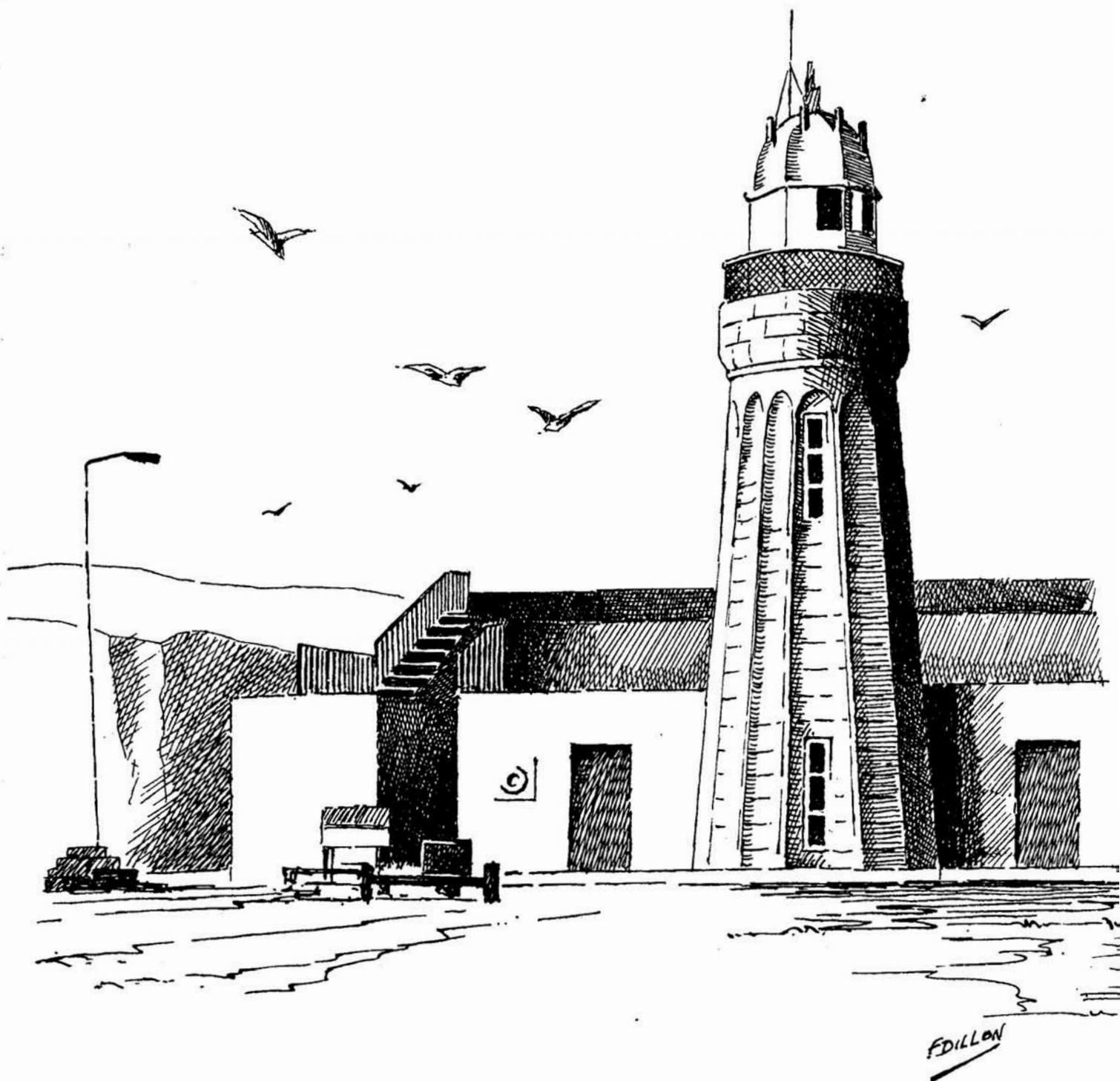


Journal of the Old Waterford Society

DECIES

No. 50

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EDITORIAL

This is the fiftieth issue of *Decies*, and its publication is an appropriate time to review the achievements of the journal since the first number made its modest appearance in January 1976. Undoubtedly there were people at the time who did not expect it to last; yet it has not only endured but expanded in scope and improved in presentation. For most of its eighteen years *Decies* has been a substantial journal and has appeared several times a year. This is a remarkable record by any standards.

The range of articles has been enormously wide - archaeology, social history, travellers' tales, surveys, and so on. Some not only are useful but make entertaining reading as well. At the other end of the scale there is an impressive amount of reference material - tombstone inscriptions, will indexes, lists of documents and so on. In 1981 we even published an article in Latin! Such articles are hardly bedside reading, but they will form the quarries from which many more studies can be extracted in years to come.

What the reader sees in *Decies* is the finished product. What is by no means so obvious is the gigantic amount of work that has gone into preparing the material: the extensive research and analysis, the careful presentation, the typing, typesetting and proof-reading - even (in the early years) the meetings of enthusiastic volunteers to assemble and bind the pages. The Old Waterford Society owes an enormous debt of gratitude to all who have played their part in the production of the first fifty issues of *Decies* - contributors, typists, editors, and the many anonymous 'backroom boys' (I suppose nowadays one should say 'backroom young persons') of all ages.

In the Editorial to no. 45 (Spring 1992) I stated my understanding of the role of *Decies*. I should like to add several points. Firstly, an editor is at the mercy of his contributors - he can only publish what is made available to him, and even then he must use his discretion. Within these limits I have endeavoured to provide as much variety as possible as regards chronology, geography and readability.

Secondly, it is impossible to please all the people all the time, and scarcely an article has appeared in recent years that has not been praised by some readers and criticised by others. This applies especially to the inclusion of reference material, which in my view is an important function of any historical publication.

Thirdly, I believe that the Old Waterford Society has a mission to the community at large to increase awareness of the past and of the importance of preserving and interpreting it; this transcends the immediate benefits of membership of the Society. *Decies* has an important role to play here. Its record to date is impressive; its potential is even greater. But we live in an age when presentation is seen as all-important, and we must therefore continue our endeavours to improve the presentation of our journal. This may be a costly process, but the costs must be met and I believe that the final product will be all the more worthwhile. Sponsorship is one obvious route, and sponsors must be sought. Meanwhile, I acknowledge with gratitude the generosity of Waterford Corporation and Waterford Cruise Developments towards the production of *Decies* no. 50.

PORT LAIRGE: THE FIRST SIXTY-FIVE YEARS?

by Tom Nolan

'Tall oaks from little acorns grow' - and like most great cities Port Láirge was a very tiny acorn when it first appeared on the pages of Irish history. It was not even called Port Láirge,¹ and whatever its first settlers called it we can only guess - the usual theory is that they alluded to it as Vedrafjodr.

So far, as study of ancient writing and archaeological excavation has failed to disclose a Celtic settlement existing on the present-day site of Port Láirge, we must put our faith in the annals, where evidence is available to suggest that the year 850 A.D. (maybe slightly earlier)² could be taken as a reasonable date for a Viking settlement in the area. The annals³ record that the first Danish force (as distinct from Norse or Viking) arrived in Ireland in 851 A.D. This was a very powerful group - so powerful, in fact, that they inflicted a heavy defeat on the combined Viking forces of Dublin and Dundalk. The Árd Rí - Mael Seachlainn - welcomed the newcomers as he saw in their arrival a counterbalance to the earlier Vikings who had for years devastated the country.⁴ By the end of the year 851 these Danes, under their leader Horm, had come into 'Waterford Harbour'. The annals record how they approached the king of Ossory (Cerball, son of Dúnlaing, 841-888) for 'assistance against the Norse as they were afraid that they would be overcome by them.'⁵ From this we can conclude that the Viking presence in the Waterford area was a power to be feared.

The leader at Port Láirge during these early years was Rodolbh,⁶ a Viking chief who carried on a less than successful feud with the above-mentioned Cerball. The name Port Láirge gets its first mention in the Annals in 855, when it is recorded that this Rodolbh led an attack on Ossory and almost captured the king. However, the Vikings were eventually compelled to flee. The most important item in the annalist's description of this foray is the fact that the Vikings made use of cavalry.⁷ We may therefore assume that Port Láirge was then a well-established settlement with a secure hinterland; horses could hardly be kept on a muddy headland where the Pill joins the Suir!

1 John O'Donovan gives a note on page 493 of the *Annals of the Four Masters (AFM)* as follows: 'The name Port Lairge appears to be ante-dated here (855 A.D.) for it is quite evident that it is derived from Lairge, Larac or Largo, who is mentioned in these annals at the year 951 A.D. The name Waterford was imposed by the Norsemen who write it as Vadrafjodr, which is supposed to signify "weather bay".'

2 K. R. G. Pendelsohn: *The Vikings*, Albany Books, U.K., 1980, p.39. He writes: 'Shortly before 840 A.D. Turgeis arrived with a fleet. Taking advantage of tribal rivalries he managed to seize Armagh. His forays soon extended southwards and westwards, bringing into his coffers untold riches. He determined to strengthen his position and become king in his own right. Strongholds were built at Wexford, Waterford, Cork and Limerick, while Dublin was strengthened. Again with the help of tribal differences and possibly Irish apostates, he extended his way across the land. His headlong career came to a watery end in 845 A.D. when he was captured by an Irish monarch and drowned in a lough.'

3 *Fragmentary Annals (FA)* 851 A.D. (no. 233). Besides giving the year, the *FA* also number each entry. The five fragments record 108 years containing 459 entries.

4 *FA*, 852 A.D. (no. 235). 'The victory of the Danes gave great spirit to all the Irish because of the destruction it brought on the Norwegians.'

5 *FA*, 851 A.D. (no. 251).

6 Joan Newlon Radner: *Fragmentary Annals*. (a note on page 226).

7 *FA*, 855 A.D. (no.249).

As our knowledge of early Viking influence comes from biased monastic sources, our accepted picture of these foreign settlers (invaders?) is one of constant plunder and slaughter. The reality is somewhat different. Certainly, the Vikings raided monasteries, but so did the Gaelic clans. Donncha Ó Corráin writes:⁸ 'Viking raids made little or no impact on secular society. In the first quarter-century of Viking attack, only twenty-six plunderings or other acts of violence to be attributed to them are recorded in the Irish annals. In the same period the annals record eighty-seven acts of violence which occur among the Irish themselves. In twenty-five years, the raids averaged out at a fraction over one per year, a rate which, if the annals are at all representative, can have caused no widespread disorder or distress in Irish society even if we multiply it by a factor of five. Many historians, forgetting the time-span of these events, telescope them, and produce a picture of widespread plundering and ravaging. Holger Arbman (*The Vikings*, London 1961) considers that the colonising activities of the Norse were far more important than their plundering of monasteries, which, of course, is the one activity of theirs most likely to be well documented.

'Some of their attacks may have been directed towards acquiring settlement areas. Their attack on Uall (co. Mayo) and on Connemara, for example, is not so easily explained in simple terms of plundering, for in these areas there were no monasteries worth plundering and, unattractive as the land may be, it may have not appeared altogether inhospitable to seaborne raiders already familiar with similar coastlines.'

Also Magnus Magnusson writes:⁹ 'Although the so-called Viking Age persisted right into the 11th century, the nature of the invasions was already changing in the 9th century; many of the raiders were now sailing west with the intention of settling down and establishing communities and kingdoms of their own, spurred on from behind by over-population and the unwelcome growth of royal power in Scandinavia. Land, not plunder, became their primary aim.'

When we consider these excerpts from very reliable sources we have to take a new look at the Vikings of Port Láirge. The idea of a 'secure hinterland' on the banks of the Suir appears more reasonable. When did the little settlement expand? Place-names in the area (well away from the embanked 'town') prove Viking land ownership. How and when was it obtained? Was there a 'working agreement' with the local powers? Here was a group of foreigners obviously controlling a stretch of Deissi territory, and yet the annals for that period record no account of warfare between the two groups. (In fact, the opposite is the case, as will be seen below.) Is it possible that the Deissi were sophisticated enough to recognise the value of a trading 'town' on their territories?

Not that the Deissi were adverse to fighting Vikings: there are, at least, two recorded instances of their struggles with the Cork Vikings,¹⁰ and in 864 A.D. they exterminated the Vikings of Youghal, when it is recorded that 'a victory was gained over the fleet of Eochall by the Deissi and the fortress was also destroyed.'¹¹ Even as late as 985 A.D. there was still a special friendship between the Vikings of Port Láirge and the Deissi, because for that year the annalist records how young

8 Donnchadh Ó Corráin: *Ireland Before the Normans*, 1972, p.83.

9 Magnus Magnusson: *The Vinland Sagas*, Penguin Books, 1965. p.11.

10 *AFM*, 865 A.D. and 867 A.D. Also *FA*, 867 A.D. (no. 342).

11 *AFM*, 864 A.D.

Donal, son of Faelan, king of the Deissi, incurred the wrath of Brian Boru by seizing cattle belonging to an ally of his. Brian's men pursued Donal across Munster until he got safely to shelter in Port Láirge.¹²

Also adding weight to the possibility of a Deissi-Viking alliance is the strange phenomenon of the 'Gall-Gaedil' who are recorded quite often during the 850s. They are thus described by the annalist:¹³ 'They were men who had forsaken their baptism and they used to be called Norsemen for they had the customs of the Norse, and though the original Norse were evil, they were much worse.' These 'Gall-Gaedil' are mentioned often as operating in the Munster area, and stranger still is the fact that 'Mael Croin, one of the two kings of the Deissi' was killed at the battle of Carn Lugdach fighting alongside the 'Gall-Gaedil'.¹⁴ So it is possible that a very close relationship existed between the Vikings of Port Láirge and the Deissi¹⁵ and it is equally possible that young Deissi warriors were not averse to joining forces with these new neighbours beside the Suir.

By the year 858 A.D. Rodolbh once more felt confident enough to mount another foray into Ossory. He sailed up the Nore, possibly with the idea of attacking Kilkenny, but 'a victory was gained by Cerball, king of Ossory, over the fleet of Port Láirge at Achadh-mic-Erclai ghe'.¹⁶ (The site of this battle is described as 'on the Nore between New Ross and Kilkenny'.)

Port Láirge appears in the annals twice in the year 860 A.D. First it is recorded that 'the Vikings of Port Láirge attacked Ossory' when they again almost captured Cerball (who happened to be celebrating a successful military adventure and was drunk!).¹⁷ But again the Ossory men rallied and saved the day. Secondly, an incident is recorded which proves that the Viking settlement at Port Láirge was an established fact at that time. For that year the annalist tells the story of two Viking chiefs 'who proceeded with their troops from Limerick to Port Láirge'.¹⁸ The strange part is that they decided to travel overland (in spite of strong warnings from their Limerick friends) and were practically exterminated by the clans of east Tipperary.

Port Láirge, under Rodolbh, was finding the going difficult, but at least it was surviving. So the following year, 861, a most ambitious foray was attempted. Using the Barrow at their highway, the Waterford Vikings planned an attack on Leitgleann (Old Leighlin), a large secular and religious settlement over sixty miles from Rodolbh's home base. The raid was successful, but as he tried to return homewards overland with his booty and slaves 'a massacre of Rodolbh's followers by Cerball of Ossory took place at Sliabh Mairge; they had plundered Leitgleann and they had its hostages after killing a great number of the community'.¹⁹

These defeats naturally weakened the Norse at Waterford, and the annalist records that Rodolbh immediately returned to Norway, and came back the following year with another fleet. However, Ossory continued to exert pressure on

12 *Annals of Inisfallen*, 985 A.D.

13 *FA*, 858 A.D. (no. 260).

14 *FA*, 858 A.D. (no. 260).

15 *AFM*, 852 A.D. Mael Sechlainn, the High King, attacked the Deissi at New Chapel and took hostages 'because they opposed him at the instigation of the foreigners'.

16 *AFM*, 858 A.D.

17 *FA*, 860 A.D. (no. 277).

18 *FA*, 860 A.D. (no. 278).

19 *FA*, 861 A.D. (no. 281).

the settlement and succeeded in destroying this new fleet almost as soon as it arrived.²⁰ As far as the annals are concerned Rodolbh appears no more, but it is not recorded if he was killed or not.

However, Port Láirge survived once more but does not figure in the annals again until 888 A.D. It was still a fighting force and in that year it combined with the Vikings of Wexford and Teach Moling (St Mullins) to go on a raiding expedition. The combined force attacked Ossory - old king Cerball, Rodolbh's nemesis, had just died, but the new king, Riachán, once more defeated them.²¹

Again Port Láirge disappears from the pages of the annals, this time for 22 years; but suddenly in the early years of the 10th century it becomes a centre of frantic Norse activity. The root cause of this sudden burst of Viking activity may be traced to an event of primary importance in Norwegian history: namely, the naval battle of Hafrsfjord.²² Harald 'Fairhair' (c.870-945) had seized power in Norway, and the only barrier to his complete triumph was the existence of groups of piratical freebooters who controlled the bays or *viksof* south-west Norway. Years of conflict ensued between the two factions until about the year 900. Harald's fleet surprised these pirates at Hafrsfjord and after a ferocious battle, defeated them. The hundreds of survivors fled southwards and westwards to seek shelter in foreign Viking settlements from the Orkneys to Britain and Ireland. Their arrival seems to have caused havoc and disturbance, as they brought with them the old Viking spirit of plunder and piracy that had practically died out in the settled Viking areas where trade and co-existence had long replaced these old traditions.

The results of this Viking 'diaspora' began to make themselves felt in Ireland in the first quarter of the 10th century. For Waterford, the flood-gates opened in the year 910: 'Foreigners arrived in Ireland and took up at Port Láirge.'²³ 'A great fleet of foreigners came into Loch Dá Chioc (an old name for Waterford Harbour)²⁴ and placed a stronghold there.'²⁵ 'Great and frequent reinforcements of foreigners arrived at Lock Dá Chioc, and the lay districts and the churches of Munster were constantly plundered by them.'²⁶ 'The foreigners of Port Láirge still continue to plunder Munster and Leinster.'²⁷

Waterford was now such a well-known and safe anchorage that 'a great fleet of Norse landed there in 914 A.D. and they plundered north Ossory (old Cerball must have turned in his grave!) and brought great spoils and many cows and livestock to their ships.'²⁸ During the following year 'Raghnaill, grand-son of Ivar, went with a fleet to the Norse at Loch Dá Chioc.'²⁹ Port Láirge had survived its birth-pangs, it was here to stay.

20 *FA*, 862 A.D. (no. 308).

21 *AFM*, 888 A.D.

22 Gwyn Jones: *A History of the Vikings*, Oxford, 1968. pp 89-90.

23 *AFM*, 910 A.D.

24 John O'Donovan, *AFM*, note on p. 585.

25 *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, 912 A.D.

26 *AFM*, 913 A.D.

27 *AFM*, 914 A.D.

28 *FA*, 914 A.D. (no. 458).

29 *AFM*, 915 A.D.

It has always puzzled me why the year 914 A.D. has been accepted as the foundation date for Port Láirge by writers who quote the Fragmentary Annals as their source, ignoring the fact that both those Annals and the Annals of the Four Masters mention settlement in the area on a number of dates many years earlier than that. From the Annals it seems very reasonable to suppose that Port Láirge was at least a major 'long-port' in the late 840s or the very early 850s. If we accept what Pendlesonn says (see footnote 2), there could have been a settlement there in 845 A.D.

THE CITY WALL AT 118-119 PARADE QUAY, WATERFORD

by C. Sheehan

drawings by G. O'Neill and M. Leahy

Introduction

The medieval city walls of Waterford have been extensively documented by Bradley et al. (1988). Recent archaeological excavations have allowed for considerable reassessment concerning the location, nature and date of the enclosures, particularly in regard to their westward expansion (Moore 1984; Hurley 1992). At the quayside there has been a lack of opportunity for archaeological investigation, which has resulted in a continual uncertainty regarding the siting and date of the city wall in this area.

Documentary evidence contains numerous references to the expansion and repair of the town wall, murage being granted to the city from the 13th century onwards (Thomas 1992, 203). The first specific reference to the quayside does not occur until the 14th century. A petition to Edward III in 1375 spoke of, amongst other difficulties, the cost of repairing the city walls which had 'fallen through their weight' and to the destruction of the hinterland up to the walls (Lydon 1975, 6). While this may be an emotive and possibly exaggerated description, the need for assistance would have been valid (*ibid.*). In 1377 a grant of cocket was extended to the city for the repair and enclosure of the quay (Lewis 1837, II: 683; Thomas 1992, 203). This would imply an unfortified quay and therefore a primary defensive structure. It is also possible that the petition refers to the repair of a pre-existing wall which had collapsed, leaving the quay undefended. Possible evidence for an enclosure in this area at an earlier date is the 11th century *Fragmentary Annals* reference to the *dún* at Waterford as 'a small place with a stone fortification around it' (Bradley & Halpin 1992, 108). Furthermore, the re-enclosure of an expanding and, as such, exposed quayside may also be considered. In regard to Dublin, the excavations at Wood Quay/Fishamble Street have shown a succession of nine waterfronts extending towards the river (Wallace 1988, 130). Based primarily on historical and cartographic evidence, Bradley and Halpin (1992) have postulated a development sequence for the Scandinavian and medieval town of Waterford. This would indicate that the primary settlement expanded westward from the area of Reginald's Tower. Considered in conjunction with the westward expansion recently excavated by Moore (1984) and a series of excavations at Bakehouse Lane (Hurley et al. forthcoming), it is possible that a comparable sequence of development took place alongside the river Suir. This expansion, reflecting a gradual infilling of the river banks, may be equivalent to that of Dublin.

Fifteenth-century references to the quay wall focus on the control and maintenance of its gates. In 1477-8 it was stated by the Corporation that 'all the gates by all the keyes of the citie att 6 of the clock be made faste every night from Mighelmasse unto Ester, and that every night from Ester unto Mighelmasse att 9 of the clock. And that none of the saide gates be opened by night after the said houres unto daye, without licence of the Maire for tyme being' (Gilbert 1885, 312). Maintenance was to be divided between the Corporation and the owners of the quays who were to 'make a grate of yren for the yate of his own key, in this wise, the yren upon the owners coste, and the making upon the commence cost of the citie (*ibid.* 313).

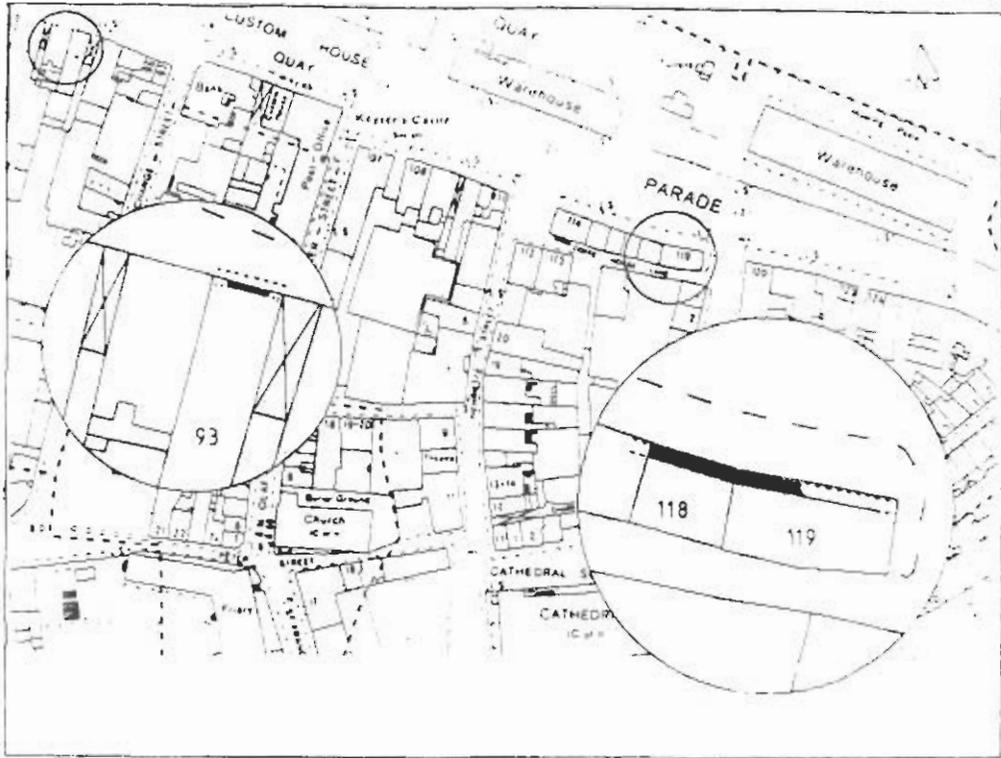


Figure 1: City Wall at 93 and 118, 119 Parade Quay.

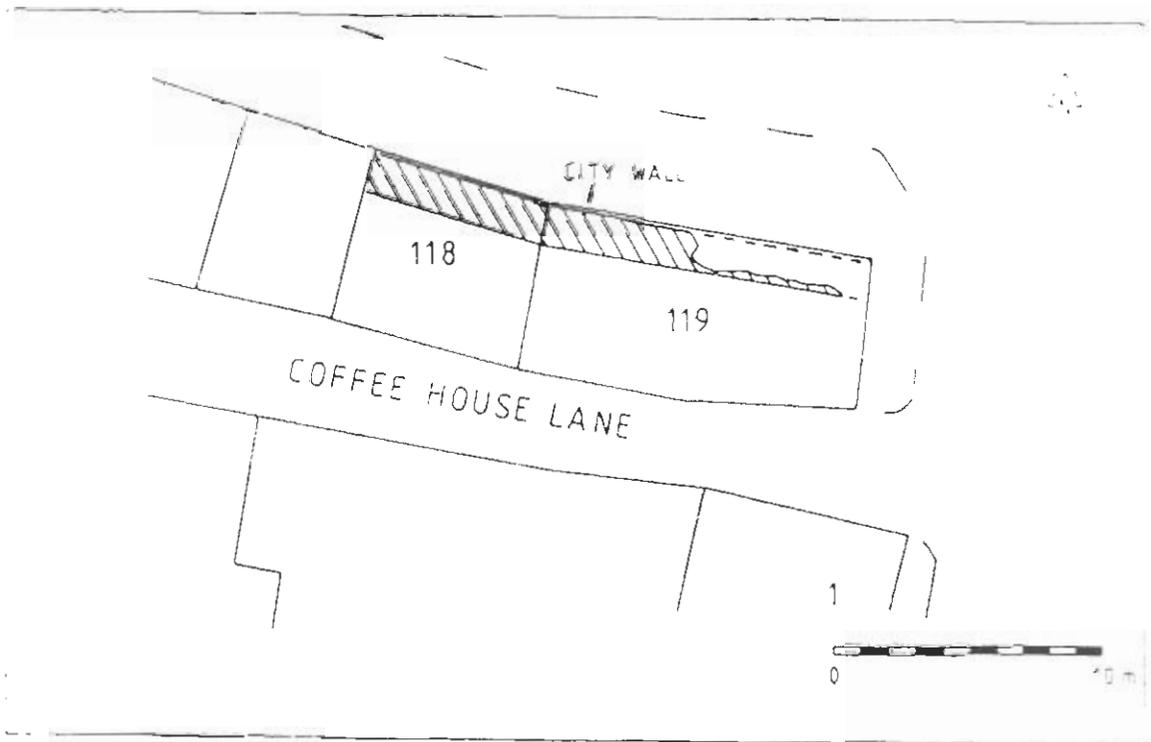


Figure 2: Plan of Site

The importance of maritime trade to the city of Waterford made necessary the development of quaysides. This was a continuous process, reflecting the fluctuating pressures of commerce and the desirability of amenities. Private ownership of specific areas of the quay and private control of its gates was a common occurrence (ibid. 312). In 1541/2, the quay was expanded eastward, David Bailey being granted 'the great garden of the Friars minor of the said city and one new quay outside the walls of the city with appurtenances as far as the middle of the Suir' (Thomas 1992, 203). By the second half of the 16th century, this new quay had become an area for public trade designated for the selling of 'wood, timber and faggots' (Bradley et al. 1988, 171).

During the 17th century, general repair work on the city walls was ongoing. A public listing of directions for the collector of customs, compiled in 1676, indicates that the collection of revenue appropriated to the upkeep of the city was extant, 'That cocquett Customs and keyage be paid by all persons free or not free of the city as had been formally accustomed' (Downey 1914, 194). The council books contain numerous references to the quayside, its piers and walls: 1674, 'the sheriffs do cause the key and wall to be repaired' (Pender 1964, no. 945); 1681, 'the great key head shalbee speedily repaired...as also the west side of the pier at Gooses Gate' (ibid. no. 1500); 1694, the ferry gate and the town wall by the Ring Tower were to be repaired 'at citty charge' (ibid. no. 2010). Conversely, during the latter part of the 17th century, encroachment on the city wall had already begun, and in the 1700s Joseph Ivie, in the process of expanding the quay westward, was granted permission to 'pull downe Barystrand gate and to build it large and fitt for coaches or any carriage to goe through' and given 'libertie to pull down the castle [Turgesius's Tower] att the west end of the key levell with the town wall for the more convenient carying on the said worke' (ibid. no. 2166).

During the late 17th/early 18th century, recovery from the post-Cromwellian decline was an important agenda for the new leading mercantile and political families of Waterford (Girouard 1966). By then, expansion and reconstruction involved the partial demolition of the city walls, especially in the area of the quay where it had become a danger and a hindrance to trade. For this reason the quayside wall was completely removed. Although Stanhope's description of Waterford in the 1680s (Walton 1987) contains no reference to a curtain wall at the quay, its presence here is attested to in 1698 when the Corporation proposed that 'takeing down the key wall ready to fall shalbee laid before the goverment' (Pender 1964, no. 2114). Subsequently the Lords Justices surveyed the quay wall and declared it 'ruinous and dangerous and advised its being taken down and demolished' (Smith 1746, 170). Lewis (1837, 686) notes that in 1705 the quay was enlarged 'by throwing down the city wall'. Furthermore, in 1707 it was 'ordered that the Water Bailiff's Castle (Great Key Gate) and the city wall from John Aikenhead's Coffee House to Alderman William Jones's house near Goose Gate be pulled down before May 25th next at city charge and that the stones thereof be employed in building a new Corn Market House where the old Custom House now stands' (Downey 1914, 253). The following year Edward Fitzgerald was charged 5/- in rent for the 'liberty of building on the town wall at the quay' (ibid.). The house was to front the quay and the Corporation stipulated that it was to have 'sash windows regular with the buildings intended to be made adjoining' (ibid. 254).

Quayside development proceeded until by 1943 Power noted that, in regard to the quayside wall, 'the only tangible relics (and these unimposing, even if

significant), are a few feet of ancient wall, the frontage foundation of Sheridan's Garage, and a further short piece incorporated in the frontage of O'Grady's and Poole's premises, next to the 'Tower' (1943, 135).

Cartographic evidence exists from the 16th century onward (Carroll 1982). Francis Jobson's representation (1591), while pictorial rather than accurate, depicts a town completely enclosed by fortifications. The Down Survey (1654-56) initiated to facilitate the distribution of the hinterland, shows the town in a more realistic manner. While the wall alongside the river is devoid of the crenellated effect evident on the inland walls, the presence of a watergate is clearly marked. The anonymous 1673 map reproduced in Ryland (1824) shows a fortified quay with a water inlet at 'Barys Strand Gate' and watch towers opposite present-day Henrietta Street (Goose's Gate) and at the west end of the quay (Turgesius's Tower). Access to the quay is through four gates shown as arched openings in the wall. Sir Thomas Phillips's military map (1685) is regarded as the first relatively accurate depiction of the town defences and subsequent early 18th-century examples are thought to be based on his work (e.g. H. Pratt).

By the time Charles Smith produced the 1745 map, the quay wall had been removed and the pattern, which is still evident today, had begun to emerge. The area presently containing the site under examination had been developed with a narrow laneway (present Coffee House Lane) to the south. At the quayside, the street pattern evident from the earlier maps may have been influenced by access to the quay and its gates. The new 18th-century buildings were partly constructed on the remains of the old wall, and their location may in some respect reflect the presence of the gates and towers.

118-119 Parade Quay

The site is located on the Parade Quay frontage, between Greyfriars Street to the east and Henrietta Street to the west, with Coffee House Lane at the southern extremity (Figs 1 & 2). It encompassed an area approximately 19m E/W x 6.30m N/S.

Use of a raft foundation restricted ground disturbance to a depth of 325mm below the road level and the accompanying planning condition required 'all artefacts, remains and archaeological data' to be recorded (P.F.ref. 8637).

In reality a depth of 540mm was removed by mechanical excavator. In this instance, no archaeological deposits were disturbed. It should be noted, however, that frequently the creation of the sub-structure for raft foundations involves the removal of top strata to a depth greater than anticipated. As this work is invariably done by mechanical excavator, it is unrealistic to assume that very precise levels can be adhered to. A layer of hardcore is normally laid down below the raft, resulting in an additional level of disturbance to that presented at design stage.

The Wall

An overall length of 18.76m of wall was recorded. To the west the street frontage of the adjacent building (no. 117 Parade Quay) overlay the city wall and it is probable that the street front for this block was partially influenced by the pre-existing structure. The wall extended in an east-west direction for a length of 6.30m. A slight variation in the alignment was apparent at that point and from there it continued in a more north-east direction for a further 12.46m. At the eastern limit of the site, the wall did not survive to a level comparable with the western end. As disturbance of the ground level below that necessary for construction was

prohibited, it was not possible to locate the wall at the eastern extremity.

The wall had a maximum width of 1.54m and was composed of dressed limestone blocks with occasional yellow sandstone and shale. In the central section, larger blocks of masonry were used in both the facing and the core. As archaeological excavation to the south of the wall was not possible, it could not be determined if the differing masonry represents a number of structural phases.

With the permission of the developer a trench was excavated to a depth of c.0.80m in the west corner. In this area the south face of the wall consisted of randomly coursed, roughly faced limestone and sandstone blocks (Fig. 4). Traces of a buff mortar with inclusions of sand, charcoal flecks and shell fragments were evident. Considering the consistency apparent in the north line of the wall, it is reasonable to assume that this side was also faced. Removal of a short section of the surviving top course revealed a bonding agent similar to that of the south face. The core was composed of a mix of limestone, shale and sandstone rubble which was clay bonded (F6). Two sherds of Saintonge green glazed ware were recovered from the core, suggesting that the construction of this section of wall was of 13th-14th century date.

Stratigraphy abutting the south face of the wall (Fig. 7)

F5: This consisted of a relatively compact, grey, silty clay which contained moderate amounts of charcoal, shell and animal bone fragments. There was a large quantity of chipped limestone and shale. One sherd of Leinster glazed ware was recovered. Within the restrictions of the brief, it was not possible to determine if the deposit was a result of gradual accumulation, construction/repair debris or a deliberate backfill.

F4-F3: These consisted of alternate layers of ash and charcoal (F3) with an underlying deposit of iron pan (F4). These may represent dumping layers rather than *in situ* burning. Comparable deposits were recovered to the south of the wall at no. 93 Coal Quay (Stevens 1985).

F7: A deposit of pink mortar overlay the charcoal/ash layers. This had a maximum thickness of 0.08m and was similar in composition to the primary render on the east face of the adjacent building, no. 117 Parade Quay. It contained inclusions of coal fragments, sand and small pebbles. The mortar functioned as a foundation layer for an overlying cobbled surface (F8) which survived sporadically to the south of the wall and consisted of tightly packed smooth limestones.

The morphology of the wall was relatively similar to that of no. 93 Coal Quay (ibid. Fig.1). At no. 93 the core was mortar bonded and a small amount of red sandstone was present.

Considering the limitations inherent in a monitoring brief, it is difficult to date precisely the construction of the section of the wall recorded at 118-119 Parade Quay. Three sherds of pottery were recovered (Appendix A), two within the core and one in the lowest excavated layer abutting the south face of the wall. These are consistent with the suggestion of a 13th-14th century date.

Until an opportunity arises for complete excavation at the quayside, however, the suggested date will remain tentative.

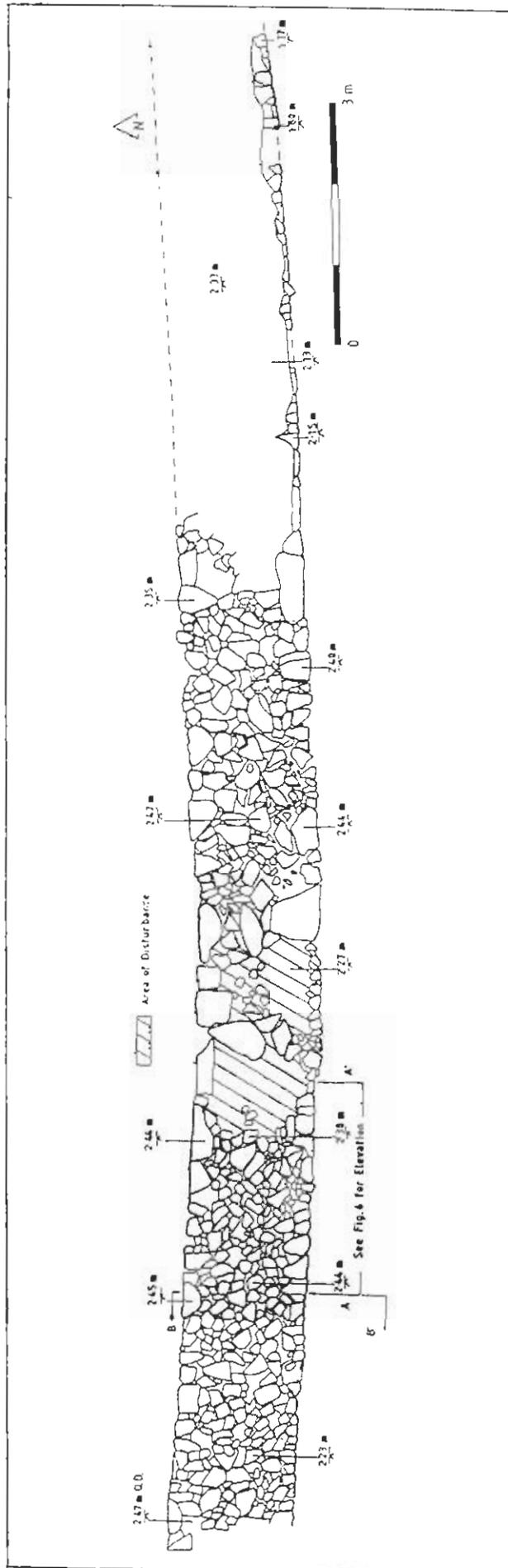


Figure 3: Plan of Wall

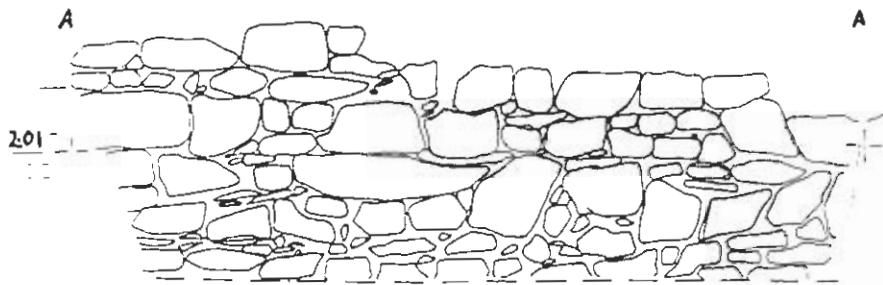


Figure 4: South Facing Elevation of Wall

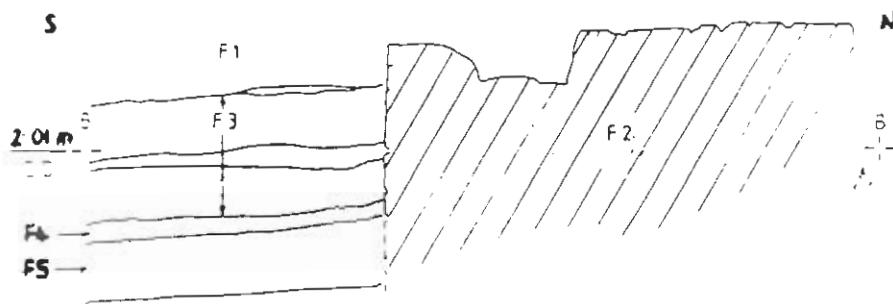


Figure 5: East Facing Section through Wall and Layers abutting it to South

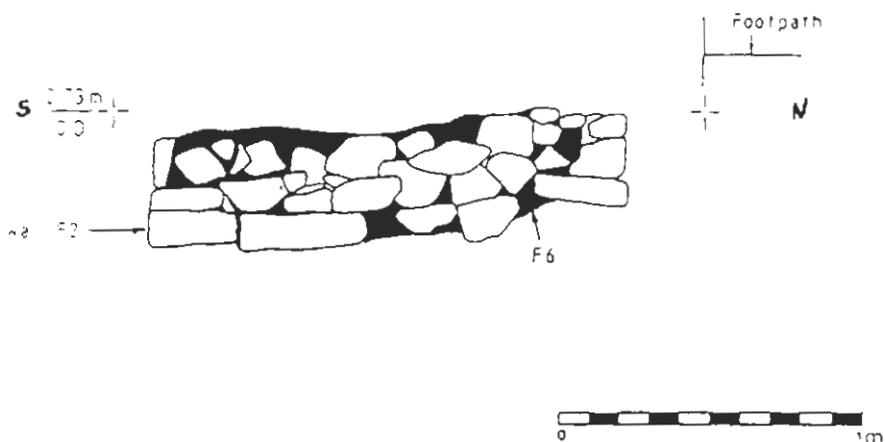


Figure 6: Elevation of Wall underlying no. 117 Parade Quay

Acknowledgements

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Appendix A: The Pottery (by Clare McCutcheon)

Three sherds of pottery were recovered, of two different types. The first is a large sherd from a Waterford 'A' ware wheel-thrown jug. The ware is micaceous and was probably locally made as it is very similar to wares already found in Waterford (Gahan et al., forthcoming). Part of the thumbled base is apparent, showing widely spaced rather than continuous thumbing. There is some sooting on the exterior and base and this may have led to the further erosion of an already poor glaze, of which little trace remains. This ware has been found in 13th and 14th century contexts in Waterford, consistently in association with Saintonge green glazed ware.

The second type of pottery found consists of two small sherds of Saintonge green glazed ware. This ware was imported into England as a by-product of the wine trade with Bordeaux from the 13th century onwards (Chapelot 1983, 49-53) and there is also evidence of strong trading links between France and Ireland in medieval times (O'Brien 1988). As with the sherd of local ware, the glaze has been abraded, in this case due to wear rather than burning. Saintonge green glazed ware has been found in the 13th / mid 14th century contexts in Waterford.

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN COUNTY WATERFORD IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

by Ciaran Parker

Part I. THE OFFICE OF SHERIFF, c. 1208-1305

This is the first in a series of papers which will explore the mechanisms of local administration within county Waterford in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is my intention to examine how local government, through its various offices, played an important and ever-changing role. My aim will always be to place the discussion within the social and political contexts of the area, rather than discuss local government within the broader, and dare I say more tedious context of administrative history.

The origins of county Waterford

The medieval county of Waterford was as much the product of geography as of political will. It was, indeed, an unprecedented organism bearing little or no resemblance to any territorial predecessor of either a political or religious nature. During the twelfth century the Waterford area had been divided between the spheres of influence of the Uí Bhric in the west and the Uí Faeláin further east, while in terms of religious organisation there existed the small though influential diocese of Waterford and the much more extensive diocese of Lismore which extended into what was to become county Tipperary.

The emergence of the county was due to the expansion of the influence of the Anglo-Normans from foci of settlements along the coast at Waterford and Dungarvan until it was temporarily checked by rivers and mountains. A cursory examination of the county on a map demonstrates how far county Waterford, even today, is bounded on all sides by distinctive geo-morphological barriers. To the south lies the sea which has been such an important factor in Waterford's history. To the east and north-east Waterford is separated from south Leinster by the river Suir and, subsequently, the estuary formed by its confluence with the Barrow. The county is bounded on the north-west by the Knockmealdown mountains, whilst the western boundary follows closely the river Blackwater.

The medieval and modern counties of Waterford were not entirely identical. A small area to the south and west of the river Bride lay in the medieval county of Cork. This included Coulbeggan (Templemichael parish) and the parish of Kilcockan.¹ Rincrew near Youghal was also considered part of county Cork in 1297.²

It was ironic, however, that the county of Waterford should not include the location after which it took its name, as Waterford city was, from 1215, separate from the county and its officials were prohibited from exercising any function therein.³ In return for its autonomy, the city paid an annual fee farm to the

1 L. O Búachalla, 'An early fourteenth-century placename list from Anglo-Norman Cork' in *Dinnseanchas*, 2 (1966), p. 45.

2 *Cal. Justic. Rolls. Ire.*, I, p. 383.

3 For the development of Waterford city's autonomy see E. McEneaney, 'The government of Waterford in the thirteenth century' in *Decies*, 13 (1980), pp 17-26.

crown. If this were not delivered in full the city's privileges could be temporarily prorogued, and when this occurred in 1275, the city passed into the custody of the sheriff of Waterford.⁴

The Office of Sheriff

Medieval local government was organised on the necessity of the maximum exploitation of talent at the least cost. To that end, the local officials were not paid and were expected to be men of substance. The sheriff was ideally an omniscient official, or in other words a jack of various administrative and judicial trades. His first duties were financial, as he was expected to oversee the collection of the king's debts in his county and account for these at the exchequer. Whilst the sheriffs of Waterford in the thirteenth century occasionally served for long terms, the relinquishing of the post and the appointment of a successor did not relieve them of the obligations of accounting for outstanding debts.

The sheriff's second area of competence lay in judicial matters. The sheriff presided over the county court as well as travelling through his bailiwick on his *tourn*. A related duty was the chastisement of criminals, and the sheriff was consequently *custos* or keeper of the royal castle at Dungarvan which served as a gaol.

A recurrent motif in this paper (and its sequels) is the relationship between Waterford and the Geraldines of Desmond. The largest bloc of lands held by them in Waterford was the honour of Dungarvan, covering a large area in the west of the county. On those occasions in the later thirteenth century when the land reverted to the crown its custody was entrusted to the sheriff of the county who had to render a separate account for it.

In describing the various features of the sheriff's role, it is important to bear in mind that the political situation, both in Waterford and in the lordship of Ireland as a whole, was never constant. The role of the sheriffs and the relative importance of administrative, judicial and policing duties; the way in which they were selected; the length of time they served, and the type of person who was employed, were in permanent flux. These modifications reflected changes in the social and political situation in Ireland, shifts in government policy towards local administration, both in Ireland and England, and the relative strengths of the power of the central government and local noblemen. At all times, the sheriffs were expected to be motivated by the highest standards.

The first sheriff of County Waterford

The earliest reference to a sheriff of Waterford is found in the Pipe Roll of the fourteenth year of the reign of King John (1211-12), the sheriff being Thomas Bluet.⁵ An indication that the office of sheriff predated this reference is that Bluet accounted for sums collected three years earlier. He was related by marriage to Milo de Cogan, who in 1179 had received an extensive (and largely speculative) grant of the lands between Brandon or Sleah Head in Kerry and Credan Head in east Waterford.⁶

Bluet was also sheriff of county Cork, although this did not mean that Cork and Waterford formed a single administrative unit, for he rendered a separate

4 *P.R.O.I. Deputy Keeper's Report, no. 36*, pp 29-30.

5 O. Davies and D. B. Quinn (eds.), 'The Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John' in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3rd series, 4 (1941), supplement, pp 46-7.

6 Bluet was married to either de Cogan's niece or granddaughter. (See Orpen, *Normans*, II, p. 49, n. 3.

account of the sums owing from both counties. Such a rationalisation of effort was not uncommon during the early thirteenth century, either in the Irish lordship or in England, although it must have added to the burden of responsibilities.⁷ In the case of Waterford, the link with Cork was continued throughout the thirteenth century, forming part of the grant of the shrievalties of Waterford and Cork to John fitz Thomas in 1259. It was not until the following year that county Cork received its own sheriff in the person of Sir William de Dene, while John fitz Thomas remained sheriff of Waterford; both were to die at the hands of Finghín MacCarthaigh in the battle of Callan in the following year.⁸ The separation remained in force for much of the remainder of the medieval period. However, in 1285 Robert de Stapilton was named sheriff not only of Waterford and Cork but of Tipperary as well, while in 1299 Sir Maurice Russel served simultaneously as sheriff of Cork and Waterford.⁹

The grant to Thomas fitz Anthony in 1215

In addition to this association with county Cork, the shrievalty's history was frequently linked with the grant of extensive lands through the Munster area, which were in their turn often a reflection of the whims of royal favour and the equally capricious nature of English politics. Thus in 1215 Thomas fitz Anthony was granted the custody of the counties of Munster, including Waterford.¹⁰ Fitz Anthony's grant owed much to events occurring in England. He was a close associate of the family of the Earl Marshal, having been William Marshal the elder's seneschal in his extensive lands in Leinster. (Thomastown in co. Kilkenny takes its name from him.)¹¹ In the final, frustrated years of his reign King John received support from William's son and he was naturally anxious to reward whatever friends and supporters he still had.¹²

Apart from control of local administration, fitz Anthony was granted the lands of the honour of Dungarvan. The extent to which this area had been subject to sub-infeudation prior to 1215 is unclear. Certainly fitz Anthony used these lands as a reservoir from which a number of extensive territorial grants were made. In doing so, he ignored grants that had been made prior to 1215, including that of the *theodum* of Oveagh to the Benedictine monks of Tewkesbury.¹³ The issue which eventually caused fitz Anthony's downfall concerned the control of feudal escheats, or those lands which had come into the king's hands, either through forfeiture or because their holders had not attained their majority. The grant of 1215 had given custody of existing escheats and those that would occur in the future to fitz

7 See A. J. Otway-Ruthven. 'Anglo-Irish shire government in the thirteenth century' in *Irish Historical Studies*, 5 (1946-47), pp 4-5; W. A. Morris, *The Medieval English Sheriff to 1300* (Manchester, 1927), p. 44.

8 H. F. Berry, 'The Sheriffs of County Cork: Henry III-1660' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, 35 (1906), p. 44.

9 *P.R.O.I. Dep. Keeper's Rep. no. 38*, p. 30. He also received a commission of the shrievalty for the two counties in February 1302 (*C.P.R.*, 1301-1307, p. 19.).

10 *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 210.

11 Orpen, *Normans*, III pp 130-1.

12 See W. L. Warren, *King John* (London, 1961), p. 231.

13 *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, p. 575. The outcome of the inquisition is not known, but the later inquisitions did not contain any reference to the abbey of Tewkesbury and that of 1299 listed Oveagh as being predominantly demesne land. (*P.R.O.E.*) 101/233/6.).

Anthony. These were by their nature temporary custodies, but the royal mandate of June 1223 revoking that of 1215 stated that fitz Anthony had withheld these escheats from the king, implying that he had sought to transform temporary custody into something more permanent.¹⁴

Fitz Anthony's demise may also have been hastened by the decline in the friendship and support offered by the Earls Marshal. The latter had become a power to be reckoned with - indeed, a possible competitor for influence in the Irish lordship. The custody of the county of Waterford was subsequently granted to John Marshal, who like fitz Anthony had previously served as the seneschal of his family's lands in Leinster.¹⁵

The advent of the Desmond Geraldines in Waterford

Few details survive about the actions of the sheriffs of the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Indeed their very identities are often unknown. They included John Harald, the only Ostman to hold the position, yet we are unsure of the exact dates of his shrievalty.¹⁶

Fitz Anthony had been disgraced but his involvement in Waterford was to have fateful consequences. He succeeded in regaining custody of much of the lands that had been included in the 1215 grant. However, at the time of his death he had no male heir (a son, Hamo, had apparently predeceased him.¹⁷) His interests therefore devolved to his five daughters and their respective husbands. Margery was married to John fitz Thomas, a descendant of Maurice fitz Gerald who held extensive lands in the south-west, especially in county Limerick. Fitz Thomas was an early example of Geraldine opportunism and he utilised the ill-fortune of some of his relatives to increase his holdings in Waterford.

Given fitz Anthony's associations with the Marshals it was not surprising that the marriages of his daughters should reflect this. Two of them, Issabelle and Desiderata or Desiree, were married respectively to Geoffrey de Norragh and Stephen Le Ercedekne, who were both knights of the earls. In 1234 Earl Richard Marshal launched an ill-judged revolt against the crown during which he received the backing of de Norragh and Le Ercedekne. Following Earl Richard's defeat and subsequent death the lands of his supporters were forfeited. John fitz Thomas of Desmond, for his part, had remained loyal to the crown and was rewarded with grants from these forfeited lands.¹⁸

By the late 1250s, John fitz Thomas was in possession of the largest segment of his father-in-law's lands in Waterford. In 1254 the custody of the lordship of Ireland had been granted by King Henry III to his fifteen-year-old son, the future Edward I. Although he had wide powers in Ireland Edward never visited the country and it would thus be fair to ascribe a certain degree of *naiveté* to his actions at this time. In 1259 he granted to John fitz Thomas the custodies of the counties of Cork, Kerry and Waterford, which included the office of sheriff of the

14 *Rotuli Litterarum Clausorum*, I, p. 549.

15 Orpen, *Normans*, II, p. 243, n. 1.

16 A charter granted during the time when Geoffrey de Turberville was treasurer of Ireland was witnessed by John Harald, sheriff of Waterford. (E. Tresham (ed.), *Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellarie Hibernie Calendarium*, (hereafter cited as *R.P.H.*), p. 3, no. 35.)

17 E. St J. Brooks, *Knights' Fees in Counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny* (Dublin, Irish MSS Commission, 1950), p. 46.

18 A number of those who suffered forfeitures subsequently regained some of their lands. For a discussion of the role of their descendants in county Waterford see C. G. Parker, 'The politics and society of county Waterford in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Dublin, 1992), pp 31-4.

latter.¹⁹ This action was greeted with much hostility amongst the administrative circles of the Irish lordship, who claimed that Prince Edward had been misled by fitz Thomas. In the event, the latter was killed in 1261 leaving only his infant grandson Thomas fitz Maurice as heir, and the Geraldine control of the shrievalty went into abeyance. When fitz Maurice came of age in the early 1280s he was anxious to reclaim the offices held by his grandfather and in June 1284 he received a grant of the custodies of counties Cork and Waterford.²⁰ Once again, this met with opposition from the justiciar of the Irish lordship, and it was apparently revoked before February of the following year.

The shrievalty of Walter de la Haye

It is often difficult to gauge the efficiency of the individual sheriffs. One of those about whom we do know was Walter de la Haye. He was appointed in 1272 and held office for the next twelve years - the longest term of any sheriff of the county in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He was not a native of county Waterford and had no discernible links with the area prior to his appointment. He appears to have been a career bureaucrat, having served as a keeper of the temporalities of the archbishopric of Dublin during a vacancy in the see.²¹ The sheriff of the late thirteenth century was a royal agent collecting the king's debts, looking after his lands in the case of Dungarvan and executing his writs, and de la Haye showed great ability in the performance of these tasks. This was recognised in June 1275 when the king ordered the Irish justiciar not to commit the custody of county Waterford to anybody save de la Haye because he had faithfully performed his duties well and had always rendered his account at the exchequer.²²

A measure of de la Haye's administrative competence can be acquired from the fact that, in addition to his onerous tasks as sheriff of Waterford, he was also given duties outside his bailiwick. We have mentioned his appointment as *custos* of the city of Waterford on those occasions when the city did not pay its annual fee farm to the king. In 1276 he was named as keeper of the royal castle at Limerick,²³ while six years later he acted as a justice itinerant in counties Limerick, Cork and Kerry.²⁴

He also demonstrated that he was able to stand up to local magnates and to thwart the depredations of their relatives who were beginning to cause a serious threat to the tranquility of the area. In the early 1280s a violent feud erupted between Sir Robert le Poer and Sir John Aylward of Faithlegg.²⁵ Robert was a bother of Eustace le Poer, one of the most powerful members of the lineage. He was also distantly related to a far more prestigious personage, Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, probably the most powerful magnate in the lordship of Ireland. It will be remembered that one of the duties of the sheriff was the maintenance of the king's peace and the pursuit of criminals. No doubt realising that Robert was more or less untouchable whilst Eustace was in the area, de la Haye waited for his absence in

19 *R.P.H.*, p. 3, no. 32.

20 *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1281-1292*, p. 123

21 *Ibid.*, II, no. 1577. p. 312.

22 *C.C.R., 1272-1279*, p. 188.

23 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1272-1281*, p. 128.

24 H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Administration of Ireland, 1172-1377* (London, 1965), p. 82; P.R.O. E. 101/230/8.

25 Some of the activities, as well as the subsequent date of Robert le Poer's apprehension by de la Haye, were recounted in 1306 by jurors testifying to the age of Sir John fitz Maurice (*Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire.*, II, pp 219-220.).

Dublin to arrest Robert.²⁶ Eustace's response was naturally unsympathetic to this turn of events, and he challenged de la Haye to arrest him and his family instead. However, Robert was prevailed upon to leave Ireland and join the king's army in north Wales.²⁷

De la Haye's *contretemps* with the le Poers was one of the final acts in his shrievalty. Yet far from suffering disgrace he was promoted in August 1285 to the office of escheator, which thus placed all escheats within the lordship under his control.²⁸ Furthermore, on two occasions in the 1290s he acted as deputy justiciar.²⁹

Robert de Stapilton

While de la Haye represented the apogee of local administrative probity, many of his successors demonstrated that they were unable to attain such heights, not to mention the achievement of a separation between their public office and private interests. This was to become all too prevalent in the following century, although the activities of one thirteenth-century sheriff led to an extensive series of accusations of misconduct.

Robert de Stapilton was named sheriff of counties Waterford, Cork and Tipperary in February 1285 for a period of ten years. He owed his rise, and possibly his fall, to his association with the then treasurer of the Irish lordship, bishop Stephen de Fulbourne. He appears, on the basis of his proffers, to have been every bit as dutiful in the performance of his tasks as de la Haye. However, in 1290 a number of Waterford landholders accused him of false imprisonment in an attempt to acquire their lands as well as the enforced empanelment of his enemies as jurors in Dublin, thus occasioning them expense and danger on the journey, or a heavy amercement if they failed to undertake the task.³⁰

Stapilton's action can perhaps be qualified a little to his benefit. As Dr Empey has pointed out, the heavy burden of administering three counties, not to mention supervising the extensive honour of Dungarvan, may have necessitated a degree of thoroughness, not to say ruthlessness, on de Stapilton's part.³¹ Furthermore, he was an outsider, and while he held land in Waterford this had been granted only three years prior to his appointment as sheriff. It is thus possible that he had to deal with an intransigent and resentful local society. While we have no way of investigating the accuracy of the accusations levelled against them, they must themselves be seen against the background of the fall from power and death of Stapilton's patron, de Fulbourne. Stapilton's actions and methods may well have been typical of the other sheriffs of the period, to which an official blind eye was turned in return for administrative efficiency, only to be exposed, and perhaps elaborated, when external circumstances conspired to reveal them.

²⁶ H. Cole (ed.), *Original documents illustrative of the history of England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries* (London, 1843), p. 71.

²⁷ In 1285 the sheriff of Dublin, Ulfram de Bendeville, received payment for conducting Robert le Poer to the king in Wales (P.R.O. E. 101/231/1.).

²⁸ Richardson and Sayles, *Administration of Ireland*, p. 126.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 82. Between 1294 and 1297 he was also a justice of the justiciar's bench. (*Ibid.*, p. 166).

³⁰ Cole, *Documents illustrative of English history*, pp 71-8.

³¹ C. A. Empey, 'The medieval county of Waterford', in *Decies*, 13 (1980), p. 12.

The backgrounds of the sheriffs of the thirteenth century

The sheriffs of the thirteenth century included both Waterford landholders and men from outside the county who held little or no land there. There were, of course, those like fitz Anthony and John fitz Thomas who received one of the largest single blocs of land, the honour of Dungarvan,³² on their appointment, although fitz Thomas probably held considerable lands there beforehand. Waterford landholders were, indeed, in a minority amongst the personnel of the shrievalty. Robert fitz Warin (sheriff 1261-62) held some land of the manor of Dungarvan, while Sir Maurice Russel (sheriff 1293-97, 1302-05) held the manor of 'Maynhowe' in west Waterford.³³

Others had more ambiguous links with Waterford. Sheriff Maurice de Portu who rendered an account for the year 1234-5 was probably related to Henry de Portu, who held lands at Greenan near Ardmore in the manor of Dungarvan in 1262.³⁴ The descendants of John Harald were involved in criminal activity in the county in the early fourteenth century, although whether and where their ancestor held land in the county is uncertain.³⁵ Jordan d'Exeter, sheriff for a brief period in 1301, was a descendant of John d'Evereux, a feoffee of Thomas fitz Anthony.³⁶ However, d'Exeter's lands and activities were concentrated in Connacht. Robert de Stapilton had received a grant of lands in Waterford at Ballykerin and Liscashel four years before his appointment as sheriff, although much of his land lay in Tipperary.³⁷

Amongst the very first sheriffs whose identity we know was Richard fitz Helyas de Prendergast (1231-2) who held a knight's fee at Balichery in Wexford in 1247.³⁸ He also held unspecified lands in Waterford as he accounted for a fifth of a knight's fee in the *servitium debitum* of the county in 1261.³⁹ William le Ercedekne, who became sheriff on the death of John fitz Thomas of Desmond in 1261, was also a member of a prominent Kilkenny family. Furthermore, Thomas fitz Anthony's daughter Desiderata had married Stephen le Ercedekne and William was no doubt closely related. Other sheriffs had neither lands in, nor discernible links with, the county. John Baret (sheriff 1297-1301) held lands in the barony of Kiltevenan in Kilkenny, while his successor, Richard de Valle, also held lands there.⁴⁰ The two men were, moreover, also tenants of Otto de Grandison in southern Tipperary.⁴¹

As has been noted already, Walter de la Haye's origins were uncertain and it is unclear whether he held any lands in Ireland prior to his appointment in Waterford. After his promotion to the post of escheator he retained some links with Waterford. In June 1285 he was granted the lucrative manor of Kilmeadan, which owed its prosperity not only to its own agricultural resources but also to the vill of Kilmeadan's location on the banks of the Suir and proximity to Waterford city.⁴² In

32 E. Curtis (ed.), 'Sheriffs' accounts of the honour of Dungarvan. of Twescard in Ulster and of county Waterford' in *Proc. R.I.A.*, 39 C (1929), p. 2.

33 *Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1252-1284, no. 1665.

34 *P.R.O.I. Dep. Keeper's Rep. no. 35*, p. 36; Curtis, 'Sheriffs' accounts', pp 2-3.

35 *P.R.O.I.*, R.C. 7/13, p. 81.

36 See Brooks, *Knight's fees*, pp 216-20.

37 *Calendar of Fine Rolls. 1272-1307*, p. 167.

38 Brooks, *Knights' fees*, p. 142.

39 Curtis, 'Sheriffs' accounts', p. 6.

40 *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, I, nos. 163, 164, 226, 418.

41 *Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1302-1307, no. 446.

42 *Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1257-1300*, p. 319.

a plea before the justiciar's court in 1305 the burgesses claimed that de la Haye prevailed upon the officers of the county to exclude them from acting as jurors.⁴³ The vill's inhabitants had also stated that they had been granted a charter conferring on them the same extensive rights of municipal self-government as enjoyed by the citizens of Bristol. A petition was sent to King Edward, probably by de la Haye, asking for a re-grant as the original charter had been accidentally eaten by a hog!⁴⁴

John de Baskerville (sheriff between 1270 and 1272) held no lands in Ireland prior to his appointment, nor did he receive any during or at the end of his term. He only sought payment for his term as constable of the castle of Dungarvan, and because of numerous delays the outstanding sums were eventually paid to his widow in 1289.⁴⁵

In contrast to the fourteenth century, the most prominent local lineage, the le Poers, played hardly any role in local government. One John le Poer was sheriff between 1268 and 1269 but further identification is impossible.⁴⁶ He could have been John, baron of Donoil, whose grandson and great-great-grandson became sheriffs in the fourteenth century. Another John le Poer, who belonged to a different segment of the lineage, held three knights' fees of the de Clares in their manor of Inchiquin in east Cork in 1287. His descendants were also to play a significant role in local government in Waterford in the fourteenth century.⁴⁷

Conclusion

The sheriffs of county Waterford in the period before 1305 were expected to perform numerous tasks for which they were not always suited. Sheriffs had few assistants on whose advice they could draw. Ideally, they were expected to be administrators overseeing a stable and passive social and political environment. In reality, Waterford in the 1290s and 1300s was anything but peaceful. Crime was a perennial problem facing all medieval societies and in spite of brutal punishments it continued to pose a nuisance which was, as far as possible, to be avoided. However, in this period lawlessness was becoming far more organised, and most worrying of all was its marked political overtones. Indeed, the greatest threat to public order in Waterford in the early fourteenth century came from groups related to the most prominent personages in local society to whom they looked for protection and direction. The office of sheriff had to respond to this changing environment, although in theory this represented a shift of emphasis rather than an administrative revolution. The form of the response of the government of the lordship of Ireland to lawlessness in Waterford and the part played by its sheriffs will be the subject of the next paper in this series.

(To be continued)

43 *Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire.*, II, p. 2.

44 *Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1285-1292, no. 1179.

45 P.R.O. E. 101/230/2; *C.C.R.*, 1279-1288, pp 94, 157; *Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1285-1292, pp 426-7.

46 *P.R.O.I. Dep. Keeper's Rep. no. 37*, p. 38.

47 *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, II pp 429-30.

**MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS AT THE ABBEY,
KILCULLIHEEN, FERRYBANK, WATERFORD**

Transcribed by Michael O'Sullivan

PART II. Nos 89-165 (letters E to J)

- 89 EDWARDS:** Erected by Mary Edwards in memory of her beloved husband Eaton Edwards Esquire, Newtown House, Co. Kilkenny, who departed this life on the 25th of March in the year of our Lord 1851 aged 69 years. Also his deceased children. Here also repose the mortal remains of the above mentioned Mrs Mary Edwards who died 19th May 1858 aged 73.

Wat. Chronicle, Sat. 29 March 1851, p.3, c.4. At his residence in the Manor, Eaton Edwards Esq., formerly of Newtown House, co. Kilkenny, aged 69 years.

Wat. Chronicle, Sat. 22 May 1858, p.3, c.3. On the 19th at her residence Newtown, Mary relict of the late Eaton Edwards Esq. of Newtown House County Kilkenny

ELKANAH: See Sage.

ELLIOTT: See Lloyd.

- 90 ELLIS:** Sacred to the memory of Jane Ellis the beloved wife of Richard Ellis who departed this life April 20th 1853 aged 28 years. Also Sarah Grace Ellis infant of the above aged 2 months.

A true and loving wife
a tender mother dear
a firm and faithful friend
lies sleeping here.

- 91 FALL:** Sacred to the memory of Hannah wife of John Fall who departed this life March 13 1871 aged 65 years.

- 92 FARRELL:** In memory of Anne Farrell who died October 19th 1860.

- 93 FISHER:** Sacred to the memory of Lewis Musgrave Fisher, eldest son of the late Francis and Elizabeth Fisher of the city of Bristol, died August 31 1852 aged 31.

Wat. News, Fri. 10 Sept. 1852, p.3, c.4. In this city, Lewis Musgrave Fisher Esq., Lieutenant R. N., late of *H. M. Rhadamanthus*, aged 32.

- 94 FITZGERALD:** Sacred to the memory of Alice Louisa, the dearly loved wife of Gerald Purcell Fitzgerald of the Island, Waterford, who died at Duarte, Los Angeles Co., California, the 23rd day of March 1898 and was buried here on the fifteenth day of the following month.

- 95 FITZGERALD:** On the 28th January 1863 Sarah Anne Fitzgerald.

Wat. News, Fri. 10 Sept. 1852, p.3, c.4. In this city, Lewis Musgrave Fisher Esq., Lieutenant R. N., late of *H. M. Rhadamanthus*, aged 32.

FITZGERALD: See Kehoe.

- 96 FLANAGAN:** Here lies the body of Edmond Flanagan who departed this life May 5th 1738 aged 62 years. Also his son Thomas who departed this life September 10th 1770 aged 60 years.

- 97 FLANAGAN:** Erected by Eliza Flanagan of Lady Lane Waterford in loving memory of her dearly beloved mother Mary Masterson died January 1885 aged 80 years. Also in loving memory of her dearly beloved husband Edward Flanagan died January 21st 1899 aged 74 years. Eliza Flanagan died November 14th 1903 aged 74 years.

- 98 FLEWELLEN:** In loving remembrance of Mary Anne the devoted wife of Samuel Flewellen who died April 26 1875 aged 29 years.

- 99 FORAN:** Here lieth the mortal remains of Captain William Foran of the city of Waterford, many years in the trading service, aged 69 years. This tomb was erected by his disconsolate widow. He departed this life the 26th of April 1811.

- 100 FORHAN:** Here lyeth ye body of Michael Forhan who departed this life May ye 29th 1752 aged 26 years. And also ye body of Mary Forhan alias Welsh who departed this life March ye 9th 1767 aged 72 years.

Wat. Mirror, 27 April 1811, p.3, c.4. Yesterday afternoon at his house in King Street, Mr W. M. Forehan. The death of this aged and respectable gentleman was occasioned by a piece of rock, propelled from a quarry on Thomas's Hill where some men are employed blasting, which struck him on the head as he was standing at his own door, and almost instantaneously deprived him of life.

- 101 FORRISTAL:** Erected by Patrick Forristal in memory of his father Martin Forristal who departed this life January 14th 1784 aged 68 years. Also his son Martin Forristal who died December 11th 1808 aged 25 years. Also his son Patrick Forristal died December 12th 1815 aged 29 years. Also the body of the above Patrick Forristal who departed this life 6th May 1826 aged 82 years.

- 102 FORRISTAL:** Here lieth the body of Martin Forristal who departed this life 27th of July 1784 aged 68 years.

- 103 FORTH:** Underneath this stone are interred the remains of Charles Gerrard Forth Esquire, C. E., who departed this life July 20th 1845. Also his wife Catherine Jane Belvedere Forth who departed this life September 15th 1845.

104 FREEMAN: Nath^l Freeman departed this life 12th December 1825 aged 10 months.

105 FROSTE: [marble tablet inside church] In loving memory of Martha widow of the late Thomas Froste Esquire and daughter of the late Richard Pope Esquire who entered into rest May 4th 1880 aged 70 years.

Wat. News, Friday 7 May 1880, p.2, c.7. On the 4th Margaret widow of Thomas Froste Esq. of Liverpool and daughter of the late Richard Pope Esq. of Waterford.

FROSTE: See Pope.

106 FURLONG: Here lieth the remains of Adelaide Susana the beloved daughter of Capt. Michael J. Furlong Staff (?) Officer Port and his wife died December 18 aged

107 GANNON: Sacred to the memory of Mrs Elizabeth Gannon, beloved wife of Mr William Gannon of this city, who died 13th June 1870 aged 75 years. She had been 22 years valued nurse in the family of the late Thomas Pottinger Esquire, Mount Pottinger, Co. Down. And this stone is erected by Lady Smith Gordon his 4th daughter in testimony of the affection and respect in which she was held by all the family.

Wat. News, Fri. 24 June 1870, p.2, c.4. At her residence Mall Lane in this city, Elizabeth wife of Mr W. M. Gannon aged 75 years.

108 GARRAWAY: In loving memory of Frances D. Garraway of Rockshire died September 15th 1909. Also in loving memory of her husband Col. Charles Sutton Garraway who fell asleep December 27th 1916 aged 85. Also of their elder son Lieut. Col. Sir Edward F. C. Garraway, K.C.M.G., who died 27th June 1932 at Rockshire, greatly beloved. Also of Winifred Mary Harvey, beloved wife of the above, who died 23rd April 1947.

109 GARRAWAY: To the beloved memory of Mrs Mary Anne Garraway, widow of the late Colonel Charles Garraway, H.E.I.C.S., born May 9th 1795, died October 9th 1890.

110 GARRAWAY: [marble tablet inside church] In memory of Wilfrid Fletcher Garraway, 2nd Lieut. 82nd Punjabis, eldest son of Charles and Etta Garraway, born 2nd August 1896, drowned on service in Mesopotamia 5th November 1916. This tablet is erected by his brother officers.

111 GARRAWAY: [marble tablet inside church] In loving memory of Lieutenant Colonel Sir Edward Garraway, K.C.M.G., elder son of Colonel Charles Sutton Garraway of Rockshire. After forty years of distinguished service in South Africa where he was resident commissioner of Bechuanaland and of Basutoland, he returned to Ireland to devote his time and thought to the service of his God and of his country. He died 27 June 1932.

Evening News, 16 Sept. 1909, p.3, c.3. The death occurred yesterday morning after a brief illness of the wife of Col. Garraway, Rockshire, Ferrybank.

Wat. News, 29 Dec. 1916, p.1, c.1. December 27th 1916 at Rockshire, Waterford, Colonel Charles Sutton Garraway aged 85 years. He was father of Major Edward Charles Garraway, CMG, LCRSI, who served in the South African War, and was appointed Military Secretary to the Governor General and High Commissioner of South Africa in 1910. For the past twenty years he had been residing at Rockshire, which property formerly belonged to the Pope family into which deceased married. His son is in the army and holds an important post in South Africa.

Wat. News, Friday 1 July 1932, p.9, c.2-4. The death occurred at his residence Rockshire, Ferrybank, on Tuesday of Lieut Colonel Sir Edward Charles Frederick Garraway, KCMG.

Wat. News, Fri. 25 April 1947, p.5, c.6. The death occurred at the Infirmary on Wednesday of Lady Winifred Garraway. She was the widow of Sir Edward Garraway (former Governor of Basuto and Bechuana). She was a daughter of the late Mr T. H. Harvey, JP, Blackbrook, Hampshire, England. The late Lady Garraway is survived by two daughters, Mrs Francesca M^cFall, wife of Rev. T. H. C. M^cFall, Rector, Piltown, and of Mrs K. Stubbs, who resides with her husband and two children in India. She was sister-in-law of Miss Emma Garraway, Annfield, Brannoxtown, Co. Kildare.

GARRAWAY: See Stubbs.

112 GARRET: Erected by John Garret in memory of his beloved son William Garret who died November 5th 1848 aged 10 years.

113 GAVEN: Mrs Margaret Gaven senior died December 27th 1797 aged 60. Mrs Eleanor Veacock her daughter died December 25 1839 aged 56. With two infant children.

Wat. Mirror, 28 Dec. 1839, p.3, c.4. Yesterday morning in Baileys New Street, Mrs Eleanor Veacock, relict of the late Mr John Veacock.

GAYNOR: See Smith.

114 GEALE: Here lieth the remains of Mr Peter Geale late of the city of Waterford who died on the 23rd of October 1831 universally loved and regretted aged 46 years. Also the remains of Mary Geale relict of the above Peter Geale who died September 26th 1841 aged 77 years. Also the body of Mrs Jane Jones who died March 29th 1856 aged 87 years.

Wat. Mirror, 24 Oct. 1831, p.3, c.4. Yesterday Mr Peter Geale, Church Lane.

Wat. Mirror, 29 Sept. 1841, p.3, c.4. Saturday at Liverpool Mrs Geale, relict of the late Mr Peter Geale of this city.

115 GIBBON: In loving memory of John Monk Gibbon our beloved physican, born 9th January 1907, died 26 October 1931 age 24. And of his mother Eleonora

Gibbon who passed away on 12th July 1953. Edward Acton Gibbon his father on 22nd July 1965 aged 91.

Wat. News, 30 Oct. 1931, p.1, c.1. On October 26th 1931 at Millbank Hospital, London, very suddenly, Lieutenant John Monk Gibbon, RAMC, aged 24 years. He was the son of Mr E. A. Gibbon, manager of Messrs David Strangman and Co. Waterford. The chief mourners at the funeral were Mr E. A. Gibbon (father), Lieut.-Comdr E. A. A. Gibbon, RN, Mr W. Gibbon (brothers), Col. T. M. Gibbon, Messrs M. J. Mirchoe and D. W. Goff (cousins).

116 GILL: Erected by Henry and Eliza Gill in memory of their departed children Hannah aged 16 years who died October 26th 1835. William aged 6 years who died on 11th of December same year. Also of Henry Gill the father of the above children who died the 15th May 1841 aged 52 years.

117 GLEESON: Sacred to the memory of Michael Gleeson who died on the 10th of April 1836 aged 62 years. To Mary his wife who died on the 22nd of March 1860 aged 70 years. And to Mary Anne their daughter who died on the 2nd of March 1835 aged 7 years. This monument is erected by their son and her brother John. J. Gleeson Power as a mark of his affectionate remembrance and a frail record of his hope of one day meeting them where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.

118 GORMAN: Erected in memory of Mr James Gorman of the city of Waterford who departed this life on the 29th day of March 1814 aged 51 years. Also 4 of his children who died young.

Wat. Mirror, 4 April 1814, p.3, c.4. On Thursday last James Gorman, High Street.

119 GORMAN: Here lieth the body of Mary Gorman alias Cody who departed this life 12 May 1767 aged 4[] years. Also the body of Richard Gorman who departed this life 21st March 1770 aged 45 years . Also the bodies of 4 of their children who died young.

120 GOSS: Sacred to the memory of Nicholas Goss, master mariner, who was drowned in the river Suir October 18th 1839 aged 57 years.

Wat. Mirror, 4 April 1814, p.3, c.4. On Thursday last James Gorman, High Street.

121 GRAHAM: The family burial place of Benjamin Graham 1810.

122 GRANGER: Here lieth the body of Richard Granger son of Capt. Joseph Granger who departed this life October 13th 1756 aged 3 years. Also the body of Mr Roger Vigors who departed this life September the 21st 1784 aged 52 years. Also the body of Mrs Esther Vigors who departed this life March the 17th 178[] aged 72 [or 52] years.

124 GRANT: Sacred to the memory of Dora Grant who departed this life March 18th 1861 aged 44 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 22 March 1861, p.2, c.4. In Thomas Street on the 18th March Dorothea second daughter of the late James Sackville Grant Esq. of Tralee.

125 GRAVES: In loving memory of Sarah Morginie died 25th January 1861 aged 1 year. William Howard died 27th January 1861 aged 2 years. And Richard Horace who was drowned 6th July 1897 aged 25 years. Children of J. P. Graves and S. M. Graves of Waterford. James Palmer Graves died 24th June 1901 aged 79 years. Sarah Morgina Graves born February 4th 1830 died October 21 1919.

Wat. News, Fri. 1 Feb. 1861, p.2, c.4. At Waterpark, Waterford, the 25th Sarah M. aged one year, and on the 27th William Howard aged two years and three months, children of J. P. Graves Esq.

Wat. News, Sat. 10 July 1897, p.7, c.5. The death occurred on Wednesday as the result of a boating accident of Mr Richard H. Graves. The accident happened off the Wexford coast. The funeral took place this morning to the Abbey Church. The chief mourners were J. P. Graves (father), C. G. Graves (brother), E. A. Graves (cousin), A. Graves junr (cousin), J. T. Fishbourne (cousin). The burial service was conducted by Rev. Mr Leslie, Rev. Mr Beecher and Rev. Mr Rutherford. Deceased was a sub-lieutenant in the navy. The following gentlemen will ring a muffled peal in memory of the deceased this Friday evening at 7.30 pm: Dr G. I. Mackesy, J. P. Blee, J. T. Fielding, T. Atherton, W. A. Dobbyn solicitor, J. Higgins, G. Good, and H. Ridgway.

Wat. News, Fri. 28 June 1901, p.5, c.1 & 8. Died on Monday morning at his residence Newtown, Mr James Palmer Graves, JP, aged 80 years. He was for many years the head of the firm of Graves & Co., Newtown, timber merchants. At the time of his death he was the oldest person holding the commission of peace. A few years ago the death occurred by drowning of his son Mr Richard Graves, while yachting in Waterford Harbour with Mr Harry Snow of Blenheim who also lost his life.

Evening News, 23 Oct. 1919, p.3, c.3. October 21st 1919 at Dundrum after a brief illness Sarah Morgina, widow of the late James Palmer Graves, Waterpark, Waterford, in her 90th year.

126 GREENE: Here lyeth ye body of Samuel Greene Esquire who departed this life ye 25th day of April 1733 and ye 67th year of his age.

127 GREENE: [marble tablet inside church] Sacred to the memory of Major William Greene who departed this life the 4th of June 1829. This monument is erected by his disconsolate widow the honourable Jane Greene as a small testimony of his departed worth.

Wat. Mirror, 6 June 1829, p.3, c.4. Monday at Janeville Cork in advanced years Major William Greene.

GREENE: See Hunt and Rochfort.

128 GREENSLADE: Underneath are deposited the remains of Thomas Greenslade, native of Minehead in Somersetshire, who departed this life February 1st 1811 aged 23 years.

Short was his life
Great was his pain
Great was our loss
Much more his gain

129 HACKETT: Erected by Mary Anne Comerford of the city of Waterford in memory of her two nieces, Elenor Hackett died May 3rd 1817 aged 16 years, Mary Hackett died May the 19th 1817 aged 19 years.

130 HALL: Sacred to the memory of Sarah Hall relict of the late Edward Hall junior of this city died on the 16th day of march 1849 aged 69 years.

131 HALL: This stone was placed here by Mary Hall as a memorial of affection for her beloved husband Edward Hall who departed this life February 27th 1832 aged 83 years.

Wat. Mirror, 29 Feb. 1832, p.3, c.4. Monday evening at his house on the Mall in the 84th year of his age Mr Edward Hall.

132 HALL: This stone was placed here by Mary Hall as a memorial of her affection for a beloved nephew Edward Hall who died February 1st 1823 aged 46 years.

Wat. Mirror, 3 Feb. 1823, p.3, c.4. On Saturday in Baileys New St. Mr Edward Hall jun.

HAMILL: See Marshall.

133 HAMILTON: John Hamilton's family burial ground.

134 HARDIE: Sacred to the memory of James Young Hardie, son of Thomas G. Hardie of Glasgow, civil engineer, who departed this life January 1st 1843 aged 4 years and 9 months.

135 HARDING: This tomb is erected to the memory of Lieut. Richard Harding, Waterford Militia, aged 56 years, by his affectionate wife Mary Harding. Deservedly regretted by all who knew him, he departed this life relying with true Christian confidence in the hope of a blessed resurrection through Christ, preserving to the last that which characterised him through life, enmity to no man

Clonmel Herald, Wed. 17 Nov. 1802. Married this morning at St Nicholas Church Cork, Richard Harding Esq. of the Waterford Militia to Miss Mary Patterson daughter of Mr Joseph Patterson of Doneraile Esq.

HARRIS: See Lloyd.

136 HARRISON: Erected in memory of William Harrison of Lincolnshire near Boston by his affectionate widow who died 27 April 1845 aged 63 years.

- 137 HARVEY:** Sacred to the memory of J. N. Allen Harvey died September 7th 1860 aged 10 years.

Wat. News, Fri 14 Sept. 1860, p.2, c.3. September 7 after a tedious illness, from the effects of scarletina, aged ten years, John Newenham, the interesting son of William H. Harvey, Johns Hill.

HARVEY: See Garraway.

- 138 HASSARD:** Sacred to the memory of Captain Jason Hassard, late of Her Majesty's 74th Regiment, who departed this life on the 18th of September 1842. This tribute is erected by his affectionate widow. Here lies also Anne, relict of the late Sir Francis J. Hassard, died May 13th 1854 aged 64 years. Eliza aged 84 years, widow of the above Captain Jason Hassard.

Wat. Mirror, Wed. 21 Sept. 1842, p.3, c.4. Saturday night at Rockingham, his residence in the northern liberties, Jason Hassard Esq. The deceased gentleman was a captain in the 74th Regiment. He served under General Picton through the Peninsular War until the battle of Toulouse, where he received four or five wounds and was taken prisoner.

Wat. News, Fri. 19 May 1854, p.3, c.6. In William Street, Anne relict of Sir Francis J. Hassard, formerly recorder, aged 64 years.

- 139 HASSARD:** Sacred to the memory of Richard Hassard Esquire, second son of Michael Dobbyn Hassard Esquire of Glenville Co. Waterford, who departed this life November 4th 1892 aged 33 years.

Wat. News, 12 Nov. 1892, supp. pp 5-6. The death occurred on Friday last at Rockingham from typhoid fever of Mr Richard Hassard, solicitor, aged 33 years. Over a month since Mr Hassard when crossing from England in his yacht encountered very heavy seas and had a trying time. On landing he did not feel well. After a short time typhoid fever appeared. Mr Hassard was the son of Mr Michael Dobbyn Hassard who was returned to represent the city in 1857. He adopted the legal profession, but having considerable private means, did not regularly practise at it. He was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. About four years since he was married to Miss Hudson, third daughter of Edmond Hudson Esq. of Dublin. Mr Hassard was probably the best all-round athletic of his day. As a cyclist he won all before him, carrying off the principal Irish championships in 1876-77-79 and 81. He was the first Irish cyclist to compete in England. He began to race at the early age of sixteen, and continued on the track for six years. In the rowing world he was a central figure for years. He rowed for the University Rowing Club first and subsequently for the Waterford Boat Club with Hickson, Labat and Burtchaell. He won the Wyfold Cup at Henley Regatta. He also won the Ladies Plate at Henley in 1879. He carried off the Waterford Challenge Cup.

- 140 HASSARD:** Here lies the body of William Henry Hassard Esquire, formerly recorder of the city of Waterford, who died on the 6th of October 1857.

Nation, 17 Oct. 1857, p.111. October 6 at Cheltenham, Wm Henry Hassard Esq. formerly recorder of Waterford.

HAYES: See Peniston.

141 HEARN: Here lies the body of Izabel Hearn, daughter of James and Mary Joanna Hearn of Lisbon, born 15th November 1823, died 7th September 1826. Also here lies the body of Elizabeth Hearn who departed this life the 6th of April 1828 aged 82 years.

142 HEGARTY: Robert Harvey Hegarty died November 2nd 1935 aged 32 years. Also his father George Hegarty died November 22nd 1945 aged 84 years. Edward son of George died October 9th 1954. Catherine wife of George died April 19th 1953. Catherine daughter of George died 30th August 1969.

Evening News, 6 Nov. 1935, p.3, c.3. On November 2nd 1935 at the Military Hospital Tidworth Hants, Robert Harvey Hegarty youngest son of Mr and Mrs G. Hegarty, The Abbey, Ferrybank.

Wat. News, 23 Nov. 1945, p1, c.1. Died on November 22 at his residence The Abbey, Ferrybank, George Hegarty

143 HELLYER: Here lieth the body of Captain John Hellyer who departed this life October 22nd 1817 aged 72 years.

Wat. Mirror, 25 Oct. 1817, p.3, c.4. On Wednesday Mr John Hellyer a most respectable ship master.

144 HINCKS: Here lieth the body of Mr William Hincks who departed this life on the 17 day of June 1792 in the 63 year of his age. Also his daughter Margaret on the 18th November 1805 aged 23 years.

Wat. Herald, Tues. 19 June 1792. Died on Sunday evening at Glasshouse Co. Kilkenny Mr. William Hinck.

Wat. Mirror, 23 Nov. 1805, p.3, c.4. In Wexford Miss Margaret Hincks daughter of the late Mr William Hincks Esq. of Glasshouse County Kilkenny.

145 HINKS: Erected by Ralph Hinks in memory of his beloved mother Anne Hinks alias Timpson and wife of William Hinks. She departed this life on the 12th January 1829 at her son's residence, Rosegarland Cottage, county of Wexford, at the advanced age of 92 years. Here also lies buried Ralph Hinks Esquire who died on the 30th of August 1860, of Suirview and Rosegarland Co. Wexford.

Wat. Mirror, 14 Jan. 1829 p.3, c.3. Sunday last at Rosegarland Cottage County Wexford at the advanced age of 96 years Mrs Hincks, relict of the late William Hincks Esq. of Gurteen County Kilkenny.

Wat. News, Fri. 31 Aug. 1860 p.2, c.3. At Suirview near Waterford on the 23rd, Ralph Hincks Esq. aged 80.

146 HODGE: In memory of Ann Hodge who departed this life July the 9th 1820 aged 9 months.

147 HOEY: Sacred to the memory of Deborah Hoey who departed this life November 11th 1828 aged 73.

148 HORN: In fond memory of James, eldest of John and Isabella Horn, who was drowned while bathing in Tramore Bay 23rd June 1859 aged 18 years.

Wat. Chronicle, 25 June 1859, p.2, c.5. A very dismal event took place on Thursday afternoon in Tramore. Mr James Horne, son of the superintendent of the Neptune Iron Works and himself in the same employment, went to bathe in Tramore Bay near Rhinestark and was unfortunately drowned.

149 HORN: In loving memory of Emily, wife of Andrew Horn of Park Road Waterford, who was called to her eternal home Friday June 13th 1879 aged 33 years.

Wat. News, 13 June 1879, p.2, c.6. This morning at her residence, Park Road, the wife of A. Horne Esq., Manager, Neptune Iron Works.

150 HORNE: Erected by John Horne, London, in memory of his father Matthew who died March 8th 1878 aged 91 years. Also his mother Mary who died November 14th 1896 aged 84 years.

151 HORNECK: [brass tablet inside church] The carpeting in the sanctuary and in the aisles was dedicated on September 27th 1959 to the glory of God and in loving memory of William and Margaret Horneck of Carrick on Suir. Presented by their daughter Frances.

152 HORNICK: Sacred to the memory of William Hornick of Waterford, who departed this life 28th October 1847 aged 49 years. Erected as a testimony of respect by his affectionate widow and children. Also Mary his beloved wife who departed this life 17th March 1853 aged 51 years.

153 HOWARD: Here lieth the body of Robert Howard who departed this life April the 4th 1760 aged 34 years. Also the body of Mary Costelloe alias Delahont wife of William Costelloe who departed this life February the 23rd 1781 aged 49.

154 HOWARD: Here lieth the body of John Howard Esquire who departed this life on the 3rd day of July 1807 aged 59 years. Also his wife Margaret Howard who departed this life the 23rd July 1808 aged 62 years. Sacred to the memory of William Biston, Surgeon, Royal Navy, died 23rd January 1801 aged 65 years. Also of Frances Biston his wife and sister of the above John Howard died 14th June 1837 aged 9 [sic?] years.

Freeman's Journal, Thurs. 28 April 1791. Married at Waterford, Richard Frizzel Esq. of Rathfarnham to Miss Elinor Biston daughter of Dr William Biston of the Royal Navy.

Wat. Mirror, 30 July 1808, p.3, c.3. In Milford Mrs Howard relict of the late Mr John Howard of this city.

Wat. Chronicle, Sat. 17 June 1837, p.3, c.3. On the 15th at her lodgings in the Widows Apartments Mrs Frances Biston widow of the late Wm Biston, Surgeon in H. M. Navy.

- 155 HULINGS:** Here lies the body of Mrs Sarah Hulings, wife of Mr. John Hulings of Mt Hulings, who died September 7th 1776 aged 72 years. Here also lieth the body of the above said John Hulings, who proud [] with this ample scope was got, born, lived and died in hope of a happy resurrection on the 21st day of July in the year 1779 aged 77 years.

Ramsey's Wat. Chronicle, Fri. 6 to Tues. 10 Sept. 1776. On Saturday night at Mount Hulings in the County of Kilkenny the wife of Mr John Hulings.

Dublin Hibernian Journal, Fri. 30 July 1779. Died at Waterford in a very advanced age, Mr John Hulings.

- 156 HUNT:** [marble tablet inside church] Sacred to the memory of Margaret, wife of Reverend Edward Hunt of Jerpoint and daughter of John Greene of Greenville Esquire, who departed this life the 14th February 1810 in the 30th year of her age.

Wat. Mirror, 17 Feb. 1810, p.3, c.3. On Tuesday night in William Street the lady of Rev. Edward Hunt of Greenville.

- 157 HYNS:** Here lyeth ye body of Edmond Hyns who departed this life November the 9th 1770 aged 37 years.

- 158 JAMESON:** Sacred to the memory of Samuel Philip Walter, second son of Samuel Roger and Sarah Hind Jameson. He departed this life June 10 1854 age 2 years and 9 months.

- 159 JEFFARES:** To the memory of Ann the beloved wife of William Jeffares who died January 7th 1870 aged 72. Erected by her son Sam.

- 160 JENKINS:** Here lieth the body of Margaret Jenkins, wife of Rhys Jenkins mariner of Swansea, who departed this life June 14 1833 aged 38 years.

Wat. Mirror, 15 June 1833. p.3, c.3. Thursday night Mrs Jenkins, wife of Captain Jenkins of the *Avon* lying at our Quay, was dreadfully injured by fire in the cabin of the vessel. Captain Jenkins himself was slightly burned. Their children, 3 in number, who were also in the cabin, escaped unhurt. She was removed to the Leper Hospital yesterday.

Evening Mirror, 17 June 1833, p.3, c.3. Mrs Jenkins the wife of Captain Jenkins of the Brig *Avon* died during Friday night of the dreadful burning she received on the night previous.

- 161 JOHN:** Erected by William Morgan in memory of Peter John master mariner of Solva. He departed this life 14 March 1855 aged 63 years.

162 JONES: Sacred to the memory of Rebecca the wife of George Jones late of Bishopsteignton county of Devon who departed this life the 17 December 1841 aged 73 years.

163 JONES: In memory of William Jones, late master of the schooner *Martha Pope*. A native of the parish of Llansihangelgenerglyn near Aberystwyth, Cardiganshire, who departed this life the 17th February 1833 aged 44 years. Also in memory of Catherine the beloved wife of the above named William Jones who departed this life September 15th 1837 aged 49 years.

Wat. Chronicle, Tues. 19 Feb. 1833, p.3, c.5. On Sunday morning at his house in King Street Capt. William Jones of the schooner *Martha Pope* of this port.

164 JONES: Here lies the remains of Jane the daughter of said William Jones who died on Friday the 23rd August 1833 aged 15 years.

Wat. Mirror, 24 Aug. 1833, p.3, c.4. Yesterday morning in Queen Street Miss Jones daughter of the late Captain Jones of the *Martha Pope*.

JONES: See Geale.

165 JORDAN: To the memory of Martha Jordan who departed this life on the 12th of July 1848 aged 36 years. Deeply regretted by her beloved husband and family.

JOYCE: See Angel.

(To be continued)

THE GEOGRAPHY OF DEISE SURNAMES

by Jack Burtchaell

Introduction

The variety of surnames in Ireland is outstandingly rich for a country of its size, and is chiefly the result of two factors. Firstly, Ireland was one of the first countries to develop a system of hereditary surnames,¹ a development credited to Brian Boru, though he was probably not solely responsible. At any rate there existed a hereditary surname structure well before the Norman invasion. Secondly, the successive invasions, colonisations and infiltration of a variety of peoples, particularly from the twelfth century onwards, enriched the variety of Irish surnames. The Normans introduced such well-known Irish names as Butler, Cusack, Dillon, Fitzgerald, Power, Purcell, Roche, Tobin and Walsh. The successive plantations of various parts of Ireland from the sixteenth century onwards added another selection of surnames, some now quite numerous, such as Davis, Hamilton, Harvey, Mitchell and Shaw.

A complicating factor is that many Gaelic family names were anglicised during the subsequent centuries and today do not appear Gaelic in origin. Examples would include Bird for MacAneeny, Heanahan and Heaney, Broderick for O'Broder, Ingoldsby for Gallogly, Kingston for MacCloughry, Molyneux for Mulligan, Rabbitte for O'Conneen and Warren for Murnane. Similarly, such names as Arkins, Blowick, Conwell, Cuffe, Diamond, Fortune, Hynes, Kett, Nestor, Prunty, Swords and Toner are despite appearances Gaelic in origin.

Another feature of the anglicising process was the near-universal deletion of the prefixes Mac and O during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is only towards the start of the present century that some surnames reacquired their Mac or O prefix, but now invariably inserted onto an anglicised surname.

By the present century Irish surnames had developed through the partial gaelicisation of Norman surnames such as Archdeacon to Mac Oda or Cody: the infusion of new English and Scottish surnames during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and the anglicisation of both Gaelic and Norman surnames during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In certain parts of the country French Huguenot, German Palatine and Jewish names had added further diversity.

However, this diversity does not occur at random across the Irish landscape. Surnames are often particularly associated with certain areas of territories, such as MacNamara and McMahan with Clare, Ryan with Tipperary, O'Reilly with Cavan, Maguire with Fermanagh, Gallagher with Donegal, etc. Waterford was once disingenuously described as a poor (Power) barren (Barron) country, and indeed parts of county Waterford do have a preponderance of Powers, though Barron, while associated with the area, is nowhere a very common surname.

1 Edward MacLysaght, *Irish Families*, 3rd edn (revised), 1972.

Surname censuses

This article seeks to examine the geography of the commoner surnames of the Decies. Its chief source is the computerised parish registers held by the Waterford Heritage Genealogical Centre at Jenkins Lane, comprising over 700,000 records for the Catholic parishes of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore. These records span the years between 1706 and the turn of the twentieth century.²

Other examinations of the incidence of particular surnames in specific locations do exist, the earliest systematic listing of surnames being the Census of Ireland circa 1659 which lists the principal names at the end of the entry for each barony. Much has been said about the accuracy of the 1659 census but it is the best census we have until the nineteenth century.

Table 1
Commonest surnames, 1659

Slieveardagh	Shea	Tobin	Meagher
Middlethird (Tip.)	Ryan	Meagher	Butler
Iffa and Offa	Lonergan	Daniel/McDaniell	Prendergast
Deaces	Power	Flynn	Foley
Coshmore/Coshbride	McShane	Connell/O'Connell	Flynn
Glenahiry	Foley	Power	Kelly & Moressy
Upperthird	Power	Phelan	Flynn
Middlethird (Wat.)	Power	Phelan	Brennagh
Galtire	Phelan	Power	Flynn
City & Liberties	Welsh	Power	Phelan/Whelan

The above table lists the three most numerous surnames in each barony according to the 1659 census. It contains seventeen surnames of Gaelic or Norman origin and displays distinct spatial variation both within and between the two counties. With the exception of the barony of Coshmore and Coshbride, the surnames listed in 1659 as most numerous in particular baronies were broadly similar to what emerged from the eighteenth and nineteenth century baptismal records.

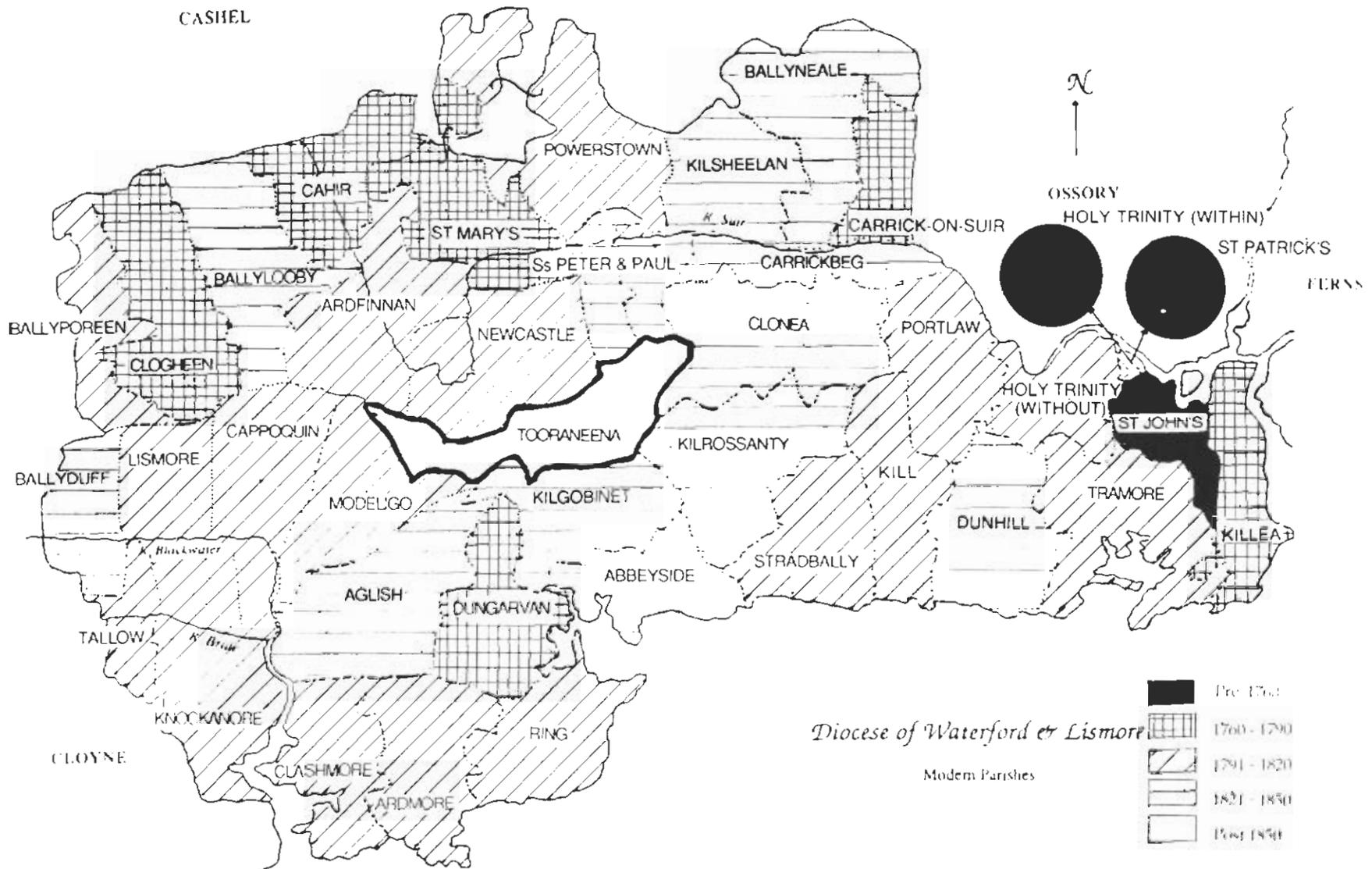
R. E. Matheson, the Registrar General for Ireland, published a special report on the surnames in Ireland in 1909. It utilises the registration of births for 1890 and lists the number of births registered by surname for each county for the most common surnames. This work has become a landmark study, and justly so. This article seeks to refine the mesh of interpretation from county level down to parish level, and to widen the sample from one year (as in Matheson's study) to as wide a sample as survives in local parish records.

Given the legal and political strictures with which the Catholic Church had to contend, it is not surprising that records do not survive from the late seventeenth, and only rarely from the early eighteenth century. Fourteen parishes have records commencing in the eighteenth century, and only Tooraneena had to wait till after the Famine to have surviving Catholic parish records. The keeping of systematic records started earlier in the towns and diffused outwards to more rural locations. Even where parish records do survive, they are not always fully accurate or universal in coverage, and gaps may occur where particular records

² The use of these records is due entirely to the co-operation, hard work, improvisation and dedication of Eddie Synnott, Carmel Meehan and Fr Michael O'Connor of Waterford Heritage Survey. Their input was much more than helpful, it was inspiring.

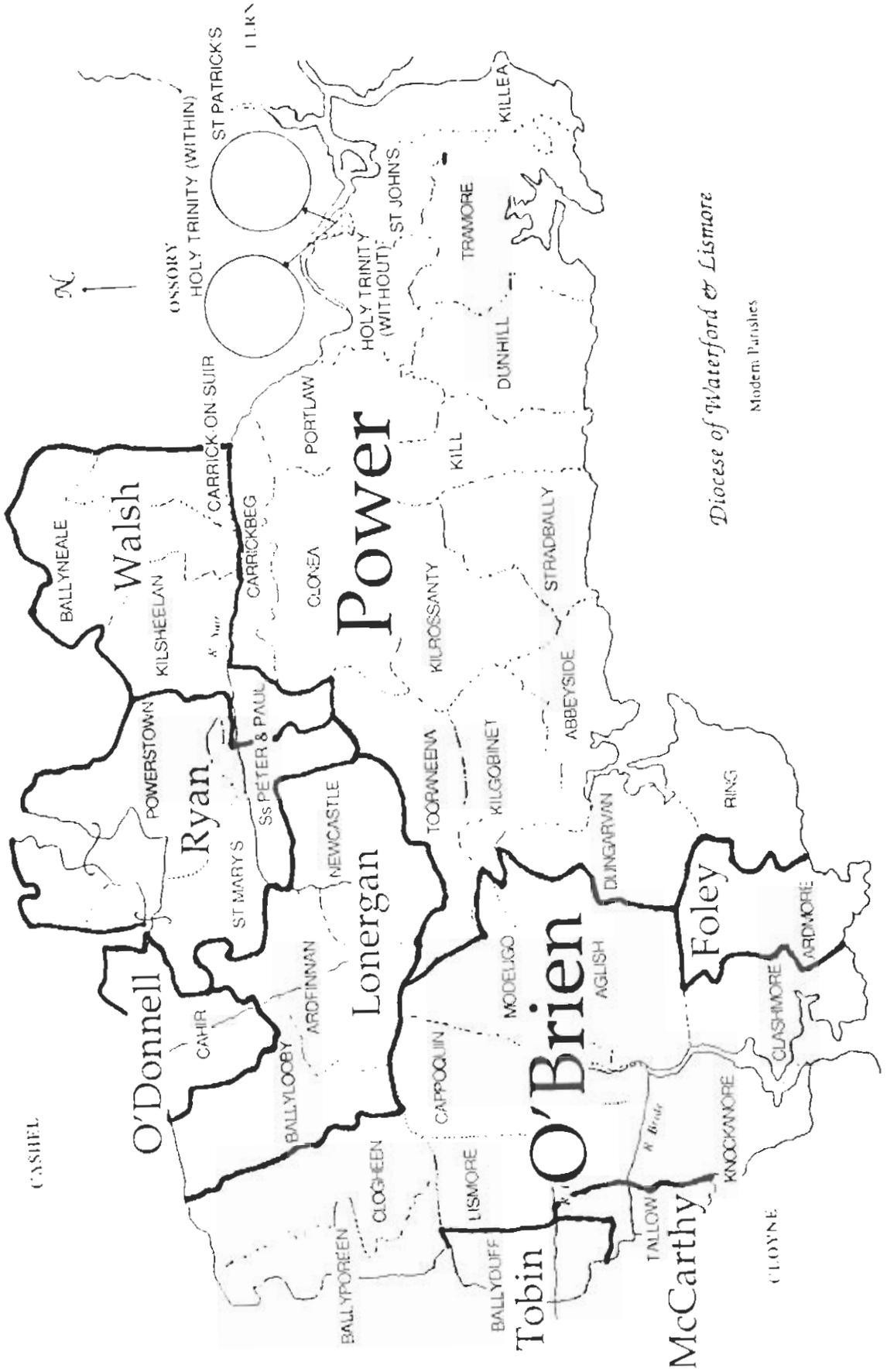
Earliest Surviving R.C. Parish Records

Map 1



Map 2

Most Numerous Surname in R.C. Registers



may have been lost or destroyed. But the surviving Catholic parish records do provide us with the most comprehensive data-base ever utilised for the study of the incidence and distribution of Irish surnames. Map 1 illustrates the earliest surviving parish registers in the diocese.

Commonest surname in each parish

The most numerous surname in each parish is shown on Map 2. A distinct regional geography of surnames emerges. The Power families predominate in east county Waterford, to an even greater extent than that which emerges from the 1659 census. From the mountainous marches of Tooraneena and Kilgobinet, right across the county to Waterford Harbour and including the city, the Power name predominates. Beyond the Comeraghs, the O'Briens are most numerous along the lower Blackwater valley, the O'Briens are also predominant in the south Tipperary parishes of Ballyporeen and Clogheen. The Cork surname McCarthy is the most numerous in that most Cork-like of all Waterford parishes, Tallow. Tobin likewise reaches top spot in only one parish, Ballyduff.

Across the watershed of the Knockmealdowns there is a perplexing variety of dominant surnames. The O'Briens hold sway in Ballyporeen and Clogheen, and the O'Donnells in Cahir. In the great bend of the river Suir through the parishes of Ballylooby, Ardfinnan and Newcastle, Lonergan is the most common family name. The Ryans are pre-eminent in the Clonmel parishes of St Mary's, SS Peter and Paul and Powerstown. Lower down the Suir through Kilsheelan, Ballyneale and Carrick-on-Suir, the heartland of the Walsh family of south Kilkenny extends into Tipperary. Walsh is also the second most numerous surname over most of east county Waterford and is in third place as far west as Ardfinnan, Modeligo, Lismore and Knockanore.

While Map 2 illustrates quite distinct regional surname geography, it is possible to go one step further by looking at the incidence of the commoner surnames right across the entire diocese. This method is a far more subtle tool for examination of the nuances of surname distribution. As can be seen from Map 2, the Anglo-Norman surname Power dominates east Waterford and is reinforced by the Walshes. Despite this Anglo-Norman dominance, local Gaelic surnames are found in considerable concentrations, such as Flynn and the Phelan/Whelan families which are recorded here at some twelve times the national average as measured by Matheson.

The following maps show the incidence of particular surnames as a percentage of total population in each parish across the diocese.

Power

While Matheson's survey recognises Power as the commonest surname in county Waterford, as Map 2 shows it did not dominate county-wide, nor was its incidence uniform even in the areas of east Waterford where it was the most numerous, as Map 3 illustrates.

Powers are heavily concentrated in a core area of the parishes of Clonea, Portlaw, Kill, Dunhill and Tramore, where they exceed 10% of the total population or forty times their incidence nationwide. In three of these core parishes - Tramore 16%, Dunhill 15.6% and Clonea 12% - more than one person in eight was called Power. Heavy concentrations of the surname Power surround the core area through the ring of parishes of Stradbally, Kilrossanty, Carrickbeg, Holy Trinity Without, Killea and the city parishes, all of which have over 7% of their population

named Power.

An intermediate zone in mid-county sees Power as still the commonest surname, but at a considerably reduced level of between 4% and 7%. The Blackwater valley and south Tipperary contain very few people called Power. Beyond the Blackwater and above Clonmel the name accounts for less than 1% of the total population.

This distribution shows that very limited movement of people occurred from the middle ages right down to this century. The Powers are found where they established themselves in the late twelfth century and this pattern will be repeated for other families. This type of mapping may yet prove to be a useful indicator of late medieval and early modern settlement geography where records do not exist.

Walsh

In 1890 Matheson listed the surname Walsh as the fourth most numerous in Ireland, with an incidence of 0.88% of the total population. He found it to be the second commonest surname in county Waterford and tenth on the list for Tipperary. Yet in county Waterford it is only in the portion of Kilsheelan parish which extends into county Waterford that we find the name as the most numerous. The surname Walsh dominates much of south Kilkenny and the south Tipperary parishes of Carrick-on-Suir, Ballyneale and Kilsheelan. Map 4 shows Walsh as a percentage of the total population. It picks up a core of Walsh population stretching from Ring through Kilgobinet to Kill and Ballyneale which exceeds 4%, almost five times the national average. In both Clonea and Tooraneena more than 5% of the population were named Walsh.

Nowhere in the diocese does Walsh reach the concentrations of Powers, but to counterbalance this, in no parish is Walsh less than 1.2% of the total population. Walsh does not display anything like the regional concentration of the Powers, which is to be expected as nationwide the Walshes were three and a half times as numerous. Map 4 illustrates a pattern for the parish of Ring which will emerge again and again: in terms of its surnames Ring has more in common with the east Waterford parishes than with its immediate neighbours to the north and west.

O'Brien

The surname O'Brien, Bryan or Brien was the third most numerous according to Matheson in both counties Tipperary and Waterford in 1890. Nationwide he estimated it as the sixth commonest surname, with 0.71% of the Irish population having it as their surname. O'Brien was the commonest family name in eight parishes in the west of the diocese. Only in two parishes is the incidence of O'Brien less than the national average, Newcastle 0.49% and Dunhill 0.59%. In Killea the figure is almost precisely the national average. Everywhere else O'Briens are more numerous than in Ireland as a whole.

The O'Brien homeland is of course Thomond, from whence with their Dál gCais tribesmen they attained the throne of Munster and later high kingship of Ireland. The Decies O'Briens derive from a branch of the family loyal to Turlough Maol (the Bald) O'Brien, king of Thomond in 1367. Having been ousted from power by members of his own family he and his followers moved into the Desmond territories and were given lands on the frontier between the Desmond lordship and Power territories, along the eastern flank of the Comeraghs.

In more recent centuries (Map 5) the chief concentrations of O'Briens are a little west of their original tenures. This may be due to successful Power

expansion in the later middle ages or to opportunities taken by the vacuum created at the destruction of the Desmond lordship and plantation of west Waterford in the late sixteenth century. O'Briens occur at over five times the national average in the parishes of Clashmore, Aglish, Lismore, Ballyduff, Ballyporeen, Clogheen and Ballylooby. The highest concentrations are in Ballyporeen, where O'Briens make up 6.32% of the total population - almost nine times the national average. Significant O'Brien numbers away from their western core occur at Kill (2.84%) and Tramore (2.70%).

Murphy

Murphy was the fourth commonest surname in county Waterford according to Matheson, and he ranked it the commonest surname in Ireland as a whole, accounting for 1.33% of the total population. Only one other surname (Kelly) exceeded 1% of the total population. Several different Gaelic septs had their name anglicised into Murphy. There were Murphy septs in Tyrone and Sligo, but the largest Murphy clans were those of Leinster, centred on Wexford, and of Munster, based around Muskerry in Cork. Murphy ranks as the most numerous surname in Carlow and Wexford in Leinster and Armagh in Ulster. It is in second place in Kildare and Cork, and third place in Kilkenny, Wicklow and Louth. Murphy is in fourth place in county Kerry.

The distribution of Murphy in the diocese of Waterford and Lismore (Map 6) shows evidence that the Decies Murphys come from two different septs of the name. Two distinct concentrations occur, one in east Waterford, which is an extension of the south Kilkenny Murphys, and a part of the great MacMurrough clan of the Wexford Murphys. In Dunhill Murphy accounts for 3.05% of the population, the highest in the diocese. The neighbouring city parishes of Holy Trinity Within, Holy Trinity Without and St Patrick's have more than 2% of their populations with the surname Murphy, and it is the third commonest surname in all three. The central part of the diocese is poor hunting-ground for Murphys, containing less than half the national average.

Two quite separate concentrations occur in the west of the diocese, at Ardfinnan with an incidence of 2.44% - where it is the second commonest name in the parish - and also on the western bank of the Blackwater. The Blackwater Murphys are 2.65% of the population at Knockanore and 2.57% at Tallow. Both these western concentrations of Murphy would seem to be the result of migration eastwards by the Cork Murphy sept of Muskerry, and are quite distinct from the Murphys of east Waterford.

Ryan

The surname Ryan (Map 7) is the most numerous in both Tipperary and Limerick according to Matheson and the fifth most numerous in Waterford. It is also prominent in Kilkenny where it is number four. Nationwide it is the eighth most numerous, with 0.67% of the island's population bearing the name. Originally most Ryans were O Maolriain from north-west Tipperary,; a separate sept, the Ryans of Idrone in southern Carlow, provides the origin of the Kilkenny, Carlow, Kildare and Wexford Ryans.

In the diocese of Waterford and Lismore Ryan is primarily a Tipperary phenomenon. It is the most numerous name in the Clonmel area. Though only the third most numerous surname in Ballylooby after Lonergan and O'Brien, it still accounts for 3.77% of the total population of the parish, some five and a half times the national average. Ryan is also the third commonest surname in Cahir,

Carrick-on-Suir and Kilsheelan. The only parish exclusively in county Waterford where Ryan exceeds 2% is Abbeyside. The anomalous position of Abbeyside is illustrated here, but this is not unique - in several instances the surname geography of Abbeyside bears significant similarities with south Tipperary. Over most of the rest of the diocese Ryan forms between 1% and 2% of the total population. Stradbally has the national average population of Ryans at 0.67%; Kilgobinet, Dunhill, Clashmore, Kill, and Ballyduff have fewer Ryans than the national average. The low incidence of Ryans in Ballyporeen is also noteworthy.

McGrath

The surname McGrath ranks according to Matheson as sixth in Waterford and ninth in Tipperary. It is the fifty-fifth commonest surname in Ireland, and one in every four hundred of our population bears the name. There are two main septs of McGrath in Ireland, one originating in Donegal and Fermanagh, and the Munster McGraths originating in Co. Clare but now much more numerous in the Decies.

Like the other Clare name in Decies, the O'Briens, the Clare McGraths moved into the Fitzgerald of Desmond lordship and received land grants in Sliabh gCua (Map 8). This is precisely the area where they are most numerous today. They lost much of their holdings in Sliabh gCua and neighbourhood during the devastation which accompanied the Munster Plantation.

Tooraneena is the heartland of the Decies McGraths, where they account for 4.19% of the total population and are the fourth commonest name, at levels seventeen times the national average. In three adjacent parishes - Newcastle, Modeligo and Cappoquin - they exceed 2%, as also in Ballyporeen. The McGraths never succeeded in populating the prosperous parishes to the north and east of the Comeraghs to any great extent. Ardfinnan, contiguous to the McGrath core area, has a McGrath population of only 0.31%, little above the national average of 0.25%. Clonea likewise has only 0.68% of its population bearing the McGrath surname. Otherwise the McGraths have a fairly regular diffusion pattern from their home base, Ballyneale and Killea having low densities, and Ballyduff the lowest incidence of all with only 0.13%. This rate in Ballyduff, at only one twenty-second of the rate of the neighbouring parish of Ballyporeen, clearly illustrates the formidable barrier presented to human interaction by the intervening Knockmealdown mountains.

Phelan/Whelan

The most numerous Gaelic family native to the Decies is rendered in English variously as Phelan, Whelan and Healan. It is the forty-fourth commonest surname in Ireland and is borne by 0.29% of Ireland's population. It is the third most numerous name in Waterford. The Phelan form is heavily concentrated in Waterford and Kilkenny while the Whelan form is more widely scattered. The original sept, the O Faoláins, were the princes of Decies prior to the Norman invasion.

The distribution of Phelans/Whelans is shown on Map 9. The name exceeds 3% of the total population in an arc of territory through Tramore, Dunhill, Portlawn, Clonea, Tooraneena, Kilgobinet and Ring. In this swath of land it is at ten times the national average. In Clonea it is the third commonest surname after Power and Walsh. Contiguous to the heartland is an aureole of territory where Phelan/Whelan exceeds 2.2% of the total population, seven times the national

average. West Waterford and south Tipperary have far smaller numbers, generally less than 1%, with the anomalous Ballyduff outlier where 2.06% of the population are of O Faoláin stock. Cahir and Tallow are the only parishes in the diocese where the O Faoláins are less numerous than the national average.

Foley

Another Gaelic sept native to the Decies is Ó Foghladha, anglicised Foley or Fowloo. It is the sixtieth commonest surname in Ireland, accounting for 0.24% of the population. It is the eighth commonest name in county Waterford. Foleys are heavily concentrated in the barony of Decies within Drum, especially the parish of Ardmore (Map 10). In Ardmore Foley is the commonest surname, with 5.11% or one more than one in twenty of the parish population bearing the name. This massive concentration is over twenty-one times the national average. The adjacent parishes of Clashmore, Ring, Dungarvan, Abbeyside and Cappoquin all hold Foley populations of over 2%.

The Foleys are comparatively scarce west of the Blackwater. The mountain barrier of the Knockmealdowns was an even more durable obstacle, with the south Tipperary parishes of Ballyporeen, Clogheen, Cahir, Ardfinnan, Ballyneale and SS Peter & Paul returning figures below the national average. Clogheen has a Foley population of only 0.07%, less than one-third the national average, though it is only thirty miles from Ardmore where the surname is twenty one times the national average. Few phenomena have such a steep spatial gradient in Ireland as the distribution of this surname.

Flynn

The Gaelic surname Ó Floinn derives from Flann, meaning one of ruddy complexion. There were several different septs who bore the name. At least two originated in Cork and these are probably the ancestors of the Waterford Flynns. Nationwide Flynn is the forty-first commonest surname, with 0.3% of the national population. In the Decies (Map 11) Flynn is the ninth commonest name in county Waterford but is much less common in county Tipperary.

There are two concentrations of the surname in the county, one centred on the south-east of the county, the second around the parish of Abbeyside. In Dunhill and Killea Flynns are the third most numerous name, with 3.65% and 2.33% respectively, between eight and twelve times the national average. The western core is even stronger: in Abbeyside Flynns make up 4.08% of the total population, the second most numerous surname after Power. The western Flynns are also numerous in Kilgobinet, Modeligo, Aglish and Ardmore, where in each case they exceed the national average by at least sixfold. In Aglish, at 2.7% of the total population, Flynn is the third most numerous surname. Across south Tipperary the Flynns are generally less than 1.5% of the total population, with the exception of Ballyneale.

Morrissey

Morrissey is a name with complicated origins. Some Morrisseys may be of Gaelic stock, but these are mostly to be found in Connaught. Some may be variants of Fitzmaurice, but most Decies Morrisseys are reckoned to be the descendants of the Norman family of De Marisco, associated with the house of Ormonde. In the diocese of Waterford and Lismore Morrissey has a distribution which contradicts this (Map 12). The Morrisseys are most heavily concentrated along the frontier zone between the Norman lordships, a pattern which mirrors many Gaelic

families, e.g. Foley and McGrath. The Morrisseys are most numerous in Abbeyside, where they comprise 2.8% of the population and are the third most numerous surname. In four adjacent parishes the Morrissey population exceeds 2%: Ring, Aglish, Kilrossanty and Newcastle. The intervening parishes stretching from Ardmore across Sliabh gCua to Ballylooby have significant numbers also. Elsewhere with the exception of Tramore the Morrisseys are less than 1.5% of the total population. They are virtually absent from Ballyduff (0.15%) and Ballyporeen (0.11%) and are also very scarce in the Waterford city parishes.

Fitzgerald

The Fitzgeralds were one of the most important Norman families to establish themselves in Ireland. There were two main branches of the Geraldines, centered on Kildare and Desmond. Between 1329 and 1601 sixteen earls of Desmond were among the élite few that dominated Irish life. Their vast lands included most of the western part of county Waterford, and along with the Powers and the Ormonde Butlers they jockeyed for power, position, privilege and profit throughout the later middle ages. They were eventually destroyed as a political and military force in the late sixteenth century and their lands forfeited and colonised by English settlers. Minor branches of the family survive to this day, e.g. the Knight of Glin and the Knight of Kerry.

Though not among the fifteen commonest names in either Waterford or Tipperary, the Fitzgeralds are numerous in parts of both counties (Map 13). Nationally the Fitzgeralds are the thirty-sixth commonest, with 0.31% of the population bearing the name. In the Decies they are found primarily between the mouths of the Mahon and the Blackwater rivers. In Ardmore parish they comprise 3.37% of the total population or almost eleven times the national average. Here they are the third commonest surname. In neighbouring Clashmore, with 2.31% of total population, they are the second commonest name after O'Brien. Significant concentrations also occur in Kilrossanty, where Fitzgerald is the third commonest surname, and Stradbally, Kilgobinet, Modeligo and Ballyporeen, where over 2% of the total population are named Fitzgerald. A glaring void emerges in the riverine parishes of south Tipperary upstream from Clonmel: this is Lonergan territory and the Fitzgeralds are virtually absent. In Ardfinnan the incidence of Fitzgeralds is less than one quarter of the national average.

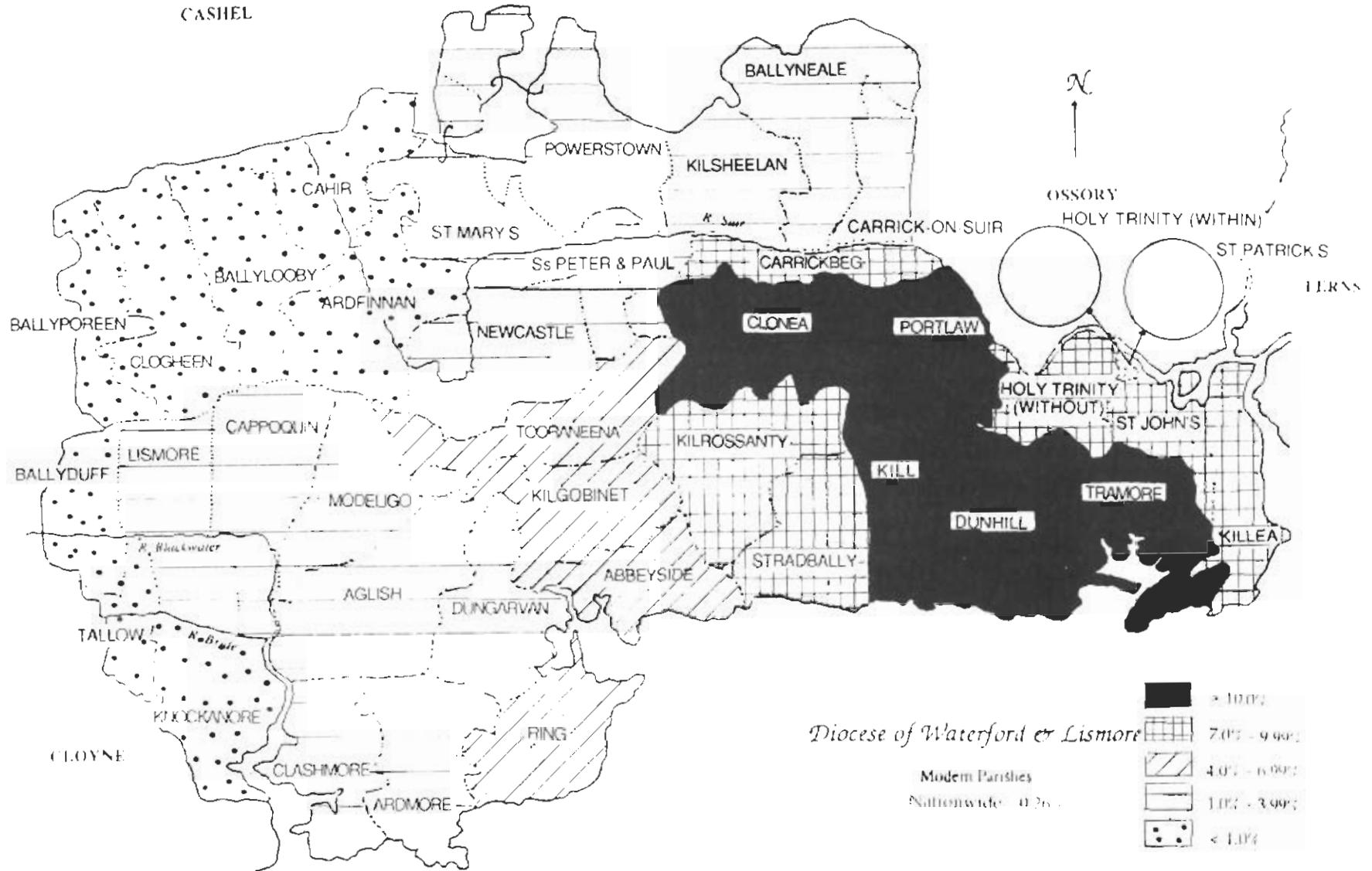
Lonergan

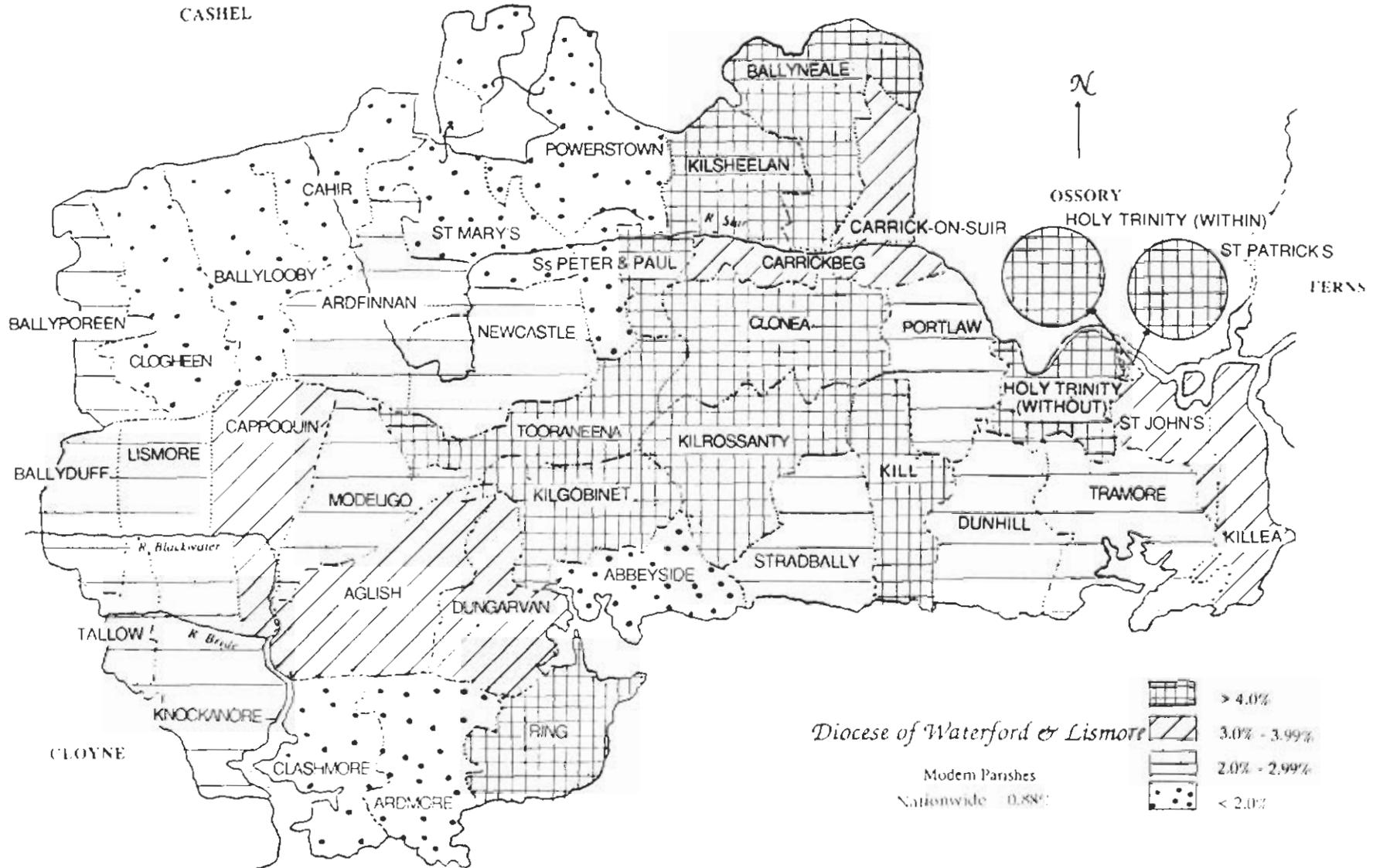
One of the most dramatic distributions of any name in the Decies is that of Lonergan (Map 14). The Gaelic family Ó Longargain, according to Mac Lysaght, in pre-Norman times inhabited the part of county Tipperary on the shores of Lough Derg. The advancing Butlers forced them south to the great bend of the Suir where they are found in large numbers to this day. Matheson places them as the twelfth commonest surname in county Tipperary. Their concentration in this area is by any measure remarkable. Lonergan is the commonest surname in three contiguous parishes: Ballylooby, Ardfinnan and Newcastle. It is the second commonest surname in Cahir and Clogheen and third in Powerstown. In its core area of Ballylooby, Ardfinnan and Newcastle it exceeds 4% of the total population: in Clogheen it stands at 3.41%, in Cahir and Powerstown it is greater than 2.5%. In the adjacent parishes of Clonmel, Kilsheelan and Ballyneale it is over 1%.

Elsewhere the Lonergans are largely absent. In no less than fourteen Waterford parishes, less than 0.1% of the population bear this name. In Ballyduff no baptism was ever registered for a Lonergan. No other family studied has

Map 3

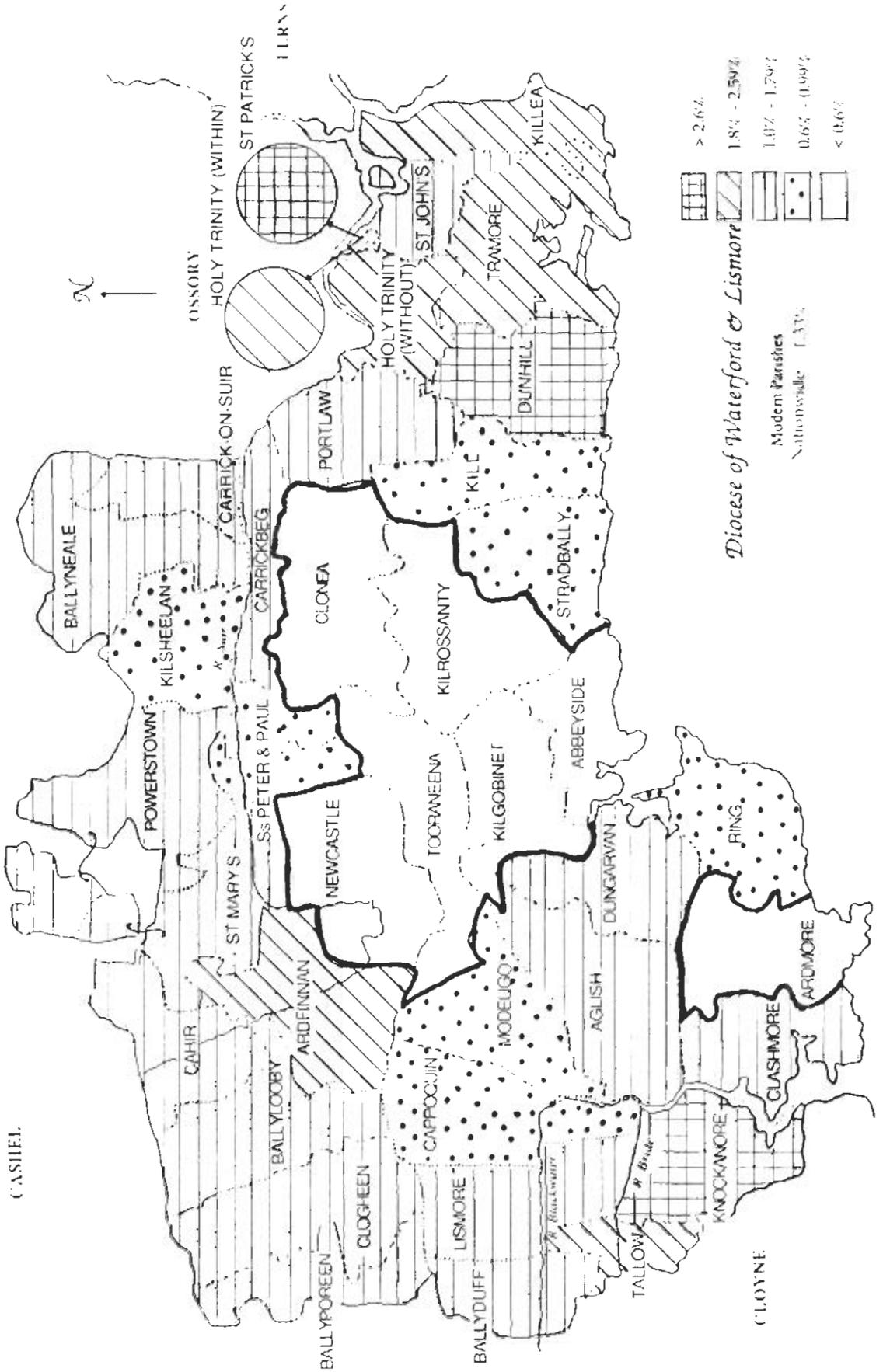
Power as a percentage of total population





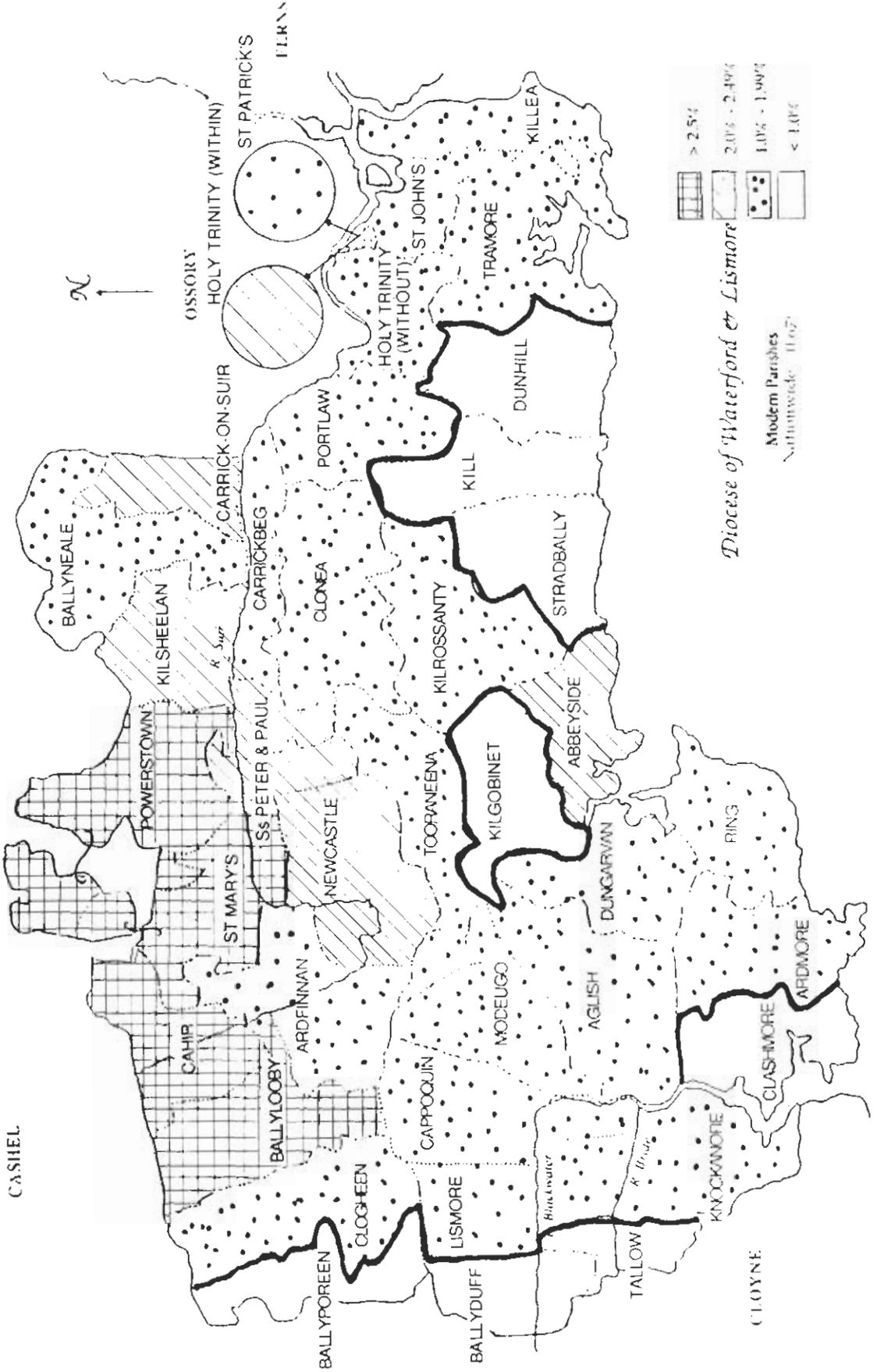
Map 6

Murphy as a percentage of total population



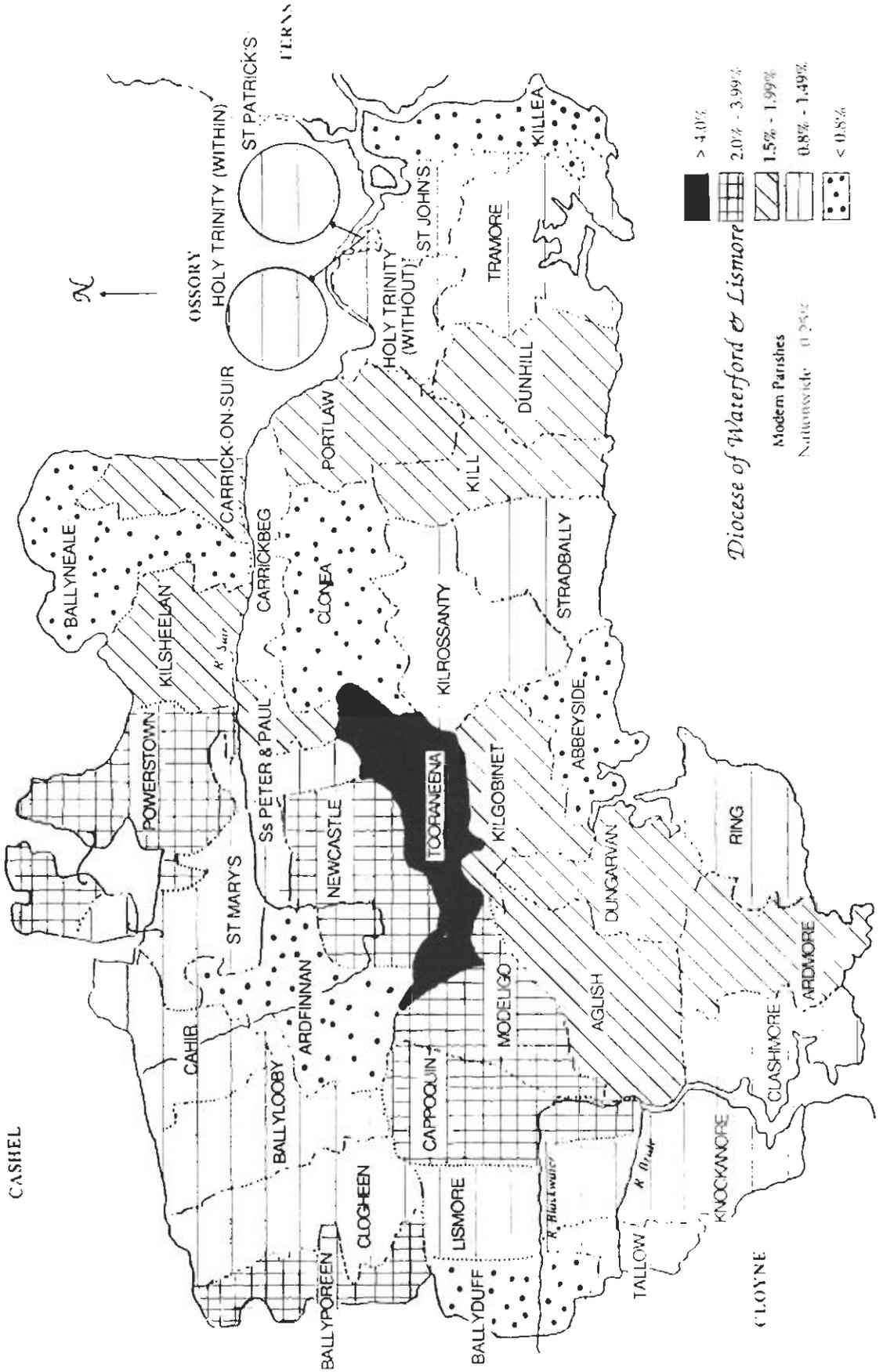
Map 7

Ryan as a percentage of total population



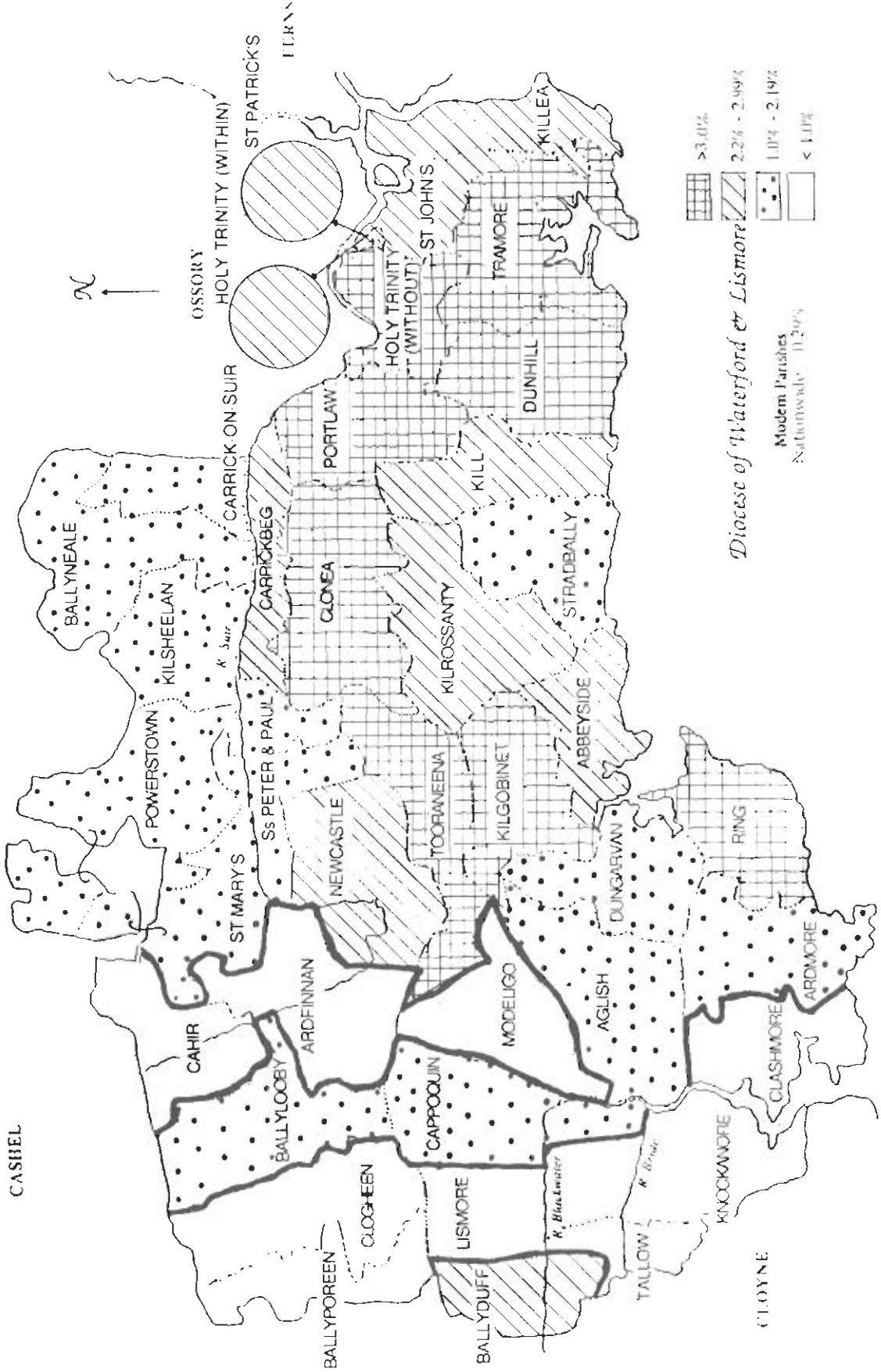
Map 8

McGrath as a percentage of total population



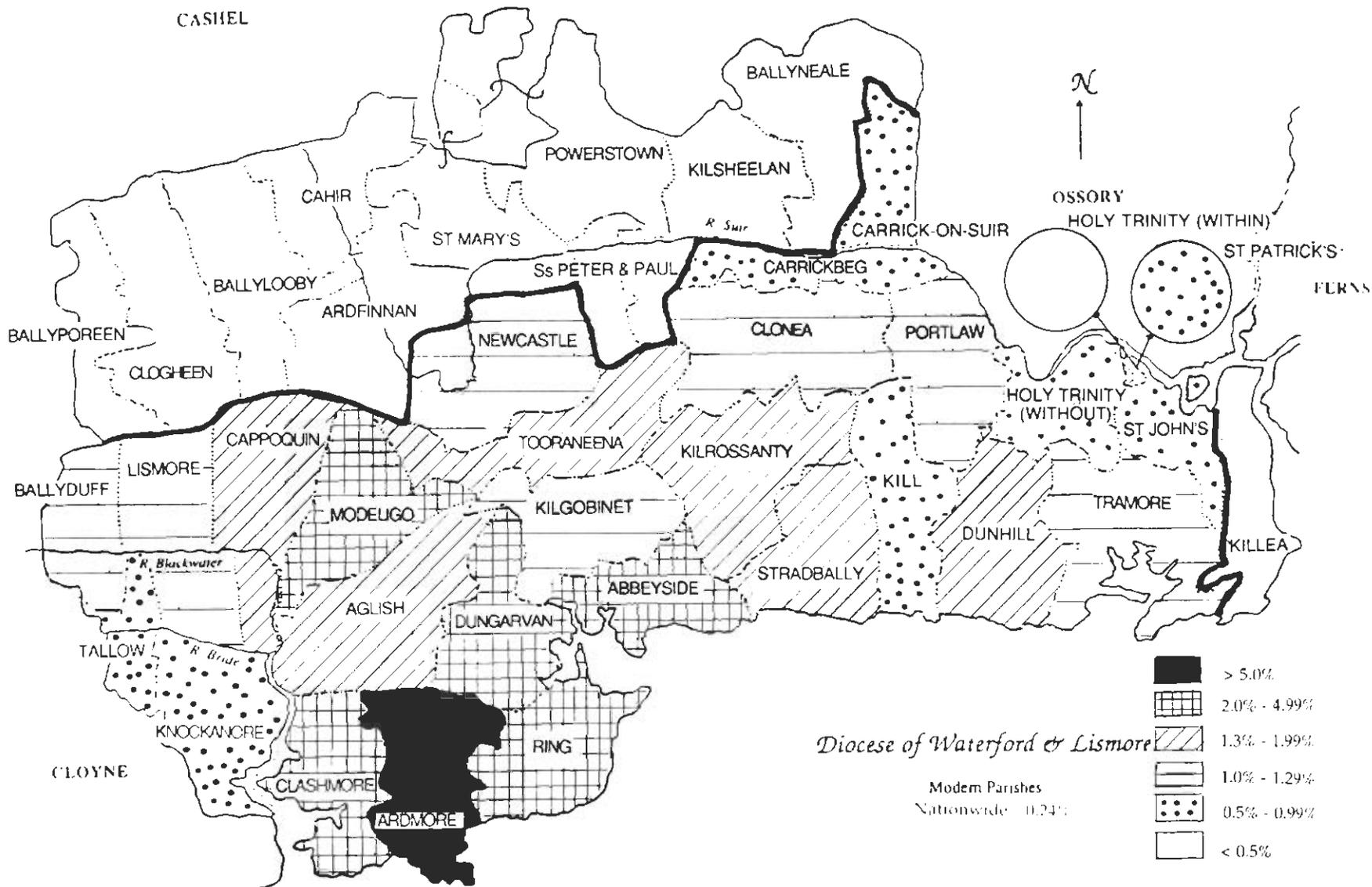
Map 9

Whelan/Phelan as a percentage of total population



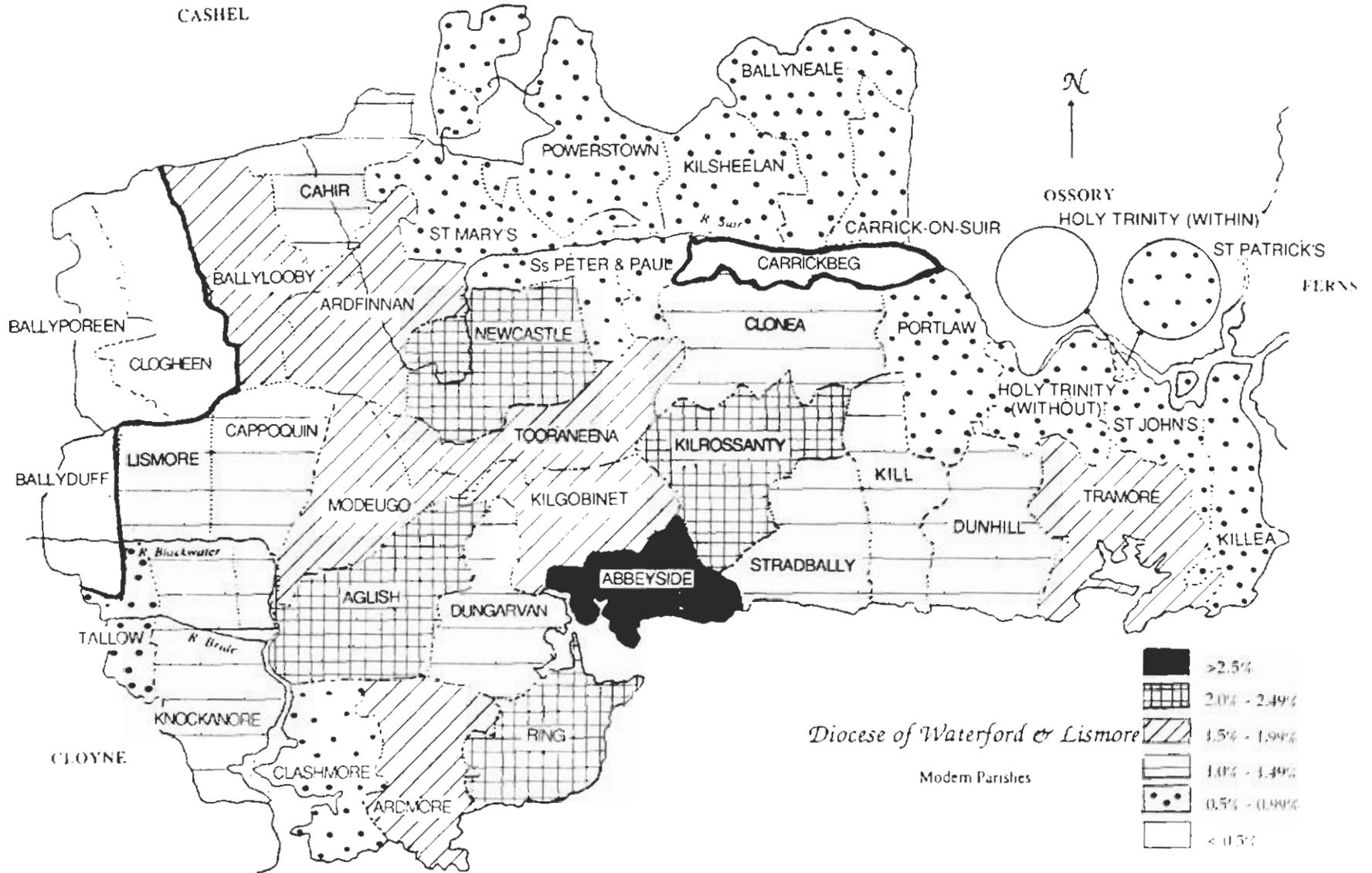
Foley as a percentage of total population

Map 10



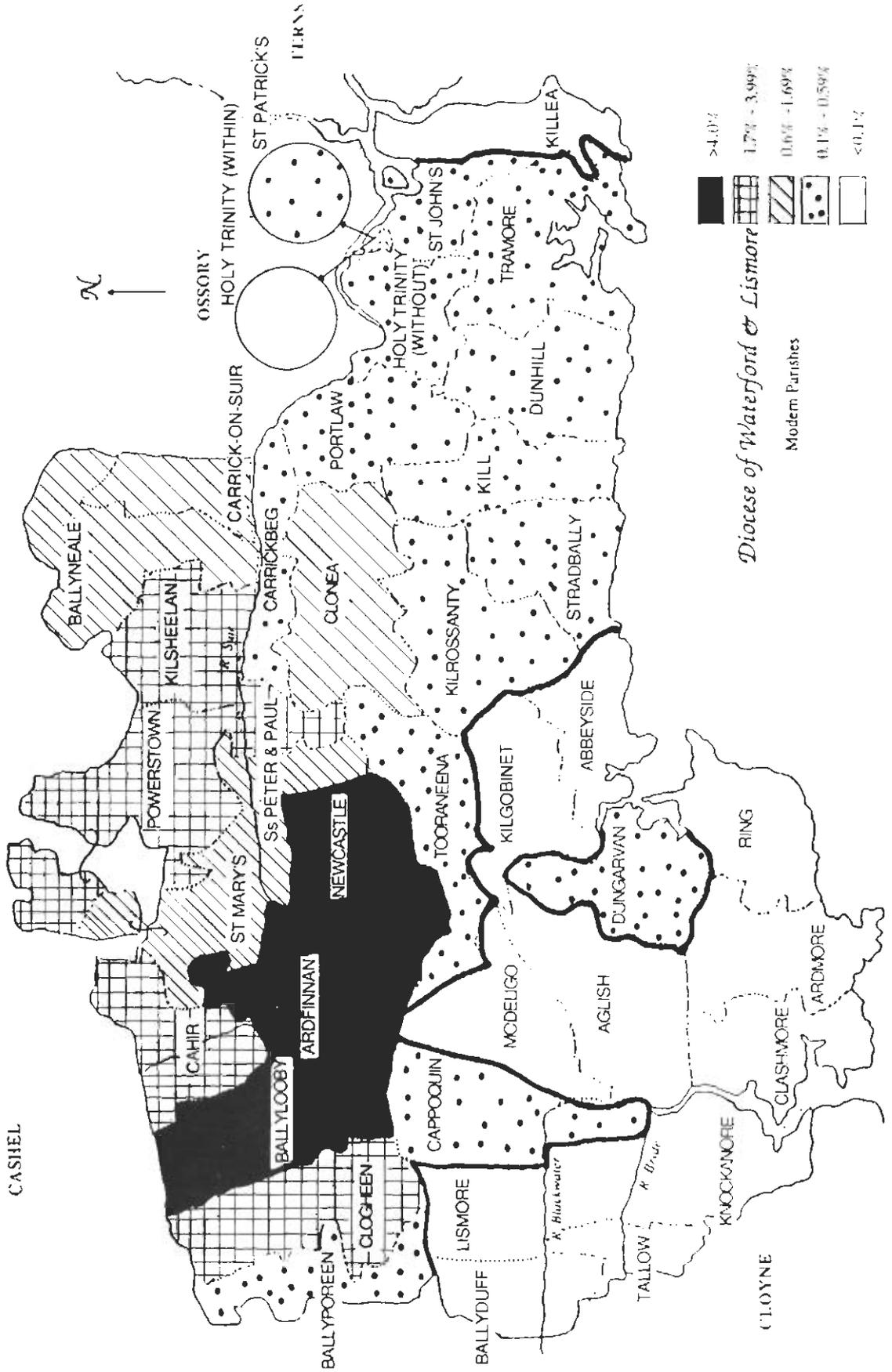
Morrissey as a percentage of total population

Map 12



Loneragan as a percentage of total population.

Map 14



remained as rooted to place as the Lonergans of south Tipperary, and their pre-eminence in their home turf, coupled with their inertia, is surely a phenomenon worthy of further study.

Conclusion

The maps in this article will I hope prove interesting to geographers and historians, and be useful to genealogists also. This study has sought to bring Irish families under the scrutiny of spatial analysis, and provide a statistical base from which to study family history. The study has shied clear of heraldry and the construction of pedigrees, which by the nature of records are often socially exclusive. By utilising the baptismal records for over 700,000 Roman Catholics, it seeks to be of relevance to a wider audience. The small but significant Church of Ireland community has been excluded because in no instance does its surnames reach levels which would alter the patterns illustrated here. For the first time surnames have been mapped at the intimate scale of the parish, and it is hoped that this method of analysis can be expanded into other areas of the country. The distribution of surnames may yet provide insights into the occluded corners of human experience of late medieval and early modern Ireland.

JAMES SCURRY (1790-1828), A SOUTH KILKENNY SCHOLAR

by Kathleen Laffan

Up to the late 18th century the area of south Kilkenny where James Scurry was born had a political and social continuity which was almost unique in Ireland. It was cut off from the rest of Kilkenny to the north by a low line of hills known as the Walsh Mountains, and to the south and east from the neighbouring counties by the rivers Barrow and Suir. As a result, an almost medieval lifestyle survived which, together with relative economic prosperity, helped to keep a cultural continuity. The bardic tradition of poetry patronised by local gentry also lingered here. This period has been well covered by Jack Burtchaell, Louis Cullen and Dan Dowling.

Tenant farmers here were almost all Catholic. There had been very little influx of English planters after the Cromwellian times, as the Butlers of Ormonde had been strong enough to hold on to much of their lands in this region up to the early 18th century; also many of those who did come, did not stay. The district also retained a typical pattern of farm house clusters which is thought to be of Anglo-Norman origin, e.g. Luffany and Licketstown in Mooncoin, Ballinaboly in Kilmacow, and Listrolin and Killahy in Mullinavat. Because the district consisted of a tightly knit community, the decline of the Irish language came late. Irish was the language of about one-third of the inhabitants of the baronies of Ida and Iverk as late as 1851. The area also had a very high literacy rate.

Towards the end of the 18th century, Mullinavat, Slieverue and Glenmore villages were beginning and all appeared to follow the line of existing roads. Piltown and Fiddown were being built as estate villages attached to the Bessborough estate. The new village of Upper Kilmacow was being established as an industrial village to facilitate the workers in the newly built linen and corn mills owned by John Greene of Greenville, one of the more progressive local landlords. Flax was widely grown in this area, especially on the Walsh Mountains, and fields in the Moolum area there still retain names like *Bán an Lin* and *Páirc na Line*. Pigs were produced in large numbers along this line of hills and were eagerly sought in nearby Waterford, where lucrative bacon and pork factories processed the meat for export to England and Newfoundland. The rent of average good land was 30-40s. per acre. The main road through Mullinavat, via Miltown and Dunkitt to Waterford, had not yet been built and the only access into nearby Waterford City was across the ferry at Granny; the first bridge joining south Kilkenny and the city of Waterford was not built until 1793; it was a toll bridge, nicknamed Timbertoes because it was made of wood.

Into this rural community James Scurry was born about 1790 in the townland of Knockhouse, which is situated on the Kilmacow/Mooncoin/Mullinavat boundary on the southern slopes of the Walsh Mountains in the barony of Iverk. He was baptised in his home, as was the practice of the time, by the parish priest, Dr. Andrew Gorman. Scurry came of an industrious and respectable farming family who lived close to what is now Sean Kinsella's stud farm. The family home is now a ruin. His father farmed about 25 acres of land,¹ probably mixed farming - oats and potatoes being the principal crops grown.

1 *Griffith's Valuation.*

His parents fostered a tradition of Irish learning and patriotism in their young family. James had at least two brothers and five sisters.² As young James grew up, he must have heard a great deal of talk in his home of how his relation of the same name, probably an uncle, together with Walsh of Dangan, Kelly and Tobin of Ballynooney, Aylward of Buckstown and Darmody of Crobally were amongst those who planned to rescue 7-8 Whiteboys who were being brought from Piltown to Kilkenny to stand trial, and how in the ensuing ambush at Newmarket in 1764 Scurry was killed, his body being brought home over the Walsh Mountains and secretly buried in nearby Ullid graveyard.³

In his boyhood there must have been great excitement as news of the bloodbath in nearby Wexford in 1798 began to filter through. Also stories of how a local youth, John Sutton of Rahard whose family had lost their lands in Ballykerogue, Co. Wexford, together with a few friends crossed over the hills to join Gaffney the miller in Glenmore, and went further and joined in the fighting in New Ross. After the battle, Sutton and his companions escaped back across the hills, and as a result he nearly lost his lands as he was recognised and his name was put on a proscribed list.⁴ There was also much talk of the near shooting dead of the local curate, Fr. Goharty, a Dominican from Rosbercon, by a self-styled 'Captain' Kelly of the local United Irishmen who, because of his dress, is said to have taken the priest for a Quaker. Luckily the priest escaped serious injury and Kelly later fled to Newfoundland.⁵

James Scurry went to the local hedge school in nearby Dangan, where he was taught the three Rs. From the late 1700s onwards many of the penal laws had fallen into disuse and were repealed. Catholics might now open schools, but only with the permission of the Protestant bishop of the day. It is recorded that a Miss Judith Dalton, a Roman Catholic, was the teacher at Dangan hedge school which was situated on the road leading to Upper Ballydaw. According to the records of the time, the structure, which cost the grand sum of £5, was built of mud walls and a roof of thatch, and was said to be of the worst possible description. There was only one window, which consisted of a single pane of glass stuck in the mud wall. In periods of dull weather, a tallow candle provided the extra light required. The school had no patronage and the income of the teacher was £10 p.a. for teaching 6 boys and 20 girls.⁶ In the summertime the classes were held in the open air, as was the custom, hence the origin of title 'hedge school' for such schools. These were the only schools which catered for the educational needs of most of the Irish children up to the advent of the National School system in 1831. There were thirteen of such schools registered in this parish alone.⁷

The Scurry family kept horses and were involved in the rural communities of their day. Horse-racing was a favourite pastime in this area and James Scurry was at one stage a prominent participant. An old ballad tells how he lost one famous point-to-point race in Ballinakill by taking a wrong turn at the end; part of it goes as follows:-

2 Kilmacow baptismal register.

3 *Ossory Archaeological Society*, I, p. 61.

4 Suttons of Ballykerogue, Family History, p. 18.

5 Carrigan notes.

6 Department of Education records.

7 Department of Education records.

But one who came there threw them all in a flurry
 A rider from Knockhouse, they called young Scurry.
 Unrivalled in speed, he away from them stole
 But alas turned wrong, going round by the pole.

One of Scurry's brothers went into business in Waterford and is buried in Tramore. The other became a professional jockey, emigrated to America and was later killed on a racecourse there.⁸

As he grew up, James proved to be a youth of outstanding scholarship and with a great love of the Irish language. For a time he was employed as hedge schoolmaster in Dangan. About this time he thought he might have a vocation for the priesthood. The parish priest, Fr Pierce Marum, took an interest in him and decided to help finance his further education abroad in Louvain. The priest received financial help from his brother, the bishop of Ossory, to help young Scurry, as with the abolition of the penal laws in 1793 there was a rapidly growing need for well-educated young priests in this country. Also because of his great knowledge of Irish, this man seemed an ideal candidate. However, after spending two years in Louvain studying, Scurry felt that he did not have a vocation and returned home. It was during these two years abroad that he acquired his unique understanding of Latin and Greek which was to stand to him for the remainder of his life.

On 14 February 1814, James Scurry married Margaret, a daughter of Walter Delahunty, a farmer from Ballyquin, Mullinavat. The marriage took place in the bride's home as was the custom from penal times. This custom continued for some years after the building of the new parish churches at Kilmacow in 1803 and Mullinavat in 1805. The marriage was performed by Fr Pierce Marum, and the two witnesses were Dr Dillon and Walter Delahunty, father of the bride.⁹

Shortly after the marriage the Delahunty men came to Knockhouse to help their new in-laws save the hay. At lunchtime, the newly married Margaret Scurry came out to the field with a jug of new milk and thin porridge to feed the men. The Scurrys felt embarrassed at what they considered the poor fare being offered to the men and angrily demanded: 'Have you nothing better to offer working men?', whereupon one of her brothers came to his sister's defence, insisting: 'If it's good enough for us, it is good enough for ye.' This led to a fight between the two families and the resultant bad feeling was to have strange consequences after Scurry's death. A strong family tradition supports this story.

A few years after his marriage, Scurry appears to have lost his farm for a time, probably as a result of the economic depression which followed the Napoleonic Wars, and he and his wife moved into nearby Waterford, where he became friendly with the publisher John Bull of Peter Street, who in 1820 published some of Scurry's religious work in the Irish language. These works comprised a translation from Italian into Irish of a tract by John Baptist Manni, S.J., entitled *Four Maxims of Christian Philosophy Drawn from Four Considerations of Eternity*.¹⁰ These are now contained in a volume in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. James Scurry also helped prepare two catechisms, one simple and the other more advanced; the latter he translated into Irish. These were also printed by John Bull. Later Dr Marum, bishop of Ossory, commissioned Scurry to translate *Eternity of the Soul* into Irish for use in the diocese.¹¹ Although it was printed in Irish, the English or Roman

8 *Munster Express*, 13 Dec. 1968.

9 Kilmacow marriage register.

10 *Old Kilkenny Review* [OKR], 1959, p. 2.

11 OKR, 1959, p. 6.

type was used throughout as a font of Irish type did not exist in Waterford. In 1824, Scurry translated one of the famous pastorals against the Whiteboys issued by Dr Doyle, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. He also translated into Irish Dr Doyle's Pastoral Letter addressed to the clergy of the deanery of Kilcock.¹²

After living in Waterford for a few years, Scurry began to find growing difficulty in supporting his wife and young family. He had about this time become friendly with Fr Simon Walsh, curate of Kilmacow, who was himself an Irish scholar of note. Seeing Scurry's financial plight, Fr Simon in November 1823 wrote to a friend in Dublin, James Hardiman, a lawyer and historian, recommending his friend for work. Scurry also wrote to Hardiman in desperation a few weeks later, offering his services as a scribe. In the course of this letter he said:

Respecting the little Irish work which I have for sale, I would be willing to part with them unbound for 15 or 10d a piece, or less if you should think fit. I repose every confidence in you of your exerting your influence in making me out some situation as a scribe in English or Irish. I would be contented with a moderate salary, such as would be sufficient with my annual income to support my little family decently with frugality and economy. I am unsettled in my present position, not knowing how to act, as the house in which I am is no longer mine and consequently [I] must soon remove to some other place.

He also mentions in the course of this letter that his translation of Dr Doyle's pastoral may be 'a means of bringing an obscure individual into public notice, which were the views I had in translating it'.¹³ He appears to have been trying hard to make a name for himself as a scholar, writer and translator. At the end of his letter he states that he hopes in a few days to have a few pages translated of the *Annals of Tighearnach*, which he would send to Hardiman as a specimen of his work.¹⁴ He finished translating this work in 1824.

Hardiman must have been very impressed with the work submitted, because by August 1825 Scurry and his family had settled in Dublin, where he was employed helping Hardiman to edit some of the poetry that the latter was to publish in the collection called *Irish Minstrelsy*. Later that year Scurry published a reissue of *The Four Signs of the Christian Mentality*. In March 1826 he translated an Irish speech given by Thomas Harney, poet and writer, on behalf of Henry Villiers-Stuart in the Waterford election campaign against Lord George Beresford.¹⁵

In Dublin, Scurry pursued his interest in literature and his efforts to further the cause of his neglected native language. He had a great understanding of the importance of the spoken Irish of the people as a foundation for a historical study of the language. For this purpose, his friend and neighbour James Kinsella of Knockhouse collected lists of Irish words in use locally and sent them to him in Dublin. In this way he was ahead of many Irish scholars of this period. On 23 October 1826, he read a very learned paper to the members of the Royal Irish Academy, entitled 'A Review of the Excellencies and Defects of Our Philological Complications and the Etymology of the Irish language', in which he traced back to

12 *Kilkenny History and Society* [KHS], p. 424.

13 KHS, p. 425.

14 KHS, p. 425.

15 KHS, p. 425.

Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Celtic roots.¹⁶ At the end of this very involved paper he gave 'A Treatise on a Model of an Irish-English Dictionary', ending with a note that 'the ancient language of this country is neglected and on the decline these 200 years and that the efforts of revival have met with discouragement, of serious injury to ancient history and antiquities, not here alone but to Europe'.¹⁷ He was the first to set out a sample layout of an Irish-English dictionary, a subject very dear to his heart - in this he was ahead of his time.

Many of Scurry's MSS are housed in the Royal Irish Academy, and many more are in the British Library. In the Egerton Collection, no. 119, there is a MS of an Irish-English dictionary and grammar, a pronouncing dictionary, and a fragment of 'A Theoretical and Practical Irish Grammar with some Verses on the Oghamic Alphabet, etc.'¹⁸ A detailed list of Scurry's writings is included in an article entitled 'In the Footsteps of an Irish Antiquary' by the late Eoin O'Kelly and published in the *Old Kilkenny Review*, 1959.

Scurry was acquainted with some of the foremost Irish scholars of his day, amongst whom were Humphrey O'Sullivan, the Callan hedge schoolmaster and diarist, and Pádraig O'Neill of Owing who's life is covered in the book *Gleann an Oir* by Eoghan O'Neill. It was Scurry who, while in Dublin, first introduced his fellow countryman, John O'Donovan of Attateamore, to James Hardiman, O'Curry, etc. and it is said exercised a considerable influence over the course of O'Donovan's studies during their brief association. In the introduction to his own Irish grammar, published in 1845, John O'Donovan paid tribute to the genius and industry of Scurry as a 'man of so vigorous a mind that he acquired an extensive knowledge of philosophy and general literature'.¹⁹

In 1828 Scurry died in Dublin, it is said of a fever, and his remains were brought down from Dublin to Kilmacow and buried with due ceremony in the family plot in Ullid. However, James had intended to be buried with his wife's family in Mullinavat, over whose grave he had a fine stone inscribed. News of his death did not reach the Delahunty family until after his interment, as communication was slow in these days. After the funeral, the Scurrys called on the Delahuntys of Ballyquin with a request to help pay the funeral expenses, as this had been the direction in the will. They agreed to contribute but pointed out that in order that James's wishes be carried out in full he should have been buried in Mullinavat. That night they proceeded to exhume the remains and bury them in the Delahunty grave in Mullinavat. According to a strong family tradition, the Scurry family brought back the body and reburied it in Ullid. The Delahuntys, to show they meant business, returned over the Walsh Mountains and again exhumed the body and returned it to Mullinavat. This time, taking no chances, they arranged for a rota of nine men to watch over the grave day and night for ten to fifteen days, after which time it was considered safe to leave the scholar from Knockhouse *requiescat in pace*.

James Hardiman continued to take an interest in the Scurry family. Fr Simon Walsh wrote to him in 1833 informing him that Mrs Scurry appeared to have got back the Knockhouse family farm. In 1839 John O'Donovan also wrote to Hardiman concerning the family. By this time the eldest son, John, had gone to Belfast to work in a printing establishment, while the younger son, Watt, worked in

16 KHS, p. 426

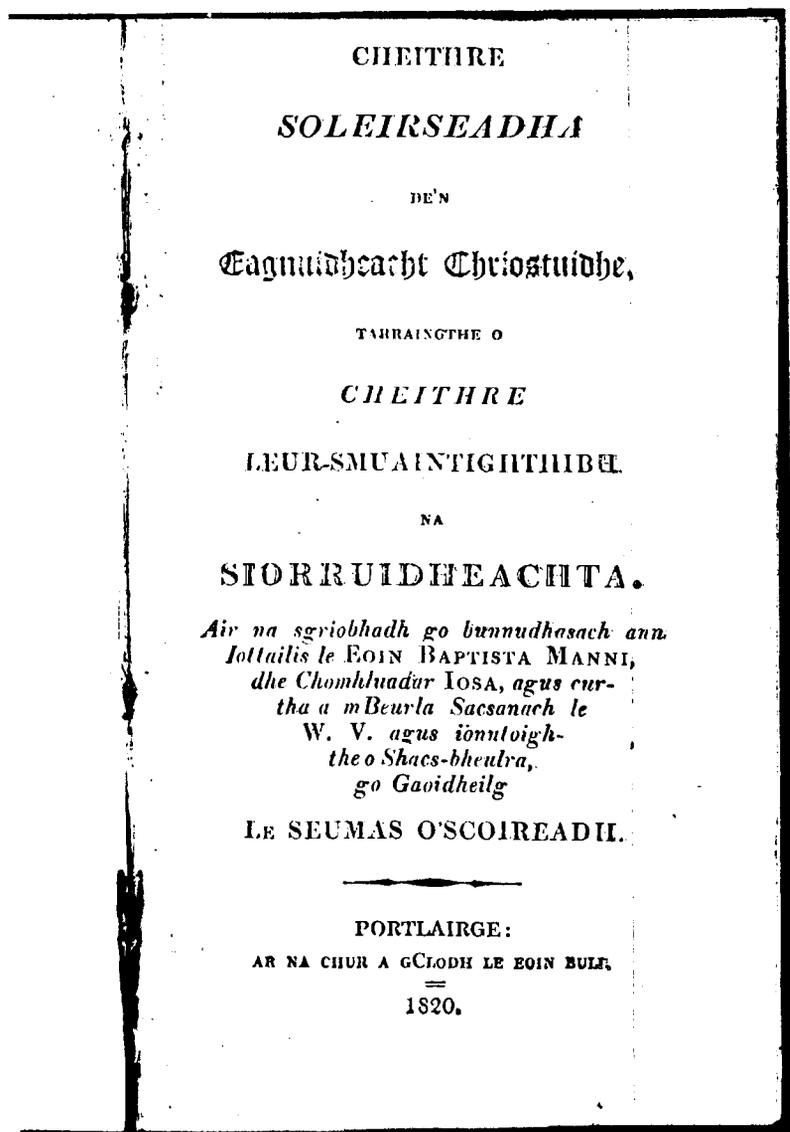
17 OKR, 1959, p. 4.

18 OKR, 1959, p. 6.

19 OKR, 1959, p. 7.

the Linen Hall in Waterford.²⁰ In the course of his letter to Hardiman O'Donovan wrote: 'Mr Scurry lies buried in the chapel yard of Mullinavat near the old church of St Beacon, but though there is a tombstone over him inscribed with Ogham characters his own name is not cut in it.'²¹ He then suggested hiring Bergin, the stonecutter who had cut the Ogham on the headstone, to add Scurry's name if Hardiman would join him in the expense! This work was not carried out until the Kilkenny Archaeological Society added Scurry's name a few years ago.

According to local tradition, Scurry bequeathed some of his books and manuscripts to a relative, Stephen Gaule of Rochestown, Mullinavat, who bequeathed them to another member of the Gaule family. In 1896 there was an outbreak of typhoid fever in Gaule's home and the local doctor (Dr Cain) ordered all personal clothing and bedding of the patient to be burned. The family took the instructions literally and burned everything, including Scurry's papers.²²



Facsimile of title-page of religious tract translated into Irish by Scurry and printed by John Bull of Waterford (reproduced by courtesy of Waterford Municipal Library)

20 *KHS*, p. 424.

21 *ibid.*

22 *OKR*, 1959, p. 8.

The following is the text of the epitaph on the tombstone erected by Scurry in Mullinavat graveyard to the memory of his parents-in-law, Walter and Margaret Delahunty. First comes a stanza taken from a poem by Tadhg Gaelach O'Sullivan (died 1795), given in Ogham and then in Roman lettering. This is followed by a sonnet in English.

Is suarach seirghthe deilbh na bplaosgibh
 Ar fuid na roilge 'n doimhneas fa leith leic,
 Gan chluas gan chroiceann 'na gcloigheannibh maola
 Cogainte creimthe deighilte ag daelaibh:

[Sickly and shrivelled are the forms of the skulls
 Throughout the graveyard deep under flags,
 Without ear or skin but bare shells
 Chewed and gnawed and severed by worms.^{23]}

Reflect, O man, that naked from the womb
 We yesterday came forth, that in the tomb
 Naked again we must tomorrow lie,
 Born to lament, to labour and to die.
 As smoke that rises from the kindled fires
 Is seen this moment, and the next expires;
 As empty clouds by rising winds are lost,
 Their fleeting forms scarce sooner found than lost;
 A flower that seeth opening morn arise
 And, flourishing the day, at evening dies -
 So vanishes our state, so pass our days,
 So life but opens now, and now decays.
 The cradle and the tomb, alas, so nigh,
 To live is scarce distinguished from to die.

THE PHOENIX ARISES: THE EARLY YEARS OF WATERFORD GLASS

by John M. Hearne

During the first two weeks of October 1851 a notice appeared in the Waterford newspapers informing the general public that

the well known Waterford Glass manufacturing being about to close, the proprietor, George Gatchell, orders to be sold on Wednesday October 20th 1851 the entire stock of glass, including dinner and table lamps, gas chandeliers, one crystal chandelier for six lights, together with beautiful specimens of Bohemian and Venetian glass.¹

Although Gatchell had successfully exhibited specimens of Waterford Crystal at the London Exhibition during the summer of 1851, he had already intimated that he would cease manufacturing glass before the year was out. In a letter to his cousin he stated that

I have quite concluded on giving up the business as soon as I possibly can, as I find it quite useless to strive against adverse circumstances any longer.²

Thus, after sixty-eight years, the first phase of glass manufacturing in Waterford ended in sadness and disillusionment.

One hundred years were to elapse before glass was again manufactured in the city. But during those intervening years the name Waterford had become synonymous with quality crystal and had quickly become a collector's item.³ The myths and mystique which became associated with Waterford Crystal would eventually be instrumental in its revival and would ultimately be crucial in ensuring its success. But if it was a Czech émigré who was responsible for turning the myths into reality, it was native entrepreneurship which exploited the mystique to enable the noble aspirations of its founder become a viable economic proposition.

Charles Bacik arrived in Waterford in the autumn of 1946.⁴ The communist take-over of Czechoslovakia in the immediate post-war years forced him to flee his native country and seek refuge in Ireland. But Bacik's arrival in Ireland was no coincidence. Having been the proprietor of four glass factories in Czechoslovakia, where his family had a long tradition in glass-making, his sole purpose in coming to Ireland was to attempt to revive the old Waterford glass

1 Notice of the public auction of the factory contents appears in more detailed form in the *Waterford News* and *Waterford Chronicle* during the weeks of October 1851. It is instructive to note that the Bohemian and Venetian glass (which must have been imported) were sold by Gatchell.

2 This letter by George Gatchell to his cousin Jonathan Wright, and other correspondence, can be found in more detailed form in Zita J. Harper, *The Waterford Story* (no date, no publisher) in possession of Waterford Crystal p.l.c., and also in *Waterford Crystal* (Brown and Nolan, Dublin, 1968) p. 7.

3 M. J. Hurley, *Through the Green Isle: A gossiping guide* (Harvey, Waterford, 1896) p. 10. Hurley states that 'glass making is no longer practised in Ireland but specimens of Waterford Crystal are eagerly sought by collectors who are willing to pay fancy prices'.

4 Interview with Mr Charles Bacik, Fiddown, Co. Kilkenny, 13 Feb. 1991. During this interview Mr Bacik outlined the reasons why he came to Ireland and Waterford in particular. He also gave a detailed account of the early years of Waterford Glass.

industry.⁵ In Ireland, however, he had an acquaintance in one Bernard J. Fitzpatrick.⁶ A glass connoisseur and jeweller, Fitzpatrick had been a frequent visitor to Bacik's Sveta factory, and upon his arrival in Ireland agreed to support him financially in his industrial venture.⁷ This proposed financial support, along with his own capital resources,⁸ allowed Bacik approach Waterford Corporation and Chamber of Commerce in an attempt to procure a site for his industry. Not only did the Corporation offer him a site but through the good offices of the Chamber he was able to attract some local private investment capital.⁹ But perhaps Bacik's shrewdest undertaking was to take out a life insurance policy shortly after his arrival in Ireland. This enabled him secure a loan specifically for his industrial project.¹⁰ Thus, with a share capital of £15,000 the rejuvenated Waterford Glass began production in the early months of 1947. The Phoenix had arisen.

Progress was slow and difficult initially. In an attempt to improve the technical proficiency of the company and thus speed up the production process, Bacik invited a former colleague to assist him. In June 1947 Miroslav Havel,¹¹ who had previously worked for Bacik in Czechoslovakia, arrived in Waterford. A glass designer and engraver by profession, his first task, however, was to train local apprentices as glass cutters. When the first cutting machine was installed in August of the same year, cheap Belgian glass was imported on which the apprentice cutters practised. It was Bacik's hope that they would achieve a competent standard of workmanship by the time the company produced 'crystal'. However, the first attempt to produce glass in Waterford in almost a hundred years ended in disaster when on the first day of melting the furnace exploded. This was

- 5 Ibid. Bacik was aware of the renown of Waterford Glass and accordingly was determined to restart it, especially as he had no future in Czechoslovakia.
- 6 Bernard Fitzpatrick is a glass connoisseur and prominent jeweller who lives in Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
- 7 Bacik interview. Bacik stated that Fitzpatrick promised to advance £5,000 to help get his industrial enterprise started, but refused to answer as to whether he ever obtained this money. It is also interesting to note that the name of one of Bacik's factories was Karlo and when he found that there was a town called Carlow in Ireland he contemplated starting his factory there.
- 8 Ibid. Bacik arrived in Ireland with £300. He also managed to sell some crates of Czechoslovakian Crystal, which he had smuggled out of Czechoslovakia, for £5,000 in Dublin.
- 9 Ibid. There is also a record of this contained in Waterford Corporation minutes, 27 November 1946 (on microfilm 1945-1959 in Waterford Municipal Library): A letter from Hugh (sic) J. Fitzpatrick Esq., asks for the lease of a site at Ballytruckle for the operation of a glass factory - to which the members of the council agreed. On 29 January 1947 it was reported at a council meeting 'that Mr Bacik had finally decided to ask for the lease of 3 acres beside the greyhound track; with lease details to be presented when definite proposals from Mr Bacik are received'. It seems from the above that Bacik was hesitant in making his request, which would support the statement that he had contemplated Carlow as a possible location for his factory (see 7 above). On 12 November 1947 the Corporation granted the lease for approximately 3 acres for seventy-five years, with an insurance premium of £5,000 payable for the first year, £10,000 for the second year and £15,000 for subsequent years.
- 10 Bacik interview. On arrival in Ireland Bacik took out a life insurance policy with Friends Provident Insurance Company. On the strength of this he was able to obtain (very easily according to himself) a loan of £10,000 specifically for his industrial enterprise. This would have been extremely unusual in Ireland during the 1940s or even 1950s.
- 11 Radio Telefís Eireann, *The Waterford Glass Story*, Waterford, 1990. This was an interview with Mr Miroslav Havel by R.T.E. during which Mr Havel outlined the early years of Waterford Crystal. Much of what he said corroborated information given by Mr Bacik in his interview with this author. The interview with Mr Havel was never transmitted.

not alone a physical setback; it was primarily a financial disaster.¹² Although a second attempt at constructing a cheaper furnace was successful, it was used only to produce soda glass which was blown for the local restaurant and bar trade.¹³ This did not generate sufficient capital to allow another attempt be made at producing 'crystal'. It was during this time (1948) that the Irish Glass Bottle Company Ltd made its first approach regarding investment in Waterford Glass.¹⁴ Bacik refused any co-operation with I.G.B. managing director Joseph Griffin and was determined to keep personal control of the company which he had started.¹⁵ He was convinced that the technical structures which he had already instigated within the company would enable a high quality 'crystal' be produced within a short period and thus repulse any attempted take-over. But the technical and financial difficulties during these years proved to be insurmountable. By 1949 Waterford Glass was insolvent, having lost about £40,000.¹⁶ Furthermore, all available financial resources had been exhausted, including a trade loan¹⁷ of £10,000 and a bank loan of £15,000. Faced with such constraints, Bacik was unable to prevent the take-over of Waterford Glass by Irish Glass Bottle Company Ltd in 1950; and following discussions with Bernard Fitzpatrick¹⁸ the company was reorganised under Joseph McGrath, Chairman of I.G.B.

With the technical and financial resources of I.G.B. now at its disposal, Waterford Crystal made rapid progress. Within a year a new purpose-built factory was built near the city centre at Johnstown, and by 1952 the company was exporting to America, Great Britain, Bermuda and New Zealand.¹⁹ Unusually for an Irish company at this time, the new owners envisaged Waterford Crystal as an earner of foreign currency which would contribute to the national well-being of the Irish economy.²⁰ Although the rapid growth of export sales throughout the world proved the validity of their views, the government and agencies of the government were

12 Ibid. According to Havel, Bacik never recovered from this financial disaster.

13 Bacik interview. A contract to supply the local Infirmary Hospital with jugs and tumblers was also procured.

14 In Z. J. Harper, *op. cit.*, and *Waterford Crystal* it is stated that Waterford Glass approached I.G.B. seeking financial aid to rescue the Waterford enterprise. However, Bacik states clearly in his interview that it was I.G.B. who approached him with regard to a take-over. This was corroborated by Havel in the R.T.E. interview. Furthermore, Havel states that he remembers 'the men from Irish Glass Bottle coming to the Ballytruckle factory' seeking a meeting with Bacik.

15 R.T.E. interview with Havel.

16 *Waterford News*, 15 March 1957, contains a report on evidence given by Mr Noel Griffin to the Prices Advisory Body where he divulged this information.

17 The Trade Loans (Guarantee) Act was introduced in 1924 by the then Minister for Industry and Commerce, Mr Joseph McGrath, in an attempt to help Irish industry. But the Trade Loans played a relatively minor role in aiding industry, with only twelve being granted by 1937. This, along with other evidence which will be advanced regarding government assistance to Waterford Glass, refutes the assertion in Aoife Roma Buckley 'An Economic Evaluation of the influence of Waterford Crystal on the growth of Waterford as a city region', M.B.S. (Economics), U.C.C., 1991, p. 118, that 'Waterford Crystal was "freestanding" and policy makers did not see a need to assist it'.

18 Bacik interview. He opposed the take-over and stated that he was unaware of the ongoing discussions between B. J. Fitzpatrick and I.G.B. until he was presented with the *fait accompli* in 1950.

19 *Waterford News*, 26 September 1954.

20 *Waterford Crystal*, p. 12.

actively involved in promoting the company at home and abroad.²¹ However, while all of these were essential in helping the product establish a worldwide market, it was the technical structures implemented by Bacik and Havel during the late 1940s which enabled the increasing market demands be met by a supply unrivalled in its quality. It was these structures which allowed the grandiose plans of the new owners be fulfilled.

As early as October 1947 Bacik had approached the local Vocational Education Committee regarding the teaching of a special course in glass technology at the city's Central Technical Institute (C.T.I.) for his apprentices.²² With approval from the Department of Education being received within a month,²³ the first classes for his fifteen apprentices commenced in January 1948.²⁴ The Syllabus in Glass Technology²⁵ drawn up by Bacik was a deliberate attempt to provide his workers with a sound technical foundation as well as to instill an appreciation of glass as an art form. It was also ambitious and farsighted. And while the attendant difficulties in the company led Bacik to withdraw his services from the course,²⁶ its potential and importance were recognised by the new owners following the take-over in 1950. Thereafter, the course was restructured and

- 21 There are many examples of legislation being passed which was favourable to Waterford Crystal in 1952 and 1953. Legislation was passed regarding the amount of hours and the age at which apprentices could work in industry. Furthermore, duties on the importation of sand were also lowered. (*Dáil Debates*, 1952/53). As most of the sand necessary for making 'crystal' was imported from Belgium and Scotland, and also as the expansion of the company would necessitate an increased number of apprentices, these pieces of legislation were of economic importance to the company. Coras Tráchtála Teoranta (C.T.T.) also played a pivotal role in helping the company exploit export markets for its products. On the occasion of the first shipment of Waterford Crystal to the U.S.A. in early 1953, the agency organised a cocktail party at Ireland House, New York, to celebrate the event. It also organised the Waterford Crystal exhibition at the Toronto Trade Fair in 1953 - which proved to be of major significance in marketing the product on the North American market. These examples of government assistance favourable to Waterford Crystal further undermine the assertions made in A. R. Buckley, *op. cit.*
- 22 City of Waterford Vocational Education Committee minutes (hereafter V.E.C.) no. 133/47, 28 October 1948.
- 23 *Ibid.*, letter no. 6355/47, 16 December 1947, from Department of Education, approving the formation of an apprentice course in Glass Decoration.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 27 January 1948. The course started on 12 January 1948.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 28 October 1947. Syllabus in Glass Technology:
- (i) History of glass invention and development
 - (ii) History of Irish and Waterford Glass
 - (iii) What is Glass?
 - (iv) Materials for glass production
 - (v) Equipment for glass production
 - (vi) Sorting of glass
 - (vii) Decorating of glass
 - (viii) Further processing of glass
 - (ix) Appreciation of glass
 - (x) Modern use of glass
- Time Table:
- | | | |
|-------------|------------------|----------|
| 9.00-10.30 | Design | M. Havel |
| 10.30-12.00 | Drawing | R. Burke |
| 12.00-13.00 | Glass Technology | C. Bacik |
- 26 V.E.C. minutes, 19 July 1949. Bacik was replaced by J. Hall @ 8/- per hour.

refined and put to more practical use.²⁷ For the next twenty years the pre-apprenticeship course in glass technology was to play a pivotal role in the training policy of Waterford Crystal, and was used increasingly to recruit adept apprentices into the glass industry.²⁸

The take-over of Waterford Glass in 1950 left Bacik with no official position within the new company for many years.²⁹ However, his technical expertise was readily availed of, thus ensuring a highly trained workforce; and his ability to procure the services of many skilled European glassmakers ensured that the skill base of the company was enhanced significantly. Indeed, the arrival of so many different nationalities in the city created its own cultural melting-pot in Waterford during the 1950s,³⁰ thus adding to the myths and mystique already fomented in an earlier era.

To Bacik must go the credit for restoring to Waterford its glass industry. But there were many others - local and foreign - who, during those early years, also made important contributions; not least, Irish entrepreneurship. Indeed, it was Irish entrepreneurial capital combined with foreign technical expertise which ensured that a visionary's dream could become a viable economic reality.

27 Ibid., 18 July 1950. A meeting between the V.E.C. and the new Waterford Crystal management agreed 'to put on special evening classes or pre-apprenticeship classes to train boys'. These boys were selected from the day classes in the C.T.I. and if suitable would be taken on as glass cutters. Twenty boys initially signed on for the course.

28 Ibid., 26 June 1951. Seventeen of the initial twenty boys completed the course and were offered jobs as cutters for a probationary period of six months followed by a four and a half year apprenticeship. The wage rate was £1 per week, increasing to £3 in the final year.

29 Bacik interview. Bacik stated that he was not offered an official position in the company until the mid-1950s.

30 It is not within the remit of this article to detail how Bacik enticed skilled glassmakers to Waterford or indeed their cultural impact on the city, but a detailed account of this fascinating aspect of Waterford's social history can be found in John M. Hearne, 'The Waterford Economy 1945-1962: the interaction of government policy and local initiative', M.A thesis, U.C.C., 1990.

BISHOP FOY AND THE CAUSE OF REFORM

by Declan Grogan
(edited by Jeremiah Falvey)

Part I.

A bishop in the making

Nathaniel Foy was born in the early months of 1648 in the city of York.¹ His father, Dr John Foy, had probably moved to Dublin by 1656, for in that year he had a lease from Trinity College of the Treasurer's house in St Patrick's Close.² He died in 1660 and was buried in St Bride's Church, where his son was destined to begin a most distinguished ecclesiastical career. Of the rest of the family we know very little. Nathaniel's brother, Moore, died in 1691,³ whilst his widowed mother was still to the good in September 1697 - by which time her son was bishop of Waterford and Lismore.⁴

He attended the Dublin Corporation Free School, which was under the direction of the famous Greek scholar Dr William Hill,⁵ and his fellow-pupils there included the Duke of Marlborough,⁶ Bishop Pooley,⁷ and Theophilus Tate. He entered Trinity College on 21 March 1663 at the age of fifteen and attained to a scholarship that year - a notable achievement.⁸ He took the degree of MA and was elected a Fellow in 1671. On 11 July 1682 the degree of DD was conferred on him.⁹ At the age of twenty-one he entered the ministry of the Church of Ireland on being ordained deacon by the bishop of Kildare, Ambrose Jones, in 1669; he was ordained priest in the following year. On 5 October 1670 he was also made Second

1 The Matriculation Book of TCD notes Foy's age on 21 March 1663 as being fifteen years.

2 W.G. Carroll, *Succession of clergy in the parishes of S Bride, S Michael le Pole and S Stephen, Dublin* (Dublin and London, 1884), 15.

3 Nathaniel Foy to [Bishop] William King, 14 Sep. 1691 (the Lyons collection of the correspondence of Archbishop William King, 1650-1729, MSS 1995-2008, TCD), 170.

4 Foy to King, 1 Sep. 1697 (Lyons, 538).

5 He was born in Warwickshire in 1619, the son of a local attorney and bailiff. He entered Merton College, Oxford, at the age of fifteen and later became a Fellow of that college. He moved to London where he practised medicine with success and engaged in some publishing. He left London to fill the position of Master of St Patrick's Cathedral School and was made a DD of TCD. He was deprived of his post at the Restoration as he had been a strong supporter of the Commonwealth. He then opened a private boarding school at Finglas. He died on 29 Nov. 1667 and was buried at Finglas Church. L. Stephen and S. Lee, *Dictionary of national biography* (London, 1891), xxvi, 426-7 [hereunder referred to as *DNB*]. - Ed.

6 John Churchill, the 1st Duke (1650-1722). He put down the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion in 1685 on behalf of James II, but sided with William during and after the Glorious Revolution. He reduced the city of Cork in September 1690. See J. G. Simms, 'Marlborough's siege of Cork, 1690', in *War and Politics in Ireland, 1649-1730*, D. W. Hayton and G. O'Brien, eds (London, 1986). He later won famous victories in the war of the Spanish Succession. - Ed.

7 John Pooley (1645-1712) was a native of Ipswich whose family had also settled in Dublin. He was chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Essex (1672-1676), and to the Duke of Ormonde. He became successively Bishop of Cloyne in 1697 and Raphoe in 1702. He was similar in temperament to Foy, and, like Foy, he was also imprisoned in Dublin Castle by the House of Lords (28 June 1709) for protesting against an adjournment to a church holyday. T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A new history of Ireland* ix (Oxford, 1984), 489-90 [hereunder referred to as *NHI*]; *Journals of the House of Lords of the Kingdom of Ireland 1634-1800* (8 vols, Dublin, 1779-1800), ii, 282. - Ed.

8 Carroll, op. cit., 15.

9 It did help that his patron, Lord Lieutenant Ormonde, was at that time Vice-Chancellor of TCD. - Ed.

Canon of Kildare. On the death of Dr John Yarner, minister of the parish of St Bride's, Foy petitioned the Dean and Chapter of St Patrick's Cathedral on 13 December 1678 to nominate him to the cure.¹⁰ He was appointed a week later, and held this position until his elevation to the episcopate in 1691. On being elected to his TCD fellowship in 1684, he was also appointed to the college living of Ramochy (Raphoe).¹¹

Foy's thirteen years at St Bride's were marked by both infrastructural developments and pastoral initiatives. He secured the union of the three parishes of St Bride's, St Michael le Pole and St Stephen by act of Privy Council during his incumbency.¹² In addition, he rebuilt St Bride's at a cost of £1,300 and built an almshouse for widows.¹³ William King wrote that he governed that parish 'with the greatest love and highest approbation of his parishioners'.¹⁴

Foy's later elevation to the episcopal bench was really determined by his activities on behalf of the Protestants of Dublin during the occupation of the city by James II. Archbishop Francis Marsh of Dublin had fled to England and the control of the Dublin clergy had passed to Foy's friend, William King, who had been elected Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral on 26 January 1689. Foy took on the role of defender of the doctrines of the Church of Ireland when he delivered regular answers to the sermons of James's Sorbonne¹⁵ chaplain, given while the king attended Mass at Christ Church Cathedral.¹⁵ Eventually he was arrested with King and other ecclesiastics in July 1689. Through the efforts of a Mrs Warren, his imprisonment lasted only some months, as his release came before that of King, which took place in December of the same year. His rising reputation was also demonstrated by the unauthorised use of his and King's names to certify a book of sermons by John Jaldon.¹⁶

Both men had not long to wait to be raised to the episcopate. With the Williamite victory almost assured, King was nominated to the see of Derry on 7 December 1690 and was consecrated on 25 January 1691, largely through the efforts of Gilbert Burnet,¹⁷ Bishop of Salisbury. Burnet also promoted the cause of Foy for the bishopric of Clonfert, which had been vacant since the death of Edward Walley in 1684. Unfortunately, the see had been promised by William III to William Fitzgerald (c.1643-1722), the Dean of Cloyne, through the efforts of another prominent courtier with Lismore and Waterford connections - Richard Boyle, 2nd

10 Carroll, *op. cit.*, 15.

11 Foy was now, like his correspondent William King, a comfortably well-off pluralist (a class both men were later to denounce), holding two parish livings and a canonry of Kildare. - Ed.

12 The Privy Council effectively governed the country under the leadership of the Lords Justices while Parliament was not in session. It was also responsible for processing Irish legislation for transmission to the English Privy Council under the terms of Poyning's Law. - Ed.

13 Carroll, *op. cit.*, 16.

14 King to Sir Robert Southwell, 29 Apr. 1697.

15 *DNB*, vii, 597.

16 King to Foy, 8 March 1690 (Lyons, 73).

17 The consecration took place at St Patrick's Cathedral. The consecrating prelate was Francis Marsh (Dublin), assisted by Anthony Dopping (Meath), William Moreton (Kildare), John Roan (Killaloe) and Narcissus Marsh (Ferns). The Rev. George Walker, the defender of Derry, had been nominated as Ezekiel Hopkins had died on 22 June 1690, but Walker was killed in the subsequent campaign; Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715) went into exile in 1685 after the Exclusion Controversy - the attempt by the Whigs to prevent James, then Duke of York, from succeeding to the English throne. He arrived in England with William and Mary, and was made Bishop of Salisbury in the following year. He had enormous influence at the new court - Ed.

Earl of Cork and 1st Earl of Burlington.¹⁸ After Fitzgerald's nomination, Burnet sought an interview with William III on 6 December 1690 on Foy's behalf. The king, 'sorry so deserving a man as Dr Foy was not preferred',¹⁹ assured the bishop that Foy would succeed to the next bishopric to fall vacant. Accordingly, Foy received the nomination to the see of Waterford and Lismore on 16 April 1691,²⁰ and this was confirmed by letters-patent of 13 July. He was consecrated bishop on 9 August at St Bride's by his metropolitan, Narcissus Marsh, the newly appointed Archbishop of Cashel, assisted by Anthony Dopping (Meath), John Roan (Killaloe), and William Smyth (Raphoe). Marsh, in his diary, prays that Foy 'may be an instrument of Thy great glory, as I have great hopes that he will be; let the work prosper in his hands.'²¹

Foy and his fellow bishops

William III's victory over James II had again restored the Church of Ireland to its position of the state-established religion which it had also lost during the Cromwellian period forty years earlier. However, the disadvantage was that now, much more than ever before, the state exercised tighter control over ecclesiastical matters. Reform-minded prelates like King, Foy and Dopping looked to the state to support them to achieve internal church reform, which, in turn, would make their church more independent and more capable of ministering properly to their own flock and to possible future converts from other denominations.²² With the likely summoning of the Irish Parliament for 1692, Foy, King and some other bishops began to discuss and prepare measures for the improvement of the church.

Foy felt, in agreement with King, that the immediate task was to enforce strict ecclesiastical discipline - the key to which was the reform of the clergy who, by their learning, piety and hard work would win a 'voluntary empire'.²³ This would commence with the question of the actual *quality* of candidates for the ministry which would have, of necessity, to entail a uniform system of examining those candidates before their ordination to the diaconate. As a result of this, Foy insisted that an impartiality in the distribution of preferments would follow if only able and eminent clergymen were available. He went further and insisted that this examination was provided for under the Act of Edward II entitled *Articuli*

18 See T.C. Barnard, 'Lands and the limits of loyalty: the 2nd Earl of Cork and 1st Earl of Burlington (1612-1698)' in T.C. Barnard and J. Clark (eds.), *Lord Burlington: architecture, art and life* (London, forthcoming). - Ed.

19 J. Duncan to King, 6 Dec. 1690, in C.S. King (ed.), *A great Archbishop of Dublin: William King, DD, 1650-1729, his autobiography, family, and a selection from his correspondence* (London, 1906), 76.

20 *Calendar of State Papers domestic 1690-1697* (London, 1898-1927), May 1690 - Oct. 1691, 336.

21 Marsh's diary for 9 Aug. 1681, cited in Carroll, *supra*, 15.

22 As well, the entire church fabric almost countrywide, outside of Dublin and a few other urban centres, was in a very dilapidated state after the ravages of the Rebellion of 1641, the Nine Years War, and the recent war of William and James. Hundreds of churches were in ruins, much church plate had disappeared, many prelates' residences were racked and needed rebuilding, and many of the higher clergy were in England. - Ed.

23 Foy to King, 30 July 1691 (Lyons, 156). This idea of 'conversion by example' had been an oft-discussed tactic since the days of the Elizabethan church. See A. Ford, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590-1641* (Frankfurt am Main, 1985), 56 and 257.

Cleri.²⁴ However, an act might exist but not be enforced, and, probably more to the point, Foy soon found out that there were major forces of opinion positioned against him. These were concentrated around the aging Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, Michael Boyle,²⁵ who argued that if an ordained clergyman was found to be unsuited to a benefice, then that would be a bad reflection on the bishop who had ordained him in the first instance. Foy and King were confident that with a session of Parliament approaching, a Convocation²⁶ of the clergy would be called as well, but this was not to be.

Nevertheless, Foy's plan for a well-read clergy is worthy of notice. He would merely require a basic knowledge of the Bible, the Thirty-nine Articles, the Book of Common Prayer with its rubrics, and the Canons of the Church of Ireland, of which, he maintained, many clergy had only a scant knowledge. Indeed, he had known some who had neither a Bible nor a Prayer Book of their own.²⁷ To make sure that the clergy would get the best value for their money in the purchase of essentially inexpensive books, Foy suggested that King and himself would each compile a catalogue which they would submit to each other,²⁸ and then agree on a final list.²⁹ Of greater interest is Foy's novel schema by which a clergyman should build up his library. After leaving college, an aspirant should have a collection

24 9 Edw. II, c. 13. The Act deals with the process to be taken *after* a clergyman had been refused to assume a benefice subsequent to presentation. Foy was partially correct, because, in the first place, a bishop had the right to refuse admittance on the grounds of insufficient learning. The text of the Act reads: 'Also it is desired that spiritual persons, whom our Lord the King doth present unto benefices of the Church (if the bishop will not admit them either for lack of learning, or for other cause reasonable) may not be under the examination of lay persons in the cases aforesaid, as it is now attempted, contrary to the decrees canonical, but that they may sue unto a spiritual judge for remedy, as right shall require... "Of the ability of a parson presented unto a benefice of the Church, the examination belongeth to a spiritual judge, and so it hath been used heretofore, and shall be hereafter"'. *Statutes at large* (London, 1786), i, 170. - Ed.

25 He was the eldest son of Richard Boyle, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross (1620-1638) and Archbishop of Tuam (1638-1645), and the nephew of Michael Boyle, Bishop of Waterford (1619-1635). His father was the first cousin of Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Cork, to whom he owed his ecclesiastical preferments. In fact, there were six Boyle bishops in the seventeenth-century Irish church who would have represented this formidable Boyle interest. Michael's rise on the episcopal ladder was rapid. He was made Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross on 22 Jan. 1660; Archbishop of Dublin on 27 Nov. 1663, and Primate on 27 Feb. 1678. As a sign of the changing times, he was the last bishop to hold the post of Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to which he was appointed on 17 July 1665. Under the Act of Settlement at the Restoration, he acquired the manor of Blessington, Co. Wicklow, and was therefore well set up to wield both ecclesiastical and political power until his death in 1702. His first wife was Margaret Synge - a connection which was pivotal in a future controversy involving Nathaniel Foy. This will be discussed in Part II of this article. - Ed.

26 Convocation was the church equivalent of parliament. Like the latter, it convened under royal licence at the same time and consisted of an upper and a lower house. The bishops sat in the upper house, while the lower clergy, represented by diocesan proctors, took their seats in the lower house. The first Irish convocation similar to that in England convened in 1613. Convocation met again in 1634, 1636, 1640, and 1661. During the reign of William III two parliaments were held in Ireland, but Convocation was not summoned on either occasion. Under Queen Anne Convocation commenced its sittings in January 1704 and continued until 1711. It never sat again. The main problem was that the two houses split on party lines (Whig and Tory), as had happened in England. The English situation was brought to a head by the Bangorian Controversy in 1717, when Convocation was prorogued and did not meet again until 1852 - a prorogation of 135 years! - Ed.

27 Foy to King, 21 Jan. 1692 (Lyons, 204).

28 same to same, 2 March 1692 (Lyons 209).

29 same to same, 26 March 1692 (Lyons, 217).

worth £15. After ordination and on being preferred to a curacy, he would purchase another £15 worth. Foy then pointed out that the clergyman would normally serve as a curate for five years and, 'passing rich' at £40 per annum, he would spend £4 out of it. If then as a vicar he were earning £70 per annum, he would spend £7 on his expanding library, and so on. Of course, the scheme was totally idealistic. With the meagreness of many church livings on the one hand, and the proliferation of pluralities on the other, it is difficult to see how Foy's assuredness about a cleric's likely income could be substantiated.

Foy, himself a one-time pluralist, was by now implacably opposed to that class of clergymen - these 'murderers of souls who, faring themselves deliciously every day, starve their flocks'.³⁰ Originally designed as a means of encouragement for clerics of great dedication and holiness of life who were not sufficiently provided for, pluralities had become an abuse when conferred upon wealthy clergymen. Foy was determined upon definite action, and a month after his elevation to the episcopal bench he wrote to King for a list of wealthy clergymen in the Derry diocese who were earning £700 or £800 a year as pluralists.³¹ On consideration of this information, and obviously with the forthcoming Parliament in view, he proposed that a bill be prepared obliging pluralists to refund a certain amount of their income for the maintenance of poorer clergy.³² As well, King told him that he had heard from Primate Boyle that there was an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII which prevented a person from holding more than two benefices.³³ Foy now decided to find out whether the said act applied to Ireland by advocating a petition to be signed by Bishops Narcissus Marsh, William Smyth, Anthony Dopping, William King and himself. However, Dopping, in order to bring pressure to bear on Primate Boyle, lodged with the Lords Justices, on behalf of the group, a letter concerning pluralities, to be sent to William III, who in turn would return it in his name to Boyle.³⁴

Foy however did not make his own move in the pluralities matter until March of the following year. In a letter to King³⁵ he suggested that the Irish bishops would present to William and Mary a list of the top twenty or thirty pluralists in the country, with the extent of their income and the distances between their various livings. This should be contrasted with another list showing the financial situation of four hundred of the smallest vicarages, as well the worst-affected dioceses by the lay impropriation of rectories. In Lismore diocese alone forty-two out of fifty-nine rectories were impropriate, twenty-five of them to one

30 same to same, 14 Sep. 1691 (Lyons, 170).

31 same to same, 22 Sep. 1691 (Lyons, 173).

32 same to same, 14 Sep. 1691 (Lyons, 170).

33 same to same, 10 Nov. 1691 (Lyons, 184); The Act in question was 21 Hen. VIII, c. 13, which regulated the possession of pluralities. However, it was subsequently watered down by 28 Hen. VIII, c. 13, and by the 41st canon of the Canons of 1604. Norman Sykes, though dealing with the following century, comments: 'The problem of plurality was the factor which made havoc of all attempts towards an orderly administration of the parochial system in the Hanoverian Church... The unreformed Georgian Church did not question the inherited medieval tradition that ecclesiastical revenues existed for the support of ecclesiastical persons, irrespective of their residence in the locality from which their revenues were drawn'. N. Sykes, *Church and state in eighteenth century England* (London, 1934), 215-16. - Ed.

34 Narcissus Marsh's diary for 8 Oct. 1691, cited in R. Mant, *The history of the Church of Ireland from the Reformation to the union of churches of England and Ireland* (2 vols., London, 1840), ii, 52; It seems that Dopping's effort came to nothing. - Ed.

35 26 Mar. 1692 (Lyons, 217).

person.³⁶ In addition he suggested that inappropriate rectories which had been forfeited by Jacobite supporters in the late war should be vested in the church.³⁷ Eventually it was decided that, as a prelude, the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Tillotson,³⁸ should ascertain the king's attitude to the question of pluralities before they would proceed. Foy's dissatisfaction was confirmed when William III merely expressed vague intentions rather than a practical course of action.³⁹

The first post-war Parliament was convened on 5 October 1692 and continued in session for only a month until it was prorogued by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Sydney, on 3 November.⁴⁰ Foy was an extremely active member of the House of Lords, attending on twenty of the twenty-two days of the session.⁴¹ As already mentioned, moves were made in the summer of 1691 to initiate a reform programme with Foy at the centre of things. But there were problems - problems which surfaced at an informal meeting of some of the episcopal bench in September 1691. Present at the meeting were the Primate, Michael Boyle; Archbishops Francis Marsh and Narcissus Marsh;⁴² Bishops Anthony Dopping, William Moreton of Kildare, John Roan of Killaloe, William Fitzgerald, and Foy himself. The meeting was also attended by Sir John Coghill,⁴³ 'without whom',

- 36 Foy to King, 26 March. 1692 (Lyons, 217). At the Reformation, with the confiscation of church lands, the tithes which were formerly paid to clergymen passed into the pockets of the new lay owners. However, they were obliged to provide a parish clergyman at their own expense, and also to pay for the upkeep of the church fabric. Inevitably, with these lay improprations, less money eventually returned to the church. The situation was particularly bad in Foy's own diocese, where much church land had been alienated by previous bishops. For example, on 27 Oct. 1614 an Act 'to restore the Temporalities of the Bishopricks of Waterford and Lismore', was thrown out on the second reading by the House of Commons 'upon the petition of Sir Richard Boyle, Knight [the future earl], and William Greatax, Gent.[a tenant of Boyle]. See *Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland, 1613-1791* (28 vols, Dublin, 1753-91; reprinted and continued 1613-1800, 19 vols., Dublin, 1796-1800), i, 17-18. - Ed.
- 37 Foy to King, 26 March 1692 (Lyons, 217). This suggestion of Foy's materialised in 1702, when Thomas Lindsay, the Bishop of Killaloe, lobbied successfully on behalf of the Irish bishops for it. See 'The Bishop of Killaloe's Bill' (25 May 1702), in HMC, *House of Lords MSS*, v, 49-50. - Ed.
- 38 John Tillotson (1630-1694) became Archbishop of Canterbury in spectacular circumstances when William Sancroft was deprived for refusing to take the new oaths to William and Mary. A famous preacher, he was friendly to Dissent but violently opposed to Roman Catholicism. - Ed.
- 39 Foy to King, 5 Jan. 1692 (Lyons, 198).
- 40 For an account of this Parliament see J. I. McGuire, 'The Irish Parliament of 1692', in D. W. Hayton and T. Bartlett (eds.), *Penal era and golden age: essays in Irish History, 1690-1800*, 1-31. - Ed.
- 41 The twenty-two Irish bishops sat with the temporal peers in the Lords, and, as active members, partook in the various standing committees of that house. See J. Falvey, 'The church of Ireland episcopate in the eighteenth century: an overview', in *Eighteenth-century Ireland* vol. 8 (1993/4), 103-14; Foy's attendance at the Lords for the first three sessions of the eighteenth century probably reflected his increasing disillusionment with regard to matters of church and state. He attended only 37 sitting out of a possible 137 - an average attendance of 22%. More interesting still is his pattern of attendance - 13 out of 70; 12 out of 46; and 12 out of 56. Was there a cynical reason for this 'tokenism'? - Ed.
- 42 They were not related. - Ed.
- 43 He was an LL.D. and Master in Chancery in Ireland and was descended from John Cockhill of Cockhill, who lived at Knaresborough, Yorks, in the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV. He married Hester Cramer of Ballyfoile, Co. Kilkenny. His two sons were notable lawyers - Marmaduke was a judge of the Prerogative Court, Chancellor of the Exchequer, a member of the Privy Council, and MP for TCD; while James was Registrar of the Prerogative Court. It is possible that Sir John could have been acting as chancellor of the Primate's ecclesiastical courts. B. Burke, *Dictionary of the peerage and baronetage* (London, 1900), 340. - Ed.

according to Foy, 'nothing must be done in the Primate's province'.⁴⁴ When the question of pluralities came up, Boyle was supported by Fitzgerald and Roan in his opposition to any measure which would alter the *status quo*, while Moreton took a neutral stance. Despite this initial setback, it was satisfying to Foy and his colleagues to identify Francis Marsh as a friend of reform. They decided to use him to write a letter on their behalf to Tillotson, emphasising the overall necessity of a real reform of their church. Foy sent on the letter to King in Derry, who in turn would then forward it to William Smyth of Raphoe. King, after some qualification, signed, but Smyth refused. Eventually only five signed the letter - Francis Marsh, Narcissus Marsh, King, Dopping, and Foy. The letter was never sent.

So by the early months of 1692 the reforming bishops were coming to realise that any prospect of reformation was very unlikely indeed. A major blow to their cause was the suspension of Dopping from the Privy Council.⁴⁵ Despite the absence of favourable conditions, the group were loathe to abandon their cause, and Tillotson, to his credit, proved its keen advocate in the English House of Lords, particularly with regard to the matter of pluralities. As for Foy himself, he was determined to carry on the fight, and wrote to King: 'I am for unity as much as any ... but I would rather walk with a few engaged to promote the interest of men's souls, than run along with a multitude who have little or no regard to it'.⁴⁶ He was now to prove this in his 'home territory' of Waterford and Lismore.

Foy and his diocese

Nathaniel Foy's preoccupation with events in Dublin from July 1691, and his presence at Parliament there from October to November of 1692, prevented him from giving his undivided attention to his diocese for quite some time. However, he managed to make a number of visits - one towards the end of 1691,⁴⁷ and another the following year at which he received the freedom of the city at a meeting of Waterford Corporation on 18 June.⁴⁸ Waterford had remained a Roman Catholic city at the time of the Henrician Schism, and during the 16th century the members of the Corporation were of that persuasion. However, from the 17th century both Roman Catholics and Nonconformists were excluded from city government as a narrowly-based and inter-related Protestant oligarchy established itself.⁴⁹ Despite Protestant political control, Roman Catholicism remained strong and the city produced many Counter-Reformation churchmen, including Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh (1601-1625); the Franciscan Luke Wadding, who founded St Isidore's in Rome; and Thomas White, who founded the Irish College at Salamanca. Thus it was not without reason that the city was known as *Parva Roma* ('Little Rome'), as its population clung tenaciously to the old religion.⁵⁰ On the other hand, a number of notable conversions to the Established Church, as in the cases of Francis Briver in 1688 and Neal Carolan a Roman Catholic priest in

44 Foy to King, 14 Sep. 1691 (Lyons, 170).

45 The sitting bishop of Meath had, ex officio, a seat on the Privy Council. However, Dopping had not a good image after the war as a result of his liaisons with the Jacobite authorities during the period of the 'Patriot Parliament' of James II. For an account of this Parliament see J.G. Simms, *The Jacobite Parliament of 1689* (Dundalk, 1966). - Ed.

46 Foy to King, 2 or 26 March 1692 (Lyons, 209 or 217).

47 Foy to King, 5 Jan. 1692 (Lyons, 198).

48 M. Quane, 'Bishop Foy School, Waterford', in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, lxxi (1966), 103.

49 M. Girouard, 'The noblest Quay in Europe', in *Country Life* (1966).

50 J. O'Flynn, *Two centuries of Catholic bishops of Waterford and Lismore* (1917).

1690,⁵¹ gave the new bishop grounds for optimism. Waterford and Lismore had effectively lacked episcopal government during the 1640s and 1650s. Bishop Archibald Adair,⁵² who had been translated to the see from Killala in July 1641, fled to England when the rebellion broke out and died in Bristol in 1647. No bishops were appointed during the Commonwealth,⁵³ and so he was not replaced until the Restoration of Charles II, when George Baker was consecrated in January 1661.⁵⁴ On his arrival Baker found the diocese in a deplorable condition. The Cromwellians, who had taken the city in August 1650, had occupied the bishop's palace and had stripped some of the churches - a number of which had been reduced to ruins by the time of Baker's appointment.⁵⁵ Baker died in November 1665 and was succeeded by the Dean of Lismore, Hugh Gore,⁵⁶ who was consecrated in March 1666. Gore, a native of the diocese, was an improving prelate. He restored Waterford Cathedral, also purchased the impropriated rectorial tithes of Cahir, and diverted these recovered revenues towards church rebuilding.⁵⁷ As in Dublin, Mass was said at the cathedral during the Jacobite period, and in the early part of 1689 Gore and his dean, Thomas Wallis, were attacked. News of their massacre went abroad,⁵⁸ but they both survived and eventually escaped to Swansea, where Gore died in March 1691.⁵⁹ Thus Foy, on his elevation to the diocese, was faced with a formidable task.

Once Parliament was prorogued in November of 1692, Foy travelled back to Waterford and resided there until the next session which commenced in August 1695. Bearing in mind his commitment to the implementation of reform on a national level, it is not surprising to find that he was extremely keen on initiating various changes within his own diocese. However, by September 1693 the cold hard realities of the situation had dawned upon him.

He was experiencing great difficulty in enforcing clerical residence, particularly as some parishes had neither a church nor a Protestant population.⁶⁰ In spite of this, he initiated schemes for daily prayer (four times daily in the

51 R. W. Jackson, 'Bishop Foy of Waterford', in *Old Foyonian* (1957), 9.

52 He was born in Scotland, and was appointed Dean of Raphoe on 4 Nov. 1622. He was promoted to the bishopric of Killala on 9 May 1630. However, he was deprived on 18 May 1640 'for some expressions thought too favourable to the Scotch rebels'. On 13 July the following year he was translated to Waterford. H. Cotton (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1847), i, 12, and iii, 361; *NHI*, ix, 437. - Ed.

53 In fact, episcopacy was abolished altogether during the Cromwellian period. See T.C. Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland: English government and reform in Ireland, 1649-60* (Oxford, 1975), 90-182. - Ed.

54 *NHI*, ix, 422.

55 Rennison MSS (a series of notebooks containing historical texts of Waterford and Lismore from Declan to Disestablishment), RCB Library, MS 40, item no. 2.

56 He was a native of Dorsetshire, but was educated at Lismore School. He afterwards attended Oxford and TCD. His first preferments were in Wales, but 'being disturbed in those parts by the abettors of democracy in Church and State' (the beginnings of Nonconformity which had spread from England), he returned to Ireland. He was appointed Vicar of Clonmel; Prebendary of Tullaghorton (Lismore) on 18 Oct. 1638 (which he held until 1663); Chancellor of Cashel on 27 Feb. 1661; Treasurer of Lismore in 1662; Precentor of Waterford in 1663; Dean of Lismore on 26 March or 6 Apr. 1664; and Bishop of Waterford on 25 March 1666. Cotton, op. cit., i, 12-13, 22, 46, 56, 62, 115. - Ed.

57 Rennison MSS.

58 *A full and true account of the late horrid massacre of the Bishop and Dean of Waterford by the French and Irish Papists in a letter to a person of quality, from Waterford dated 15 July 1689* (broadsheet in the British Library).

59 Rennison MSS.

60 Foy to King, 8 Sep. 1693 (Lyons, 293).

cathedral) in parishes where Protestant numbers made it possible, and he planned to use his diocesan visitation⁶¹ as a means of enforcing changes through a list of questions to ascertain the level of commitment of his clergy. He would then admonish where necessary, and leave behind concrete directives as to future conduct.⁶² He also tried to increase the number of communications and made the Lord's Supper the subject of his preaching during the Lenten period of 1693. He attempted especially to remove people's awe towards the sacrament, which, he felt, had hindered many from receiving it in the past. Consequently, a Communion service was held monthly instead of the usual thrice yearly. After the city had been divided into four districts for this scheme, people came in great numbers.⁶³ He even took the novel and radical step of instructing the people himself.⁶⁴ The whole episode is interesting as an insight into Foy's concept of religious education, which was in the mainstream of contemporary educational practice. In his catechesis he asked the same questions over and over again, 'till they were able to repeat the answers I put into their mouths and appeared to have some competent understanding of them'.⁶⁵ His approach was so successful that eventually about forty received Communion for the first time. As well, the fact that a bishop had initiated and was personally involved in the instruction of the common people is of paramount importance, and indicates an attempt on his part to evangelise among the poorer classes. The Church of Ireland catechism he judged useful because of its simplicity of style - others being 'beyond the capabilities of such persons as stand in need of being instructed by them'.⁶⁶

Finally he turned his attention to the question of the importance of the sermon.⁶⁷ He attempted to institute a more regular practice of preaching in Waterford Cathedral, and persuaded the four cathedral clergymen to preach on every Friday during Lent. But when he attempted to expand this into a sermon for every holyday, he was resisted. So while he introduced many useful reforms at local level, he tended not to take cognisance of the apathy of his clerical co-workers, and to fantasise continuously about the wonderful schemes he would introduce.

61 The annual episcopal visitation to inquire into the actual administration of the diocese was a legal obligation. As well, each metropolitan was obliged to carry out a visitation to each diocese of his province triennially. - Ed.

62 Foy to King, 10 Oct. 1693 (Lyons, 301).

63 Same to same, 28 Apr. 1693 (Lyons, 272).

64 Foy's pioneering work was later taken up by another more famous resident bishop, Peter Browne of Cork (1710-1735), who stated: 'If our bishops would begin and put their hand to this work, the lower clergy that are disposed to engage in it would be greatly encouraged by their example and the lazier would be both ashamed and afraid to be idle... If our bishops would begin and continue to go at their leisure, or once a day into any house within their diocese to examine the family, without communicating their design to any person beforehand, it would put the inferior clergy upon their mettle. It would make those among them humble who are too proud to visit poor families, and occasion the slothful to be diligent'. Quoted in A. R. Winnett, *Peter Browne: provost, bishop and metaphysician* (London, 1974), 58. - Ed.

65 Foy to King, 28 Apr. 1693 (Lyons, 272).

66 Same to same, 5 Apr. 1693 (Lyons, 268). In an unpublished typewritten list ('Catechisms used in or intended for use in Ireland c. 1560-1800'), Ian Green enumerates a staggering 71 Protestant catechisms and 31 Roman Catholic catechisms for the period. - Ed.

67 For an account of the vital role which the sermon played in Foy's time, see J. Downey, *The eighteenth-century pulpit* (Oxford, 1969). Printed books of sermons by eminent preachers were eagerly purchased and read *ipsissima verba*. - Ed.

As in most other cities of England and Ireland, the period saw an attempt, often by lay societies, to reform public morals and Sunday observance.⁶⁸ And with the arrival of Foy, Waterford proved to be no exception. Foy weaned the Mayor into his way of thinking, and, as a result, constables and church wardens were engaged to patrol the city on Sunday mornings to enforce the keeping of the Sabbath. He was so successful that 'no mills grind, nor barbers shave, nor the natives buy or sell on Sunday morning',⁶⁹ all of which seemed to have been normal occurrences before his arrival. He also advocated the imposition of stern penalties by the church courts. Up to October 1693 he had prosecuted two people - one (for fornication) whom he excommunicated, and the other (for a breach of the observance of the Lord's Day) who was sentenced to the performance of public penance in the cathedral.⁷⁰

As has been seen above, the most frequent thorn in Foy's side in his quest for diocesan reform was the behaviour of his clerical subordinates. This is illustrated by the difficulties he experienced with two of his deans - Thomas Wallis, Dean of Waterford, and William Jephson, Dean of Lismore. The problem of Wallis presented itself immediately after Foy's nomination to the diocese, and indeed was already a source of major concern before his consecration in August 1691.

Wallis, a native of Co. Dublin, had been preferred to the deanery of Waterford in 1686,⁷¹ and to all appearances seems to have been very successful, for the then bishop, the aging Hugh Gore, characterised him as his 'very good friend' when appointing him executor of his will.⁷² Moreover, Gore had collated him to the precentorship of Lismore, one of the best livings in the diocese.⁷³ Just before Gore's death in exile at Swansea, Wallis was promoted to the lucrative deanship of Derry in February 1691.⁷⁴ He was succeeded as Dean of Waterford by the Precentor of Waterford, John Dalton.⁷⁵ Then, according to Foy, Wallis refused to resign his precentorship of Lismore on the grounds that Dalton had retained his precentorship of Waterford on being appointed dean. Wallis was also insistent that not alone would he nominate his own successor in Lismore, but also, as he was a pluralist, all the successors to his other livings!⁷⁶ He even went further and claimed that initially he had not been properly installed, and thus the living had been allowed to lapse. A new appointment could then only be made by direct royal

68 For a masterly analysis of the Dublin situation, see T. C. Barnard, 'Reforming Irish Manners: the religious societies in Dublin during the 1690s, in *Historical Journal*, xxxv. (1992), 805-38. - Ed.

69 Foy to King, 28 Apr. 1693 (Lyons, 272).

70 same to same, 10 Oct. 1693 (Lyons, 301).

71 He was appointed as Dean of Waterford on 27 Nov. 1685 and as Dean of Derry on 10 Feb. 1691. As a result of his sufferings under the Jacobites, he was 'recommended for preferment to King William, who at his own request, conferred on him this deanery, in preference to the bishopric of Derry, which was vacant at that time'. He died on 26 Nov. 1695. Cotton, op. cit., i, 20; iii, 333. - Ed.

72 Gore's will, 13 Oct. 1690, in Rennison MSS.

73 Foy to King, 20 Aug. 1691 (Lyons, 166).

74 J.B. Leslie, *Derry clergy and parishes* (Enniskillen, 1937), 35.

75 He was the last incumbent of the prebend of Kilronan (Waterford), which he held from 1663 to 1675. He was appointed Prebendary of Clashmore (Lismore) in 1663; Chancellor of Lismore on 17 Oct. 1665 (which he held to 1697); Precentor of Waterford on 4 Nov. 1684 (which he held to 1699); and Dean of Waterford on 14 Feb. 1692 (which he held to 1697). In the absence of the date of his death, it seems odd that he should retain his precentorship until 1699. Cotton, op. cit., i, 23, 34, 53, 76-77. - Ed.

76 Foy to King, 30 July 1691, (Lyons, 156).

nomination.⁷⁷ As a last throw, Wallis employed Dominic Meade⁷⁸ to use his good offices with King William to ensure that his nominee would be preferred, while Foy, with better judgement, decided to await a settlement. Within a fortnight, Wallis had resigned, 'having been secured of a considerable proportion of this year's profits'.⁷⁹

However, there was one further complication. Wallis had also been Vicar-General of Waterford, as the archdeaconry of the diocese had been vacant since 1669, and in the absence of Bishop Hugh Gore he had ruled the diocese. He now refused to vacate the episcopal palace at Waterford, thereby hindering Foy's occupation. Foy again held off and expected Wallis to relinquish the vicar-generalship in the spring of 1692, when he would take up residence in Derry. But his patience gave out, and he wrote to his friend William King, now bishop of Derry, in the first days of the new year, demanding that he would immediately summon Wallis to Derry. Wallis's wife had given birth in the previous November, and Foy was fearful that the family would remain in residence 'until the same excuse return', and with a gentle reprimand to King, stated: 'Whether it be necessary for him to be present in your diocese, your lordship is the only judge, but I am well assured it is on several accounts convenient that he should be absent from mine'⁸⁰. Wallis departed and took up residence in Derry in 1693, where, until his death in August 1695, he especially exasperated King by his association with the Presbyterians of the diocese.⁸¹

Foy's next problem also originated in Lismore. William Jephson had been appointed to the parish of Inishlounaght in 1691 and elevated to the deanship of

77 same to same, 20 Aug. 1691 (Lyons, 166).

78 This was probably Dominic Meade (c. 1661-1729/30) of Ballintubber, Co. Cork, the son of Col. William Meade. He was made Archdeacon of Cloyne in 1687. His brother was Sir John Meade, an eminent lawyer and Attorney-General to James, Duke of York - the future James II. He was one of the two Protestants who sat in the House of commons in James's parliament. He changed sides and was made a baronet of Ireland by William and Mary on 29 May 1693. Col. William married, as his second wife, Elizabeth Boyle, a sister of Primate Michael Boyle. Dominic, who was the fourth son (there were also three daughters) could have been a child of the second marriage. J. Lodge, *The peerage of Ireland* (Dublin, 1789), iii, 295-96; Burke, op. cit., 319; W. M. Brady, *Clerical and parochial records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross* (Dublin, 1863), ii, 222. - Ed.

79 same to same, 29 Sep. 1691 (Lyons, 175).

80 5 Jan. 1692 (Lyons, 198).

81 For King's troubles with the Dissenters in Derry see C. S. King (ed.), *A great Archbishop of Dublin*, 32-5. - Ed.

Lismore in the following year.⁸² The deanship carried with it extensive powers and gave the incumbent virtual autonomy in the parishes of Lismore, Mocollop and Tallow. With Foy's episcopal visitation imminent, Jephson refused to submit to it, and did so 'in a most abusive and insulting manner' - this type of action continuing again and again until at least 1697.⁸³ The origin of this particular dispute began with the appointment of Foy's successor at St Bride's Church, Dublin, James Duncan. Duncan was friendly with William King and Foy's patron, Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury. Therefore he was supported by Foy in his efforts to secure St Bride's. However, Duncan's main opponent was Dean Michael Jephson,⁸⁴ a brother of William. The brothers were of the Jephson family

82 Rennison MSS, 157, 53. He entered TCD in 1675, taking BA in 1678; MA in 1683, and later a DD. He married Ann Barry of Rathcormac, Co. Cork, whose sister Catherine married Alan Brodrick, later Lord Chancellor and 1st Viscount Midleton. His sister Mary was married to Sir Patrick Dun, the eminent physician who gave his name to the famous Dublin hospital. He was appointed Dean of Lismore on 6 Jan. 1692. He delivered the annual November 5th sermon (commemorating the Guy Fawkes incident) to the House of Commons at St Andrew's Church during the parliamentary session of 1698. The story goes that he was nominated for an Irish bishopric in 1714, but that Queen Anne died in the interim, and so his chance was lost with the accession of George I. He died on 11 Apr. 1720, at the age of sixty, and was buried under the western tower of the cathedral. His Communion vessels still form part of the Cathedral plate, bearing the inscription *Eccles Cathed: Lismoor Sacri Anno Domini 1705 Gil Japhson Dec.* Ann Jephson died on 18 Oct. 1737, at the age of seventy-four years. Their issue was one son and two daughters. The son, John, also entered the church, and was educated at TCD - largely under the direction of George Berkeley, the future philosopher bishop of Cloyne, who was then a Junior Fellow. He held three rectorships, along with being Archdeacon of Cloyne, and died in 1742. The elder daughter, Mary, married James O'Brien, the third son of the 3rd Earl of Inchiquin. Their eldest son, Murrough, became the 5th Earl, and was created first Marquess of Thomond in 1800. The other daughter, Anne, married Sir Winwood Mowet, Baronet. M. D. Jephson, *An Anglo-Irish miscellany: some records of the Jephsons of Mallow* (Dublin, 1964) 76, 291-292, 297; Cotton, op. cit., i, 47. - Ed.

83 Foy to King, 10 Nov. 1697 (Lyons, 553).

84 He received his education in Dublin and became domestic chaplain to Primate Boyle. He was appointed a Minor Canon of St Patrick's Cathedral (1676-1684); Archdeacon of Leighlin on 6 Oct. 1680; Precentor of Armagh on 29 Oct. 1680; Chancellor of Christ Church Cathedral on 8 Oct. 1683; and finally, Dean of St Patrick's on 15 Jan. 1691 (Cotton, op. cit., ii, 57, 102, 197, 398 and iii, 37). He had been made Proctor of Christ Church in 1688, and with the occupation of the cathedral by James II he was involved in a spectacular incident. It seems he had buried two boxes of cathedral plate in the grave of Bishop Thomas Cartwright of Chester, who had died six months earlier, in order to prevent it from falling into Jacobite hands. Cartwright had come to Ireland with James II and had campaigned to impose an oath on office-holders abjuring William and Mary. Jephson paid 'Flood and Wolf' twelve shillings to bury the plate; six shillings for 'taking it up'; paid one and six to 'a carman for bringing it home'; and six shillings to 'a woman for scouring it'. Thomas Flood and Joseph Wolfe were each later awarded a gratuity of £5 by the Dean and Chapter. (J. L. Robinson, 'The Christ Church Cathedral Proctor's accounts for 1689-90' in *Jn. of the Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xli, quoted in Jephson, op. cit., 290-91). He had also delivered the pivotal sermon on 23 October 1690 before the Lords Justices at Christ Church. For the importance of this event see T. C. Barnard, 'The Uses of 23 October 1641 and Irish Protestant celebrations' in *English Historical Review*, vol. cvi, no. 421 (October 1991). - Ed.

of Mallow, and related to Primate Michael Boyle, the most prominent ecclesiastical representative of the Boyle interest which was centred at Lismore.⁸⁵ This incident then provoked William Jephson to test conclusions with his new bishop, Nathaniel Foy.

However, according to Foy, there were more serious personal undercurrents to the dispute. Firstly, Jephson was accused of excessive drinking,⁸⁶ then of non-residence and expelling an absolved sinner from church,⁸⁷ and finally of 'a long contracted habit of debauchery'.⁸⁸ Foy was probably exaggerating, as he displayed a definite reluctance to prosecute him - influenced no doubt by the potential threat of the Boyle interest on Jephson's side.⁸⁹ He was agreeable to Jephson's proposal to submit the dispute to a third party, but disingenuously suggested William King of Derry. Foy would be represented at the hearing by a prominent churchman, the MP for Waterford, John Mason, who had been elected Mayor in 1696.⁹⁰ Unfortunately the final outcome of the affair is open to speculation. But, in a letter to Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, Foy was in no doubt as to the gravity of the situation - 'If my case goes against me it will not be in the power of all the bishops in Ireland to hinder a Mohammedan from coming in to fill up the vacancies of the Church.'⁹¹ Jephson, in any case, held on to his preferments until his death, and Foy never again referred to him in his correspondence.

Both episodes are illustrative of the harsh realities of diocesan life which faced Foy in the implementation of his ideals. Despite Foy's tendency to over-react, he was quite capable of displaying determination and prudence in the satisfactory resolution of difficulties, from his point of view in any case. Yet this prudence remained still to be tested at national level, as the years ahead were to show.

(To be continued)

85 William and Michael Jephson's mother was Bridget Boyle, the sister of Primate Boyle (Jephson, op. cit., 288). For an account of the rise of the Boyle family, see T. O. Ranger, 'Richard Boyle and the making of an Irish fortune', in *Irish Historical Studies*, 10 (1957); and N. Canny, *The upstart Earl: a study of the social and mental world of Richard Boyle, First Earl of Cork, 1566-1643* (Cambridge, 1982). - Ed.

86 Foy to King, 28 Apr. 1693 (Lyons, 272).

87 same to same, 10 Nov. 1697 (Lyons, 553).

88 same to same, 26 Nov. 1697 (Lyons, 559).

89 *ibid.*

90 Rennison MSS.

91 27 Apr. 1694 (Dopping Collection, Armagh, Cathedral Library).

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THE OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

The Society aims to encourage interest in history and archaeology in general, with particular reference to Waterford and the adjoining counties, and to promote research into same.

Lectures on appropriate subjects are arranged for the autumn, winter and spring.

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COVER ILLUSTRATION: THE LIGHTHOUSE, DUNMORE EAST by Fergus Dillon

The harbour at Dunmore East was built as a mail packet station in the early 19th century. It was the creation of the gifted Scottish engineer Alexander Nimmo, whose best known work is Sarsfield Bridge in Limerick. Nimmo arrived in Ireland in 1812, and as Dunmore Harbour was commenced in 1814 it must have been one of his earliest works here. Costings do not seem to have been his strong point - his original estimate was just under £20,000, but by the time of his death in 1832 expenditure had already exceeded £93,000 and the eventual cost (in 1837) was over £108,000. By that time the harbour was silting up and so the packet station was transferred to Waterford. Many changes have taken place at Dunmore Harbour since Nimmo's day, but the pretty lighthouse remains much as he built it and is an attractive landmark and a symbol of the village.

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

Programme for 1994-95

Lectures will be held in the **Committee Room** in City Hall, Waterford, commencing at 8 p.m.

1994

- Friday 28 Oct. Merchants and Shipping in Waterford Quays
Mr Bill Irish
- Friday 25 Nov. Towards a 19th Century History of Portlaw
Ms Aideen Ireland, National Archives
- Sunday 4 Dec. Annual Lunch - Tower Hotel 1 p.m.

1995

- Friday 27 Jan. William Vincent Wallace
Dr David Grant
- Friday 24 Feb. Waterford - The Napoleon Connection
Mr Robert Phelan
- Friday 24 Mar. Huguenots in Ireland with reference to George Victor du Noyer, a Huguenot Geologist and his work in Waterford
Ms Petra Coffey
- Friday 28 April Dr Hussy - Bishop of Waterford and President of Maynooth
Mr Daire Keogh

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