

# DECIES

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No. 65  
2009

Irisleabhar Cumann Seandálaíochta  
agus Staire Phort Láirge

*COMHAIRLE CATHRACH  
PHORT LAIRGE*

*WATERFORD CITY COUNCIL*

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**Cover Illustrations**

*Front Cover:* Signed lithograph of Thomas Francis Meagher by Edwin Hayes, one of a series that Meagher signed and presented to his friends while in prison following the 1848 Rebellion. *Courtesy, Waterford Museum of Treasures.*

*Back Cover:* Viking sword and decorated weight found at Woodstown during archaeological excavations in advance of construction of the N25 Waterford Bypass. *Courtesy, Waterford Museum of Treasures.*

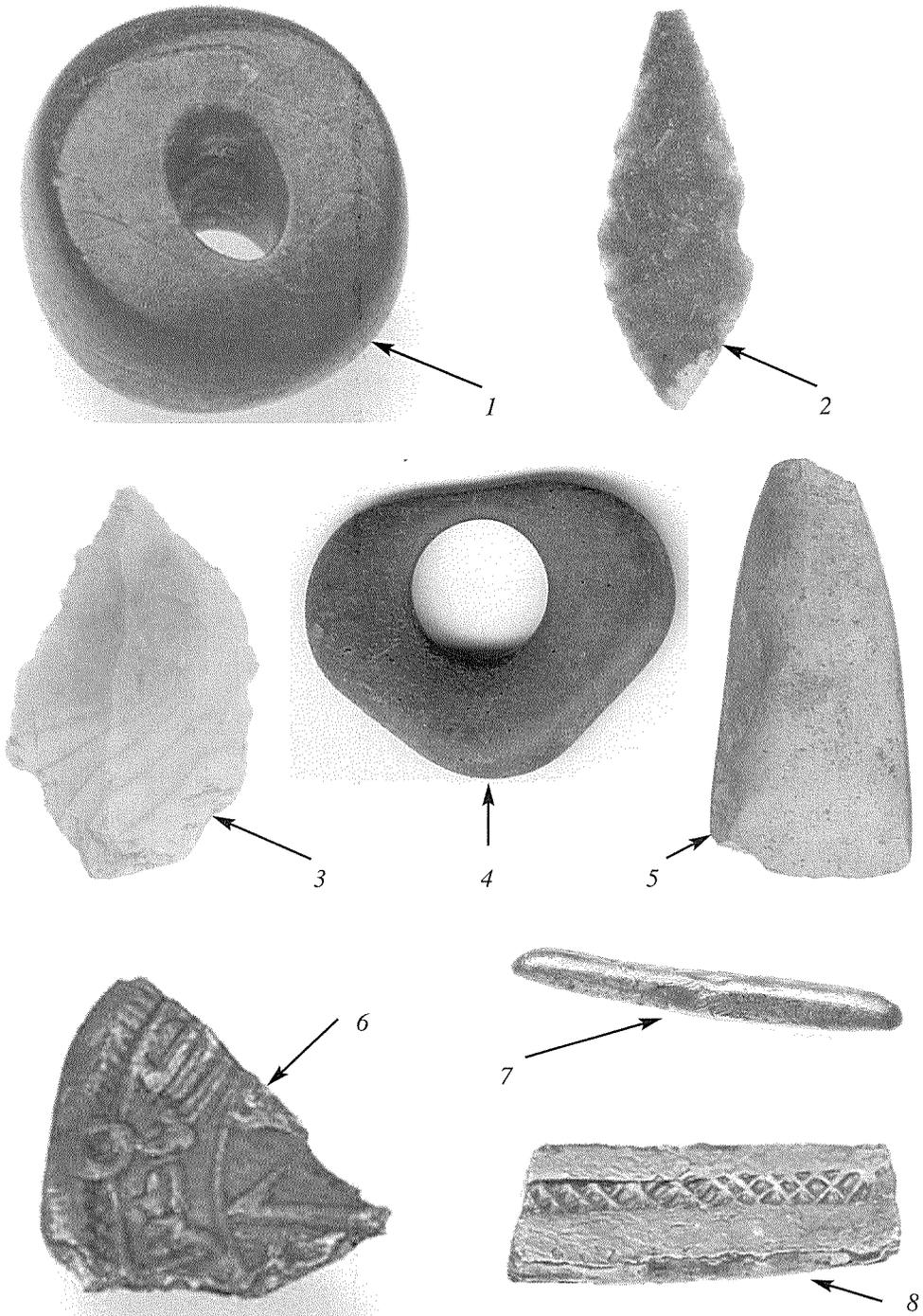
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*Selection of finds from the archaeological excavations on the route of the N 25 Waterford Bypass which was opened in October 2009: 1 - Amber bead, Woodstown; 2 - Neolithic arrow head, Newrath; 3 - Mesolithic flint blade, Rathpatrick; 4 - stone pendant; 5 - Neolithic axe head, Newrath; 6 - fragment of a Kufic coin from the Middle East, Woodstown; and 7 and 8 - pieces of hack silver, Woodstown.*

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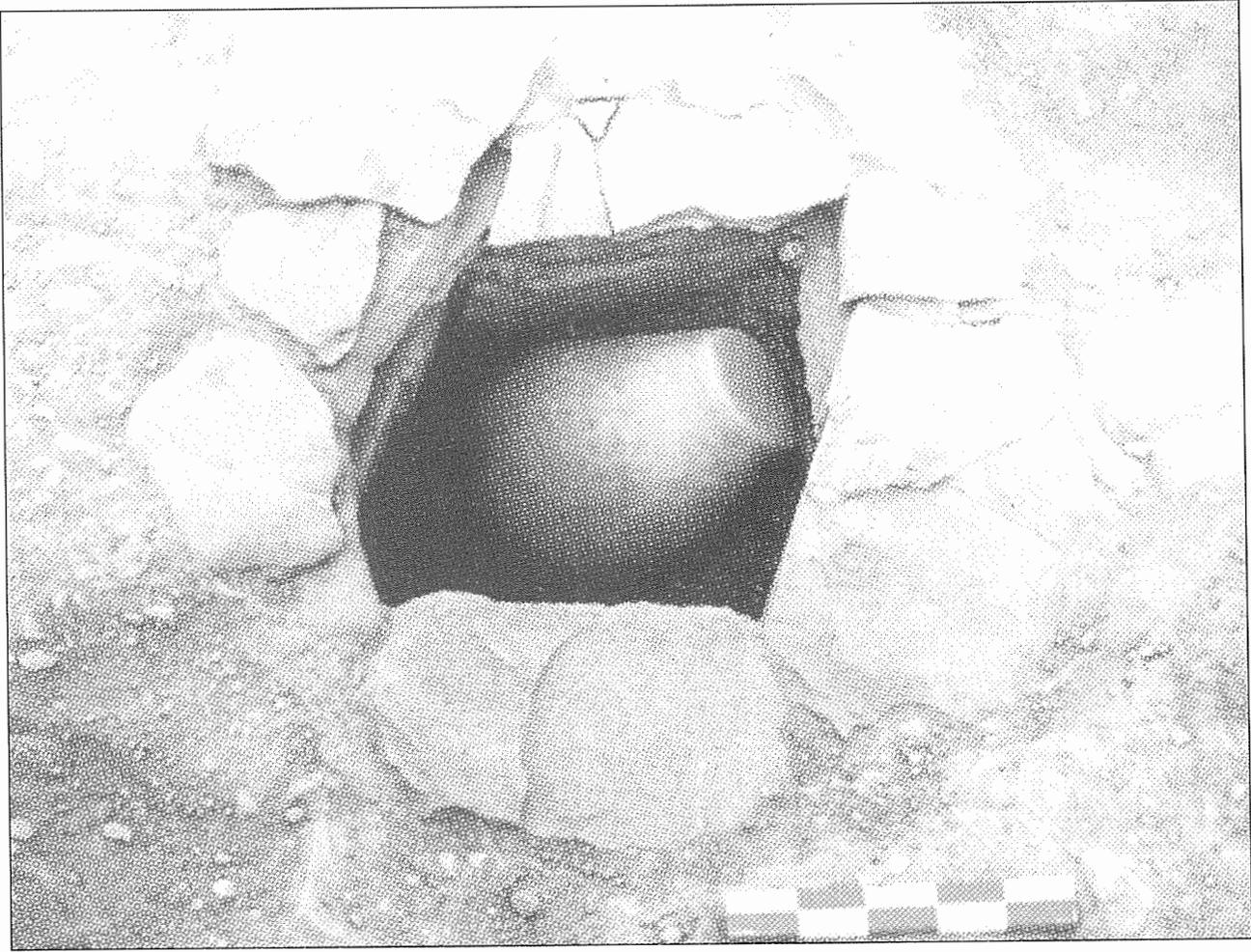
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*Bronze Age vase urn burial, Newrath.*

## EDITORIAL

As the world recession bites deeper into the Irish economy, our tourist industry achieves ever greater importance. Two things that Ireland has to sell in abundance are scenery and history, and the southeast has plenty of both... (*Decies* 46 Autumn 1992)

In light of the economic downturn in Ireland over the past twelve months it is worth quoting the opening words of the editorial written by Julian Walton seventeen years ago when this country was in the throes of an earlier recession. However, it is heartening to remember that it was during these long years of economic stagnation from the 1970s to the early 1990s that a number of significant projects capitalizing on our rich history and heritage were completed, albeit with some opposition from certain quarters complaining at a perceived waste of money in difficult times.

Among these we can include the establishment of the Waterford Heritage Genealogy Centre, Jenkin's Lane in the city, the opening of Waterford Museum of Treasures in 1999, the establishment of Waterford County Museum in Dungarvan and the development of the Copper Coast Geo Park. The historic city walls and towers were conserved, including Reginald's Tower and the Beach Tower (financed by Waterford Civic Trust). Professional archivists were appointed by Waterford City and County Councils and significant advances were made by both local authorities in developing local studies centres as part of the library service. It was also during the 1980s and 1990s that major archaeological excavations were carried out in Waterford city centre resulting in the publication by Waterford City Council of *Late Viking Age and Medieval Waterford: Excavations 1986-1992* edited by Orla Scully and Maurice Hurley, recognised as one of the most important scholarly works on urban archaeology in the country.

Now as the storm clouds of economic depression gather once more nobody would deny the importance of tourism as one of the main drivers of economic regeneration in the country and it is recognised that heritage tourism is a major part of this industry. Over the coming years the heritage tourist sector especially will play a major role in the continuing economic development of the region and a number of innovative iconic heritage projects have either been completed or are in the advanced planning stage.

In March 2009 the recently renovated Waterford County Museum, dedicated to preserving the history of Dungarvan and West Waterford was opened by the Director of the National Museum of Ireland Dr Pat Wallace who in the course of his address paid tribute to the various agencies involved in providing funding for the museum including Waterford County Council.

The announcement in October by Waterford City Council that the first phase of the Viking Triangle Project, involving the renovation of the Bishop's Palace on the Mall as a museum is to begin shortly is also to be welcomed. The initial programme of works, incorporating the newly-renovated Theatre Royal, the eighteenth-century Christ Church Cathedral and the medieval Franciscan Friary will

also see the medieval undercrofts at the top of Bailey's New Street opened to the general public for the first time.

As well as that there are plans to relocate the Waterford Crystal factory to the city centre in conjunction with the development of the Viking Triangle. The crystal complex will be located in the old bonded warehouses in Bolton Street, one of hidden architectural gems of Waterford and which until recently were used as city council stores, together with a nearby retail emporium and visitor centre on the Mall thus ensuring the survival of the manufacturing of the product which has made Waterford world famous. This iconic craft industry has been of enormous importance in attracting visitors to the region in the past and recent developments have ensured that Waterford city and county and the whole of the southeast will continue to benefit from the iconic brand name of Waterford.

While there is still much to be done from a heritage point of view, recent developments must be a source of hope and Waterford City Council is to be commended for these bold initiatives. No longer is heritage a dirty work. Not only is it part of a past we can be proud of it is also the key to our future. To quote again the words of Julian Walton in 1992,

Two things that Ireland has to sell in abundance are scenery and history, and the southeast has plenty of both...

Ba bhreá liom mo bhúochas a ghabháil le gach éinne a chabhraigh liom iris na bliana soe a fhoilsiú – coiste an chumainn, an coiste eagarthóireachta agus go háirithe údair na n-alt. Eddie Synnott who typeset the journal and scanned the images once again deserves the gratitude of the society.

I would like to point out to intending contributors that the final deadline for the submission of articles for *Decies 66* (2010) is 1 May 2010. **Articles received after that date will be held over for publication in the following year's journal.**

# List of Contributors

**Eugene Broderick** has MA and PhD degrees from University College, Cork. He is Principal of Our Lady of Mercy Secondary School, Waterford.

**Niall Byrne** was reared in Tramore, Co. Waterford and was educated at CBS Tramore, and at Waterpark College, Waterford. He graduated from University College, Dublin with an MVB degree, also qualifying as an MRCVS at the Veterinary College, Ballsbridge, Dublin. Thereafter he engaged in post-graduate work at the Royal Dick Veterinary College, Edinburgh. On his return to Ireland, he commenced the practice of Veterinary Medicine in Waterford, spending most of his career as a general practitioner. He currently holds the position of Veterinary Officer in Waterford City Council. In 1996 he obtained a BD (Hons) in Divinity and Theology from Heythrop College, University of London. He gained his MA with First Class Honours, in 1998, and was awarded his PhD in 2002, both courses being completed in University College, Cork. His published works include *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford*, published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission in 2007 and *The Irish Crusade: A History of the Knights Hospitaller, The Knights Templar, and The Knights of Malta in the South-east of Ireland* (2008). A regular contributor to *Decies*, his articles have also been published in other regional history journals. He is currently Chairman of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society.

**William Fraher** is Curator of Waterford County Museum, Dungarvan. He has written extensively on the history and architecture of Dungarvan and contributed to *Decies* and other journals. He has recently completed studies in European Art History at University College, Cork and Museum Studies and Management at the University of Ulster. He is currently researching the country houses and demesnes of County Waterford.

**Martin Gahan** is a member of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society, with a special interest in the preservation of historic graveyards and in the transcription and publication of gravestone inscriptions.

**John M. Hearne** teaches History and Economics at St. Paul's Community College and Social and Economic History at Waterford Institute of Technology. He is co-editor of *Thomas Francis Meagher: The Making of an Irish American* (London, 2005), has lectured extensively in the United States of America and has contributed to national and international scholarly publications.

**Richard Jennings** is co-director of the Dungarvan Valley Caves Project. He has completed his D. Phil at the University of Oxford on the human occupation of southeastern Iberia in the Late Pleistocene and has worked on many Palaeolithic excavations in Europe and North Africa.

**Michael Kenny** is Keeper of the Art and Industrial Division of the National Museum of Ireland, based at Collins Barracks. His interests include coins and coinage, Irish silver, scientific instruments and political/economic history of Ireland. He has published articles and hoard reports in various journals. Present exhibitions at Collins Barracks include *Airgead: A Thousand Years of Irish Coins and Currency* and *Easter Week: Understanding 1916*.

**Leslie Matson** was born in Cork in 1930 and studied Modern Literature in Trinity College, Dublin, from which he holds the degrees of M.Litt. and MA. He taught French at Newtown School in 1952 and again from 1959 to 1977 under Liam Glynn and Maurice Wigham and was senior master from 1973 to 1977. He was headmaster of Sligo Grammar School for five years. In 1954, when he first visited it, he developed an interest in the Corca Dhuibhne gaeltacht, particularly Dunquin and the Blasket Islands. He has done extensive research on the Blasket people, which resulted in a biographical study of the 125 inhabitants of those islands most frequently referred to in the literature. In 1996 he published *Méiní, the Blasket Nurse* (Mercier Press), the biography of an unforgettable old friend who had been midwife on the Blaskets for thirty-six years.

**Cóilín Ó Drisceoil** is director of the Dungarvan Valley Caves Project. He has worked on Palaeolithic cave excavations in Spain and Morocco and is a director of Kilkenny Archaeology, consultant archaeologists. He is the present editor of the *Old Kilkenny Review: Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeology Society*.

**James Walsh** is a retired teacher and lives in Slieverue. His published works include, *Sliabh Rua: A History of its people and Places* (2001) and *Gravestone Inscriptions from the Parish Cemeteries of Rathpatrick and Slieverue* (2004). He has been involved with Éigse Sliabh Rua since its inception.

# The Dungarvan Valley Caves Project: Second Interim Report

*Cóilín Ó Drisceoil, Richard Jennings*

## **Introduction**

The 2006 issue of *Decies* included the first interim report from the Dungarvan Valley Caves Project (Ó Drisceoil & Jennings 2006). This paper provides an update on the work that has been carried out since then and focuses in particular on one of the most important caves in the valley, Ballynamindra.

## **The Dungarvan Valley Caves Project**

In England and Wales Palaeolithic archaeology has been documented since the seventeenth century and recent years have seen this record greatly augmented through the work of the *Ancient Human Occupation of Britain* project and the *Palaeolithic Settlement of Wales Research Project*. As a consequence Palaeolithic studies are now at the centre of British archaeological research. Ireland however provides a stark contrast: there is not a single stone tool or piece of modified bone that can with certainty be said to represent a human occupation of this island prior to 10,000 cal. BP, (before the present). Consequently the subject rarely features in archaeological discourse on this island, despite the fact that the origin of human settlement here is a question that is still far from resolved (Woodman 1986; 1998).

Explanations for the absence of an Irish Palaeolithic have traditionally centred on two tenets. Firstly that Ireland, being on the periphery of Ice Age Europe was simply a step too far for early human populations to reach and secondly, that if occupation had occurred here the destructive affects wrought by the Pleistocene glaciations would have destroyed any evidence that might have formerly existed. In many ways it is difficult to refute these arguments, for the simple fact is that thus far, apart from a handful of stray finds, reliable evidence has not been found.

Ireland however, shared largely the same conditions that made human settlement possible in much of Britain, many of the same species hunted by these populations were also present in this country and there was an intermittent land connection linking areas of human population in Wales with the east coast of Ireland. It is also a fact that over the course of just 1% of human evolution *Homo sapiens* colonised 75% of the surface of the planet. This relentless tide of human expansion extended the frontiers of settlement to such an extent that an unpopulated Ireland, being so close to an area of human occupation, represents something of an aberration. The absence of an Irish Palaeolithic is not therefore solely about when the first humans reached these shores, but rather is an issue with important implications for our understanding of the human species as coloniser.

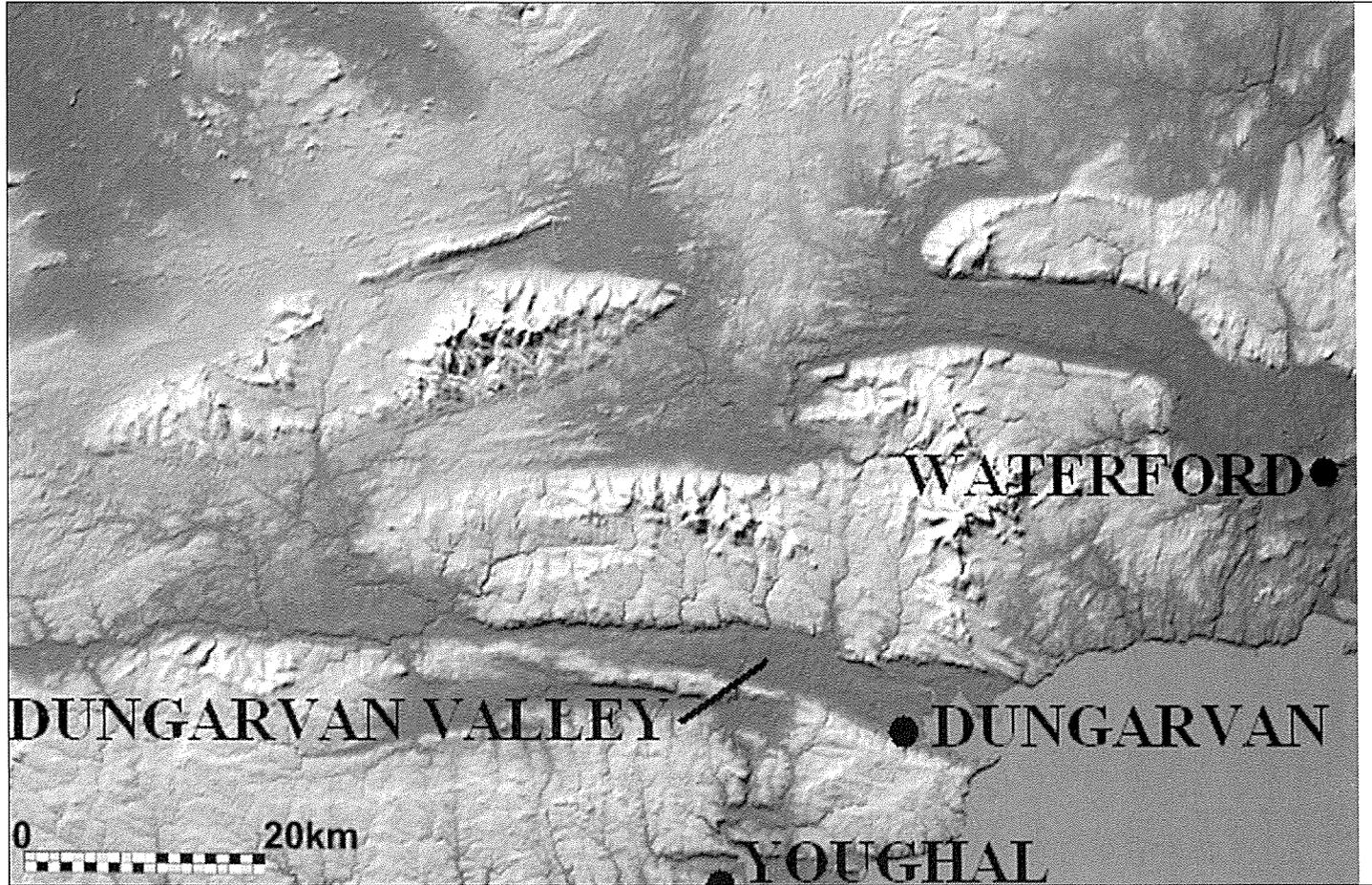


Figure 1: The Dungarvan valley is a well-defined triangle of ground shaped by its geology. The base of the valley is limestone and the surrounding uplands are predominantly sandstone.

The general acceptance of Mesolithic beginnings has resulted in a dearth of modern field research in the two types of location that have traditionally produced Palaeolithic material in other countries – caves and quarries. So, with a view to ‘making a contribution through fieldwork to the questions surrounding the absence of evidence for an Irish Palaeolithic’, the Dungarvan Valley Caves Project (DVCP) was set up in 2003 by the applicants. Now in its fifth year the project team has carried out a major review of the subject as well as surveying and carrying out excavations in a key area for Irish Pleistocene studies– the Dungarvan valley, Co. Waterford (O Drisceoil & Jennings 2006). The project has been supported by the Heritage Council archaeology grants scheme on two previous occasions (refs.13750 and 16268).

The Dungarvan valley is of critical importance largely because of its caves, which have produced thousands of bones of extinct glacial fauna (Figure 1). Indeed, of the *c.*700 caves recorded from Ireland there are only fourteen where the bones of Ice Age fauna have been positively identified (Table 1); five of these caves are in the Dungarvan Valley – Ballynameelagh, Shandon, Ballynamindra, Garret Morris and Kilgreany.

Investigations in the valley between *c.*1860-1935 by Leith Adams, R.J. Ussher, H.L. Movius and E.K. Tratman brought to light the remains of the mammoth, giant deer, reindeer, horse, red deer, brown bear, the spotted hyena, arctic fox, Norway lemming, lynx, mountain hare and stoat. The preservation of the material probably had much to do with their location south of the limit of the last, Midlandian ice-sheet, which spared the region the devastating effects of this glacier. As well as the faunal remains, the cave at Kilgreany made international headlines when a human skeleton was found with the bones of giant deer. This was at the time famously declared by Sean Ó Riordáin as ‘the first definite proof of the existence of Palaeolithic man in Ireland’. AMS radiocarbon dating of the bones was to later prove they were Neolithic (Molleson 1985-6).

## **Summary of fieldwork carried out by the Dungarvan Valley Caves Project 2003-2008**

### **Survey**

Twenty-eight caves were identified and twenty-two explored by the DVCP in the valley (Figure 2). These ranged from those in low-lying locations near the coast to those on the higher, rising ground inland to the west. The project has developed a partnership with Mr. Peter Ryder, speleologist, who carried out surveys of many of the valley’s caves in the 1980s and 1990s. His expertise has allowed previously unexplored parts of the caves to be documented, and in the process new ‘bone beds’ have been discovered. A fully drawn survey of all known caves in the Dungarvan valley has now been completed and will be included in a forthcoming publication on the geology, palaeontology and archaeology of these sites.

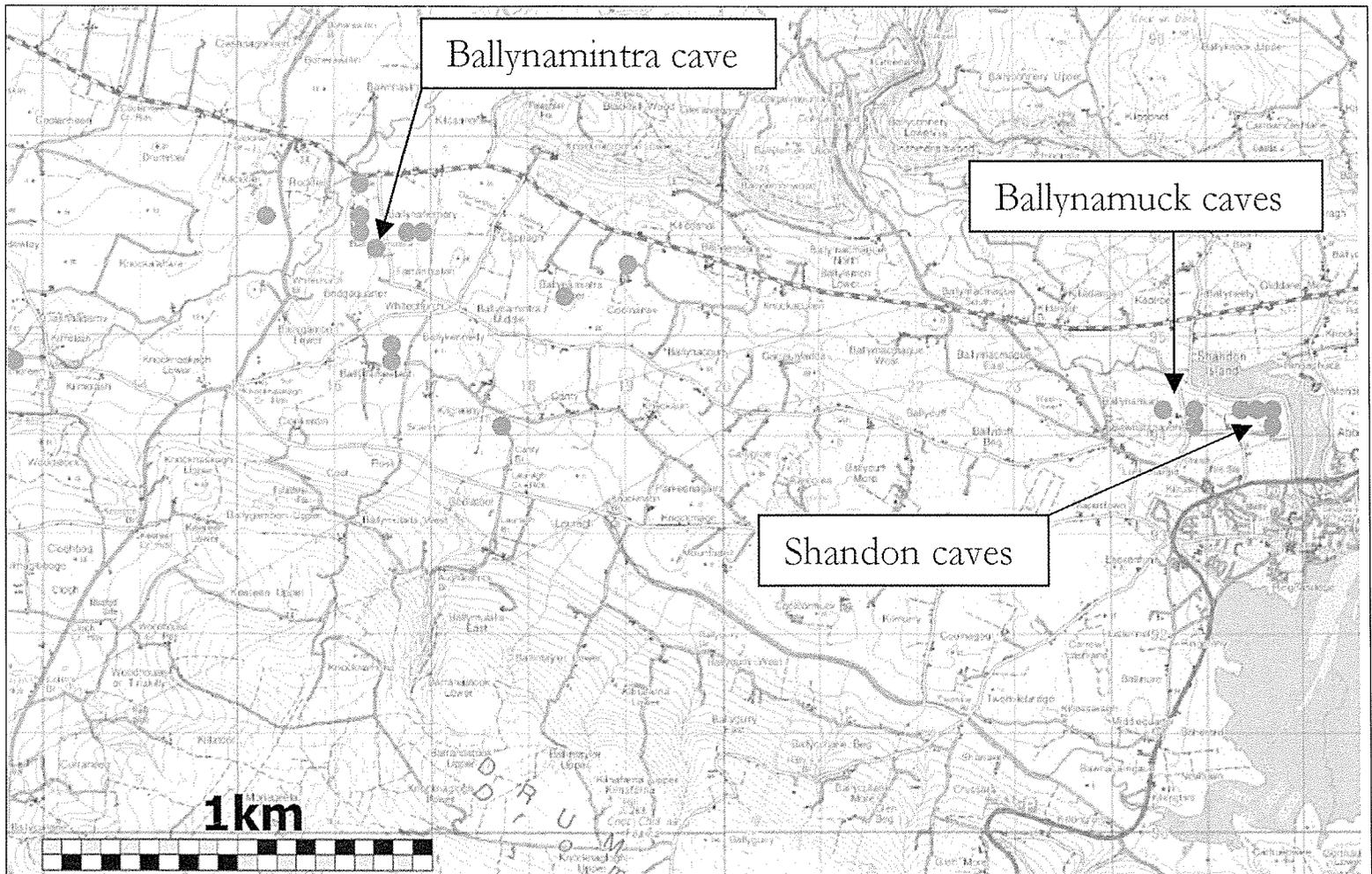


Figure 2: Cave locations in the Dungarvan valley.

### **Excavations at Ballynamuck caves 1 and 2**

In 2006 excavations focussed on the low-lying sites and in particular the area around the famous Shandon cave, on the outskirts of Dungarvan town. Test-cuttings were excavated at two caves in Ballynamuck townland, the aim being to determine if the sites contained Pleistocene deposits that would be worthy of further study. Because of their topographical position close to the watertable, the sedimentary sequence within both caves was found to be largely waterlain / fluvio-glacial - wet and inhospitable places that would not have been suitable for human occupation. Accordingly, no archaeological material was recovered from either cave.

However, the Heritage Council funded (ref. 13750) appraisal of the Ballynamuck cave strata by Dr. Simon Collcutt, an expert on cave sedimentology and the results of a series of Optically Stimulated Luminescence (OSL) dates identified that the excavated sediments were of Middle Pleistocene age, ranging from c.220,000-125,000 BP (before the present). These findings represent the first proof that material of such great age could survive within an Irish cave - it was formerly thought all such sediments had been removed by the Munsterian glaciation.

The importance of the Ballynamuck excavation results rest therefore in the possibility they provide that the *context* for a Lower-Middle Palaeolithic could survive in an Irish cave. Indeed, the Lower Palaeolithic has been identified as the epoch when humans were at their most populous and enduring in England and Wales. Another important implication from the work at Ballynamuck is that this site is unlikely to be unique and such early sediments could be more widespread in Irish caves than was previously thought. If a 'dry' cave containing Middle Pleistocene, non-waterlain sediments could be found this would be certainly worthy of significant investigation.

### **Ballynamindra cave**

Ballynamindra cave, in the west of the Dungarvan valley, is best known as the first Irish cave where evidence for an Irish Palaeolithic was proposed (see below), though curiously it never excited the same attention as the nearby Kilgreany cave, where similar claims were made in 1928. To date Ballynamindra has been explored for a distance of 95m and comprises a 2.3m high x 3m wide oval tube that leads into a lower chamber from which two short extensions to the known passages extend (Figure 3). In 1878 Leith Adams and R.J. Ussher carried out a major excavation of the entrance passage, a summary of which is presented below (Adams *et al* 1881). In 1882 'a new chamber was cleared down to the level of the stalagmite floor' and beyond this 'a new series of chambers were discovered' (Ussher 1882). Subsequently the cave was revisited by E.K. Tratman 'to prove the stratification in the lower levels' (Tratman 1929, 111). Tratman dug trenches in the 'inner and lower' chamber but the only reported finds however were a 'few' arctic fox bones. In 1998 the speleologist Peter Ryder and colleagues explored the far reaches of the cave leading to the discovery of the 'White Forest Grotto' passage, a roof thickly hung with stalagmites. Until recently it was thought that the three archaeological

investigations had completely emptied the cave but intact stratigraphy has been identified there recently by the DVCP. In 2008 the Discovery Programme carried out a detailed laser scan of the upper section of Ballynamintra cave (funded under the 2008 Heritage Council archaeology grants scheme), mapping these sediments as well as the structure of the cave (Figures 4-7). This survey will provide the detailed base-map for all future investigations within the cave.

## **Laser scan survey of Ballynamintra cave**

### **The survey**

The cave is located on the side of a small hillock and is surrounded by a copse of trees. This dense tree coverage prevented Irish National Grid control being brought directly onto site, as it obscured the GPS signals. The solution was to establish two GPS control stations in an adjacent field (clear of trees) using the Trimble 5800 GPS receiver in VRS Now mode. VRS Now uses mobile communications (GPRS) to receive and apply corrections to GPS readings, enabling the user to reduce residuals to 10mm in Northing and Easting and 15mm in height. A Nikon Pulse Laser Station was set up over the station closest to the cave while a back sight target was set up over the other station. By setting up over a known station and back sighting onto another known station it was possible to establish the position of a third station at the mouth of the cave, with sightlines into the cave.

The Trimble Mensi GS101 Scanner was set up to record points at a resolution of 20mm at a distance of 10m. The first two scans were taken from the outside of the cave looking in. Four of the laser scanning targets were set up inside the cave. The first scan used all four targets while the second used three. Once the initial scans were complete and the position of the targets were deemed to be correct, the total station was set up over the third station and back sighted onto the closest station in the field. Using reflectorless mode Irish National Grid co-ordinates were recorded for the four targets in the cave. This control would be carried through the rest of the scans at the processing stage.

The scanner was then brought into the cave and using the four targets a 360-degree scan was taken. After the scan two of the targets were moved further into the cave and scanned into the project for use during the next scan. By the end of the first day a number of 360-degree scans had been completed in this manner and the second day would mostly be used to get into more complicated areas. The last act of the day was to move the targets onto secure tripods and scan them into the project. This was done to protect them from any animals using the cave during the night. That evening the data was processed to ensure that the scans were registering together. The residuals were found to be averaging out below 5mm. Notes were taken on areas that had not been picked up in the scans.

The following day the targets were checked to ensure that they had not been moved during the night. A number of scans were completed to pick up the rest of the detail of the cave. A laptop was brought to site so that the remaining scans could be processed on site before any equipment was removed. The residuals from

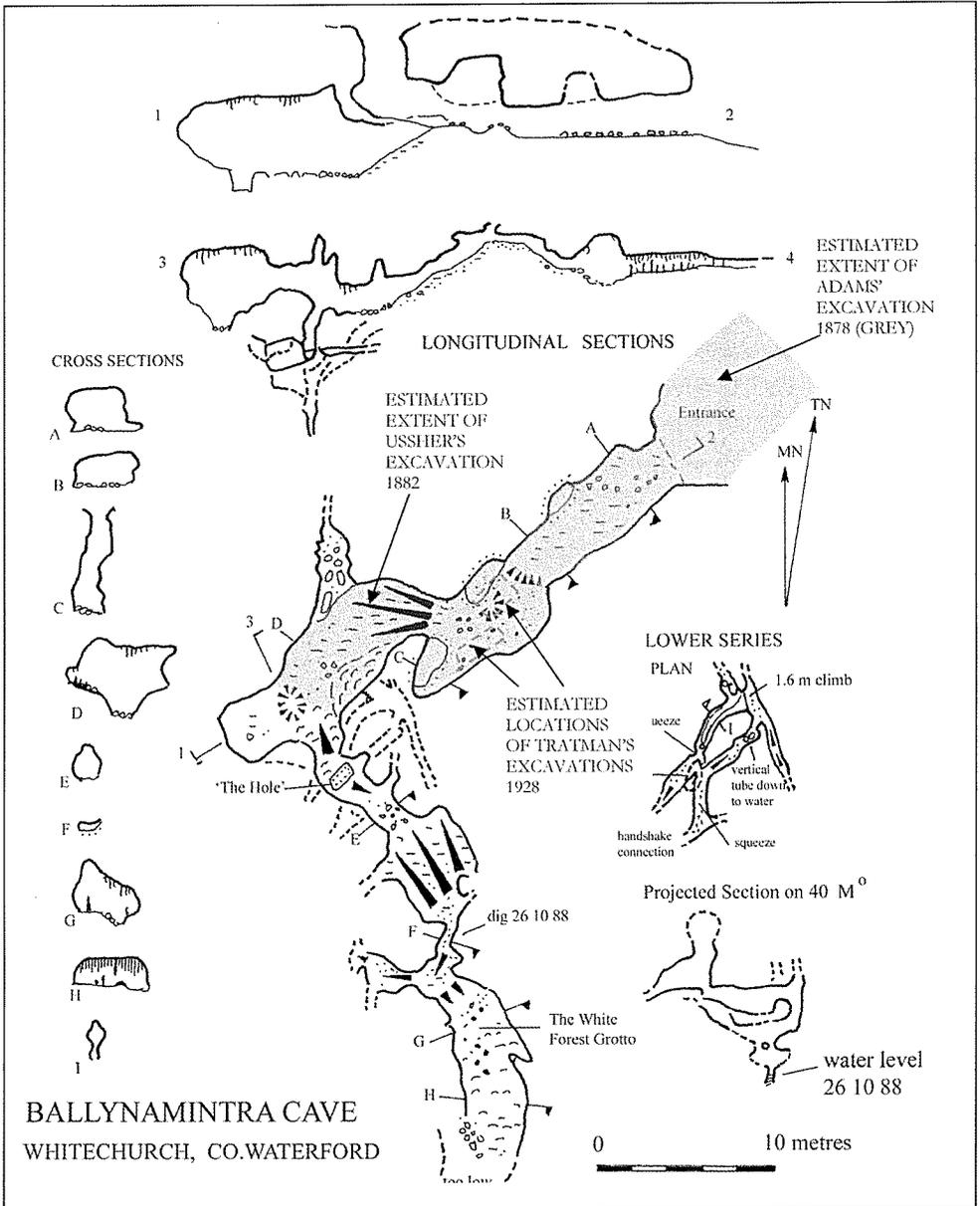


Figure 3: Survey drawing of Ballynamindra cave (courtesy of Peter Ryder, with additions by DVCP).

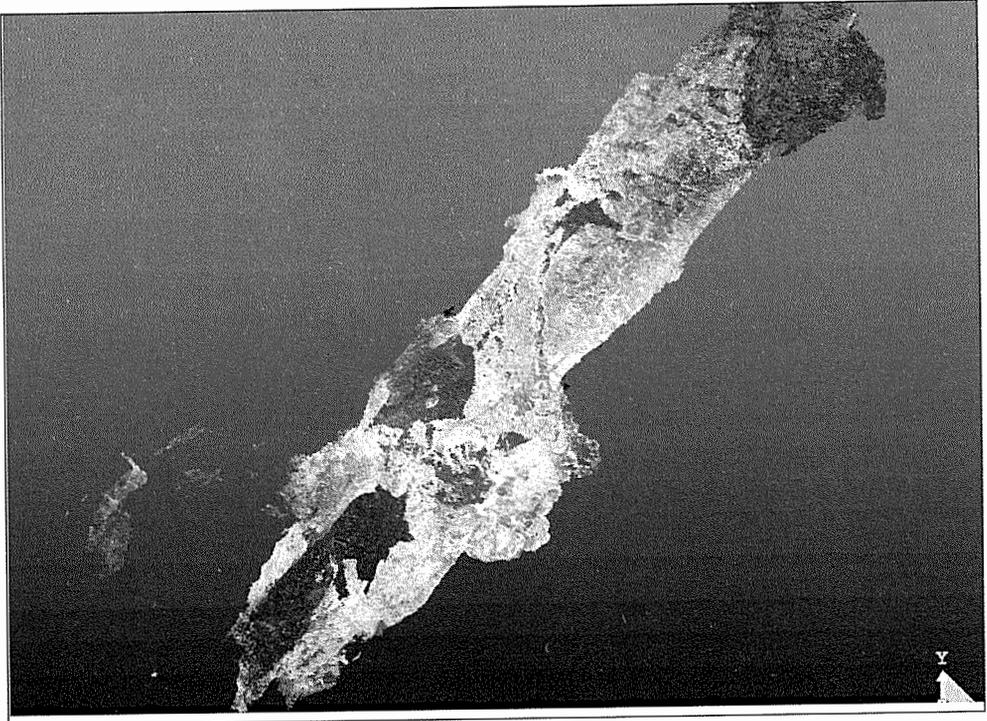


Figure 4: Laserscan plan view of Ballynamintra cave (Discovery Programme).

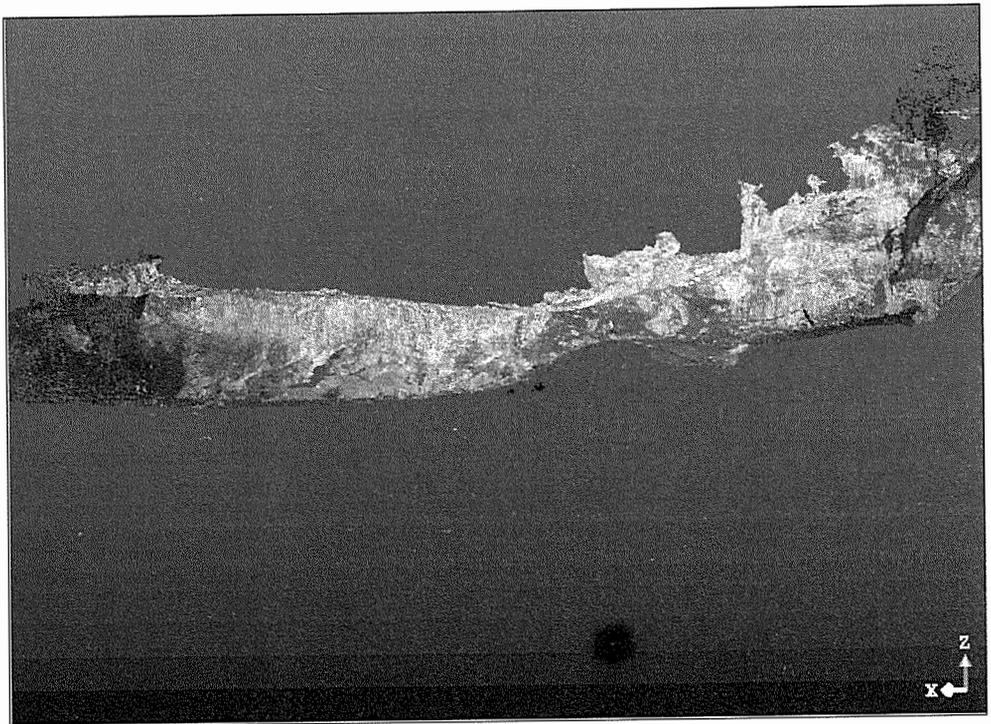


Figure 5: Laserscan south-east section through Ballynamintra cave (Discovery Programme).

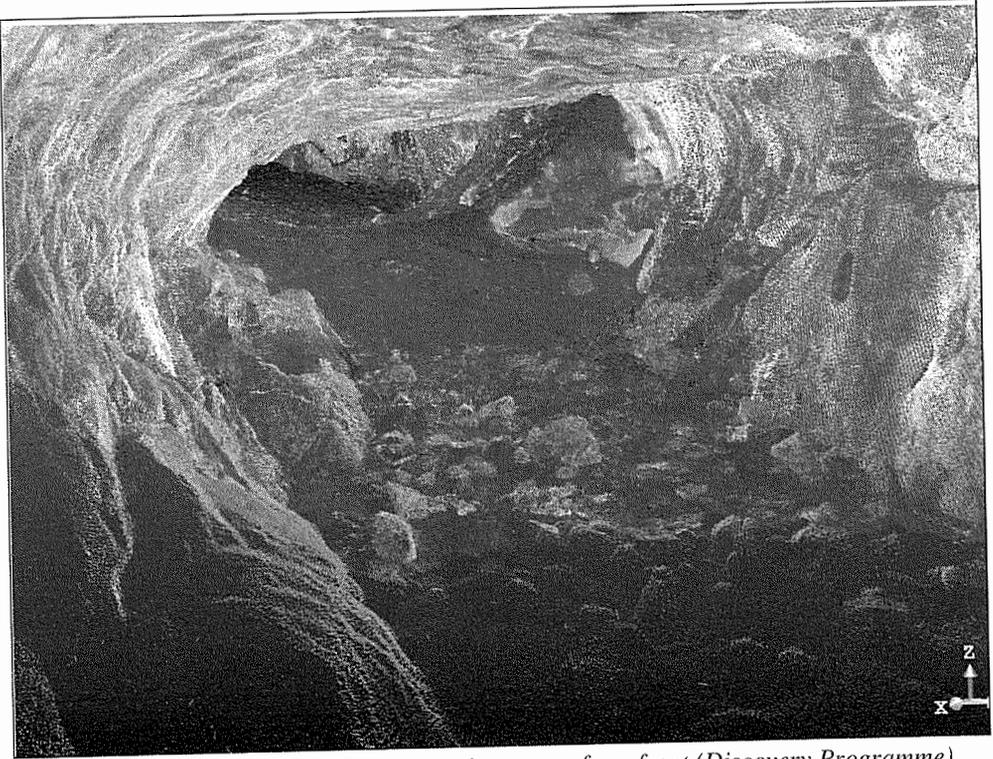


Figure 6: Laserscan view inside Ballynamintra cave from front (Discovery Programme).

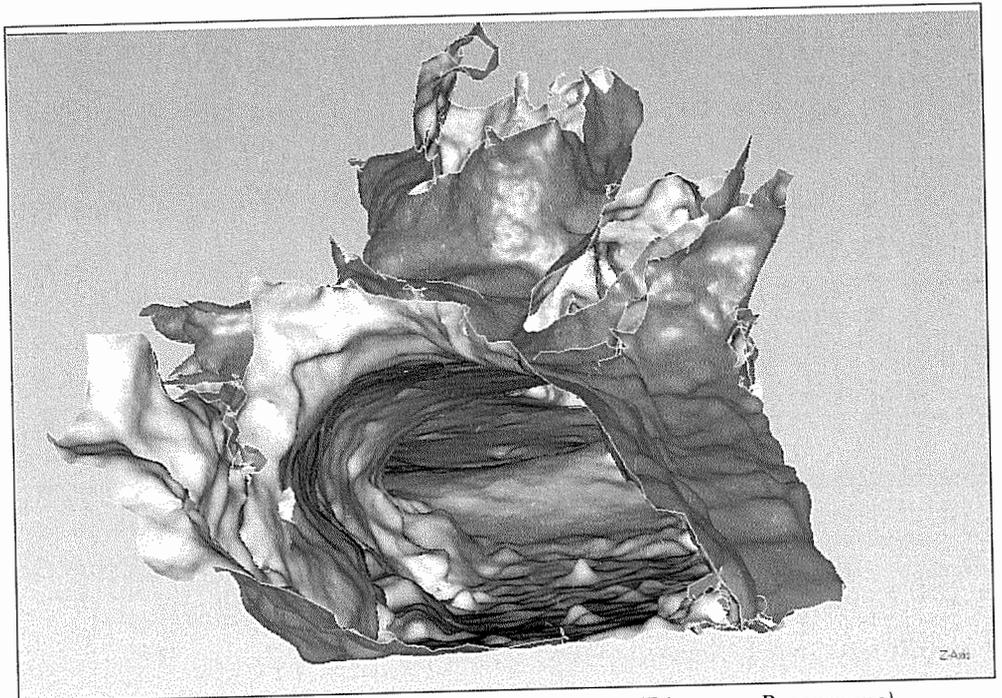


Figure 7: Laserscan mouth view into Ballynamintra cave (Discovery Programme).

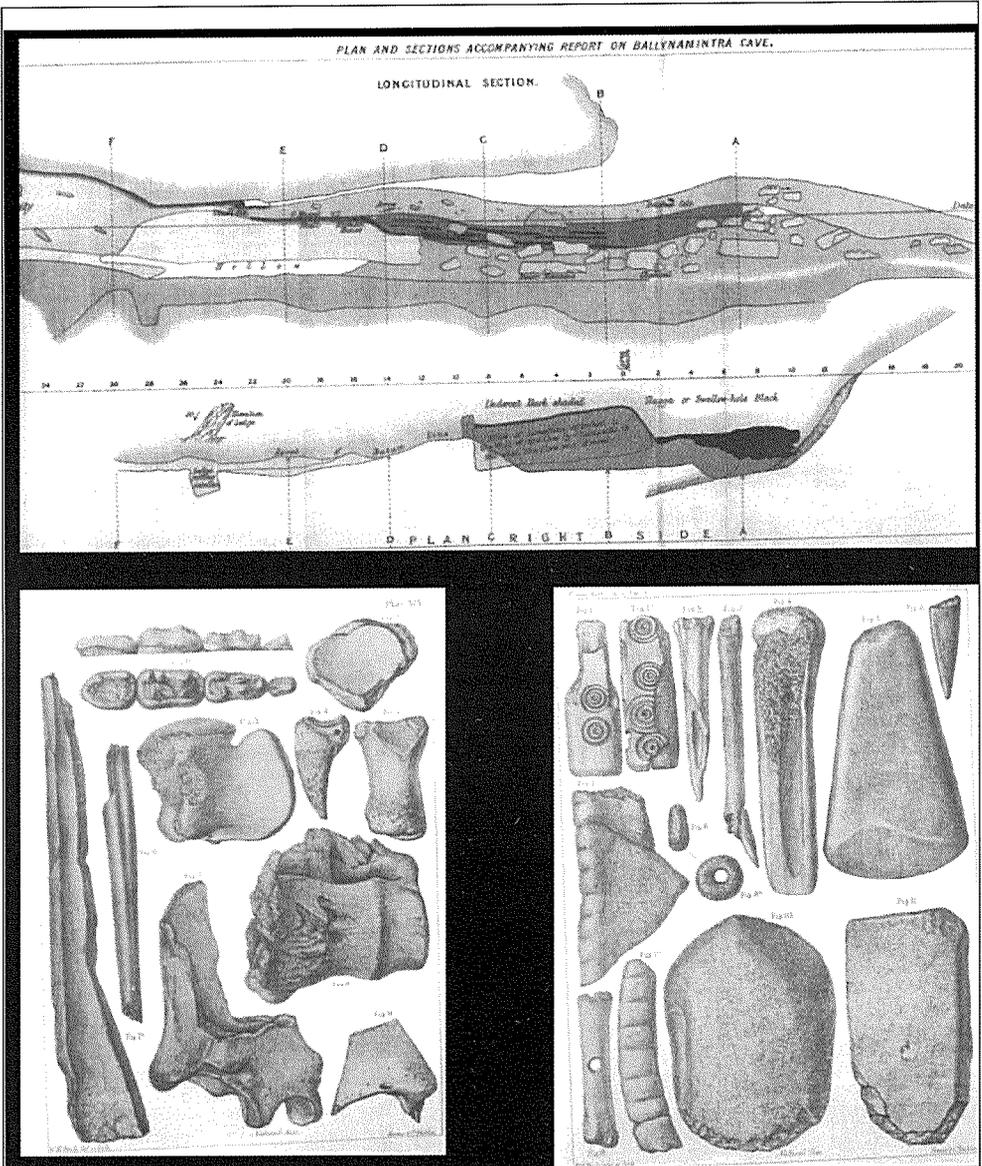


Figure 8: Section drawing, faunal remains and finds from the 1878 excavations at Ballynamintrá (Adams et al 1881). All finds are currently in the National Museum of Ireland, the animal bones are housed in the Natural History Museum.

these scans came in below 2mm; the reason for the lower residuals on the second day was due to the fact that most of the scanning on that day was conducted at the back of the cave. This required less movement of targets and thus prevented errors from creeping up. The areas of shadow were confined to areas that we had accepted as impossible to record. By the end of the second day a total of fifteen scans from eleven set ups had been completed.

### **The processing stage**

Trimble Realworks Survey 5.1 was used to process the data. As noted earlier, the individual scans registered together with residuals between 1-5mm. The survey was geo-referenced using the coordinates established for three of the four initial targets with sub-mm residuals. The point cloud contained points representing the targets used during the survey; these points were isolated and removed from the point cloud. The point cloud was then exported as an ASCII file. This file was imported into a modelling software package, Geomagic Studio 9, and a surface model of the data was created. Section views of the central passage of the cave were created and extracted as Tiff images.

### **Equipment**

Trimble Mensi GS101 terrestrial laser scanner  
Trimble 5800 GPS (operating with VRSNOW correction service)  
Nikon NPL 332 Pulse Laser total station

### **Software**

Trimbe Pointscape – controlling the scanner in the field  
Trimble Realworks – processing scan data  
Geomagic 9 – surface modelling

### **The stratigraphic sequence at Ballynamindra**

Prior to Adams' excavations the cave was filled almost to the roof, a depth of 1.9m of sediment was recorded at the cave entrance (Adams *et al* 1881) (Figure 8). According to Adams the archaeological material ceased once a distance of 6.9m inside the cave from the entrance had been reached. They also noted that the cave has been shortened quite considerably as Adams was able to trace its extent beyond the present entrance for at least 12.9m. Adams identified five basic stratigraphic units over the limestone floor of the cave and he maintained a record of the faunal remains and artefacts that each produced. How accurate this was exactly is not entirely clear though subsequent radiocarbon dating of bones from the cave appeared to correlate in a broad sense with his interpretation of the stratigraphic sequence (see Table 2).

### **The fauna from Ballynamintra cave**

Approximately 1,500 animal bones were retrieved from Ballynamintra cave during Adams' excavations (Adams *et al* 1881, table p. 206) and Tratman (1929) recorded that bones of the arctic fox were retained. Whether or not Ussher kept any bones is not known. Adams went into considerable detail regarding the faunal remains in his published report, cataloguing and identifying each fragment. About a third of the assemblage would appear to be of Pleistocene age and of the seven radiocarbon dates available from the cave, five produced such dates (Woodman *et al* 1997) (Table 3). The dates also demonstrated that a certain amount of reworking had taken place in Units 2 and 3 though Unit 4, the stalagmitic floor, was consistently Middle Midlandian in date and probably fairly undisturbed. This fauna represents a classic 'Mammoth-steppe' (Pin Hole) assemblage (Currant & Jacobi 2001) and may indicate the use of Ballynamintra as a spotted hyena den at the time. The two radiocarbon dates on giant deer indicate a Late Glacial 'Woodgrange' interstadial horizon.

### **The artefacts from Ballynamintra cave**

The artefacts from Ballynamintra have been examined by Marion Dowd who identified forty-nine individual items in the assemblage (Dowd 2004) (Table 4). There are very few chronologically diagnostic objects though with certainty there is Neolithic and Early Medieval activity represented; there may be Bronze Age and Medieval (M. Dowd pers. comm.). The polished stone axe (E969:149) could be Neolithic though a Late Mesolithic or Early Bronze Age date is also a possibility. The three bone points (E969:154, 155 and 158) would not be out of place in an Early Medieval context though could also be prehistoric. Likewise the amber bead (E969:157) could be Bronze Age or Early Medieval in date. The 'bone toggle' or 'buzz bone' is an item generally dated to the Early Medieval period though their function is disputed – they may have been utilised as children's toys, or perhaps as musical instruments and it has also been suggested they were used as buttons. An Early Medieval date is quite secure for the decorated knife-handle (E969:151). Lastly, the age of the possible bone harpoon (E969:153) from Unit 1 is a particularly interesting question.

The cave, based on similarly assemblages from other caves, may have been used for short-term occupation in the Early Medieval period but it is also possible the material could have entered from a settlement overhead via the opening(s) in the cave roof. Marion Dowd's examination of the hammerstones indicated many of them may be of natural derivation, though nevertheless they must have been brought into the cave. The surviving pottery sherd (E969:150) from Ballynamintra cave is probably Late Bronze Age in date based on the fabric and shape and the fact that similar pottery has been recovered from Rathgall, Co. Wicklow. However, the decoration on this sherd is reminiscent of a Middle Neolithic globular bowl and therefore, such a date cannot be entirely discounted (Helen Roche pers. comm.).

### **The human remains from Ballynamintra cave**

The surviving assemblage of human bones from Ballynamintra cave was examined by osteoarchaeologist Linda Fibiger in 2005 as part of the Human Remains from Irish Caves Project (Dowd *et al* 2006). The total number of human bones and bone fragments present was fifty, the minimum number of individuals present was three, two adults/adolescents, one juvenile. The majority of remains appeared to belong to adult or late adolescent individuals (epiphyseal fusion; size/robusticity; dental development). The only juvenile remains present were two metatarsals, representing an individual less than ten years of age (size, epiphyseal fusion).

Adams was quite clear in the Ballynamintra report that ‘the human remains, implements, and charcoal-bed found with the remains of the Irish elk in the grey earth [Unit 2], were deposited there contemporaneously with them...’ (Adams *et al* 1881, 221). However, the dating of a human radius from Unit 2 to 3020–2580 cal. BC appears to have settled this argument and Ballynamintra may now be included as an instance of an Irish cave where funerary activities, perhaps token deposition, was undertaken in the Late Neolithic (Dowd 2008; Dowd *et al* 2006).

### **Proposed further fieldwork at Ballynamintra**

Ballynamintra is one of the most significant cave-sites in Ireland, both from an archaeological and palaeontological perspective. A key reason for this is the expertise and care with which Adams and Ussher conducted and published their excavation of the site. The renowned archaeologist H.L. Movius, whose work at Abri Patud in the Dordogne valley redefined Palaeolithic cave-archaeology, cited their work as a ‘classic’ example of cave excavation (Movius 1935, 254).

From a palaeontological perspective Ballynamintra is critically important. It is one of just two Irish sites (with Castlepook) where faunal remains of Midlandian and Late Glacial date have been discovered and it is one of just four caves (Shandon, Castlepook and Foley caves being the other three) that has fauna belonging to a period earlier than the Last Glacial Maximum. The recovery of the fauna from archetypal cave sediments - grey earths and tufa, sandy earths and possible debris flows (with shattered stalagmitic floors) and breccias - is also significant. These deposits appear to have been quite well preserved as a consequence of the cave’s high altitude and position within a relatively isolated ridge of limestone, probably long divorced from any wider subterranean drainage system; without sufficient catchment, flushing could not occur. Indeed today Ballynamintra is one of only six Irish caves where sediments that pre-date the Last Glacial Maximum are thought to survive, the others being Castlepook and Foley cave, Co. Cork, Crag cave, Co. Kerry and the two Ballynamuck caves, near Dungarvan.

The basic stratigraphic sequence at Ballynamintra is fairly well understood as a consequence of the high quality of the Victorian excavations and the Quaternary Fauna Project’s dating programme. However, it is evident from the published excavation report that the cave’s sedimentological sequence is of much greater complexity than that described; the lithostratigraphy and likely lithogenesis of the sequence is not known, nor are the ages of many of the excavated units.

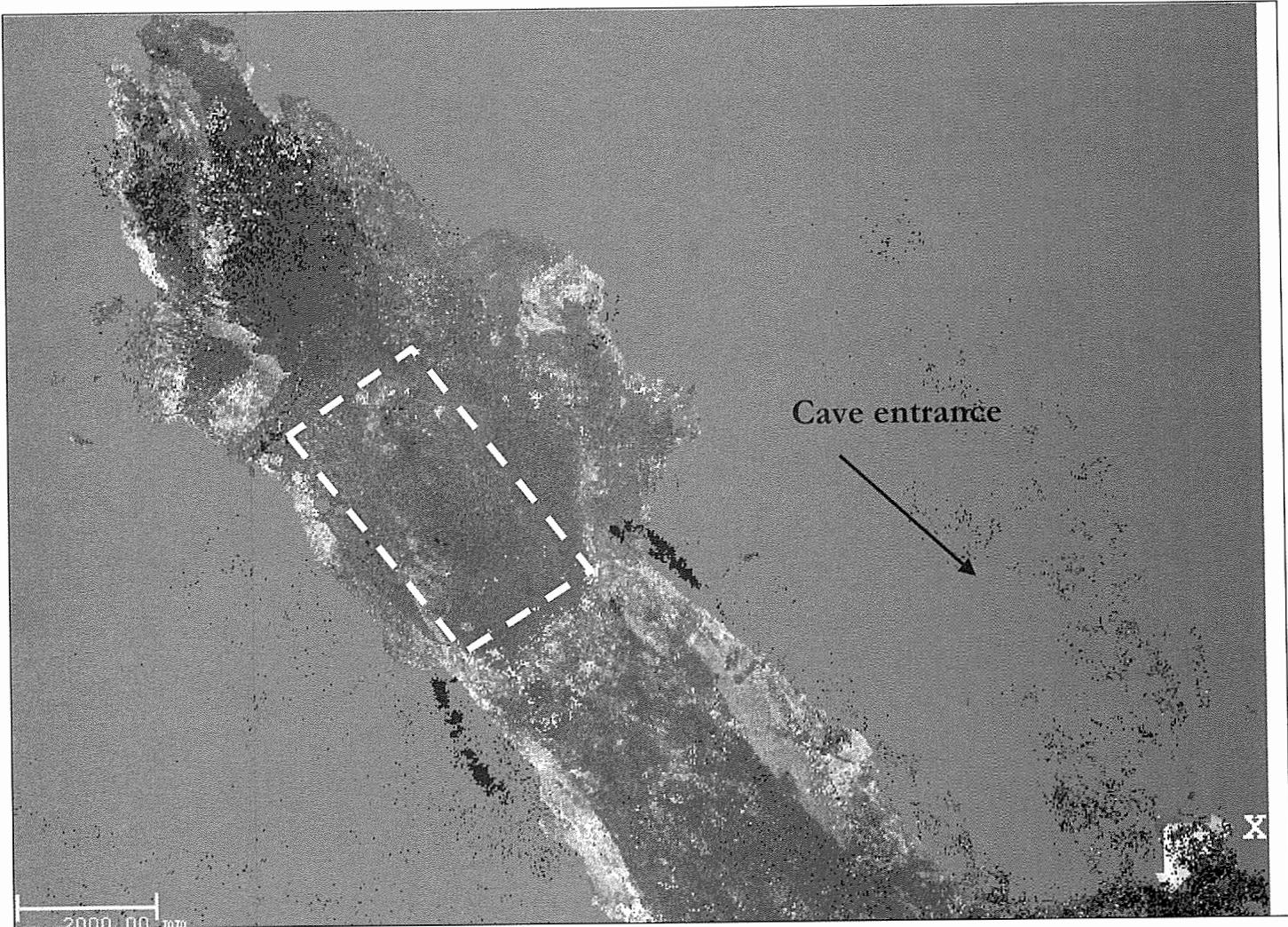


Figure 9: Proposed location of archaeological cutting at Ballynamindra cave (Discovery Programme).

Techniques to address these very matters were used to good effect at the Ballynamuck caves and it would be beneficial to bring a similar methodology to bear on Ballynamindra. The critical reason why such studies are carried out is to allow for the prediction of the likely locations, broad types and survival states of a variety of Late Pleistocene deposits, and by extension the potential for the discovery of Palaeolithic archaeology. For these reasons it is proposed to undertake a new phase of fieldwork at Ballynamindra. This is also a matter of urgency for it is apparent that some of the cave's standing sediments are under threat from erosion

### **Research strategy**

It is proposed to re-open, under archaeological excavation licence, a previously excavated cutting that is visible in the rear of the cave's entrance passage (Figure 9) and sample from its standing sections. This will ensure minimal disturbance to existing Pleistocene deposits

The fieldwork aims to:

- \* Comprehensively describe the standing sediments exposed by the removal of backfill from the previously excavated sondage
- \* Definitively establish which of the previous excavations in the cave the sondage relates to
- \* Link if possible the standing sections to published excavation reports
- \* Take dating samples of the key sedimentary divisions from the standing sections
- \* Take palaeoenvironmental samples from the standing sections including pollen, phytoliths, charcoal, herpetofauna and small and large mammalian fauna
- \* Assess whether the cave sediments are suitable for micro-tephrochronological analysis

### **Methodology**

The following steps will be undertaken:

#### *Sedimentary Appraisal*

A detailed lithostratigraphic analysis of the exposed section-stratigraphy will be undertaken by Dr. Simon Colcutt, a leading authority on cave sedimentology.

#### *Dating of the sequence*

Once units have been defined by the sedimentary appraisal a range of dating techniques will be utilised to provide a chronology on the excavated sequence. AMS radiocarbon dating will be suitable for the upper units while it is more likely that Uranium Series Dating would provide a chronology if the stalagmitic floor of Adams is located, (Unit 4). Optically Stimulated Luminescence may be more suitable for dating the upper sediment and the underlying basal gravel, Unit 5, if encountered.

### *Analysis of fauna, microvertebrates, phytoliths, pollen, charcoals*

A column-sample through the stratigraphic sections will be excavated and retained for sieving in the laboratory (1mm mesh size) to provide material for analysis of the above materials.

All cave deposits will be recorded by laser scanning and integrated into the 3d cave model

### **Intended outcomes**

- \* To provide using modern analytical methods a detailed account of sediment deposition in this part of Ballynamindra cave
- \* To assess whether these sediments can be linked to the six divisions of Adams (1881)
- \* To provide new evidence concerning the environment of Ballynamindra cave during the late Pleistocene
- \* To date faunal material from secure chronological contexts
- \* To devise a preservation strategy of the existing standing deposits to ensure their long term survival
- \* To establish whether a new excavation programme at the cave is warranted

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Site	Reference(s)
Ballynamindra 1	Ussher 1878-9; Ussher and Adams 1879; Ussher 1881a; Ussher 1881b; Adams et al. 1881; Tratman et al. 1929
Ballynameelagh 1 Castlepook, Co. Cork	Adams et al. 1881, 180, Plate X Scharff et al 1918
Dunmore, Co. Kilkenny	Coleman 1965, 73-5
Edenvale, Co. Clare	Scharff et al 1906
Foley Cave, Co. Cork	Gwynn et al 1942
Garrat Morris, Co. Waterford	Adams et al. 1881
Keshcorran, Co. Sligo	Scharff et al 1903; Gwynn et al 1940
Kilgreany Cave, Co. Waterford	Adams et al. 1881, 180, Plate X; Tratman 1930; Tratman et al. 1929; Tratman 1937; Mahr 1937; Movius 1935; Movius 1942; O Riordain 1931; Molleson 1985-6; Dowd 2002
Killavullen, Co. Cork	Coleman 1947
Killuragh Cave, Co. Limerick	O'Shaughnessy 1994
Poll na mBear, Co. Leitrim	Simms and Monaghan 2000
Polldonin, Co. Sligo	McShea and McShea 1969
Red Cellar Cave, Co. Limerick	Leask 1938
Shandon 1, Co. Waterford	Brenan and Carte 1859; Adams 1876; Boulger 1876; Adams et al. 1881

*Table 1: Table of Irish cave-sites that have produced Pleistocene fauna*

Unit	Description	Finds	Human	Fauna
1	Brown earth, 0.6m thick. Charcoal 'everywhere' though disappeared 6.9m from the entrance.	'Polished celt', Flat amber bead, Bone harpoon, Carved perforated bone, Bone point. Bone chisel, Knife handle, Several sandstones – ground point, 2 striking stones.	Human skull.	Rabbit, hare, goat, ox, fox, pig, red-deer, dog, marten, horse, hedgehog, birds, bear, giant deer.
2	'Grey earth with calcerous tufa'. 0.5m thick. Two blocked avens ascended towards the surface in the passage and there was a concentration of occupation material underneath that nearest the entrance. Bones were clustered in crevices in the rock.. The human remains were in a 'calcerous tufa'. Abundant charcoal was recorded, including an 'old floor or hearth'.	Pointed metacarpal of goat', 'Rude stone implements', 'chipped hammer stones' and 'Worn lumps of sandstone'. Crevice produced a bone chisel of ox, a knife handle and a 'rude celt'.	Human bone in calcerous tufa – 0.75m from roof level. Fragmentary human remains found inside the cave at '16 feet from the cave mouth'.	Giant Deer (min. 5 individuals), Wolf, Bear in brecias, Ox, Red deer and Pig, Rabbit, Goat, Fox, Wolf, Badger, Marten, Hare.
3	Pale sandy earth, extended 4.2m into the cave and rested on top of Unit 5 in places.	The only find was a possible rubber stone.	Human finger bone (possibly from unit 2).	Bear, Hare, Pig, Rabbit, Wolf, Deer, Ox, Giant Deer.
4	Stalagmite floor, 1.05m thick. This continued over the gravel (Unit 5) for a distance of 4.8 outside the entrance (Adams et al 1881, 184). The stalagmitic floor sloped 'rapidly upwards' to a much higher level from	The unit produced 'no trace of man'.	None	Articulated bear, deer, reindeer, frog. No bones were found in the unbroken floor.

	7.8m into the cave. The stalagmite was 'found in every part of the cave' though sometimes shattered. Unit extended unbroken from wall to wall from 3.6m into the cave from the entrance.			
5	Gravel. This unit lay directly on the limestone floor was uniform in character and contained no bones of human material. The gravel was a mixture of brown sand and old red sandstone. It was devoid of limestone.	None	None	None
6	Limestone floor. Swallow holes were recorded on the right near the entrance.	None	None	None

*Table 2: Summary table of stratigraphic sequence recorded at Ballynamintra cave by Adams et al (1881)*

Species	Specimen	Location	Lab No.	Date in radiocarbon years	Reference
<i>Megalacorous Giganteus</i>	Ulna F21166	Unit 2	OxA-4249	11,110±110 BP	Woodman et al 1997
<i>Homo Sapiens</i> , Human	Radius E968	Unit 2	OxA-4250	4230±75 BP	Woodman et al 1997
<i>Lepus timidus</i> , Irish Hare	Tibia F21167	Unit 3	OxA-4251	1500±65 BP	Woodman et al 1997
<i>Ursus arctos</i> , Brown Bear	Calcaneum F21168	Unit 4	OxA-4252	35,570±1100 BP	Woodman et al 1997
<i>Rangifer tarandus</i> , Reindeer	Metatarsal F21169	Unit 4	OxA-4253	33,630±790 BP	Woodman et al 1997
<i>Cervus elaphus</i> Red Deer	Upper Molar F21170	Unit 4	OxA-4336	27,730±380 BP	Woodman et al 1997
<i>Megalacorous Giganteus</i>	Not stated <sup>1</sup>	Not stated	KIA25446	11,567±42 BP	Lister et al 2005

Table 3: Radiocarbon dates from Ballynamintra cave

1 The stratigraphic position of the sample was not recorded in the published account.

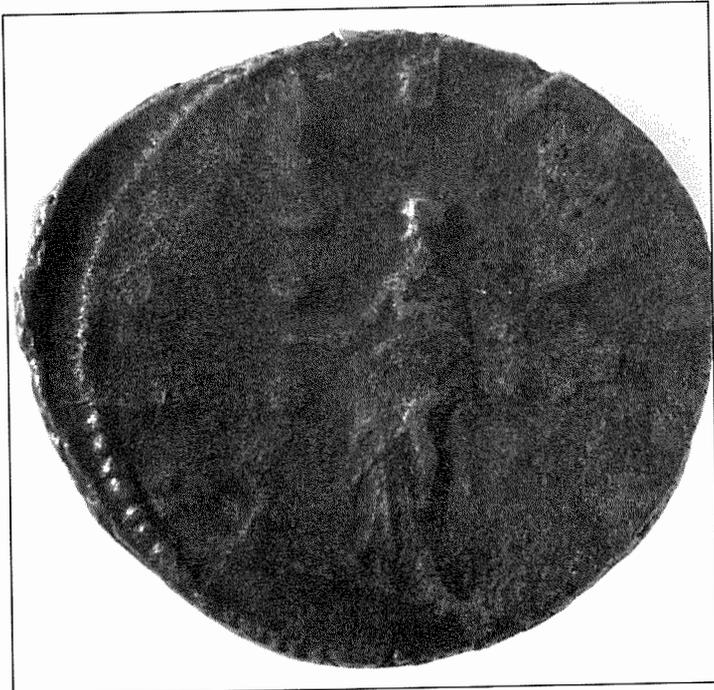
<b>Artefact</b>	<b>Reg. no.</b>	<b>Location in cave</b>	<b>Unit</b>	<b>Habitat</b>
Polished stone axe	E969:149	6.7m	1	D8:9
Whetstone (?)	None	10.4m	Crevice	Unknown
Whetstone (?)	None	1.2m	1	Unknown
29 hammerstones	None	Various locations – mainly unrecorded	4 from C.1 21 from C.2	Beggars Bush
3 grinding or rubbing stones	None	Various locations	1 and 2	Unknown
3 burnt stones	None	Various locations	2	Unknown
Amber bead	E969:157	5.5m	1	D8:9
Decorated knife handle	E969:151	10.4m	Crevice	D8:9
Bone toggle	E969:152	11.6m	1	D8:9
Pronged bone object	E969:153	11.6m	1	D8:9
Bone point	E969:154	Unknown	1	D8:9
Bone point	E969:155	Unknown	2	D8:9
Bone point	E969:158	Unknown	1?	D8:9
Worked bone	E969:156	10.4m	Crevice	D8:9
Pottery sherd (LBA?)	E969:150	Unknown	1 or 2	D8:9
Pottery sherd	None	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

*Table 4: Artefacts from Ballynamintra cave (Dowd 2004)*

1 In column 3, figures relate to distance from the original cave entrance to the interior unless otherwise stated



*Plate 1: Obverse, bust of Gallienus.*



*Plate 2: Reverse.*

# Copper Coin of the Roman Emperor Gallienus (253 – 268AD), Found at Kilmeaden, County Waterford

*Michael Kenny*

This coin came to light in April 2005, in the townland of Ballyduff East, parish of Kilmeaden. It was discovered during work in an orchard, when tree roots were being cleared and removed. No other archaeological features were noted in the vicinity. In the absence of any related archaeological material it is not possible to say whether the coin was deposited during the period of its circulating life or in more recent times.

Roman coins from recognised archaeological contexts have been found quite widely in Ireland, especially in the east, south-east and north-east, suggesting a considerable level of contact between these parts of Ireland and Roman Britain. Find-places where sizeable numbers of coins have been uncovered include Newgrange, Dromana Fort in north Dublin (Loughshinny), Fairhead in Antrim and Ballinrees in Derry. The Newgrange coins, which do not constitute a hoard, may have been deposited over time as votive offerings. There have also been several unstratified single finds but whether these represent contemporary contact or are simply souvenirs of the Grand Tour fifteen hundred years later is not always clear. They are therefore of very limited evidential value. The significance of numismatic and other Roman-period material found in Ireland, has been examined in detail by authors such as Barry Raftery<sup>1</sup> and J.D. Bateson<sup>2</sup>. With regard to the coins, numismatists and historians agree that they represent the accident of raid, trade and travel and that they never circulated as actual coins in Ireland. The possibility that, along the eastern seaboard, they might in some instances have been retained by traders for use in their dealings with Roman Britain, cannot, however, be totally ruled out. Irish merchants who visited Britain would certainly have been aware of the function and use of money.

The Kilmeaden coin is a small copper piece, probably an antoninianus. This denomination had originally been a silver issue but the silver content had been gradually reduced to the point where, by the reign of Valerian I (253-60AD) it was a mere surface wash on a bronze coin. Valerian was the father of Gallienus and associated his son with himself as joint emperor during his period in power. To quote the numismatist David Sear<sup>3</sup>, the antoninianus, 'already reduced to a bronze

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1 Barry Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland: The Enigma of the Irish Iron Age*, (London, 1994), pp. 200-19.

2 J.D. Bateson, 'Roman Finds in Ireland', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* Vol. 73C (1973), pp. 21-97.

3 David R. Sear, *Roman Coins and Their Values*, (London, 1981), p. 250.

coin with a silver wash before the end of the joint reign, continued to decline in size and weight during the sole reign, the last issues of Gallienus being amongst the most miserable examples of this denomination’.

Following the capture of his father by the Persians, Gallienus assumed sole control in 260AD. The coin here dates to sometime between this date and his death in 268 AD. Like so many Roman rulers, Gallienus met a violent death, murdered by his own officers while besieging a usurper at Milan.<sup>4</sup> The example here, which is very worn, carries on the obverse the radiate bust of Gallienus, facing right. Around is the legend GALLIENVVS AVG. (see Plate 1) The reverse shows a draped female figure holding a standard in her right hand. (see Plate 2) The emblem or device at her left hand is not clear, due to wear on the coin but may be a sceptre or anchor. There are some remnants of lettering, likewise worn and unclear. The reverses of Roman coins carry a whole range of deities and allegorical figures, male and female. These represent feelings and attributes such as joy, love, piety, fertility, faith and war. Many of these personifications are identifiable by a device or symbol, such as a cornucopia for *Abundantia* (abundance), an olive branch for *Pax* (peace) and a sceptre for *Nobilitas* (nobility). Another common allegorical representation is that of *Fides Militum*, a reference to the faith or constancy of the military. The draped figure on this type usually carries a standard and sceptre or two standards and may be the figure depicted on the Kilmeaden coin. The legend which usually appears on the reverse of this type is FIDES MILITUM, a reference to the motif already noted. It is possible to make out one or two of the letters on the piece in question here, not sufficient to read the legend with certainty but sufficient to suggest that it is in fact a *Fides Militum* type. This was a fairly common reverse type and appeared on the issues of numerous emperors and several denominations.

The most intriguing question and the one that must remain unanswered is how and when it found its way to Kilmeaden.

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4 Percy H. Webb, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, Vol. V, Part 1, (London, 1927), p. 3.

# The Irish Order of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acre

Niall Byrne

## Introduction:

While conducting research for my book, *The Irish Crusade: A History of the Knights Hospitaller, the Knights Templar and the Knights of Malta in the South-East of Ireland*, evidence of the existence in Ireland of a hitherto almost totally forgotten military order, known as the Order of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acre, was discovered. Since this military order owned substantial lands and premises in Co. Waterford, in Carrick-on-Suir, in Kilkenny town and at Dunamase in Co. Laoise, and since its very existence seems to have been unrecorded in these areas and is currently unknown locally, this discovery stimulated immediate interest. Practically no research has been carried out on the Irish Knights Hospitaller or on the Irish Knights Templar, and little substantiated historical fact has been written about either of these two major Irish military orders. Consequently it is not surprising that the minor military order of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acre has almost totally faded into oblivion.

Apparently, the only record of the Irish Order of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acre still extant is contained in the Hibernia section of the Cotton MSS, (Cotton Tib. C.V.) in the British Library, which contains a cartulary of the Irish possessions of the order. A microfilm of this cartulary (Negative 1164) is available at the National Library of Ireland. Using this microfilm Eric St. John Brooks transcribed the twenty-four medieval Latin charters of this cartulary, this transcript being published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*.<sup>1</sup> Although published for in excess of half a century, the fact that it was published in Latin has contributed to the unfortunate circumstance that its contents have remained unknown to the vast majority of historians. It was only when St. John Brooks' transcript was translated into English by the present author in the course of his research that the immense local significance of the contents of this British Library manuscript primary source was appreciated.

Preceded by a very brief history of the order, an English translation of these twenty-four charters is now recorded for the first time, making available the details of the acquisition of the possessions of the order in Co. Waterford, in Carrick-on-Suir, in Kilkenny town and in Dunamase. The charters give very limited details of the progress of the Knights of St. Thomas the Martyr in these four locations until the dissolution of the Irish order under the Act of Absentees in 1536.

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1 Eric St. J. Brooks, 'Irish Possessions of St. Thomas of Acre', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* Vol. 58, Section C, (1956), pp. 21-44, (henceforth abbreviated as *PRIA*).



*St. Thomas' church, Thomas Hill Waterford, prior to its demolition in the 1960s.*

## Preamble

At the very close of the year 1170, an atrocity was committed in England which had serious consequences for the English crown, the results of which would also have major repercussions in Co. Waterford and in Co. Wexford in south-eastern Ireland. In the course of a bitter and vitriolic dispute between King Henry II of England and Archbishop Thomas à Beckett of Canterbury concerning church-state relations, King Henry railed against the archbishop to such an extent that, assuming that they were implementing the monarch's wishes, three Norman knights assassinated Beckett in Canterbury Cathedral on 29 December 1170. Christendom was appalled by this murder, Pope Alexander III calling the king of England to order by insisting that the monarch should perform public penance to atone for his involvement in the crime, and announcing that two papal legates were to be dispatched to the royal court to censure the king. In order to improve his image as an active supporter of the church and of the papacy prior to the arrival of the papal legates, King Henry claimed that the papal bull *Laudabiliter*, which had been issued in 1156 by Pope Adrian IV, authorised Henry II to take control of Ireland in order to reform the Irish Church.<sup>2</sup> On this account the king travelled to Ireland with a large army to take control of the huge swathe of territory already conquered by Strongbow, and ostensibly to enforce the reform of the Irish Church. Landing at Crook, on the western shore of Waterford Haven on 17 October 1171, King Henry II entered Waterford city on the following day, the feast day of St. Luke. To demonstrate his penitence for his involvement in the murder of Archbishop Thomas à Beckett, King Henry II may have been the founder of the church in the western suburb of the city of Waterford which he dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr, this suburb of the city bearing the saint's name even to this present day.<sup>3</sup> The monarch arranged the convocation of a synod which convened at Cashel early in 1172, the papal legate Bishop Christian O' Connarchy of Lismore presiding over this ecclesiastical legislative assembly. It was this Synod of Cashel which legislated for the various reforms of the Irish Church, which King Henry II had promised. With an enhanced reputation for support of both the Church and the papacy, Henry II set sail from Wexford on Easter Monday, 17 April 1172, to travel to Coutances in north-western France,<sup>4</sup> where he could now face the papal legates on more favourable terms.

In conference with the papal legates at the Abbey of Savigny on 17 May 1172, King Henry II denied any involvement in the murder of Archbishop Thomas à Beckett but accepted that he had a responsibility for the crime. Swearing his innocence on oath, he accepted the penance he was assigned, part of which stipulated that he was to provide for the maintenance of 200 Knights Templar in the Holy Land. The king easily accomplished this requirement at absolutely no cost to him-

2 Eamon Duffy, *Saints & Sinners: A History of the Popes*, (London, 2001), p. 143.

3 Eamonn McEaney, *A History of Waterford and its Mayors*, (Waterford, 1995), pp. 24-5; Ian Lumley, 'Vanishing Waterford', in *Decies* 9 (September, 1978), pp. 3-14.

4 A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (eds.), *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland, by Giraldus Cambrensis*, (Dublin, 1978), p. 105.

self, by issuing a charter at Avranches which granted ten carucates of land at Crook, Co. Waterford, similar lands at Kilbarry, Co. Waterford, and equal lands at Kilclogan, Co. Wexford to the Knights Templar.<sup>5</sup>

Following his murder in 1170, the devotional cult of Archbishop Thomas à Beckett developed so quickly and assumed such a following throughout Norman Europe that the prelate was canonised as St. Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury as early as 1173. Quickly appreciating the significance of the elevation of Beckett to the highest dignity of the Roman Church, Henry II turned his involvement in the controversy to his own advantage by sponsoring the ever-burgeoning cult of the martyr-saint. Some historians have seen Henry II's royal sponsorship of this cult as the origin of the Order of St. Thomas of Canterbury, suggesting that the establishment of the London headquarters of the order in the parish of St. Mary Colechurch in Cheapside by 1190 supported this viewpoint. However, this opinion clearly fails to identify the fact that King Henry II had perhaps founded the Waterford church of St. Thomas the Martyr in 1172, a full eighteen years before the establishment of the London headquarters in Cheapside. If King Henry II is indeed postulated as the founder of the order, there is then a very plausible case for identifying Waterford city as the site of the foundation of the Order of St. Thomas the Martyr.

In the Holy Land the Christian crusader army suffered a major defeat at the battle of the Horns of Hattin on 4 July 1187, which led directly to the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem being lost when the legendary Muslim leader, Saladin, captured Jerusalem on 2 October 1187.<sup>6</sup> On hearing of the defeat at Hattin and the fall of Jerusalem, Prince Richard, 'the noble count of Poitou', son and heir of King Henry II, immediately took the cross, swearing an oath to regain the lost Christian territories in the Holy Land by leading a crusade to the Levant. When King Henry II died at Chinon on 6 July 1189, he was succeeded by his son King Richard I, who would shortly earn for himself the soubriquet 'the Lionheart' as he fulfilled his crusader vow. On 8 June 1191, King Richard the Lionheart arrived in the Holy Land, disembarking his crusader army at Acre, which Muslim city was being besieged by the forces of the French King Philip II. Following the capture of Acre by the Christian army, Richard the Lionheart introduced the Order of St. Thomas the Martyr to the Holy Land, associating it with the city of Acre to such an extent that, within a short period of time, the name Acre, or its variant Acon, replaced Canterbury in the title of this military order. Styled the *militia Hospitalis sancti Thomae martyris Cantuariensis de Acon*, that is, the Knights of the Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury of Acre, this title eventually became more concisely rendered as the Order of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acon. The eastern head-house or hospital of the order, originally based at Acre, was staffed by regular canons, who were charged to assist English pilgrims to the Holy Land, to alleviate the suffering of the poor, to bury the dead and to ransom Christian captives from Muslim forces.

5 *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland, 1252-84, Vol. III, No. 666, p. 329, (henceforth abbreviated as CDI).*

6 Helen Nicholson and David Nicolle, *God's Warriors: Crusaders, Saracens and the Battle for Jerusalem*, (Oxford, 2005), pp. 54-5.

The members of the order wore a white mantle ornamented with a red cross and a scallop shell, the latter being the insignia of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella in north-western Spain.

The Order of St. Thomas the Martyr struggled to survive, being beset by financial difficulties which were directly attributable to the early death of its patron, King Richard the Lionheart, who died on 6 April 1199 from wounds received while besieging the castle of Chalus-Chabrol, near Limoges. Following the death of King Richard, the order languished almost into obscurity until the late 1220s when, during a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Bishop Peter des Roches of Winchester restructured the order by removing the canons and by transforming it into a military order which followed the rule and customs of the Teutonic Knights.<sup>7</sup> Nothing is recorded of the military endeavours of the order, the exploits of the Knights Hospitaller and of the Knights Templar taking precedence in the records. The earliest extant English record of the order is the 1227 grant by Beckett's nephew, Thomas, of the site in Cheapside where the saint himself had been born. In 1231 Bishop des Roches endowed the order by granting the brethren a new church at Acre and later bequeathed them a large sum of money.<sup>8</sup> It was probably this patronage, temporarily rescuing the order from serious financial difficulty, which provided the stimulus for the grants of Irish possessions, since the first land grants to the Irish order occur in the mid-1230s.

### **The Primary Land Grants to the Irish Order of St. Thomas the Martyr** Gilbert Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, granted

the religious house of saint John the Baptist at Kilkenny to the knights and brethren of saint Thomas of Acon... for the maintenance of the knights and the brethren of the hospital of saint Thomas in the land of Jerusalem, on condition that they shall suitably support the hospitality of the indisposed just as our father William Marshal<sup>9</sup> of happy memory and our mother Isabella<sup>10</sup> ordered and made provision.<sup>11</sup>

Since Gilbert Marshal held the title Earl of Pembroke from 1234 to 1241, this charter is dated within this period. At this same date Gilbert Marshal further granted

to the religious house of saint Thomas of Acon and to the knights serving God in the same place twenty librates of land in my tenement

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7 Alan Forey, 'The Order of St. Thomas of Acre', in *The On-line Reference Book for Medieval Studies*, [www.the-orb.net/encyclop/religion/monastic/st\\_thos.html](http://www.the-orb.net/encyclop/religion/monastic/st_thos.html)

8 Desmond Seward, *The Monks of War: The Military Orders*, (London, 2000), p. 36.

9 William Marshal, lord of Striguil, earl of Pembroke, lord of Leinster, born c.1147, died 14 May 1219. See David Crouch, *William Marshal, Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219*, (Harlow, 1990).

10 Countess Isabella, daughter of Richard Fitzgilbert de Clare (Strongbow), wife of William Marshal, died 1220.

11 Charter 9.

of Donmase<sup>12</sup> to wit in the farthest part in the marches of Offaly opposite the land of John Fitzthomas, within that land where the new town which was burnt following the war and conflict with Kildare was located.<sup>13</sup>

Walter Marshal, who held the title Earl of Pembroke from 1241 to 1245, confirmed these grants in Kilkenny and at Dunamase, and announced that he had ‘taken the brethren of saint Thomas of Acon beloved to us in Christ and all their lands affairs rents and their entire possessions under our special protection and care’.<sup>14</sup>

The initial land grants in Carrick-on-Suir and in Co. Waterford provide a little more detail and these possessions are thus described more fully. It is known that on 3 July 1215 King John granted the custody of the counties of Waterford and Desmond to Thomas Fitzanthony, at an annual rent of 250 marks.<sup>15</sup> Thomas Fitzanthony, Lord of the Decies, died c.1227 without a male heir, his extensive estates consequently being divided among his five daughters as co-heiresses.<sup>16</sup> His daughter, Dionisia, thus acquired the Co. Tipperary town of Carrikmagriffyn (the present-day Carrick-on-Suir), and the two Co. Waterford towns of Kilmegan (the present-day Kilmeaden) and Stretbaly (the present-day Stradbally), in addition to large tracts of land in these areas. Dionisia’s husband, William de Cantello, then granted some of these lands to the hospital or religious house of St. John the Baptist. Following the death of William de Cantello, the Lady Dionisia confirmed her husband’s land grants to the religious house of St. John the Baptist, her charter, which is dated 1236-45, giving some details of these lands. Dionisia,

confirmed to God and to blessed Mary and to the hospital of saint John the Evangelist which with my consent the aforesaid William previously founded next the riverbank of the Suir in the town of Karrec the lands written below namely the two carucates of land in the location which is called Gort na comynley and half the embankment of the land next the same hospital in the town of Karrec and a burgage in the new town of Kilmegan and a burgage with appurtenances in my town of Stretbaly.<sup>17</sup>

By a charter dated 1247-61, the Lady Dionisia’s heir, her nephew John Fitzgeoffrey de Norragh, confirmed the entire grant which his aunt had made to the brethren of the hospital of Karrec ‘on the condition that the said brethren shall have and hold the habit and the Order of blessed Thomas of Acres’.<sup>18</sup> Therefore it was John Fitzgeoffrey de Norragh who granted the lands at Carrick-on-Suir, at

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12 The present-day Dunamase, Co. Laois.

13 Charter 10.

14 Charter 13.

15 Goddard Henry Orpen, *Ireland Under the Normans*, Vol. III, p. 130.

16 *CDI, 1171-1251*, Vol. I, No. 174.

17 Charter 14.

18 Charter 15.

Kilmeaden and at Stradbally, which had previously been in the possession of the Augustinian foundation of St. John the Evangelist, to the Order of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acon.

### **The Co. Waterford Lands of the Knights of St. Thomas the Martyr**

By reason of their tragic history, their members being charged with heresy in France in 1307 where many of them suffered execution by burning at the stake, with their English and Irish brethren suffering imprisonment on the same spurious charge, the Knights Templar have gained a romantic notoriety in popular folklore which has superseded the reputation of the Knights Hospitaller or of the Knights of St. Thomas the Martyr. As a result of this mystical aura surrounding the memory of the Knights Templar, when folklore attributed the medieval ownership of certain local estates to one of the military orders, the Order of the Temple has always enjoyed an unwarrantable favouritism. The foremost Waterford historians, Charles Smith and the renowned ecclesiastical historian, Canon Power have attributed several estates to the Knights Templar although there is uncertainty as to the validity of some of these claims. Smith attributed monastic ruins at Bewley in Kilmolash parish to the Templars,<sup>19</sup> although Power claimed these ruins were simply ‘an out-farm of grange type dependent on some Templar or Hospitaller house’.<sup>20</sup> Smith also mentions an ‘antient building said to have belonged to the Knights Templars’ at Cappa, in Whitechurch parish,<sup>21</sup> and further referred to the ruins of a large building at Ballyvooney, in Stradbally parish as being ‘thought to have been one of the Knights Templar houses’.<sup>22</sup> The mistaken claim that the Knights Templar owned a preceptory at Ballyvooney could perhaps have been justified by the fact that in Pope Nicholas IV’s taxation of churches in Lismore Diocese,<sup>23</sup> issued in 1291 to allow King Edward I to raise funds for a crusade, Stradbally church was valued at ‘16li. 0s. 0d.’, which was the fourth highest crusader cess in the list of eighty-nine churches in this diocese. Such a high valuation has always suggested some unexplained importance attributable to this parish, while the monastic ruins at Ballyvooney and uncertain folklore have all combined to imply that the Knights Templar had built the buildings, the ruins of which are now barely discernible.

Since authentic records or primary sources have hitherto been unavailable to substantiate the suggested Knights Templar ownership, local historians have long puzzled over the provenance of these remains, one historian simply referring to ‘a large ruined building of ecclesiastical connection’,<sup>24</sup> while in the *Archaeological*

19 Charles Smith, *The Antient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford*, (Dublin, 1746), pp. 75-6.

20 Patrick Power, *Waterford and Lismore: A Compendious History of the United Dioceses*, (Cork, 1937), p. 64.

21 Charles Smith, *The Antient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford*, p. 80.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

23 Patrick Power, *Waterford and Lismore: A Compendious History of the United Dioceses*, Appendix III, pp. 340-4.

24 Des Cowman, ‘Schools and Society in Stradbally in the Nineteenth Century’, in *Decies* 21 (1982), p. 19.

*Inventory* of the county the site is describes as ‘the remains of a large building... traditionally thought to be the remains of a monastery’.<sup>25</sup> However, the evidence now available in the Cotton MSS which shows the presence of the Knights of St. Thomas in Stradbally, where they had been granted a burgage, clearly suggests that this military order were the owners of the buildings at Ballyvooney. Today, the ruins are simply vegetation covered mounds, the details of which are indiscernible, but in 1746, although ruined almost to ground level at that time, enough remained to enable the walls of the building to be measured at 150 feet in length and 90 feet in breadth, although their height could not be estimated. Smith described the main building as ‘a monastic edifice’ with a large court-yard in front of the building, with a well in its centre, ‘that by a subterraneous passage of about 200 feet communicates with another within the house, which latter is descended to by stone steps. The water is brought to these wells by a subterraneous aquaduct near half a mile’.<sup>26</sup> The ruins of several large out-offices were nearby. Smith’s description is obviously detailing precautionary measures taken to guarantee a water supply for a large foundation which could be subjected to siege conditions, as was always a possibility for a large Anglo-Norman establishment during the Gaelic Revival. The *Civil Survey*, conducted in 1654-6 to establish the amount of land forfeited as a result of the 1641 Rebellion, lists the townland of Ballyvooney as containing 200 acres, of which 182 acres were profitable, with 18 acres of bogland.<sup>27</sup> The *Ordnance Survey Letters* dated 10 June 1841, mentions only ‘the site of a building supposed to have been an abbey’, which indicates that the ruins observable by Smith in 1746 were much more dilapidated a century later.<sup>28</sup>

The discovery of a record of the granting of a ‘burgage in the new town of Kilmegan’ which later passed to the Knights of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acre, now presents a solution to a query which has also bothered local historians for years. A very high valuation of ‘12*li*. 0*s*. 0*d*.’ for the medieval parish of Rossmire, which is the eighth highest cess in the list of eighty-nine churches in the diocese of Lismore recorded in the 1291 taxation of Pope Nicholas IV, has always indicated some unknown significance attributable to this parish. John Mulholland called attention to this high crusader taxation in a parish which today has no apparent ecclesiastical ruins which could account for such a high cess.<sup>29</sup> Mulholland correctly identified the strangely named townland of Lisardnemanisteragh (the high *lios* of the monks) as the sole topographical indication of a long forgotten and long

25 Michael Moore, *Archaeological Inventory of County Waterford*, (Dublin, Irish Stationary Office, 1999), p. 168.

26 Charles Smith, *Antient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford*, pp. 93-4.

27 R.C. Simington, *The Civil Survey, AD 1654-56, Co. of Waterford*, (Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1942), Vol. IV, p. 70.

28 M. O’Flanagan (ed.), *Ordnance Survey Letters: Letters Containing Information Relative to the Antiquities of the County of Waterford, Collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1841*, (1929).

29 John Mulholland, ‘Notes on Settlements at Rossmire, Co. Waterford’, in *Decies* 11 (1979), p. 14.

obliterated ecclesiastical establishment in Rossmire parish. This strange place-name had disappeared from usage by the time of the Down Survey, supervised by William Petty in 1654-6, only a version of it appearing in the Books of Survey and Distribution in the joint townland name of 'Newtown and Lisnamaneskagh'. Mulholland then tentatively identified the modern townland of Parkeenagloch, where the present day Newtown Roman Catholic church is located, as the long lost medieval parish of Rossmire, and also suggested that 'the village at the cross roads became Newtown', which place-name, in the passage of time, had come to be applied to the townland of Lisardnemanisteragh.<sup>30</sup> The translation of the Hibernia section of the Cotton MS has now provided an explanation for the high crusader taxation of this medieval parish, and has authenticated Mulholland's identification of Lisardnemanisteragh as the reason for the crusader cess, the 'new town of Kilmegan' mentioned in the MS as being granted to the Order of St. Thomas the Martyr now being identified with the present day Newtown. The extent of the lands which would have supported this foundation is given as one ploughland,<sup>31</sup> indicating a probable area of about 300 acres.

### **The Carrick-on-Suir possessions of the Order of St. Thomas the Martyr**

In 1289 the then lord of Carrick-on-Suir, Edmund Bret, endowed the Knights of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acon by exempting them from bushel toll or gallon levy and by allowing them to collect for their own use the taxes on bread and on beer and all other such tolls which the tenants and residents on the lands of the order had previously paid to the lord of Carrick. He also exempted them from the grinding levy currently being exacted from every householder who ground corn at the mill in Carrick, and allowed the brethren to own and to use hand mills in their houses free from taxation.<sup>32</sup> Edmund Bret continued to favour the Order of St. Thomas the Martyr by granting them the common pasture (Gort na comynley or the field of the common lea) in the town of Carrick, and the privileges of the common land, this latter concession presumably allowing the order to charge grazing fees to the townsmen using this common pasture. He also granted them the fishing rights on those parts of the river Suir and its tributaries which flowed within the boundaries of Carrick-on-Suir.<sup>33</sup> He then granted them the open space within the boundaries of the town, which extended from the river Suir to the land of Raymond Fitzgriffin.<sup>34</sup>

The Order of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acon was apparently at the zenith of its expansion at this time since by 1279 its eastern leader was addressed as 'Master of the whole Order of the knighthood of St. Thomas the Martyr in the kingdoms of Cyprus, Apulia, Sicily, Calabria, Brundusium, England, Flanders, Brabant, Scotland, Wales, Ireland and Cornwall'. When the city of Acre fell to Muslim forces in 1291, the attempts of the military orders to re-establish themselves in the

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

31 R.C. Simington (ed.), *The Civil Survey, AD 1654-56, Co. of Waterford*, p. 75.

32 Charter 5.

33 Charter 7.

34 Charter 8.

Holy Land suffered a severe reversal. The Knights Hospitaller, the Knights Templar and the Knights of St. Thomas were then forced to temporarily settle in Cyprus. The sole evidence of the existence of the Knights of St. Thomas still extant in the Near East is the beautifully ornate church of St. Nicholas Anglicorum at Nicosia in Cyprus, which dates from this era.

The Irish Order of St. Thomas seems to have been at its most prosperous state at this time also. An agreement, dated 13 January 1308, suggests either that the community of the religious house of the order in Carrick-on-Suir was big enough to warrant the services of a full-time chaplain, or that the citizens of the town may have been worshipping in the order's church at that time. The Irish preceptor of the order, Brother John de Dunmowe, employed chaplain John Fitzadam to serve the cure in the chapel of St. Thomas for three full and consecutive years, the chaplain's remuneration being 'the entire revenue of the said religious house within the town of Carrickmagriffyn and the taxes on beer', with the exception of two levies previously granted to Richard, the attendant of the house. If either of the parties should default on this agreement they should pay 1 mark to the lord bishop of Lismore.<sup>35</sup>

This appointment of chaplain John Fitzadam is the last really constructive record of the Irish Order of St. Thomas. It coincided with the arrest, imprisonment and trial of the Knights Templar. The executions of large numbers of Knights Templar in France, coupled with the arrests of the Templars in England and Ireland, the confiscation of their estates, and finally the dissolution of the Order of the Temple had an adverse effect on the Order of St. Thomas the Martyr. The records remaining for the Carrick-on-Suir house show a decline in its fortunes and an apparent attempt to adjust to its deteriorating circumstances. Because Philip Bendevil, one of the witnesses who signed the charter, is known to have died in 1319, the return of 24 acres of arable land in Carrick to the Order of St. Thomas can be dated prior to 1319. John Fitzroger de la Souche surrendered his lease of these 24 acres of land when the order paid him 23½ marks.<sup>36</sup> He also surrendered his lands in the tenement of Gortanles to the order at this time.<sup>37</sup> These leases give details of hitherto long forgotten place-names in the town of Carrick, such as Gort na David ne lyid, le Kynlog, Cesken ne Gullan, Gortanles, and the name of a small tributary of the river Suir, known at that time as le Lastahe. Johanna, the widow of John de la Souche, later confirmed these quitclaims.<sup>38</sup> In c.1324 Miles Fitzroger le Butiller granted a messuage with its appurtenances in the town of Carrick-on-Suir to the Order of St. Thomas the Martyr,<sup>39</sup> and Philip Horseye accepted a once-off payment of 12s. for a tenement in the town which the brethren had previously rented from him for 2s. annual rent.<sup>40</sup> On 5 June 1324 King Edward II granted letters patent to the Irish order confirming all the grants of lands at Carrick-on-Suir, Kilkenny and Dunamase.<sup>41</sup>

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35 Charter 18.

36 Charter 2.

37 Charter 3.

38 Charter 4.

39 Charter 17.

40 Charter 16.

41 Charter 19.

All these measures seem to have been attempts to regularise and to consolidate the affairs of the Irish order. It is known that the English order was in serious difficulty since reports indicate that by 1330 the London house of the order was in ruins. The Irish order was apparently being pressed to satisfy debts which, on 16 March 1332, lead Pope John XXII to

take under our protection and under the protection of blessed Peter your beneficed priests and the religious house in which divine service is being delivered and all the goods which are possessed in the due form of rightful presentation or which in the future might possibly be acquired for presentation to the Lord.<sup>42</sup>

On 25 May 1332, on the petition of the London master and brethren of the order, the Earl of Ormond guaranteed all the grants in Stradbally, Kilmeaden and Carrick-on-Suir, which the Lady Dionisia had bestowed.<sup>43</sup> On 4 August 1338, at the insistence of the London master, Brother Bartholomew, the archdeacon of London, acting on behalf of the bishop of London, confirmed the land grants of the order.<sup>44</sup>

The backing of Pope John XXII, of King Edward II, of Earl James le Botiller of Ormond and of the bishop of London enabled the English and the Irish orders of St. Thomas the Martyr to overcome their financial difficulties, which had almost certainly been instigated by the Bruce invasion of Ireland. They also survived the ravages of the Black Death in 1348 and in subsequent years, but it is known that the Butler earls of Ormond, who claimed a close family relationship with St. Thomas à Beckett, were gradually assuming a controlling interest in the Irish order. By a charter dated 28 August 1379, the then London master, brother Thomas Alrede, confirmed that, at the insistence of Earl James Butler of Ormond, he had appointed Brother John Porter as preceptor of the Carrick-on-Suir house of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acon.<sup>45</sup> This charter gives further details of the manner of the appointment of the Irish preceptor and of the ratification of his appointment. Whenever the preceptor should die

the confreres in the same place shall then be able to elect another confrere as a suitable chaplain for the preceptory. However whensoever he may have been legitimately elected in good order the same preceptor in person if possible or otherwise his proctor shall come to London with letters testamentary for the purpose of receiving there from us confirmation of his status, paying annually to us and to our London house at the feast-day of saint Michael the archangel under pain of major excommunication and interdict six shillings and eight pence.<sup>46</sup>

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42 Charter 22.

43 Charter 20.

44 Charter 21.

45 Charter 24.

46 *Ibid.*

It would appear that in the late-fourteenth century Brother William Babington served as preceptor of the Order of St. Thomas in Carrick-on-Suir but that he left Ireland, almost certainly to go on crusade, although the reason for his departure is not stated. While Babington was absent, Brother Robert Porter and a brother, Philip Makilmer 'of the Irish nation', both of whom were serving in Carrick, died, possibly leaving the premises in the town vacant. By supplying false information, Peter Stoneham contrived to persuade the then escheator of Ireland, Thomas Clifford, to seize all the property of the Carrick-on-Suir foundation into the hands of King Richard II. While the property was in crown hands, Peter Stoneham took control of all the lands and premises, which he utilised to the full for his own use without paying any rent. He is known to have had possession of all this property by 20 November 1392 at the latest, sharing his ill-gotten gains with a Robert Harbrick. On becoming aware of these circumstances, Brother William Babington who had by then become the master of the London house of the order, petitioned King Henry IV for the return of the Carrick properties. The monarch sought the advice of the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Thomas Bacach Butler, prior of the Knights Hospitaller at Kilmainham, who confirmed William Babington's assertions. On 4 June 1411, King Henry IV ordered the current escheator of Ireland, Ralph Standish, to restore all their property to the brothers of the Order of St. Thomas.<sup>47</sup> It is clear from this record that Peter Stoneham, having seized control following the deaths of brother Robert Porter and of brother Philip Makilmer, had possession of the order's lands from at least 1392 until 1411, a time span of nineteen years. Such a period of inactivity by William Babington suggests that the latter was absent in the eastern Mediterranean, only taking action when he returned to London. If this is true it further suggests that the order was in a poor state at this time with few or perhaps no Irish members to supervise its estates.

The cartulary contains no other records of the possessions of the order in Kilkenny, in Dunamase or in Co. Waterford. King Henry IV's order for the restoration of the lands at Carrick-on-Suir was witnessed by the Lord Deputy at Clonmel on 4 June 1411.<sup>48</sup> At the request of Brother William Babington copies of these letters patent were made, which were signed on 4 August 1411. This is the latest charter in the cartulary contained in the Cotton MS, Tib. C.V., no further record of the Irish order being available for the next 123 years. It is known that in this period of almost a century and a quarter, the parent house of the order in London's Cheapside only survived because of the financial assistance it received from the Mercers' Livery Company of London. The Mercers' Company developed from the Mercers' or Merchants Guild of the City of London, an organisation which had been founded for reasons of religion, fellowship and common interest in trade. Thomas à Beckett's father had been a London mercer, and the saint's sister was reputed to have been the founder of the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr on the site of the family home in Cheapside. The Mercers' Company gradually increased in affluence and in prestige, being granted royal charters in 1394, 1425 and 1559.

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47 Charter 23.

48 Charter 23.

Its most famous master was Dick Whittington, the Lord Mayor of London of nursery-rhyme fame, who founded the Whittington Charity in 1424, which is still administered by the Mercers' Company. By the late fourteenth century the company was meeting and worshipping at the hospital, and had commenced to build a chapel there by the early fifteenth century.<sup>49</sup> By the early 1500s the Mercers' Company was settling the debts of the hospital, and in 1510 the Company purchased a plot of land in Cheapside on which to build the first Mercers' Hall.<sup>50</sup> It is thus apparent that the London hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr continued to survive simply because of the munificence of the Mercers' Company. The earls of Ormond played a somewhat similar role for the order in Ireland.

In 1530, the property of the order in Carrick-on-Suir, which had lain waste for in excess of a century, was leased to James White at a rent of ten shillings per annum, the extent of the property being described in the deed,

Furst there is within the said towne a messuage or anould [*sic.*] tenement with a gardeyn adiounyng thereunto being all wast without building or occupying this hundred yere and above, which mese and garden lyeth in leinth from the stret of the said towne on the north side unto the water of the Suyr in the south side and in brede from the Erle of Ormond his manour on the este side unto the said Erles landes in the west side. Also there is in the burgage of the said towne a vilage containing lxx acres or lxxx at the moost which is called the chanon growe<sup>51</sup> otherwise called balleneigananagh<sup>52</sup> and it lieth meryng with therle of Ormond his land in the south and with londays land in the north and with the same Erles land in the est and with oneilles land in the west.<sup>53</sup>

In 1527 Piers Butler was compelled to relinquish the title Earl of Ormond to Thomas Viscount Rochfort (the father of Anne Boleyn). In compensation, he was created Earl of Ossory, and did not regain the Ormond title until 1537. In 1534, as first Earl of Ossory, Piers Butler took an eighty-years lease of the premises in Carrick-on-Suir from the then London master of the English order, Laurence Copferler, at an annual rent of 15s. These premises were described at that time as

one messuage or old tenement with a garden thereto adjoining within the town of Carrymagryffyn in the countie of Tipperarie... and one carrewe or ploughland nigh the said town commonly called Ballyneganenanagh... with all other lands and tenements belonging to them in the aforesaid countie.<sup>54</sup>

49 A.J. Forey, 'The Military Order of St. Thomas of Acre', in *The English Historical Review* No. 364 (July, 1977), pp. 502-3.

50 Anne F. Sutton, *I sing of a Maiden: The Story of the Mercers' Company*, (London, 1998), p. 27.

51 Probably meaning 'the canon's grove'.

52 The town of the canons.

53 Cotton MS, Titus B.XI, I, f. 36.

54 Edmund Curtis (ed.), *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, Vol. IV, (Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1937), No. 155.

In 1536 the enactment of the Act of Absentees deprived absentee English landlords of their Irish possessions. This resulted in the London master of the Order of St. Thomas the Martyr of Acre, the absentee landlord of the order's Irish estates, forfeiting these lands and possessions to the crown. The official record of the transfer of these estates into royal hands is an inquisition, dated 1536, which records that the master, Thomas Copferler, was seized of a messuage with an adjoining park in Carrick-on-Suir, and one carucate of land in nearby Ballynacanananagh.<sup>55</sup> After this dissolution, the Mercers' Company bought the London property of the order from the crown at a price of £969,<sup>56</sup> the earl of Ormond continuing to lease the Irish property from the crown at 15s. per annum.<sup>57</sup>

## Cartulary.

### Cotton Ms. Tib. C.V: Section *Hibernia*, f. 273.<sup>58</sup>

#### 1. Grant by Fulco de Villars.

As this concerns France, and has nothing to do with Ireland, it has not been transcribed here.

#### 2. Grant by John, son of Roger de la Souche, of land in Carrick-on-Suir.

To all Christ's faithful to whom the present letters shall have come John son of Roger de la Souche gives eternal greeting in the Lord. Be it known to you all that for me and my heirs or assigns I have surrendered and quitclaimed twenty and four acres of arable land in Gart na Daid ne lyid<sup>59</sup> to the master and the brothers of saint Thomas of Acre which I formerly held from the master and brothers of the aforesaid house, namely those which extend in length between le Kynlog on the west side and the small parcel of the said land which lies near le lastahe<sup>60</sup> on the east side verily it lies in breadth between the stack of logs in the south side and Cesken' ne Gullan in the north side just as are better assigned and bounded. To have and to hold the said land for me and my heirs or assigns to the said master and brothers of the same religious house freely quietly in peace lawfully and by inheritance. On condition that neither I nor my heirs or assigns nor anyone else in our name shall at any time be able to enforce a right or claim in the same land by reason of any other law. However for this surrender and quitclaim I John have

55 A. Gwynn and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland*, (Longman), p. 343.

56 Alan Forey, 'The Order of St. Thomas of Acre' in *The On-line Reference Book for Medieval Studies*, [www.the-orb.net/encyclop/religion/monastic/st.\\_thos.html](http://www.the-orb.net/encyclop/religion/monastic/st._thos.html)

57 Gwynn & Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland*, p. 343.

58 The present foliation. There are two older foliations throughout, both struck through in the MS.

59 Leid in No. 21.

60 This was some small tributary of the Suir, called 'le lascath', etc. See Edmund Curtis (ed.), *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, Vol. I, (Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1932), Nos. 544, 563, 570.

received twenty three and a half marks for my payment from the aforesaid master and the brothers of the aforesaid religious house. And for the greater security of this surrender and quitclaim I have caused my seal to be affixed to this present deed. These being witnesses Redmond fitzGriffin, William Deueneys, Richard White, Philipp Bendeuil, Nicholas Gosselin, William Giuas, Regen the clerk and many others. [Before 1319].<sup>61</sup>

### 3. Another grant from John de la Souche of land in Carrick-on-Suir.

To all about to see or about to hear the present letters John de la Souche gives greeting in the Lord. Be it known to you all that for the soul of my father and of my mother and of my wife I have quitclaimed to the brothers of the hospital of saint Thomas my entire right which I have or have been able to have concerning the land which I held in the tenement of Gortanles which lies between the land of the brothers of the religious house of saint Thomas of Acre and the land of Edmund le Brit. In witness whereof I have made letters patent sealed with an impression — [illegible] These being witnesses Philipp the elder, Matthew Londesey, William Londesey, Alan de la Souch, William de Venys, William Valane, John the clerk and many others. [Before c.1324].<sup>62</sup>

### 4. Quitclaim by Joan widow of John de la Souch.

To all Christ's faithful to whom the present writing shall have come Johanna the widow of John de la Souch gives eternal greeting in the Lord. Be it known that I have surrendered and have quitclaimed to the master and brethren of saint Thomas of Acon in the town of Carrec the entire legal right and claim which I had or was able to have in the third part of the land formerly belonging to my husband in Gort na Daid ne bid [*sic.*]<sup>63</sup> which land the said John my late husband had sold to the same master and brethren of the same religious house. To have and to hold freely quietly and in peace entirely without hindrance to the same master and brethren of the aforesaid religious house for all the days of my life. So that by reason of any other law neither I nor anyone else in my name shall be able to enforce any legal right or claim in the said third part of the aforesaid land. However in order that this surrender and quitclaim may maintain the vigour of reliability I have affixed my seal to this present deed. These being witnesses Alan de la Souche, Reym<sup>64</sup> fitzGriffin, William Londesey, William Deueneys, Regen the clerk and many others. [Before 1324].<sup>65</sup>

61 When Philip Bendeuil was dead. See *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, Vol. I, Nos. 543. 550, 552.

62 When William Londesey was dead. See *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, Vol. I, No. 563.

63 Recorded as Gort na Daid ne lyid in No. 2.

64 MS 'Werin'.

65 When William Londesey was dead. See *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, Vol. I, No. 563.

**5. Quitclaim by Edmund Bret, lord of Carrickmagriffin, to the master of the knights of St. Thomas the martyr of Acon' and the brethren of the same house dwelling at St. John's in Carrickmagriffin of all their tenements and liberties there.**

To all Christ's faithful to whom the present writing shall have come Edmund Bret the lord of Karikmagriffin gives eternal greeting in the Lord. Know ye that for me and my heirs I have granted surrendered and have quitclaimed to the master of the knights of saint Thomas the martyr of Acon' and to the brethren of the same religious house near saint John's in Karikmagriffin<sup>66</sup> in Ireland the entire legal right and claim of all the tenements and liberties with their appurtenances in the possession of the master and brethren in the town of Karikmagriffin, to wit that the same master and brethren and their successors may forever be able to freely buy and to sell without bushel toll or gallon tax. I have also granted for me and for my heirs that the same master and brethren and their successors shall forever have the fine of the tax of bread and of beer and of all the other payments pertaining to their usages from all their tenants and from whomsoever others residing in their fief without objection from my heirs or difficulty from my assigns. I also desire and for me and my heirs and assigns I grant that the aforesaid master and the brethren and their successors shall freely be able to grind their demesne corn peacefully without a grinding levy at my mill<sup>67</sup> of Karikmagriffin and that the master brethren and their successors and tenants shall freely have hand mills in their houses and tenements for grinding their corn at their own inclination forever without objection from my heirs or my assigns as is aforesaid. In witness whereof I have affixed my seal to this present deed. These being witnesses the lord Philipp Hindeberg, George Bret, Alan la Souch, John Austyn senior, John Austyn junior, Richard the clerk and others. Given at Karikmagriffin in the year of the Lord one thousand two hundred and eighty nine.

6. A duplicate of No. 5.

**7. Grant by Edmund Bret of Carrickmagriffin to the master of the knights of St. Thomas the martyr of Acon' and the brethren of the same house dwelling at St. John's in Carrickmagriffin of common pasture there and a free fishery on the river Suir.**

To all Christ's faithful to whom the present letters shall have come Edmund Bret of Karamagriffin gives greeting in the Lord. Be it known that I have given granted and by my present writing I have confirmed to the master of the knights of saint Thomas the martyr of Acon' and to the brethren and their successors dwelling in the same religious house at saint John in Karamagriffin in Ireland the common pasture and the privilege of the common land within the limits and boundary of Karamagriffin with all the animals whatsoever belonging to the aforesaid master and brethren in the same place. I have also given and granted to the aforesaid master and brethren of the same place the privilege of fishing in the water of the

66 MS, Karismagriffin.

67 'Their mill' in No. 21.

Schoure and in all the other waters within the boundaries of Karimagriffyn which belong to us and also willingly quietly entirely truly and in peace forever in their time. And I the aforesaid Edmund and my heirs shall warrant discharge and shall defend the aforesaid common pasture and fishing privilege with all their appurtenances to the aforesaid master and brethren and to their successors forever. However the aforesaid master and brethren have given a certain sum of money to me in advance for the grant of this concession. In witness whereof I have affixed a seal to the present deed. These being witnesses lord Philipp Hindeberg, lord James de Vale, John Perdeuall,<sup>68</sup> John Austyn, William Olymer, Richard Sabyn and many others. [c.1289].

**8. Grant by Edmund Bret lord of Carrickmagriffin to the master of the knights of St. Thomas the martyr of Acon' and the brethren of the same house dwelling at St. John's in Carrickmagriffin of a plot lying between the river Suir and the land of Raymund son of Griffyn.**

To all Christ's faithful to whom the present writing shall have come Edmund Bret lord of Karikmagriffyn gives eternal greeting in the Lord. Know ye that I have given to God and to blessed Mary and for me and my heirs I have quitclaimed forever to the master of the knights of saint Thomas the martyr of Acon' and to the brethren dwelling in the same religious house at saint John's house in Karikmagriffyn an open space lying between le Scour' and [the land] of Raymond fitz Griffyn in Karikmagriffyn. On condition that I Edmund nor my heirs nor anyone acting in our name shall be able to enforce or to cause any legal right or claim or distraint in the aforesaid open space. In witness whereof I have affixed my seal to this deed. These being witnesses lord Philipp Hindeberg, George Bret, Alan la Souch, John Austyn senior, John Austyn junior, Richard the clerk and others. Given at Karikmagriffyn in the year of the Lord one thousand two hundred and eighty nine.

**9. Grant by Gilbert Marshal, earl of Pembroke, to the knights and brethren of St. Thomas of Acon, of the house of St. John the Baptist at Kilkenny, with its lands, liberties etc., for sustaining the knights and brethren of the hospital of St. Thomas in the land of Jerusalem, so that those living in the house of St. John, Kilkenny, should sustain the care of the infirm as was provided and ordered by the grantor's parents, William and Isabella Marshal.**

To all the sons of holy mother church to whom the present writing shall have come Gilbert Marshal earl of Pembroke<sup>69</sup> gives eternal greeting in the Lord. Know ye all that for the honour of God and of the blessed virgin Mary and of blessed Thomas the martyr and of all the saints that for the salvation of the souls of our father and of our mother and of all our ancestors and of our successors for us and for our

68 'Perseuall' in No. 21.

69 Earl Gilbert Marshal was accidentally killed at a prohibited jousting tournament in 1241.

heirs we have given and have granted and by this present writing we have confirmed the religious house of saint John the Baptist at Kilkenny to the knights and brethren of saint Thomas of Acon, with all its lands and tenements their habits and harnesses their rents and liberties and all their other appurtenances for the maintenance of the knights and the brethren of the hospital of saint Thomas in the land of Jerusalem. On condition that they shall suitably support the hospitality of the indisposed just as our father William Marshal<sup>70</sup> of happy memory and our mother Isabella<sup>71</sup> ordered and made provision. To have and to hold freely and quietly fully and completely properly and peacefully with all the privileges and the accustomed franchises and with all their appurtenances as is aforesaid to the said knights and brethren. Moreover in order that this our gift and grant may remain firm and staunch for all times we have caused our seal to be affixed to the present deed. These being witnesses lord Walter Marshal, John de Bellocampo, Warren Fitzgerald, Robert Saluage, Daud Bassat, Richard de Argentam, Galfrid de Norrach, Peter Blund, Richard de Knouille and many others.

**10. Grant by Gilbert Marshal, earl of Pembroke, to the house of St. Thomas of Acon' of twenty librates of land in Dunamase, viz., in the marches of Offaly in the farther part towards the land of John Fitzthomas, in the land where was the new town which was burnt after the war of Kildare.**

Know present and future men that for the souls of my father and of my mother and for the souls of all my ancestors and of my successors I Gilbert Marshal earl of Pembroke have granted in unconditional and perpetual alms and by this my present charter I have confirmed to God and to blessed Mary and to the religious house of saint Thomas of Acon and to the knights serving God in the same place twenty librates of land in my tenement of Donmase to wit in the farther part in the marches of Offaly opposite the land of John Fitzthomas within that land where the new town which was burnt following the war and conflict with Kildare was located. To have and to hold freely quietly rightly and in peace forever from me and from my heirs with all the franchises and the customary privileges pertaining to freehold land. And I Gilbert Marshal and my heirs shall forever warrant the aforesaid twenty librates of land with their appurtenances to the said religious house and to the knights against all men. However in order that this my gift and grant and the confirmation by the present charter shall remain stable and inviolate I have strengthened them by the impression of my seal. These being witnesses lord Richard de Argentem, lord Roger de Hida, lord Galfred de ffraxineto, lord Walter de Hida, lord Roger de ffruiill, lord Robert Saluage,<sup>72</sup> David Basset then the seneschal of Leinster,<sup>73</sup> master Alan de sancta ffade then my chancellor and many others. [1234-41].

70 William Marshal, lord of Striguil, earl of Pembroke, lord of Leinster, born c.1147, died 14 May 1219. See David Crouch, *William Marshal, Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219*. (Harlow, 1990).

71 Countess Isabella, daughter of Richard Fitz Gilbert de Clare (Strongbow), wife of William Marshal, died 1220.

72 'ffalvag' in MS; 'Salvagio' in No. 21.

73 'ppen' in MS; 'sen' in No. 21.

**11. Confirmation by Walter Marshal, earl of Pembroke, of the charter of Gilbert Marshal, earl of Pembroke, his brother.**

To all Christ's faithful to whom the present writing shall have come Walter Marshal, earl of Pembroke,<sup>74</sup> gives greeting. Know ye that we have inspected the charter of Gilbert Marshal earl of Pembroke of happy memory in these words: [here follows no. 9]. Verily having approved the said gift and grant as being lawfully and justly made we confirm it by the present writing and we verify the charter with our seal. These being witnesses, the lord Humfrey de Bohon earl of Hereford,<sup>75</sup> Henry de Hastings, Radulph de Bigot, John de Turbeuile, William Pustyn, Egidio de Clifford, Gilbert de Turbeuill, Gregory de Roucestre and many others. [1241-45].

**12. Confirmation by Walter Marshal, earl of Pembroke, of the charter of Gilbert Marshal, earl of Pembroke, his brother.**

To all Christ's faithful to whom the present writing shall have come Walter Marshal earl of Pembroke gives greeting in the Lord. Know all ye that we have inspected the charter of our brother Gilbert Marshal the late earl of Pembroke of happy memory in these words: [here follows no. 10]. Verily we have approved the said gift and grant as being lawfully and justly made and we confirm it for us and for our heirs by this present writing and we verify the charter by our seal. These being witnesses, the lords Robert de Turbeuill then seneschal of Leinster, William de Bellocampo, Peter de Wattevill, John de Kattenore then sheriff of Kildare, Gilbert de Valle, Radulph de Vautort, Robert de Vautort, Roger de Pembroke, Simon de Kilkenny then our chancellor, John de Grene, Nicholas de Barry the clerk and many others. [1241-45].

**13. Walter Marshal, earl of Pembroke, notifies his seneschal of Leinster and his other bailiffs and loyal men throughout Leinster that he has taken the brethren of St. Thomas of Acon under his special protection.**

Walter Marshal earl of Pembroke gives greeting to the seneschal of Leinster for the time being and to the other bailiffs and to his faithful subjects appointed throughout Leinster. Be it known that we have taken the brethren of saint Thomas of Acon beloved to us in Christ and all their lands affairs rents and their entire possessions under our special protection and care. Wherefore we command you that the said brethren and all their moveable and immoveable goods be supported protected and defended and that neither loss damage injury nor grievance be permitted to be inflicted on them. And if any injury will have been made to the same brethren or to their men in the interests of justice compensation is to be made without delay. Witnessed by myself at Woodstock on the twenty eighth day [blank] in the twenty ninth year of the reign of king Henry. [1244-5].

74 Succeeding to the title on the death of his brother Gilbert in 1241, Walter Marshal, earl of Pembroke died on 24 November 1245.

75 Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, constable of King Henry II, accompanied the monarch to Ireland, landing at Passage East, Co. Waterford on 17 October 1171. See G. H. Orpen, *Ireland Under the Normans, 1169-1333*, 4 Vols., (Oxford, 1968).

**14. Grant by Dionisia, daughter of Thomas Fitzanthony, confirming lands, burgages etc. to the hospital of St. John the Evangelist in the town of Karrec (Carrick-on-Suir), which her late husband William de Cantello began there with her consent beside the river Suir.**

Know present and future men that in the time of my widowhood following the death of my late husband William de Cantello I<sup>76</sup> Dionisia the daughter of Thomas Fitzanthony<sup>77</sup> have given have granted and for the salvation of my soul and of the souls of my father and mother and for the salvation of the souls of Griffin Fitzgriffin and of the aforesaid William de Cantello by this my present charter I have confirmed to God and to blessed Mary and to the hospital of saint John the Evangelist which with my consent the aforesaid William previously founded next the riverbank of the Suir in the town of Karrec the lands written below namely the two carucates of land in the location which is called Gort na comynley<sup>78</sup> and half the embankment of the land next the same hospital in the town of Karrec and a burgage<sup>79</sup> in the new town of Kilmegan<sup>80</sup> and a burgage with appurtenances in my town of Stretbaly.<sup>81</sup> To have and to hold to the master of the said hospital to the present brethren and sisters of the same religious house and to their successors forever in the same place in the future for the support of the poor and of the other indigent admitted there in free and perpetual alms with all the privileges and customary liberties according to the resources which I may be able to bestow or warrant. And verily I and my heirs shall warrant the aforesaid lands privileges and concessions or donations against all men and women. And in order that this my grant and confirmation may remain valid and staunch I have invigorated the present charter with the protection of my seal. These being witnesses, E by the grace of God then being bishop of Lismore,<sup>82</sup> William Dulart then being dean of Lismore, R the son of the bishop then being archdeacon of Lismore, Matthew Fitzgriffin, Roger pincerna, R fitzhet, Thomas de St. Albans, Galfrido le poeer, Philipp de Valle, Richard de Valle, William de Reale, Roger le Desneys, William Horsey and many others. [1236-1245].

76 William de Cantello was alive in 1236. See *CDI*, Vol. I, 2353.

77 In 1215 King John granted to Thomas Fitzanthony and his heirs the custody of the counties of Waterford and Desmond and of the city of Cork, and all the demesnes and escheats of the king in those counties, for the yearly rent of 250 marks. See H. Orpen, *Ireland Under the Normans*.

78 Gort na comynley might be translated as Gort na common lea or the field of the common pasture

79 A burgage was the tenure of land or of a tenement in a town or city which originally involved a fixed money rent.

80 The present day Kilmeaden, Co. Waterford.

81 The present day Stradbally, Co. Waterford.

82 'G' in No. 20. Griffin Christopher, served as bishop of Lismore from 1225 to 1245. By a mandate of Pope Innocent IV, he was retired due to senile infirmity in 1245. He died in 1246. See Patrick Power, *Waterford and Lismore, A Compendious History of the United Dioceses*, (Cork, 1937), Appendix XII, p. 379.

**15. Confirmation by John, son of Geoffrey de Norragh, to the brethren of the hospital of Carrick-on-Suir of the gifts made to that house by Dionisia, daughter of Thomas Fitzanthony, on condition that they should have and hold the habit and order of the blessed Thomas of Acre.**

Be it known to all men about to see or about to hear the present writing that on my own behalf I John the son of Geoffrey de Norragh have granted and have confirmed to the brethren of the hospital of Karrec all the grants which lady Dionisia the daughter of lord Thomas Fitzanthony gave to the said religious house. On the condition that the said brethren shall have and hold the habit and order of blessed Thomas of Acres. But that none of the said brethren of the said hospital of Acre shall have the authority to profit from or otherwise to expend any of the benefices or alms belonging to the said hospital of Karrec other than in billeting or in charity or in the service of God except by an arrangement made through the hospitality of my heirs. Save however for the maintenance of the brethren and of the other officials of the said religious house. In witness whereof I have affixed my seal to the present deed. Given at Karrec etc.<sup>83</sup> [1247-61].

**16. Grant by Philip Horseye of a yearly rent of 2s. in the town of Carrick-on-Suir to the master and brethren of St. Thomas of Acre.**

Know present and future men that I Philipp Horseye have given have granted and by this my present charter I have confirmed to God and to the master and brethren of saint Thomas of Acre the two shillings of annual rent which they were accustomed to pay to me annually for the tenement which they held from me in the town of Carrek. To have and to hold the said two shillings of annual rent from me and from my heirs to the said master and brethren of saint Thomas and to their successors in unconditional unrestricted and perpetual alms free and exempt from every service or claim pertaining to me or to my heirs. However the aforesaid master and brethren have given me twelve shillings in advance for this grant and for having my present charter of confirmation. And I the aforesaid John and my heirs shall warrant discharge and shall forever defend the aforesaid two shillings of annual rent with its appurtenances to the said master and brethren of saint Thomas of Acre and to their successors against all mortals. And in order that this my gift my grant and my present charter of confirmation may remain staunch and valid forever I have strengthened this my present charter with an impression of my seal. These being witnesses, William le Shepman, Daud le Mercer, John Gouer, Raymond Fitzgriffin, John de la Souche, John Percevall, William Landesey and many others. [before c.1324].<sup>84</sup>

83 John succeeded his father, Geoffrey de Norragh, between 1247 and 1261. See Eric St. John Brooks, *Knights' Fees in Counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny (13th-15th Century)*, (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1950).

84 When William Londesey was dead. See *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, Vol. No. 576.

**17. Grant by Miles son of Roger le Butiller to the brethren of St. Thomas the martyr of Acon' in Ireland of a messuage in the town of Carrick-on-Suir.**

Know present and future men that for the salvation of my soul and of the souls of my father and mother and of the souls of all my grandparents I Miles the son of Roger le Butiller have given have granted and by this my present charter I have confirmed to God and to the blessed virgin Mary and to the brethren of saint Thomas the martyr of Acon' in Ireland one messuage with its appurtenances previously built in the town of Carrikmagriffyn which messuage verily lies in width within the tenement of the hospital of saint Thomas the martyr on the north and on the south side, in length it lies from the land of Odo de Vale on the west side as far as the king's highway on the east side of the same town just as the aforesaid messuage within its appurtenances is better and more fully measured by means of fixed boundary-stones and markers. Moreover in order that this my gift grant and the confirmation by this my present charter may always remain staunch and valid I have corroborated the present charter with an impression of my seal. These being witnesses, Walter the son of Edmund de Vale then being the seneschal of the town of Carrikmagriffyn, William de la Souche then being the provost of the same town, Robert Rolley, Thomas Fitzjohn, Thomas Landesey, Thomas ffybean, 'Ada' ffyben-na' and many others. [?c.1324]

**18. Convention between Brother John de Dunmowe, preceptor of the house of St. Thomas the martyr of Acon' in Ireland and the chaplain, John Fitzadam by which the rent of the house in Carrick-on-Suir with the assize of beer was granted to the chaplain in return for his services in the chapel of blessed Thomas.**

This agreement was made on the Saturday in the festival of saint Hillary<sup>85</sup> in the first year of the reign of king Edward between brother John de Dunmowe the preceptor of the religious house of saint Thomas the martyr of Acon' in Ireland on the one hand and the chaplain Sir<sup>86</sup> John Fitzadam on the other hand to wit that for his faithfully rendered service in the chapel of saint Thomas the aforesaid brother John granted and demised by writ to the aforesaid Sir John the entire revenue of the said religious house within the town of Carrikmagriffyn and the taxes on beer, excepting the two taxes granted to Richard the attendant of the religious house prior to the granting of the present concession; moreover [he granted] the profits and revenues from the manorial court and a moiety of the altarage<sup>87</sup> for the repair of the houses and of the chapel within the boundary of the freehold land in the same town for a term of three years, the term beginning at the next easter in the coming year

85 The feast day of St. Hilary the Confessor was celebrated on 13 January. See Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 405, ff 23r-33v, for the Irish Ecclesiastical Calendar used in the Dioceses of Waterford and Lismore during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

86 Sir, a courtesy title for a cleric without a university degree.

87 Originally a voluntary offering made upon the altar, the term altarage soon came to embrace a range of ecclesiastical dues which went to make up a clergyman's income.

as above and it shall extend until the end of the aforesaid three complete full and successive years. Saving this, that when the aforesaid brother John or any other brother of the same order may tarry in the same place that the aforesaid tenements profits and revenue from the manorial court and the moiety of the alterage with the obligation of the repair of the dwelling shall remain and following the withdrawal of the same brother from the said tenement of Carrikmagriffyn that they are to be returned to the said lord John as is aforesaid. To have and to hold from the aforesaid brother John and his successors to the said Sir John the aforesaid rent the tax on beer the revenue and profit from the manorial court and the moiety of the altarage for the aforesaid term free quit and without any hindrance or claim as is written. And if it should happen that the aforesaid Sir John should be impeded in this agreement by the aforesaid brother John or his successors the said brother John binds himself and his successors in the name of the pope to pay one mark in money to the lord bishop of Lismore for the time being. Similarly, if a default should occur in faithfully paying for the service of the aforesaid chapel the said Sir John shall bind himself to pay one mark to the said lord bishop of Lismore. And for greater security being faithfully observed in this matter the said Sir John has affixed his seal in the form of a chirograph to this present deed. These being witnesses, William Crispyn, Thomas Landesey, William Viriet, Philipp Fitzrandulph, Robert Rolley and many others. [1308].

**19. Confirmation by King Edward II of the grants of Gilbert Marshal, earl of Pembroke, Fulk de Villars and Edmund Bret.**

Edward II by the grace of God king of England lord of Ireland and duke of Aquitaine gives greeting to all to whom the present letters shall have come. The gift grant and confirmation by his charter which Gilbert Marshal the late earl of Pembroke made to God and to blessed Mary and to the knights and brethren of the religious house of saint Thomas the martyr of Acon' of twenty librates of land in the tenement of his own earldom of Dunamase, and also the gift grant and confirmation which the aforesaid earl made by the same deed to the knights and to the brethren of the religious house of saint John the Baptist at Kilkenny with all their lands and tenements the rents and privileges and all their appurtenances; also the grant the surrender and the quit claim of the entire legal right and claim of all the tenements and liberties with appurtenances then being in the possession of the master and brethren dwelling at saint John in Karrikmagriffin in Ireland which Edmund Bret the lord of Karrikmagriffyn made by his deed to the aforesaid knights and to the brethren and also of the tax of bread and beer and all the other privileges used by them from all their tenements and from whomsoever residing in his fief and concerning the milling of the corn of the lord of the demesne quit without a milling toll to the aforesaid Edmund and to his heirs at Karrikmagriffin nor for having hand mills in their houses and in their tenements for grinding their corn at will. Having agreed and ratified these things on our behalf and as much as is in our power on behalf of our heirs we grant to the present master to the knights and to the brethren of the same religious house beloved to us in Christ and to their successors and we confirm as is reasonably attested by the aforesaid charters and

deeds just as until now they and their predecessors have reasonably used and enjoyed the aforesaid lands and tenements. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made. Witnessed by me personally at Westminster on the fifth day of June in the seventeenth year of the reign of our king. [5 June 1324].

**20. Inspeximus by James le Botiller, earl of Ormond, of the charter of Dionisia, daughter of Thomas Fitzanthony, of the land called Frerenegraunge in the town of Killynygan.**

James le Botiller, earl of Ormond,<sup>88</sup> gives greeting in the Lord to all Christ's faithful to whom the present letters shall have come. Whereas it is godly and harmonious to reasonably call witness to the truth, know ye that we have examined the charter of the giving and granting of the land and of the tenements and of the possessions with all their appurtenances in the manor of [illegible] which is called le fferenegraunge in the vill of Killynygan<sup>89</sup> which lady Dionisia the daughter of Thomas Fitzanthony made to the master and the brethren and the sisters of the hospital of saint John the Evangelist of Karrikmagriffyn in these words under the following form [here follows No. 14]. In witness whereof at the insistence of the aforesaid master and brethren we have caused our seal to be affixed to these presents for the everlasting remembrance of future men. Given at Aylisbury on the Monday following the feast day of saint Dunstan in the sixth year of the reign of king Edward the third following the conquest. [25 May 1332]

**21. Inspeximus by the official of the bishop of London of six charters from Fulk de Villars, John son of Roger de la Souch, Edmund Bret and Gilbert Marshal, earl of Pembroke.**

To all Christ's faithful to whom the present writing shall have come the archdeacon of London gives eternal greeting in the Lord. Know ye that we the aforesaid archdeacon have seen and we have diligently examined the original writing of the six charters written below the seals being neither destroyed nor cancelled the tenor of which appeared as follows word for word in this form [here follows Nos. 1,2,5,6,7 and 10]. In witness of the aforesaid inspection at the request and insistence of Brother Bartholomew<sup>90</sup> the master of the hospital of saint Thomas of Acon' in London we have caused the seal of our office to be affixed to these presents. Given at London on the day before the nones<sup>91</sup> of August in the year of the Lord one thousand three hundred and thirty eight. [4 August 1338].

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88 James Butler was created earl of Ormond at the parliament of Salisbury in October 1328.

89 Almost certainly refers to Kilmeaden, Co. Waterford.

90 Bartholomew de Colchester, master of the London hospital, occurs in 1340, 1342 and 1344. See John Watney, *Some Account of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon in the Cheap, London*, (London, 1906), pp. 16, 34.

91 The Nones were the fifth day of most months, but in March, May, July and October they were the seventh day of the month.

**22. Pope John XXII takes under his protection the master and brethren of the hospital of St. John the Evangelist of Carrick-on-Suir, order of St. Augustine.**

Bishop John<sup>92</sup> a servant of the servants of God gives greeting and apostolic benediction to the master and brethren of the hospital of saint John the Evangelist of Karikmagriffin in the Diocese of Lismore beloved sons of the order of saint Augustine. Since we are petitioned that it be lawful and just that both the rigor of knighthood and the order remaining should reasonably enforce that an action for debt be conducted through the influence of our office, on this account by the concurrent goodwill and assent for the demands of justice we take under our protection and under the protection of blessed Peter your beneficed priests and the religious house in which divine service is being delivered and all the goods which are possessed in the due form of rightful presentation or which in the future might possibly be acquired for presentation to the Lord: moreover by apostolic authority we specifically confirm the lands the possessions the tithes the houses the vineyards and the other goods as being lawfully and peacefully your possessions and for your hospital and excepting the moderation of the general council in the aforesaid tithes we reinforce this by the protection of this present deed. Consequently let it be lawful that no man shall in any way infringe this page of our confirmation or rashly oppose the hearing of it. However if anyone should assume to attempt this, be it known that he shall incur the wrath of almighty God and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul. Given at Avignon on the second [day] of the Ides of March<sup>93</sup> in the sixteenth year of our pontificate. [16 March 1332]

**23. Inspeximus by King Henry IV of his writ addressed to Ralph Standish, escheator in Ireland, to restore to brother William Bobington, master of the house of St. Thomas the martyr of Canterbury called of Acon' of London, their lands and possessions in the town of Carrick-on-Suir and elsewhere in Co. Tipperary, wrongfully taken into the king's hands by the late escheator, Thomas Clifford:**

Henry by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland gives greeting to all to whom the present letters shall have come. A certain inspeximus of our writ which we lately caused to be made in these words: Henry by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland gives greeting to Rudolph Standish his beloved escheator in Ireland or to his deputy in this matter. Brother William Bobington<sup>94</sup> master of the London religious house of saint Thomas the martyr which is called of Acon and guardian general of the religious houses of this

92 Pope John XXII (7 August 1316 to 4 December 1334) was the second of the Avignon Popes.

93 The Ides fell on the 13<sup>th</sup> of most months, but on the 15<sup>th</sup> of March, May, July and October.

94 Succeeding Fra' Richard Alrede, who died in 1400, Friar William Bobington was elected master of the hospital in August 1400. He was still master in 1419. See John Watney, *Some Account of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon in the Cheap, London*, p. 16.

kind as well as of all their possessions in all parts of the world and the brethren of that place have entreated us that whereas they themselves and their predecessors of the said religious house of saint Thomas the martyr from time immemorial have had and in pure and perpetual alms have held the religious house of saint John with a chapel annexed together with divers lands tenements and possessions with appurtenances in the vill of Karrikmagriffin and elsewhere in the county of Tipperary in Ireland, until a certain knight Thomas Clifford the former escheator of Ireland by the authority of his office but without the presentment of an inquiry having been held or without any other legal process having been completed, through the arrangement encouragement and false information supplied by a certain Peter Stonham by a certain Robert Porter a confrere of the said William and sub-custodian of the said religious house of saint John and of the chapel attached to the said house and by a certain Philipp Makilmer of the Irish nation who was a confrere of Robert himself admitted and professed in his religious order, who both are dead for a long time past, and having suggested to the former escheator that the aforesaid William had been absent outside our land of Ireland, without any legal justification in defiance of the law and contrary to reason good faith and conscience he [Thomas Clifford] took and seized the aforesaid house and chapel with all the aforesaid lands tenements and possessions with appurtenances into the hand of our recent predecessor the late lord Richard king of England<sup>95</sup> causing serious damage and the disinheritance of the said William and the brethren of the said religious house of saint Thomas; and subsequently on the twentieth day of November in the sixteenth year of the reign of the said former lord king<sup>96</sup> by letters patent of the former lord king himself witnessed by James le Botiller earl of Ormond and then justiciar in Ireland<sup>97</sup> of the same lord king the aforesaid Peter having custody of the aforesaid religious house and chapel with all other the lands tenements and possessions aforesaid which he might have acquired in the aforesaid county without paying anything thereafter as long as they remained in the control of the late lord king, and thereafter he will have appointed a certain Robert Harbrik as his deputy and *locum tenens* who between them seized all the rents and profits of the aforesaid religious house chapel lands tenements and possessions in the said county up to this point; The aforesaid having been considered we desire the restitution of the aforesaid religious house chapel lands tenements and possessions with appurtenances to be ordered to made to the aforesaid William and to the brethren. On this account brother Thomas le Botiller, beloved to us in Christ, the prior of the hospital of saint John of Jerusalem in Ireland,<sup>98</sup> deputy of our esteemed son Thomas of

95 King Richard II reigned from 1377 until he was deposed by King Henry IV in 1399.

96 1392.

97 James Butler, earl of Ormond, was appointed Justiciar on 24 July 1392, but the patent of appointment did not reach him until 8 October. He was sworn into office at the Council at Tristledermot.

98 Fra' Thomas *bacach* Butler, the illegitimate son of the third earl of Ormond, became Prior of the Irish Knights Hospitaller in 1407, holding this position until his death at the siege of Rouen in 1419. See Niall J Byrne, *The Irish Crusade*, (Dublin, 2008), pp. 207-11. Prior Thomas *bacach* Butler was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1409 and held this appointment until November 1412.

Lancaster seneschal of England our *locum tenens* in our land of Ireland recorded that through the information of trustworthy people it was made known to him that the previously written details contained the truth. Being willing to support the said William and the brethren free of annual rent, by the agreement of the said deputy and by the advice of our council calling attention to the seizure of the said religious house chapel lands tenements and possessions without lawful compensation, we desire that the aforesaid religious house chapel lands tenements and possessions with appurtenances should be restored to the aforesaid William and to the brethren provided always that in this matter this is permissible by our law. And therefore at the aforesaid opportunity and if no other legal impediment should arise we command you that our control of the aforesaid religious house lands tenements and possessions with appurtenances should be removed and they should be restored to the aforesaid William and to the brethren provided always that in all things it is permitted by our law. Witnessed by the aforesaid deputy at Clonmel on the twenty fourth day of June in the twelfth year of our reign. Within a short time however, at the request of the said William and of the brethren we have caused the contents of these presents to be copied. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made. Witnessed by the aforesaid deputy at Dublin on the fourth day of August in the twelfth year of our reign. [4 Aug 1411].

Copied by the clerk Robert Sutton.

**24. Brother Richard Alrede, master of the house of St. Thomas the martyr of Acon,' London, at the instance of Sir James Buttiler, earl of Ormond, constitutes John Porter of his order, general preceptor of the house of St. Thomas in Carrikmagriffin.**

To all Christ's faithful about to see or about to hear the present writing brother Richard Alrede<sup>99</sup> master of the London religious house of the said saint Thomas the martyr of Acon' and [of the houses] in whatsoever parts of the world in general gives eternal greeting in the Lord. Know ye that by the assent of our confreres at the insistence of the most excellent lord James Buttiler earl of Ormond we have appointed and have established our beloved confrere John Porter professed in our order as our preceptor general of our religious house of saint Thomas of Carrikmagriffin in the episcopal diocese of Lismore in Ireland giving and granting to the same confrere our preceptor all and singular and full authority for acting prosecuting defending exercising and expending according as we would be able to act if we had been present in person, the said confrere our preceptor general being approved for performing in our name the things written previously. By virtue of our special favour we have also granted that whensoever it might come to pass that the said confrere our preceptor shall die or for any other reason whatsoever might lawfully be removed from our aforesaid religious house, the confreres in the same place shall then be able to elect another confrere as a suitable chaplain for the preceptory. However whensoever he may have been legitimately elected in good order

<sup>99</sup> Richard Alrede or Aldred occurs as master in 1385; he died in 1400. See John Watney, *Some Account of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon in the Cheap, London*, p. 16.

the same preceptor in person if possible or otherwise his proctor shall come to London with letters testamentary for the purpose of receiving there from us confirmation of his status, paying annually to us and to our London house under pain of major excommunication and interdict at the feast day of saint Michael the archangel six shillings and eight pence, being desirous as mentioned above in whatsoever manner that our privileges and the customs of our order should in all things be respectfully observed. In witness whereof we have affixed our common seal to the remaining part of this indenture which is passed to the aforesaid John. Verily the aforesaid John has affixed his seal to the other part of the same indenture remaining with us. Given at London on the twenty eighth day of the month of August in the year of the Lord one thousand three hundred and seventy nine. [28 August 1379].

**Extract taken from Eric St. J. Brooks, ‘The Irish Possessions of St. Thomas of Acre’, *PRIA*, Vol. 58, Section C (1956), p. 27.**

Peter Butler was compelled to relinquish the title earl of Ormond to Thomas Viscount Rochfort (the father of Anne Boleyn), and in compensation was created earl of Ossory in 1527, not becoming earl of Ormond until 1337. As earl of Ossory, he took a lease in 1534<sup>100</sup> from Laurence Copferler, master of the house or hospital of St. Thomas of Acon in the city of London, and its brethren, of the premises in Carrick-on-Suir for eighty years at a yearly rent of 10s. They are described as ‘one messuage or old tenement with a garden thereto adjoining within the town of Carrymagryffyn in the countie of Tipperarie... and one carrewe or ploughland nigh the said town commonly called Ballyneganenanaghj [i.e. town of the canons]... with all other lands and tenements belonging to them in the aforesaid countie’.

There is another description of these premises, undated, but apparently of about the same time, among the Cotton MSS.<sup>101</sup> It is as follows:

Furst there is within the said towne a messuage or anould tenement with a gardeyn adjounyng there unto being all wast without building or occupying this hundred yere and above which mese and gardein lyeth inleinth from the stret of the said towne on the north side unto the water of the Suyr in the south side and in brede from the Erle of Ormonds manour on the est side unto the said Erles landes in the west side.

Also there is in the burgage of the said towne a village containing lxx acres or lxxx at the moost which is called the chanon growe otherwise called ballenegananagh and it lyeth meryng with therle of Ormonds land in the south and with londays land in the north and with the same Earles land in the est and with oneilles land in the west.

100 Edmund Curtis (ed.), *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, Vol. IV, No. 155.

101 *Ibid.* p. 345, from Cotton MS., Titus B. XI, i, f. 36.

# Samuel Barker's Waterford City Garden: Lord Chief Baron Willes Description of 1760

*William Fraher*

Samuel Barker laid out a unique urban garden in Waterford city in the early 1740s. The Dutch-style garden consisted of canals, terraces, statuary, aviary and even a small deer park.

Since publishing my article on Samuel Barker's garden in the last issue of *Decies* a further description of the garden has come to light.<sup>1</sup> It was written by Edward Willes who was created Lord Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer. While in Ireland he wrote a series of letters to the Earl of Warwick between 1757 and 1762. On a visit to Waterford Willes was told that one of the must-see sights of the city was Samuel Barker's garden.<sup>2</sup>

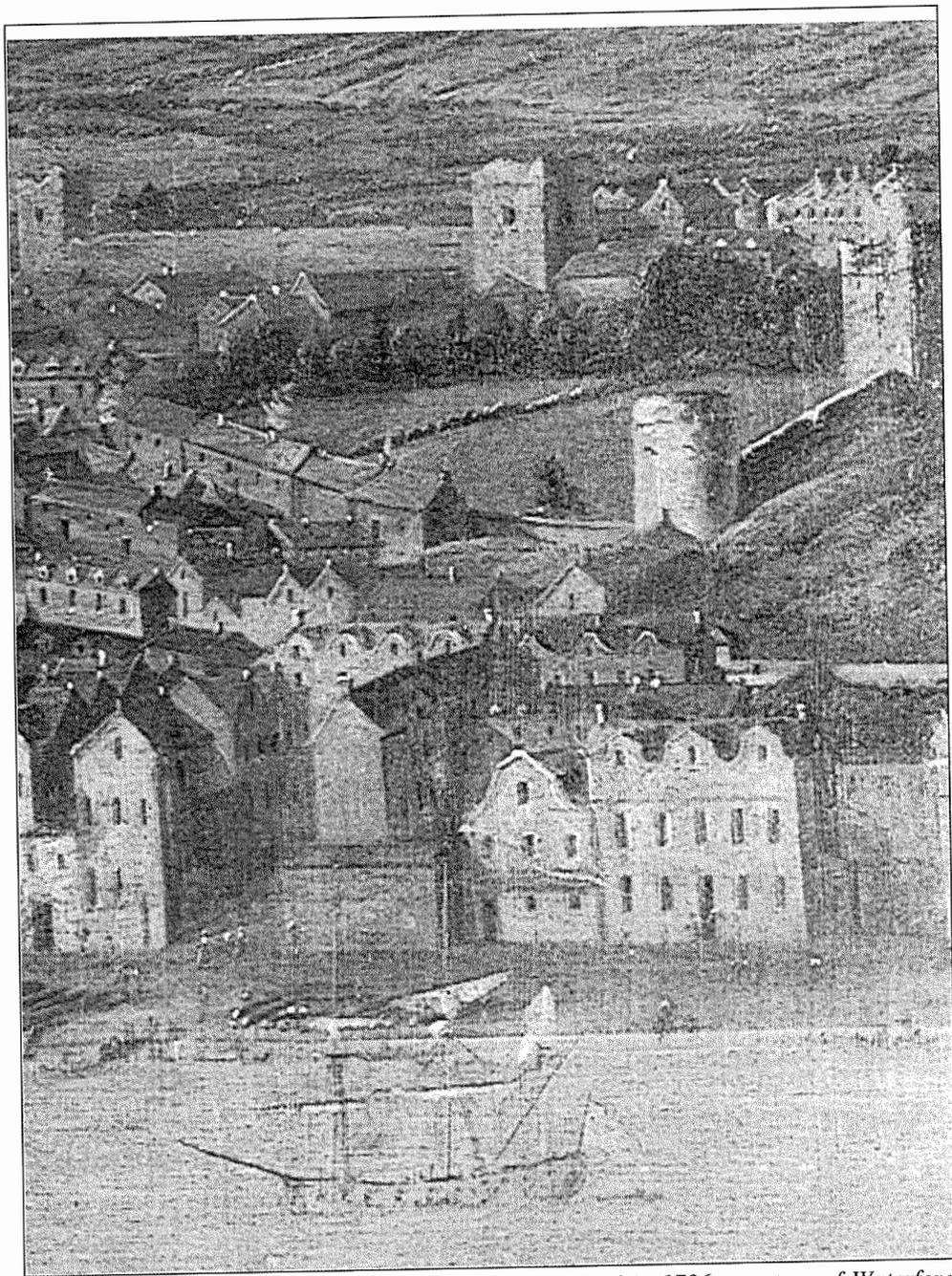
I shou'd not mention to you a little garden and paddock of 4 or 5 acres which is in the town, only that I was recommend'd to see it as the greatest curiosity of the place. I fancy it would please a burge master of Holland much. It was a high barren rock some years ago when Coll[o]n[el] Barker, a gentleman of good estate... took it in to his head that he wou'd cut it into slopes and terraces and cover it with earth, which he has done at great expence. There is a fine spring comes out of the rock, which supplies two figures of spouting swans, a basin of gold fish, a canal 50 foot long with tame carp in it. 'Tis crouded with seals, two aviaries, some exotics - aloes in particular very large. There is one curious thing in it, which is a cyprus hedge of eleven feet high as firm and as smooth cut as a yew hedge. In a little paddock were half a dozen pretty deer, one of which I wish'd in your park; 'twas a fine purple Menil with a bald face.

In his house is a very fine head of coarse marble. He says it was stole off a statue of Seneca in Rome, and there was a great reward offered to find out the thief but the gentleman brought it off safe, and dyed a few a few years ago, and Col[o]n[el] Barker bough[t] it.

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1 See *Decies* 64 (2008), pp. 69-78.

2 James Kelly (ed.), *The Letters of Lord Chief Baron Edward Willes to the Earl of Warwick 1757-1762*, (Aberystwyth, Boethius Press, 1990), p. 44. I would like to thank Dr. Kenneth Nicholls for bringing this to my attention.



*Detail from Willem Van der Hagen's View of Waterford in 1736, courtesy of Waterford City Council.*

This description is important as it is based on an actual visit by the writer as opposed to repeating an earlier published account. It is also of interest that the garden was still a key attraction in Waterford some sixteen years or more after its construction. He confirms the details of the garden described by Charles Smith in 1746 and also that it was very much in the Dutch style.

The reference to the stolen Roman bust of Seneca is intriguing and highlights the eighteenth-century fascination with artefacts from the Roman world. Barker does not appear to have felt any guilt at purchasing a stolen artefact and there is a sense of satisfaction that the thief got away with it.



*Thomas Francis Meagher in 1846, courtesy National Library of Ireland*

# Meagher to Leonard July, 1849. Thomas Francis Meagher's Last Letter Written in Ireland and Some New Information Pertaining to the Origins of the Irish Tricolour

*John M. Hearne*

On 9 July 1849, as expected, the order for the deportation of the state prisoners - Smith O'Brien, MacManus, O'Donoghue and Meagher - arrived at Richmond Bridewell. On that morning, prior to the order's arrival, Thomas Francis Meagher addressed a letter to his friend, John P. Leonard in Paris. It was the last letter he would ever write in his native land.<sup>1</sup>

My Dear Leonard

This morning, or to-morrow, at furthest, we will be put on board the war-brig which is to convey us to Van Diemen's Land, and I most gladly avail myself of a few moments at my disposal to assure you, now that I am on the eve of parting from my sad poor country, of my very warm esteem and friendship.

As I told you in one of my previous letters, the recollection of the days I spent in Paris, in the eventful year of 1848, will be to me for many a year to come a source of very deep delight. Would to heaven that the hopes that then shone so brilliantly above our paths were still visible in our changeful and mournful sky—were still the objects of the people's love, faith, and adoration. But they have disappeared—clouds on clouds have thickened round them, and in the darkness which covers the land we hear but the wail of the dying, and the supplications of the penniless and the breadless. Never, never was their country so utterly downcast, so debased, so pitiful, to spiritless.

Yet I do not, could not despair of her regeneration. Nations do not die in a day. Their lives are reckoned by generations, and they encompass centuries. Their vitality is inextinguishable. Their sufferings are sometimes terrible, but they survive the deadliest plagues, the red

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1 This was the second of two letters written by Meagher to Leonard. The first was written on 27 November 1848. The original of this letter was recently acquired on loan by Waterford Museum of Treasures. It is currently on display in the Museum.

inundation of the battle-field, the storms which topples towers and pyramids, the fire in which millions of wealth is melted down, the earthquake which engulfs cities and buries a whole people in one indistinguishable sepulchre—they have been known to survive all. Greece has so outlived her ruins and her woes. Italy has so outlived her degeneracy and her despotisms. Thus too, shall Ireland survive all her sufferings, her errors, and disasters, and rear one day an ‘Arch of Triumph’ high above the wreck and wilderness of the past. This is my sincere faith. It is this which elates me at this moment—it is this which in my weary exile will make me forget my solitude, forget my privations, forget all the happiness I have sacrificed, and change what would otherwise be a weary bondage into a tranquil, happy dream. Besides, I feel that I have done nothing else than my plain duty, and hence I cannot be otherwise than proud and happy at this moment. My heart, indeed, was never so firm— the consciousness of having acted with purity, with generosity, in the face of all perils, and at the cost of friends and home and country—this is a deep, never-failing source of the most delightful joy. I would not exchange places this day with the most comfortable and happy slave in the country.

Orders have come.

Yours devotedly,

Thomas Francis Meagher.

By the time Thomas Francis Meagher first met John Patrick Leonard in April 1849 in Paris, Leonard had been living in France for almost twenty years. Born in Cobh, County Cork in 1814, Leonard emigrated to France in his mid teens and entered the Sorbonne with the intention of studying medicine. However, he quickly changed direction and studied English Language and Literature, subsequently becoming an English language teacher and eventually being appointed Professor of English Language and Literature at the Paris university. He held this position for over a quarter of a century after which he was appointed to a similar position in the Naval College, St. Barbe, from which he retired on a pension in 1884.<sup>2</sup>

During the Franco-Prussian War Leonard served as Inspector General of the Ambulance Corps in the Army of the Northwest and was awarded the Legion of Honour ‘for personal services on the field of battle’. He also received the Cross of Geneva and a few years before his death in 1889 was conferred with the literary distinction of *Officier d’Académie*. Leonard was also a close personal friend of Marshal McMahan and in 1860 at a camp near Chalons, organized a presentation

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2 Michael Cavanagh, *Memoirs of Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher Comprising The Leading Events of his Career*, (Worcester, Mass., The Messenger Press, 1892), p. 123.

of an Irish-made sword to McMahon.<sup>3</sup> At this ceremony T.D. Sullivan<sup>4</sup> and George Sigerson<sup>5</sup> also accompanied Leonard, who as chairman made the presentation speech. Also in attendance was John Mitchel, who had just arrived in Paris from America and many French officers of Irish extraction who were invited personally by McMahon. Leonard was also a close friend of Mitchel and his family. When Mitchel's eldest daughter, Henrietta, died suddenly in Paris in 1862 and the American Civil War prevented Mitchel and his wife from travelling to the funeral, it was Leonard who represented the family at the obsequies.<sup>6</sup> Leonard was also a frequent correspondent to Irish newspapers like the *Nation* and *Freeman's Journal* conveying incidents of interest to Ireland that transpired in France. He also played an important genealogical role for descendants of the old Irish Brigade and of Napoleon's Irish Legion in chronicling and recording their military services on the battlefield, their promotions to important offices of state in civil life and their births, marriages and deaths.<sup>7</sup> As such, he was usually the first port of call for Irish nationalists visiting Paris during the mid-nineteenth century. Before he died he was in the process of writing his memoirs, extracts of which he had had published in previous years. One such extract, 'Recollections of Thomas Francis Meagher', recalls his first meeting with Meagher in Paris and is of special interest in that it gives a rare insight (inadvertently, perhaps) into why Meagher adopted the

- 3 *Ibid.* Marie Edme Patrice Maurice McMahon whose great-grandfather was from Limerick, was the sixteenth of seventeen children. Born in Sully and educated at the military college of Saint Cyr, he was the only one of the 'Irish' in Europe to become a head of state. He had a long and distinguished military career stretching from the Algerian Campaign after which he was made Brigadier-General, the Crimean War (1853-5) and the Battle of Magenta (1859) after which he was created a Marshal of France and Duc De Magenta. A committed royalist, he was instrumental in the dissolution of the Paris Commune (1871) and became the second president of France in 1873. Forced to resign in 1879, he attended Leonard's funeral in 1889 and died himself in 1893.
- 4 Timothy Daniel Sullivan (1827 - 1914), journalist, author and nationalist politician was born in Bantry, Co. Cork. An influential contributor to the *Nation* which was owned by his brother, A.M. Sullivan, and of which he became editor in 1876, he supported Young Ireland and subsequently the Home Rule movement. He was Lord Mayor of Dublin, 1886-7 and MP for West Donegal, 1892-1900. He also wrote *God Save Ireland*, a song about the Manchester Martyrs, which became a *de facto* national anthem until 1916. For a concise biographical account see, D.J. Hickey and J.E. Doherty, *A New Dictionary of Irish History from 1800*, (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 2003), pp. 462-3.
- 5 Dr. George Sigerson (1836-1925) was born near Strabane, Co. Tyrone. He studied medicine in Cork and Galway and was in Paris studying at the time of the presentation to McMahon. He subsequently became Professor of Biology at University College, Dublin, was one of the founders of the Feis Cheoil and was a member of the Senate of the Irish Free State, 1922-5.
- 6 Henrietta Mitchel converted to Catholicism and entered the Convent of the *Sacré Coeur* in Paris where she was professed a Sister of Charity. She was buried in the cemetery of Montparnasse.
- 7 Michael Cavanagh, *Memoirs of Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher*, pp. 123- 4.

tricolour of orange, green and white as the national flag.<sup>8</sup> Other physical characteristics of Meagher are also commented upon with some intuitive sagacity in this extract.

Meagher was only three or four years out of his teens when he came to Paris with the deputation in April, 1848. It was, I believe, his first visit to the great city, and we were constantly together during his short stay. There was nothing particularly remarkable in his personal appearance except his large, blue eyes, beaming with intellect and wit. He was slightly inclined to *embonpoint* [corpulence], but his strong, well-built frame, and his elastic step, showed that, though at times he seemed listless and lazy, he had, as he proved fully after, great physical activity and endurance when necessary.

The electric atmosphere of the revolutionary city constantly roused him from that apparent apathy in which he indulged at times. Alive to everything in the changing scenes around him, his imperfect knowledge of French never prevented him from understanding or guessing at what was said. We wandered together about the city, visiting the churches, the hospitals, the salons of the rich and the hovels of the poor, mixing and conversing with people of all classes and opinions, from the millionaire to the *ouvrier*. [labourer/workman]

We, of course, went often to the theatre, and our first visit to the celebrated Theatre Francais I never shall forget. I was on guard as a full private in the National Guard (there were no regular soldiers in the city) and was the sentinel at the door, when my two noble countrymen, William Smith O'Brien and Thomas Francis Meagher, came. A friend relieved me, and I went in with my two friends. We took our places in the orchestra quite close to the stage. I never go to that theatre since without thinking of that memorable night when I sat between two noble patriots, who a few months after were condemned to be hanged and quartered, and saved only for that worse fate, exile, of which the greatest living poet said: *Le proscrit est un mort sans tombeau*. [The exile is a dead man without a tomb].<sup>9</sup>

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8 Although Meagher had flown the tricolour flag from the Wolf Tone Club headquarters on the Mall in Waterford a month earlier, it was intended more as a provocative act rather than as a national symbol; though there is no doubt that Meagher had flirted with the idea of using it as the national flag prior to going to France. In fact, the flag had been adopted as the flag of the Wolf Tone Confederate Club.

9 This extract is re-produced in Cavanagh, *Memoirs of Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher*, pp. 125- 7. What is remarkable about this description is that it is almost a carbon copy of James Stephens' description of Meagher when he met him in New York in an attempt to recruit him into the Fenians almost ten years later. 'Listless', 'lazy' and 'apathy' are the adjectives used by both men and are symptoms usually associated with depression. Was Meagher a manic-depressive or could he at least have suffered from depression? It would certainly explain some of his more irrational actions prior to, during and after 1848.

Leonard goes on to describe the play - a tragedy - in which one of the most famous Jews in nineteenth-century France and one of France's greatest actresses, Rachael - Eliza Rachel Felix - played Phedre in Jean Racine's play of the same name. But this particular performance had a distinctive republican resonance. A few minutes after the performance ended the curtain rose again and Rachel advanced slowly towards the footlights dressed in a simple, all-white costume and carrying the *tricolore* of blue white and red, she began Rouget de Lisle's *La Marseillaise*. According to Leonard,

her performance was neither singing nor declamation, but it was something so real and entrancing that it seemed beyond art and above criticism. When she reached the soul-stirring words, *Amour sacré de la patrie* [Drive on sacred patriotism] she seized the flag and, raising it on high, gave the last stanza with such feeling, passion and emotion that the audience rose, and a burst of thundering applause shook the whole house.<sup>10</sup>

Renowned as much for her unconventional personal life as she was for her brilliance on stage, Rachel, who refused throughout her life to compromise on her Judaism, was an unusual candidate for the kind of fame she achieved in a nation still staunchly Catholic, patriarchal and class-conscious.<sup>11</sup> She seemed to her admirers to embody the very will of the people in that short-lived era of republican optimism and, as such, Rachel was seen as a symbol of the French nation. It was a performance that visibly moved Meagher and Leonard observed that 'for an hour after we spoke only of the *Marseillaise* forgetting *Phedre* and the great tragedy altogether'.<sup>12</sup>

It seems clear from Leonard's observations that while Meagher was, on the one hand, enthralled by Rachel's passionate performance he could not but have been acutely aware of the potency of the symbiosis of flag and anthem and how this resonated with the audience. It must also have seemed to him that if this brand of nationalism could obviate religious animosity in France<sup>13</sup> then something similar could work in Ireland. Although perhaps naïve in hindsight, observed within the prevailing environment it is easy to see how Meagher could associate with a tricolour flag of orange, white and green,<sup>14</sup> could develop a philosophical thesis to

10 *Ibid.* p. 126.

11 Lisa Moses Leff, 'Rachel (Eliza Rachel Felix)', *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia*, 1 March 2009. Jewish Women's Archive <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/rachel-eliza-rachel-felix>.

12 Leonard, 'Recollections', in Michael Cavanagh, *Memoirs of Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher*, p. 126.

13 Although her audiences never overlooked Rachel's Jewishness, nonetheless, she was seen as a symbol of the French nation. But this was not representative of French society as a whole as the Panama Scandal and the Dreyfuss Affair were later to illustrate.

14 Though the tricolour can be traced back to the early years of the nineteenth century it was remodelled to its current green, white and orange in 1916 where, along with Connolly's green flag, it flew over the GPO on Easter Monday and a similar tricolour was observed flying over Jacob's Bakery later the next day. It became the official

explain the concept and realize the value of such symbolism in rallying all hues of nationalism, both Catholic and Protestant, around a common goal. In presenting the tricolour to the Irish people on his return from Paris on 13 April 1848 Meagher outlined this philosophy when he stated that,

From the gay and gallant city of the *tricolore* and the barricade this flag has been proudly borne. I present it to my native land, and trust that the old country will not refuse this symbol of a new life from one of her youngest children... The White in the centre signifies a lasting truce between the Orange and the Green, and I trust that beneath its folds the hands of the Irish Protestant and the Irish Catholic may be clasped, in generous and heroic brotherhood.<sup>15</sup>

But what is often omitted or overlooked are Meagher's final few ambiguous sentences. Concluding his presentation speech he proclaimed,

If this flag be destined to fan the flames of war, let England behold once more upon that white centre, the Red Hand that struck her down from the hills of Ulster. And I pray that heaven may bless the vengeance it is sure to kindle.<sup>16</sup>

Indeed, Meagher's tricolour was used as such an ambiguous symbol. On the one hand, it was used as a conciliatory emblem between Protestant and Catholic and on the other as an overt symbol of intimidation at Young Ireland meetings in Conciliation Hall and at outdoor demonstrations, especially as it was usually accompanied by the provocative French *tricolore*. But with the transportation of the 1848 rebels in 1849, Meagher's tricolour was more or less forgotten until retrieved during the 1916 Rising when a clear break took place in national symbolism. This was most visibly manifested in the national flag and the new anthem - *The Soldier's Song* - which the young Irish nation readily accepted.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, the demise of the Parliamentary Party after the failure to implement the Third Home Rule Bill stands in direct parallel to the rapidly diminishing powers of its symbols. The green flag and A.M. Sullivan's *God Save Ireland* began to be discredited as symbols of constitutional nationalism and instead, the symbols of revolutionary nationalism gained popularity as the majority of the Irish people - *post facto* - identified themselves with the political aims of the Easter revolutionaries.<sup>18</sup>

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national flag in 1937. See Peter Alder, 'Symbols of Irish Nationalism', in *Irish Historical Studies: Reactions to Irish Nationalism 1865-1914*, (London and Ronceverte, The Hambledon Press, 1987), p. 16 and also, O. Snoddy, 'Fenian Flags', in *The Irish Sword* (1967), p. 8.

15 *Nation*, 22 April 1848.

16 *Ibid.* Between May and July 2008 in the letters' page of the *Irish Times* this address led to a heated debate.

17 J.D. O'Donnell, *How Ireland is Governed*, (Dublin, Institute of Public Administration, 1970), p. 153. *The Soldier's Song* became the official national anthem in July 1926.

18 Peter Alder, 'Symbols of Irish Nationalism', p. 15.

Although this radicalisation of his ideals was incongruous, Meagher along with his tricolour flag, was nonetheless retrieved to sanctify the 1916 Rising, thereby establishing an unbroken chain of violent resistance to British rule extending back to Emmet and Tone.<sup>19</sup> And as the history of European nationalism has demonstrated, in almost all cases national symbols originated from the spontaneous reactions of the people in a revolutionary situation, and that it was often possible to justify them later as having been derived from national tradition and history.<sup>20</sup> Thus, the adoption of national anthem and national flag shortly after the 1916 Rising places Ireland firmly within the parameters of traditional European nationalism. Although the confluence of the national flag and national anthem in their current format derive their origins directly from the Rising, this symbiosis was clearly envisaged by Meagher in Paris in 1848.

Leonard's seemingly innocuous account of a night at the theatre casts new light on a seminal incident in Irish history: namely, the decision by Thomas Francis Meagher to utilise the tricolour - very much the emblem of nationhood in the new, post-revolutionary Europe - as the national flag.<sup>21</sup>

John Patrick Leonard died on 6 August 1889 in Paris. His funeral took place three days later and, according to his wishes, his remains were transported to Ireland, arriving in Cork on 27 October. Later that day, they were conveyed to Cobh where he was buried in Barrymore churchyard.

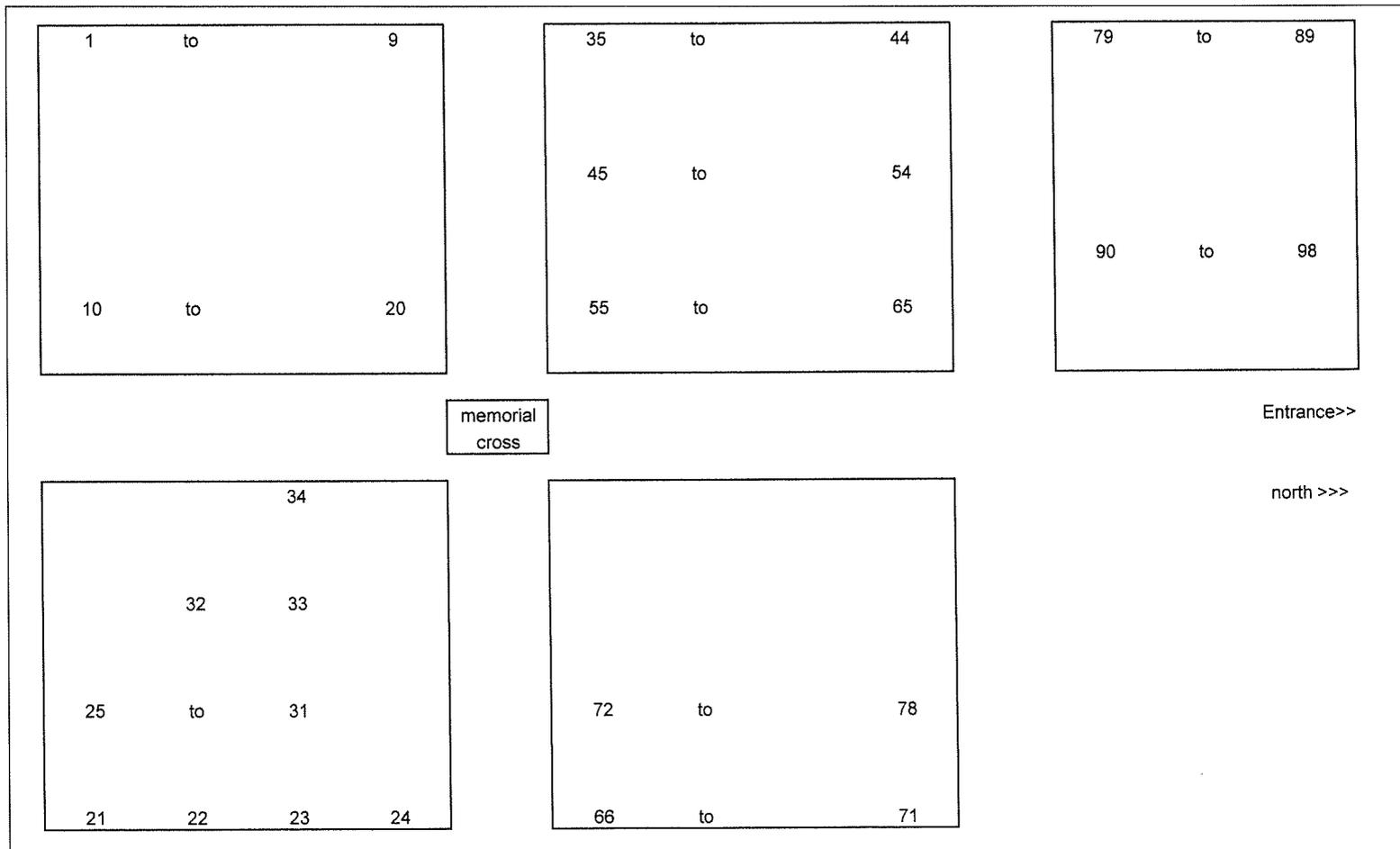
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19 John M. Hearne, 'Thomas Francis Meagher and the Assimilation of the Irish into American Society', in *Working Papers in Irish Studies*, (Rock Hill, SC., Winthrop University, 2008), p. 22.

20 See Peter Alder, 'Symbols of Irish Nationalism' pp. 1-2 for an erudite discussion on this subject.

21 Michael Bennett, '1848 in Ireland and Europe', in Richard Davis and Stefan Petrow (eds.), *Ireland and Tasmania 1848: Sesquicentenary Papers*, (Sydney, Crossing Press, 1998), p. 2. This article places the Young Ireland revolution of 1848 in a European context and illustrates the importance of flags as visible emblems of new nation states.

# PLAN OF CEMETERY - ST. PATRICK'S HOSPITAL, BELMONT PARK



# Cemetery of St. Patrick's Hospital Belmont Park, Gravestone Inscriptions

*James Walsh, Martin Gahan*

The Brothers of Charity came to Belmont Park in 1884. They opened there the first private hospital in the country for the care of mentally ill male patients.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the century the hospital was well established and about this time was licensed to cater for in excess of seventy men.

The first recorded death took place in September 1892 and the total number of deaths recorded in the cemetery is 134.

1. Bro. Andrew O Carm.

Died 19<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1968

RIP

2. Dom. Raymond Lythgoe, O.S.B.

Died 11<sup>th</sup> July 1960

RIP

3. Rev. Maurice O'Carroll

Died 4<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1959

Aged 61 years

Late of Hamilton, New Zealand.

RIP

4. Rev. Fr. Michael Sweeney

Diocese of Motherwell

Died Sept. 3<sup>rd</sup> 1959

Aged 60

RIP

5. Rev. Fr. Wilfred Tonge

Of Nottingham

Who died 5<sup>th</sup> May 1959

RIP

6. Rev. James Donnelly

Priest of the diocese of Galloway

Died 25<sup>th</sup> August 1958

Aged 74

RIP

7. In

Memory of

Rev. John P O'Neill, D.D.

For many years Sec. to Bishop Cotter

And ADM. St. John's cathedral

Portsmouth

Died 5<sup>th</sup> March 1957 aged 63

RIP

1 For a history of Belmont Park before 1884 see James Walsh (ed.), *Sliabh Rua: A History of its People and Places*, (2001).

8. Rev. Fr. Paul Miller, S.J.  
died 11 Jan. 1952  
RIP

9. Pray for the soul of  
Rev. Michael Kinsella  
Died 30<sup>th</sup> June 1946  
Aged 83 years  
Diocese of Ferns  
RIP

10. Rev. Fr. Laurence Gibbings,  
O.S.B.  
Died 17<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1971

11. Fr. Ninian, O.S.B.  
George C. Romanes  
Died 12<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1961  
Aged 54 years

12. Rev. Fr. Francis Burns  
Died 26<sup>th</sup> May 1976

13. Rev. Fr. John Maloney  
Diocese of Portsmouth  
Died 16<sup>th</sup> April 1980

14. Rev. Fr. Daniel McMahon  
Died 6<sup>th</sup> June 1978

15. Rev. Fr. Wilfred Duffy  
Died 23<sup>rd</sup> Feb. 1974

16. Rev. Gerald Moir  
Died 19<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1974

17. Rev. Fr. Patrick Killian  
Diocese of New South Wales,  
Australia  
Died Oct. 1<sup>st</sup> 1961  
Aged 80

18. Rev. Fr. Patrick Lehane  
Diocese of Cloyne  
Died Jan. 1<sup>st</sup> 1961  
Aged 53

19. Rev. Fr. John McGeown  
Died 16<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1977

20. Pray for the soul  
Of  
Rev. Patrick Kissane  
Died 13<sup>th</sup> September 1946  
Aged 76 years  
RIP

21. Of your charity  
Pray for the soul of  
Michael McNamara  
Who died 12<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1956

22. Concrete cross, no inscription

23. John Molloy  
Died 4<sup>th</sup> July 1954

24  
In loving memory  
Of  
Edward O'Neill Power  
Died 17<sup>th</sup> August 1946  
Aged 63 years  
RIP

25. In loving memory of  
Joseph Lynch  
Who died 12<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1951  
Aged 39  
Erected by Mrs. Fisher  
Ilford, Essex.  
RIP

26. Concrete cross, no inscription

27. In loving memory of  
Charles Hillary  
O Shaughnessy  
(Chis wick)  
who died 19<sup>th</sup> October 1967  
Aged 72

28. In loving memory of  
William Barry English  
Who died 25<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1965  
Aged 76 years  
Erected by  
His loving daughter  
RIP

29. In loving memory of  
John Bulbeck  
Who died 4<sup>th</sup> May 1964  
Aged 52 years

30. In  
Memory of  
John Whiteford  
Rochdale, England  
Died 20<sup>th</sup> Sep. 1963 aged 67

31. In  
Memory  
Of  
Daniel Walter Donegan  
Cork  
Who died 28<sup>th</sup> March 1961  
Aged 56 Years

32. Sacred to the memory of  
Francis O'Ferrall  
Who died 5<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1969  
RIP

33. Pray for the souls of  
Laurence Roche  
Who died 22<sup>nd</sup> Jan. 1958  
Aged 75 yrs.  
James J Roche  
Died 10<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1962  
Aged 78 yrs.

34. Sacred to the memory of  
Arthur O'Farrall  
Who died 5<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1961  
RIP

35. Brother Nivard  
Died 21<sup>st</sup> Feb. 1947

36. Brother Odo  
Died 25<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1946  
Aged 71 yrs.

37. Brother Cathan  
Died 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1945

38. Brother Brithwald  
Died 6<sup>th</sup> April 1944

39. Brother Wilfrid  
Died Jan. 1<sup>st</sup> 1923

40. Brother Ambrose  
Died 21<sup>st</sup> Oct. 1941

41. Brother Magnus  
Died 28<sup>th</sup> May 1947

42. Brother Otheran  
Died 24<sup>th</sup> July 1947

43 A. M. D. G. <sup>2</sup>  
Grant O Lord  
Eternal rest  
To the soul of  
Rev. John Barden, S. J.  
St. Beunos, North Wales  
Born 22nd June 1875  
Died 13<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1933

44. Ora Pro Anima  
Rev. Edmundi Cotter  
Sacerdotis Dioecesis Rossensis  
Obit 23<sup>rd</sup> Aprilis 1940  
Aetate 74  
RIP

45. Brother Josaphat  
Died May 22<sup>nd</sup> 1903

46. Brother Aidan  
Died Nov. 27<sup>th</sup> 1907

47. Bro. Wymer  
Died 25<sup>th</sup> July 1941

48. Brother Edmund  
Died May 10<sup>th</sup> 1912

49. Brother Nathalan  
Died Oct. 11<sup>th</sup> 1926

50. Brother Edan  
Died 6<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1941

51. Brother Regulus  
Died 18<sup>th</sup> July 1950

52. Rev. Richard O'Shea  
Chaplain  
Who died  
August 2<sup>nd</sup> 1956

53. Rev. J B Sheil, S.J.  
Born 4<sup>th</sup> March 1880  
Died 8<sup>th</sup> March 1943

54. Rev. Fr. Michael McCarthy  
Died 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1948  
Aged 73 yrs.

55. Brother Bellinus  
Died January 2<sup>nd</sup> 1915

<sup>2</sup> *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam* (For the greater glory of God), the motto of the Society of Jesus or Jesuits.

56. Brother Hercule  
Died August 28<sup>th</sup> 1916

57. Brother Gloribert  
died June 14<sup>th</sup> 1921

58. Brother Oswald  
died Dec. 25<sup>th</sup> 1933

59. Brother Tilbert  
Died 11<sup>th</sup> March 1949

60. Brother Damian  
Died 8<sup>th</sup> June 1951

61. Brother Aidan  
Died 14<sup>th</sup> August 1954

62. Rev. Bro. Evarist W.F.  
Died 6<sup>th</sup> May 1944

63. Rev. John Ryan S.J.  
Born 1851 Died 1932

64. Rev. James F Dalton  
Born Sept. 8<sup>th</sup> 1848  
Died Feb. 2<sup>nd</sup> 1928

65. Rev. Fr. T E Frigerio  
Died 16<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1987

66. In loving memory  
Of Henry L Byng  
Died April 5<sup>th</sup> 1906  
Aged 68 years

67. In loving memory of  
Denis Scully M.D.  
Died 16<sup>th</sup> February 1908

68. Of your charity  
Pray  
For the soul of  
George Ruddock Myers  
Who died Oct. 14<sup>th</sup> 1908  
Aged 65 years

69. In memory of  
Henry Bagshawe  
Died Oct. 20<sup>th</sup> 1928  
Aged 64 years

70. In  
Loving memory  
Of  
Daniel Lane  
Died 8<sup>th</sup> November 1944

71. In loving memory of  
Francis Xavier Doolittle  
B.A., M.B., B. Ch.  
Beloved son of the late  
Thomas and  
Mary Elizabeth Doolittle  
Of Liverpool  
Died 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1947  
Aged 58 years  
Sweet Jesus have mercy on him

72. Of your charity  
pray  
for the soul of  
John Louis Crofton  
Who died 1<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1917  
Aged 53 years  
Gaffney

73. In loving memory  
Of  
Our darling son  
Tom Rossiter  
Died 31<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1924  
Aged 28 years

74. In loving memory  
Of  
Timothy Callanan  
Ballycatten  
Timoleague  
Died 28<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1932

75. In memory of Edward David  
Macmahon  
Of Glasgow  
Died 30<sup>th</sup> may 1943, age 53

76. In  
Loving memory  
Of  
Cyril  
George De La Rue  
Died 17<sup>th</sup> June 1988

77. Martin Kearney  
Died 14<sup>th</sup> June 1954

78. Concrete cross, no inscription

79. Bro. Coleman  
died 10<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1968

80. Bro. Ultan  
Died 20<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1970

81. Bro. Patrick Fagan  
Died 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1972

82. Br. Fergus Mangan  
Died 14<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1973

83. Br. Kieran Cashman  
Died 17<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1975

84. Br. Lanfranc Kelly  
Died 20<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1978

85. Br. Finbarr Kiely  
Died 30<sup>th</sup> June  
1978

86. Br. Hilarian Kiely  
Died 22<sup>nd</sup> Jan. 1978

87. Br. Macanisius  
Sinnott  
Died 11<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1978

88. Br. Patrician Duffy  
Died 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1985

89. Br. Odran Cleary  
Died 10<sup>th</sup> march 1979

90. Br. Ninian Power

29<sup>th</sup> April  
1989

91. Br. Canice Walsh

Died 7<sup>th</sup> June 2004

92. Bro. Thomas Burke

8<sup>th</sup> June 1991

93. Bro. Raymond Quigley

24 October 2005

94. Bro. Michael Murphy

21<sup>st</sup> Nov. 1993

95. Bro. Mark Quinlan

14<sup>th</sup> January 2009  
[no headstone]

96. Bro. Peter Sheehy

23<sup>rd</sup> Nov. 1993

97. Br. John Grant

9<sup>th</sup> March 1999  
[native of Slieverue]

98. Br. Malachy Searson

Died 22<sup>nd</sup> Dec. 2003

**Central Memorial Cross**

**North Face**

1. Rev. Eugene Delaroyere, born  
1854, died Sep. 6<sup>th</sup> 1892

2. Rev. Edward Harris, O.M.I., born  
1830, died July 2 1893

3. Rev. Patrick McCarthy, born 1836,  
died Oct. 9 1895

4. Rev. William Deasy, born 1839,  
died Jan. 17 1900

5. Rev. William McCarthy, born 1827,  
died May 18 1903

14. Rev. John Barry, born 1854, died  
Nov. 4 1909

16. Rev. J B Wooloughan, born 1837,  
died may 1912

17. Rev. Bro. J Wilbourne, born 1849,  
died November 22 1912

21. Rev. John Howard, PP, born 1844,  
died Dec. 28 1916

22. Rev. Peter Francis Elkins, born  
1830, died Feb. 1917

23. Rev. John O Brien, born 1825,  
died Feb. 20<sup>th</sup> 1917

26. Rev. Timothy Sheehan, born  
1862, died June 25 1918

28. Rev. David O Loughlin, born  
1882, died March 31 1919

33. rev. W. Kelly, died Sept. 21 1922,  
aged 73 years

35. Rev. John Maloney, died July 14<sup>th</sup>  
1923, aged 55 years

**East Face**

7. Denis Kelleher, born 1817, died Jan. 9 1900
8. George Jones, born 1851, died April 27 1901
9. Henry Byng, born 1838, died April 5 1906
11. John McDermot, born 1867, died Feb. 3 1908
12. Dr. Denis Scully, born 1855, died Feb. 16 1908
13. George Ruddock Myers, born 1844, died Oct. 14 1908
18. John Simcox, born 1846, died April 18 1913
25. John Louis Crofton, born 1863, died December 1 1917
27. Michael Cummins, born 1860, died Feb. 5 1919

**West Face**

6. Rev. Bro. Josaphat Walsh, born 1867, died May 22 1903
10. Rev. Bro. Aidan Peters, born 1891, died Nov. 27 1907
15. Rev. Bro. Edmund Lucas, born 1837, died May 12 1912
19. Rev. bro. Bellinus De Schepper, born 1835, died Jan. 2 1915
20. Rev. Bro. Hercule Verboven, born 1863, died Aug. 28 1916
31. Rev. Bro. Gloribert De Been, died June 14 1921, aged 37 years
34. Rev. Bro. Wilfrid Quillan, died Jan. 1 1923, aged 60 years

**South face**

24. Baptist Shea Lalor, born 1864, died Nov. 24 1917
30. Walter Skelly, died March 8 1920, aged 51 years
32. John Kavenagh, died June 30 1921, 68 years
36. Alex McCarthy, died Aug. 13 1923, 82 years
- Christopher Rooney, died 31<sup>st</sup> May 1940, 32 years

# William M. Glynn (Liam Mac Fhloinn): Quaker, Liberal and Gaeilgeoir

*Leslie Matson*

**W**ILLIAM Mortimer Glynn was born on 30 October 1895 in Ranelagh, Dublin, the second of four children of Edward Glynn and his wife Susan Halliday. The eldest of the family was Norah and there were two younger children, Sherwood McClure and Kathleen.

His grandfather Mortimer Glynn was married to Anne Flanagan, who, by what afterwards proved a strange coincidence, was born in the Gate Lodge (which still exists) at Newtown School, Waterford. William's great-grandfather, Patrick Glynn, who was born in 1783, married Susanna Cheyne and died in 1829. It may have been Patrick who was the first of the family to join the Society of Friends. Members of the present family think it likely on the basis of the surname that the family lived in earlier generations in the Sligo area. Susan Halliday had Quaker ancestors going back to the seventeenth century. Liam, by which name William Mortimer Glynn was widely known, was usually called Willie in his family and with the close friends of his youth, but he disliked this and was able to persuade his elder sister Norah to use the Irish form. He also believed that the Mortimer appearing in his grandfather's and uncle's name (the latter also was William Mortimer Glynn) was an Anglicisation of Murtagh, and Liam occasionally used that name or Murt as a pseudonym. This suggests the likelihood that the family in earlier generations were native speakers of Irish.

Liam's father was a salesman for W. & R. Jacob. He was successful in business, eventually becoming regional manager for the North (which included the North of England and Scotland). When Liam was three, the family moved to live in Belfast. For four days each week Edward Glynn was away, visiting for example Donegal, Glasgow and Liverpool. He was a liberal in politics and was a member of the local branch of the Liberal Party, but was shrewd enough not to alienate his customers, particularly on the Unionist side, by expressing his views in a business context.

## **Childhood**

The last thing that Liam remembered before the move to Belfast was a dog chasing the cat. His childhood is well documented, as he wrote an account of it in Irish, *Gáirdín na hÓige*, which was published by *Coiscéim* in 1996, three years after his death. It was a very happy childhood and because his father was away travelling most weeks from Monday to Friday, the children spent most of their time with their mother. She was a determined but kindly, if somewhat delicate, woman with



*Liam Glynn in the 1930s.*

strong evangelical views, and Bible reading took place after breakfast and after tea. Silent prayer preceded each meal at home. Much of the family life revolved around the activities of the Quaker Meeting at Frederick Street, Belfast, which they attended and of which Edward and Susan were leading members. Both of them were deeply involved in education through the institute founded by Friends 'for the promotion of the intellectual, moral and religious welfare of young men'. They taught in the Adult School which was run there. Liam was certainly involved with this organisation and it was in some such a context that the young Bulmer Hobson made a strong impression on him, particularly because of his interest in Irish history, folklore and legend. The family attended evangelical meetings at the Friends' Mission in Henry Street. Here the hymns of Moody and Sankey were favourites, amongst which all his life Liam remembered, 'Dare to be a Daniel' and 'Row to the Shore'. Both Liam's parents had been brought up in Dublin in a very evangelical period and Liam's brother-in-law, Norah's husband John Douglas, confided in him that as a young man he would avoid Edward Glynn because he was so evangelical. If anything went wrong, Susan would get the children to pray with her. Edward was a man of strict principle and won his case when taken to court in 1897 for refusing to allow Norah to be vaccinated.

Liam's mother Susan was a shy person, but she was sometimes moved to speak in Meeting and Norah on one occasion remarked with what assurance she had spoken. At about noon the Salvation Army band used to pass outside and Liam loved to hear the music and the nearby donkey who brayed in response to it. There was no special class for children, who sat in the normal Meeting for worship and they welcomed the sound of the band as it usually indicated that the Meeting was at last coming to an end.

Liam looked back with pain to one incident in his childhood, when he threw a garden trowel at his sister. It was, he said, the worst thing he did in those years and the reaction of his parents in making him see that he had let down the family standards made a deep impression on him.

From an early age Liam was a keen reader, even though his mother did not always approve of the books he bought. 'Comic Cuts' which he sometimes read was rather frowned on. Dancing, cards, theatre, circus and pantomimes were not allowed, as his mother felt that frivolity militated against the work of the Spirit. As he afterwards commentated, 'We didn't miss the pleasures we didn't know'. His father taught him chess.

His grandfather Halliday lived with the family, but Liam said he learned little from him, in spite of the fact that in his young days he had been a prospector in Australia. They would go for walks together with the dog Jack. Liam admits that they were not good at getting information from people and as a consequence his grandfather brought his story to the grave.

Liam's father was the first person he heard mentioning James Larkin. He was in two minds about him: he disliked Larkin's rough, threatening way of speaking, but realised his power in championing the cause of the workers. As a person who never tasted wine or tobacco, Edward was proud of the support and encouragement that Quakers and in particular William Martin, had given to Father Mathew's crusade.

Liam was delighted when his father was chosen as clerk of the Meeting, and his mother a member of the committee. Like most other children of the Meeting, he was a member of the Band of Hope, a junior temperance group where children were strongly encouraged to take the pledge, as Liam did. Years afterwards, when he took his first glass of wine (not something he did very often) he did not feel bound by this pledge, which he looked on as having been taken under duress.

From about the age of twelve, Liam went to the Adult School run by the Meeting. There were about thirty students, mostly manual workers, many of them from 'the Island' which was part of the shipyard area. The class would start with fervent religious songs and Bible reading and then a student chosen in advance would introduce the subject under discussion. Both Liam's parents taught in the school. The Meeting ran Christmas parties to which children from very deprived backgrounds would be invited. There was never a suggestion of proselytism, to which Quakers in general were strongly opposed.

Sometimes, Liam's father would bring him on suitable commercial trips, and he got to know many small towns around Belfast. They would visit archaeological and historical sites together. Even short journeys by car were fascinating to the young boy. Occasionally they would go further afield on holidays, such as a train trip to Monkstown in Co. Dublin, where he was amazed to see his grandfather's name Halliday over a shop. (This was the shop owned by the family of Eileen F. Webster, the distinguished teacher of history at Newtown School.) He remembered going to Killiney by train, bucket and spade proudly in hand and admiring the bathing boxes along the beach there.

When a little older, he and his father cycled to Enniscorthy, breaking their journey with Quaker families such as the Haughtons on the way. Here they stayed with Aunt Lizzie, his father's favourite sister (Elizabeth J. Glynn). She had a small shop and house, rather run-down, with water supplied only by a pump in the street. Liam was particularly interested to visit the sites associated with the 1798 rebellion such as Vinegar Hill. Aunt Lizzie was later to give Liam an account of her experiences and those of her neighbours during Easter Week 1916, which is of considerable interest and takes up eight pages of his 1917 diary.

### **Early Schooling**

Liam started his junior secondary schooling at Belfast Royal Academy in January 1906, having reached the age of ten the previous October. He stayed there for only two years, though we have no reason to believe that it was an unhappy time. However, his parents were both convinced Quakers and were naturally anxious that their son should be as much as possible under Quaker influence and by March 1908 we find his mother writing to him at Prospect Hill, Lisburn. This was the address of Friends' School, at that time still known as Ulster Provincial School.

### **Schooling at Lisburn**

When it was time to begin his secondary education, Liam at the start of 1908 became a boarder at Friends' School. He found James Woolman the clearest and

most orderly teacher there. He was very happy, so much so that when he had to stay at home because of an illness, he was impatient to be back. He maintained that his wish to work in boarding schools arose from his good experiences in Lisburn. He tells how a classmate called Eddie Orr splashed his book with ink and when he realised how hurt Liam was, he splashed his own book to show his contrition. Liam felt that such a healing action was symbolic of what the school stood for.

During Liam's time at Lisburn, there was a debate on the motion 'That Ireland would be better off if the Irish Language were universally spoken in that country'. Liam was the proposer, but the motion was lost by sixteen votes to three.

The headmaster during Liam's time at Friends' School was W.D. Braithwaite, the first headmaster to hold a degree - three in fact. 'Da' was an Englishman who had been an apprentice teacher under Edward Garnett at Newtown in 1877 and later at Ackworth, but when he came to Ulster as head he looked on it as a backward place. The Ulster men in return found him pompous and fussy. The pupils saw some of his faults, but they disregarded his troubles with the governing body. Many of them owed him a great deal - among them Liam, his sister Norah, John Douglas and Arnold Marsh. Liam said about him that he had a genuine appreciation of Ireland and favoured Home Rule. He had 'an infectious capacity for enjoyment which came out in Scripture and other classes'. In 1910 the governing body had him removed and he moved back to England where he founded a school in Blaris. When that failed, he started another school, Monk Bridge School, in York, which again did not last long. Edward Glynn admired Braithwaite and as a result he sent Liam to board with him in the latter school.

### **Monk Bridge School, York**

Liam left Lisburn in 1910 and whether or not he was for a time at Blaris with Braithwaite, there are letters to him at Monk Bridge School in 1912. Early that year, when he was sixteen, Liam's father had ideas of entering him for a career as an accountant and had already secured him the promise of a place from a Mr. Graham, who was to keep it open until September 1<sup>st</sup>. On 1 July 1912 we find his mother writing to him as he had written to say that he definitely wished to take up teaching. His parents were slightly taken aback, but did not discourage him, advising him to discuss it with Mr. Braithwaite. It was intended that he should remain in York for a year. When that year was over, he became a junior master at Great Ayton Friends' School, also in Yorkshire. Having been happy as a boarder at Lisburn and Monk Bridge, he had no difficulty in fitting in. He taught some French, supervised the boys and as he said more than sixty years later, was almost like one of the boys himself.

### **Interest in the Irish Language**

Liam believed that there was no spoken Irish in his family back at least three generations. As a boy, he of course knew that many Irish words like *grá* and so on were used in Hiberno-English. He had read Lever's *Handy Andy* which encouraged his interest and knew from it that it wasn't long since the old tongue was

spoken, but he had no idea that it was a living language anywhere in Ireland. His first experience of spoken Irish was when he was chatting to a domestic servant. Kate, who was from Sligo, told him one day that her parents used to speak Irish to their neighbours and between themselves, but spoke English to her. They would use Irish if she was around and they wanted to conceal something from her. Liam's strong interest was aroused. 'You must know lots of Irish then?' he enquired hopefully. 'Divil a word,' she answered 'except what they used when meeting their neighbours'. 'And what was that?' persisted the young Liam. Kate gave in and said *Beannacht leat!* Thus began a major preoccupation of his life. He read widely in pursuit of his interest, as yet in books written in English, such as Yeats's *Irish Fairy and Folk Tales*.

Two things in particular fed his interest. The first was an argument which began in a local paper about the status of Irish in Queen's; the second was a lecture by James H. Cousins on 'The Kingdom of Kerry'. There was some hesitation among many Northern Protestants in becoming involved with Irish language activities, but after Cousins's lecture Liam's mind was made up. He must learn the language. His father had joined the Liberal Party, and its periodical *The Ulster Guardian* supported the stand of the Gaelic League in favour of a Professorship of Celtic Languages in Queen's. Liam wrote to the Gaelic League who recommended books he could study.

It is important in judging Liam's position to appreciate the segmentation in Ulster society at the time. At school, when only twelve years of age, Liam had referred favourably to the idea of Home Rule. One of his schoolmates told him to have some sense: 'Och, mon, don't you know that if Home Rule comes the 'Mickies' will cut our throats?' This sort of hardline sentiment was largely foreign to Liam's experience, as there was no anti-Catholic feeling whatsoever among his immediate family.

After a couple of years Liam was sufficiently conversant with Irish to subscribe to *An Claidheamh Solais*, and his father sent copies of this journal to him even when he was on the ambulance train in wartime France. Whenever he heard spoken Irish in those years, he tells us, a shiver of pleasure went down his spine. His parents were generally supportive of his interest, though his mother wondered at times whether the Irish language question might not be a further focus of division in Irish society. His reply was that he would find it strange to speak English and French without using the language of his own country.

### **World War I: Friends' Ambulance Unit**

Liam entered Queen's College, Belfast (as it then was) in the autumn of 1914 and began an honours course in History just at the outbreak of World War I. During the Autumn Term of 1914, the expectation among Liam's fellow-students was that the Great War would be over by Christmas. During 1914, many of Liam's fellow-alumni were joining the British forces. As a Quaker Liam would have been a strong supporter of the Friends' Peace Testimony and thus would not have served in the army. Nevertheless, the idea must have grown on him that while so many of

his peers were losing their lives he should do something to help suffering humanity. His mother may have been aware of this feeling and he said it was she who first suggested his joining the Friends' Ambulance Unit, though neither of them was sure how Edward Glynn would take the suggestion that he should interrupt his studies in this way. In the upshot his father accepted what was proposed and for this Liam was very grateful. His Brother Sherwood was also to join the Ambulance Unit in the last months of World War I.

Liam's training was carried out in Buckinghamshire, consisting of first aid, patient care and long route marches. The next couple of years are very well documented, because he kept a diary during virtually all his time on Ambulance Train No. 17. The first entry is that for 28 November 1915, when he was in London waiting to go to France and the last entry referring to the ambulance train is 242 pages later, dated 9 August 1917.

Activity on AT 17 was hectic at times, especially when there were thrusts on either side, but there were *longueurs* when he was able to catch up on sleep or read, or even to join with the other Friends on the train in getting up entertainments. He wrote many letters, particularly to his sister Norah and kept records of the letters he sent and received. Postcards were sent frequently to Belfast. One card to his mother on Good Friday 1916 asks her to thank his father for sending him *An Claidheamh Solais*. This clearly indicates his continuing interest in the Irish language. The cards also show that he was able to spend a large part of his free time in the delightful and richly historic Normandy city of Rouen, also in Boulogne and Le Havre.

One diary entry, which is of special interest in view of Liam's Quaker background, is that on 5 August 1917 at 11 p.m., he made the following dramatic announcement, 'I have suddenly discovered that I am a pacifist, a thoroughgoing pacifist! It is a position towards which I have been moving for some time but which I have only now thoroughly grasped. I must attempt to set it out in full tomorrow morning'. On 8 August he began this task, which continues for nine pages of mingled philosophy, idealism, humanism and literary commentary. Such a development is surprising, as Liam was brought up in an atmosphere traditionally wedded to the Quaker Peace Testimony. It suggests that at some earlier period he did not hold such strict views.

When the work of the ambulance unit stretched into years, some Friends began to wonder whether its activities, in effect, were to some degree incompatible with their Peace Testimony. They felt that a major part of the work of the medical services looking after wounded soldiers seemed to consist in patching up their patients only to get them back to the war as quickly as possible and that the work of the ambulance unit was being used as part of this process. There is no evidence that this was also Liam's point of view, but for whatever reason, Liam decided to bring his service to an end. He was naturally anxious to get back to his studies and he may have felt an interest in the movement for Irish independence which was operating with new vigour since the Rising of 1916 and particularly its aftermath.

### **Interest in Sinn Féin**

The last entry in Liam's diary relating to the ambulance train was that for 5 August 1917 and he returned to Belfast immediately afterwards. Deeply affected by his experiences in the unit and now a confirmed pacifist, Liam maintained his interest in Irish political development and his general support for Home Rule. Shortly before his twenty-second birthday in mid-September 1917, Norah, Sherwood and he attended an important and well-publicised meeting of Sinn Féin at St. Mary's Hall, Belfast. Two or three days later, he wrote a four-page account of the meeting in his diary. The meeting was enthusiastic and he was interested in the reaction of what he refers to as 'the usual section of political meetings'. This group cheered the more obvious points, and signified loud approval whenever Germany was mentioned or doubts were cast on the success of British arms. The speakers, in the order of their addressing the meeting, were Darrell Figgis, Eoin MacNeill, Arthur Griffith and Éamon de Valera. There were cheers as they entered, especially on the entrance of de Valera, whose exploits during Easter Week had made him a popular hero.

### **Return to Queen's**

The autumn term of 1917 saw Liam entering Queen's College for the second time. After much heart-searching, he had decided to change his course. He had enjoyed his one year of History, but perhaps his time in France had imprinted on Liam's mind the importance of French civilisation and literature and he felt the need to upgrade his knowledge of Irish, which was then and always remained, his abiding enthusiasm.

Canon O'Connell – 'Conall Cearnach' - was in charge of the classes in Irish, which consisted, at most, of three or four students. The canon's enunciation of Irish Liam described as leisurely and cultivated, and was a great encouragement to him in his self-appointed task of learning to speak the language. As he himself put it in his lecture at Queen's in 1979, 'it would have seemed at that time an extraordinary thing to spend time on French, and not to learn Irish, a speech so closely interwoven with the evolution of our society, and so intimately affecting our ways of thought and feeling'. He was conscious as he began his course that there were few, if any, counties of Ireland where spoken Irish did not survive in its living form, certainly none in Ulster from Donegal to Down. Canon O'Connell was a friendly, kind man, and Liam noted how, to find reading matter, the canon had recourse to a series of proofs - work in progress by an old friend of his, a parish priest in Co. Cork. He told how a group of the priest's friends had persuaded him to spend time writing in Irish, and how as he wrote he would throw the sheets on the floor and leave it to others to prepare them for publication. It was thus that Liam came to read Canon Peadar Ó Laoghaire's *Bricriu*, a modernisation of an Old Irish text. 'Ever since,' wrote Liam, 'whenever passing Loughbrickland – Bricriu's Loch – on my way north or south, I give a thought to that glorious Ulster trouble-maker'.

Although in the case of Canon O'Connell, his class of three or four could hardly be said to constitute a 'lecture', the situation regarding French was different as there were fifteen to twenty students in his year. Douglas Savory had become Professor of French Language and Romance Philology at Queen's in 1909. He was a keen phonetician, and this had a marked effect on Liam's teaching methods in French. He was attached to Admiralty Intelligence at some stage during World War I and was for a time British minister to Sweden. Afterwards he was knighted and became an MP.

In 1919, Liam took his arts degree with honours. As he worked for his finals, in order to help him to relax, he read Daniel Corkery's *The Threshold of Quiet*. The book was introduced by a famous quotation from Thoreau: 'The mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation' and Liam said many years later that this exactly tuned in with his feelings at the time. He little realised the part that Corkery was to play in his life over the next few years.

### **Gaeltacht visits**

From this time onwards, in pursuance of his abiding interest in the Irish language, Liam spent periods in almost every Gaeltacht area during his school holidays. His first such visit, in 1918, was to Gort a' Choirce in Donegal where he met a blind man called Ó Gallchobhair. When Liam pronounced *Tá* as *thaw*, he was abruptly told that it should be pronounced *tah*. Presumably, having studied the work of Peadar Ó Laoghaire under Conall Cearnach, he was more used to the Munster pronunciation. He met an old man who wept at the thought that an educated person like Liam should be taking the trouble to learn his language. Later he visited the Glens of Antrim, also with this purpose. During his first spell in Waterford he spent time on Inishmore and visited Gouganebarra in Muskerry. In 1932 he stayed on the Great Blasket, but unfortunately, his diary entry for this last visit (if it ever existed) is no longer extant. We are thus deprived of the chance of comparing his impressions with those of his second and final Blasket visit in 1948. He made occasional visits to the Ring Gaeltacht until well in his eighties, and stayed there on several occasions.

### **Cork Grammar School**

Liam's first teaching post was in Cork Grammar School, to teach French. The headmaster during his first term, from September 1919 was a young clergyman, the Rev. Claude B. Armstrong, who left to become Warden of St. Columba's College, Rathfarnham. Canon Scott, an elderly cleric of the Church of Ireland, took his place for two terms to cope with Classics and English. This meant in practice that the running of the school was largely in the hands of the permanent staff. The next headmaster, who arrived in September 1920, was H. L. Doak, a married man whose brother also joined the staff at the same time. He was an imaginative head who afterwards made quite a name for himself as a poet and anthologist. His wife introduced the idea of staff tea and biscuits during the morning break, which meant that the staff did not have to go out to a neighbouring café for refreshment.

This helped to create *esprit de corps* which Liam found very valuable. During his first term, he did not wear an academic gown, because, to some extent owing to his Quaker background, he disliked the idea of a distinguishing mark for teachers, and had only known one instance of it, at Lisburn, where Conrad Gill, afterwards his lecturer in Queen's, had worn a gown and spoke with a cultivated English accent which Liam's fellow-pupils found strange. From his second term onwards he was, however, obliged to wear one.

The staff were interesting and congenial, and speaking about them sixty-five years later he remembered particularly Mr. Wood, a senior teacher. A lame man, he was very friendly and fond of pulling people's legs. He was not politically minded, but was very interested in the boys and in the people of Cork. He loved to wander around the Coal Quay market (pronounced 'Coal Kay' in Cork), listening to the different accents there and on the top of the tram, which he would then recount to his colleagues. The staff contained three or four of Unionist outlook, one man who, Liam thought, was a member of the IRA, and one Catholic member of staff who was very strongly Sinn Féin. A member of staff who made a strong impression on him was Tim O'Donoghue, who taught Mathematics. He described Tim as a brilliant scholar with a pronounced west Cork accent who had done very well at UCC. His sense of humour in describing to the staff what he had done or what had happened to him the day before, helped in the process of uniting a staff that embraced so many conflicting political views, and ensured that friendship prevailed in what might have been thought to have been difficult circumstances. Liam was very interested in the fact that Tim announced his interest in William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* and considered that it was typical of him to have had no unnecessary reserves about a subject which might well at the time have been thought divisive.

Liam liked the boys he was teaching, though as a Quaker he regretted that, at least during his first term, the boys belonged to the Officer Training Corps as in an English Public School and trained with guns. (Incidentally the armoury in which those guns were held was afterwards raided by the local IRA, who reportedly found them largely unusable.)

The most dramatic event was the 1920 visit of the newly-elected Lord Mayor of Cork, Thomas McCurtain. Liam's account, recorded in 1984 when he was eighty-eight, is worth giving verbatim:

He was a Sinn Féin member of the Corporation and he paid the customary visit by a new Lord Mayor to all the schools in the town. In the Grammar School, of course, the majority of the pupils would have been Unionist in outlook, and when Thomas McCurtain came into the class the boys would naturally have been very interested to see what sort of a man he was, and how he would speak. He spoke very acceptably indeed. He commented on the fact that he was visiting a Protestant school, and he said that the Protestant members of Cork society, citizens, were Protestant, had been for generations, and had done a great deal to develop business and social life in the city. He

looked forward to meeting the boys when they graduated, as fellow-citizens, and possibly as members of the Corporation. The boys were very pleased, and the Mayor was a bit surprised when I said farewell to him in Irish, which he did not expect from Cork Grammar School. A week later, or within the week, we heard one morning that Tomás Mac Curtáin, as he was known in Irish, had been assassinated some time during the night. It was a very great shock to all of us because he had been sincerely welcomed by the school and his attitude had been appreciated. The whole staff turned out eventually to the funeral, which took place in the City Cemetery. I always associated it with the playing of 'Wrap the Green Flag Round Me Boys' and for years afterwards I never heard that patriotic air without remembering the funeral of Tomás Mac Curtáin.

The air which so haunted Liam's memory had been played by the Irish Volunteers' Pipe Band.

In contrast, the death shortly after on hunger strike of Terence McSwiney seems to have left little impression – possibly because it caused such a worldwide sensation that Liam, who had never met him, did not feel such a personal sense of loss. The London 'Meeting for Sufferings' of the Society of Friends had approached the British government, pleading that McSwiney should be released, to no avail. By an extraordinary coincidence, when Liam was visiting a school in Germany in 1924, he found that a daughter of McSwiney had just become a pupil.

On his first journey to Cork, Liam had met his Quaker friend Isaac Swain, looking after his twin children at Kingsbridge Station. Swain, who was a Professor and Registrar at University College, Cork, kept open house for him, and found him 'digs' in a building just off Patrick Street. This proved unsuitable, and while there Liam suffered a bad attack of jaundice. His colleague, Bill Sheehy, the Art Master at the time (and who was still in office when the present writer left Cork Grammar School in 1945), lived at 1, Morningside, Summerhill South, near the Capwell railway station and his sister took guests. He suggested that Liam might like to come and live there. All went very well until an incident happened of which Liam told to a group of Friends in the 1960s.

Professor Isaac Swain said at a Quaker committee meeting that Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir (the father of the Quaker historian Isabel Grubb) had an old neighbour whose son was in prison in Cork. He was not a Sinn Féiner, but apparently he preferred to speak Irish. The local Friends followed the Quaker tradition of concern for prisoners, and someone said 'There's young Willie Glynn who talks Irish'.

Accordingly, Liam visited the jail, and through the spy-hole in the door was informed that if he wished to visit this prisoner he would have to get the permission of the local army commander. Liam wrote to this officer. One Saturday morning very early, Liam was awakened by the sound of a hurtling lorry, a screech of brakes and the sound of hobnailed boots coming up the path. A white-faced maid

came up to his bedroom and handed him a military telegram which informed him that he had applied to the wrong officer. That morning Liam set off for a Quaker meeting in Dublin. When he returned from Dublin on the Sunday evening, he was met by a thoroughly shaken Bill Sheehy who told him that his sister had not slept a wink the night before, and that the neighbours were pressurising her, saying that Liam must be a British spy. Bill Sheehy asked him whether he could get other lodgings immediately. Liam told Isaac Swain about it, and through him he was given accommodation on the Glasheen Road by an English Friend who said he was not afraid of the IRA. Only once did Liam hear a young girl say behind his back 'He's a spy!' Sensibly, he took care to tell the full story as widely as possible, particularly to his Irish-speaking friends who, in some cases, if not all, were supporters of the IRA. Liam realised that his colleague Bill Sheehy had no option but to take the action he did, and no ill-feeling resulted.

It was in the back garden of the house on the Glasheen Road that Liam and his host saw the flames over Cork at the time of the 1920 fire. The next morning, when the daughter of the house was playing the piano, the milkman arrived and commented: 'Nero fiddling while Rome burned!' Only then did Liam realise the seriousness of what had happened. Nearly fifty years later he spoke of a picture which had remained in his mind ever since he had seen the remains of Patrick Street: two buildings utterly destroyed flanked an almost undamaged toyshop, in the window of which stood a rocking-horse which seemed to him to symbolise innocence and normality amid hatred and destruction.

Liam participated fully in the activities and meetings of the local Quakers, and among them he was closest to Fred and Bertha Baker, who remained long-standing friends. He said that at the time of the Cork burning it was wonderful to escape to the quiet of Wilson Strangman's homes at Kionoith and Shanagarry. Nearly thirty years later, in 1948-9, Wilson was to become acting headmaster of Newtown until Liam was free to take over.

When he arrived in Cork, and making no secret of his interest in Irish, Liam soon became aware of a club – he thought it was called the Twenty Club – which brought together enthusiasts for the language. One of the members was the pianist Geraldine Sullivan who afterwards became Geraldine Neeson. Through the club, Liam got to know Daniel Corkery, who was very friendly to him. Having read Corkery's *The Threshold of Quiet* the first place he visited when he reached Cork was the Lough, which figures in that novel.

Through Corkery Liam met Seán Ó Faoláin and Michael O'Donovan. The latter, afterwards known of course as Frank O'Connor, became a particular friend. They went for long walks together, and Liam was struck by the rich resources of Michael's mind, and his exceptionally wide reading for one so young, as he was only about fifteen at the time. As well as literature in Irish and English, the young O'Connor had read in Spanish and French. Liam was always a great listener – someone described him many years later as 'that man who is silent in seven languages' – and in speaking about those walks he conceded half a century later that it was a case of listening to a monologue 'rather than taking part in a

conversation'! Ideas and literary allusions kept pouring out of O'Connor and clearly Liam was a valuable sounding-board who gave him the motivation to get his ideas in order. Liam was no doubt being too modest about his contribution to these walks, but it was probably true that he felt in himself a tendency to consider more deeply than the majority of people what he was to say before actually uttering his thoughts. When he spoke his arguments were well marshalled and expressed with clarity and force.

Liam several times visited O'Connor's home in Harrington Square, St. Luke's and was very much struck by the character of his mother. She was understandably proud, then and after of her brilliant son and in the early days Liam felt that he himself was being scrutinised carefully by Mrs. O'Donovan, trying to put her mind at rest that his older friend would not in any sense be a bad influence on him.

By the time that Liam left Cork the Civil War had started, and he had to travel to Belfast *via* Liverpool. Mícheál (Liam's name of choice for him) had joined the anti-Treaty side and was interned. Liam's account of what followed differs only in detail from that given in O'Connor's *An Only Child*:

... in the internment camp it was decided, I suppose by the majority, to go on hunger strike and [Mícheál] says it was partly as a result of reading AE's comments on the civil war and perhaps on hunger-strikes that his own views changed. I don't remember the exact details, but through reading AE in the *Irish Statesman* which I had sent him, and was sending him, he decided to come off the hunger strike, a very difficult and somewhat risky decision.

When one considers the crucial part played by hunger-strikes in Irish history, it is possible that Liam's action in enabling O'Connor to appreciate the other side of the argument may well have been of some importance in the course of Ireland's troubled story. O'Connor was shocked and incredulous when he saw the cruelties meted out by Irishmen to Irishmen. 'Liam', he said to him once, 'Christ did not suffer as much on the cross'.

In later life, when Liam and O'Connor had both left Cork, they met only on rare occasions. His literary activities and Liam's involvement in teaching inevitably affected the closeness of their friendship. Its intimacy did not develop, as O'Connor became more and more involved on the literary side and with the Abbey Theatre Board.

In 1922, Liam was appointed an examiner to the Intermediate Branch of the Department of Education. Since large areas of the south were in the hands of the Republican forces, he was issued with a pass which was addressed 'To the Proper Authority - Please facilitate William M. Glynn' and so on. In July of that year he left Cork Grammar School. Whether or not Liam was anxious to escape from the pressures of the Civil War in the Free State, or had some other reason for leaving is not now known. It may also have been the news of a vacancy for a teacher of French at Friends' School, his *alma mater*, where as a Quaker he would feel very much at home.

### Teaching at Friends' School

Liam took up his new post as teacher of French at Friends' School, Lisburn, in September 1922. He just missed teaching with his friend Arnold Marsh, who had left the previous July and who was to be his headmaster during his stay at Newtown from 1926 to 1936. At Lisburn he had as a colleague William G. Boggs who was also destined to be at Newtown from 1925 to 1962. Incidentally, at that time there was a strong Waterford connection with the Northern Ireland Ministry of Education. Prominent in it was Andrew Bonaparte-Wyse, who in 1927 became the first Catholic Permanent Secretary and the only one until 1969.

### Visiting AE

During the 1920s, Liam was brought by his sister Norah's brother-in-law, Senator James Douglas (founder and trustee of the Irish White Cross), to one of AE's Sunday evening gatherings in Rathgar. Here Liam met a great variety of artists, writers, people interested in any aspect of the co-operative movement, or people from abroad who had heard of AE's work. The walls were covered with AE's paintings, many of them the products of his annual visit to Donegal. Liam was impressed by his obvious concern to encourage young artists, an aspect emphasised by Frank O'Connor when they met on Liam's visits to Dublin. On one such occasion Liam found himself talking to another man about the question of joining the British army, joining the IRA or not doing so. As he conversed, he became aware that AE was listening to what he had to say. 'I got the impression' he related sixty years later, 'of an older and much more knowledgeable man listening with encouragement and appreciation to the efforts of a younger man to explain himself'. One Sunday evening James Stephens was present; he was amused by Liam's description of his recent visit to Spain and his shame at having attended a bullfight. Stephens immediately composed a word-picture of mechanical bulls which would rush around the arena, giving no pain to sensitive beings like Liam. Liam described Stephens as 'an interesting small man, rather gnome-like... and of course very friendly, cheerful and full of fun when necessary.' Liam's first recollection of reading Stephens was *The Charwoman's Daughter*, which he brought with him on a tram drive across Belfast. He had to lay down the book because he couldn't refrain from bursting out laughing, and, as he said, 'making a show of myself'. Liam was very gratified when, one evening as he was leaving AE's house, the latter said to him: 'James Douglas (who was of course Norah's brother-in-law) has the best political brain in Ireland'. He was one of Michael Collins's nominations to the original Constitution Committee, and Leas-Chathaoirleach of the Senate in 1922.

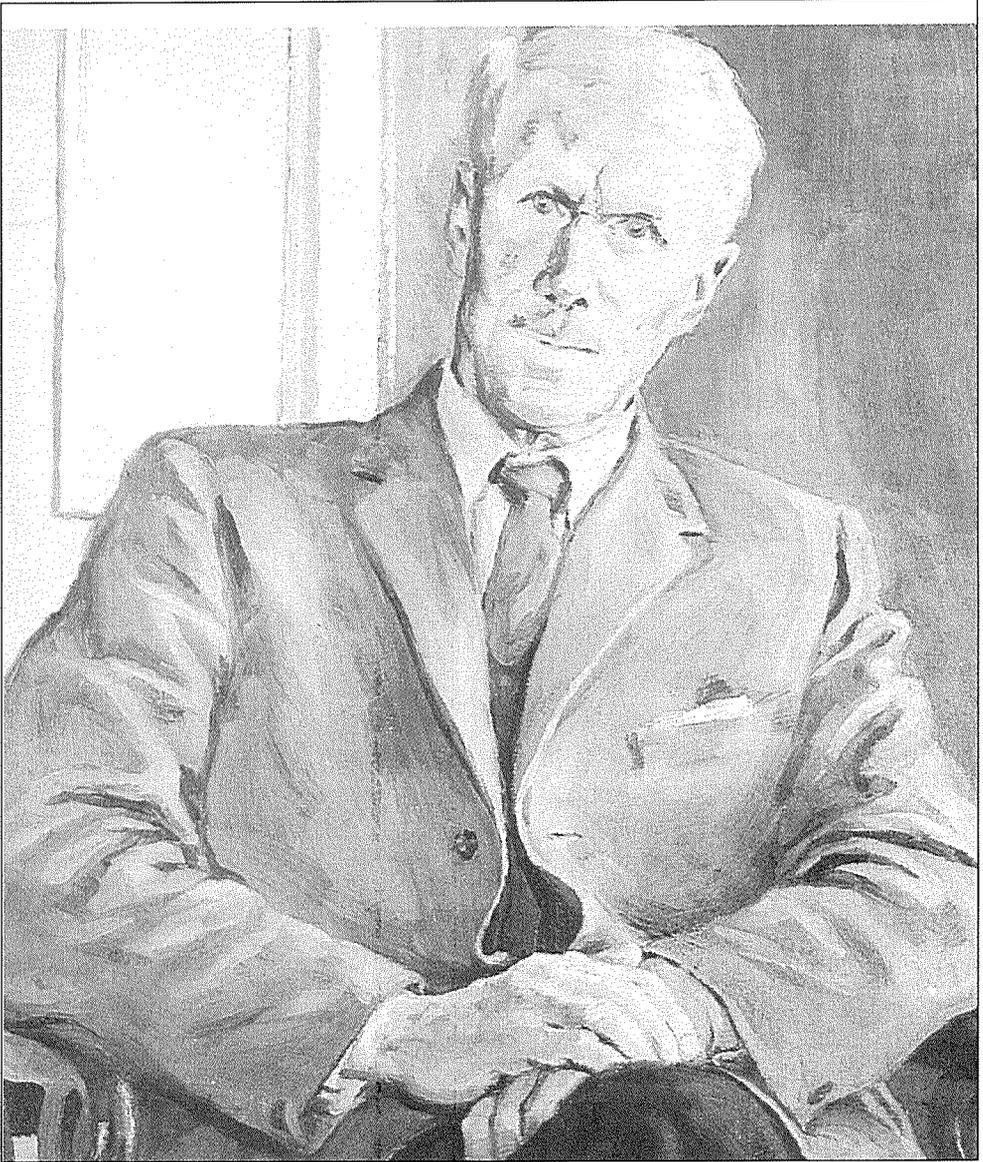
AE was best known as editor of the *Irish Statesman*, and reference has already been made to its influence on Frank O'Connor. An earlier periodical which merged into that publication, the *Irish Homestead*, of which AE had been editor from 1905 to 1923, had been more directly connected with the co-operative movement, but the theme of co-operation was still a major one in AE's writings. Although Liam could not later recollect having talked or heard much about opposition to the co-operative movement, he was aware that it existed and believed that it

came from the gombeen element in the Irish countryside, who saw it as a threat to their profits and debt-related power in their own areas. At one stage, Liam was anxious to get involved more professionally in Sir Horace Plunkett's movement, whose ideals he admired. It was easy for the more extreme elements who wanted the pure, Gaelic, republican ideal, as they saw it, to depict Sir Horace Plunkett as an ascendancy figure. One of the major impoverishments in the burning of his house was the loss of a great number of AE's pictures.

### **First trip to Germany**

Liam's stay at Lisburn was cut short in December 1923, because the headmaster, C.F. Spencer-Smith, probably following a directive from the Northern Ireland Department of Education, insisted that all his staff sign the oath of allegiance within a certain date, or resign. This Liam was not prepared to do, possibly for two reasons. He was too principled to pretend an allegiance to the Crown which he did not feel, but also he would have shared the Quaker practice of refusing to take oaths because they seemed to imply a dual standard of truth. He was now without a teaching post and decided to take up the offer of Quaker relief work until such time as another became available.

He decided to offer his services to the Quaker Office at Frankfurt am Main, which was occupied on relief work. He had very little German, but knowing his interest in languages it is no surprise that he was able to expand his knowledge rapidly and to converse with some degree of success. His first job was to act as travelling companion to Joseph Sturge, an elderly Quaker businessman from Birmingham who was going out to make a private enquiry into the situation in Germany. Quakers were at that time appealing for help for Germany, hit particularly by the collapse of the Mark, and some of the British newspapers had claimed that the Friends were being fooled, that there was no distress and that Germany was doing quite well. Joseph Sturge was the son of a more famous Joseph Sturge who had been a very well-known businessman, administrator and philanthropist in Birmingham. He was asked by Friends to find out the truth about the German situation and to make a report. This involved travelling through different areas in Germany making enquiries. Liam was asked to carry Sturge's bags, and to see that in the circumstances of the time – it was an extremely cold winter – he came to no harm. Sturge would go to a town, of which Cassell was one, and try to meet the people responsible for public administration, trade union leaders, bürgermeisters, and welfare offices and ask them such questions as 'How many are unemployed in your town?' 'What is the relief available in the way of food or subsidies?', 'What is the usual wage earned?', and so on. The state of the hospitals was a particular concern: he even enquired as to the number of sheets and blankets they might have. Having gathered this information, he made a report, and needless to say it showed clearly that there was every justification for the Quakers to be doing this work. In such a task one can be sure that Liam was an able and committed coadjutor. He found himself thinking particularly of the children and had never come across those that were so undernourished, and sickly-looking.



*Liam Glynn as headmaster of Newtown, by Hilda (Roberts) Marsh, courtesy of the Newtown Committee of Management.*

Photograph by Terry Murphy.

In Frankfurt, Liam was found lodgings with an elderly widow whose husband had been a headmaster. She was extremely proud of the latter's eminence and her house was furnished with good quality, heavy furniture of the period, on solid bases. These contrasted in their solidity with the evident fear of the widow and her maid – a north German woman – that the financial disaster caused by the collapse of the Mark from 1921 to November 1923 might return. Everywhere he went, Liam heard people express that fear. The shops showed everything priced, boxes of matches, ribbons, a small saucepan, anything of the sort. Liam quickly realised that he had to be very careful in the house and not to waste anything. For example, he did not dare to leave a crust on his plate after his meal: if he couldn't eat it, he crumbled it in the stove. The slightest appearance of waste would have shocked the widow and her maid beyond all bounds.

### **Germany: The *Odenwaldschule***

Liam's stay in Germany at this time was, he well knew, but an interval in a life's work devoted to teaching. His interest in education never flagged during his long life and he thought and wrote a great deal about it which can be but sketchily referred to here. When at the Frankfurt office, he took the opportunity to visit the *Odenwaldschule* near Heidelberg, which had been founded by Paul Geheeb. The school has been described by Dennis Shirley as 'the crown jewel of the progressive education movement'. It was renowned for its innovations, particularly in encouraging the spirit of personal freedom in the school context. Geheeb had had some money at his disposal and in 1910 he had set up the school in a series of comfortable large villas situated at the border of the Odenwald forest. The discipline was very free in the matter of attendance at classes, preparation, private work and choice of subjects. The difference from a normal school timetable was that two or three subjects were selected for attention at one time. The health of the pupils was attended to by insisting that everyone took exercise in the open air, even in the cold winters of the Odenwald, and the children went around largely barefoot. It was summer time when Liam visited the school and the nurse was reputed to have had no cases to deal with for two or three years, except thorns and scratches from shrubs.

It was at the time of his visit that Terence McSwiney's daughter Máire came to join the school, and when Liam was asked to speak to the school about Ireland, or, as Geheeb suggested, about anything he liked to discuss, he was asked questions about this new pupil of theirs and her background. The story of McSwiney was listened to with great interest; in general throughout Germany Liam was often questioned about the late Mayor of Cork.

Clearly Liam was impressed by the *Odenwaldschule*, but while he was still in the Frankfurt office he was visited by a member of staff whom he had met at the school. This man was very disturbed about the possible results of such an educational system. His point was that the school was so idyllic, the pupils were so well looked after, treated with such respect and given such freedom that he wondered how they would fare when, for example, they entered an ordinary commercial office and found themselves suddenly confronted by a much harder régime.

When the Nazis came to power, Geheeb did his best to adapt his school to the new situation without compromising his principles. Eventually, the local Nazi who had resented the ethos of the school invaded it, guns in hand, ransacked Geheeb's office and his possessions, and looked for left-wing literature. Fifty of them returned four days later and beat up two Jewish teachers. Geheeb emigrated to Switzerland in 1934, and there set up a new school the *École d'Humanité* which moved around to several different locations. It was in one of these that Liam went to visit him after the war. In Liam's own words:

I went to see him, and was entertained to lunch by Mrs. Geheeb. He was present and a number of people. During the dinner, I asked him how in general his pupils had fared during the Hitler time, but he didn't answer. His wife signalled at once and said to me 'That's too painful a subject'. So the matter dropped.

Liam believed that Geheeb's unwillingness to discuss how his pupils had fared was owing to the painful realisation that their education in freedom had, in fact, left them vulnerable to, and easily seduced by, vigorous Nazi propaganda. In short, Geheeb was forced to the view that in extreme circumstances some at least of what he had believed in had been shown to have grievous limitations, thereby casting a shadow back over his life's work.

### **Bishop Foy's School**

After his time in Germany, in September 1924, Liam was appointed to the staff of Bishop Foy School, Waterford, of which the headmaster was F. W. Seymour, to teach French. The city was not unknown to him, because his father had been at school at Newtown and Liam had come there with him on a visit when he was a child. He remained in Foy's for three terms only, moving to Newtown in January 1926.

### **Newtown**

In 1926, Dr. James Clark left Newtown and Arnold Marsh, a Belfast Quaker who had been teaching at Midleton College but had some money of his own, made an agreement with the owners of the school, Munster Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends, to take over as headmaster. The agreement, which was to terminate in 1928, involved Marsh taking financial responsibility for the school during that period. The new head had immense drive, a pioneering spirit and very progressive educational ideas which were not all to the liking of the local people. An advertisement in the *Waterford Standard* during March of that year offered building plots for sale on the school estate, though nothing ever resulted. Marsh asked Liam to move up the Dunmore Road from Bishop Foy's, to join him at Newtown, and this he did, teaching languages. The new headmaster arranged that the Department of Education would recognise the school and this meant that Irish became one of the prescribed subjects. Liam took responsibility for the teaching of French. In his first term, at Old Scholars' weekend in mid-September, we find him

playing hockey for the school against the past pupils. He encouraged pupils to use the Irish form of 'Mr. Glynn', which led to his nickname 'Vicky'. This was the period, from 1926 to 1929, at which Liam's sister Norah and her husband John Douglas were at Newtown prior to John's appointment as head of Friends' School, Lisburn.

It is clear that at first Liam was not impressed by life in Waterford. In his diary for October, he concludes that 'we must make Waterford live, or it will stifle us'. He has some concern that he found it difficult to make relaxed relationships with women, although he clearly wished to do so. He admired Arnold Marsh's vigour in expressing his ideas, and felt their friendship growing. Taking part in what was probably his first Honfleur Conference, of which more later, Liam asked himself in his diary 'Why do you stay in Waterford?' In answer to his own question he wrote that there were some reasons he knew and some he didn't know. He was glad that while there he had scope for his interest in Irish (the Ring Gaeltacht being easily accessible), and he was also genuinely interested in the future of his Newtown pupils. He fitted in very well to boarding school life. Arnold Marsh allowed parties of the boarders to camp out on the school grounds on summer weekends and Liam would often join them. He took a party of the boys to cycle in France and remembered their amazement when they discovered the huge amount of sweets they could buy for sixpence because of the favourable exchange rate.

As Liam reached his tenth year teaching at Newtown, he found that for personal reasons his relationship with some Waterford Friends was not as comfortable as it had been and in consultation with Arnold Marsh, he decided to leave the school, to which he was fated to return as headmaster thirteen years later. It was not a happy time for him and his diaries for the period from 1932 to 1941 are no longer extant, presumably because he did not wish to be reminded of the preoccupations of those years. Those diaries certainly existed, because about ten years before his death he gave me one diary to read from 1937. I typed out some passages, giving him a copy and keeping a copy for myself. It is clear that he looked on the keeping of a diary at that time as a form of therapy for the loneliness which he felt so strongly after leaving Waterford. On 16 June 1937 he wrote 'Once again I start a diarie to ecsorcise this hellis loneliness' using peculiar spelling and Irish orthography as if to express a private sadness. 'To be of aine bhalue it must be selfrebhealing and for that reason I must find a way of writing which is not plain to the first incuistibh that pics up the book'. He quoted from Birrell: 'Only the foot knows where the shoe pinches, only the heart knows its own bitterness'.

### **Art in Waterford**

In March 1935, the *Waterford News* published a letter from a contributor signing himself as An Fweelaun, a rendering into English spelling of the Irish word for a seagull. It claimed that 'this thousand year old city has an important part to play in the reconstruction of the nation's cultural life' and that this might best be achieved by the foundation of a permanent art collection in Waterford. It is not certain by whom this letter was written, but it bears all the hallmarks of Liam's thinking and

expression. Art was in the forefront of the minds of at least some of the Newtown staff, for that very same month an exhibition of paintings was held in the gym at Newtown on the initiative of Arnold Marsh and his wife, Hilda Roberts, already a distinguished painter. The exhibition consisted almost exclusively of Medici prints which the Marshes had obtained on loan from London. A second similar exhibition was held, but because the prints failed to arrive a collection of pictures by local artists and from private collections was hastily assembled. From these beginnings grew the fine Waterford Municipal Art collection, the story of which has been comprehensively recounted by Dr. Peter Jordan. A major area of Liam's activity during his first stay at Newtown was the encouragement of this art activity in Waterford, and for years as a very active member of the Waterford Art Advisory Committee he was associated with a strong local group which included Tom and Dorothea Jacob. The former was the brother of Rosamond Jacob, the nationalist, socialist, feminist activist and novelist, and the latter the sister of his lifelong friend and erstwhile lecturer at Queen's, Ben Farrington. By this stage the exhibition activity had gained a measure of municipal support.

In July 1939, though no longer at Newtown, but as always in close touch with Waterford affairs, Liam wrote an account in Irish for the *Irish Press* of the opening of the Waterford Museum of Art by Paul Henry. He reviewed the paintings on show and listed those in the Museum's own collection. These included paintings by Dermot O'Brien, Seán Keating, Maurice McGonigal, Mainie Jellett, Paul Henry and Harry Kernoff. Other exhibitions were opened by important figures in the Irish art world, such as Dermot O'Brien and Jack Yeats.

In his late 80s, Liam spoke of his acquaintance with Jack Yeats. He believed that his first experience of the work of Yeats was possibly at Yeats's first Dublin exhibition. As he walked around and saw one picture after another, he began to understand where the artist was coming from. He remembered clearly that after that exhibition, or possibly after a slightly later visit to Yeats's home, as he put it, 'the whole of Dublin seemed to be Jack Yeats' – as if he was seeing Dublin almost through Yeats's eyes.

### **The Honfleur Conferences**

In speaking in his eighties at Queen's University, Liam pointed out that one of the great benefits he had received from the French language he had studied there was that it brought him into contact with the Honfleur Peace Conferences. An American woman from Philadelphia called Mary Kelsey had been a nurse in France during the 1914-18 War. When peace returned she decided to stay in France and bought a villa in the Normandy port of Honfleur. There remained after the war a great deal of distrust and hatred throughout Europe, and Mary believed that this would have a corrosive effect on the young students who came in contact with it and who might be expected to be the leaders of the future. To try to remedy this, she organised a series of yearly conferences at her home, inviting about twenty students, men and women, from the countries that had been at war. Having selected her students, she then looked around for men or women with expert knowledge in

social, political and economic affairs who might be willing to come and live with the students as resident lecturers. Liam was invited several times in the late 1920s and early 1930s to come to the conference as French-English interpreter.

Liam later picked out three of the lecturers as making a particular impression on him: first, Norman Angell, whom Liam had already heard as a boy in Belfast when his father took him to hear him speak on the theme of his famous book *The Great Illusion*. The second was Paul Otlet from Belgium, whose country had been the cockpit of Europe, and who developed the idea of a global community.

The third such speaker was Henri Dubreuil, a French trade unionist, who, hearing of a new system of machine operations under the general title of Taylorisation, had visited the States to ascertain whether or not he should recommend the system to French workers. His American visit corresponded to the period of financial catastrophe and he was greatly intrigued by the moral collapse of the American worker and analysed its causes. The disorientation of the immigrant workers was frequently associated with a revulsion towards their grandparents' inability to adapt to American ways and language and they tended to cut themselves off completely from their family ties, thus having nothing to hold on to in the face of the economic blizzard. His lecture made a deep impression on Liam, who was struck many years later by its relevance to his own family history and by the light it threw on Seán de Fréine's thesis in *The Great Silence*.

### **Visit to Russia**

At the beginning of August, 1937, Liam and William Boggs, the formidable Newtown mathematics teacher, set off for a three-week stay in Russia. While both of them were left-wing in their political views, Boggs was the more interested of the two in politics and economics, in which he had read widely, partly in the Left Book Club publications to which he subscribed. Temperamentally they were poles apart, Boggs being convivial and irascible, whereas Liam was phlegmatic and to some extent a 'loner'. Nevertheless, each of them respected the other's qualities and the visit was a success. Liam's diary of the period no longer exists and Boggs was not a man to keep personal records, so little is known about their stay. They would both have approached the Soviet Union with open but not uncritical minds and typically, Liam prepared himself for the trip by trying to learn some Russian and arming himself with a dictionary – though he never followed up on what he had learned. Living was cheap: a week from the end of their stay Liam changed £1 at a bank for 26.41 roubles (the docket has survived), so they can hardly have been living the high life.

### **Germany and Denmark**

Liam had studied European educational systems in Germany in 1924 and 1936, during his Russian trip in 1937 and in trips to Denmark during the 1930s. (He visited Denmark on Quaker relief work again after World War II). In 1936 and again in 1938, he contributed articles on Danish and German education to the *American Yearbook of Education* and in the latter year gave talks on the educational situation

in Germany and on the Folk High Schools of Denmark. He admired the Danish emphasis on 'education for life' and the training of hand and eye. Gym and music were available even in the smallest schools.

Other aspects of his views on these systems were made clear when, in February, 1939, Liam gave a paper at a meeting of the Women's Social and Progressive League in Dublin. He dealt with one aspect of his investigations into education in Germany, Denmark and Russia – the education of girls. This invitation was an indication of Liam's growing standing in the Irish educational world and among the speakers to his paper were Professor W B. Stanford of Trinity College, himself a Waterford man and a past pupil of Bishop Foy School, Rosamond Jacob and Hanna Sheehy Skeffington whose son Owen was a friend whose home he visited.

In Denmark, he pointed out, there was a long history of public education and the successful experiment of Grundtvig's Folk High Schools. There was no difference between the curricula for girls and boys, except that domestic science was for girls alone. Needlework was given prominence. Generally speaking, at high school level the sexes were segregated, but there were many female school inspectors, a rarity in Ireland at the time.

In Germany, anti-Jewish laws were by this time a blot. Society seemed to Liam very lop-sided, with men in charge of girls' schools. The aim seemed to be *Kinder, Kirche, Küche* (children, church, kitchen). Liam thought that they were producing over-feminine women and over-masculine men. Organisations such as the *Arbeitsdienst* (Labour Service Corps) and the *Landjahr* (an organisation which sent young people to live and work in the countryside in order to combat the view prevalent among young people that agriculture was not an attractive career), although they had many admirable features, seemed to Liam to be influenced politically by Nazi ideals and to be military training-grounds. In Russia, with its planned economy, the aim was to produce a critical and technically informed society. There was, ostensibly at least, equal opportunity for girls and boys. Motherhood was praised, by means such as Mother and Child Museums. Physiology was taught with complete frankness.

This can only summarise what Liam said. As a Quaker, he would be keen to emphasise equality of the sexes and a non-military approach to education. In addition, he was a firm believer in co-education.

### **Association of Secondary Teachers, Ireland**

Liam while an assistant teacher was always a supporter of the ASTI and built up a reputation among its members as genuinely interested in education. In the 1930s the association was a small one, but by courtesy of the INTO, the Irish National Teachers Organisation, it was given a section of its own in the journal of that organisation, the *Irish School Weekly*. In the edition of 22 July 1933, Liam began a series in Irish entitled *An Páiste ar Sgoil*. The series continued for six weeks, each of about a thousand words each and his argument was basically a plea, arising partly from his knowledge of schools and teaching methods in other countries, for more child-centred education. It was first given by Liam as a talk on the 'fringe' of

the ASTI convention, held in Cork that year. In the latter half of the 1930s Liam wrote half-a-dozen letters to the *Irish Press* commenting, again in Irish, on aspects of Irish education. In 1940 he had two articles in the *Leader* about 'Basic Irish', and two articles in *Comhar*, of which one was about Christmas among Quakers.

In 1941, the editorship of the *School and College Yearbook*, the annual publication of the ASTI became vacant and Liam with his knowledge of Irish and abiding interest in education, was the obvious person to take it over. The first article that year was 'Reflections on the Irish Education System' which, though unsigned, is patently by the editor. Liam wrote under his own name an article comparing two German school types, that of the *Odenwaldschule*, and that of the *Napoli* school at Oranienstein, which was one of six such 'Institutes for National Political Education' inspired by Nazi ideology. Daniel Corkery, Liam's old friend, wrote on 'Instruction in Literature', and there were other articles by Francis McManus, Michael Tierney and John D. Sheridan on corporal punishment.

The 1942-43 edition began with an eleven-page article by Liam entitled 'Why this Discontent?' Arnold Marsh wrote on 'Looking at the North'. Bro. Austen Queenan had an article dear to Liam's heart entitled 'The Importance of Art in Irish Education', as was Leslie H. Daiken's contribution on 'Children's Games: A Re-Estimate'. The 1943-44 edition began with reflections by Liam on *Challenge From Youth* by Fr. Richard Devane. He included a comment about a Labour Service Corps leader in the *Napoli* School already mentioned, a young friend of his, who 'was incredulous when I suggested that his organisation was orientated towards military training and war'. He looked on it as a solution for unemployment while Liam's pacifist convictions saw it for what it turned out to be. A former pupil of Liam at Newtown School, Gerald Lush, wrote on 'Gan Teanga, gan Tír.'

Liam at one juncture was acting in a secretarial capacity involved in the organisation of the ASTI and its conventions and at one of these had the job of looking after de Valera, who came to speak. The Taoiseach got a very hostile reception, and Liam was acutely embarrassed. Fortunately, his old colleague in Cork Grammar School about twenty years before, Tim O'Donoghue, made a witty and conciliatory speech which defused the tension. For this, Liam was extremely grateful.

Liam was also involved in an ASTI deputation to a clerically-run school where the practice was to pay the lay teachers in cash each Saturday morning in the classroom in front of the pupils. Such a situation was relatively common at the time, as was the practice of paying-off teachers before the summer holidays and re-employing them afterwards.

## **Drogheda**

It is clear from his cuttings book that after his first spell at Newtown ended, Liam nevertheless spent some of his holidays in Waterford. There are letters to the *Irish Press* written in January 1937, in December 1938 (about the German exiles in Waterford), and in June 1939. In December 1939 he has an article, again in the *Irish Press*, about 'Basic Irish' and in February 1940, he sent a letter relating to it

from Drogheda Grammar School. All these writings in that newspaper were in Irish.

He joined the staff of the Grammar School to teach Irish and French. He was lucky in his headmaster, W. Fleming Thompson and it is clear that he gave this enthusiastic and enterprising man his full support. He lived in the Grammar School building, which still retained many of its seventeenth century features and liked to take walks whenever he was free beside the Boyne Canal. From the amount of material which survives in his cuttings book, he was fully involved in the running of the school magazine *The Droghedean*, and under various pseudonyms wrote a number of articles in Irish.

Between 7 April, and 5 May 1941, there were three German raids on Belfast, a particularly heavy one being on Easter Tuesday 15 April. Two hundred German bombers attacked the lightly defended city, leaving 1,000 people dead and 52% of the Belfast housing stock damaged or destroyed.

Outside London, this was the greatest loss of life in a single raid. On 25 May returning from Lisburn and Belfast to Drogheda, Liam gave an account of what he had seen. It brought him back to 1915 in France: ‘the sense of underlying bewilderment and misery, a young man being led along by his wife or sister, his face dazed; another appearing shell-shocked...’ There were whole blocks of ruined walls and girders, again like France in 1917, but unlike France, with no mud or dirt. Liam remarked that the cleared bombsites had created playgrounds for children who could adapt themselves so easily. In Lisburn, nothing had happened, but they had seen the flares which the Germans had dropped. Among his friends there were some who could not face the return to the destruction of their city and their homes. Three weeks later his friend Tom Jacob wrote from Waterford with disquieting news about his wife Dorothea’s health and Fleming Thompson sent news of the bad state of the school’s finances. Liam accepted such blows as ‘the common stuff of middle life – the nailing down of illusion – till one learns the paradoxical necessity for an increasing self-reliance allied to an increased detachment from self.’

### **Jack Yeats in Drogheda**

In September 1942 Liam was taking a stroll by a canal, a section of the River Boyne, when he met Jack Yeats and his wife, coming in the opposite direction. Their conversation was necessarily short, as Liam had to remember his teaching timetable. Years before, Liam had been looking with Yeats at a picture of two people walking by a canal, and he remembered the artist saying that there was an affinity between human beings and water. Now, by the Boyne Canal, Liam invited Yeats to visit Drogheda Grammar School. The latter was staying in a nearby hotel and as he entered the school he looked at the seventeenth-century panelled walls and staircase and remarked ‘Nobody would want to buy a picture if they lived in a house like this’. He came the next evening to talk to a group of Liam’s senior pupils. He told them that he thought anyone could draw; it was within anybody’s compass, he insisted that anyone could learn to use a pencil. When he was doing

his studies of the sailors and workers in Sligo, he told the pupils, he used to keep a pad in his pocket and while he was talking to the men he was interested in he was making a rough note in his pocket and would later take that out to finish the picture. Someone produced an autograph book and Yeats gave his signature to each of the young people present, adding a little pencil sketch on the side. On that occasion, he gave a signed copy to Liam of his story *Ah, well!*

At the end of the 1948 school year, Fleming Thompson gave up his post as headmaster of Drogheda Grammar School. Liam had always got on very well with him and greatly admired his drive and pioneering spirit. From the beginning of 1949 he himself took over as headmaster, but it was already known that he would be in that position for only two terms, before leaving for Newtown. In the middle of January he heard that A.E. Maxwell had been appointed as the new head and this cleared the way for Liam to move back to Waterford.

### **Contributions to the *Bell***

In his later years at Drogheda, Liam contributed two educational articles to the hugely influential magazine the *Bell*. The first article was in August 1945 when his friend of Cork days, Seán Ó Faoláin, was still editor, and was contributed under his frequently-used pseudonym, 'Murtagh'. 'That Intermediate Exam' was a protest against the impersonality and conventional coldness of its framework. He claimed we had moved less from the old British education system than the British had, becoming *britannicis britanniores*. James Stephens was the only living poet on the course. The exam was 'restrictive, bookish, heavy, pedantic'. He pleaded for oral exams, remarking that in the Soviet system the school leaving exam (which at that date the Intermediate was for so many Irish pupils) was entirely oral except for languages and mathematics. 'The Danes,' he writes, 'who... have developed co-operation to a fine art, employ a senior teacher from one school as examiner in another'. The only bright spot seemed to be the recent introduction of Agricultural Science. The whole essay must rank among the very best of Liam's writing, critical, but full of positive ideas about a subject where his knowledge and experience were very wide.

A little over a year later, his friend Peadar O'Donnell had taken over as editor, and in October 1946, under his own name, Liam wrote on 'Our School Readers'. He examined a series of primary readers, and made a long list of Irish 'absentee authors'. The only distinguished writers to appear in the whole series were Stephens, Swift, Synge, Corkery, O'Donnell, Yeats and Mangan, the last two in the Senior Standard only. He accused the 'readers' of practising the *Reader's Digest* method of including odd bits of unrelated information. He believed that every 'reader' should have a recognisable theme, and looked forward to the day when the development of libraries would make them obsolete.

### **Return to Newtown**

When John E. Brigham left Newtown at the end of 1948, the obvious successor, if as was up to then the case the headmaster was to be a member of the Society of

Friends, was Liam. In Drogheda he enjoyed good status and was on extremely good terms with the staff and Fleming Thompson. His knowledge of the Irish educational system, at both primary and post-primary levels, was second to none, owing not only to his experience as a teacher, but particularly because of his work with the ASTI. His interest in, and command of, the Irish language would naturally lead to a good relationship with the Department of Education which operated in those days mainly through the medium of that language. All this led to his being invited to apply for Newtown. If he was to be fair to the management committee of Drogheda, he would have to give as much notice as possible and eventually he accepted the post to date from the summer term of 1949. Wilson Strangman, an elderly Friend from Co. Cork who had always been interested in Newtown, had taken over as acting headmaster after John Brigham's resignation. He acted as spiritual head of the school and the academic arrangements were looked after by William G. Boggs and H. McLeod (Rex) Webster, two formidable members of the teaching staff.

### **Return to the Blaskets: The Irish Language**

By 28 July 1948 Liam was in Dunquin in West Kerry, staying with the O'Connor family who ran a guest house (forerunner of the later Tigh Mhollaí) in Ferriter's Quarter (Ceathrú) there. A few days later he set off for the Blaskets where he was shaken by the changes that had taken place since his earlier visit in 1932. His diary gives very little information of a personal nature about the people themselves, which his 1932 diary (if there was one) would possibly have given. He stayed in the house of Peats Tom Ó Cearnaigh, whose daughter Máiréad Pheats Tom, then aged 26, was housekeeping for him (and was to emigrate to the USA the year after). His son, Seán Pheats Tom, known to so many later visitors to Dunquin, was married and living on the mainland, as was Hanna Pheats Tom in the Gorta Dubha. The rest of the family had emigrated or were in the process of doing so. Liam said that he had seen the island population drop from approximately 125 persons to around thirty-five in 1948. In 1947 there had been fifty-one and a couple of weeks after Liam's visit Céit Sheáin Tom Ní Cearnaigh, her husband 'Peaidí Sheáisí' Ó Cearnaigh and their son Seán were to leave. What Liam wrote in his 1948 diary (in Irish) was virtually repeated in a letter he wrote to Arnold Marsh, his former headmaster at Newtown. He felt that Arnold might bring up some of his points to the Commission on Emigration to which, apparently, he was reporting. He informed Marsh that the mainland part of the parish of Dunquin and the parish of Ballyferriter were suffering in its initial stage the same 'galloping consumption' of depopulation as the Great Blasket. The people, he maintained, were perishing for lack of vision. Nothing new was developing, or had developed, in the region during the lifetime of the present generation. The 'Gaelic League crowd' had flocked to the Gaeltacht for spiritual refreshment over fifty years and had left it like a sucked orange. In 'the Gaelic League crowd' he included the previous two governments and 'all of us who have refreshed ourselves in the Gaeltacht in summer weather and forgotten it while enjoying the winter comforts and excitements of city life'.

The fundamental error, according to Liam, had been to conceive of the Irish language as a magic formula in itself. What really mattered was the life of the people and language was only one expression of this. Drawing on his experiences in Denmark he wrote in the words of his diary: ‘Bhí Grundtvig ag teastáil uatha agus tháinig an Píarsach.’ (Ireland needed a Grundtvig and got a Pearse), who romanticised the life out of the people and in his writings saw the Gaeltacht as peopled by saints and cherubs and Holy Mothers, ‘When you gild a little boy to represent an angel, he very naturally dies for lack of air’.

It may have been too late, Liam feared, to preserve a living Gaeltacht, but it might be possible to keep a living countryside if the natural human needs of the people were dealt with, especially the needs of young women. He complained that the new houses that had been provided were dreary, lacking electricity, water supply or even a cool cellar. There was no motor-boat service for the islands, no buses from Dunquin, no brightly-lit shops. ‘Who would be a housekeeper’, he insisted, ‘on the Dingle peninsula?’ The dole, he stated, had been used to pay for a certain number of roads for ghosts to prowl on.

He felt that things were somewhat more satisfactory for the men, in particular those who were strong and healthy and could enjoy a farmer’s life. Men could meet at the fair and get drunk together or even be a gombeen man if not too sensitive. However, for those who did not fit into these patterns, for those who wished to be a craftsman or to be a modern shanachie, to cultivate their minds with books or pictures or to provide a varied education for their children, the solution in all cases was the same – emigration.

The cure, he maintained, was to get life going in the district by grafting something new on the old stock. There should be co-operative farming and buying, and women should have their share in the co-ops. Drains should be cleared, unsightly ruins removed, a system of prizes or local shows might begin a garden industry. Visiting entertainments should be subsidised, drama groups brought to the region.

### **Headmaster at Newtown**

Liam did not return to Newtown without deep heart-searching and reservations. His diary entries for this period (all in Irish) are full of anxiety as to whether he was doing the right thing. He had been very lonely during his first years in Drogheda, but had been lucky in Fleming Thompson and had known happy times in congenial surroundings. He particularly liked the old Grammar School building which Jack Yeats had admired so much on his visit there. Also, he felt that he might have some difficulties with the Waterford Friends. He considered that the headmaster of Drogheda Grammar School would have far more freedom of action than a Newtown headmaster. The School Committee was a big one, and in earlier years he had had his differences with them. Some local people had shown ill will towards the school, but an even greater problem was the number of members of the School Committee and the Society of Friends who sought to influence the development of the school in ways which Liam felt he would not be happy with. Nevertheless, the prospects for Newtown were brighter than those for Drogheda, to

some extent at least owing to the marked gift for public relations which John E. Brigham had shown, and which had enabled the numbers to be kept up.

In many ways the twelve-year period over which Liam was headmaster of Newtown was one of consolidation rather than of radical change, and was to be followed by the headmastership of Maurice J. Wigham during which the school greatly increased in size, partly owing to the closure of Bishop Foy School. The innovations introduced by the energetic Arnold Marsh had been built on by John E. Brigham whose style was perhaps more flamboyant and who had caused the school to be better known. Under Liam's quieter management there was no diminution of the progressive though pragmatic characteristics of the school's work, and the headmaster's life-long interest in education in its broader aspects made itself felt unobtrusively in the school's life. Right at the start of his headmastership, addressing the old scholars at their reunion, he presented a general summary of his educational *credo*:

Behind this appearance of a divided world lies a divided man, with a raging emotionalism beneath a crust of reason. We are paying for the dualism of the nineteenth century with its false antithesis of 'Science' and 'Religion', spiritual and material. We have to rediscover the unity of life.

In Education this should begin with attention to the three Hs (Heart, Hand and Head) rather than the three Rs and with a more patient waiting on the individual child's own growth. Feeding must wait on appetite; delight is the prelude to healthy learning.

During Liam's time in charge a number of the teachers who had come in Arnold Marsh's time were taking less interest in the school, but Eileen F. Webster, who had come in 1934 and was a cousin of Liam, continued to play a full part. Liam came to rely greatly on another energetic and thoroughly committed teacher who had joined the staff during John Brigham's time. Ernest Foster was not only senior master, but was shortly to take over from Liam the full management of the school grounds, buildings and animals, for which he was particularly well fitted by his interest in farming and because of the respect in which he was held by the staff who worked with him.

Liam also relied heavily on his secretary, Gladys Gillespie.

## Marriage

In 1958 Liam stunned the assembled staff of Newtown by announcing that he and Gladys were to be married. He was then sixty-three years of age, and she was some years younger. The news was so unexpected that even those staff members who were known for their felicitous phrasing of the English language, were temporarily left groping for words with which to respond. The first to find words was Ernest Foster (universally known as FEF). He uttered good wishes and congratulations on behalf of the staff. Maurice Wigham entered the staff room and Liam told him what had passed. 'That's the sort of news we like to hear!' was Maurice's felicitous and characteristic comment.

## **Retirement**

In August 1961, Liam and Gladys both retired from Newtown and purchased a bungalow in Summerville Avenue, just behind the school which they renamed 'Málainn' after Malin Head, in Donegal, not far from the Tirconail Gaeltacht where Liam had passed many a week after his student days, perfecting his knowledge of Irish.

Liam was clerk (that is, roughly, president) of Waterford Monthly Meeting from April 1963 to May 1967. During his time as clerk of this meeting, the triennial meeting of the Friends' World Committee for Consultation was held in Waterford from 21 - 28 July 1964.

An indication of Liam's deep involvement in the work of Friends, and a recognition of the knowledgeable and spiritual ministry in that Society during his whole lifetime, was his acceptance of the office of clerk to Ireland Yearly Meeting in 1968. He served in this capacity for one year, even though the normal period was three. He may have felt a diminution of energy as he was well into his seventies by the end of that year.

## **Trip to Kenya and Uganda**

In 1964 Liam and Gladys visited Kenya and Uganda on the occasion of the 9<sup>th</sup> World Conference of Friends. This was at the precise time of the achievement of political independence by these two countries. As he remarked about that visit in a letter of thanks to his friends after his 90<sup>th</sup> birthday party: '... the problems facing them on emerging from the shackles of colonialism bore – and bear – many resemblances to those of our own country. In a universal setting the differences between black and white, English and Irish are of no significance. The unity of humanity is a fact awaiting universal consciousness.'

## **Bulmer Hobson**

On 11 August 1969 Liam was asked, presumably by the family, to pay a tribute at Bulmer Hobson's graveside. Liam had known Hobson when they were both young boys at Frederick Street Friends' Meeting in Belfast, and was amazed when he saw Hobson's father smoking a pipe, unusual in a Quaker at that time. Hobson already stood out from his contemporaries for his ability, articulateness and particularly his interest in Irish folklore and history. Liam recalled that, at a Band of Hope temperance meeting, Hobson, a very young man, had declaimed one of Samuel Ferguson's heroic lays in tones which were stirring and unforgettable. The bold outline of the Cave Hill, the dramatic Beann Mhadagáin, presented a challenge to the imaginative boy. This was the impulse which drove him to become one of the founders of the Ulster Literary Theatre. His subsequent life was destined to take him far away from the Quaker activities of his youth and he became deeply involved with nationalist movements. There was some suggestion that because of his membership of the Volunteers, he should be 'disowned' by his Meeting, but it was pointed out that it would then be only fair to disown Friends (they were few) who had joined the British forces. The matter was dropped, the Quakers being, as

Liam later said, in the colonial tradition (with of course many exceptions.) Eventually, Hobson resigned from the Society. He was active in producing republican stamps to raise money, and Liam remembered somebody mocking his efforts 'to overcome the British Empire by making stamps.'

Hobson was one of those involved with Eoin MacNéill in seeking to stop the Easter Rising, and the subsequent events might well have proved for him an unmitigated disaster. As Liam put it 'a lesser man might well have given way to cynicism, or emigrated. He remained, however, to work for the ideals he believed in, and to study the means of achieving social justice'. In the new Irish state, Bulmer's attitude to the Rising caused him to be relegated to a relatively humble place. He continued to publish works on social justice, sometimes anonymously, since he was a civil servant, once again involved with the production of stamps! Using a phrase of a French Quaker, *Vivre sa Vérité*, Liam salutes a man who lived, rather than died, for his truth.

### **Return to Queen's**

In 1979, Liam began to think about the disposal of some of his large collection of books. He decided to present most of his books in Irish to the Department of Celtic Studies in Queen's University, where his own stays had been so fruitful. His suggestion was eagerly taken up by that department, and he was invited to give a lecture about his time there as a student. This eventually emerged as 'Homage to Queen's' and was delivered on 9 May 1979, when he was eighty-three years of age. He greatly enjoyed the experience, and was delighted with his reception though the audience was small;

When I was preparing it I had the Northern situation much in mind and hoped it might be a useful contribution towards the development of a mutual understanding between the divided sections of the Northern people. A secondary consideration was the fear that the Pearse cult might be strengthened by the centenary celebrations.

In the event, however, the visit of Pope John Paul seems to have effectively overshadowed the commemorative pageantry and the outrageous stamp makes me wonder whether this particular degradation of the Pearse image was deliberately conceived – or at least willingly sanctioned – as such.

In his lecture he began by outlining his thoughts on, and recollections of, war in Europe, and how the hopes of prolonged peace were dashed by the outbreak of World War I. He explained his decision to change to language study after his return from the ambulance train and recounted his first contacts with the Irish language, explaining that he had then no idea that the language was alive. At Queen's, R.M. Henry, the Professor of Latin, who 'from a visual point of view... bemonocled and with a flowing cloak, was the most noticeable person on the University campus', strongly supported Irish in the curriculum and took an active interest in Cumann Gaedhealach an Choláiste. Another supporter was Benjamin Farrington, a lecturer

in Classics and afterwards the author of the Pelican *Greek Science*. He was a Corkman who, with others of his family, became a lifelong friend.

He also spoke of his years in Cork and his particular friendship with the young Frank O'Connor.

He contrasted his life with that of Micí Mac Gabhann as depicted in *Rotha Mór an tSaoil*. The wheel of life brought Micí back to where he was born. It was akin to a millwheel, whereas Liam's wheel of life had been, as it were, attached to a moving vehicle which brought him away from his roots.

Frank O'Connor in *Guests of the Nation* had quoted

The dream of which our spiritual life is born  
Returns to haunt us still.

This Liam linked with Máirtín O'Direáin's lines

Coigil aithinne d'aislinge  
Scaradh léi is éag duit.

(Cherish the spark of your dream  
Loss of that is loss of life.)

He concluded by summing up the choice before mankind in the words of Teilhard de Chardin - *Voir ou Périr* - We must see or perish - *An dream nach bhfeiceann, caillfear iad*.

In June 1981 Gladys died and she was buried in the Friends' Graveyard in Newtown. On October 30, 1985, Liam celebrated his ninetieth birthday with a party at the Friends' Meeting House in Waterford. He recited from memory a poem by Martin Armstrong which he had first come across in Gerald Bullett's Anthology *The Testament of Light*. Since first reading it, he had felt that it expressed a great deal of his personal philosophy:

let us tend

Love's fire until the end...

Let us be patient, tender, wise, forgiving,  
In this strange task of living;  
For if we fail each other, each will be,  
Grey driftwood lapsing to the bitter sea.

He particularly liked the admonition of George Fox, the founder of the Quakers in the seventeenth century: 'Walk cheerfully through the world, meeting that of God in every man'. To this he was wont to respond: 'And I would only add 'woman and child'.

On 21 June 1993, at the age of ninety-seven Liam died at a retirement home in Tramore and was buried, as Gladys had been, in the Friends' graveyard at Newtown, prior to a Meeting for Worship in the modern Newtown Meeting House. Many friends were moved to speak about his multifaceted achievements, fully conscious how this quiet, determined, unusual man, of unimpeachable integrity and kindness, had enriched the lives of all who were privileged to know him.

### Acknowledgements

I have received help from many sources and persons who knew Liam, but my particular thanks are due to his nephew J. Glynn Douglas and Glynn's wife Shirley, who introduced me to the Friends' Historical Library, and sourced many documents for me. Information about Liam's times at Friends' School, Lisburn, was kindly supplied by Arthur G. Chapman, a former headmaster. Anne-Marie Hewison, deputy principal of Ashton School, Cork, has sent me information about the headmasters of my *alma mater*, Cork Grammar School. I have also been helped by tapes given me many years ago by Jan Caspars, who made recordings from Liam in his eighties, as I did. I tried and failed to contact Jan, but am grateful to him and hope he will approve of what I have written. Patrick Grogan gave valuable help with the photographs. I am grateful to the authorities of Newtown School for permission to reproduce Hilda Roberts's painting of Liam as headmaster.



*Newtown School during Liam Glynn's headmastership, courtesy of the Newtown Committee of Management.*

# When Waterford Declared St Patrick's Day a 'National Holiday'

In 1903 Waterford Corporation declared that St Patrick's Day should be 'a General Holiday' throughout the city 'and to entirely suspend business on that day'. A letter to this effect, dated 27 February 1903 and sent from the mayor's office has recently come to light, discovered by a member of the society, Martin Gahan of Slieverue. It was signed by Canon Flynn and sent to the city and surrounding parishes. It is interesting to note that at this stage St. Patrick's Day was not a public holiday in Ireland.

Although the feast day of St Patrick had been celebrated since medieval times especially by the Franciscans, it was not until the mid-seventeenth century that the 17 March became a holiday of obligation in the Catholic Church. When the Waterford-born Franciscan Luke Wadding was appointed to the Congregation of the Breviary in Rome he included St Patrick's Day among the official saints' days for the first time.<sup>1</sup> The first reference to the wearing of the shamrock on St Patrick's Day was noted in 1681 when an English visitor to Ireland Thomas Dinley wrote, 'the 17th day of March is St Patrick's... when the Irish of all stations and conditions wore crosses in their hats, some of pins, some of green ribbon, and the vulgar superstitiously wear shamrogues, 3-leaved grass...'<sup>2</sup> The other tradition associated with the feast of St Patrick was *pota Phádraig* (St Patrick's pot) or the 'drowning of the shamrock'. This association of drink with the feast day of the country's national saint was to be a cause of concern through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin of Callan commenting in 1828, 'Lá Féile Pádraig... Daoine go meidhreach ag caitheamh Pota Pádraig...'<sup>3</sup>

Indeed at the height of Fr Matthew's temperance campaign in 1840 the fact that there had been no arrests for drunkenness on St Patrick's Day in Waterford city was something which was commented on in the local press. In spite of the efforts of Fr Matthew and temperance movements such as the Anti-Treating League and the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association, the association of St Patrick's Day with heavy drinking continued into the twentieth century.<sup>4</sup>

When Richard Sheehan was appointed Catholic bishop of Waterford and Lismore in 1891 he became involved in a number of campaigns, including the provision of a technical school in the city and highlighting in many of his sermons the

1 Niall J. Byrne, 'Luke Wadding's Waterford', in *Decies* 63 (2007), pp. 35-101.

2 Quoted in Kevin Danaher, *The Year in Ireland*, (Cork, Mercier Press, 1972), p. 58.

3 Tomás de Bhaldraithe (ed.), *Cín Lae Amhlaoibh*, (Dublin, An Clóchomhar, 1976), p. 30.

4 *Waterford Chronicle*, 19 March 1840. See Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin, 'The Temperance Movements in Waterford, 1839 to 1841', in *Decies* 52 (1996), pp. 57-93.

Mayor's Office,  
City Hall,  
Waterford,

*27th February, 1903.*

REV. SIR:

At a Meeting of Citizens held in the Town Hall, Waterford, on the 18th Inst., it was unanimously decided to proclaim St. Patrick's Day a General Holiday, and to entirely suspend business on that day. The movement has met with an unqualified success among all classes of traders, including the members of the Licensed Vintners' Association, and it is believed that not one single shop of any importance will be open for business on St. Patrick's Day.

The Committee in charge of the advertising of the project desire to have it announced in every district and parish from which the people travel to this city on the 17th March, that Waterford having decided to observe St. Patrick's Day as a National Holiday, no business will be transacted in the city on that day.

They seek your valuable co-operation in this patriotic movement, and trust you will take every opportunity to announce the decision of the Waterford traders to the people of your parish, especially on Sunday next and Sunday following.

Faithfully yours,

P. F. CANON FLYNN. P.P., V.F.,  
CHAIRMAN.

JOSEPH P. COLLINS.

HON. SEC.

‘curse of drink’. He was particularly concerned with the misuse of drink on St Patrick’s Day.<sup>5</sup>

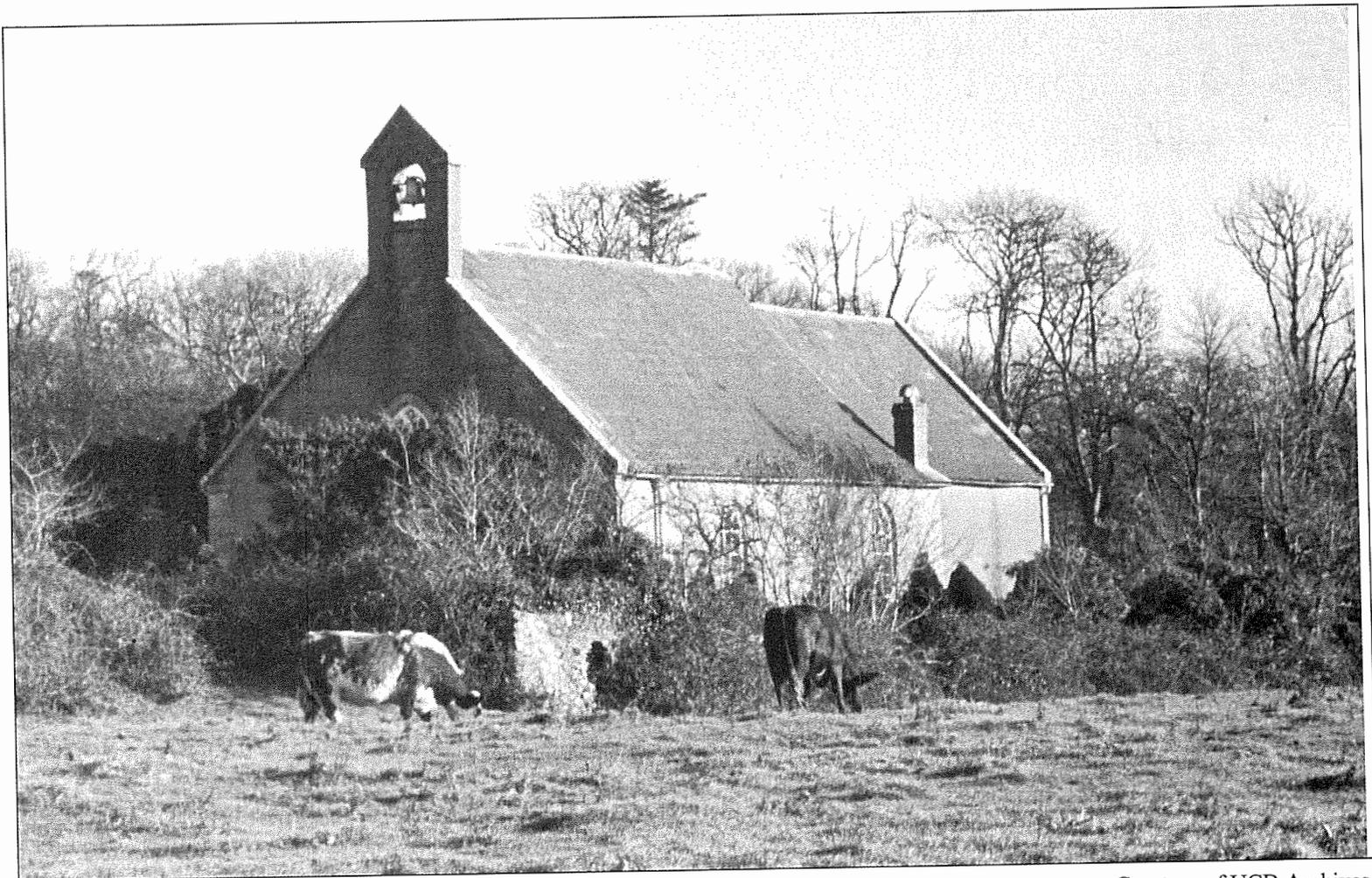
It was in this context that Waterford Corporation secured agreement from the local business community ‘to observe St Patrick’s Day as a National Holiday’ and it is interesting to note that the letter mentioned ‘all classes of traders, including members of the Licensed Vintners’ Association’ would close for business that day.

That very same year the MP for South Kilkenny, James O’Mara introduced the Money Bank (Ireland) Act in the House of Commons which made St Patrick’s Day a public holiday and until well into the twentieth century public houses remained closed in Ireland on the 17 March.<sup>6</sup>

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5 John M. Hearne, ‘Waterford Central Technical Institute and the Development of Technical Education in Waterford City, 1906-1930’, in *Decies 62* (2006), pp. 209-33. Bishop Sheehan also had the distinction of founding two historical societies, the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society and the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society.

6 James O’Mara was originally a member of the Irish Parliamentary Party and later switched his allegiance to Sinn Féin, representing South Kilkenny as a TD in the first Dáil in 1919. He resigned from politics in 1927. See [www.oireachtas.ie/members](http://www.oireachtas.ie/members)



*Fethard Church, 1950s.*

Courtesy of UCD Archives.

# The Boycott at Fethard-on-Sea, County Wexford, 1957

*Eugene Broderick*

Ireland, which has enriched the English language with the word boycott, has invented a refinement of the term. The new word: fethardism, meaning to practise boycott along religious lines. *Time*, 19 August 1957.

In 1957 the Protestants of Fethard-on-Sea were boycotted by local Catholics in response to the alleged abduction of two Catholic children, Eileen and Mary Cloney, by their Protestant mother, Sheila, in complete disregard for promises made at her marriage to her Catholic husband, Sean. Some members of the majority faith had formed the view that Sheila had been aided and abetted by some of her co-religionists in what was regarded as an act of provocative defiance and the Catholic response took the form of a boycott of members of the local Church of Ireland community. The events in Fethard attracted national and international attention at the time. For one Catholic academic the boycott was 'the most terrible thing that has happened in this part of the country since the civil war';<sup>1</sup> while a Catholic barrister described it as the 'most terrible thing in the history of this country since the Phoenix Park murders' [of 1882].<sup>2</sup> Whatever about this hyperbole, these observations signified a realisation that the boycott was an episode the importance of which transcended the boundaries of a Wexford village and the misfortunes of the individuals involved in it.

## **Flight from Fethard-on-Sea**

On Saturday, 27 April 1957, Sheila Cloney hurried her two young daughters, Eileen and Mary, aged six and three years respectively, from their home, Dugulph Castle, a restored fourteenth-century building of sixteen rooms, at Saltmills, near the village of Fethard-on-Sea (population 107), County Wexford, to the family car. She told her children that they had to 'get away' before their father, Sean, got back home. He was occupied in ploughing in a far field and no explanation was offered to the children for the haste of the departure. In her anxiety to leave, Sheila scraped the bumper of the car on the car house door. The vehicle headed in the direction of Wexford and was later found by Sean Cloney abandoned on the town's quays.<sup>3</sup>

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1 Comment of UCD lecturer, Donal Barrington. Quoted in the *Irish Times*, 26 June 1957.

2 University College Dublin Archives (henceforth abbreviated as UCDA), Fisher Papers, P164/13(81), A.M. Sullivan to Mrs. Sheila Auld, 31 July 1957.

3 Interview with Eileen Cloney.

Sean Cloney and Sheila Kelly were both twenty-three years old when they married in the Catholic Church in Hammersmith, London, on 26 November, 1949. Sean was a member of the Catholic Church, while Sheila was a member of the Church of Ireland. Under the provisions of the papal decree, *Ne Temere*, issued in 1908, by which the Roman Catholic Church regulated marriages between its members and non-Catholics, Sheila agreed to bring up any children as Catholics. The couple's first daughter, Eileen, was born on 10 April 1951, and was followed three years later by Mary, born on 30 October 1954. Both girls were baptised in the Catholic Church.

As Eileen approached the age of compulsory school attendance – she was due to start school on 29 April 1957 – Sheila began to balk at the notion of her children being brought up as Catholics and was unhappy at the prospect of her daughter attending the local Catholic national school. Notwithstanding his wife's concerns, Sean wanted his two girls to be raised as members of his church and to attend the Catholic school. The Catholic clergy became concerned at the fact that Sheila appeared to be considering reneging on the vows she had made under the terms of *Ne Temere*. In the weeks before the date for the commencement of Eileen's schooling Dungulph Castle was visited frequently by the parish priest, Rev. William Allen, and by his curate, Rev. William Stafford, who had charge of the parish's chapel-of-ease, located at Poulfur, and in which Sean worshipped.<sup>4</sup>

As the Catholic clergy exerted their pressure on her, Sheila spoke to her husband about going away to think things over. Eight days before she left Sean told her father, Thomas Kelly, of the situation and of the possibility of his daughter's leaving Fethard. Her father and family did their best to dissuade Sheila from such a course of action. Recalling the events years later, Sean Cloney commented that Sheila's father 'knew his child well enough that battleships would not stop her'. He decided to give her £30, enough, in Sean's words, 'for just a short trip'. Clearly, her father did not envisage a prolonged absence, nor did he regard his money as facilitating such an eventuality. So when Sheila left her home on April 27, it did not come entirely as a surprise to her husband.

## Belfast

Sheila went to Belfast. On Monday, 29 April, she consulted a solicitor and gave permission to instruct counsel. The services of a barrister, Desmond Boal, were secured and the two lawyers met with Sheila.<sup>6</sup> The next day, Boal arrived at Dungulph Castle and remained with Sean Cloney for a considerable length of time. The barrister informed Cloney that his wife and children were in Belfast and presented him with what were described as the terms of a settlement. This contained four elements:

Cloney was to sell his property in County Wexford.

He was to go to Canada or Australia with his wife and children.

4 Interview with Sean Cloney, as reported in the *Sunday Press*, 1 February 1987.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Irish Times*, 8 June 1957.

He was to agree to his children being brought up as Protestants.

He was to give consideration to changing his own religion.

He was told by Boal that his wife would not meet him anywhere unless he accepted the terms beforehand. Boal insisted on the urgency of the situation, claiming that Cloney's wife was getting ready to go to a destination which would not be disclosed to him. Sean rejected the terms.<sup>7</sup>

On the first day of May Sean Cloney arrived in Belfast, where he consulted a solicitor.<sup>8</sup> The following day Cloney went to see Desmond Boal. He told the barrister that he was anxious to discuss the suggestion of emigration to Australia or Canada with his wife. Boal drove Cloney back to his hotel and said that he would get his wife and return in half an hour. However, Boal did not come back to the hotel and Cloney left later in the afternoon to see his solicitor.

The reason Boal did not return is that Sheila Cloney had disappeared and her whereabouts were unknown. When he learned of these developments Sean decided on a legal response. On 3 May Cloney's legal representatives went to the High Court in Belfast and sought an order of *habeas corpus*, requiring Sheila to present the children in court. There were three subsequent court hearings – 7 May, 7 June and 14 June – but the order could not be served because Sheila could not be located. At the final hearing the judges were informed that Sean did not propose to pursue the matter any further.<sup>9</sup>

### **Flight to Scotland**

By this time the legal proceedings unfolding in Belfast were essentially irrelevant as far as Sheila Cloney was concerned. Likely motivated by the terrifying realisation of the enormity of what she had done and the terrible fear of her children being taken from her, Sheila had fled the city, with her children, even before the first High Court hearing. They departed for Scotland, where they spent some time in Edinburgh. From there Sheila went to one of the Orkney Islands, Westray. On this remote, windswept place, she and her children stayed with Jackie and Nan Scott, who were farmers.<sup>10</sup>

### **A boycott is organised**

Rumour and gossip gripped Fethard-on-Sea in late April and early May 1957. An opinion was formed that Sheila Cloney must have received assistance, financial and otherwise, from some of her co-religionists in Fethard. A former rector of the parish (from March 1946 to November 1956), Rev. Edward Grant, has suggested that a particular incident may have served to give credence to this opinion. The local Protestants had established a fund to raise money for a presentation to Canon Talbot, the clergyman who attended to their spiritual needs after Grant's

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7 *People*, 11 May 1957.

8 The account of Sean Cloney's activities in Belfast is based on court reportage, *Irish Times*, 8 June 1957.

9 *Irish Times*, 15 June 1957.

10 Interview with Eileen Cloney.

resignation and prior to the appointment of his successor. The passing-on of a contribution to a local shop owner and treasurer of the fund, Leslie Gardiner, in his shop, in public view, had been, in Grant's words, 'seen, noted, reported, and wrongly interpreted, as having been to a fund to finance Sheila's flight'.<sup>11</sup>

The disappearance of Sheila Cloney caused anger and deep resentment among certain sections of the Catholic community. The local clergy regarded her actions as an affront to the authority of the church and an unconscionable violation of a solemn promise. Most serious was the fact that the immortal souls of her children were in grave danger of eternal perdition unless the two girls were returned safely to their home. Gradually, the idea of a boycott against the Protestant community was proposed by some villagers and found favour in influential quarters. Such a dramatic course of action would have required the approval of the parish priest, Fr William Allen, and it is inconceivable that he did not inform and seek the sanction of the Bishop of Ferns, Dr James Staunton. The bishop had been particularly concerned at what he regarded as instances of Protestant proselytism in other parts of the country. He, therefore, deplored, and was incensed by an apparently brazen example in his own diocese.<sup>12</sup> The clergyman who was to become synonymous with the boycott was Fr William Stafford, by virtue of the fact that he preached the sermon calling for this action. He was a popular figure in Fethard and respected by his fellow priests in Ferns, being regarded as a very hard worker. He had a reputation, however, for a volatile and excitable temperament.<sup>13</sup> While he preached the boycott sermon, Stafford was not acting alone. As a curate he would have acted with the prior knowledge and approval of his ecclesiastical superiors on a matter of such gravity and significance.

On 12 May 1957 Stafford addressed a congregation in Poulfur Church and announced a boycott of Protestants in Fethard until the return of the Cloney children had been secured. The purpose of this action by the village's Catholics was both punitive and remedial: punitive because it was believed that members of the Protestant community had assisted Sheila in her departure; and remedial in order to compel Protestants to secure the return of the children.<sup>14</sup>

### **Impact of the boycott**

Two shops in the village of Fethard, owned by members of the Church of Ireland, became the focus of the boycott. One was a hardware store, run by Leslie and Pearl Gardiner; the other a news agency owned by Betty Cooper. After two weeks of Catholic villagers staying away from his store, Leslie Gardiner was reported as describing business as being at a 'standstill'. He had not sold an ounce of mangold or turnip seed since the boycott had begun. Betty Cooper experienced a considerable drop in the sales of newspapers and periodicals, as former customers made

11 Representative Church Body Library (henceforth abbreviated as RCBL), PC52, Rev. Edward Grant, 'The Fethard Boycott, 1957: Recollections and Reflections', p.11.

12 Confidential source.

13 As described in various interviews.

14 RCBL, PC52, Rev. Edward Grant, 'The Fethard Boycott, 1957: Recollections and Reflections', p. 3.

alternative arrangements.<sup>15</sup> On an average Sunday she sold fifty newspapers. However, on Sunday, 2 June, the total was only twenty. Moreover, local children had ceased buying sweets in her shop.<sup>16</sup> By its third week the boycott had assumed a determined character, the *Irish Times* reporting:

The Roman Catholic population is firmly convinced the local Protestants financed and cooperated in the disappearance of this woman and her two children. The attitude of the Catholics is that the people who *did* so should take active measures to get the children back. The Catholics will not cooperate until the children are returned.<sup>17</sup>

Protestant farmers also felt the impact of the actions of Catholic neighbours. Locals refused to sell cattle to Sheila Cloney's father, Thomas Kelly.<sup>18</sup> Others stopped buying milk, with farmer Alexander Auld, who lived a mile from Fethard, losing ninety-five per cent of his business.<sup>19</sup> The boycott resulted in the Catholic sexton of St. Mogue's Church, Mary Stafford, giving up a position she had held for seven years. Commenting on her decision, she said: 'I knew the boycott was on and as a Catholic my convictions urged me to resign'.<sup>20</sup> Even the local Anglican piano teacher, Lucie Knipe, was not immune from the villagers' wrath: she lost eleven of her twelve pupils.<sup>21</sup>

More serious for the Protestant community was the resignation of the Catholic teacher, twenty-two years old Anna Walsh, from their local national school. This school closed on 15 May, and its eleven pupils found themselves deprived of an education. Anna Walsh explained her decision in terms similar to those of Mary Stafford: 'Being a Catholic, I thought it was proper for me to resign in the circumstances. The reason I gave the Department of Education for my action was the boycott. I am not prepared to go back unless or until things are settled'.<sup>22</sup>

In late June Betty Cooper was reported in the press as saying that her trade was just as bad as at the start of the boycott.<sup>23</sup> She was doubtful whether she could keep her shop open any longer.<sup>24</sup> The *Irish Times* commented that Protestants involved in the boycott were being affected 'socially and financially'.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, it observed that there was no sign of an end to the situation, quoting locals as saying that what was happening 'will go on for a while' and that they could not see any solution at the moment'.<sup>26</sup> In July the Church of Ireland bishop, Dr Percy Phair,

15 *Irish Press*, 28 May 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, 164/18(1).

16 *Irish Times*, 3 June 1957.

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Irish Press*, 28 May 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, 164/18(1).

19 *Irish Times*, 3 June 1957.

20 *Sunday Independent*, 2 June 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(3).

21 *Belfast Telegraph*, 7 June 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(14).

22 *Ibid.*

23 *Irish Times*, 21 June 1957.

24 *Belfast Telegraph*, 26 June 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(49).

25 *Irish Times*, 21 June 1957.

26 *Ibid.*, 22 June 1957.

reported in his diocesan magazine that Roman Catholics never entered Protestant shops and that the whole atmosphere of Fethard had changed. He stated, plainly and unequivocally, that members of his church were 'suffering - many of them seriously'.<sup>27</sup>

The operation of the boycott was overseen by a vigilance committee of laymen. Such committees were an integral part of Irish Catholicism in the 1950s when members of the laity monitored aspects of parochial and diocesan life in such matters as the operation of censorship legislation and the conduct of local dances. As the boycott continued, members of this committee arrived in the village, once a week. Some reportedly, travelled from New Ross, eighteen miles away.<sup>28</sup> According to the *Belfast Telegraph*, they administered the boycott 'on military lines'.<sup>29</sup> Their activities were shrouded in secrecy, the committee's very existence denied by villagers. The *Irish Times* reported on 8 June that no one in Fethard 'will say whether or not a particular person or group is encouraging the continuance of the boycott'. A few weeks later Catholics were reported as rejecting the notion those events in the village were in any sense organised; rather, they presented themselves as engaging in a spontaneous action which was an example of voluntary cooperation in response to a grave wrong.<sup>30</sup>

### Closure of the school

As noted earlier, one of the more serious consequences of the boycott was the closure of the Protestant national school in Fethard on 15 May 1957. Notwithstanding Anna Walsh's assertions that she had resigned her teaching post of her own free will, there were claims to the contrary. The *Irish Times* reported that she had given up her position after she had been warned to do so.<sup>31</sup> Rev. Edward Grant, in his account of the boycott, also alleged that Anna Walsh had been threatened. He met with her at her home at Arthurstown on 15 May, the day the school closed. According to Grant, the young teacher told him that the people in whose house she lodged stated that she would be 'pelted' if she walked up the street to the school-house again.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, there is evidence from the same source that she was influenced in her decision by Fr. William Stafford. In his account Grant wrote that Anna Walsh approached the priest seeking his advice as to what to do in relation to the boycott. Initially, he told her that it was a matter for her to decide; later he informed her that 'it would be just as well if she stopped teaching'.<sup>33</sup>

27 *Diocesan Magazine*, July 1957; UCDA, Fisher papers, P164/21, p. 3.

28 *Belfast Telegraph*, 24 September 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(146).

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Irish Times*, 22 June 1957.

31 *Ibid.*, 24 June 1957.

32 RCBL, PC52, Rev. Edward Grant, 'The Fethard Boycott, 1957: Recollections and Reflections', p. 9.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

On 5 June Owen Sheehy Skeffington, one of Trinity College's representatives in the Senate, raised the matter of the school's closure on the adjournment of the House. Senator Eamon O Ciosain, speaking on behalf of the Minister for Education, informed him that the manager of the school (Rev. Adrian Fisher, Rector of Fethard) was doing his best to secure a replacement teacher and as soon as he was successful the appointment would be sanctioned by the Department of Education.

Fethard school did get a teacher – Norman Ruddock of Carlow was appointed in a temporary capacity. The twenty-two years old Trinity College student was asked by Bishop Phair, 'out of the blue', to teach in the boycotted school.<sup>34</sup> Ruddock lodged with the Gardiners, above their shop, which was directly opposite the school. He characterised the atmosphere of the village as that of a place of 'squinting windows'. As he re-opened the school on Monday, 24 June, faces peered from behind curtains.<sup>35</sup> Eight of the eleven pupils were in attendance. For the besieged Church of Ireland community this was a significant moment. Ruddock believes the re-opening of the school was one of the few positive experiences enjoyed by Fethard's Anglicans since the beginning of the boycott and the initiative served to boost their morale.<sup>36</sup>

Pinned on the schoolhouse door, the morning of its re-opening, was a notice written in pencil on a sheet of cardboard: 'Beware of lead in the boycott village'. Ruddock remembers that he was somewhat unnerved by the incident and gave the offending item to the Gardaí. Adrian Fisher condemned the act as one of intimidation, but asserted that Ruddock would not be deterred from doing his work.<sup>37</sup> A few days later, however, the rector was more dismissive of the incident, describing the threat as a scare.<sup>38</sup>

### **Protestant reaction to the boycott**

The initial reaction of Fethard's Protestants, numbering around twenty-five,<sup>39</sup> to the boycott was one of surprise and hurt.<sup>40</sup> For them the actions of Sheila Cloney were essentially a private and domestic matter. Three days into the affair,<sup>41</sup> on Wednesday 15 May, Rev. Edward Grant was approached by a deputation of former parishioners who pleaded with him to help them in their plight. Grant decided to ascertain the facts to relay to his bishop, Dr John Percy Phair. At 1.30 pm on the same day he called on Bishop James Staunton. Grant formed the view that the Catholic bishop was fully aware of the boycott, although he assured the Protestant

34 For Ruddock's account of his experiences in Fethard see Norman Ruddock, *The Rambling Rector*, (2005), pp. 57-66.

35 Interview with Rev. Norman Ruddock.

36 *Ibid.*

37 *Irish Independent*, 25 June 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(48).

38 *Sunday Independent*, 30 June 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(54).

39 *Time*, 19 August 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(107).

40 *Irish Times*, 27 May 1957.

41 This account is based on Rev. Edward Grant, 'The Fethard Boycott, 1957: Recollections and Reflections', pp. 6-8, RCBL, PC52.

cleric that it had not originated from any instructions given by him. He described it as a 'spontaneous reaction' by the Catholics of Fethard to Sheila Cloney's disappearance with her children.

Grant then called on Fathers Allen and Stafford later in the afternoon, at 3.00 pm. Grant has written that Allen refused to see him alone. Throughout the meeting he left the talking to Stafford, with the instruction: 'Don't say too much'. Grant has recalled that the atmosphere 'was not one of fellowship, and there was an unexpectedly waspish and stubborn element' in Stafford's attitude to him. This contrasted with other occasions when he had met the curate, who had then displayed 'a spirit of fun and friendship', particularly when challenging Grant to play badminton in the village hall. Stafford, like Staunton, described the boycott as 'a spontaneous reaction' to the removal of what he called 'their children'. He stated that the boycott had been adopted before anything was said in the local Catholic Church. Stafford insisted that the boycott was 'fired by a conviction that a certain group of Protestants had assisted and financed Sheila Cloney in her 'spiriting away' of the children'. In fact, the curate claimed, that the names of the guilty were known and that some who had initially pleaded ignorance had admitted their guilt as soon as what he termed 'the squeeze' came on. The boycott was to compel the guilty to bring Eileen and Mary back as, in Stafford's words, 'Mother church was weeping for her children, whose souls were in jeopardy'. Grant's meetings with the three Catholic clerics were primarily fact-finding exercises. In so far as they had as an objective the resolution of the conflict, it was to obtain information to facilitate this process.

Protestants who made public pronouncements on the boycott made it clear that the local Church of Ireland community had played no role in Sheila Cloney's disappearance and had no knowledge as to the whereabouts of the children. Leslie Gardiner declared that members of his church had 'no hand, act or part in the Cloney disappearance', the whole village knowing about it before Protestants did. He and his co-religionists had 'clear' consciences. William Kelly, Sheila's brother, expressed similar views, denying any Protestant involvement in the flight of his sister and nieces.<sup>42</sup>

As the boycott continued the actions of Catholic villagers were regretted and criticised, Betty Cooper commenting: 'It was a pity that Catholics should be treating Protestants like this as the Protestants had nothing to do with Sheila Cloney's disappearance'.<sup>43</sup> Bishop Phair visited Fethard on 7 June. Bishop of Ossory and Ferns since 1940, the octogenarian prelate issued an unequivocal disavowal of Protestant involvement in Sheila Cloney's departure and a clear criticism of the Catholic response:

These people [Protestants] have not the remotest idea as to where this woman has gone. They know nothing whatever about her movements. Even her own parents did not know until she went away... And it is tragic to think that they should now be victimised and punished for a

<sup>42</sup> *Irish Press*, 28 May 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(13).

<sup>43</sup> *Irish Times*, 3 June 1957.

thing over which they had no control, and know absolutely nothing about. I can assure you I know nothing either... My community knows as much about the matter as a child unborn.<sup>44</sup>

A month later, writing in the diocesan magazine, he was less moderate in his use of language, describing the boycott as 'cruel and pitiless'. Once again he denied any Protestant involvement in Sheila Cloney's disappearance: 'There is not one jot of evidence that any member of our church assisted in, or even sympathised with Mrs. Cloney's flight from her home'.<sup>45</sup>

For the spiritual leader of the village's Anglican community, Rev. Adrian Fisher, it was to be a most difficult time, the difficulty compounded by the fact that he had only been instituted as rector of the Fethard Union of parishes on 9 May. This union was composed of the parishes of Fethard-on-Sea, Killesk and Tintern. In 1959 the combined Protestant population was 137.<sup>46</sup> Before Fisher arrived in Wexford, he had served as a British army chaplain since 1952, spending one year, 1956-7, in Cyprus. He took his first service at St. Mogue's Church, in Fethard, on 12 May, the same day that Stafford preached the boycott sermon.<sup>47</sup> Fisher was more forceful in his comments on the boycott:

I think it is unjust that the Roman Catholic community should interfere in this way with Protestants who have nothing to do with the matter. I think myself there is no canon law for the boycott in Fethard and that the Roman Catholic Church would condemn it if it were brought to the attention of the papal nuncio.<sup>48</sup>

He repeated his criticism of the boycott in early June, appealing for its end. He protested that 'innocent citizens' were being 'victimised', which he described as 'stupid' because the matter was no concern of theirs.<sup>49</sup>

While Fisher was critical of Catholic actions, he was very hostile in his attitude towards Sheila Cloney. He made it clear that he was also speaking on behalf of his bishop. Shortly after her departure, the rector expressed his sympathy with the plight of her husband and condemned Sheila in very forthright terms:

I sympathise with Sean Cloney that his wife left him and disappeared with the children, and I condemn her action in doing so. She was under a solemn obligation to have the children brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. She broke that solemn obligation and without a word of warning disappeared with the children. I pray God that I may

44 *Irish Times*, 8 June 1957.

45 *Diocesan Magazine*, July 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/21, p. 3.

46 H.W. Robinson, *A Study of the Church of Ireland Population of Ferns Diocese 1973*, (1973), p. 16.

47 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/35(1), Pam Fisher, 'The Fethard-on-Sea Boycott in County Wexford, May 1957'.

48 *Irish Independent*; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(2); no date recorded on cutting, but very likely late May or early June 1957.

49 *Irish Press*, 7 June 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(13).

be pouring oil on troubled waters when I say that everybody in the Church of Ireland condemns her actions in running away with the children and breaking up a home. Speaking as an Irish priest of the Church of Ireland, I condemn it and I know that my bishop, Rt. Rev. Dr. J. P. Phair, condemns it. Everybody in the Church of Ireland condemns it and prayers are being said in the three churches of the Fethard Union for an end of the boycott and a happy solution of the Cloney affair.<sup>50</sup>

Two weeks into the boycott, on 1 June, Adrian Fisher visited Father Stafford. The rector told the *Irish Times* that he was informed by the Catholic curate that the boycott would continue and 'might get worse'.<sup>51</sup> This meeting may be the one of which Fisher's wife, Pam, has left an account. She presents Stafford in a very unfavourable light. Fisher was seated while the curate stood at his side. Suddenly, the latter brought his clenched fist down in front of Fisher's face and banged the table. He demanded that the rector take a deputation to Belfast and bring Mrs Cloney and her children back to Fethard. Fisher refused and the meeting ended.<sup>52</sup>

At national level, the boycott of the Church of Ireland community in Fethard-on-Sea prompted expressions of concern from a number of Protestant sources in the month of June, when it was becoming increasingly evident that there was no immediate prospect of an end to the affair. One of the Republic's few Protestant TDs, Lionel Booth, used the occasion of a Methodist conference in the Centenary Church, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, to state that every Christian was affected by the events in Wexford, and the boycott was proof of a failure to create a truly Christian community on the island of Ireland.<sup>53</sup> On 17 June the Dean of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, Rev. E. H. Lewis-Crosby, appealed to the leaders of the Catholic and Protestant Churches to show themselves 'ambassadors of reconciliation' in Fethard. He reminded members of his own church that 'our people are suffering from an unchristian boycott'.<sup>54</sup> The Clogher Diocesan Synod adopted a resolution expressing its concern and distress at the boycott and offered its sympathy to the victims.<sup>55</sup> A copy of the resolution was sent to the Taoiseach, Eamon de Valera.<sup>56</sup> In early July the Presbytery of Monaghan also adopted a resolution which urged all religious and civil authorities 'to put an end to the blot on the otherwise good relations that exist elsewhere in our land between Roman Catholics and other churches'.<sup>57</sup> The *Church of Ireland Gazette*, an important organ of Anglican

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50 *Irish Independent*; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(2). See note 14.

51 *Irish Times*, 7 June 1957.

52 UCDA, Fisher Papers, Pam Fisher, 'The Fethard-on-Sea Boycott in County Wexford, May 1957'.

53 *Irish Press*, 12 June 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(35).

54 *Irish Times*, 18 June 1957.

55 *Ibid.*, 24 June 1957.

56 National Archives of Ireland (henceforth NAI), DT S 16247, Letter from Rev. W. Magee to the Taoiseach, 24 June 1957.

57 NAI, DT S 16247, Rev. J. McAdam to the Taoiseach, 3 July 1957.

opinion, was very definite in its view that it must be clearly shown that the boycotting of a community was 'abhorrent to the state'.<sup>58</sup>

### Unwelcome publicity

One aspect of the boycott which its organisers and supporters had not anticipated was the extent of the negative publicity their action attracted. From its inception, there were critics who highlighted what they regarded as the damage the events in Fethard were having on the country's reputation for tolerance towards its religious minorities. Speaking in the Senate in early June, on the matter of the closure of the Protestant school, Professor William Stanford of Trinity College referred to the fact that the events in the small Wexford village might do what he considered great harm to the good name of the country at home and abroad. He expressed the fervent hope that all Irish people would join in discouraging sectarian animosity of this kind.<sup>59</sup> An editorial in the *Irish Times* on 11 June warned about the suspicions which the boycott might engender that 'the much vaunted religious tolerance of the twenty-six counties is little more than skin deep'. A correspondent in the same newspaper expressed a similar sentiment when reference was made to the fact that the 'much boasted tolerance' of the Republic was not apparent at Fethard-on-Sea.<sup>60</sup> Another letter warned the supporters of the boycott that they must realise that their conduct would be exploited to the detriment of the country's reputation.<sup>61</sup>

An article by journalist, Liam MacGabhann, which appeared in the English newspaper, the *People* in June was especially forceful, even provocative, and was the kind of adverse publicity opponents of the boycott had feared and of which they had warned:

I recall the fixed, hard look in the eyes of a Negro cabbie who was taking me into Brooklyn and telling me about the whites burning down his home at Long Island. It was the sort of look you see in the eyes of a puppy someone had patted and then kicked. I never dreamed I would see it in the eyes of a girl of the County Wexford countryside, because Wexford is part of the brave new world of the Irish Republic, hailed by the nations for its Jewish mayors and Protestant presidents. But I did see it. The girl's name is Betty Cooper.

Later in the same piece, MacGabhann recounted the hostility his inquiries about the boycott encountered in a local public house, prompting him to write: 'I seemed to see Ku Klux Klan robes over their black jerseys and I disliked my own heart for its bitterness against the honest boatman of Wexford'.<sup>62</sup>

58 *Church of Ireland Gazette*, 28 June 1957.

59 *Seanad Debates*, 5 June 1957, Vol. 48, 108.

60 *Irish Times*, 14 June 1957.

61 *Ibid.*, 29 June 1957.

62 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(23), *People*, no date on cutting, but likely early June.

## **Fethard boycott and Northern Ireland**

An editorial in the *Irish Times* referred, in particular, to the damage the boycott was doing to the cause of Irish unity and to the reputation of the Republic in Northern Ireland.<sup>63</sup> A day later the same newspaper printed a letter from a Church of Ireland clergyman based in County Tyrone. He made a simple, yet powerful point: 'The latest example of religious intolerance in the Republic will make it even more difficult for me to refute the arguments of my Unionist friends'.<sup>64</sup> Essentially the same point was made in the 'Northern Notebook' section of the *Church of Ireland Gazette* a week or so later: 'It is a sad fact that it is precisely incidents such as this which lend strength to the voices of extremism on this side of the border. For that reason alone the conduct of the Roman Catholics in Fethard-on-Sea is to be deplored'. The writer continued:

The people of Northern Ireland would not be human if they did not raise an eyebrow at the contemporary application of Article 44 [which guaranteed freedom of religion] of the Eire constitution which is at present being applied in Fethard. Legal recognition of the right of Protestantism to exist in the Republic is worth little if a small minority has to wait on the mercy of the powerful majority.<sup>65</sup>

Hardly surprisingly, the boycott was the favourite topic of many of the speeches delivered in Northern Ireland during the celebrations of the Twelfth of July. In fact, the day before a correspondent of Adrian Fisher's had written: 'I dread the twelfth of July speeches to-morrow'.<sup>66</sup> And certainly there was a surfeit of addresses relating to Fethard. The Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, Lord Brookeborough, warned about what could happen if the North were submerged in an all-Ireland republic. He continued: 'Where now is the oft repeated boast of Mr. [Robert] Briscoe [a member of the Jewish faith] during his recent American tour as Lord Mayor of Dublin that minorities in Eire enjoy complete freedom and tolerance'. Brookeborough concluded by observing on the fact that Ulster had kept alight the torch of freedom and this might have prevented many other incidents like Fethard in Eire.<sup>67</sup> Ivor Neill, the Minister of Labour, stated that Protestant Unionists had the right to demand for Protestants in the Republic the same rights and liberties accorded to all sections of the population in the North. W.W. Topping, the Minister of Home Affairs, pointed to Fethard as the latest example of bigotry and intolerance in the Republic. A backbench MP declared that Fethard convinced people in Northern Ireland that justice and fair play for a Protestant minority were not to be expected where Roman Catholicism wielded authority over a government, as in the South. Another Unionist MP, Norman Porter, used the situation in Wexford to appeal to the darkest fears of loyalists concerning the Church of Rome:

63 *Irish Times*, 11 June 1957.

64 *Ibid.*, 12 June 1957.

65 *Church of Ireland Gazette*, 21 June 1957.

66 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164(5)/6, Eoin O'Mahony to Adrian Fisher, 11 July 1957.

67 *Belfast Telegraph*, 19 July 1957; UCDA Fisher Papers, P164/18(107).

Broadly speaking, there has probably been more evil, certainly more bloodshed and cruelty perpetrated in the name of religion by Rome than any other human institution. Rome recognises no authority but its own, it demands freedom from those in power but refuses it to others when it holds sway. The weapon of boycott is only one of the branches of popery.<sup>68</sup>

Various publications in Ulster added to the flood of publicity on Fethard. One Unionist newspaper was ready to highlight how ‘a handful of bigots in the tiny Wexford village of Fethard-on-Sea have destroyed one of the most carefully nurtured points in the anti-partition argument – that there is no sectarian feeling in the South’.<sup>69</sup> An Orange Order newspaper characterised the boycott as ‘one of the recent black spots in Rome’s history of hatred and persecution’. The victims had done nothing to deserve such treatment except be Protestants.<sup>70</sup> Such denunciations were also to be found in locally produced publications such as the *Newtownards Parish Magazine*. This newsletter had a special interest in events at Fethard because a former curate of the Belfast parish, from 1908-1911, was the Rev. C.P. Fisher, father of the Rev. Adrian Fisher. The rector in 1957 was the Rev. R.J. Chisolm and he holidayed in the Republic in that year, making contact with Adrian Fisher in the course of his visit. The magazine spoke of the Catholic Church and the government of the Republic displaying ‘the most gross-blundering bigotry and hatred’. The Catholic Church, in particular, was ‘deeply enmeshed in this uncalled for incident’.

Interestingly, the magazine sought to publicise the fact that Fethard was not, in its opinion, an isolated incident. It carried the following account:

In County Cork, the rector and Mrs. Chisolm called on two friends in a well-known town. Mr. X was born and bred there. Mrs. X is a Northerner. Mr. X carries a well-known county name and has a prosperous business. A couple of years ago he opened another branch and recently was negotiating for a further extension. During July business fell away and caused concern, but it was put down to poor tourist traffic. One night a copy of *The United Irishman* (official organ of the IRA) was pushed through the door and they were told to ‘clear out’. A RC friend confided they were being boycotted. The parish priest and the police were consulted – but apparently nothing can be done. They have two small children. The result is that things have been made so awkward that they have decided to leave Eire and find a new home in Northern Ireland or England.<sup>71</sup>

Chisolm forwarded a copy of the magazine to Fisher in November, and in an enclosed letter regretted the fact that the part of the article relating to the Cork incident had attracted the attention of some newspapers. He had refused to answer

68 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(134), *Ulster Protestant*, no date on cutting.

69 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(116), unidentified publication.

70 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/28, unidentified publication.

71 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/29, *Newtownards Parish Magazine*, September 1957.

queries directed at him. However, one aspect of the incident disturbed Chisolm:

But I was amazed at the attitude of apathy and indifference of many Southern Church of Ireland people who refused to believe and said it was Northern propaganda... One individual, of the name of Williams from Mallow, who claims to be diocesan secretary, kept pursuing the matter and eventually wrote to me saying that he had traced my friends and that they thoroughly deserved all that was coming to them.

Chisolm concluded his letter by stating: 'I have had several letters from others who had to leave the South within the past few years on account of a 'cold war' directed against them'.<sup>72</sup>

### **Frustration at criticism**

As the boycott continued, Catholic supporters of the action were surprised and frustrated at the amount of publicity received by events in Fethard, much of it very critical of the villagers and sympathetic towards the Anglican community. Such publicity came to be regarded as clever manipulation and dishonest presentation of the facts, and constituted what came to be regarded as propaganda produced by the local Protestants and their sympathisers. A person speaking on behalf of the boycotters was quoted in the *Standard* towards the end of June: 'Our Protestant brethren have expressed themselves with a haste and heat which makes one fear that they have really welcomed this family tragedy and are happy to exploit it'.<sup>73</sup> In a letter to Bishop Staunton in early July, Cardinal D'Alton referred to reports in newspapers that Bishop Phair was to meet the President of Ireland, Sean T. O'Kelly, to discuss the boycott with him. D'Alton described the Anglican prelate as being 'on another tack this morning' and expressed the view that 'Protestants are certainly adept at propaganda'.<sup>74</sup> Bishop Staunton shared these views regarding clever Protestant propaganda. In a letter to Archbishop McQuaid in January 1958, he wrote:

The lay public, in general, accept without criticism or even any thought, what they read, including, in too many cases, attacks on the Catholic Church, its teaching and its leaders... I felt this in the Fethard-on-Sea case. The Protestant propaganda, in my opinion successful, was in fact an attack on the Catholic Church, under the guise of an attack on the people of Fethard-on-Sea.<sup>75</sup>

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72 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(215), R.J. Chisolm to Adrian Fisher, 18 November 1957.

73 *Standard*, 21 June 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/19.

74 Cardinal John D'Alton to Bishop James Staunton, 3 July 1957. I am most grateful to Mr Simon Kennedy for giving me a copy of this letter.

75 Quoted in D. O Corrain, *Rendering to God and Caesar: The Irish Churches and the Two States in Ireland 1949-73*, (2006), p. 188.

### **Status of the boycott at the end of June**

By the end of June it was evident that the boycott was a failure – the return of the Cloney children had not been secured. Nor was it clear that the continuation of the action would in any way facilitate such an outcome. The very basis of the action by Fethard’s Catholics – the supposed Protestant collusion in the disappearance of the Cloney children - had been challenged and rejected by local Protestants and their clergy. Even more embarrassing for the proponents of boycotting was the opinion expressed by Sean Cloney in early June that he did not believe that ‘local Protestant traders had connived in any way at his wife’s disappearance’. This dented the credibility of the boycott. It was also undermined by the failure of efforts to extend it beyond the boundaries of Fethard. Edward Grant has written that the ‘earnestness’ inspiring the boycott was reflected in the efforts which were made to spread it to other Church of Ireland parishes in the Diocese of Ferns, e.g., New Ross, Carnew and Wexford.<sup>76</sup> Phair also alluded to ‘attempts to spread the trouble to districts outside the parish’.<sup>77</sup> However, as early as 7 June, the *Belfast Telegraph* was reporting that ‘there is little doubt that the boycott is widely and generally resented outside the Fethard district’.<sup>78</sup> Adrian Fisher was reported in another newspaper as stating that Catholic priests in some of the parishes in his union had told parishioners to have nothing to do with the boycott.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, Bishop Staunton’s failed in his efforts to involve the Knights of Columbanus in the affair, his request for support being rejected after a debate at the organisation’s supreme council.<sup>80</sup>

### **Bishop Browne’s first intervention**

However, an event occurred at the end of June which gave the boycott a renewed vigour and an extended lease of life. The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland held its annual congress in Wexford Town. The occasion assumed the character of a triumphal celebration of Catholicism. Given the religious tensions in that part of the country, the congress was not calculated to contribute to an improvement in relations between Catholics and Protestants, particularly in Fethard. In fact, it led to a further deterioration. What caused this was a sermon by the Bishop of Galway, Dr Michael Browne, at a special mass on Sunday, 30 June, in Bride Street Church. The bishop availed of the opportunity to address the matter of the boycott. In the course of his sermon he declared:

There seems to be a concerted campaign to entice or kidnap Catholic children and deprive them of their faith. Non-Catholics, with one or two honourable exceptions, do not protest against the crime of conspiring to steal the children of a Catholic father. But they try to make

76 RCBL, PC52, Rev. Edward Grant, ‘The Fethard Boycott, 1957: Recollections and Reflections’, p. 3.

77 *Diocesan Magazine*, August 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/22, p. 3.

78 *Belfast Telegraph*, 7 June 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(14).

79 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(23), *People*, cutting undated.

80 Evelyn Bolster, *The Knights of St. Columbanus*, (1979), p. 108. Bolster observes that the minutes of this meeting ‘are more than usually cryptic and jejune’.

political capital when Catholic people made a peaceful and moderate protest. Do non-Catholics never use this weapon of boycott in the North? Here in the South, do we never hear of them supporting only their own co-religionists in business and the professions?

Browne also denounced Protestant members of the Oireachtas, whom he accused of losing no opportunity of attacking the Catholic Church and its clergy.<sup>81</sup>

Given the sensitive circumstances surrounding the disappearance of Sheila Cloney and the boycott at Fethard, this was a very controversial intervention. The *Irish Times* regretted that the first pronouncement by a Catholic bishop was, in its words, ‘hurtful, unhelpful and mischievous’. Whatever about being hurtful and mischievous, it was certainly unhelpful. Browne chose to minimise the significance of the fact that Protestants who had addressed the matter, particularly Bishop Phair and Adrian Fisher, had condemned Sheila Cloney’s actions in trenchant terms. Moreover, the sermon contained nothing that might help bring about a resolution of what had become a complex and increasingly protracted situation. On the contrary, it exacerbated an already difficult state of affairs by condoning the actions of the boycotters and giving them the seal of episcopal approval. The content of the sermon certainly allowed such an interpretation. Its context permitted another. Browne spoke in the presence of Cardinal D’Alton, the Catholic Primate, the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. John Charles McQuaid and four other bishops, including Dr. James Staunton of Ferns. Thus he could be regarded as speaking on behalf of the hierarchy, or at least with the consent of some of the country’s most senior prelates. And such an interpretation was to be put on his words. The *Church of Ireland Gazette*, in a comment on the address, observed: ‘Given the setting, his words must be taken as having a semi-official ring. If this is true at least we know where we stand and we can be certain that the methods employed at Fethard have the sanction of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland’.<sup>82</sup>

Bishop Browne delivered this sermon against the express advice of his advisor on financial affairs, Paddy Kilroy. He cautioned the bishop to ‘cool Fethard’, but his counsel was ignored and Browne adopted a contrary course of action calculated to enflame the situation even more. Kilroy resigned in protest.<sup>83</sup> However, Cardinal D’Alton was not unhappy with events in Wexford. In a letter to Bishop Staunton, thanking him for the warmth of the welcome he received while attending the Catholic Truth Society congress, he wrote: ‘It was altogether an inspiring experience, and particularly in the present circumstances it should do a lot of good’.<sup>84</sup> He was clearly referring to events in Fethard and his satisfaction probably extended to Browne’s sermon. Staunton shared D’Alton’s attitude. Browne would not have uttered any words on Fethard without Staunton’s approval. The controversial

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81 *Ibid.*

82 *Church of Ireland Gazette*, 5 July 1957.

83 Interview with Nicholas Furlong. See also Norman Ruddock, *The Rambling Rector*, p. 61.

84 Cardinal D’Alton to Bishop James Staunton, 3 July 1957. I am most grateful to Mr Simon Kennedy for giving me with a copy of this letter.

episode was unfolding in the latter's diocese and bishops, by convention, did not comment publicly on matters coming within the jurisdiction of an episcopal colleague. Browne would have secured prior approval of Staunton for his remarks relating to the boycott. His sentiments accorded with those of the Bishop of Ferns. Indeed, it has been suggested that Staunton may have asked Browne to make his remarks, the congress of the Catholic Truth Society providing both a local and a national forum for them.<sup>85</sup>

### **De Valera's intervention**

While the implications of the words of the Bishop of Galway were being interpreted by the various parties concerned with the boycott, the Taoiseach, Eamon de Valera, made an intervention. He was kept well informed of developments in the Wexford village, as is evident from the relevant file compiled by his department at the time.<sup>86</sup> This contains, among another items, many newspapers clippings and correspondence on the issue. De Valera was worried that what was happening in Fethard was having a very damaging effect on the country's reputation for religious tolerance to its minorities. The publicity, national and international, attending the boycott was conveying a distinctly contrary image. He told one of Trinity College's senators, William Stanford, that he was 'furious at it' [the boycott].<sup>87</sup> Concerned at the course of events, the government discussed the affair informally on 31 May.<sup>88</sup>

When Eoin Sheehy Skeffington raised the circumstances of Fethard school in the Senate on 5 June the government reaction conveyed no sense of urgency. Rather, it was its view that the less said the better, an attitude informed by the belief that publicity and attention militated against a resolution. The Minister for Education did not reply in person and his spokesman, Senator Eamon O Ciosain, was very circumspect in his answer. He articulated the opinion that little should be said on the matter. He confined his comments to the issue of the school's closure and avoided any other remarks on the boycott. Officially, it was a matter for the school's manager – 'the question of religion, or so-called religious bigotry, does not enter into it, good, bad or indifferent'. The government was not going to be drawn any further: 'There is no issue as far as we are concerned'.<sup>89</sup>

However, by 21 June, with no improvement in the situation, de Valera decided to discuss the matter with the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr John Charles McQuaid.<sup>90</sup> Both men met at the archbishop's residence at Drumcondra. McQuaid requested that the meeting be 'strictly confidential'. A memo records that the archbishop

85 Confidential source.

86 NAI, DT S 16247.

87 W. Stanford, *Memoirs*, (2001), p. 143.

88 D. O Corrain, *Rendering to God and Caesar*, p. 95.

89 *Seanad Debates*, 5 June 1957, Vol. 48, 109-111.

90 NAI, DT S 16247, memo, 21 June 1957.

appeared to agree, generally, with the Taoiseach's views as to the inadequate justification, or lack of justification, on the available information for the attitude taken up by members of the Catholic community at Fethard and as to the damaging effect on the national reputation for religious tolerance and fair play which is likely to result from the publicity given to the matter.<sup>91</sup>

De Valera left the meeting believing that McQuaid shared his anxieties, although he was not sure whether the archbishop would help defuse the situation by counselling his fellow bishops to take a conciliatory line on the affair.<sup>92</sup> While McQuaid was the most powerful churchman in the Republic, under canon law he could not intervene directly in the diocesan affairs of another bishop. This may explain why there is no copy of any correspondence between him and Staunton on the matter.<sup>93</sup>

De Valera considered a direct appeal to the Bishop of Ferns. A letter was drafted but it was never sent. Nevertheless, it gives an insight into de Valera's attitude to events in Fethard. In the letter the Taoiseach appealed to Staunton to use his influence to end the boycott: 'It is doing harm to us as a nation and as a Catholic community'. De Valera reminded the bishop that Irish emigrants constituted minorities in many countries and 'their proud boast when they are looking for fair play in religious matters, education, etc., is that we here in Ireland behave tolerantly towards the minorities in our midst'. However, events in Wexford were serving to belie this image, a circumstance the Taoiseach condemned in uncompromising terms:

To any outside observer the position will appear to be that all the members of a small community are being punished because of the act of an individual over whose conduct they could have no effective control. It is a heartbreak that, because of the ill-considered action of a few, we can be held up before the world to be what we fundamentally are not, as if we were a people who when we have numbers on our side can be tyrannical, cruel and unjust.

The conclusion of the draft letter was an unequivocal request to the bishop to use his influence to end a situation de Valera regarded as a blot on the Irish people: 'It is against all our national traditions, and I ask Your Lordship to intervene to see it does not continue'.<sup>94</sup>

A wish to avoid giving the Fethard boycott any additional publicity, lest it contribute to an exacerbation of the situation, was a key determinant of de Valera's response. On 3 July, however, he was given notice of a question by Noel Browne, TD, on the boycott. De Valera was forced to break his silence and the next day he gave his reply in the Dáil:

91 NAI, DT S, 16247, memo, 25 June 1957.

92 J. Cooney, *John Charles McQuaid: Ruler of Catholic Ireland*, (1999), p. 323.

93 D. O Corrain, *Rendering to God and Caesar*, p. 187.

94 NAI, DT S 16247, draft letter of the Taoiseach to Bishop James Staunton.

I have made no public statement because I have clung to the hope that good sense and decent neighbourly feeling would, of themselves, bring this business to an end. I cannot say that I know every fact, but if, as Head of the Government, I must speak, I can only say, from what has appeared in public, that I regard this boycott as ill-conceived, ill-considered and futile for the achievement of the purpose for which it seems to have been intended; that I regard it as unjust and cruel to confound the innocent with the guilty; that I repudiate any suggestion that this boycott is typical of the attitude or conduct of our people; that I am convinced that ninety per cent of them look on this matter as I do; and that I beg of all who have regard for the fair name, good repute and well-being of our nation to use their influence to bring this deplorable affair to a speedy end. I would like to appeal also to any who might have influence with the absent wife to urge on her to respect her troth and her promise and to return with her children to her husband and her home.<sup>95</sup>

The statement made by Eamon de Valera was very significant. He was speaking to a national and international audience, and he did so in reasoned, measured and forceful terms. He was direct and unequivocal in his condemnation of the boycott. He and his government were anxious to minimise the impression that the events in the Wexford village were demonstrative of a general lack of tolerance of Protestantism in the Republic.<sup>96</sup> In the statement, however, he was careful not to alienate Catholic opinion, insisting that Sheila Cloney must honour her obligations. This was a view shared by most Anglicans also.

This statement by the Taoiseach was widely and warmly welcomed. The *Irish Times* editorialised that there was nothing ambiguous about his description of the boycott, and it especially praised him for describing it as ‘ill-conceived, ill-considered and futile’.<sup>97</sup> Bishop Phair expressed publicly his gratitude to de Valera for his words, which he regarded as ‘very wise and very helpful’.<sup>98</sup> In a letter to the Taoiseach he wrote of his ‘deep appreciation’ for the ‘helpful pronouncement’ which offered ‘very real encouragement’ to the Protestants of Fethard.<sup>99</sup> In the diocesan magazine he again praised the Dáil reply and spoke of his deep gratitude.<sup>100</sup> *The Church of Ireland Monthly* commented: ‘We are glad to know that Mr de Valera and a number of prominent responsible Roman Catholics have been opposed to the Fethard boycott and we believe that an increasing number of our fellow-countrymen will show their disapproval of it’.<sup>101</sup> The *Belfast Telegraph* was

95 *Dáil Debates*, 4 July 1957, Vol. 158, 731.

96 O Corrain, *Rendering to God and Caesar*, p. 95.

97 *Irish Times*, 5 July 1957.

98 *Ibid.*

99 NAI, DT S 16247, Phair to De Valera, 19 July 1957.

100 *Diocesan Magazine*, August 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/22.

101 *Church of Ireland Monthly*, August 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/22. This publication was enclosed in Fisher’s copy of the August edition of the *Diocesan Magazine*.

of the opinion that de Valera spoke for the educated laity and had effectively answered the Bishop of Galway.<sup>102</sup>

De Valera also received correspondence which commended the statement. Typical was the letter of Jerome P. Hayes who wrote: 'As a reasonably good Catholic I wish to approve of your action in condemning the boycott at Fethard-on-Sea'.<sup>103</sup> Another correspondent wrote: 'Your restrained and eminently Christian statement was of untold comfort to me and I thank you from the bottom of my heart'.<sup>104</sup> One of the most important and interesting letters written to the Taoiseach was from John J. Ryan, of Fethard-on-Sea. He was one of Sean Cloney's neighbours and a staunch Fianna Fáil supporter. He congratulated de Valera on his statement and informed him that the boycott was unjust. As a result of it, the two Protestant shops in the village had been 'hit hard'.<sup>105</sup>

While his statement attracted the notice of his contemporaries, another comment by de Valera was also important, but did not receive the same attention. It was his reply to an intervention by Brendan Corish, one of the TDs for Wexford, as recorded in the Dáil:

Corish: What steps has the Taoiseach taken to find out whether or not there is, in fact, a boycott? Will the Taoiseach endeavour to ensure that certain people will not conspire in this part of the country to kidnap Catholic children?

De Valera: I do not think I should add to the considered statement I have made. I am not accepting the statements of the deputy.

Deputies: Hear , hear!<sup>106</sup>

In this short reply de Valera was rejecting, utterly and completely, what he regarded as the local prejudices and misrepresentations which were being used to defend and sustain the boycott. He was very careful in what he said, a fact he explained to Trinity College senator, William Stanford, at a meeting he had with him sometime after he had made his Dáil remarks. In his *Memoirs* Stanford recalled the Taoiseach's comment: 'If he had been questioned about it in the Dáil he might have 'put his foot in it', presumably by imprudently condemning the boycott'.<sup>107</sup> Accordingly, de Valera refused to engage with Corish and to depart from the text of his formal statement. He did not want to use any language or say anything which might have been, even in the slightest degree, intemperate. Prudence and diplomacy were the hallmarks of all his words spoken on the boycott.

The advocates and supporters of the action in Fethard, however, could find nothing in any of the Taoiseach's words to give them justification or solace. Bishop Staunton of Ferns was deeply unhappy with what de Valera said in the Dáil

102 *Belfast Telegraph*, 24 July 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(110).

103 NAI, DT S 16247, Jerome Hayes to the Taoiseach, 8 July 1957.

104 NAI DT S 16247, C. Gores Grimes to the Taoiseach, 10 July 1957.

105 NAI DT S 16427, John Ryan to the Taoiseach, 9 July 1957.

106 *Dáil Debates*, 4 July 1957, Vol. 158, 731.

107 W. Stanford, *Memoirs*, (2001), p. 143.

and privately rejected both its tenor and content. He was, on the other hand, delighted with Corish's intervention, representing, as it did, sentiments consonant with his own.<sup>108</sup> Sometime after the Taoiseach's Dáil statement, an unidentified Fianna Fáil minister (not local TD and Finance Minister, Dr Jim Ryan) visited Staunton to discuss the boycott. The private meeting was unsatisfactory from the bishop's point of view and he could not disguise this fact when it ended. As the minister was leaving he requested a blessing and knelt down. Staunton blessed him, in a rather ungracious fashion with the words: 'You have need of it'.<sup>109</sup> The Bishop of Fern's reaction to both the words of de Valera and his minister was entirely consistent with his attitude throughout the boycott, when he seemed oblivious to the barrage of protest around him.<sup>110</sup>

### **Bishop Browne's second intervention**

On 6 July, two days after de Valera's statement, the Bishop of Galway made his second intervention in the Fethard controversy. It took the form of a statement which was a response to the one made by the Taoiseach. It was even more strident and uncompromising than his address in Wexford. He defended his previous description of the boycott as 'a peaceful and moderate protest'. He asserted that there had been 'no injury to life, limb or property reported to the Gardai'. There was no picketing of Protestant premises and no one had been refused the necessities of life. Browne attacked claims made by Protestants, especially Dr Phair, that large numbers of people were being victimised. He challenged the Anglican bishop to 'produce a list of names of persons of his flock who are suffering and the nature and the exact particulars of what he calls victimisation'. Moreover, Browne refused to modify his view that political capital was being made of events in Fethard. He also re-iterated the belief of those supporting the boycott that Sheila Cloney could not have acted alone and that she was now being supported by someone: 'Some people in Fethard know her whereabouts, but no effort is being made to repair the wrong'.<sup>111</sup>

As with Browne's first statement this one also attracted a negative response from Protestants. Bishop Phair gave his reaction, using diplomatic language: 'I think there is a very great contrast between his statement and the statement made by Mr de Valera in the Dáil last week, which I have already described as being kind, thoughtful and helpful'.<sup>112</sup> The *Church of Ireland Gazette* commented that the Taoiseach's words appeared to have produced a reaction among a less responsible element in Irish society. Included in this was Bishop Browne, who was never one 'to pull his punches or to worry much about where they were likely to land'.<sup>113</sup>

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108 Confidential source.

109 *Ibid.*

110 D. O Corrain, *Rendering to God and Caesar*, p. 188.

111 *Irish Press*, 8 July 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(86).

112 *Irish Times*, 9 July 1957.

113 *Church of Ireland Gazette*, 12 July 1957.

### **July: the boycott continues**

The impact of all the statements on events in Fethard soon became apparent. On Sunday 7 July Fr William Stafford addressed his congregation at two masses in Poulfur Church. His words were effectively a response to Eamon de Valera's Dáil statement and would have a profound significance in relation to the continuation of the boycott:

Some of this will sound familiar to you - to the men at least. It is a repetition of something which I have said before. For sometime past, in the newspapers and elsewhere, various people have been shouting and screaming at the priests and people of this parish. The priests of this parish, with a full sense of their responsibility and realising the Catholic issue at stake, assure the faithful, loyal Catholics in this parish that, in the stand they are taking in defence of Catholic principles, not now, nor in the near future, nor in the distant future, will their priests let them down by asking them to withdraw one inch or to apologise for their actions. Their priests have the utmost confidence and conviction that the people will persevere unflinchingly, and will not allow anything to happen to mar or besmirch this grand, dignified, noble, loyal, legal profession of their faith. In view of some of the things that have been said recently, I am going to read this last part again. I want you all to take it to heart and to listen to it very carefully and put it into practice. It is more necessary now than ever before. Many eyes are upon you. Let all others go on protesting their innocence. I would refer you to the French proverb - 'He who excuses himself accuses himself'.

The sermon given by Bishop Browne in Wexford was then invoked and the congregations were urged to read every word of it. Those in Poulfur Church were reminded that it had been delivered in the presence of Cardinal D'Alton and six bishops. Browne's more recent statement was also recommended as worth reading by Stafford to his listeners.<sup>114</sup>

This sermon or statement was an unequivocal expression of intransigence. It was utterly devoid of sentiments of compromise and conciliation. The concerns at the effects of the boycott, which had been voiced in many quarters, were dismissively characterised as 'shouting and screaming at the priests and people of the parish'. While the Taoiseach's statement was not alluded to directly, there was a definite response to it. What de Valera had termed an 'ill-conceived, ill-considered and futile' action, Stafford described as 'a grand, dignified, noble, legal profession of faith'. This part of the sermon was repeated, a clear acknowledgement of the power of the Taoiseach's words and their potential to undermine support for the boycott. It was also repeated to highlight, in a very definite way, the total rejection of de Valera's plea for an end to it. The words of Bishop Browne, moreover, were invoked to negate those of de Valera and to give the boycott credibility.

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114 *Irish Times*, 8 July 1957.

### Attitude of Sean Cloney

On 6 July 1957 a letter written by Sean Cloney was published in the *Irish Times*. It was dated 4 July. In the opening paragraph he observed that from past experience he knew that whatever he said would be strongly criticised and that some of his neighbours questioned whether he should even comment on the boycott. Whatever about these reservations, Cloney expressed the worry that the situation in Fethard could deteriorate even more to the detriment of all associated with events in the village. The involvement of the Church of Ireland and the Catholic Church was especially of concern to him, as each day might bring developments which could prove injurious to both institutions. Such a circumstance was something with which no persons of faith could be pleased, as such persons would not wish to see their churches embarrassed or in difficulties.

Cloney wrote that his primary interest was the ‘re-making’ of his broken family. He then asked a simple, but powerful question: ‘Can the events in Fethard-on-Sea, since early May, be shown to have assisted me to attain my goal?’ While all parties agreed that his wife had made ‘a mistake’, Cloney, however, also believed that others on both sides had also made mistakes – ‘the rash word and the accusing finger’. He then addressed the Protestants of Fethard: ‘To my non-Catholic friends may I say I deeply regret this breach of harmony? All innocent people now on trial have my deepest sympathy’.

In this letter Sean Cloney made, essentially, two important points: the boycott was not helping the return of his wife and children, and innocent people were suffering because of the action. The letter, however, was stilted and formal. It lacked spontaneity and real passion; there was something artificial about it. There may be an explanation for this. Solicitor, Eoin O’Mahony, while corresponding with Adrian Fisher, referred to the letter and informed the rector that there was a rumour in legal circles in Dublin that it had been written by Cloney’s solicitor, Fintan O’Connor, and the Chief Justice’s barrister, Peter Maguire.<sup>115</sup> It would appear that Cloney decided that any comment he made in relation to Fethard had to be measured and restrained, such was the sensitivity surrounding the matter.

### Sean Cloney and de Valera’s statement

A similar caution influenced Cloney’s initial refusal to comment on Eamon de Valera’s statement in the Dáil on the boycott. He observed that this refusal would be the subject of many incorrect interpretations but he explained his silence by reference to the fact that a meeting might be about to take place between the Catholic and Protestant bishops of the diocese.<sup>116</sup> Cloney repeated his intention not to comment a few days later, and was quoted as saying:

He is not yet prepared to comment on the statement made in the Dail by the Taoiseach. He has said, however, that things are being made unpleasant for him now by some Catholics. ‘They are treating me very differently from the way I was treated immediately after my wife

<sup>115</sup> UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164(5)/5, Eoin O’Mahony to Adrian Fisher, 11 July 1957.

<sup>116</sup> *Irish Press*, 6 July 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(33).

went away and before the boycott started. They were all sympathy then', he said. On the information he had, he said, he could not endorse the boycott in the way he was expected to by some people. 'They did not agree with my repudiation of the alleged connivance by the Protestant shopkeepers concerned and my wife's disappearance with the two children', he said.<sup>117</sup>

While Cloney was repeating an earlier disavowal of the boycott and a repudiation of Protestant involvement in his wife's flight, he did highlight that his adoption of this position was at a personal cost to himself. Clearly, he too was being made suffer. In the fevered and fetid atmosphere of Fethard the person who was the initial victim of Sheila Cloney's actions – actions which were the primary justification and motivation for the villagers' response – was himself a victim of the boycott mentality.

Sean Cloney, however, did write a confidential letter to de Valera on 7 July. He congratulated the Taoiseach on what he described as 'your excellent statement' and endorsed all that he had said. Cloney expressed the view that de Valera must have access to information which was true and accurate, something Catholic Church leaders did not appear to have, a fact he regretted: 'if only our Catholic bishops would seek access to the same'. Cloney referred to Fr. Stafford's reply to de Valera's statement: 'At mass here this morning we heard from the altar the out-worn Unionist cry, 'No Surrender''. He outlined his fears that events in Fethard would have serious repercussions: 'Please do not consider me unduly pessimistic but I fear time is running out. The consequences, unless there is a change for the better immediately, may well prove very serious for the church, the local Fianna Fáil party, our people in the North and our country as a whole'. On a personal level, the actions by Fethard's Catholics were having a detrimental effect on the prospects of a reconciliation between himself and his wife: 'I doubt if a better means could be devised to discourage any desire my wife might have to return'. Cloney's letter shed an interesting light on the local Fianna Fáil reaction to the Dáil statement: '... many agree with you completely, others are in a dilemma between 'what the priest says' and 'what Dev says'; still others say, in effect, that your statement was ill-advised'.<sup>118</sup>

### **Attempt to break the deadlock**

In early July, in a clear attempt to break the deadlock and find a resolution to the continuing boycott, Thomas Kelly, Sheila Cloney's father, petitioned the Minister for Justice to establish a judicial tribunal to inquire into the whole affair in Fethard. In a statement to the minister he declared that, as far as he was aware, no member of his family approved of his daughter's conduct 'in leaving her husband and denying the children their rightful home and lawful heritage'. Two other daughters of his were married to Roman Catholics and were happy to honour their pledges to have their children brought up in the Catholic religion. He expected Sheila to do

117 *Irish Times*, 8 July 1957.

118 NAI, DT S 16247, Sean Cloney to the Taoiseach, 7 July 1957.

likewise. Moreover, Kelly asserted that he was satisfied that ‘the members of the Church of Ireland in Fethard-on-Sea did not condone his daughter’s conduct in absconding with her children and did not afford her any financial assistance’. As a resident of Fethard, he was ‘painfully aware’ of the ‘injustice being done to so many friends and neighbours’. Kelly also made reference to the ‘dangerous attitude developing in the parish’. Accordingly, he was seeking a tribunal to ascertain the following facts:

1. The cause or causes (if ascertainable) which resulted in Sheila Cloney leaving the parish and taking the children.
2. The name of the person or persons (if any) who encouraged her to leave the parish with the children.
3. The name of the person or persons (if any) who subscribed money to her in order that she might maintain herself and her children independently of her husband.
4. The name of the person or persons (if any) who are aware of her present whereabouts, or who are in any way assisting her to conceal the children from her husband.
5. The name of the person or persons who circulated unfounded and reckless rumours.
6. If there is a boycott presently being enforced in Fethard-on-Sea, and the extent of same.
7. The name of the person or persons who organised or advocated the boycott.

Kelly argued that ‘only by the holding of such an inquiry can the truth be ascertained, lies exposed, justice and charity prevail, and constitutional rights restored to the individuals in Fethard-on-Sea’. In a prescient and prophetic comment he noted: ‘In time to come, if not already, this boycott will be regarded as a lamentable chapter in the history of a Christian nation’.<sup>119</sup>

Bishop Phair supported Thomas Kelly’s call for a tribunal of inquiry, expressing the view that the more inquiry there was into events in Fethard the ‘better pleased’ he would be. ‘We [Protestants] have nothing to conceal. We all want to find out what lies at the back of it’.<sup>120</sup> Kelly’s petition, however, was rejected by the minister.<sup>121</sup>

### **Relief fund**

For Fethard’s Protestants only one statement really counted – the one made by William Stafford. In keeping with the sentiments he had expressed, the boycott continued through the month of July. Early in the month Bishop Phair commented: ‘My people in the village are suffering still under this boycott, and are suffering very severely’,<sup>122</sup> while Fisher stated that there had been ‘no apparent easing of the

119 *Irish Times*, 9 July 1957.

120 *Ibid.*, 10 July 1957.

121 NAI, DT S 16427, Department of Justice to David Bell, Solicitor, July 1957.

122 *Ibid.*, 9 July 1957.

situation'.<sup>123</sup> The committee of laymen leading the boycott was reported to be still meeting.<sup>124</sup> By the middle of the month, when asked about prospects for a settlement, Fisher was again negative in his assessment: 'There is no change'.<sup>125</sup> Betty Cooper was quoted as saying that she was doing only a small part of her normal business and she was doubtful that she could keep her shop open much longer.<sup>126</sup>

Betty Cooper, however, was able to keep her shop open. This was due to the fact that she and others affected by the boycott received financial assistance by way of subscriptions from sympathisers and well-wishers in many parts of the country. In early July £154 was sent to Adrian Fisher by workers in the Short Brothers factory in Belfast to alleviate the distress of Fethard's Anglican community.<sup>127</sup> Nearly £100 had already been subscribed from other sources.<sup>128</sup> In order to manage this money and any more which might be received it was decided to establish the Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund at a meeting held at Tintern Abbey, the residence of Lord Templemore, located near the village, on 13 July 1957. The attendance included Adrian Fisher, Mrs Shelagh Auld (who were elected treasurer and secretary respectively) and Leslie Gardiner. Local notable and land owner, Lord Templemore and Miss Colcolough were also present. It was resolved to open an account for the receipt of subscriptions in the Royal Bank of Ireland, Dublin. At a meeting held on 3 September Fisher reported that the fund amounted to £998. 16s. 10d.<sup>129</sup>

Out of the resources of the fund money was paid to relieve the hardship suffered by those enduring the rigours of the boycott. By September payments totalling £425 had been made.<sup>130</sup> Those seeking assistance wrote to the committee administering the relief fund. Betty Cooper submitted a list of those who had ceased purchasing papers in her shop. There were fifty-nine names, including Fathers Stafford and Allen.<sup>131</sup> In a letter she stated that while her losses were not quantifiable, she would be grateful for any help the relief fund could give her.<sup>132</sup> Music teacher, Lucie Knipe, informed the committee that she was very short of money due to the loss of ten of her students, and she would appreciate some financial assistance.<sup>133</sup> A farmer, William Cruise, wrote that he generally sold from £50

123 *Ibid.*, 8 July 1957.

124 *Ibid.*

125 *Belfast Telegraph*, 16 July 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(102).

126 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(118), unidentified publication, no date, but very likely mid July 1957.

127 *Irish Times*, 9 July 1957.

128 *Ibid.*, 8 July 1957.

129 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/14, Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund.

130 *Ibid.*

131 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/15, Betty Cooper to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 'List of people who did not come back for daily newspapers, Sunday papers, magazines etc.'

132 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/15, Betty Cooper to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 2 September 1957.

133 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/15, Lucie Knipe to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 2 September 1957.

to £100 worth of corn, but now this income had been reduced to £15.<sup>134</sup> Another farmer, Alex Auld, said in his letter that due to the boycott he had suffered a loss of £5 a week in his milk trade, which now earned him only £1 a week.<sup>135</sup>

There is no record that any money was actually paid to these correspondents, but it is very likely that they did receive some financial help. The committee did receive an acknowledgement of money paid to him by Leslie Gardiner, amounting to £83. 6s.<sup>136</sup> In addition, a sum of £200 was transferred to the parochial fund as it was impossible to hold any sales of work due to the boycott.<sup>137</sup>

The Fethard-on-Sea Relief Committee became a means whereby sympathisers could give practical and moral support. The committee was in receipt of 259 letters referring to or enclosing contributions.<sup>138</sup> While some of these are simply acknowledgements of deposits in the fund's account in the Royal Bank of Ireland, an examination of other letters gives a valuable insight into the origins of many of the subscriptions. It is possible to do this in the case of 195 letters.

A total of 102 subscriptions came from Northern Ireland. Eighty-one were individual or group subscriptions, eleven of these representing the contributions of Protestant, Loyalist or Unionist associations. Some group contributions were substantial and were the products of special collections. Reference has already been made to the one from Short Brothers of Belfast. Workers in Williamson's shirt factory, in the same city, contributed £45. 4s. 6d.<sup>139</sup> The residents of Cable Street, Belfast, collected £56.<sup>140</sup> By far the most substantial amount forwarded to the committee was that of Banbridge District Loyal Orange Lodge, No. 7, whose subscription was £202. 18s. 4d.<sup>141</sup> The Association of Loyal Orange Women of Ireland sent £13. 15s.<sup>142</sup> Twenty-one subscriptions were made by readers of the *Belfast Telegraph* which gave extensive coverage to the boycott.

There were sixty-three subscriptions from people or groups with addresses in the Republic. The vast majority of these came from the Dublin area. Other counties were also represented: Cork, Carlow, Waterford, Monaghan, Galway, Wexford, Kildare, Kerry and Westmeath. Thirty subscriptions originated overseas, with England and Scotland accounting for twenty-seven of these. Three came from

134 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/15, William Cruise to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 2 September 1957.

135 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/15, Alex Auld to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 14 September 1957.

136 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/15, Leslie Gardiner to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 2 August 1957.

137 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/14, Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund.

138 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13, Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund.

139 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P/164/13(70), letter to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 30 July 1956.

140 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(38), letter to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 17 July 1956.

141 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(128), letter to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 28 August 1957.

142 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(239), letter to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 27 November 1957.

more distant parts: the United States,<sup>143</sup> Saudi Arabia and South Africa. The latter contribution came from the Protestant Association of South Africa,<sup>144</sup> while the Saudi one originated at a Royal Air Force base in that country.<sup>145</sup>

All of the money subscribed to the relief fund proved vital in helping the business people and farmers in Fethard's Anglican community to survive the financial privations of the boycott. This was acknowledged by Adrian Fisher who described the fund as a 'godsend'.<sup>146</sup> In a letter published in the *Belfast Telegraph* Bishop Phair stated that the 'financial assistance that has been given so generously by our friends in Northern Ireland and from many other quarters has enabled us meet the most urgent needs of those who are suffering heavy losses'.<sup>147</sup> He re-iterated these sentiments when he praised the contributions received from Northern Ireland: 'If it was not for the generous help given by the people in the North, I don't know what would have happened to the Protestant shopkeepers - they could not have carried on'.<sup>148</sup>

Many of the subscribers, particularly those from the North, used the opportunity to give their views on the situation in Fethard. While the sentiments were predictable, they nevertheless were welcome expressions of solidarity with the besieged Protestant community. William Fleming of Belfast feared for the Protestants of the 'Six Counties' if Ireland were ever to be re-united.<sup>149</sup> Another Belfast correspondent wrote that the boycotted Protestants would receive warm support if they left Fethard and opened businesses in the North.<sup>150</sup> The Apprentice Boys of Strabane commented: 'Whilst we, Protestants of the North, enjoy fuller liberties for our faith, it is with heartfelt sympathy that we extend our hearts to you who are perhaps less fortunate'.<sup>151</sup> The typographical association of the *Spectator* office in Belfast was happy 'to assist in relieving the distress caused by the persecution and unchristian acts of the Roman Catholic hierarchy directed against this small Protestant community'.<sup>152</sup> One writer speculated on the nature of the Catholic Church's likely response if members of that creed were boycotted in Belfast.<sup>153</sup>

143 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(237), letter to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 25 October 1957.

144 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(42), letter to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 18 July 1957.

145 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(27), letter to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 12 July 1957.

146 *Belfast Telegraph*, 24 August 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(129).

147 *Ibid.*; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(131), no date.

148 *Ibid.*; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(146), 24 September 1957.

149 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(10), letter to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 26 June 1957.

150 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(19), Tom Sullivan to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 8 July 1957.

151 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(29), letter to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 14 July 1957.

152 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(63), letter to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, not dated.

153 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(136), Lucy Thompson to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 5 September 1957.

Southern Irish subscribers and correspondents displayed a broader range of concerns in their letters to the relief committee. Senator Eoin Sheehy Skeffington expressed satisfaction that a fund had been started 'to offset the worst effects of this cowardly and disgusting boycott'.<sup>154</sup> P.M. Slater of Dublin was of the view that if 'this trouble will serve to knit us members of the Church of Ireland closer together and make us appreciate our Protestant heritage, good will come out of evil and the sufferings of the victims will not have been in vain'.<sup>155</sup> A letter signed 'Some Galway sympathisers' contained money for the 'innocent community' of Protestants in Fethard. It expressed regret at the 'ill-advised, unpriestly and uncharitable utterances hurled at the industrious people' of the Wexford village. This same letter was also critical of Sheila Cloney, terming her 'that erring [*sic.*] woman'.<sup>156</sup> A Dublin correspondent, A.M. Sullivan, a member of the English Bar, described the boycott 'as the most terrible thing in the history of the country since the Phoenix Park murders'. He continued:

I have pointed out to the Minister for Justice that the law denounces boycotting as a criminal conspiracy for which severe punishment is prescribed, but the persecutors of your little group enjoy immunity, and the protection of the law is corruptly withheld by political influence. The community is, therefore, deprived of the protection both of the civil law and the moral law.

Sullivan concluded by enclosing a cheque 'as a protest against the gang that have usurped and disgraced the name of Catholic'.<sup>157</sup> A week later he again wrote to the committee to express his disappointment that it had not circulated the contents of his earlier letter through the medium of the local press. It had been Sullivan's intention that the boycotters be made aware of what 'real Catholics' thought of 'their blackguardism'.<sup>158</sup> The distinguished Anglican writer, Hubert Butler, in a letter to Fisher, enclosed a cheque on behalf of Muriel MacSwiney, the widow of Terence MacSwiney, the former Lord Mayor of Cork, who had died after a seventy-four day hunger strike in November 1920. Butler suggested that the money be spent on Christmas fare for the Protestant schoolchildren of the parish. He observed that the 'misunderstandings that result from the *Ne Temere* decree affect us all indirectly'.<sup>159</sup>

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154 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/7(1), Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, Owen Sheehy Skeffington to Shelagh Auld, Secretary, no date.

155 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(25), letter to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 10 July 1957.

156 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(63), letter to Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 24 July 1957.

157 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(81), A.M Sullivan to Shelagh Auld, Secretary, Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 31 July 1957.

158 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(106), A.M Sullivan to Shelagh Auld, Secretary, Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund, 7 August 1957.

159 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/13(215), Hubert Butler to Adrian Fisher, 18 October 1957.

### **Controversy in Waterford**

A debate which took place at a meeting of the Waterford County Committee of Agriculture in late July also gives a valuable insight into some of the passions raised by the Fethard boycott in the country at large. A Protestant member, H.R. Dowd, moved a resolution calling on their counterparts on the Wexford County Committee to use its 'widespread influence' towards bringing the 'regrettable affair' at Fethard to a just conclusion. Dowd stated that there was not a shred of evidence that certain traders were guilty of the conduct implied by the action being taken against them. As a member of the minority, he appealed for justice and fair play for those in a religious minority in Fethard. Another member, W. Dower, considered the matter a local affair and that it was better to leave it so. The chairman, Michael Harty, said that he was not satisfied that there was a boycott and he did not see what purpose could be served by involving the Waterford committee in it. Another speaker, Jim Quirke, supported the chairman and expressed the opinion that 'silence was golden in a case like this'. Dowd rejected this view, protesting that silence is not golden in the case of an injustice and the Fethard boycott was one. The report of the meeting described how there was complete silence at this stage of the proceedings. Dowd then declared that he was withdrawing his resolution and in the words of the newspaper account, 'With that he took the resolution sheet and tore it into small pieces'. Quirke regretted that he should react in this fashion. He described the matter as a difficult one for all of them and by adopting the resolution they might be doing more harm than good. Dowd dismissed this view and retorted that they would be giving 'an honest expression as honest men, and that could do no harm'.<sup>160</sup>

### **Concerns regarding the boycott**

While the Waterford County Committee of Agriculture chose to maintain a silence on the issues raised by the Fethard boycott, there had been a sense of unease among many Catholics throughout the country since its inception. The letters' pages of national newspapers became an important forum for the expression of their views. In June correspondents were denouncing the boycott as 'a vicious example of religious intolerance'<sup>161</sup> and expressing alarm that it was 'causing grievous injury and suffering to citizens in matters of vital consequence, such as the livelihoods of themselves, their families and the education of their children'.<sup>162</sup> As noted earlier, Sean Cloney gave his opinion that the episode was harming the Catholic Church. He was not alone in this belief; another correspondence regretted that the boycott was 'badly damaging its prestige'.<sup>163</sup>

Where the Catholic Church was most vulnerable to criticism was on the question of the morality of the boycott. One correspondent to a newspaper condemned 'this vicious and senseless boycott which I regard as a violation of the moral

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160 *Irish Times*, 29 July 1957.

161 *Ibid.*, 12 June 1957.

162 *Ibid.*, 11 June 1957.

163 *Ibid.*, 5 July 1957.

law'.<sup>164</sup> Another wrote that 'as a Catholic I have been taught that it's wrong to commit an injustice against our neighbour and that if the injustice inflicts on him harm and suffering, it is mortally sinful'. What disturbed this writer was that the boycott 'smacks a bit too much of the pagan Nazi doctrine justifying widespread reprisals against the innocent, the uncharged and unconvicted, as punishment for a crime committed'.<sup>165</sup>

Bishop Browne, in his reply to Eamon de Valera's Dáil statement, remarked that he did not propose 'to give here an exposition of the morality of boycotting and similar practices, though I think it is badly needed by certain ecclesiastics and politicians'.<sup>166</sup> Fathers Allen and Stafford refused to define their attitudes to 'the pressure being put on Protestant traders'.<sup>167</sup> However, such exposition and definition were needed. No churchman addressed the central issue of the boycott's morality. In his address to the Catholic Truth Society Congress in June Browne asked: 'Do non-Catholics never use this weapon of boycott or discrimination in the North? Here in the South, do we never hear of them supporting only their own co-religionists in business and in professions?'<sup>168</sup> This hardly constituted a profound moral justification to a congregation in the Republic, citing, as it did, the conduct of a despised Stormont government and the much resented behaviour of Protestant traders and professionals. Browne was engaging in crude polemics and an important moral issue was thus deliberately obscured.

The unease among many Catholics was given full expression by university lecturer, Donal Barrington, when he spoke at the Catholic Social Study Congress on 25 June. In his address he stated that in Fethard the innocent were being punished with the guilty and that what was happening in Wexford was being interpreted as being done in the name of Catholicism. Barrington was diplomatic, even sensitive, when he referred to events there. He reminded his audience that the Catholic community in Fethard was a small one and he accepted that people there were rightly outraged at a broken home and broken marriage vows. It was, therefore, easy to be misled by emotion. However, those who were outside the village could look at the matter more objectively and attempt to give guidance and advice to fellow Catholics: 'We should make it quite clear to our co-religionists that while we have great sympathy with them, we consider that what they are doing is an unjust and terrible thing – the worst thing that happened in this part of the country since the Civil War'. This was not just his opinion, Barrington assured his listeners; it was also that of many priests and lay people. These things were being said in private, but he felt it was his duty to say them publicly. He concluded with the forceful observation and appeal:

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164 *Ibid.*, 13 June 1957.

165 *Ibid.*, 11 June 1957.

166 *Ibid.*, 8 July 1957.

167 *Belfast Telegraph*, 7 June 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(14).

168 *People*, 6 July 1957.

There is a time in the affairs of people when nothing is necessary for the triumph of evil but that good men should maintain what is called a discreet silence. We cannot but appeal to all persons in the country, whether Catholic or Protestant, to try to ensure that this terrible disaster be brought to an end before more is involved.<sup>169</sup>

### **Towards a resolution**

While Fr. William Stafford's statement had ensured the continuation of the boycott, it was becoming increasingly clear to some Catholics in Fethard that their actions had not achieved their primary objective – the return of the Cloney children. Moreover, there was no reason to believe that the prospect of such a return was likely, even in the medium term. Some of those who had acquiesced in the boycotting of the Protestant community had not anticipated a prolonged affair. Mary Walsh, mother of Anna Walsh, the former teacher in the Protestant school, was reported as saying in early June that it was thought the boycott would last only a week.<sup>170</sup> While this action had served to punish elements in the minority community for their alleged collusion in Sheila Cloney's disappearance, it had also attracted publicity and trenchant criticism. By the middle of July there was an increasing desire among some Fethard residents to end the episode, the successful outcome of which was uncertain and the continuation of which was a source of shame to the village.

### **6 August statement**

On 7 August the national press reported on a meeting, held in Dublin the previous day, of persons who claimed to be representative members of the Catholic and Church of Ireland communities of Fethard-on-Sea. The event was presented as the culmination of a process which had started about three weeks before in response to what was described as 'a growing desire among many of the villagers to end the boycott'. While initial approaches had been tentative, it was claimed that meetings, many of several hours duration, had been held in Fethard between Catholic and Protestant laity. What was termed 'real' agreement had been reached before the Dublin meeting, after which a joint statement was issued:

A representative meeting of Catholics and members of the Church of Ireland was held on August 6th, 1957, in Dublin.

On behalf of the Church of Ireland community, an undertaking was given by Mr Thomas Kelly to do everything possible to ascertain the whereabouts of the two Cloney children with the avowed intention of their restoration to their home.

Mr. Kelly deplored the demands of his daughter made on her husband, Mr. Sean Cloney.

On behalf of the Catholics, Mr. James J. Kennedy accepted the undertaking given, and the repudiation.

After a full discussion, it was unanimously agreed to publish this statement.

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169 *Irish Times*, 26 June 1957.

170 *Belfast Telegraph*, 7 June 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(14).

(Signed) – Thomas Kelly, John’s Hill, Fethard-on-Sea, Wexford.

(Signed) - James J. Kennedy, Riversview, Arthurstown, Wexford.<sup>171</sup>

The statement and the accompanying reports suggested a more comprehensive and open process than was the reality. The origins of this statement appear to have been more discreet, even secretive. On 22 July James Kennedy received a letter from a barrister, Anthony J. Hederman. Kennedy was a very well known figure in Fethard. He was Chairman of Wexford County Council, a prominent member of Fianna Fáil and a member of that party’s national executive. He was also a Knight of St. Columbanus. Thus Kennedy was a person with some access to the corridors of power, civil and ecclesiastical. Hederman was also a member of the Fianna Fáil national executive and had been retained in his legal capacity to represent Thomas Kelly, Sheila Cloney’s father. The letter, which indicated some prior contact between Kennedy and Hederman, had enclosed with it ‘a draft proposed statement’ that was clearly meant to be a prelude to ending the boycott. The intention was that Kennedy would engage in consultations with various parties regarding the statement. On hearing from him, Hederman wrote that ‘I will bring up the Kellys and Dr [sic.] [Dr. James Ryan, Minister for Finance and TD for Wexford] and I will, with God’s help, get them to agree to signing it’. He appreciated that Kennedy might have difficulties to surmount; hence his concluding sentence: ‘Meantime I wish you every success in your delicate task’.<sup>172</sup>

It is reasonable to assume that Kennedy engaged in deliberations with various parties to the dispute; hence the reference to ‘the active work of negotiation’ in the press reports. His consultations would have included the Catholic clergy and bishop, if his ‘delicate task’ were to have any meaningful prospect of success. Sometime before 6 August, Kennedy and members of the vigilance committee were invited to the home of Dr. Ryan, at Delgany, County Wicklow. Also in attendance was Hederman, a fact which seemed to annoy Kennedy. Perhaps his consultations were not complete and he regarded the barrister’s presence as premature, even as putting pressure on him. Nevertheless, there was a discussion between the two men, the essence of which has been captured by Simon Kennedy in his fictional account of the boycott:

They both agreed there should be an effort to end it [boycott], but it was difficult for the Catholics to accept there had been no plot by the Protestants. Apart from which it could not be countenanced that the salvation of the souls of both children could be bartered and bargained out of expediency. It was a difficult situation, but not one where Catholics felt negotiations were open. The children had to be brought back to the family and the fold.<sup>173</sup>

171 *Irish Times*, 7 August 1957.

172 Anthony Hederman to James Kennedy, 22 July 1957. I am most grateful to Mr Simon Kennedy, a nephew of James Kennedy, for giving me with a copy of this letter.

173 S. Kennedy, *The Year the Whales Came In*, (2004), p. 350. This novel is set against the backdrop of the boycott and reflects Simon Kennedy’s knowledge of the affair.

The statement which was issued on 6 August was informed by such attitudes. Thomas Kelly made two simple declarations: an undertaking to secure his daughter's return and deploring the demands made on her husband. Kennedy's declaration was a simple acceptance of those made by Kelly. This was not a document inspired by conciliation or compromise. There was not one word, phrase or sentence suggesting such sentiments. Hedermans's original draft was less intransigent, the final sentence referring to 'the people of Fethard-on-Sea being allowed to live in peace and Christian harmony'. The exclusion of these words, and more importantly the sentiments they conveyed, indicated a determination by the Catholic parties to secure an effective surrender by the Protestants. The statement, however, made no reference to ending the boycott; in fact, the word boycott never appeared.

### Reaction to statement

The statement caught most people in Fethard by surprise, highlighting that it was conceived and realised in a veil of secrecy. The immediate reaction to it serves to clarify a number of issues surrounding it. The local Protestant community was not a party to, or had not been consulted about, the statement. Adrian Fisher was reported as saying that he was not aware that the Dublin meeting was taking place. None of his parishioners knew about it either.<sup>174</sup> As far as he was concerned it had been arranged privately and Thomas Kelly was not speaking on behalf of the Church of Ireland community of Fethard.

In the same newspaper James Kennedy was reported as saying that the meeting which produced the statement involved only the laity; the clergy did not take part. His use of language was careful and deliberate in relation to the clergy. It referred to direct clerical involvement; it did not refer to clergy being consulted on the matter. This almost certainly happened. If Kelly had gone on what was effectively a solo run, Kennedy had not. After a fashion, he was representing the interests of the Catholic Church in Fethard and Ferns, albeit at a remove. The clergy could not be seen to be involved in discussions on a matter of such fundamental importance as the salvation of the souls of innocent children. Moreover, they could not be seen to admit, even *sotte voce*, that there was an increasing desire to end the boycott, an action endorsed, even encouraged, by clergy. This might be open to an interpretation that the church had made an error of judgement. This was something it would never acknowledge officially.

Entirely consistent with clerical attitudes and those of the advocates of Fethard's organised response to Sheila Cloney's flight was the fact that the word boycott was never mentioned in the statement. As noted earlier, the action taken by Catholics was presented as being spontaneous. James Kennedy denied there ever had been a boycott: 'The word boycott was not mentioned at our meeting and should not be mentioned in the newspapers. There never was a boycott'.<sup>175</sup> This comment angered Fisher as it constituted a denial of Protestant sufferings. He

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174 *Belfast Telegraph*, 8 August 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(121).

175 *Ibid.*, 7 August 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(119).

described Kennedy's remarks as 'nonsense': 'I know there has been a boycott; everybody in the village knows there has been a boycott. Why deny it?'<sup>176</sup>

However, commenting on the statement James Kennedy was happy to declare: 'The Fethard affair has ended. The village is back to normal'.<sup>177</sup> Rev. Fisher welcomed the news that the boycott had been lifted. On 8 August the *Irish Times* reported that there was 'new air of hope in the village'. Catholics and Protestants were reluctant to comment on the current state of affairs lest something be said to damage the 'delicate situation'. Fisher was quoted in the same report as observing that the statement seemed to be having some effect, though he qualified this by saying that it was too early still to be certain.

### **Effect of the statement**

Fisher's caution was not misplaced. While the villagers quoted in the report in the *Irish Times* of 8 August expressed their happiness at developments, they did acknowledge that a return to normality in Fethard would take time: 'it [the boycott] will not disappear as though by the wave of a magic wand'. Yet on 10 August the same newspaper was reporting local Protestant opinions that the boycott had not ended. The Protestant traders had not regained any of their former customers. Hopes of an end to the boycott had faded and the statement of 6 August was being judged not to have made the 'slightest difference'.

Such comments and observations were understandable, given the tensions which had prevailed in Fethard, but they were premature. To have expected dramatic results less than a week after the statement was unrealistic. The boycott had endured since 12 May; the actions of weeks and months would not dissipate in days.

### **6 August statement and the Catholic clergy**

There was a much more demanding aspect to Fisher's reaction to the 6 August statement than just a welcome for it. The day after its issue, he was quoted in the *Belfast Telegraph* as calling for an 'authoritative statement' from the Catholic Church that the boycott had been ended. He observed that there had been no statements from the Catholic hierarchy or the parish priest. In their absence he did not regard the Kelly-Kennedy statement as 'an official declaration that peace had been restored'.<sup>178</sup>

Fr Laurence Allen did, in fact, issue a response to the statement on 7 August:

We have no statement to make beyond that which was made by Mr Kennedy. We understood that there was to be no more publicity or letters about it following the statement, and it would be better if no more were written. It is better to give it a little time. The publicity this has

176 *Ibid.*, 8 August 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(121).

177 *Ibid.*, 7 August 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(119).

178 *Ibid.*, 8 August 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(121).

got has given people outside the wrong impression. It was grossly exaggerated. The less said about it now the better it will be.<sup>179</sup>

Allen's words conveyed a number of clear messages. The 6 August statement represented the limit of public comment the clergy were willing to make on the boycott at this stage. Moreover, the publicity attendant on events in Fethard was deplored because it, more than anything else, was regarded by supporters of the boycott as being responsible for the unwelcome and adverse reaction to the whole episode. Allen did not even mention the boycott; he referred to the event by using the words 'this' and 'it'. The parish priest's comments fell very short of the type of declaration Fisher was seeking.

It was inevitable that there would be a focus on the attitude of the Catholic clergy in the aftermath of the Kelly-Kennedy statement. It had contained no explicit reference to the boycott and it certainly contained no commitment regarding its cessation. There was an absence of clear and definitive directions on this critical matter, and many Catholics in Fethard were uncertain as to what they should do. There were mixed signals. On the one hand was the assertion by Kennedy that the boycott was over; on the other was an inscrutable near silence by the clergy, Allen's comment offering no guidance in this respect. Uncertainty grew in the days after 6 August statement and this impeded the process of a return to normality. On 10 August the *Irish Times* was reporting as follows:

It is now felt that no development could immediately restore the life of the village to the state in which it was before the boycott began. But there could be an improvement and now that a statement by representatives of Catholic and Protestant laity has failed to produce such an improvement, it is felt that the next move must lie with the local Catholic clergy. It is hoped locally that they will make a statement at the masses in the village to-morrow.

No such statement was made by the clergy on Sunday, 11 August. In fact, no reference at all was made to the boycott.<sup>180</sup>

### **No change**

What this meant was that, effectively, the boycott continued. On 22 August Fisher was reported as saying that there was 'no change' in the situation.<sup>181</sup> The following day, an editorial in the *Belfast Telegraph* commented on the 'depressing fact' that the boycott showed no signs of ending.<sup>182</sup> Bishop Phair expressed a similar view in a letter published in the same newspaper.<sup>183</sup> Towards the end of the month Fisher lamented that 'Protestants are still being shunned and their businesses are suffering as a result'.<sup>184</sup> At the same time there was a newspaper report that the committee of

179 *Irish Times*, 8 August 1957.

180 *Ibid.*, 12 August 1957.

181 *Belfast Telegraph*, 22 August 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(129).

182 *Ibid.*, 23 August 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(130).

183 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(131). The cutting contains no date.

184 *Belfast Telegraph*, 27 August 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(132).

the Fethard-on-Sea Relief Fund was due to meet to consider further payments to local Anglican traders who, it was feared, would feel the effects of the boycott more severely than in recent months because the holiday season was drawing to a close.<sup>185</sup> By mid-September, Fisher was again confirming that things were ‘just as before’, though a few Catholic customers had returned to the shop of Leslie Gardiner.<sup>186</sup> Obviously, some members of the Catholic faith were anxious for a cessation of hostilities.

With the continuation of the boycott, the Catholic clergy became the focus of Anglican frustration and resentment. Bishop Phair wrote that ‘the boycott still continues because those with the power to do so have refused to lift it’.<sup>187</sup> Lt. Col. D.E.C. Price, in a draft of a letter to the papal nuncio, described the continuing situation as ‘distressing’. He had no hesitation in apportioning the blame: ‘To think that responsible Christians in the parish will not save face and call off all signs of intolerance against religious minorities’.<sup>188</sup> Such views were consistent with ones expressed by others throughout the episode in Fethard – that the priests and the bishops had the power to bring the affair to an end. This was the basis of the many appeals to Bishop Staunton and Frs. Allen and Stafford. In early June Fisher was certain that the matter ‘could end to-morrow’ if the people were given a lead by their clergy.<sup>189</sup> He re-iterated this opinion later in the month: ‘I am convinced that the onus of this boycott rests on the shoulders of the clerical leaders to whom the people are compelled to give unquestioning obedience’.<sup>190</sup> The *Church of Ireland Gazette* made a similar point: ‘It is almost superfluous to add that it would hardly need more than a word from the Roman Catholic bishop to stop the boycott immediately’.<sup>191</sup>

### **An olive branch**

The Catholic clergy may have been silent, but they appreciated that the boycott had to come to an end. It had failed to achieve its objective – the return of Eileen and Mary Cloney. The adverse publicity had been as unexpected as it had been damaging. There had been clerical involvement in the statement of 6 August, albeit discreet, secret and at a remove. This initiative had not been successful. Something else had to be done to give a signal that the boycott should be ended, and the clergy had to be involved at a public level. However, there were constraints on what the priests and bishop would be willing to do. Whatever was decided upon, it must not suggest, at least overtly, any clerical leadership of the boycott. The clergy had insisted throughout that it was not an organised affair; rather it was a

185 *Ibid.*

186 *Ibid.*, 12 September 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(140).

187 *Ibid.*, UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(131).

188 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/9, Lt. Col. D.E.C. Price to Archbishop Alberto Levane, 30 August 1957.

189 *Irish Press*, 7 June 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(13).

190 *Belfast Telegraph*, 26 June 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(49).

191 *Church of Ireland Gazette*, 21 June 1957.

spontaneous response to Sheila Cloney's provocative actions, with which they had associated themselves. Nor could the clergy's act permit any formal acknowledgement of the unfortunate consequences of the boycott, not least the sufferings of the Anglican community. And a pre-eminent consideration was that there could be no admission, nor hint of admission, that the clergy had made any kind of error of judgement in supporting an action based on little or no substantial evidence. Therefore, there was to be no pronouncement from the altar on the matter. The signal given to Fethard's Catholics was an apparently anodyne act by Fr. Allen – the purchase of cigarettes in Gardiner's shop and the settling of his account there in late September.<sup>192</sup>

There was no direct statement to the effect that the boycott was ended but this simple act was interpreted as the proffering of an 'olive branch'. Catholic customers began to trickle back to Protestant shops and, most significantly, the vigilance committee ceased its meetings. Bishop Phair confirmed that there was 'a distinctly better feeling' in the village. He did express his disappointment, however, that Allen's gesture had not resulted in a more positive move to end victimisation of the minority community. Protestant businesses were still losing heavily in financial terms, according to him.<sup>193</sup> Towards the end of September a Stormont MP, Norman Porter, and the Superintendent of the Irish Church Missions, Rev. T.R. Horan, visited Fethard. They reported that while there was an apparent easing of tensions, due to the fact that one or two Catholic customers had purchased goods in the Protestant shops, there had not been a significant increase in the numbers of such customers. In effect, according to both men, the position of the Anglican community was 'substantially unchanged'.<sup>194</sup> Phair echoed these sentiments in the October edition of the diocesan magazine, when he wrote of 'the sad and depressing fact that the boycott showed little signs of easing'.<sup>195</sup>

As happened with the 6 August statement, some of these comments were premature. A return to normality would take longer than a few weeks, even a few months. The boycott had lasted four months and had left a mark on the community life of Fethard that would not be erased, quickly or easily. Phair acknowledged this fact, notwithstanding his observations regretting the continuation of the boycott. In November he wrote: 'It may be, and probably will be, sometime before normal relations are fully restored, but there are clear signs that the process is already underway'.<sup>196</sup> A month later he was more optimistic. He had received very encouraging reports that 'a marked improvement has taken place in Fethard and that the boycott is coming to an end'.<sup>197</sup>

192 *Belfast Telegraph*, 24 September 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(146).

193 *Ibid.*

194 *Ibid.*, 30 September 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(147).

195 *Diocesan Magazine*, October 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/24.

196 *Ibid.*, November 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/25.

197 *Ibid.*, December 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/26.

However, in January 1958 a reporter for the English newspaper, the *People*, wrote that Fethard's Catholics were still persisting in what was called 'their unkind attitude' towards their Protestant neighbours. He continued: 'One of the two Protestant shopkeepers in Fethard reluctantly admitted to me yesterday: 'Only a few of my old customers have come back. I had hoped everything would be forgotten when Mrs Cloney came back.' [Sheila Cloney had returned home by then.]<sup>198</sup> Improvements in relations did not as yet herald a return to normality and would not for a while. The experiences of the shopkeepers highlighted another fact, one observed upon by Hubert Butler in 1958:

An irreverent person, peering through the veil would see that the boycott can never now end. The lost customers have found other tradesmen, eager to supply their needs. A new newsagent bicycles round with the papers to Miss Cooper's former clients, a new milkman goes the rounds and the old schoolteacher and the old sextoness will never return.<sup>199</sup>

### **Return of Sheila Cloney**

The Fethard boycott, self-evidently, failed to secure the return of the Cloney children. It contributed nothing to ameliorating the domestic circumstances of Sean Cloney. Throughout the controversy, Sheila was living on Westray, one of the Orkney Islands, with her two girls. In this remote place she was not only far removed from Wexford, but she was also oblivious of the events which her disappearance had caused. It was Helen Pottinger, a Westray resident of whom Eileen Cloney has special memories, that made Sheila aware of what was happening in Ireland. On 19 August *Time* magazine published an article on the situation in Fethard. Sometime after its appearance Pottinger showed it to Sheila. It gave a summary of the affair to date and was accompanied by a photograph of Sean Cloney. The piece quoted from a dramatic letter which had been printed in the *Irish Times*:

I wonder is your paper aware of the trouble and worry which is being suffered by the Protestant people of Fethard as a result of this case. They are being ostracised, their shops (two of them) are completely boycotted, their children without a school. The teacher of the Protestant school is a Roman Catholic and was threatened with stoning if she continued to teach.

One paragraph concerned itself with Sean Cloney's plight:

Back at the village, farmer, Sean Cloney, was having a worse time of it than ever. Insisting that Fethard's Protestants had had nothing to do with his wife's departure, he had continued to patronise their shops and services, and found himself shunned by many villagers as a result.<sup>200</sup>

198 *People*, 12 January 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(151).

199 H. Butler, 'Boycott Village', in *Twentieth Century* (1958), Vol. 163, No. 971, p. 55.

200 *Time*, 19 August 1957.

Perhaps moved by this article, Sheila Cloney wrote a short letter to Sean. Both of them were re-united on the island on 1 November 1957, at a meeting described by Sean Cloney as ‘a very happy’ one. Sean worked for a few weeks on an English farm. The entire family returned to Dungulph Castle on New Year’s Eve, 1957.<sup>201</sup>

In January 1958 Sheila Cloney was reported in the *Daily Express* as saying that ‘she would never say where she had been since she left Fethard in April’. She stated categorically that she got no help of any kind, financial or otherwise, from Protestants in the area. Her statement concluded: ‘I believe there has been trouble and that they have suffered innocently through the boycott’.<sup>202</sup>

The return of the runaway wife and her children attracted the attention of the press, and reporters descended on Dungulph Castle. Eileen recalls answering the door. A man identified himself as a member of the press. In the farmyard were the headlights of a number of cars. Reporters - at least twelve of them - filed into the house. In spite of instructions from Sean Cloney not to take any photographs, cameras were produced and used. Shortly after this incident, Sheila Cloney left Fethard again, with her children. She feared that press intrusion would re-ignite the whole controversy. She went to Fishguard, in Wales, and remained there until Easter, when she returned home, for good.<sup>203</sup>

And one important fact was wrought by the boycott – Eileen and Mary did not attend the local Catholic school. Nor did they attend the Protestant school. In fact, they never attended any school. According to Sean Cloney, this decision was taken by Sheila and himself, because they did not want one side or the other, Catholic or Protestant, to claim any victory in the aftermath of the whole Fethard affair.<sup>204</sup>

### **Why the boycott was supported: the power and influence of the Catholic Church**

To understand why a boycott of Protestants began in Fethard-on-Sea and endured for almost five months, it is necessary to appreciate the position of the Catholic Church and its attitudes towards Protestants in Ireland in the 1950s.<sup>205</sup> The response to the flight of Sheila Cloney was informed by the teachings of the Catholic Church and the powerful role it exercised in Irish society. This was a society in which mass attendance was practically universal and the daily round of life was permeated by reminders, conscious and unconscious, of the Catholic religion. Most homes displayed numerous religious objects, such as pictures and statues of the Sacred Heart, the Virgin Mary and the Infant of Prague. People wore scapulars, carried rosary beads with them and blessed themselves when they passed churches. The Angelus’ bell rang out from all churches at noon and six in

201 *Sunday Press*, 1 February 1987.

202 *Daily Express*, 11 January 1958; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(150).

203 Interview with Eileen Cloney.

204 *Sunday Press*, 1 February 1987, Interview with Sean Cloney; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/30.

205 For an account of the role and position of the Catholic Church in Ireland in the 1950s see L. Fuller, *Irish Catholicism since 1950: The Undoing of a Culture*, (2002) and J. Blanshard, *The Church in Contemporary Ireland*, (1963).

the evening. This was an almost universal call to prayer. Hardly surprisingly, the agents of this faith, the priests, were accorded a widespread respect. An American scholar of Irish Catholicism in the 1950s, Bruce Biever, wrote of 'the deep admiration, respect and desire for emulation which the Irish laity hold towards their priests'.<sup>206</sup> The Catholic Church created a society defined by its doctrines and values. This society was essentially homogeneous and enforced conformity consistent with the teachings of Catholicism.<sup>207</sup> The church could generally depend on the loyalty of its members to secure its influence and authority.

The one distinctive group which did not belong to the homogeneous, moral community shaped by the Catholic Church were Protestants. And this church enunciated very negative attitudes towards them. It declared that it alone was the one, true church established by Christ, and the claims of Protestant Churches in this regard were utterly rejected. There was a particular emphasis on Protestantism's heretical character and the eternal perdition which was the fate of its adherents. The dreadful nature of the Protestant faith was reinforced constantly by the Catholic Church. Members of the majority creed were forbidden to participate in Protestant worship.<sup>208</sup>

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206 B. Biever, *Religion, Culture and Values: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Motivational Factors in Native Irish and American Irish Catholicism*, (1976), pp. 268-9.

207 For a discussion of the power and influence of the Catholic Church as an instrument of conformity see T. Inglis, *Moral Monopoly: The Catholic Church in Modern Irish Society*, (1987), pp. 9-94.

208 In the 1940s a young Donal Foley, later deputy editor of the *Irish Times*, attended the funeral service of a locally respected Church of Ireland doctor in the Anglican church at Ferrybank, Waterford. He later confessed this to a priest in confession: 'When we went to confession, though, the important thing from Father Murphy's point of view was, had we heard the words of the minister at the funeral. We certainly had heard the words of the minister at the funeral. We certainly had heard the hymns. But had we taken part, Father Murphy asked. We didn't know whether we had or not. Our curate was undecided, so, as attending Protestant services was a reserved sin in the Diocese of Ossory, we had to wait until the bishop gave Father Murphy permission before the magic words were conveyed to us. I have never been in such a sinful predicament since then'. From Foley, *Three Villages*, (1977), pp. 40-1. Waterford-born writer Sean Dunne remembered being told in the 1960s that it was a sin to even enter a Protestant church. As a young boy he had no desire to enter the one in the village of Dunmore East: 'There was no point, after all, in pushing myself to the front of the queue at the gates of hell'. From *The Road to Silence: An Irish Spiritual Odyssey*, (1994), p. 23.

Not surprisingly, the Catholic Church vehemently disapproved of marriages between its members and Protestants. Ecclesiastical rules relating to the conduct of any such marriage by a Catholic priest stated that a nuptial mass was strictly forbidden. The church was effectively proclaiming that it regarded such a wedding as a second-class affair and the suspect character of the Protestant partner was proclaimed publicly.<sup>209</sup>

When the clergy of Fethard, with the support of their bishop, decided to act as they did in response to Sheila Cloney's flight, they could rely on the support of many parishioners. The consent to church influence was spontaneous since the teachings of this institution had been internalised as a key determinant of their worldview. These were a people living in a community shaped by a pervasive Catholic devotional culture, with a strong belief in the central role of religion in their lives. This community, defined by the doctrines and values of the church, had a pronounced conformist character. It was certainly illiberal, but was accepted by most. The priest had a pre-eminent position by virtue of his sacred office and as the local representative of the church. His words and actions were invested with great authority and when the clergy of Fethard supported the boycott, it was given a sanction which commanded community attention, respect and obedience. The fact that this boycott was directed against a distinctive minority religious group, anathemised by the church as heretical, and whose services and churches were occasions of mortal sin, ensured that the action endorsed by the clergy had a receptive audience. The event which justified communal approval of the boycott – the breach of a promise given as a consequence of a mixed marriage – was one which was regarded as an affront to the church, in that it was a direct challenge to its authority and dignity in a key matter, the regulation of the sacrament of marriage and ultimately the salvation of children's souls.

209 The experience of one Protestant was recorded by Edith Devlin in her memoir *Speaking Volumes: A Dublin Childhood*, (2000), p. 117: 'My sister was the first to fall in love with and marry a Catholic. Her future husband was obliged to seek the bishop's permission for such a doubtful affair. The bishop was the formidable and deeply conservative Bishop of Galway [Michael Browne]... He questioned the 23-year-old Catholic man in front of him and asked him why he, a university graduate, had not found a good Catholic girl to marry in the Catholic university... The bishop questioned him on the strength of his faith... My father and I attended the marriage service in St Joseph's Church in Galway. The ceremony was performed not in the sanctuary, as was usual, but at its steps. There was neither mass nor papal blessing and the parish priest refused to attend the reception afterwards'.

A pamphlet, published in 1928, did not attempt to disguise the Church's abhorrence of such an occasion: 'What a sad day! A funeral would be more bright! In the marriage of two Catholics our Mother the Church rejoices, celebrates the nuptial mass, decks her altars, calls down every blessing on her happy children, joins in the joys she gives. But when a wilful child appears before her to contract a union she has never approved of, and does not approve of now, she will not smile upon him, she will have no nuptial Mass, she will have no flowers on her altar to profess a joy she does not feel - she stands in the person of her minister to hear the words of the contract uttered in the shortest form and sends them away without her nuptial blessing'. (J. Charnock, *Marriage*, p. 5).

Such communal determination and solidarity were very difficult to resist. Among Fethard's inhabitants were some who were unhappy with the boycott and who had concerns regarding its justice and effects. Leslie Gardiner was reported as saying that 'there were a few who went out of their way to show that they didn't approve of it'.<sup>210</sup> However, such support had to be expressed cautiously. Gardiner acknowledged that while some continued to do business with him, they did so at 'the back door'.<sup>211</sup> Some other villagers moderated the full intensity of the boycott. On 22 June the *Irish Times* reported that at first some Protestant women were ignored by former good friends, who were Catholics. Since then, however, these friends had first wavered at them, and later, hesitatingly spoken to them. Such actions, however, had their limits, as Hubert Butler made clear:

For the first week the better-disciplined Catholics refused to greet or to look at their Protestant neighbours, but here and there a rebellious one gave a furtive smile when no one was looking. At the end of the week, either because a breath of Christian charity forced its way through some crack in the united front or because it was better to abate the rigour of the boycott than betray any lack of unanimity, the boycotters began to smile and nod. But there was no relaxation of economic pressure.<sup>212</sup>

Rev. Edward Grant has recorded what he described as 'one striking and public breach of boycott observance'. It involved Sheila Cloney's brother, Thomas Kelly, and John Ryan, a neighbour of the Cloney's, whose letter to Eamon de Valera has already been noted. One day Kelly was transporting his boat, by tractor and trailer, from Fethard Bay to his residence. The tractor broke down on the hill up into Fethard Street. Some Catholic onlookers viewed his predicament with glee, but Ryan sent one of his labourers to Kelly's assistance.<sup>213</sup> Ryan was not a typical villager, however. He was a courageous man, who had been active in the War of Independence. And courage was required to go against the tide of communal opinion in Fethard.

### **Why the boycott was supported: historical influences**

There was another aspect of the Fethard boycott that explains why it received support from many Catholics in the area. The episode demonstrated 'the tenacious survival of historical influences'.<sup>214</sup> John Ryan in his letter to Eamon de Valera remarked that if he were to give the Taoiseach 'full details' of the boycott he would 'have to go back 80 years'.<sup>215</sup> In fact, one would have to go back at least 400 years. Since the Reformation in the sixteenth century, the Hook Peninsula has

210 *Belfast Telegraph*, 7 June 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(14).

211 *Belfast Telegraph*, 7 June 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/18(14).

212 H. Butler, 'Boycott Village', in *Twentieth Century* (1958), Vol. 163, No. 971, p. 51.

213 RCBL, PC52, Rev. Edward Grant, 'The Fethard Boycott, 1957: Recollections and Reflections', pp. 3-4.

214 B. Colfer, *The Hook Peninsula*, (2004), p. 201.

215 NAI, DT S, John J. Ryan to Eamon de Valera, 9 July 1957.

always been at the cutting edge of two cultures, Catholic and Protestant.<sup>216</sup> As a result of King Henry VIII's break from Rome the land in this part of Wexford came into the possession of Protestant landowners of English extraction. The great majority of people in the county remained Catholic, however, despite the severe political and social difficulties which accompanied that decision. Thus Protestantism became associated with English rule and an ascendancy over a Catholic population dispossessed of its land. There were various occasions, such as the rebellions of 1641 and 1798, when Catholics directed their suppressed hostility at Anglicans. Inspiring much of the hostility was the emotive issue of land ownership, with the folk memory of dispossession deeply rooted in the Catholic consciousness. Fathers, on their deathbeds, gave the moral right of family lands to their sons, thereby sustaining among the members of the majority faith a deep sense of resentment towards the Anglican landlord class. The nineteenth century was characterised by sporadic episodes of agrarian conflict and evictions, especially on the Loftus estate, near Fethard. These intensified with the establishment of the Land League by Michael Davitt in 1879. The harsh reality of eviction merged with the folk memory of earlier dispossession. The land acts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, transformed land ownership and ended landlordism on the Hook Peninsula. The influence of the great Protestant landlords declined even more with the achievement of Irish independence in 1922, which transferred political power to a state defined by Catholic values. Many Catholics throughout Ireland, Wexford and the Hook Peninsula rejoiced in the final demise of a once powerful Anglican ruling class.

The former glories and pretensions of this class lingered in the folk memory in the decades after independence, as the new state sought to establish itself. A perception endured that Protestants still enjoyed a more advantaged social and economic position than most Catholics, which at times could cause resentment.<sup>217</sup> This view was confirmed by the practice of certain Protestant firms to favour their co-religionists in terms of employment and promotional prospects.<sup>218</sup> Among some

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216 The following paragraph is based on: Colfer, *Hook Peninsula*, pp. 32-179 and an interview with Nicholas Furlong.

217 In 1927 a pamphlet issued by the Catholic Truth Society gave vent to these feelings: 'The Protestant continues to maintain an ascendancy in social life. The cultivated pose of superiority of the Protestant oppresses us'. (Quoted in T. Browne *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History*, (1981), p. 127.) Nearly three decades later, one of those interviewed by Bruce Biever for his study of Irish Catholicism told the American: 'You know, mister, the Protestants still have the corner on the wealth in this country... I suppose they always will'. (B. Biever, *Religion, Culture and Values: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Motivational Factors in Native Irish and American Irish Catholicism*, (1976), p. 385.)

218 K. Bowen, *Protestants in a Catholic State*, (1983), pp. 94-103. Bowen observed: 'The tendency of [Protestant] firms to favour their Protestant workers ensured that middle and lower-class Protestants had many more opportunities for employment and promotion than if they been forced to compete with Catholics in the same class position' (p. 94). When the Wexford-born Anglican, Patrick Semple, went to work in 1955, he was employed by G.A. Brittain & Co. Ltd., Portobello Bridge, Dublin. He

sections of the majority community there was a sense of an unfinished revolution as long as evidence of Protestant superiority survived. When Sheila Cloney fled with her children there was a widespread view in Fethard of Protestant connivance in her disappearance. This came to be seen by some as an act of aggression against the Catholic community, rekindling memories of the days of Anglican dominance. There were Catholics who saw in this affair an expression of Protestant defiance – a defiance inspired by the self-belief of Anglicans in their own social and economic superiority. The whole episode was transformed in the consciousness of some Catholics into a latter day manifestation of ‘Croppy lie down’. But the ‘croppies’ were not going to lie down; they were now Ireland’s rulers, notwithstanding Protestant wealth and privilege. There were elements in the Catholic population determined to counter the provocative actions of a religious minority whose days of dominance were over, but not forgotten. When a boycott was proclaimed, it was a response that resonated in the folk memory. The boycott had been the weapon of the Catholic tenantry in its struggle against the Protestant landlords. For some in Fethard, in the Ireland of 1957, one in which the Catholics composed the ruling political class, it was no longer going to be a case of ‘Croppy lie down’ – it was now ‘Proddy lie down’.

### **Why the boycott was supported: folk memories of Protestant proselytism**

Another resonance in the Catholic folk memory which likely influenced the attitudes of some of Fethard’s Catholics was that of Protestant proselytising activities in the nineteenth century.<sup>219</sup> The legacy of this battle for souls spilled into the twentieth century<sup>220</sup> and in particular, there was a residue of enduring bitterness

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records how these were the days of Catholic and Protestant firms, and G.A. Brittain was definitely a Protestant one (P. Semple, *Believe it or Not: A Memoir*, (2002), p. 162.) Other firms in the capital city were recognized as Protestant firms: Brooks Thomas, Henshawes, Hills and Dockrells. In Brittain’s the description referred to management and a bias in favour of Protestants among the office staff. Later when Semple was employed by an insurance firm, this situation was essentially replicated. He was one of eleven workers – ‘eight inside, two inspectors and the boss’. The boss and the inside men were Protestants, and the inspectors were Catholics (*ibid.*, pp. 50, 55.) The *Irish Times*, itself Protestant run and with a distinctive Protestant ethos, carried advertisements for positions reserved for members of the minority creed. In May 1957 it carried advertisements which read: ‘Junior assistant, ladies wear, Protestant, two or three years experience, smart appearance, good at sales’; ‘Young lady assistant (Protestant) required for sweets, confectionery and ice-cream department, high-class trade, Midlands’ (M. Tanner, *Ireland’s Holy Wars: The Struggle for a Nation’s Soul*, (2001), p. 337.)

219 For a detailed treatment of this subject see I. Whelan, *The Bible War in Ireland: The ‘Second Reformation’ and the Polarization of Protestant-Catholic Relations, 1800-1840*, (2005); D. Bowen, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-1870*, (1978) and M. Moffitt, *Soupers and Jumpers: The Protestant Missions in Connemara, 1848-1937*, (2008).

220 Moffitt, *Soupers and Jumpers*, p. 8; I. Whelan, ‘The Stigma of Souperism’, in C. Poirteir, (ed.), *The Great Irish Famine*, (1995), p. 135.

associated with souperism, the offering of material benefits in return for a change of religious allegiance.<sup>221</sup> Memories of proselytism persist even in areas where there is no history that it ever occurred, conveying the extent to which such events were abhorrent to Catholics.<sup>222</sup> Recollections of activities by Protestant missionaries transformed the apparent abduction of the Cloney children into a latter day example of religious aggression and trafficking in souls. Certainly, this was a factor in the response of Bishops Browne and Staunton. The harsh and uncompromising reaction of the Catholic Church in the previous century was replicated in the actions of some of Fethard's Catholics as they engaged in what was regarded as another episode in a historic struggle against Anglican efforts to pervert the faith of innocent children. Events which had shaped denominational relations in a previous century continued to have an impact on Catholic-Protestant relations many decades later.

### **Why the boycott was supported: local bitterness**

The anger of the Catholic community over the disappearance of Sheila Cloney and her children allowed other resentments against local Protestants to surface and added to the general climate of hostility towards the Anglican minority. Fr. William Stafford informed Rev. Edward Grant that the boycott was the culmination of a 'feeling' aroused against Protestants two years previously. Though Stafford refused to identify its origin, Grant speculated on possible sources of denominational tensions. There was an objection made by a local Anglican to a dance organised by Catholics being held in the Protestant school. There had been a rumour that the Catholic sexton of the Anglican St. Mogue's Church was to be replaced by a Protestant. Such gossip, true or untrue, fed the prejudices of any Catholic disposed to hostile sentiments towards the minority.<sup>223</sup> Furthermore, local bitterness was intensified by the negative publicity attracted by the boycott, and this publicity had the effect of causing villagers to close ranks in the face of what came to be seen as unwarranted and unfair external intrusion into their affairs.

### **The Church of Ireland and the boycott: an overview**

The actions and attitudes of the supporters of the boycott were facilitated by the fact that the Church of Ireland did not issue an official condemnation, or even an expression of concern in relation to the events at Fethard. Some Protestant clerics and laymen condemned the treatment of the small Anglican community in the Wexford village, but they were speaking in their individual capacities and were, in no sense, speaking officially on behalf of their church. The general synod, the highest representative forum within the Church of Ireland, made no comments on the boycott. While the synod of 1957, which began on 14 May, would not have

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221 For a discussion of souperism see Moffitt, *Soupers and Jumpers*, passim and D. Bowen, *Souperism: Myth or Reality?* (1970).

222 Moffitt, *Soupers and Jumpers*, p. 181.

223 RCBL, PC52, Rev. Edward Grant, 'The Fethard Boycott, 1957: Recollections and Reflections', p. 7.

been in a position to appreciate fully what was happening in Fethard,<sup>224</sup> the same cannot be said of the one the following year. Yet the Primate of All Ireland, the Archbishop of Armagh, Dr John Gregg, made no reference to events in Fethard in his address, nor was the matter discussed at the gathering.<sup>225</sup> As the boycott unfolded and endured, only two bishops referred to it. The diocesan bishop, Dr Phair, inevitably found himself in circumstances where he had to make comments. Bishop Charles Tyndall of Kilmore spoke of the treatment of Fethard's Protestants when he stated that the Church of Ireland did not like the *Ne Temere* decree, but added that it certainly did not encourage or condone the breaking of a solemn promise.<sup>226</sup>

Such episcopal reticence did not impress everyone in the church and there were those who felt that the bishops should be doing more in relation to the Fethard affair. A note of criticism, albeit muted, became apparent in the *Church of Ireland Gazette*. In July it commented: 'We respectfully submit to our archbishops and bishops that this has ceased to be a local affair'.<sup>227</sup> One of Adrian Fisher's correspondents, Patrick Bentley, from Dublin, was very critical of the bishops. He was of the view that the rector had been 'badly let down' by them. He referred to their failure to respond to pleas by Canon Lindsay of St. Bartholomew's Church, Belfast, to launch an appeal to help the boycotted Protestants. Bentley condemned the two bishops who had given opinions – Phair and Tyndall – their utterances being described as 'painful to read'.<sup>228</sup>

The *Church of Ireland Gazette* highlighted one aspect of the question of mixed marriages which it believed the Church, through its bishops, should address:

Our church has made no definite pronouncement on the position of any of her own members who have already signed the [*Ne Temere*] agreement and been married according to its conditions, and are living to find it an intolerable and unjust burden. Surely, the time is opportune for such a pronouncement.<sup>229</sup>

The implication was clear – there might be more Anglicans like Sheila Cloney who might be finding the requirements of *Ne Temere* unduly onerous. No such pronouncement, however, emanated from the leadership of the Church of Ireland, notwithstanding trenchant denunciations of the decree by Archbishop Gregg in the past. Speaking at the 1946 general synod, he declared:

Now there is nothing more precious or more stoutly to be defended by a member of Christ's church than his religious faith. And I find it hard to conceive anything spiritually more sinful, or morally more discreditable, than for a man or woman, in order to be married... to make the

224 *Journal of the General Synod*, (1957).

225 *Journal of the General Synod*, (1958).

226 D. O' Corrain, *Rendering to God and Caesar*, p. 187.

227 *Church of Ireland Gazette*, 5 July 1957.

228 UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/10, Patrick Bentley to Adrian Fisher, 15 August 1957.

229 *Church of Ireland Gazette*, 19 July 1957.

signing away of the faith of the children yet unborn the bargaining-counter in return for which the marriage following on this trafficking in immortal souls shall be viewed as ecclesiastically valid.<sup>230</sup>

Yet, such moral reservations were not articulated and highlighted during the boycott. When Bishop Phair visited Fethard on 7 June, he spoke about mixed marriages, but focused on the desirability of Anglicans avoiding them, as he, along with most members of his church regarded them as being responsible, in large measure, for the declining Protestant population of the republic.<sup>231</sup> In simple, stark terms he stated: ‘Of course, I deplore mixed marriages. I do all in my power to discourage them. I think that people should marry into their own faith and church. Then these things would not happen’.<sup>232</sup> This was a theme he returned to in the July edition of the diocesan magazine where he argued that Fethard had shown clearly the unhappiness that may follow from an inter-church marriage. It was a lesson he hoped Protestants would not forget.<sup>233</sup> Phair studiously avoided any more general moral criticism of *Ne Temere* and any discussion of the complexities raised by the Cloney case.

Clearly, Fethard never became the occasion when the Church of Ireland, led by its bishops and general synod, engaged in a sustained criticism of the morality of *Ne Temere*. One pre-eminent reason for this was the hostility towards Sheila Cloney in the church. This hostility had created a climate which made it very difficult, if not impossible, to separate the issues associated with *Ne Temere* and her actions. In the eyes of most Anglicans, she had breached a promise and broken up her home. Quite simply, she was seen as a bad mother, a bad wife and a bad Protestant. Moreover, by virtue of entering into something most Anglicans deplored, namely, a mixed marriage, she had forfeited the right to expect any sympathy. She was not a figure of unity, and anything associated with her was not going to be championed by the majority of her co-religionists. During the Fethard affair, *Ne Temere* and mixed marriages were linked indissolubly with Sheila Cloney in the popular consciousness. For most Protestants, to raise issues related to the boycott might be interpreted by Catholics as condoning and endorsing the actions of a woman who had become something of a pariah.

Furthermore, for the Church of Ireland to have challenged the Fethard boycott in a sustained and public fashion would have demanded a willingness to engage in public controversy, something it preferred to avoid during the first four decades of

230 *Journal of the General Synod*, (1946), lxxxvi.

231 For the impact of mixed marriages on the Protestant population see Bowen, *Protestants in a Catholic State*, p. 40; B. Walsh, *Religion and Demographic Behaviour in Ireland*, (1970), pp. 26-30. According to Walsh, having studied data pertaining to 1961, mixed marriages had a ‘major impact’ on the demographic position of the Protestant population (p. 27). For their impact on the Anglicans of Ferns see H.W. Robinson, *A Study of the Church of Ireland Population of Ferns Diocese 1973*, (1973), p. 6.

232 *Irish Times*, 8 June 1957.

233 *Diocesan Magazine*, July 1957; UCDA, Fisher Papers, P164/21, p. 3.

the state's existence.<sup>234</sup> It was acutely aware of its minority status and of the power of the Catholic Church, a power exercised in an authoritarian and triumphalist manner. Thus the avoidance of controversial situations was the preferred option of many Anglicans, an attitude summed up by the *Church of Ireland Gazette* in 1956: 'We should keep ourselves to ourselves and if we speak, confine our remarks to platitudinous exhortations and non-controversial subjects... lest such attention should result in material or social disadvantages'.<sup>235</sup>

This attitude was given powerful expression during one episode at the height of the Fethard boycott. Hubert Butler, in a letter to the *Irish Times*, suggested that if all Protestants within fifty miles of the Wexford village did their shopping there, the boycott could not survive.<sup>236</sup> During his visit to the village, however, Bishop Phair rejected this idea: 'I think it was a most unworthy suggestion. That is not the way to solve the problem. It is a senseless retaliation, and I exhorted my community not to pay any serious attention to it'.<sup>237</sup> The scarcely restrained virulence of the bishop's reaction was out of all proportion to the proposal and was inspired by the Church of Ireland's established tradition of circumspection and caution at the prospect of public controversy. Even Butler was conscious of the prevailing climate, and he wrote his letter anonymously – in his words, 'as one often did in the fifties'.<sup>238</sup>

Throughout the boycott, the Church of Ireland was not going to cast off an inherited tradition of caution and silence to confront and challenge, publicly and officially, the actions of Fethard's villagers, especially for the unpopular Sheila Cloney. These same villagers, therefore, could act without having regard to the views of the minority church.

## Conclusion

The boycott at Fethard-on-Sea became a national, indeed an international by-word for bigotry.<sup>239</sup> The justification for this response to the flight of Sheila Cloney and her two children was the supposed collusion of Protestants in what was regarded as an outrageous breach of a solemn commitment to raise her daughters in the Catholic faith. This interpretation of events was rejected by many people, including John Charles McQuaid and Eamon de Valera. It was dismissed by Sean

234 For an account of the experience of Protestants since independence see Bowen, *Protestants in a Catholic State*; C. Murphy and L. Adair, (eds.) *Untold Stories: Protestants in the Republic of Ireland 1922-2002*, (2002); and F.S.L. Lyons, 'The Minority Problem in the 26 Counties', in F. MacManus (ed.), *The Years of the Great Test 1926-39*, (1967), pp. 92-103. Memoirs by members of the Church of Ireland give valuable insights into their experiences. See H. Potterton, *Rathcormick: A Childhood Recalled*, (2001); P. Semple, *Believe It or Not*, (2002); K. Dalton, *'That Could Never Be': A Memoir*, (2003); and Norman Ruddock, *The Rambling Rector*, (2005).

235 Bowen, *Protestants in a Catholic State*, p. 113.

236 H. Butler, *Escape from the Anthill*, (1985), p. 141.

237 *Irish Times*, 8 June 1957.

238 H. Butler, *Escape from the Anthill*, p. 141.

239 N. Furlong, *A History of County Wexford*, (2003), p. 147.

Cloney. De Valera and Cloney declared their public opposition to the boycott. Many of its critics were motivated by concern at the harm being done to Ireland's international reputation for religious tolerance. Despite public condemnations the supporters of the boycott continued in their action, notwithstanding the unanticipated and near universal adverse publicity. The boycotters displayed a determined intransigence that was perverse in character. This was due to a combination of factors. There was a sense of obedience and loyalty to their church and clergy in a conformist community shaped by Catholicism's overwhelming influence. This sense was reinforced by a folk memory which remembered the history of the arrogance and pretensions - social, political and religious - of a once powerful Protestant ruling class, now to be resisted in its modern manifestation of support for Sheila Cloney. The official quiescence of the Church of Ireland facilitated this resistance. The fact that criticisms of the boycott had their origins outside of Fethard allowed local opinion to transmute it into instances of unwarranted intrusion into the village's affairs. The view that such criticism was perceived as the product of Protestant propaganda intensified, even more, its rejection by the boycotters. It was because of such opposition that the words of support proffered by Bishop Browne were welcomed and assumed an even greater significance. Whatever about the motives and inspiration for the boycott, one fact is indisputable - it was indeed a terrible blot on Ireland's reputation for toleration of its religious minorities. Fortunately, the boycott at Fethard-on-Sea is notable precisely because it was one of the few instances of overt communal sectarianism since the establishment of an independent Irish state.

## Book Reviews

*A Jacob Family: Tramore in the 1900s*, compiled by Philip R. Jacob: Jacobooks, Dublin, 2008, pp. 239, €12.

This is an unusual book in that it is a compilation by Philip R. Jacob of his own reminiscences and those of various members of the extended Jacob family and acquaintances, of living in the Waterford area - and abroad - during the first half of the twentieth-century. Thus, the title - although understandable given that the family home was in Tramore - is however something of a misnomer as the book is much more geographically extensive than the narrow confines suggested by the title. And although unrepresentative of the lifestyles of most Waterford or Tramore inhabitants during this time, the author effortlessly weaves a complex tapestry of familial ties, romantic liaisons and business connections that transcend local even national boundaries and will keep the reader engrossed until the end.

The author outlines the objective of his monograph as writing down the reminiscences of his grandparents, Edwin and Jessie Jacob and their four children, so that succeeding generations would know what they were like. Through their offspring, their subsequent marriages and their many acquaintances, the reader is gently immersed into Waterford's maritime and mercantile past and becomes familiar with the various Quaker families that were synonymous with business life in Waterford for much of the twentieth century. Such household names as Jacob (obviously), Bell, Chapman, White, Graves, Morris, Grubb, Strangman and Harvey - among many - suffuse the text with ease and familiarity. But it is when, for the first time, one is confronted with this intimacy, their lifestyles of sailing in Dunmore or private schooling in the UK, Ireland or on the Continent, that it must seem surreal to many who lived in Waterford and Tramore during this time. Though not perhaps intended, it is this fly on the wall insight into the close-knit lives and pastimes of the Quaker community in Waterford and their familial ties in England that makes this book unique.

While the narrative is well grounded and centred around the Jacob family and their friends living what seems idyllic lives in Tramore and their well-rounded education in Newtown school, this is supplemented by some very interesting vignettes. In chapter 1, Charles Jacob, father of the author, reminisces on his memories of Waterford in the early part of the twentieth century and touches on the origins of what is now known as Harvey Travel. This is later developed in an incisive separate chapter (9). For older residents of Tramore chapter 2 and in particular, chapter 4, 'Tramore in the Thirties and Forties' will evoke special memories; as will the holidays spent along the county Waterford coast, in the Comeragh Mountains and in Kerry. Chapters 20-22 are especially interesting as evacuees from England and refugees from Germany offer an insight into little known episodes of Irish history during World War II. Chapter 18, one of this reviewer's favourites, includes an eyewitness account of the Easter Rising and is handsomely illustrated with unusual photographs. Indeed, the illustrations in this publication

are all interesting and of a very high quality and adds to the quality of a book that has much to offer both history lovers and the general reader alike. And when one reaches the end the reader is treated to an innovative touch—a pull out Jacob genealogy chart. This is very impressive indeed.

This is a warm sensitive book that highlights the loving relationships between and within families of the close-knit Quaker community in Waterford and abroad. It is also unique in that it gives an insight of a privileged upbringing in, what were, the most economically challenging and socially repressive years of the first half of the twentieth century. In so doing, it evokes memories of a time not so long past but yet so far from the present and adds an important chapter to the ever-unfolding knowledge of Waterford's social history.

*John M. Hearne*

*Rebel Heart: George Lennon Flying Column Commander*, by Terence O'Reilly: Mercier Press, 2009, pp. 287.

George Lennon was born in Dungarvan in 1900 and died in Rochester, USA in 1991. In 1971 he wrote an account (unpublished) of his activities between 1916 and '23. While this itself provides a fascinating account of what was happening in Waterford at that period, Terence O'Reilly (who grew up near Fenor) has added another dimension. He has drawn on a wide range of other memoirs of the time, published and unpublished, local and national newspapers and other sources such as Una Troy's 1938 novel *Dead Star's Light* which is based on the life of Lennon.

The resultant collation casts new light on the War of Independence locally, bringing to light a range of hitherto unknown incidents in a most readable fashion. Even well-known events such as the Pickardstown ambush are re-evaluated by a military strategist who points out all the mistakes that were made in its planning and execution. However, the point is made about how young and inexperienced the majority of those involved in the engagement were, Lennon himself being only twenty when appointed commander of the West Waterford flying column (the youngest in the country). It is clear also that they endured much hardship while on the run.

Lennon took the anti-Treaty side in the Civil War. Even during the Truce he was involved in smuggling arms ashore from a German ship at Cheekpoint and getting them away to the Comeraghs. After the Treaty his men took over Dungarvan Barracks and then Waterford. The chaos among the ordinary citizens of Waterford following the attack by the pro-Treaty side is graphically related. Lennon decided that this war was a lost cause and resigned some eight months before the IRA leadership acknowledged that reality.

What Lennon did in Dungarvan over the next few years is not known but in January 1927 he decided to join his younger sisters and brothers in New York. There he briefly joined the Communist Party. He returned to Ireland some nine years later and risked the wrath of the Catholic Church by his trenchant public support for the Republican side during the Spanish Civil War. He threw himself into the Old IRA Men's Association and from 1940 became an inspector in the newly established Irish Tourism Board. That led him into wider areas of economic planning and he acted as secretary for an Irish Planning Conference to be followed by a Planning Exhibition in April 1944. His own letters and reports are full of insight and enthusiasm and huge work was put into presentations on Ireland's future only to have the entire concept pooh-poohed by de Valera and MacEntee. Within two years Lennon was back in the States where he stayed for the next forty-five years with occasional trips home.

The 'rebel heart' has wider application than the activities of his youth. His son was christened in Dublin as a Presbyterian, in defiance of the Catholic Church's *Ne Temere* decree. In the US he became a Quaker, embraced pacifism and actively opposed the Vietnam War. He also practised Zen Buddhism.

A notice such as this can only give a small flavouring of this extraordinary man and Terence O'Reilly has done a great service in so presenting his story. It is nicely woven in to the wider national events at the various times being full of rich detail about events and people in Waterford. Definitely to be read and relished.

*Des Cowman*

# 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 who has held office for three consecutive years shall not be eligible to seek re-election as chairman or vice-chairman 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 2009

(Up to September 30th 2009)

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Abbeyside Reference Archives, Parish Office, Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

Allen Public County Library, P.O. Box 2270, 900 Webster Street, IN 46801-2270, USA.

Arthur, Rev. R., Cappoquin, Co. Waterford.

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Mary Immaculate, College Library - Journals Dept., South Circular Road,  
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Murtagh, Mr B., Primrose Hill, Threecastles, Co. Kilkenny.

National Museum of Ireland, Ref: Enda Lowry, Collins Barracks, Benburb Street,  
Dublin 7.  
Newberry Library, 60 Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610, USA.  
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