,242

Dr. Vincent White: 764

Majority: 478

Amid scenes of wild jubilation, Captain Redmond told his supporters: 'We defeated our opponents in South Armagh. We have snowed them under in Waterford and we have them on the run.' In an allusion to his father's victory in 1891, won then with the support of the Fenian movement, he said: 'This was not a fight won by old men. It was a fight by the young men of Waterford who were with them today just as the young men of Waterford were with his father twenty seven years ago.' As the Volunteers dispersed, they would have been comforted if they had known the assessment of the RIC District Inspector:

The population here is so strongly Redmondite that it was a surprise to most people that of a total vote of 2,006, the Sinn Féin candidate received as many as 768 votes. Sinn Féinism would appear to be progressing.

When the Irish Parliamentary Party went on to easily retain Captain Redmond's former seat of East Tyrone, it must have seemed that the tide was beginning to turn for the Irish Parliamentary Party. But then, with impeccable timing, the British Government dealt them a deathblow.

The Conscription Crisis

In April 1918, the British Cabinet, faced with a crisis on the Western Front, decided to introduce a new Military Service Bill which would raise the maximum age of conscription from forty to fifty-one and extend conscription to Ireland.²¹ The response of nationalist Ireland was immediate. The Irish Parliamentary Party opposed the bill relentlessly in the House of Commons before John Dillon led them out of the House and back to Ireland. There they found that the leadership of

21 Alan J. Ward, 'Lloyd George and the 1918 Conscription Crisis' in *Historical Journal*, 17: 1 (1974); Jerome Aan de Wiel, *The Catholic Church in Ireland 1914-1918: War and Politics*, (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2003), pp. 203-254.

the anti-conscription movement had been taken over completely by Sinn Féin. Although they joined forces with Sinn Féin, the Irish Party, tainted by its previous support for the war, was forced to play only a supporting role to the new dominant voice in Irish politics.

In Ireland there was an impressive display of national unity against the threat of conscription. Sinn Féin, the Irish Parliamentary Party, Labour and independent nationalists all met in the Mansion House on 17 April. In a hugely significant move, the Catholic Hierarchy endorsed opposition to conscription. On the Sunday following the Mansion House meeting, a national pledge - reminiscent of the signing of the Ulster Covenant six years previously - was signed at church doors. Two days later, a one-day general strike paralysed the country. Both these actions had huge support in Waterford city and county. Long queues formed after masses as people signed the pledge. The general strike was fully and completely observed with all factories, shops and commercial premises closing. The day was marked by a multitude of meetings and parades organised by Sinn Féin and the local Trades' Union Council.²² It seems that, as in many other parts of the country, the Irish Parliamentary Party deemed it politic to keep a low profile in this crisis - another symptom of the party's decline. The local campaign was given a major boost when the Bishop, Dr. Hackett used the occasion of a confirmation ceremony in Ballybricken to urge the congregation 'to resist by all lawful means'.²³

The conscription crisis gave an immediate boost to Sinn Féin and the Irish Volunteers.

During the menace of conscription in mid 1918 the numerical strength of our Volunteer Company grew very considerably. - James Nolan
(Waterford City).²⁴

We had a marked increase in numbers when conscription was threatened by the British Government in 1918. - Michael Cummins
(Stradbally).²⁵

A month later in April 1918, the extension of conscription to Ireland was announced.... There was a rush to join the Volunteers.

- Michael Ryan
(Waterford City).²⁶

During the crisis months, April to August, the RIC could only look on and record the effect of the proposal, the formation of new Sinn Féin Cumainn and the numbers that joined.

April 1918: The intended application of conscription to Ireland has had the effect of temporarily uniting all the Redmondites and Sinn Féiners. Protest meetings against this enactment were held in every

22 *Munster Express, Waterford News*, April, May 1918.

23 *Munster Express*, 4 May 1918.

24 BMS WS 1369, James Nolan.

25 BMS WS 1282, Michael Cummins.

26 BMS WS 1709, Michael Ryan.

parish in the county and Redmondites and Sinn Féiners appeared on the same platform. There are still many Redmondites strongly opposed to Sinn Féinism but the end result of this conscription proposal is a large increase in the numbers of Sinn Féiners and a consequent weakening of the Constitutional Party.

May 1918: New Sinn Féin clubs were formed. Tramore (40 members), Ballyduff (50), Kinsalebeg (66), Clashmore (80) and Portlaw (90). Anti-conscription collection: £2,529. 3s. 6d. (to date). RC Clergy active in the collection. Branches of the Irish Volunteers formed at Kilrossanty and Ardmore.

June 1918: Four Sinn Féin clubs formed during the month, Nire (55), Colligan (50), Rathgormack (190), Kilbrien (70). Widespread drilling by the Irish Volunteers but no arrests ordered.

July 1918: Five Sinn Féin clubs formed: Touraneena (50), Glendinn (44), Ballinameela (80), Affane (37) and Ballygunner (37). Six Sinn Féiners before Lismore Petty Sessions for drilling - bound to peace. Three hurling matches, two concerts and a Transport Union Meeting at Dungarvan prohibited.²⁷

In August, the reported strength of Sinn Féin in the city and county peaked at thirty Clubs (Cumainn) and 2,478 members.²⁸ That month the conscription crisis eased as the tide of war turned in favour of the allies and it became clear that Germany would be defeated. However, the conscription proposal had provided an enormous boost to Sinn Féin and to the Irish Volunteers. Although many of the new recruits dropped out of the movement as soon as the crisis passed, the organisational framework for both organisations was in place and ready for new challenges.

The General Election - November 1918²⁹

By the autumn of 1918, a general election was long overdue and all parties expected one before the end of the year. The Representation of the People Act (1918) had significantly increased the electorate. It introduced universal suffrage for men over twenty-one years of age and for the first time gave the vote to women, although only to those over thirty years who were either householders themselves or married to householders. This more than doubled the electorate and Sinn Féin was confident of capturing a majority of the new voters. From August to November, Sinn Féin was busy selecting candidates. Although the local organisation could put forward names, the party standing committee had to approve them and in some cases rejected local prospective candidates if they were deemed not to be 'forward'

27 PRO CO/904/105, 106, RIC Crime Special Branch.

28 *Ibid.*, 106.

29 For a general discussion of the 1918 General Election, see Michael Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland: The Sinn Féin Party, 1916-1923*, pp. 150-168 and Cornelius O'Leary and Patrick Maume, *Controversial Issues in Anglo-Irish Relations, 1910-1921*, (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 65-76.

enough. Michael Collins and Harry Boland were the driving forces behind the standing committee. Ironically, Boland himself fell foul of one of its rules.

The standing committee decreed that only candidates with a command of Irish could be nominated for counties with a Gaeltacht population. This, of course, included Waterford county. At the selection convention in Dungarvan, Dan Fraher nominated Boland. Boland and Fraher were great friends and Boland often stayed with the Frahers during his frequent visits to the town. The main reason for his interest seems to have been romantic rather than electoral. At this stage, Boland was courting Cait Fraher, daughter of Dan with sufficient enthusiasm to achieve a formal engagement. Boland, however, had to decline the nomination since he was 'altogether unsuited for the constituency as I am not an Irish speaker'.³⁰ Instead, he nominated Cathal Brugha, wounded hero of the South Dublin Union garrison of 1916. This nomination was duly ratified by the standing committee. Pax Whelan describes receiving a despatch from Michael Collins confirming the selection:

His selection for the constituency took place in a strange way. There was the usual straining for selection here by some locals anxious to get on the bandwagon... I received a message from Collins... 'I have the right man for your election. It is Cathal Brugha. He was wounded severely in 1916.' I had never heard of Cathal Brugha. When I came into the town in the morning, I met some of our politicians. 'We have a great candidate, a 1916 man', I said. They had never heard of him either. Some of them that had supported local men for the selection were disappointed but when they heard he was a 1916 man, that he carried a few British bullets in him, they were happy enough. They all rallied around.³¹

His opponent was the sitting MP, Mr. J.J. Shee. In the city constituency, Dr. White was again selected to face Captain Redmond. With the expanded electorate and the national mood strongly for Sinn Féin, the local organisation was confident it could win both seats.

On 11 November, the war ended with an armistice between the victorious allies and the retreating Germans. Two weeks later, on 25 November, Lloyd George dissolved parliament and called a general election. Polling day was set for 14 December. Constituencies were given the option of counting the votes on 21 or 28 December - the delay being necessary to allow the return of postal votes from serving soldiers overseas. A confident Sinn Féin was ready to fight every constituency in Ireland while a despondent Irish Party was fighting for its political existence. The Inspector General of the RIC observed:

For some time past it has been obvious that the Irish Parliamentary Party had outlived their popularity even with the RC Clergy. The chief complaint now urged against them is that on the outbreak of war they

30 David Fitzpatrick, *Harry Boland's Irish Revolution*, (Cork, Cork University Press, 2003), p. 109.

31 Uinseann MacEoin, *Survivors*, (Dublin, Argenta Press, 1980), p. 138.

failed to obtain from Government satisfactory guarantees with regard to Home Rule. Their organisation has been singularly apathetic with regard to the new register of voters. Thirty-two members of the party did not seek re-election, allowing twenty-five Sinn Féiners to be elected on nomination day unopposed and it is not improbable that many more nationalist seats will be lost.³²

In the county constituency, Sinn Féin had started the election campaign early. On Monday 18 November Fraher, O'Mahony and other speakers addressed a huge crowd in the square in Dungarvan under a large banner which read 'For Cathal Brugha and Independence'.³³ The dominant theme in the speeches was Brugha's 1916 experience. Two weeks later, on 4 December, the candidate himself arrived in the constituency and was greeted to a rapturous reception by another huge crowd. From then until polling day he toured the county, escorted by Volunteers and spoke in every town and village. By contrast, his opponent, J.J. Shee had difficulty in mounting a proper campaign. It was no surprise when the result was announced on 21 December:³⁴

Brugha: 12,890

O'Shee: 4,217

Brugha had secured 75% of the vote, one of the biggest margins in the country. Waterford county had been swept along on the electoral tide of Sinn Féin and had reflected the mood of the country. It was a different story in Waterford city.³⁵

In the city, Sinn Féin had opened its campaign with a rally on the Mall on Sunday 17 November. Despite being warned by the police to avoid any 'military-like' display, several hundred Volunteers had formed at the Volunteer Hall and had marched to the meeting behind their band. Dr. White and Rosamund Jacob were the main speakers with the latter urging women voters to support Sinn Féin as the party offering women a full part in public life. In scenes reminiscent of the bye-election in March, the meeting was attacked by 'separation women' and other supporters of Captain Redmond. A riot ensued as the police tried to keep order. Two days later, Captain Redmond launched his campaign to a mass meeting on Ballybricken. He attacked the Sinn Féin policy of absenteeism and pointed out the economic benefits that the war had brought to the city. He also emphasised the benefits and continuity of parliamentary resistance to England as shown by O'Connell, Parnell and his father John Redmond.

Although the RIC noted that 'the leaders on both sides are making honest efforts to guard against collisions with good results', the reality was a repeat, though not as bad, of the clashes that had marred the March bye-election. Once

32 PRO CO/904/107, Inspector General's Report.

33 *Waterford News*, 4 December 1919.

34 Brian M. Walker (ed.), *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1918-92*, (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 1992), p. 9.

35 The Waterford city contest is described in *Munster Express*, November, December, 1918; *Waterford News*, November, December 1918; BMS WS 1105, Nicholas Whittle; BMS WS 1764, Dr. Vincent White; PRO CO/904/07, RIC Monthly Reports.

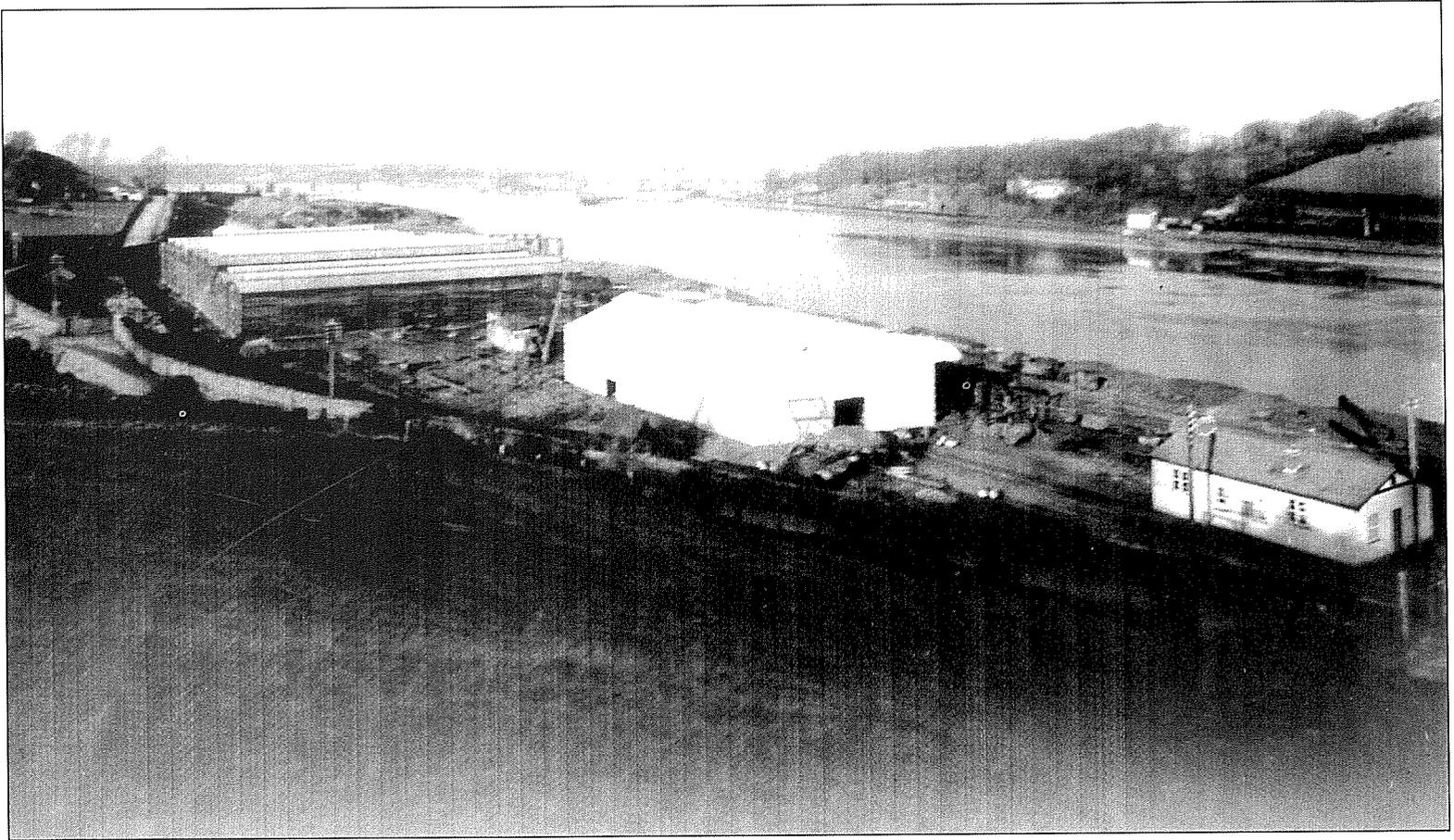


Plate 3 – External view, National Cartridge Factory, Bilberry, Waterford, 1916. The factory is almost complete.

(Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland, Poole Collection, WP 2891)

again, Volunteers were mobilised from other constituencies. Since the Sinn Féin candidates in all the constituencies in Cork, Kerry and Clare were unopposed, Volunteers from these counties were again available for duty in Waterford. They responded to the call guarding meetings, escorting canvassers and meeting the Redmondites stick with stick and stone with stone. Once again, Captain Redmond made the renewed invasion of Waterford a theme of his speeches. Polling day saw violent scenes around the polling stations and the police were forced to fix bayonets to separate the rival factions at the polling station in Francis Street. The day ended with the almost customary attack on the Volunteer Hall in Thomas Street.

The count did not take place until 28 December. Once again, Redmond had triumphed:³⁶

Redmond: 4,915

White: 4,421

although his margin of victory was only 52.7% to 47.3%. By now, conscious of the results throughout the rest of the country, he spoke only briefly to his supporters, declaring Waterford City to be 'an oasis in the political desert of Ireland'. After the count, his supporters paraded from the Court House to Ballybricken where they burned an effigy of Dr. White. The same local newspapers that acclaimed his triumph also carried an announcement from the Ministry of Munitions in London. It stated that the cartridge factory at Bilberry was to close, that all the employees would lose their jobs and that the premises would be offered for sale.

The Slow Drift towards War

On 21 January, the newly elected Sinn Féin MPs met in the Mansion House as the First Dáil. There were only twenty-seven present since many of the elected members were in prison and others, including Michael Collins, were in England arranging the successful escape of Eamonn de Valera from Lincoln Jail. Captain Redmond, although invited, did not attend. His fellow representative from Waterford, Cathal Brugha, was elected chairman on the nomination of Count Plunkett and seconded by Pádraig O'Malley. That same day Volunteers of the Third Tipperary Brigade shot dead two RIC men who were escorting a cart-load of gelignite near Soloheadbeg; these are generally accepted as the first shots in the War of Independence.

While national attention focussed on the proceedings in the Mansion House and on the search for the Volunteers involved in the Soloheadbeg ambush, Waterford city was occupied by the continuing feud between supporters of Captain Redmond and of Sinn Féin. Sporadic street violence came to a head on St. Patrick's Day. According to the *Munster Express* 'some minor scuffles took place in different parts of the city'. However, the strongly pro-Sinn Féin *Waterford News* gave a more vivid and graphic description:

36 Brian M. Walker (ed.), *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1918-92*, p. 9.

Monday's Orgy of Blackguardism

Owing to an organised mob of soldiers, hooligans and depraved women, having collected stones and other missiles in the vicinity of Morgan Street, the route of the procession of our national Apostle, St. Patrick had to be changed. However, this did not prevent the ruffians with 'Up Redmond' and filthy oaths on their lips from coming down and attacking the procession in Manor Street. The action of the police in this melee cannot be commended. Half a dozen of them could have driven the half-drunken mob before them up John Street. They failed to do it but looked on and made practically no effort to scatter the mob until Father Kelleher came on the scene when they were shamed into action.

When the procession reached the Mall word was received that the mob were waiting to attack the Tramore Band on their way to the station. When they and the Volunteers reached John Street corner they were attacked and the Volunteers drove the mob before them out of the Manor, and after a short and decisive fight at the end of Castle St. and in the Railway Square they succeeded in getting the Tramore contingent entrained. As the Volunteers were about to leave Railway Square, they were again attacked from the Manor and Castle St. On the word of command the Volunteers broke up into two bodies, one half reaching Manor St. at Madigans public house and the other half at the Castle Street end with the result that the mob was caught between two bodies and rendered useless.

An old man named Burke was attacked and beaten and only for the interference of a number of priests, who were vigorously booed, would have been seriously injured.

A few young men coming down Michael Street and who were wearing the Sinn Féin colours were attacked by a mob of about 500 and as they were powerless before so many they retreated through Broad Street and George's Street followed by the mob, and succeeded in making their escape. A member of the Irish National Forresters was attacked at the Railway Square on his way home and received a bad beating. A young man named Stafford was struck by a stone on the head when the processionists were disbanded at the Mall. Numerous attacks were made on people of Irish-Ireland tendencies in other parts of the city. A number of the depraved women were heard to blasphemously shout during the Manor Street melee, and when the pageant of St. Patrick was passing 'We don't want St. Patrick. Give us Lloyd George!' Another favourite war cry was 'Up England; to Hell with Ireland'. Only in one other city or town in Ireland - namely Belfast - could such ruffianism be displayed. Only in the vilest parts of Belfast could St. Patrick and all that he stands for be subjected to such outrages. Waterford Redmondites covered themselves with infamy on Monday.

With passions running so high, tragedy was almost inevitable. On the night of 20 April, a brawl that started with the trading of slogans, 'Up Redmond', 'Up White' ended in the death of a labourer, William Grant of Harrington's Lane. At his inquest, held a week later, Grant was described as a supporter of Captain Redmond. The verdict was death as a result of injuries wilfully inflicted by a person or persons unknown.³⁷

Meanwhile, throughout the county the finishing touches were being put to the organisation of the Volunteers. Such was the success of the organising drive in 1918 that it was decided to split Waterford into two brigades, with the dividing line being Portlaw, Kilmacthomas and the river Mahon to the sea. West of this line, the West Waterford Brigade (also known as the Waterford No. 2 Brigade) with Pax Whelan as OC had four battalions centred on Dungarvan (First Batt.), Lismore (Second Batt.), Ardmore - Old Parish (Third Batt.) and Kilrossanty (Fourth Batt.). The Eastern Brigade (Waterford No. 1 Brigade), with Sean Matthews as OC initially, had three battalions, Waterford City (First Batt.), Dunhill-Ballyduff (Second Batt.) and Gaultier (Third Batt.). Within each battalion area, a company was organised based on the parish - the same scheme as the Sinn Féin Clubs. For example, the City Battalion had companies as follows: A Coy - Cathedral Parish; B Coy - St. Patrick's; C Coy - Ballybricken and Butlerstown; D Coy - St. John's and E Coy - Ferrybank and Sallypark. The strength of the companies and battalions varied. A strong company might have sixty to eighty men and its battalion might have up to five hundred men on its books, but these were the exception. Some of the companies in the city were as low as twenty Volunteers and the strength of the City Battalion never reached more than about one hundred and fifty men. There was also a change in emphasis. The holding of open drills and route marches, a feature of the earlier Volunteers, was now frowned upon. The emphasis now was on clandestine meetings, the acquisition of arms and, where possible, firing practice.

Although, thanks in large measure to the conscription crisis, finding Volunteers was not a problem, arming them was. As a consequence, much of the year 1919 was devoted to arms raids.

We did raid a few private houses for arms. I myself took part in at least two of these raids, on the house of Scully, an architect, in Parnell St. and on Bailey's in New St. In Scully's we got two shotguns and in Bailey's we got one. In these two instances I was in charge of a small party of two men and was myself armed with a .32 revolver. My comrades were not armed.

- Jeremiah Cronin, A Coy. City Batt.³⁸

Nothing much occurred around the Stradbally area during 1919-1920. We tried to ease the arms position by raiding houses of the gentry in the district. A few guns picked up as a result of these raids, which were carried out at night by a few of us. We were met with no opposition on these raids.

- Michael Cummins, Stradbally Coy.³⁹
4th Batt., West Waterford Brigade.

37 *Waterford News*, 29 April 1919; *Munster Express*, 29 April 1919.

38 BMS WS 1020, J. Cronin.

39 BMS WS 1282, M. Cummins.

During late 1919 and the first half of 1920 we had instructions to raid the houses of certain people, known to be unsympathetic to us, and take anything we could get in the way of guns and ammunition. These raids took place at night and were carried out by four or five of us, most of whom were armed with revolvers. We got in quite a good number of shotguns and some ammunition as the result of these raids.

- Andrew Kirwan, Bunmahon Coy.⁴⁰
4th Batt., West Waterford Brigade.

The RIC responded to the growing level of crime by arresting, where possible, known volunteer leaders. On 23 February the police attempted to interfere as shots were fired at the burial of Volunteer Michael O'Gorman at Fenor but were prevented from entering the churchyard. The following month Sean Matthews OC East Waterford Brigade was arrested and charged with obstructing the police. In a now familiar practice, he refused to recognise the court and was sentenced to three months' imprisonment.⁴¹ Many Volunteers were similarly arrested that year for offences like drilling or wearing a military uniform and served short sentences. These police tactics had no impact on the growth of the Volunteers and served only to make them take greater care. Wisely, the RIC made no effort to interfere when Volunteer Michael Walsh was being buried. On 29 April, Walsh, a known volunteer and member of the Ring Company, had approached the RIC barracks at Ballinagoul to seek help to stop a fight in a nearby public house between local republicans and the crew of a British gunboat. The lone policeman in the barracks, thinking he was under attack, fired through the door fatally wounding Walsh who died six weeks later. His funeral was the scene of a major demonstration by the Volunteers and Sinn Féin but passed off peacefully.

In August 1919, the Volunteers nation-wide were given a new but equally important task - raising the Dáil Loan. Encouraged by the fundraising success of Eamonn de Valera in America, Michael Collins as Minister for Finance in the Dáil Administration decided to float a national loan in Ireland. Inspired by his vision, the Dáil authorised his ministry to 'issue Republican Bonds to the value of £250,000'. Many of his colleagues were sceptical of such an ambitious target but they underestimated his drive and organising talent. The loan campaign was launched in early September. Unable to use the national newspapers to publicise the loan - they had been warned by Dublin Castle that to do so would result in their closure - Collins relied on the Volunteers to distribute the prospectus, canvass potential subscribers and collect and remit all monies. He appointed a full-time organiser for each province including O'Mahony for Munster.⁴² The RIC did all in their power to hinder the drive. They noted the number of times that O'Mahony visited Waterford, raided houses, seized literature and tried in vain to locate the money. Collins meanwhile carefully monitored progress. He kept a black list of constituencies that were under-performing and regularly castigated the Volunteers.

40 BMS WS 1179, A. Kirwan.

41 *Waterford News*, 21 March 1919.

42 BMS WS 745, P.C. O'Mahony.

By July 1920, when Collins closed the loan, £370,165. 6s. had been raised - an astounding achievement. However, performance throughout the country had varied considerably. Some £11,600 had been contributed from England. Of the total raised in Ireland 48%, £171,177. 6s. 4d. had come from Munster. P.C. O'Mahony could well be proud of his efforts.

Because the money was raised and audited on a constituency basis, it is possible to compare them directly, since the constituencies were approximately equal in population terms. The twenty-three constituencies in Munster averaged £7,440 each. There were outstanding performances from Limerick West (£17,385. 6s.), Clare East (£13,609. 4s. 6d.) and Cork City (£12,067). By comparison, the £4,550 raised in Waterford county was below the Munster average but reasonable when compared to adjoining constituencies.⁴³

Waterford County: £4,550
Cork North East: £3,787. 10s.
Cork East: £6,519. 15s.
Tipperary South: £4,458
Tipperary East: £4,862. 10s.
Kilkenny South: £5,281. 10s.
Wexford South: £4,457

It was a different story in the city. Here the total raised was a mere £636. 5s. Outside the Unionist heartland of East Ulster it was the lowest of any constituency. Even the strongholds of southern Unionism, the Dublin constituencies of Rathmines (£1,235) and Pembroke (£2,580) raised more. As an indicator of Volunteer and Sinn Féin organisation, it showed how weak the movement was in Waterford city. The county, however, was on a par with its neighbours and ready for the next phase in the War of Independence.

Throughout the first six months of 1919, there was relatively little revolutionary activity in Ireland. Much attention was paid to the futile efforts of a Sinn Féin delegation to raise Ireland as an issue at the Peace Conference in Versailles. At home, Sinn Féin focussed on building up the newly created departments of Dáil Éireann - the revolutionary counterstate. Apart from the Soloheadbeg ambush and the subsequent rescue of Sean Hogan at Knocklong Station, there were only a few isolated attacks on the police. However, as autumn turned to winter, there was a noticeable upsurge in violence. The principal targets were isolated police barracks.

On the night of 17 January 1920, the RIC barracks and the coastguard station at Ardmore were attacked by approximately fifty Volunteers led by Pax Whelan.⁴⁴ As part of the operation, parties of Volunteers set up road-blocks and firing positions on the Youghal Road, Ardmore, at Kiely's Cross and at the Main Road, Old Parish to prevent British reinforcements reaching Ardmore. A mine placed at the gable

43 National Archives of Ireland, Dáil Éireann Loan, NAI/DE/2/7.

44 Sean and Sile Murphy, *The Comeraghs, Refuge of Rebels: The Story of the Deise Brigade, IRA*, (Waterford, Comeragh Publications, 1980), p. 24.

end of the barracks failed to explode and the IRA opened a sustained but ineffective fire on both the barracks and the coastguard station. After about two hours the IRA withdrew without inflicting or suffering any casualties. This attack marked the start of the War of Independence in Waterford. The history of the Volunteers in Waterford had entered a new and more dangerous phase.

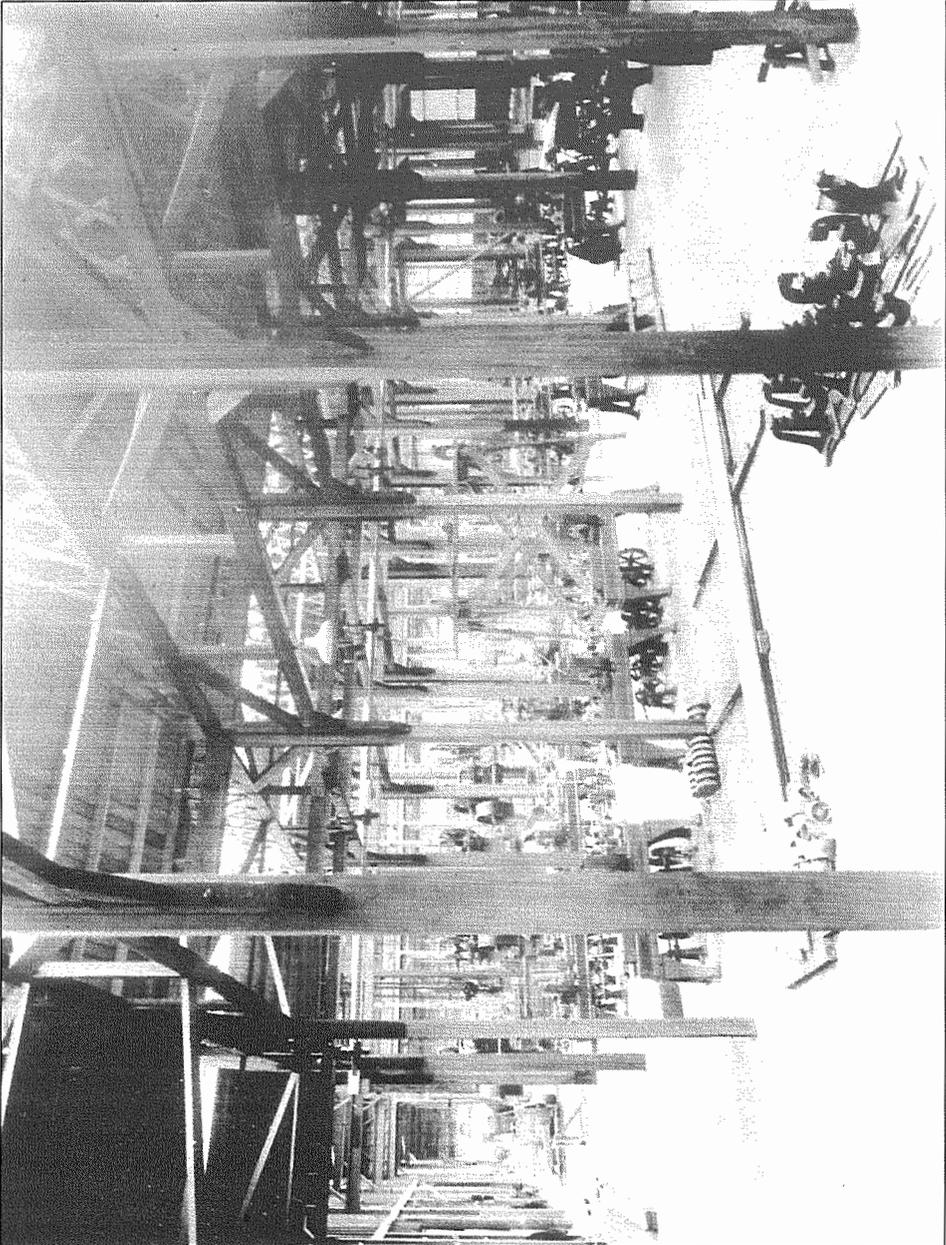


Plate 4 – Internal view, National Cartridge Factory.

(Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland, Poole Collection, I 1667)

Behind the legend: Waterfordmen in the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War¹

Emmet O'Connor

ON Saturday 19 December 1936, four Waterfordmen made their way to London's Victoria Station and caught the boat train to Paris. Their true destination was the training base of the International Brigades at Albacete, 264 kilometres south east of Madrid.² It was another step in the making of Waterford's substantial connection with the Connolly Column, the name which has become a blanket term for the Irish who fought for the Spanish Republic. The four - Jackie Hunt, Peter O'Connor, Johnny Power, and Paddy Power - were followed to Spain by Willie Power, younger brother of Johnny and Paddy, Johnny Kelly, Harry Kennedy, Jackie Lemon, John O'Shea, and Mossie Quinlan. The eleventh man, who had been the first from Waterford to join the Brigades, was Frank Edwards.

The celebrated Republican orator, La Pasionaria, did not exaggerate in telling the International Brigaders: 'You are history. You are legend'.³ There is a vast corpus of work on the Spanish Civil War - in excess of 40,000 volumes - and its impact on Ireland has attracted increasing interest since the mid 1970s. Following Michael O'Riordan's *Connolly Column*, in effect the Communist Party of Ireland's official history of the Irish involvement, a trickle of memoirs and biographies of veterans appeared from the 1980s.⁴ More recently, academic studies have explored

- 1 I am grateful to Mick Barry, Jim Carmody, Teena Casey, James Duggan, Ken Keable, Barry McLoughlin, John Monaghan, Donal Moore, Manus O'Riordan, and Tish Collins, Marx Memorial Library, London, for assistance in researching this article. I am also obliged to the British Academy for subventing research on the International Brigades in the Russian State Archive for Social and Political History (Rossiiskii Gosudartsvennyi Arkhiv Sotsial'no-Politicheskoi Istorii, RGASPI), in Moscow.
- 2 Peter O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty: Recollections of a Socialist and Anti-Fascist Fighter* (Dublin, 1996), pp.13-14.
- 3 Dolores Ibarurri, from her valediction to the International Brigades, Barcelona, 28 October 1938.
- 4 Michael O'Riordan, *Connolly Column: The Story of the Irishmen who Fought in the Ranks of the International Brigades in the National Revolutionary War of the Spanish People, 1936-39* (Dublin, 1979); Seán Cronin, *Frank Ryan: The Search for the Republic* (Dublin, 1980); Joe Monks, *With the Reds in Andalusia* (London, 1985); Eoghan Ó Duinnín, *La Nina Bonita agus an Róisín Dubh: Cuimhní Cinn ar Chogadh Cathartha na Spáinne* (Dublin, 1986); Joseph O'Connor, *Even the Olives are Bleeding: The Life and Times of Charlie Donnelly* (Dublin, 1992); H. Gustav Klaus (ed.), *Strong Words, Brave Deeds: The Poetry, Life and Times of Thomas O'Brien, Volunteer in the Spanish Civil War* (Dublin, 1994); Bob Doyle, *Memorias de un Rebelde sin Pausa* (Madrid, 2002); O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*. See also Peadar O'Donnell, *Salud! An Irishman in Spain* (London, 1937).

the motives and experiences of the volunteers, while internet webmasters are busy accumulating exhaustive detail on all aspects of the Connolly Column.⁵ Waterford has generated some curiosity for the relatively large number of volunteers from the city, and the city's exceptional recognition of their role, extending to the unveiling of a civic monument - the first such in Ireland - in July 2004. The literature on the Waterford contingent comprises memoirs by Edwards and O'Connor, and a commemorative souvenir by Manus O'Riordan.⁶ Like all the International Brigaders, the Waterfordmen are presumed to have been selfless idealists and heroes of 'the good fight'. But does history support the legend?

The International Brigades and the Connolly Column

The Spanish Civil War began on 17-18 July 1936 with a military revolt against the left-wing popular front government. From the outset the war had an international dimension. German and Italian air transports were vital to the rebels initially, and Germany, Italy, and Portugal would later send troops, machines, munitions, and advisers to Franco. The French government decided to assist the Spanish Republic at first, but was dissuaded by Britain, and by fear of a backlash in France. Instead the British and French sponsored a 'non-intervention committee' to prevent all foreign involvement in Spain. Needing Anglo-French support against Hitler, the Soviet Union endorsed non-intervention in principle, but supplied increasing aid to the Republic as it became evident that the non-intervention committee was substantially ineffective. Meanwhile, thousands were volunteering to fight in Spain, and in September the Communist International or Comintern, the controlling body of all communist parties, agreed to the formation of International Brigades. In line with the Comintern's popular front policy, the communists exaggerated non-communist enlistment in the Brigades, and communist Internationals were instructed to give their own political affiliation simply as 'anti-fascist', but the Brigades were communist controlled.

The Communist Party of Ireland (CPI) immediately agreed to contribute an Irish unit for Spain, and as party organisation was confined to Dublin and Belfast and struggling to survive with about 100 members, it turned to its friends in the socialist republican movement for help. Completing the independence struggle through class politics had been an ambition of a significant minority of republicans

5 Robert A. Stradling, *The Irish in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939: Crusades in Conflict* (Manchester, 1999); Fearghal McGarry, *Irish Politics and the Spanish Civil War* (Cork, 1999).

The best website is <http://members.Lycos.co.uk/SpanishCivilWar/contents.htm> maintained by Ciarán Crossey, Belfast (hereafter cited as Crossey).

6 Uinseann MacEoin (ed.), 'Frank Edwards', *Survivors* (Dublin, 1980), pp.1-20; O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*; Manus O'Riordan (ed.), *You Are History, You Are Legend: In Memory of the Eleven Waterford Volunteers Who Fought in Defence of the Spanish Republic in the Ranks of the XVth International Brigade* (Dublin, 2004). See also David Smith, 'The Man that Fought the Bishop: The Story of Frank Edwards and the Mount Sion Strike' in *Decies*, 58 (2001), pp.122-49.

since their defeat in the Civil War, and to that end a sizeable number had left the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in 1934 to found the Republican Congress. Led by Peadar O'Donnell and Frank Ryan, the Congress became one of the few organisations willing to collaborate with the CPI. Republican interest in Spain was further heightened by the announcement, in August 1936, of former Blueshirt leader General Eoin O'Duffy that he would raise an 'Irish Brigade' for Franco.

Some 35,000 people from fifty-three countries joined the International Brigades.⁷ The surviving records and definitional problems do not allow for exactitude on the number of Irish amongst them. Michael O'Riordan listed 145, including 'honorary' Irishmen who associated with the Connolly Column, and a few second-generation Irish in Britain or Irish-Americans, but his pioneering efforts failed to detect many others.⁸ McGarry put the number of Irish born volunteers as 'closer to 200'. In the most exhaustive research project available, Crossey has recorded 244 names, including non-combatants and second generation Irish.⁹ It is estimated here that 139 went to Spain directly from Ireland, of which 131 fought with the International Brigades (some enlisting in Britain or elsewhere), three joined other forces on the republican side, and five served with medical units. A further 101 volunteers were first generation Irish exiles, of whom at least twenty-eight were living in London. Some of these expatriates were long out of Ireland and politicised abroad, while others were recent emigrants and still engaged with Irish politics, notably through the London branch of the Republican Congress.¹⁰ Even excluding the exiles, the Irish involvement was remarkably high, given the size of the CPI. Wales and Scotland, for example, with their concentrations of mining and heavy industry, and their pockets of vibrant communism - the so-called 'little Moscows' - generated 150 and 500 volunteers respectively.¹¹ If we remember that 650 or so enlisted in O'Duffy's 'Irish Brigade', then it is likely that Ireland - in these supposedly insular times - sent more volunteers per capita to the Spanish Civil War than any other country except France.

Who Were They?

Most International Brigaders - of all nationalities - were single, working class men in their twenties or thirties, from urban, industrial backgrounds. In Waterford's case, all were from the city except O'Shea, who lived in John Street, but had -immediate family in Kilmeaden. All were single, though some had marriage partners in mind. They were typical too in age. O'Shea was rather old at thirty-three, Lemon was young at nineteen - from February 1937 the Communist Party of Great

7 Richard Baxell, *British Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War: The British Battalion in the International Brigades, 1936-1939* (London, 2004), pp. 8-9.

8 O'Riordan, *Connolly Column*, pp. 162-5.

9 McGarry, *Irish Politics and the Spanish Civil War*, p. 56.

10 These figures are based on Crossey; newspapers; RGASPI, International Brigades in the Spanish Republican Army, 545/6/-; and Marx Memorial Library, London (MML), International Brigades Memorial Archive (IBA).

11 Baxwell, *British Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War*, pp. 19-20.

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PARTIDO COMUNISTA DE ESPAÑA
Balmes, 205 — Teléfono 74143
BARCELONA

COMISIÓN CENTRAL DE CUADROS
(Sección extranjeros)

Booke NOM 25 2555

BIOGRAFIA DE MILITANTES

Todo camarada que no es español y que desea entrar en las filas del P. C. de España, deberá escribir una biografía según las normas de este cuestionario; y mandarlo con su demanda, al C. C. por la vía del Partido.

Esta disposición se aplica igualmente a todo camarada que era, antes, miembro de uno de nuestros partidos hermanos y que desea también obtener el carnet del Partido por el año en curso.

I. PERSONAL

1. Apellidos y nombre JOHN POWER Nombre de Partido IRLANDA
2. Lugar y fecha de nacimiento LUGAR: WATERFORD, IRLANDA - FECHA: 9-4-1908
3. Nombre de tus padres, de familiares próximos, sus condiciones sociales, sus opiniones políticas MARY + JOSEPH POWER (MADRE + PADRE) : SUS OPINIONES POLITICAS = REPUBLICANO
4. ¿Dónde se encuentra ahora tu familia? (Dirección) WATERPARK LODGE, WATERFORD, IRLANDA
5. ¿Cuál es tu nacionalidad? IRLANDES
6. Estado SOLTERO
7. Lugar de procedencia WATERFORD, IRLANDA.
8. Profesión OBREGERO
9. Tienes otros conocimientos profesionales y cuáles son? —
10. Lugar de trabajo antes de tu salida para España SOUTHALL, MIDDLESEX, INGLATERRA ¿Cuántos obreros había en la Empresa donde estabas?
11. ¿Cuál era tu salario medio? —
12. ¿Tienes miembros de tu familia funcionarios del Estado, agentes de policía o fascistas? En caso afirmativo, ¿cuáles son sus apellidos y nombres, el papel que han tenido en las circunstancias actuales y cuáles son las relaciones que tienes con ellos? —

II. DESENVOLVIMIENTO PROFESIONAL

13. ¿Cuáles son los estudios profesionales que has cursado (dónde, cuándo y en cuánto tiempo)? —
14. ¿En qué fábricas o empresas has trabajado antes? (¿Cuántos obreros aproximadamente trabajaban?)
1. OBRERO de MADERO - 300 obreros
2. TRABAJADORE - 1,000
15. ¿Has estado parado? En lo afirmativo ¿en qué época y cuánto tiempo? —

III. VIDA SINDICAL

16. ¿Has sido miembro de organizaciones sindicales? ¿Cuáles? ¿Dónde? UGT de IRLANDA:
N. U. S. M. W.
17. ¿A qué organización sindical internacional pertenece tu sindicato? I. F. T. U.
18. ¿Has tenido algún cargo de responsabilidad en la organización sindical? ¿Has efectuado algún trabajo en dicha organización? ¿Cuáles? DELEGADO a Trade Council
SOUTHALL, MIDDLESEX, INGLATERRA.
19. ¿Has representado el sindicato en la fábrica (o empresa)? ¿Cuánto tiempo? —

Plate 1 - Page one of the 'Biografía de Militantes' of John Power (RGASPI, 545/6/445-11). In 1938 the International Brigades decided that communists about to be repatriated should complete these 'biographies' to enable the party to assess their value in future political work.

Britain (CPGB) refused to accept volunteers under eighteen - and the rest were aged between twenty-three and twenty-nine on arrival in Spain.¹² Edwards and Quinlan were the only volunteers who could be considered middle class. Trained as a primary teacher at De La Salle College, Edwards had worked in Mount Sion until dismissed by the Catholic bishop in 1935 because of his membership of the Republican Congress. When he volunteered for Spain he was unemployed. Quinlan's social status is even more ambiguous. His occupation was listed in the records of the British battalion as 'salesman'.¹³ Kennedy, Kelly, and O'Shea were in the building trades, and Lemon had worked or served his time as a fitter in Waterford, and then went to work in the HMV gramophone company in London.¹⁴ The remaining five were unskilled, and were working in Woolf's rubber factory in London prior to departure for Spain.¹⁵

Two characteristics of the Waterford volunteers are striking. First, their political profiles are very similar. Eight were republicans. Edwards, Hunt, O'Connor, Johnny Power, and Quinlan had been in the post Civil War IRA and the Republican Congress. Paddy Power joined the Republican Congress, while Willie shared the republicanism of his elder brothers. Unusually, O'Shea had served in the National Army, but he subsequently joined the Republican Congress. A ninth man, Kennedy, claimed to have scouted for the IRA in Waterford during the Civil War, though he would have been fourteen years of age at the time and his family were not republican sympathisers.¹⁶ More remarkably, all of the volunteers were moving towards communism. Edwards, Hunt, O'Connor, Johnny Power, and Quinlan were members of the Workers' Study Circle, formed at Coffee House Lane in 1932. The circle was closely connected with the Revolutionary Workers' Groups, which in turn became the CPI in 1933. O'Connor and Power joined the CPGB in London.¹⁷ Four others, O'Shea, Paddy and Willie Power, and Jackie Lemon were members of

12 Baxell, *British Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War*, p.16; MacEoin (ed.), 'Frank Edwards', *Survivors*, p.1; O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*, p.1; RGASPI, report on John O'Shea, 1938, 545/6/444-70; other sources are MML, IBA, Box D-7, A/2, list of members of the British battalion (Hunt, Quinlan); RGASPI, International Brigades in the Spanish Republican Army, 545/6/- (Kelly); Registry of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, Waterford.

13 Smith, 'The Man that Fought the Bishop', pp.122-49. I am obliged to Jim Carmody for details on Quinlan.

14 National Archives of Ireland (NAI), Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), Irish Minister, Paris legation, to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Dublin, 5 February 1938, P10/55; RGASPI, report on John O'Shea, 1938, 545/6/444-70. I am obliged to Jim Carmody for details on Kelly, and Mick Barry for details on Lemon.

15 O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*, pp. 12-13.

16 MacEoin, 'Frank Edwards', *Survivors*, pp. 5-11; O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*, pp. 7-13; interview with Mick Barry, Waterford, 10 July 2004; NAI, DOF, Irish Minister, Paris legation, to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Dublin, 5 February 1938, P10/55; RGASPI, Biografia de Militantes, John O'Shea, 545/6/444-63/64a; report on John O'Shea, November 1937, 545/6/444-69.

17 O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*, pp. 7, 12-13.

the Communist Party in Spain. In the remaining two cases the evidence is more tenuous. Kelly was known to his friends in London as 'Red Kelly'.¹⁸ Kennedy (admittedly, as we shall see, a doubtful case) was reported to have been particularly influenced by the propaganda of Mr. Frank Ryan and Mr. Pollitt of the British Communist Party. He gradually became 'class conscious' and finally intervened actively in the Spanish struggle.¹⁹

Secondly, none of the eleven went directly from Waterford, yet, unlike so many Irish born recruits, none were long exiled. Edwards left the city in 1935 after losing his job, and was living in Dublin. Since the late 1920s, O'Shea and Kennedy had been moving back and forth between Waterford and London in search of work in the building line. Quinlan moved to London sometime after 1932, O'Connor and the Powers in 1934/5, Hunt in 1935 or 1936, and Lemon in 1936.²⁰

Why Did They Go?

What makes a civilian volunteer for a war in a faraway country of which he knows little, with no guarantees about conditions of service or securities should he return minus an arm or a leg? In the broadest context, the decision will be framed by environmental values. Many at the time were expecting another world war - the more so if Spain became the latest domino tumbled by fascism - and soldiering was widely seen as a defining element of manliness. Both O'Duffy and Peadar O'Donnell, a leading recruiting agent of the Connolly Column, claimed to have been inundated with would-be recruits, and none of the Irish who went to Spain has ever suggested that they were harangued into volunteering.²¹ On the other hand, the flow of recruits dwindled substantially in 1937, as the lethal consequences of the war hit home. More specifically, the motives will be a mixture of the subjective and the objective, and while the International Brigades is commemorated as a political army par excellence, it attracted a share of adventurers and social misfits.

Although the Waterford volunteers were highly politicised, they were also distinguished by certain socialising influences. All had grown up during the militarised atmosphere of 1916 to 1923. Six could claim to be ex-soldiers, though none had been in combat and O'Shea alone had served in a regular army. In some cases, elder brothers had set an example. O'Connor was conscious of having had two brothers in the War of Independence. During the Civil War siege of Waterford,

18 RGASPI, Note on John Power, 1938, 545/6/445-14; 545/6/162-55/56, characterisation of Lemon (cited as Lennon); interview with Mick Barry, Waterford, 10 July 2004.

19 NAI, DFA, Irish Minister, Paris legation, to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Dublin, 5 February 1938, P10/55.

20 Smith, 'The Man that Fought the Bishop', pp.122-49; RGASPI, Biografia de Militantes, John O'Shea, 545/6/444-63/64a; NAI, DFA, Irish Minister, Paris legation, to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Dublin, 5 February 1938, P10/55; O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*, pp. 7, 11-12.

21 McGarry, *Irish Politics and the Spanish Civil War*, pp. 24-37; Michael McInerney, *Peadar O'Donnell: Irish Social Rebel* (Dublin, 1974), p.179.

Edwards had tried to join the IRA garrison in the General Post Office, only to be told by his elder brother, Jack, 'Go home to hell'. Weeks later, Jack was shot by a Free State sentry in Kilkenny jail, and Edwards admitted to joining the IRA in 1924 out of 'a feeling of family loyalty, of not wanting to let Jack down'. Johnny Power attributed his initial involvement in politics to 'padres: obreros y republicanos. Condiciones social[es] en Irlanda han influenciado' (parents: workers and republicans. The influence of social conditions in Ireland).²² Willie Power followed his elder brothers to Spain. More common than the continuity of family tradition, was the disruption of unemployment and emigration. While Edwards alone was unemployed on departing for Spain, the others were in London, in jobs they regarded as short-term or unattractive. Woolf's was a sweatshop. O'Connor and Johnny Power had been compelled to work in secret in attempting to unionise the factory, the management having defeated several previous efforts.²³ Some had shown a singular spirit of courage or adventure in Waterford. Edwards had sacrificed his career for his principles. He denied, implicitly, that his decision on Spain was a reaction to his treatment by the Catholic church, though a Dublin comrade in arms, Joe Monks, thought him a bitter man because of it.²⁴ Hunt was prominent in the protests over Edwards's dismissal, and when brought before the courts for disruption, he refused to give an undertaking that he would keep the peace.²⁵ When O'Connor and Willie Power emigrated in 1934, they stowed away on a coalboat from the Scotch Quay.²⁶ Kelly is remembered as 'a bit of a tearaway'. On one occasion, for pure bravado, he dived from one of the towers on Redmond Bridge into the Suir and boasted that he would do the same from the top of R. & H. Hall's.²⁷ Yet whatever the import of subjective factors, with one exception - discussed below - none of the Waterford men could be bracketed with the adventurers or misfits that made their way to Spain. Their defining characteristics were class, republicanism, communism, emigration, youth, and mobility. It is difficult to deny their overriding sense of political purpose.

What, ultimately, was that purpose? It has been argued that the Connolly Column owed more to the Irish than the Spanish Civil War.²⁸ O'Duffy's men were of course associated with the Blueshirts and the Free State, and O'Donnell presented the Republican Congress engagement with the International Brigades as a riposte to O'Duffy. McGarry estimates that about half of the Connolly Column had been in the IRA, whereas the number of known communists among the Irish contingent was low in comparison with other countries.²⁹ Of those who went directly

22 O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*, pp. 1-2; MacEoin, 'Frank Edwards', *Survivors*, pp. 3-5; RGASPI, Biografía de Militantes, John Power, 18 September 1938, 545/6/445-11/12.

23 O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*, p. 12.

24 MacEoin, 'Frank Edwards', *Survivors*, pp. 3-5, 14; Monks, *With the Reds in Andalusia*.

25 Smith, 'The Man that Fought the Bishop', p. 145.

26 O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*, p. 11.

27 Interview with Mick Barry, Waterford, 10 July 2004.

28 Stradling, *The Irish and the Spanish Civil War*, pp. 128-44.

29 McGarry, *Irish Politics and the Spanish Civil War*, p. 58.

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COMUNISTA DE ESPAÑA

Teléfono 80093

BARCELONA

COMISIÓN CENTRAL DE CUADROS

(Sección extranjeros)

224192
Q. T. J. J.

BIOGRAFIA DE MILITANTE

...ado que no es español y que desea entrar en las filas del P. C. de España, esta biografía según las normas de este cuestionario; y mandarlo con su demando al C. C. por la vía del Partido.

...ción se aplica igualmente a toda camarada que era, antes, miembro de uno de los partidos hermanos y que desea también obtener el carnet del Partido por el año...



63

63

I. PERSONAL

1. Apellidos y nombre O'SHEA, JOHN ¿Cómo te llamas? 63
2. ¿Soltero o casado? SOLTERO
3. Lugar y fecha de nacimiento WATERFORD, IRLANDA.
4. Nombre de tus padres, de familiares próximos, sus condiciones sociales, sus opiniones políticas
JAMES & MARGARET O'SHEA, OBREROS.
5. ¿Dónde se encuentra ahora tu familia? (indicar la dirección) JOHN ST. 25 WATERFORD IRELAND.
6. ¿Cuál es tu nacionalidad? IRLANDESA.
7. Lugar de procedencia WATERFORD IRELAND.
8. Profesión OBRERO
9. ¿Tienes otros conocimientos profesionales y cuáles son? _____
10. Lugar de trabajo antes de tu salida para España LONDON INGLATERRA.
(BOVIS & CO. BUILDERS) ¿Cuántos obreros había en la Empresa donde estabas? LONDRES.
11. ¿Cuál era tu salario medio? £ 2 - 0 - 0 POR SEMANA
12. ¿Tienes miembros de tu familia funcionarios del Estado, agentes de policía o fascistas? En caso afirmativo, ¿cuáles son sus apellidos y nombres, el papel que han tenido en las circunstancias actuales y cuáles son las relaciones que tienes con ellos? _____

II. DESENVOLVIMIENTO PROFESIONAL

12. ¿Cuáles son los estudios profesionales que has cursado (dónde, cuándo y en cuánto tiempo)? _____
13. ¿En qué fábricas o empresas has trabajado antes? (¿Cuántos obreros aproximadamente trabajaban?) _____
14. ¿Has estado parado? En lo afirmativo ¿en qué época y cuánto tiempo? _____

III. VIDA SINDICAL

15. ¿Has sido miembro de organizaciones sindicales? ¿Cuáles? ¿Dónde? UNION GENERAL DE TRABAJADORES DE IRLANDA (SECCION WATERFORD)
16. ¿A qué organización sindical internacional pertenece tu sindicato? N. O. F. I. U.
17. ¿Has tenido algún cargo de responsabilidad en la organización sindical? ¿Has efectuado algún trabajo en dicha organización? ¿Cuáles? _____
18. ¿Has representado el sindicato en la fábrica (o empresa)? ¿Cuánto tiempo? _____

Plate 2 - Page one of the 'Biografía de Militantes' of John O'Shea. (RGASPI, 545/61444-63)

from Ireland, thirty-three can be identified as communists; of the exiles, forty-two. By contrast, communists accounted for approximately 60% of French, 62% of British, and 70% of United States volunteers.³⁰ However, the presumption that republicans saw the war in Irish terms, and the communists in international terms, is in itself doubtful, and based on untenable notions about Ireland's insularity and Spain's singularity. The magnetic appeal of Spain lay in its universal relevance, and the belief that if fascism was not stopped at Madrid, it would have to be fought in Paris, Prague, or London, and that a defeat for fascism in Spain would have political repercussions in all countries. In other words, all of the Brigaders had both a domestic and an international reason for going to Spain. Waterford illustrates how a-historic it is to introduce a dichotomy between republicanism and communism. In the Irish context, the Waterford men were exceptional in that all were communists or communist influenced. Yet at least nine were republicans too. O'Connor has been cited as one who interpreted the Spanish conflict through the prism of Irish politics.³¹ Undoubtedly he did. But he and others saw it equally in an international context:

taking a stand against fascism in Spain was the most important issue of the time. Johnny and Paddy Power, Jackie Hunt and I discussed it between us and we decided that we should all volunteer to join the International Brigade. We applied through the Communist Party and they made all the necessary arrangements.³²

Edwards responded directly to the Franco revolt. Kennedy, as we have seen, attributed his decision to his growing 'class consciousness'.³³ Similarly, in completing his military biography for the Communist Party of Spain, O'Shea answered the questions as to the reason for his interest in politics with 'porque me familias obreras (condiciones social)' [por mis familias obreras (condiciones sociales)], (because my family are workers, social conditions), and why he came to Spain with 'por combate fascismo' [para combatir el fascismo], (to fight fascism).³⁴

The Record in Spain

As with the Irish generally, the Waterford men reached and departed Spain at different times and, as timing dictated, fought on different fronts, in various sections of the XV International Brigade. The XV was treated as the brigade for English-speakers, though it was not exclusively so. In January 1937 it comprised the mainly Slav Dimitrov battalion, the Franco-Belgian 6 February battalion, the American

30 Baxell, *British Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War*, pp.15, 23; Andy Durgan, 'Freedom Fighters or Comintern Army? The International Brigades in Spain', in *International Socialism* 84 (Autumn, 1999).

31 Stradling, *The Irish and the Spanish Civil War*, p.140.

32 O'Connor, *Soldier of Liberty*, p.13.

33 MacEoin, 'Frank Edwards', *Survivors*, p.11; NAI, DFA, Irish Minister, Paris legation, to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Dublin, 5 February 1938, P10/55.

34 RGASPI, Biografia de Militantes, John O'Shea, 545/6/444-63/64a.

Abraham Lincoln battalion, and the 16th battalion. In deference to the Irish within it, the 16th was sometimes called the 'Anglo-Irish' or 'English-speaking' battalion at first, until everyone settled on the shorter title 'British', except the continentals, to whom 'British' was invariably 'English'. In November, when new numbers were allocated, the XV Brigade was made up of the 57th (British), the 58th (Lincoln-Washington), the 59th (Spanish), and the Canadian 60th (Mackenzie-Papineau) battalions.³⁵ Initially it was assumed that the Irish would form part of the British battalion, until in January 1937, in a controversial decision, a number opted to join the Lincolns. Some of the Waterford Lincolns would later revert to the British unit.

Edwards joined the war in November 1936.³⁶ Hunt, O'Connor, Paddy and Johnny Power crossed the Pyrenees from Perpignon to Figueras on 22 December, reaching Albacete at noon the following day. When Quinlan arrived is unclear; it is known only that he was at the front in February 1937.³⁷ The remaining Waterford volunteers arrived in 1937, O'Shea in February, Willie Power in either April or June, Lemon in July, and Kennedy and Kelly in August.³⁸ Edwards, Quinlan, O'Shea, Lemon, and Kelly served with the British; O'Connor, Paddy and Willie Power with the Lincolns; and Johnny Power, Hunt, and Kennedy with both battalions. Kennedy spent time on brigade staff and later in a penal battalion, O'Shea was assigned to a machine gun company, and Hunt, in March 1938, to the artillery.³⁹ Otherwise they fought as infantrymen, with rifles, revolvers, and grenades in what was largely a soldier-intensive war. Their military record ran the gamut of the International Brigaders' experience. Some or other of them fought in all of the XV Brigade's battles, and one or other was killed, wounded, or captured, promoted or demoted. Some were commended for bravery, some were criticised for bad conduct, and one deserted.

Following 'very rudimentary training' at Madrideojos, Edwards was allotted to an English-speaking company deployed in Andalusia, and first went into action at

35 Frank Ryan (ed.), *The Book of the XV Brigade: Records of British, American, Canadian, and Irish Volunteers in the XV International Brigade in Spain 1936-1938* (Madrid, 1938, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1975), p. 23; Tom Wintringham, *English Captain* (London, 1939), pp. 15-16; Baxell, *British Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War*, p. 66, p. 92.

36 MacEoin, 'Frank Edwards', *Survivors*, p. 11.

37 O'Connor, *Soldier of Liberty*, pp.13-14, 17.

38 RGASPI, Biografia de Militantes, John O'Shea, 545/6/444-63/64a; O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*, p. 26, implies that Willie Power arrived in Spain in June, but records in RGASPI, 545/6/- say he arrived on 2 April 1937; dates for Lemon and Kelly are in RGASPI, 545/6/-. For Kennedy see NAI, DFA, Irish Minister, Paris legation, to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Dublin, 5 February 1938, P10/55.

39 NAI, DFA, Irish Minister, Paris legation, to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Dublin, 5 February 1938, P10/55, and information from Jim Carmody on Kennedy; RGASPI, Biografia de Militantes, John O'Shea, 545/6/444-655; MML, IBA, Box C, special files, 25/4, 57th British Battalion, recommendations, citation for John O'Shea, September 1938; RGASPI, 545/6/- (Hunt).

Lopera just after Christmas 1936. After ten days fighting, the company was transferred to Las Rozas on the Madrid front. In a letter home, he gave a graphic account of being wounded:

We were lying in position on a ridge. Dinny Coady lay near me with another Irishman, Pat Murphy, beside us. A shell landed between Coady and Murphy. I immediately felt a sharp pain in my side. Murphy screamed...I got up and walked down to a ravine ... and told them to send up a stretcher at once. I thought Murphy had been badly hit. Then I got a Red Cross man to rip my clothes off. I had a very deep wound under my left armpit and a slight scratch on my leg. While I was being dressed the stretcher-bearer came back with a body. Somebody pulled back the blanket and I saw his face. It was Dinny Coady, I got a hell of a shock - perhaps because I had known him longer than any of the other lads...I was carried on a stretcher across four miles of open country under shellfire. Every jolt of the stretcher was hell...The hospital was crowded...I lay there for some time; I was getting weaker. The blood was pouring out of my side. At last a doctor came...He realised I was an urgent case and I was taken into the operating room at once. The fixed dressing had come off and the shrapnel had burst an artery. The doctor soon removed the shrapnel and stitched me up...⁴⁰

After a few weeks, he was back at the front.

This time I felt a seasoned warrior. I had been through it. I had been wounded. I got reckless. I felt that, as I had been hit once, I could not be hit again. Could anything be more silly? A ridiculous notion.⁴¹

While Edwards was convalescing, Hunt, O'Connor, O'Shea, Paddy and Johnny Power, and Quinlan fought in the XV Brigade's first big battle, at Jarama in February 1937. It was at Jarama that Mossie Quinlan was killed in action. O'Connor wrote home:

[Mossie] was near me in another Battalion here. I was on one side of a hill, while a company of men filed past me. I recognised in one of them the figure of Mossie, in spite of his uniform and trench helmet...That was the last I saw of him. I made several attempts to get in touch, but it was only last Thursday that I met a Belfast chap who was in his Company and he told me that Mossie was in the front lines only a day when he was killed. Shot through the head by a sniper....⁴²

O'Connor himself had a near miss in the Lincolns' next major engagement at Brunete in July. The incident is of some wider interest as it involved Jack Shirai,

40 Letter from Edwards, 16 January 1937, quoted in the *Worker*, 30 January 1937.

41 MacEoin, 'Frank Edwards', *Survivors*, p.13.

42 *Irish Democrat*, 24 April 1937. Quinlan's remains are buried in the village cemetery of Marata de Tajuna.

who acquired a posthumous celebrity in his native country as the only Japanese in the International Brigades. O'Connor provides a new account of his death.

For the second time a section of our battalion advanced too far and there was a danger of being cut off. I believe that if we had reached the high ridge in front of us and the remainder of the battalion were to follow, we would be in a better defensive position if the fascists were to counter-attack. We were ordered back and withdrew to a lower ridge, occupied by the main body. In so doing, we came under heavy crossfire. Several of our comrades failed to reach the lower ridge. While we were resting and taking a breather, I happened to be sitting next to Jack Shirai, who was eating some food when he was struck in the forehead by an explosive bullet. He fell forward and some of his brains fell into his billycan. He died instantly...He was very attached to the Irish and insisted on staying with us. We were all very sorry to lose such a great Japanese anti-fascist.⁴³

Over the course of the war, casualties among the International Brigades were high. About 25% of the British and Lincoln battalions were killed in action, and about half the remainder were wounded. Of the 145 men of the Connolly Column logged by O'Riordan, fifty-nine died in Spain.⁴⁴ Five of the ten Waterford survivors were wounded, one on two occasions; a sixth was hospitalised from an illness contracted in battle; a seventh was stunned by a trench mortar.⁴⁵ That more did not make the supreme sacrifice owed much to Frank Ryan, who was concerned at the effect of casualties on Ireland, and well aware that among his troops were political activists he could ill-afford to lose. On being informed that three Power brothers were at the front, he ordered home the two youngest just before Brunete. Paddy left on 2 July, and Willie probably in November.⁴⁶ Again on Ryan's instructions, O'Connor left in September, and Edwards at the end of the year.⁴⁷ Kennedy

43 O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*, p. 27. For other versions of Shirai's death see Yoneo Sakai, *The Vagabond Tsushin (Reports)* (Tokyo, 1939), p. 169; Steve Nelson, *The Volunteers* (Berlin, 1958), p. 180; MML, IBA, Box 50/Sh/1, Yo Kawanari, 'The life and death of a Japanese volunteer in the Spanish civil war', pp. 40-2.

44 James K. Hopkins, *Into the Heart of the Fire: The British in the Spanish Civil War* (Stanford, Ca, 1998), pp. 254-5; Carl Geiser, *Prisoners of the Good Fight: The Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939* (Westport, Ct, 1968), p.1; O'Riordan, *Connolly Column*, pp. 162-5.

45 MacEoin, 'Frank Edwards', *Survivors*, pp.11-13; RGASPI, Biografia de Militantes, John Power, 18 September 1938, 545/6/445-11/12; Biografia de Militantes, John O'Shea, 545/6/444-63/64a; 545/6/- (Kelly); *Irish Democrat*, 8 May 1937 (Hunt); NAI, DFA, Irish Minister, Paris legation, to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Dublin, 5 February 1938, P10/55; O'Connor, *Soldier of Liberty*, pp. 25, 28.

46 O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*, p. 26, implies that Paddy and Willie Power left in July, but O'Connor's diary notes that Paddy left on 2 July and Willie was still in Spain on 22 August. RGASPI, 545/6/- say Willie was in the XV Brigade until November 1937.

47 O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*, pp. 26-30; MacEoin, 'Frank Edwards', *Survivors*, pp. 13-14.

deserted in January 1938. Lemon was taken prisoner in March. Hunt, Kelly, O'Shea, and Johnny Power soldiered with the British battalion until it was stood down in October and the International Brigades were repatriated in a desperate gesture by the Spanish government to encourage an end to all foreign intervention in the war.⁴⁸

Some legends, it would seem, are substantially true. If the record of the Waterfordmen was not stainless - one deserted, one was characterised as 'demoralized, undisciplined, shaky', one as 'fair, brave but undisciplined', and another was faulted for drinking too much - their collective performance was comparatively good. Of about 1,900 survivors of the British battalion, 300 deserted and another 100 were characterised as 'bad elements' - drunks, cowards, criminals, spies etc.⁴⁹ Johnny Power ended the war as a captain, and Edwards, O'Connor, and O'Shea as sergeants. Edwards and Power also served as company political commissars, the duty of the commissar delegates of war, as they were termed officially, being to look after the welfare of the troops and maintain morale.⁵⁰ The position was less grand, but of more practical value, than it sounds. They did 'an enormous number of odd jobs', according to one commander of the British battalion:

Laundry, and in our last weeks hot baths, and a club with radio and canteen, sing-songs, food, news, mail - all these things were up to them. For discipline they were more useful than any number of guard-rooms and orderly officers. In their little meetings, through their wall-newspaper, and more than all through personal contact and argument and example, they strengthened and organised the morale, the political understanding, and determination that was the basis of our discipline.⁵¹

In formations composed of political volunteers, some of whom resented traditional ideas of military etiquette, tact and example were important. Edwards recalled: 'It was my job to keep up morale, to shout 'Adelante' (forward), in a charge, 'Comunisti pirote!' (Communists in front!).⁵²

48 NAI, DFA, Irish Minister, Paris legation, to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Dublin, 5 February 1938, P10/55; Doyle, *Memorias de un Rebelde sin Pausa* (on Lemon); RGASPI, Biografia de Militantes, John Power, 18 September 1938, 545/6/445-11/12; Biografia de Militantes, John O'Shea, 545/6/444-63/64a; O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*, pp. 31-2.

49 RGASPI, 545/6/162; Hopkins, *Into the Heart of the Fire*, pp. 254-5. Baxell, *British Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War*, pp. 9-23, estimates the number who served in the British battalion at almost 2,500, including fatalities.

50 RGASPI, Biografia de Militantes, John Power, 18 September 1938, 545/6/445-11/12; Biografia de Militantes, John O'Shea, 545/6/444-63/64a; O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*, p. 26; MacEoin, 'Frank Edwards', *Survivors*, p. 12; Ryan, *The Book of the XV Brigade*, p. 217.

51 Wintringham, *English Captain*, p. 115.

52 MacEoin, 'Frank Edwards', *Survivors*, p. 12.

Reckoning the extent of disillusionment caused by Spain is not so easy. Memoirs on the war include bitter stories of incompetent military leadership, unnecessarily poor conditions of service, or cynical manipulation of the cause by the communists. But the impressionistic evidence suggests that most felt the struggle to be just and worthwhile, and recalled their involvement with pride.⁵³ Aside from the deserter, two Waterfordmen suffered some degree of demoralisation or disenchantment in Spain, yet both remained involved with radical politics on their return. Three others resumed high profile radical activism, and while four do not appear to have been politically active again.

Three Men's War

Only Edwards and O'Connor have recorded their accounts of Spain. The extant archives provide some detail on three others, who, coincidentally, form a cross-section of experiences, varying from the heroic, to the human, to the all too human.

Johnny Power might have served as a model hero of the International Brigades. A former adjutant of the Waterford battalion, IRA, he nonetheless began the war in the ranks. After transferring to the Lincoln battalion on 20 January 1937 and fighting at Jarama, he was promoted to corporal on 4 April and company political commissar in May.⁵⁴ Harry Fisher illustrates something of what made Power a good commissar in an incident on 9 July, just before they went into action at Mosquito Hill in the battle of Brunete:

At about 9.40am, we lined up near the top of the hill. I was to be Paul Burns's runner for this action, along with John Power, a tough and wiry but small guy from Ireland...

I watched John take a sip of water from his canteen, mine was empty.

'Can I have a sip', I asked rather plaintively.

'Sure, go ahead', he said and handed me the almost full canteen.

I meant only to wet my lips and throat, but somehow gulp after gulp went down. I found it impossible to stop. I emptied half the canteen.

'Gee, I'm sorry', I apologized.

'No need to apologise! I know how thirsty you are!'

Another comrade saw me drinking; he asked John for just enough to wet his throat. In a minute or two, the canteen was empty. John just shrugged, and that was that. It's probably hard for people who have never known the torture of thirst to understand what it meant to give away the precious, sweet-tasting, life-saving water. From that moment on I was devoted to John Power. To me he was the greatest guy in the world.⁵⁵

53 Baxell, *British Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War*, p.149.

54 RGASPI, reports on John Power, undated, 545/6/445-16/19.

55 Harry Fisher, *Comrades: Tales of a Brigadista in the Spanish Civil War* (Lincoln, Na, 1998), pp. 60-1.

Within minutes, Power was wounded in the foot, and Fisher gallantly helped him off the battlefield under fire. After medical treatment he enjoyed a pleasant convalescence with other Lincolns on the Mediterranean in the splendid mansion of Juan March, a pro-fascist who had fled to France and who was formerly one of the wealthiest men in Spain.⁵⁶

Frank Ryan requested Power's repatriation in August, but Power was 'impatient to get back to the front', fought at Belchite, and on 11 November was appointed a company commissar at Albacete. On 17 March 1938 he resumed field service in the British battalion.⁵⁷ Two weeks later the battalion walked into a column of Italian tanks at Calaceite, mistaking them for their own machines. The blunder led to the capture of over 100 prisoners, including Jackie Lemon. Power escaped, and survived for days with little food or water before reaching Republican lines.⁵⁸ On 27 April, in a recommendation that his recent promotion to acting sergeant be gazetted, he was characterized as 'one of our best fighters' and 'the best company commissar in the battalion'.⁵⁹ In July, when the Republic launched its last major offensive, on the Ebro, the British battalion made repeated and futile attempts to capture Hill 481, a key position overlooking Gandesa. Power's No.2 Company joined the attack on 30 July, and suffered heavy losses.⁶⁰ Now a lieutenant, he was commended 'for displaying exceptional qualities as a military and political commander' and made company commander on 2 August. The citation read:

He displayed exceptional bravery a number of times in the attack on Hill 481. Finally he took over command of the coy [company] after the death of the coy commander. From that moment he became and continues as coy commander.⁶¹

Power's irrepressible morale is again revealed by Fisher when they met during the Ebro offensive.

After the hugging and handshaking were over...[Power] sat with us and joined in our bull session. Afterwards, he expressed surprise at the bitching and griping by some of the Americans. I assured him that in spite of their complaining, they were terrific soldiers and good comrades. They bitched only when in the rear. I didn't have the heart to tell him that I was one of the biggest gripers in the battalion.⁶²

56 Fisher, *Comrades*, pp. 61-2, 75-6; MML, IBA, Box 21, file B/3e, list of wounded for 6-12 July 1937.

57 Fisher, *Comrades*, pp.75-6; RGASPI, letter from Ryan, 11 August 1937, 545/6/53; Biografia de Militantes, John Power, 18 September 1938, 545/445-11/12; report on John Power, undated, 545/6/445-17.

58 Baxell, *British Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War*, p.112; Cronin, *Frank Ryan*, p.135.

59 RGASPI, Batallon 57 (Ingles), Delegade de Compania, John Power, 27 April 1938, 545/6/445-15.

60 Baxell, *British Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War*, pp.104-5.

61 MML, IBA, Box C, special files, 25/4, 57th British Battalion, list of citations, 27 September 1938.

62 Fisher, *Comrades*, p.155.

By 6 August the Republicans were on the defensive, but the battalion remained in action. On the night of 21-22 September, just after Prime Minister Juan Negrín announced that the International Brigades were to be withdrawn, the XV Brigade was recalled to the front. According to what is virtually the official history of the British battalion:

On the early morning of 23 September the enemy artillery opened a terrific barrage. The British Battalion HQ counted one shell every second landing on its front alone, and 250 enemy bombers and fighters dominating the sky, bombing and strafing the front lines. Only after five hours of this did the enemy dare to advance. The Lincolns, with an open flank, were forced to retreat. Some of their recent Spanish reinforcements surrendered and went over to the enemy. The fascists, at near brigade strength, occupied the heights and then enfiladed the British positions. Five tanks attacked down the road. The small group of thirty-five British holding the area put three out of action but then was forced to retreat. The two remaining tanks followed by infantry, reached the barranco behind No.1 Company, inflicting very heavy casualties and taking prisoners. The company fought desperately in hand-to-hand combat but was overwhelmed. John Power, who was commanding, managed to fight his way out with a handful of men...⁶³

Power was given the following mention in dispatches:

[he] used all the bullets in his revolver against the fascists, except one which he kept for eventualities. Fortunately, he managed to get out and reach our lines with a handful of other comrades.⁶⁴

Shortly after 1 a.m. on 24 September the XV Brigade was withdrawn from active service for the last time. Power received a final citation for 'efficient leadership and bravery under heavy fire. Magnificent record of duty during twenty-one months service in the anti-fascist fight'. At a review of all foreign volunteers in the 35th Division on 17 October, Power was promoted to captain.⁶⁵

Power's record was equally admirable in other respects, and he was repeatedly assessed as excellent in his political work, personal conduct, and relations with his comrades. His final characterisation from the XV Brigade party committee for the central committee of the Communist Party of Spain, described him as 'brave and cool...a very fine cadre for the Irish party'.⁶⁶

If Power appears to have had nerves of steel, John O'Shea's courage probably lay in overcoming fear. O'Shea arrived in Spain on 22 February 1937, having

63 Bill Alexander, *British Volunteers for Liberty: Spain, 1936-1939* (London, 1982), p. 214.

64 MML, IBA, Box C, special files, 25/5, September 1938.

65 MML, IBA, Box C, special files, 25/4, 57th British Battalion, list of citations, 27 September 1938; Alexander, *British Volunteers for Liberty* p. 239.

66 RGASPI, report by Sam Wild, 21 October 1938, 545/6/445-13.

previously worked as a plasterer with the building firm of Bovis in London. With two years experience in the 12th Battalion of the Irish army behind him, he was assigned to a specialist unit, the British battalion's No. 2 (machine gun) Company. Wounded in the neck at Jarama in April, he was promoted to sergeant on 20 April, spent some weeks in hospital, but fought again at Brunete, and then at Quinto, Belchite, and in the Aragon offensive of August. A reference in November described him as a 'very good soldier'. During the Nationalist counter-offensive on the Aragon front, he received a second wound, in the arm, at Caspe on 16 March 1938, and was listed as 'missing in action, presumed dead'. Fortunately he was found and hospitalized until 6 July, after which he returned to action on the Ebro front. He later received the citation: 'Devotion to duty. Brought out his machine gun under heavy enemy fire and organized his team in a defensive position against enemy attack'.⁶⁷

By the conclusion of his tour of duty, O'Shea was afflicted with illness in addition to his wounds, and the strain was evident. In his final characterization, for the Communist Party of Spain, he was reported to have done 'As well as was in keeping with his physical condition. His nerves are in a bad state and he does not have the political understanding necessary to affect this'. If the latter sounds like the diagnosis of a fanatic, O'Shea's file does reveal symptoms of confusion. His written appraisal of the policy of the Spanish government and the role of the International Brigades was highly favourable, but he 'expressed his intention of having nothing to do with politics and struggle on his return home'. Despite this, and contrary to allegations that the party enforced discipline through terror and could be harsh on those who failed to meet its exalted standards of 'Bolshevik enthusiasm', O'Shea's characterization was sympathetic. His personal conduct was 'fair' - he was faulted for drunkenness - but his 'conduct was on the whole disciplined, steady, and brave'. Though he 'has played no part in the political life', the brigade party committee wrote 'he has done well', and was 'a good party member'.⁶⁸

The most curious of the Waterford volunteers was Harry Kennedy, who arrived at the Irish legation in Paris on 3 February 1938 claiming to be a refugee from the red terror in Spain. Was he genuinely disillusioned, making excuses for desertion, or a charlatan on the make? Kennedy was born in Waterford in June 1909, and lived in Cooke Lane, which ran between Peter Street and High Street.⁶⁹ While he said he had scouted for the IRA between 1921 and 1923, he is not known to have been involved in politics locally; nor was he mentioned in previous accounts of the Connolly Column and his case did not come to light until 2004. Emigrating to London in 1929 or 1930 to work as a house decorator, Kennedy returned to Waterford to work with the building firm of Casten's, and then moved back to London, staying with his sister on King's Road, and working as a painter. He says

67 RGASPI, Biografia de Militantes, John O'Shea, 545/6/444-64/71; MML, IBA, Box C, special files, 25/4, 57th British Battalion, recommendations, citation for John O'Shea, September 1938.

68 RGASPI, Biografia de Militantes, John O'Shea, 545/6/444-64/71; Baxell, *British Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War*, pp.130, 134-5.

69 Registry of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, Waterford.

he decided to go to Spain in July 1937, and appears to have joined the International Brigades on 6 August, serving on brigade staff as an instructor under Major Allan Johnson of the Lincoln battalion.⁷⁰ It was an odd appointment for one with a vague military or political background, the more so as Johnson was the highest-ranking veteran of the United States army in the war, and a 'stalwart party man'.⁷¹ It is tempting to conclude that Kennedy had exaggerated - or fabricated - his IRA experience and was soon found out. On 1 September he enlisted in the British battalion, deserted, and was sent to a penal detachment, where errant soldiers were put to distasteful duties like digging latrines. He claimed to have taken part in 'many engagements', and was certainly at Teruel in January 1938, a battle fought in sub-zero blizzards which resulted in numerous cases of frostbite. After a short time in hospital at Valencia, recovering from 'an illness...contracted during the battle', he made friends with British seamen who smuggled him onto a Greek ship bound for Algiers. Another friendship in Algiers, this time with a Scandinavian sailor, secured him a free passage to Marseilles, where the British consul loaned him his trainfare to Paris.⁷²

Kennedy then appealed to the Irish minister in Paris, Art Ua Briain, for his fare to London. On going to Spain, he told Ua Briain, he discovered that the struggle was 'in reality a war between Italian and German fascism on the one side and Russian communism on the other', that the Republicans were anti-clerical and controlled their troops and territory with a 'reign of terror'. While allegations of this kind had some factual basis, Kennedy's claim that his Catholic sympathies made him a marked man, and that he fled from Spain on being warned that he would be 'eliminated' by the secret police was, at best, less than the whole truth. Kennedy also made ludicrous assertions about French collaboration with Russia to ship munitions to Spain and Soviet plans to deploy the International Brigades in China after the war in Spain. With his talent for making useful acquaintances, he stayed the night at a 'good hotel' in the salubrious Avenue Wagram, where a retired British army captain entertained him 'lavishly' in return for 'a recital of his experiences in Spain'. Subsequently he travelled to London at the expense of the British Charitable Fund in Paris.⁷³

In Ua Briain's opinion, 'Kennedy's tale was just a little 'too good'...he deceived everybody'. Clearly he regarded him as an adventurer, suggesting 'It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he may later on decide to try his fortune in the Far

70 NAI, DFA, Irish Minister, Paris legation, to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Dublin, 5 February 1938, P10/55. Kennedy's military pay-book gave his employment as an 'instructor' under Major Johnson. RGASPI, 545/6 files list Kennedy as attached to brigade staff.

71 Peter N. Carroll, *The Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade: Americans in the Spanish Civil War* (Stanford, Ca, 1994), p.137.

72 Information from Jim Carmody; NAI, DFA, Irish Minister, Paris legation, to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Dublin, 5 February 1938, P10/55.

73 NAI, DFA, Irish Minister, Paris legation, to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Dublin, 5 February 1938; Ua Briain to British Consulate General, Marseilles, 8 February 1938, P10/55.

East on behalf of some cause or other'. Nor was Ua Briain sympathetic to the Spanish Republican cause, having detailed the case so that the Department of External Affairs might 'appreciate the type of Irish national that is engaged on the side of the Valencia [Republican] government'.⁷⁴

Epilogue

On 10 December 1938 Jackie Hunt, John O'Shea, and Johnny Power were among a small group of Internationals who steamed into Dublin's Westland Row, to be greeted by the Irish Friends of the Spanish Republic.⁷⁵ There followed a little ceremony in Waterford, which symbolised the defiant spirit of a corporal's guard who had beaten their boats against the current, and marked the formal conclusion of the city's part in the war.

About twenty of us met them off the Dublin train at Waterford. We formed into a line, marched across the bridge, along the Quay, and turned into Henrietta Street to the old Cathal Brugha Sinn Féin Hall, where about fifty people gave them an enthusiastic reception. A party of tea, cakes and sandwiches had been prepared by ex-members of Cumann na mBan and the IRA.⁷⁶

It was not quite the end. The last man home was Jackie Lemon, who had been held as a prisoner of war in San Pedro de Cardena, where, in grim conditions, he endured beatings by the camp guards and the 'obsession of wondering if we might ever emerge from there alive'. On 6 February 1939 he was among sixty-seven Internationals exchanged for seventy Italians.⁷⁷ He returned to Ireland on 27 February. About a year after the gates opened for Lemon, they closed behind Johnny Power, who became one of a number of republicans and communists interned in the Curragh during the Emergency. For Captain Power the Spanish war did not end until his release in 1943, though in another sense, for all of them, it would never end.

74 NAI, DFA, British Consulate General, Marseilles to Irish legation, Paris, 3 February 1938, and annotation, 4 February 1938; Irish Minister, Paris legation, to Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Dublin, 5 February 1938, P10/55.

75 O'Riordan, *Connolly Column*, p. 139.

76 O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty*, pp. 31-2.

77 Manus O'Riordan, 'Irish and Jewish Volunteers in the Spanish Anti-Fascist War', lecture, Irish Jewish Museum, Dublin, 15 November 1987; Doyle, *Memorias de un Rebelde sin Pausa*.

CORRIGENDA

Decies 60 (2004)

Very Rev. Dónal O'Connor, 'Eugenius, Bishop at Ardmore and Suffragan at Lichfield (1184-5)'.
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p. 71: line 19: *for* Éátin *read* Etáin

p. 75: line 30: *for* se habere episcopos *read* se habere debere episcopos

CONSTITUTION OF THE WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1. **Name:**

The Society shall be called - "The Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society" (formerly The Old Waterford Society).

2. **Objects:**

The objects of the Society shall be:

- (a) to encourage interest in history and archaeology in general but with particular reference to Waterford and adjoining Counties;
- (b) to promote research into same;
- (c) to arrange for the further informing of members of the Society by way of lectures on appropriate subjects and visits to places of historical and archaeological association;
- (d) to issue a periodical publication; and
- (e) to engage in such other activities as the Committee may consider desirable.

3. **Membership:**

The Society shall be composed of all persons who are members at the date of the adoption of these Rules together with those who may subsequently be admitted to membership by the Committee. Honorary Members may be elected at any Annual General Meeting.

4. **Government:**

The Society shall be governed by a Committee, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-chairman, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor and Hon. Press Officer together with not less than six nor more than eight other members, one of whom may be elected as Hon. Outings Organiser. In addition to those members elected as provided above each officer, on relinquishing office, shall become an ex-officio member of the Committee and shall remain such for one year.

5. **Election of Officers and Committee:**

The election of the Officers and Committee of the Society shall take place each year at the Annual General Meeting. The Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor and Hon. Press Officer shall first be elected individually and in that order, following which the additional members shall be elected beginning with the Hon. Outings Organiser.

In the event of there being more than one nomination for any office or more nominations for the Committee than there are vacancies, as provided by these Rules, then the election shall be carried out by secret ballot.

No member of the Society who is absent from the General Meeting shall be eligible for nomination as a prospective member of the Committee unless he or she shall have previously intimated in writing to the Honorary Secretary his or her willingness to accept nomination.

The Committee shall have the power to co-opt additional members. Such co-options shall be effective only up to the date of the next ensuing Annual General Meeting.

A Chairman or Vice-Chairman who has held office for three consecutive years shall not be eligible to seek re-election until a period of two years have elapsed after his relinquishing office. For the purpose of this Rule the word "year" shall mean the period elapsing between successive Annual General Meetings.

6. ***Provision for Trustees:***

If it should become desirable at any time to register the Society with the Registrar of Friendly Societies, or to appoint Trustees, such registration and such appointment may be authorised at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special General Meeting called for that purpose. Such Trustees as may be appointed shall be ex-officio members of the Committee.

7. ***Duties of the Chairman:***

The primary duty of the Chairman shall be to preside at all Committee and other meetings of the Society. It shall also be *his* duty to represent the Society at any gatherings where representation shall appear to be desirable.

8. ***Duties of the Honorary Secretary:***

The Honorary Secretary shall:

- (a) record the minutes of Committee meetings and of the Annual General Meeting of the Society;
- (b) maintain files of the correspondence relating to the Society;
- (c) arrange for such meetings, lectures and outings as the Committee shall direct, and notify members accordingly;
- (d) arrange for notice of Annual General Meeting of the Society to be sent to all members; and
- (e) submit a report to the Annual General Meeting on the activities of the Society since the date of the last such Meeting.

9. ***Duties of Honorary Treasurer:***

The Honorary Treasurer shall:

- (a) receive and disburse monies on behalf of the Society, as directed by the Committee, and shall keep accounts of all receipts and expenditure, together with supporting vouchers;

- (b) prepare an annual statement of accounts recording the financial transactions of the Society up to and including the 31st December of each year, which statement shall, as soon as may be after said date be submitted to the Society's Auditors for certification;
- (c) present the audited statement of accounts to the next Annual General Meeting; and
- (d) maintain an up-to-date list of subscribing members.

10. ***Annual General Meeting:***

The Annual General Meeting shall be held, not later than the 30th April, at such venue, on such date and at such time as the Committee shall decide. Each member shall be given at least seven days notice of the date, time and place of the Annual General Meeting.

The quorum for an Annual General Meeting shall *be* fifteen members.

11. ***Special General Meeting:***

A Special General Meeting of the Society shall be convened if:

(a) any fifteen members of the Society request the Honorary Secretary in writing to do so, stating at the time of such request the reason why they wish to have the meeting convened; or

(b) it shall appear to the Committee to be expedient that such a meeting should be convened.

In convening a Special General Meeting, the Honorary Secretary shall give at least seven days notice to each member of the Society, stating in such notice the intended date, time and place at which such meeting is to be held and the purpose of same.

The quorum for a Special General Meeting shall be fifteen members.

12. ***Quorum for Committee Meetings:***

The quorum for a Committee Meeting shall be five members.

13. ***Annual Subscription:***

The annual subscription shall be such amount as shall be decided from year to year at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special General Meeting held for the purpose of fixing the amount to become due as from the first day of January next following the date of such meeting. The subscription year shall coincide with the calendar year. *Any* member, other than a new member who has not paid his or her subscription before the 31st December in any year shall be deemed to have resigned.

Subscriptions of new members accepted between 1st September and 31st December shall be deemed to be in respect of the ensuing year and shall be at the amount applicable to that year.

14. ***Rules not to be altered:***

These Rules shall not be altered except by resolution passed by a single majority of those present at an Annual General Meeting or a Special General Meeting.

15. ***Rules to be printed:***

The Rules of the Society shall be printed and re-printed as often as may be necessary. A supply of copies shall be held by the Honorary Secretary who shall make them available to all applicants subject to a charge based on the cost of producing them. Each new member shall be provided with a free copy of the Rules.

16. ***Earlier Rules repealed:***

These Rules supercede all previous Rules or Constitution of the Society.

The adoption of these Rules was resolved at the AGM of the Society, held on March 23rd 1979, such resolution having been proposed, seconded and passed by a majority of the members present.

WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MEMBERSHIP 2005
(Up to September 30th 2005)

Abbeyside Reference Archives, Parish Office, Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

Allen Public County Library, P.O. Box 2270, 900 Webster Street, IN 46801-2270, USA.

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Newberry Library, 60 Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610, USA.
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- School of Celtic Studies Library, (Ms N. Walsh), 10 Burlington Road, Dublin 4.
Serials Acquisitions, University of Notre Dame, S-48278 122, Hesburgh Library,
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- Thos. P. O'Neill Library, Serials Dept., Boston College, Chestnut Hill, 02467-3800,
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- Tipperary Libraries, Castle Avenue, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
- Tipperary SR County Museum, Parnell Street, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.
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