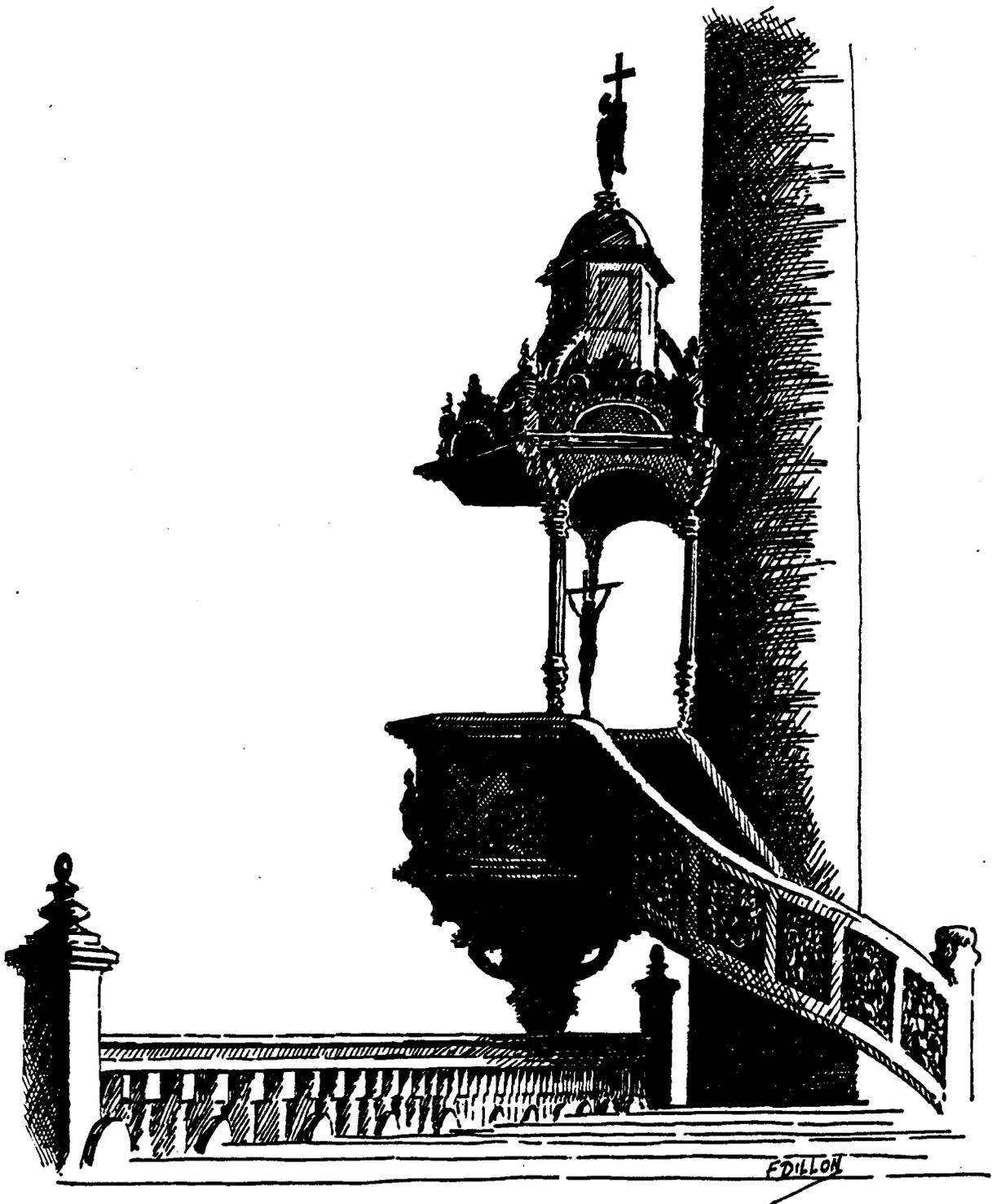


Journal of the Old Waterford Society

DECIES

No. 48

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CONTENTS

| | Page |
|--|--|
| Editorial | 1 |
| As Others Saw Us: Sir Richard Colt Hoare visits the Blackwater valley, 1806 | Nigel K. de la Poer 3 |
| The Will of Robert Forstall of Kilferagh, 1645 | Thomas G. Fewer & Kenneth W. Nicholls 7 |
| Monumental Inscriptions at Kilrossanty Old Graveyard, Co. Waterford | Des Prendergast 17 |
| The Reynett family of Waterford | H. F. Morris 33 |
| Waterford Bridge, 1793-1911 | Geoffrey Sutton 49 |
| The Blueshirts in Waterford, 1932-1934 (I) | Eugene Broderick 54 |
| Reviews | 64 |
| <i>The Royal Charters of Waterford</i> <i>Kilkenny: History and Society</i> Mark Girouard, <i>Town and Country</i> | James Lydon Thomas G. Fewer Julian C. Walton |
| Old Waterford Society Membership List | 70 |
| Report of Annual General Meeting (inside back cover) | |

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EDITORIAL

When I returned to Waterford to work three years ago, I was surprised at the low opinion Waterford people had of themselves and their city. There was a general feeling that it had little of interest to offer the visitor, combined with a pessimism about its economic prospects. Its economy depended largely on Waterford Crystal, and this firm had been undergoing a series of misfortunes, culminating in a disastrous strike.

Three years on, there is abundant evidence of a dramatic change. A study of the city's two newspapers for the first week of September 1993 reveals that Waterford Crystal made a profit of £1.6 million in the first half of this year, its first for seven years and a welcome contrast with its loss of £3.3 million in the equivalent period last year. There are planning applications for several major residential developments on the Dunmore Road. And the week will end with the arrival of An Taoiseach to open the first phase of the new portal development at Belview.

There has been similar progress in the work of developing a greater awareness of the history of our region and capturing its potential for tourism. This is evident at many levels. February of this year saw the launch of Waterford Corporation's daring Heritage Tourism Plan. In south-west Wexford, the Office of Public Works has combined with local initiative to restore Ballyhack Castle and Duncannon Fort; further funds have been allocated for work at Tintern Abbey; measures have been taken to rescue Fethard Castle; and Lord Belfast has begun what will be an interesting museum and maze at Dunbrody. There have also been many other small but significant initiatives. For instance, at Reisk near Dunhill a small group of volunteers set to work in the old churchyard, clearing away what had become a virtual jungle so that the wonderful examples of local stonecutting¹ are again revealed.

Admittedly, progress is seldom achieved without pain. The upturn in Waterford Crystal's fortunes is being attained at considerable human cost in terms of redundancies. The social consequences of a large increase in population on the Dunmore Road need to be carefully considered. The potential impact on the environment of the proposed industrial developments at Belview is causing understandable concern to residents of the area.

Similarly, the development and marketing of our heritage is not being accomplished without controversy. It is impossible to preserve every historic building and site, let alone every feature of the landscape. There has to be a process of selection, but on what basis should it be decided what shall live and what shall die? How can our heritage best be interpreted and displayed? The year has seen bitter national debate over some centres, especially that in the Burren which was visited by our Society in May. The differing viewpoints of developer and conservationist can often be reconciled but have occasionally led to acrimonious confrontation, as (to take one example) in the case of the urban tower-house in High Street.

The Old Waterford Society, as the senior historical society in the region, should be playing a leading role in such issues. Are we making our impact felt? To what extent are we sufficiently organised and motivated to do so? Certainly, some of our members are fully involved in the processes of researching, debating, educating, and labouring that these occasions demand. All too often, however, those most active in our local history either do not belong to our Society or are involved as individuals or as members of other organisations rather than through the Old Waterford Society. We are in danger of being bypassed. What can we do about it?

It seems to me that one of our greatest weaknesses lies in the enrolment and retention of our membership. A comparison between the lists of members published in this journal and in that of a year ago suggests a stable membership of about 145. This is a low figure for a society that has been in existence for over forty years and has so much to its credit. In 1992-3 we gained about seventy members, an encouraging figure which should represent an increase in membership of fifty per cent. Unfortunately, it does not, for we also lost about forty members. These include some that

1 See *Decies* no. 14 (May 1980), pp 67-83.

are well known for their active involvement in local history, and our Society can ill afford to do without their participation. Their absence also represents a loss in revenue of £400 (about half the production cost of this journal). A study of their names suggests that very few probably actively intended to leave the Society; their subscriptions simply were not renewed.

The question of members drifting away from the Society needs to be addressed. Either the method of subscribing needs to be reviewed, or former members need to be encouraged back into the fold, or both. Tightening up on membership will strengthen the Society and help it to play a more vigorous role in a Waterford that is changing rapidly, in historical matters as in other ways.

**AS OTHERS SAW US:
SIR RICHARD COLT HOARE VISITS THE BLACKWATER VALLEY, 1806**
presented by Nigel K. de la Poer.

Sir Richard Colt Hoare was born in 1758, the only son of Richard Hoare of Barn Elms, Surrey (created a baronet in 1786), by Anne, second daughter of Henry Hoare of Stourhead, Wiltshire. He was at an early age introduced to the family banking-house in Fleet Street, London, but the liberal allowance of his grandfather, Henry Hoare, soon placed him in a position of independence. In 1785 his wife Hester Lyttelton, whom he had married in 1783, died. To alleviate his grief he resolved to travel, and during the next few years visited many of the countries of Europe. By the time of his death in 1838, he had written over twenty works, some dealing with his foreign tours but mainly with local history. His major achievement, to which he devoted himself after his *Tour of Ireland, A.D. 1806*, was *Ancient History of North and South Wiltshire* (2 vols, London, 1812-21).

On the whole, Hoare's account of Ireland is a most sympathetic one. However, it must be admitted that his narration does not give great insight into the lives of the people he encounters, nor does it contain much detailed description of the country and buildings he visits. In fact William Beckford, the author of *Vathek* and an astute if acerbic critic, scribbled on the flyleaf of his copy of the book: 'The meagre notes of this dry, husky traveller whose mind is as dull and vacant as the dignified coal-hole he has selected as a frontispiece.'¹

One day only was spent in County Waterford, the author having spent Monday 28 July in Youghal and on the 30th making his way to Fermoy and Mallow.

Tuesday 29th July. Having been strongly recommended to visit the Blackwater, I hired a boat with four men, and taking advantage of the tide, rowed up the river to Cappoquin and Lismore; the distance exceeds twenty miles. This river, which near Youghal expands its waters into a spacious bason, begins at about the distance of two miles to contract its channel and assume the character of a river instead of an estuary. Several vessels lay dry upon the shore, awaiting the return of tide to convey them, with their cargoes of sea sand, to Cappoquin. This sand is supposed to possess a very fertilising quality, and is made use of for manure. Some ruins appear on an eminence to the left, which I imagine to be those of Kincrew, noted in Dr Beaufort's map and which appertained to the Knights of St John of Jerusalem. At the first bend of the river, the castle of Temple Michael attracts the eye; a modern house, belonging to Mr Smith, is attached to it, and very happily fills up the centre compartment of a very pleasing landscape. Advancing a little further, a large mansion house belonging to a gentleman of the same name and family appears on the right; and a bold projecting island, well wooded, and adorned with monastic ruins, occupies the middle of the picture: the *tout ensemble* forms a rich view, and composes well. Observe, on looking back, the contrast: on one side, simple nature: rocks clothed only with fern rising above the surface of the river; on the other side, those rocks richly decorated with wood, and works of art. A castle, abbey, two mansion houses, a ferry² and numerous salmon weirs tend to animate the scenery; the left banks of the river are finely indented and wooded. This place is called Ballinatray. Two modes of fishing are adopted for taking salmon in the rivers of the south of Ireland, which are thus described by Mr Tighe in his *Statistical Survey of Kilkenny*: 'The fishing of the rivers is free by custom to the inhabitants of the shores. The country people catch salmon with a snap net, suspended between

1 This is titled 'Subterraneous Temple in the County of Meath' and shows the interior of the burial mound at Newgrange.

2 This ferry is found very useful, when by reason of floods and storms that of Youghal cannot be crossed in safety.

two cots, which are small boats, flat bottomed, narrow, equal at both ends, and governed by paddles; two men are in each boat, one of whom conducts it; and when the fishers feel the net drawn, the boats are closed immediately.³

The weirs on the Blackwater are not (like those at Limerick and many other places) flood weirs, extending across whole river, but are fished only during the latter half of the ebb. The wings are staked and wattled, extend through that part of the river where there is least current, so as not to impede the navigation, and are only as high as half the flood water, where they meet in an angle; the fisherman has a seat elevated upon four framed posts, where he holds the net, and on feeling the salmon strike, collects his net, and draws him into his boat.

The next reach of the river presents a rich outline of wood on the left, and hills covered with fern on the right, closed by others still more lofty at a distance; the monastic remains on the Island of Molana forming a pleasing object each way. In the next bend, the estuary widens: see Clashmore woods on the right; cultivated lands on each side. The channel again contracts itself, and the surface of the waters is much enlivened by numerous cots employed in catching salmon. A ruined fortress (which my boatmen told me bore the name of Strancally) fills up the centre of the scenery. It is placed on a boldly projecting rock, and has an outwork. From whichever side you view it, either on sailing towards it or on retiring from it, it is a pleasing and imposing object. The shores of the Blackwater now become less cultivated, wilder but not wooded, and the loss of Strancally is to be regretted. A long range of well wooded shore now presents itself on the left, with Drumore ferry, and vessels lying at anchor. From the inattention of its owner, a vessel slipped its anchorage here and sunk. This place, where my boatmen applied for some refreshment, is estimated to be eight miles from Youghal. The fine line of wood is succeeded by high sedgy banks on the left, between which the River Bride discharges its waters into the River Blackwater. See Headborough upon an eminence to the left, a seat of the Smith family. On coasting along these uninteresting banks, the eye is suddenly and very agreeably relieved by a distant view of Drumana, the seat of the late Earl of Grandison. The mansion house, built upon an eminence, and surrounded by luxuriant woods, appears full in view; and the eye anticipates the pleasure it expects to derive from the contracted appearance of the channel through which the river seems to wind its course. These hopes, on a nearer view, are not disappointed for, on approaching the demesne, the channel becomes very confined and the mansion house rises perpendicularly from a bold rock completely covered by trees. The character of the next bend of the river is richness: cultivated lands, decked with trees, and distant mountains. The back front of Drumana House presents itself in a very different point of view, and a large extent of well wooded hill adds much to the general beauty of the retrospect. See on the left Turin, a seat of the Musgrave family, where a modern house is apparently attached to an old castle. A grand perpendicular mass of limestone rock attracts the eye on the right.

The town of Cappoquin now opens with the seat of Mr Kane above it; a finely wooded dingle in front, backed by lofty mountains. See a ruined church on the left; flat islands, planted with willows. Quarries of limestone rock, one fine mass of which bounds the river on the left. The village of Cappoquin is situated on the right, which, combined with Mr. Kane's well wooded seat and a pointed mountain beyond it, form a charming *coup d'oeil*. Pass under a wooden bridge, where the river makes a sudden bend to the left: low banks on that side, extensive woods on the right. The river now winds its course within a channel still more contracted (under the demesne of Saltbridge, inhabited by the Chearnley family but formerly the seat of the Musgraves), with fine trees feathering down to the water's edge, though the harmonious colouring of these luxuriant woods is much injured by the chilling and discordant tints of the Scotch fir. On looking back, the village of Cappoquin appears in a very favourable point of view; a fine theatre of wood, and a

3 The curious boats, called coracles, as well as nets, are used in a similar way on the Welsh waters.

picturesque mass of rock on the right. We now come within sight of Lismore and its distant woods; the line of bank which bounds the river on the left is flat and sedgy; that on the right is good, and partially wooded. See an earthen work on an eminence to the left. Our boat being impeded in its further progress up the river by a lock, I took leave of it, and walked to Lismore, distant about a mile and a half.

Though the scenery on the Blackwater cannot by any means be compared with that on many of our rivers and estuaries in England - either with the Wye in Herefordshire, with the Dart in Devonshire, or the Tamar in Cornwall - I am inclined to think it cannot for the long continuance of twenty miles be surpassed, or even rivalled, by any other stream in Ireland. It affords some good subjects for the portfolio, of which the most striking and best adapted to the pencil are those at Balinatray, Strankally, and Drumana, but all must yield to Lismore. . . .

The castle is situated on a rock, rising many feet perpendicular from the River Blackwater; and, feathered with rich wood from its summit to the waters edge, in every point of view it presents itself as a bold and imposing object, and affords the best subject for the pencil of any building I have yet seen during my tour: A handsome stone bridge, built by the Duke of Devonshire, contributes much to the general effect of this pleasing landscape. The ruins are both shapeless and graceless, bearing less the appearance of a castle than of an antiquated mansion house. I have seen no situation where the want of the former is more to be regretted by the artist. At a short distance from the castle, up the river, is a salmon weir which, like the generality of those in Ireland, is very productive.

The parish church, which in former times could have boasted of its episcopal honours, is seated on a hill opposite the castle, and as well as the town and castle has suffered many vicissitudes.....From the few remains that at present exist of its ancient workmanship, we may perceive that it was executed in a good style of architecture. The eastern window was composed of three narrow compartments, half of which are now cut off by an Italian altar. On the south side of the altar are three other pointed windows, and two on the northern side, with a continuation of three more in the same uniform style. The choir bears the external appearance of a cathedral, in its throne, stalls, and pulpit; I say, the appearance only, as it was annexed to the see of Waterford in the year 1363, so that the name only of its former dignity now remains - *Stat nominis umbra*. It has a nave, two transepts, and a choir; one large round arch and two pointed ones separate the nave from the choir, which has an organ.

It contains some neat and simple tablets, with appropriate inscriptions to the memory of the Musgrave and Chearnley families of Saltibridge; but I could discover only one antique tombstone, which forms part of the pavement in the nave, and appears to commemorate some bishop. The stone is decorated with a flowery cross, which divides it into two compartments. On the left side is the figure of a bishop praying; on the opposite side, our Saviour bound with cords; the motto of *Ecce Homo* at his head, and *INRI* at his feet; above each of the figures is an escutcheon of arms. This formed the table of the tomb, and two other stones, corresponding in size and placed in the pavement alongside it, formed the two sides of the tomb. The one represents six of the apostles in a row, with three saints, of which I could only decypher the names of St Catharine and St. Patrick. The other represents the rest of the apostles, with our Saviour on the cross and a figure on each side of him. The whole are sculptured in bas relief on a blue stone; the names on the apostles and saints are affixed to each, and the edge of the tombstone bears an inscription in old characters, but sufficiently perfect to be decyphered.

The churchyard is thickly shaded with trees, and like the generality of those in Ireland, crowded with gravestones, and badly taken care of.

A canal of communication has been cut from the river to some large storehouses lately erected by the Duke of Devonshire; but hitherto little use has been made of either. A new inn also has been built by the same noble proprietor, but on too large a scale for a town where there is no trade and but little travelling. Opposite to it is a handsome building, which serves the different purposes of sessions, market house, and gaol.

THE WILL OF ROBERT FORSTALL OF KILFERAGH, 1645

Presented by Thomas G. Fewer and Kenneth W. Nicholls

INTRODUCTION

by
Thomas G. Fewer

In 1970 Kenneth Nicholls discovered and transcribed the original will of Robert Forstall of Kilferagh, Co. Kilkenny, dated 7 July 1645. The will was found amongst the Power O'Shee papers in the National Library, though it is not mentioned in the published Ainsworth report for this collection.¹ However, reference had been made to this will previously. In 1892, George Dames Burtchaell quoted an excerpt from this document that had earlier been published in *Burke's History of the Commoners* inasmuch as it related to members of the Fitzgerald or Baron family of Burnchurch, Co. Kilkenny.² He also mentioned that Burke's *Peerage*³ refers to a will of Richard FitzGerald, or Baron, of Burnchurch (also dated 7 July 1645), appointing his father-in-law Robert Forstall to be guardian of his two children. Burtchaell was unable to locate either manuscript at the time, stating that they were not 'now to be found in the Public Record Office, nor is there any trace there of their existence'. In 1914 Fr Stephen Barron reprinted Burtchaell's account of the Forstall will *verbatim* without acknowledgement, giving no further information on the document.⁴ It is the purpose of this article to print a full transcript of the Forstall will and also to provide some details on the persons mentioned therein. The article also forms a contribution to the study of seventeenth-century history and of a particular family, two areas of historical research under-represented in *Decies*⁵.

Robert Forstall and his family

The Forstalls (or Forrestalls, Forristals) were an Anglo-Norman family which, according to MacLysaght, 'appear very frequently in all medieval records dealing with the counties of Kilkenny and Wexford and also in Co. Kildare'.⁶ MacLysaght also lists the 'four main branches of the Forristal family [which were] respectively at Forrestallstown, Carricloney, Kilbride and Mullinahar, all in the southern part of Co. Kilkenny'. He neglects to mention, however, the Forstalls of Kilferagh who, as lords of the manor of Kilferagh, should be considered another leading branch of the family. Indeed, the nineteenth-century Callan historian, Thomas Shelly, considered the Kilferagh Forstalls to have been *the* leading branch of the family and added that they owned castles in Callan.⁷ Owen O'Kelly reported that the remaining walls of the Forrestal castle built at Kilferagh circa 1540 were incorporated in Kilfera House, the home of Captain Stopford.⁸ The origins of the Kilferagh branch are unclear. The manor of Kilferagh was originally held by the Avenal family in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and then possibly by the Butlers, before coming into the possession of the Forstalls.⁹ The earliest known member of the family connected with the lands later held by Robert Forstall was Geoffrey de Forestal, whose heir held a knight's fee in Damma (parish of Ballycallan, Crannagh barony) in 1317. Geoffrey himself was sheriff of County Kilkenny in 1263 and witnessed a number of deeds regarding Corstown in Ballycallan.¹⁰

1 *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 20, pp 216-58.

2 G. D. Burtchaell, 'The Geraldines of Co. Kilkenny. I: The Barons of Burnchurch,' *JRSAI*, vol. 22, p. 372.

3 Edn of 1892, under 'Barron'.

4 Stephen Barron, 'Distinguished Waterford families. II: Barron. Introduction,' *JWSEIAS*, xviii, pp 62-3.

5 See indexes in *Decies*, nos 45 and 46.

6 MacLysaght, *More Irish Families*, p. 111. He states in his *Surnames of Ireland* (p.113) that the name means 'paddock' and is not a variant of Forester.

7 *Memorials of the Dead*, I, pp 422-3.

8 *Place names of Co. Kilkenny*, p. 184.

9 M. F. Hurley, 'Kilferagh, Co. Kilkenny', in T. C. Cleary, M. Hrueley, and E. A. Twohig, eds., *Archaeological excavations on the Cork-Dublin pipeline*, (Cork, 1987), p. 88.

10 Brooks, *Knight's fees*, pp 235 n. 4, 239-9. Corstowne was listed among the Forstalls' possessions in an inquisition of 1621 (mentioned below). Ballyfrunk, a manor held by Robert Forstall, also lies in Crannagh barony.

During the reign of Edward III (1327-77), Richard Forstall was collector of the subsidy in the cantred (barony) of Sileythir (Shillelogher), and (as William Healy has suggested) may be identified with a Kilkenny burgess of the same name who was living in 1383.¹¹ John Forstalle was also a collector of the subsidy for Shillelogher barony in December 1420.¹² From him is probably descended Robert Forrestall, 'lord of Kilferagh and chief of his name', who died on 16 March 1541. The next two lords of Kilferagh were Patrick Forstall (also a fforstal, or fforster), who additionally held lands of the manor of Gowran in c. 1560 and died in 1568, and Robert Forrestall, who was also styled lord of Balifronk (Ballyfrunk) and died in 1585.

His son James, who succeeded him as lord of Kilferagh, was Constable of the barony of Shillecher in 1608. According to an inquisition of 24 May 1621, James had been seised in fee of the manor, town and lands of Kilferagh, including a water-mill and two weirs on the river Nore, comprising 12 acres great country measure, 'and of 10s. annually issuing from the town and lands of Washes Haies [Sheestown]', all which he held of the Crown in *capite* by knight's service. He similarly held the town and lands of Ballifranke [sic] (including a water-mill), which totalled 10 acres great country measure. He also held land from other lords, including: Castlegarden (or Newgra[i]ge) and Carraman comprising 10 acres great country measure held from John Cantwell, lord of the manor of Kilfane; Kilmanahine or Balliregan (3 acres of land, same measure), Killcourse, and Cowleshill or Rathin Rostch [sic] (3 acres of land, same measure), held of Thomas Shortall, lord of the manor of Dungarvan (by fealty only); 3 acres of arable and 5 acres of pasture land in Corstown or Gurtinemucke, held from the manor of Tullaghroan (by fealty only); 'and 10s. annually issueing out of Corstown aforesaid'. James married twice, first to Ellis (or Alice) Shortall (who d. 1597) and secondly to Ellen Comerford. He died on 4 July 1619 and was succeeded by his son Robert.¹³

According to the 1621 inquisition, Robert Forstall of Kilferagh was thirty years old and married at the time he succeeded to the property two years earlier. The Book of Survey and Distribution for Co. Kilkenny lists him as the former proprietor of 441 acres and 3 reeves of land in Kilfera (Kilfera parish, Shillelogher barony).¹⁴ He is subsequently mentioned in an inquisition of 18 August 1623: that Rowland FitzGerald alias Barron of Burnchurch, Robert Forstall and others, were seised in fee of one castle, two mills, and twenty-four acres of land, great measure (comprising arable, wood, underwood, and pasture), in Kiltranyn, or Burnchurch; Bwolye, or Liffirgill; Graige, or Crockers-graige; Heberdstown; Danginspidogye, or Davidstown, and Athytibbot (all of which were held of the Crown in *capite* by knight's service); as well as 12s. arising from the lands and tenements of William FitzGerald in Burnchurch.¹⁵ Healy notes that Robert was engaged in the rising of 1641.¹⁶ Indeed, Robert's name appears among a number of signatories of 'the greater part of the nobility and gentry and commons of this poore kingdome [Ireland]' (in fact, mainly of County Kilkenny) in a petition addressed to the earl of Ormond and dated 31 July 1642.¹⁷ The petitioners were Confederate rebels who claimed that Lord Ormond's 'eminent place' as commander of the King's army in Ireland moved them to offer their services to him, and the petition was headed by Lords Gormanston, Mountgarret, Ikerrin, and Dunboyne, as well as by David Rothe, Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory. In 1645, Robert states in his will that he was 'sick in boddy' and he obviously feared for his life. He must have died not long afterwards, as the will was proved on 15 December 1645 (the probate was written in Latin at the foot of the document). This fact is important as it was previously thought that Robert was alive at least as late

11 Healy, *Kilkenny*, p.299. Kilferagh (Robert Forstall's more important manor) and Wasses hayes both lie in Shillelogher barony.

12 Richardson and Sayles, *Parliament and councils of medieval Ireland*, i, p. 161.

13 For sixteenth-century generations of Forstalls, see Healy, *op. cit.*, p. 300, and Carrigan, *Ossory*, iii, p. 222; for 1621 inquisition, see Healy, p. 298 (the more detailed of the two), and Carrigan, pp 222-3.

14 Healy, *op. cit.*, appendix, pp 28-9.

15 Healy, pp 445-6 (for the most complete version); Burtchaell, p. 371; Barron, p. 61.

16 *op. cit.*, p. 300.

17 Published in Hogan, *Letters and papers relating to the Irish Rebellion*, pp 96-7.

as 1661, when according to Carrigan, he was at the crusty old age of seventy-two!¹⁸ There are in fact a number of records of the late 1650s and 1660s which refer to a Robert Forstall, but this individual was actually the grandson of the man who wrote the will of 1645. If Robert was buried at Kilferagh, as he had wished, there is no evidence of a monument marking his grave at the churchyard. Earlier generations of Kilferagh Forstalls were buried at Sheestown church (i.e., the parish church of Kilferagh) in the sixteenth century.¹⁹ It is possible that Robert may have been interred among their remains since his will specifies his 'Auncestors Monument' as his final resting place.

At the time of his will in 1645, Robert was married to Giles Laffin and had three sons and three daughters:

1. Patrick Forstall, who was married to Johan, daughter of Richard Purcell of Garryduff. The notion that Patrick had married Ellice, daughter of David FitzGerald, Baron of Brownsford (by Joan, daughter of John Morres of Lateragh, County Tipperary), in July 1611, is chronologically impossible as Patrick's father would have been only 22 years old at the time.²⁰ Robert's will indicates that Patrick had settled the towns and lands of Rathin Rotch and Tiaghcouke (or Kilincorse), and the moiety of the town and lands of Kilmo[.]metime in jointure on Johan's father. This would have been the basis for Johan's income should she have become widowed.²¹ By a deed poll of 20 December 1649, of which an abstract is appended below, Patrick gave up all his rights to the mill, weir, fishing lake, and a portion of land in or near Waseshayes, Blackhouse hayes and adjacent lands, in consideration of £25 paid to him by Marcus Shee, who claimed the property. He petitioned the duke of Ormonde on 15 March 1650 about the town and lands of Kilmanahin ('part of his inheritance') because John Archdekin alias Cody was in arrears to him.²² He is given as a forfeiting proprietor in Crannagh barony in or after 1657.²³ He left a son:

1a. Robert, mentioned in his grandfather's will and in the petition to Ormonde in 1650. Carrigan (although confusing him with his grandfather) states that he forfeited his lands under the Cromwellian regime in 1653, though the Down Survey indicates that he was still proprietor in 1657.²⁴ However, he seems to have forfeited later that year or subsequently, according to O'Hart,²⁵ and was assigned land in the baronies of Clare and Tuam in County Galway.²⁶ This is confirmed by the 1659 poll tax, which returned Atland Tench, gentleman, as 'titulado' of Wasses hayes and Kilfera.²⁷ Indeed, there are no Forstalls listed among the 'principal Irish names' for either the baronies of Shillelogher or Crannagh in which their lands lay. Robert is subsequently mentioned as still living in 1661.²⁸ He next shows up among the nominees of the duke of Ormonde to be restored to their lands in 1664.²⁹ Robert was then still seised of the town and lands of Castlegarden,

18 op. cit., iii p. 223.

19 or their inscriptions, see Healy, p. 300; Carrigan, pp 224-5. *Memorials of the Dead*, iii, p. 479 gives the inscriptions for only three gravestones, all of which post-date 1700 and none of which refers to a Forstall.

20 G. D. Burtchaell, 'The Geraldines of the Co. Kilkenny, iii: The Barrons of Brownsford' *JRSAL* vol.23 p. 414; Fr Stephen Barron, 'Barron (Continued) Appendix. The Barons of Brownsford,' *JWSEIAS* xviii pp 76,84.

21 For examples of other early modern marriage jointures, see K. W. Nicholls, 'Irishwomen and property in the sixteenth century,' in MacCurtain and O'Dowd, eds., *Women in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 1991), p. 24.

22 Gifford Charles-Edwards, 'Calendar of petitions to Ormonde in 1649 and 1650 (from Carte MSS 155-7),' *Irish Genealogist*, vi, p.593

23 O'Hart, *Irish landed gentry*, p. 263.

24 Carrigan, iii, p. 223; G. D. Burtchaell, 'Calendar of documents relating to Kilkenny. Down Survey (newspaper cutting, June/July 1892, among Walsh Kelly MSS).

25 O'Hart op. cit., p. 263.

26 Simington, *Transplantation to Connacht*, pp 84,112. Of the 400 Irish acres of profitable land he was decreed to receive, the Book of Survey and Distribution indicates that he obtained only half.

27 Pender, *Census of Ireland c. 1659*, p. 427. The Book of Survey and Distribution gives the new proprietors of Kilferagh as George Say (and company), Col. Carey Dillon, and Richard Izod (Healy, Appendix, pp 28-9).

28 Carrigan, iii, 223 (as mentioned earlier, Carrigan thought that this date referred to Robert who died in 1645).

29 'The dispossessed landowners of Ireland, 1664,' *Irish Genealogist*, iv, p. 286.

amounting to 20 acres, which had been retrenched.³⁰ The absence of his name among the hearth money rolls of Kilkenny in 1664 suggests that either he was living outside the country at that time or had died that year.³¹

2. William Forstall, mentioned in his father's will. A William fforstall paid hearth tax in St Patrick's Out Ward in Kilkenny in 1664.³²

3. Father Michael Forstall, Franciscan friar, is mentioned in the will as the recipient of one-third of his father's 'household stuffe' which he was to share with his brother William. Carrigan mentions that a Michael fforstall of Kilfane, gent, 'who was probably of the same family, was outlawed by the Williamites in 1691 and 1696'.³³

1. A daughter stated in her father's will to be married to Foulke Denn, who held Ballyfruncke of his father-in-law. Her husband was presumably Foulke, fourth son of Patrick Fitzfulk Denn (d. 1639) who held the manor of Grennan.³⁴

2. A daughter supposed to have married Richard FitzGerald alias Barron of Burnchurch.³⁵ This daughter is not mentioned in her father's will, possibly because she was already dead. This is strongly suggested by her father's desire that her children Gerrot and Onor be taken into the care of their Forstall grandmother. Richard was the owner of 816 acres of land in Burnchurch, 244 acres 3 roods in Baoper,³⁶ and 134 acres 3 roods and 8 perches in Bowley.³⁷ Carrigan notes that he joined the Confederates during the rebellion of the 1640s, after which he is recorded as a defendant in a petition to the duke of Ormonde made on 25 January 1650 by Matthew Dowdall, exciseman of Shillelogher barony, for tax due.³⁸ Barron forfeited his estate under Cromwell and was transplanted to Connacht in 1653.³⁹ The Book of Survey and Distribution indicates that virtually all of Barron's lands were granted to Col. William Warden who, with Samuel Booth and Henry Wassher, gentlemen, was titulado of Burnt church in 1659.⁴⁰ However, he is given in an inquisition dated 13 April 1664 as having been, in October 1641, seized of the town and lands of Bowley (of which almost 24 acres were retrenched).⁴¹ Though listed in 1664 as a nominee of the duke of Ormonde to be returned to his estates,⁴² he is likely to have been dead by this time. He is not listed for any part of Shillelogher barony as a hearth tax payer for that same year,⁴³ and his second (?) wife, Elizabeth St Leger, had remarried to John FitzGerald by 1663.⁴⁴ Richard had two children by Forstall's daughter:

1a. Garret Barron alias FitzGerald, mentioned in his maternal grandfather's will. According to all accounts he died young.⁴⁵

30 G. D. Burtchaell, 'Calendar of documents relating to Kilkenny (extracted from the Calendar of Patent Rolls and various sources). Charles II. 1664 (newspaper cutting' 22 Oct. 1892, among Walsh Kelly MSS).

31 J. C. Walton, 'The hearth money rolls of Co. Kilkenny, *Irish Genealogist*, v, 33-47, 169-80.

32 Walsh-Kelly cuttings.

33 Carrigan, iii, p. 223; J. G. Simms, ed., 'Irish Jacobites', *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 22, pp 42, 43, 85.

34 Healy, p. 401.

35 Burtchaell, p. 372; Healy, p. 447; Barron, pp 62,65.

36 Identified as Viper by Carrigan, iii, p. 380.

37 Healy, Appendix, pp. 30-31; Down Survey (Walsh-Kelly cuttings).

38 Charles-Edwards, p. 596.

39 Burtchaell, p. 372 (where the date of the transplantation certificate is given as 26 December 1653); Barron, p. 63. Carrigan (iii, p. 380) gives the date of transplantation as 1654, while Healy (p. 477) states that FitzGerald was ordered to transplant to Connacht but does not give the date.

40 Healy, Appendix, pp 30-31; Pender, 1659 *Census*, p. 427.

41 Burtchaell, p. 373; Barron, p. 63.

42 *Irish Genealogist* iv, p. 286.

43 Walton, 'Hearth money rolls', pp 169-72.

44 Elizabeth St Leger: information from K. W. Nicholls.

45 *Burke's Peerage* (1892); Burtchaell, p. 372; Barron, p. 63; Carrigan, iii, p. 380.

1a. Onor Baron alias FitzGerald, mentioned in her grandfather's will. Also died young.⁴⁶

He had another son by Elizabeth St Leger:

2a. Simon FitzGerald.⁴⁷

3. Catherine Forstall, mentioned in her father's will, by which she was to receive an annuity. She may have been the wife of William Fanning, who is stated in the will to be her father's son-in-law. This may have been the William Fanning who held the lands of Farrenrory, Ballymaccloughny, Kilmackeboge, and others, which were created into the manor of Farrenrory by patent dated 5 March 1637.⁴⁸

The will mentions other relatives of Robert Forstall, including his cousin Peter Shortall (presumably the nephew of Robert's mother), and a Margaret Purcell alias Forstall whose intended jointure passed to Johan Purcell, Patrick Forstall's wife. Was Margaret a sister of Johan Purcell and Patrick's original bride-to-be? Finally, Robert's will indicates that he also had a sister who had married Robert St John of St John's towne, Co. Tipperary.⁴⁹

Robert Forstall's will and its wider historical value

From the Reformation until 1858, testamentary jurisdiction lay with the Established Church. The will of a person whose property lay entirely within one diocese was proved at the Consistorial Court of the bishop.⁵⁰ All of the original wills filed in the various consistorial courts around the country were deposited in the Public Record Office in Dublin during the second half of the nineteenth century and were as a result destroyed in the Four Courts fire of 1922.⁵¹ Consequently, surviving seventeenth-century wills are quite rare, which makes the Forstall one a valuable example.

The Forstall will is doubly important because it was proved by the Catholic bishop of Ossory, David Rothe, and not his Protestant counterpart. Between 1642 and 1650, the largely Catholic rebel assembly calling itself the Confederation of Kilkenny legislated for those parts of Ireland under its control. Unfortunately, most of the Confederation's documents have been destroyed (many perished in the Four Courts in 1922), so that our knowledge of its organisation and extent is poor.⁵² A private treaty signed by the earl of Glamorgan as representative of King Charles I and the representatives of the Confederates in late August 1645 (probably while Robert Forstall was languishing in bed) allowed Catholics 'the free and public exercise of religion, the retention of all churches not in Protestant hands, and freedom from the jurisdiction of the Protestant clergy'.⁵³ This was obviously a recognition of the *de facto* situation at the time. Since the probate of Forstall's will occurred only three months or so afterwards, it thus constitutes an early document relating to the new legal status of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland as well as to the Confederacy's administration. This article is therefore presented as a small part of the 'significant body of localised studies' called for by Micheál Ó Siochrú on which could be constructed a reliable

46 As note 45.

47 Simon is mentioned as a son of Richard by Carrigan, (p. 390).

48 Healy, p. 450.

49 The 'Census' of 1659 (p. 305) indicates that St John's towne was no longer in the hands of the St John family at this time, the titulado then being Thomas Tobin, gent. However, there were nine families of St John amongst the 'principal names' of Sleavordagh (Slieveradagh) barony and a further seven in the barony of Middlethird (pp 297, 309).

50 ffollott and O'Byrne, 'Wills and administrations: a prime source for family research, 'in D. Begley, ed., *Irish Genealogy: A record finder*, p 159; John Grenham *Tracing your Irish ancestors*, p. 53; D. Begley, ed. (1984) *Handbook on Irish genealogy*, p. 17.

51 ffollott and O'Byrne, p. 166.

52 Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'Sixteen forty revisited,' *Education Review*, ii, p. 33.

53 Fearghus Ó Fearghail, 'The Catholic Church in County Kilkenny 1600-1800,' *Kilkenny: history and society*, p. 208.

historical synthesis regarding the Confederation.⁵⁴

Robert Forstall's will offers us a glimpse of the wealth and lifestyle of a mid-seventeenth century landed gentleman. It is interesting to compare it with, for example, the will (dated 13 January 1613) of his near contemporary (and his father's overlord), Thomas, tenth earl of Ormond, which survives amongst the Ormonde MSS in the National Library.⁵⁵ What is needed is the study of a number of gentlemen's (and gentlewomen's) testamentary records from the seventeenth century so that we may learn more about this social class at that time.⁵⁶ Finally, one curious feature of Robert's will is that it has the signatures of four witnesses: Fr James Walsh, Patricke Forstall, Daniel Macher, and John Weyry. English law in Ireland did not require the signatures of witnesses to the signing of a will by the testator until 1695.⁵⁷ Perhaps the uncertain times of the mid-1640s prompted Robert to have his will endorsed with the signatures of the witnesses so named.

TRANSCRIPT

by

Kenneth W. Nicholls

In dei Nomine Amen. The seventh day of July, one thousand six hundred fortie and five. I Robert Forstall of Kilferagh in the Countie of Kilkenny gentleman, sick of boddy but of perfect witt and memory (God be thancked) doe hereby make and declare my last Will and Testament in writing revoking thereby both in deede and in lawe all former wills and Testaments.

First I commende my soule to Almighty God my maker and redeemer and my boddie to be buried in my parish Church of Kilferagh in my Auncestors Monument.

First, I doe leave and bequeath unto my son and heire Patricke Forstall the Lordship mannor towne and lands of and in [Kil]feragh and the Kill of Kilferagh with all the members appurtenances and appendances thereunto belonging and the cheefe [rents] signories and suites of Courtes due or belonging to the same. To have and to houlde all the bequeathed premisses unto my said sonn and heire Patricke Forstall for and during his naturall life and imedeatie after his decease unto his son and heire apparent Robert For[] the younger and the heires males of his bodd[y] lawfully begotten and to be begotten. The said Patricke and the said Robert succeeding him and satisfiing and paying unto mr Patricke Mourphie of Kilkenny marchant or to his assignees six pounds sterling English money yearely as interest money due yearely by the forbearance of sixty pounds sterling English money, the said rent to be paid yearely and [galy] untill the said sixtie pounds sterling be paied unto the said Patricke or his assigns according to his agreement with me.

For as much as my sonn Patricke hath heretofore covenanted and agreed with Mr Richard Purcell of Garryduff gentleman to pass unto him as joynture for his daughter Joha[n] Purcell the townes and lands of Rahine Rotch, Tiaghcouke als Kilincosse and the moietie of the toune and lands of Kilmo[]metime which was formerly intend to be for Margaret Purcell als Forstall as in joynture untill with her friends and her owne consent the same was consented to be past as aforesaid. I doe therefore consent unto my sonn to performe the same as he thincke fitt.

And for as much as uppon the intermarriage of me and my wife Giles Laffin als Forstall the moiety of the towne Castle and lands of Balyfroncke was past unto her for aer joynture during life I doe leave and bequeath unto my said wife Thirtie pounds sterling being the moiety of the rent

54 Ó Siochrú, p. 34.

55 See C. A. Empey, 'Ormond deeds in the National Library of Ireland,' *Journal of the Butler Society*, no. 7, pp 519-21 (especially pp 519-20 for a list of the items that Thomas bequeathed to his wife). See also note 49 above for the locations of other seventeenth-century will abstracts.

56 References to other published wills and will abstracts (of various dates) can be found in Holiott and O'Byrne, pp 174-80, Grenham, pp 59-63. A few seventeenth-century wills from the diocese of Ossory have been abstracted and are published in J. C. Walton, ed., 'Kilkenny will abstracts by Edmund Walsh Kelly,' *Old Kilkenny Review* (1988), pp 503-20; while the abstracts compiled by Carrigan are indexed in *Irish Genealogist* (1970). Those relating to Waterford have been indexed by J. C. Walton, in a series of articles in *Decies* XVI to XXIII.

57 J. C. Brady, 'Legal developments, 1801-79,' in *New History of Ireland*, v, p. 454.

due for the same of Catherine Archer lessee of [the] premisses and doe leave that the said Catherine and her assignees shall yearely satisfie unto my said wife Thirtie pounds sterling English money free and discharged of anny rents or intrest for use of money which [] ent I doe assigne to her to have and to hold unto her my said wife the said thirty pounds rent during her [natur]all life and after her decease to my said sonn Patricke during life the remainder to his son Robert [the] younger.

I doe also leave and bequeath unto my said sonn Patricke to be payed out of the other moi[ety of the sa] id towne [and] lands of Ballyfranck to him [] heirs the summe of foure and twentie pounds [ste]rling English money yearely and that the said Catherine Archer and her assignees shall satisfie and pay [] he cont[] of her lease during larin [] for the other six [] he remaine of her rent per annum.

I doe leave and bequeath the same six pound sterling [] the said Catherin and to her assignees [in] full satisfaction of the six p [] sixty pounds sterling by me received. To have [] detaine the said six pounds sterling yearly unto the said Catherin Ar[cher] pay [] to the sa[id] Catherin [] said summe of Sixtie pounds sterling in [one] intier payment and after the [] pay [] []t gale as [] the said [] satisfie and pay unto the said Patricke or his heires the one moiety of the said rent if th[] quarter [] r..y [] and six pounds sterling [] continuance of her lease according the interest thereof to be paied unto the said Patr[].

Item I doe leave and bequeath [] [] Archer and her assignees the said [] of Ballyfrancke to continue unto her and to her assignees as well during the residue of the [] unexpired in her first lease and also during the ole(?) yeare in her second lease in reversion to [] according the true meaning of the said leases, she and her assignees satisfying and paying the [] incerted in the said lease [] yearely according the con[te]nts of this will. And alsoe observing and performing [the] other Covenants conditions and clauses which on her parte are to be performed by the said leases [] alsoe leave and bequeath unto my said sonn Patricke [] parcell of land commonly called Gurtinemucke lying [] and being in Corrstone mearing with Curragh leogho to have and to hould unto him the said Patricke [] e Gurtinemucke and the rents and reversions thereof during his naturall life, the remainder to his sonn Robert.

I doe also leave and bequeath unto him the said Patricke tenn shillings rent due to me out of. [] more yearely. To have and to hould unto him d[ur]ing his naturall life the remainder to his son Robert.

And further I doe leave and bequeath unto my said wife Giles forstall alias Laffan for her o[wn] dwelling house and place of habitation and as a third parte of the rest of my lands, saving of the moietie of Kilmanihine the Castle, townes, lands, tenements and hereditaments of Castlegarden Killellis [C]arraman, Newgrandge, Kilbride, Curraghbochellan and Teaghcownan with all the parks, meadows, moores, pastures, feedings, arable lands, woods and underwoods, waters, watercourses, mountaines, hills, On [] and with all and singular their appurtenances appendances thereunto belonging or in anywise appurtayning. To have and to hould unto her during her natural life and after her decease the same to be unto my sonn Patricke for and during his naturall life, the remainder to be to his sonn Robert the younger.

And for as much as I have thorough omission and forgetfullness charged the said Castlegarden with his appurtenances with tenn pounds sterling English money of rent chardge p annum unto Mr Patrick Murphie aforesaid marchant for the forebearance of one hundred pounds sterling during the non payment thereof. Nowe my will is, for [re]dresse of the same, and soe do leave bequeath and assigne the twelve pounds sterling due to my son Patricke out of the moietie of Kilmanehine payable unto me or my assignees for the yeares yett to runne unto my said wife for to discharge the said rent due uppon Castlegarden unto Mr Patricke Murphie. And if the said yeares to runne by the said Patrick's lease be expired during the lityme of my wife, I doe leave and bequeath unto her the verie moitie of Kilmanehine alias Ballireg.. during her naturall life for to descharge the said tenn p(oun)ds due out of Castlegarden yearely during her owne life. Provided

and it is my true intent and meaning that if [] sonn Patrick and his heires doe undertake and give good securitie to my said wife for to pay and satisfie the said tenn pounds yearely rent unto Mr Patricke Murphie or his assignees in the dischargd of the said tenn pounds sterling due unto him out of Castlegarden, then and not before, my will is that my sonn Patricke shall have hold continue and enjoy the said moitie of Kilmanehin als Ballyregan unto himselfe during his life, the remainder to my sonn Robert.

I doe institut and appoint for my moveable goods my wife and my sonn William to be joynt sole Executors of this my last will and Testament.

Item. I leave and bequeath unto my said wife as legacie to her owne use my plowgh of garrans [] leave unto her as legacies all my sheep which be both at Castlegarden and Kilferagh being but one flocke.

Item. I doe leave unto her a [] legacie for her and her servants riding my gray []ard and her owne bay gelding.

Item. I leave and bequeath unto her as legacie my greate messing pann with a brand iron which I had of her father as parte of her preferment.

Item. I doe also leave and bequeath unto her as leg[] my smallest bowle of silver I have for beere and the cupp of silver I have for Wine.

Item. I doe leave and bequeath unto my sonn Patricke the biggest silver bowle I have for Beere and my cupp of silver for Aquavita.

Item. I doe leave and bequeath as legacie the little bay gelding I have unto my sonn William.

Item. My will is and soe doe leave unto my sonn Patricke all my boords, furmes, stooles, chaires, cuppards, bedsteads which I have in this toun.

Item. I doe also leave and bequeath unto him as legacies two Carpletts and the second best Carplett for my wife.

Item. My will is and soe do leave and bequeath that if I die before [ha]llentide next that the two partes of my Crophe and sowing shall be bestowed and sould for the expenses of my funerall and debts due to me for soe much as that will make up the third for my wife's use.

Item. Alsoe my will is that if I die by the said tyme, my sonn Patrick and my wife shall paye my sonn inlaw Mr Foulke Denn at hallantide next the Michaelmas rent next due of Ballyfrancke being after other payment heretofore made by my tenant unto me is but twentie three pounds sterling and that the remaine of fifty pounds sterling due to him after shalbe paid unto him by my said sonn and wife at Easter next or within a month after by the said rent due of Ballyfrancke then as the same is heretofore severally bequeathed unto them.

Lastly, my will is and soe doe declare it for true intent and leave and bequeath that if my sonn Patrick doe exact call or demand for anny heire lotts child's portions or anny other demand out of my goods or cattles then what is formally bequeathed and legacied to him thenn I doe hereby annull call back exclude and deprive him from getting the benefitt of any former bequest or legacie made unto him.

Item. I doe leave and bequeath that all the rest of my goods that [] Corne in ground or above ground and household stufte shall be divided into three partes, the third parte whereof I leave unto my wife as her own right another third parte unto my executors, and the other third parte unto [] sonn William and father Michaell the Franciscan friar as their child's porcion.

Item. My will is that my grandchildren Gerrott Baron and Onor Baron als fitzGerald is goods chattles and household stufte which lyeth [] hands my wife to have the manadging of them during her life and after it before she be not discharged of them leave them to a speciall friend of trust belonging to the sd children. And for the fortie pounds nineteene []llings ster: due to them I doe leave and bequeath that my sonn Patrick and my wife shall pay the same out of the rents to be received by them out of my lands and the rather for the same mony was paid unto me d[ough]ter Catherin as parte of her preferment I doe constitut and ordaine my brother-in-law Robert St John of St John's towne in the County of Tipperarie Esqr., my cossen Peter Shortall of the County of

Kilkenny Esqr., and my sonn in lawe Mr William Faning to be overseers and tutors of this my last Will and Testament.

Lastly my intent and due meaning is and soe doe leave and bequeath by this my last will and testament that all the lands tenements and hereditaments specified and comprised in this will, vizt the Lordshipp towne and manor of Kilferagh the signories [ch]eferie and suite of Courte thereunto belonging and the water Mill and Tucking Mill, river and fishing weares thereunto belonging with all and singular the profitts purtenances and appendances unto the [] belonging or appertayning in any wise [] the Castle t[own] lands tenements and hereditaments of Ballyfranke with all their appurtenances, Gortememu[cke] with his appurtenances and tenn shillings rent issuing and growing out of [] lands and tenements of Castlegarden als Caramo Corregh Cohelan and Teaghcowan with all [] appurtenances the townes and villages of Kilmanehin and Ballyregan with their app[urtenances] and the towne lands tenements and hereditaments of Rathinrotch Kilcorsie als Tigh [] after the uses and bequests and payments heretofore be determined to be and remain the [] to my son and heire Patricke Forstall for and during his naturall life and after his [] use of his sonn and heire my grandcchild Robert Forstall the younger during his natural life and after his decease to the use of Patricke Forstall the younger son and heire to Robert the you[n]ger during his natural life and the heires males of his boddy lawfully begotten and to be begotten and for lacke of suche heires males to the heires males of the said Robert the younger lawfully begotten [] and for lacke of suche heires males to the heires males of the body of my son Patricke lawfully begotten and to be begotten. And for lacke of such heires to the lawful heires of me the said Robert the elder lawfully begotten. And for lacke of such heires to the rightfull heires males of the boddy of my father James Forstall lawfully begotten forever.

In witness all and singular the premisses by me made I thereunto fix my seale subscribed my name the day and yeare first above written. Robert Forstall.

Being present at the declaring hereof Sr James Walsh priest: Patricke Forstall Daniell Mach [] John Weyry.

Probate⁵⁸

Tenor Literarum presentium Nos David Dei et apostolici sedis gratia Ossoriensis Episcopus notum facimus d[]s testamentum suprascriptum Roberti Forstall Armigeri defuncti decimo quinto die [mensis (?)] Decembris anno domini predicto coram nobis in specifica juris forma prelatum et insinuatum fuisse necnon Administrationem omnium et singulorum bonorum curium creditorum cattalorum dicti defuncti Executores in dicto testamento constitutis et nominatis commissum esse de bene et fideliter administrando eadem ac solvendo debita ac legata[] eiusdem defuncti iuxta iuris (?) formam et [] dicti testamenti, de quo condiciendo et exhibitendo (?) in Registrum nostrum plenum [] ac(?) integrum inventarium omnium et singulorum bonorum et cattalorum predictorum [Beate] Marie Virginis iam proximam sequentem cum ad id illi (?) requisiti ad Sancta Dei Evangelia premitis in debita iuris forma iuratis [salvo iure cujusunque]. Dat[]].

Abstract of another deed in same collection

Deed poll of Patrick Forstall of Killferagh, Co. Kilkenny, Esq. Whereas there had been controversy between him and his ancestors on the one part and Marcus Shee of Waseshayes Esq. his ancestors and those whose estate in Waseshayes he hath on the other part concerning the possession right title and interest of 'the grinding mill, were, fishing, laken and parcell of land called Piers Rothes Croft with the falling ground betwixt that and the river of the Neore', all in or near Waseshayes and now in occupation of the said Marcus and his undertennants, and also the chief rent of 10s. Irish 'be it

58 Gaps denote words that were legible in the original but have unfortunately faded in the transcript.

more or less' claimed by Patrick and his ancestors out of Waseshayes, Blackhouse hayes and other lands adjoining. Now he, 'finding out by ancient evidences as by the testimony of ancient and credible witnesses' that they ought to belong to the said Marcus as proprietor of Waseshayes, and also in consideration of £25 Ster. paid to him by said Marcus, grants and releases, etc., to said Marcus, his heirs and assigns for ever, all his right etc. to said grinding mill, were and fishing thereunto belonging, or unto the land commonly called Piers Roothes Croft and the land betwixt it and the Neore, or to the said Chief rent, etc.

20 December 1649

witnessed by:

Richard Shee
James (?) Shee fitz Mo:
() Walsh
Gorge C(?)eynan
Raph St. Laurence
John Shee

Note: We acknowledge with gratitude the permission of the Council of Trustees of the National Library of Ireland to publish the above documents.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS AT KILROSSANTY OLD GRAVEYARD, CO. WATERFORD

*Transcribed by Des Prendergast
Illustrations by Rosaleen Garbett*

INTRODUCTION (by Editorial Committee)

Canon Power described Kilrossanty in 1907 as 'a parish of large extent . . . mountainous, secluded, and Irish-speaking'.¹ There are several theories as to the origin of the name, the most obvious derivation being from *Cill Rosantach*, meaning the church of the shrubby place. The ruined medieval church and graveyard stand in a delightful setting about 400 yards north-east of Kilrossanty village. The prefix 'Kil' suggests that it was a pre-Norman foundation, and this is borne out by the presence in the adjoining field of three holy wells - *Tobar Iosa, Tobar Mhuire and Tobar Bhríghde*. When O'Curry and O'Donovan visited the site in June 1841, they found no less than thirty people doing the stations, which consisted of three rounds of the graveyard, three rounds of the wells, and some prayers recited at a spot beside the west gable. This gable is no longer standing, but in 1841 it was covered in rags which had been inserted into the crevices by way of votive offerings.²

The present church ruin (Figure 1) is of impressive size considering the isolated nature of the site, its most prominent feature being the chancel arch. Canon Power ascribed this to the 15th century³ and his surmise is confirmed by the clearly visible wicker centering as well as the punch dressing on the sandstone capitals. He also mentions what he took to be a mason's mark on the upper side of the northern capital. While it is difficult to think of any other explanation, it is much more elaborate than the usual mason's mark. A segment of about one-third of a circle is visible, the rest possibly continuing under the masonry of the arch. If the same pattern were maintained it would comprise a double circle of about twelve inches outer diameter, the inner circle being divided into quadrants each containing what looks like an oriental palm tree, their tops pointing towards the middle.

In the wall from which this capital protrudes is a squint splayed outwards into the chancel. This is a relatively unusual feature in Irish churches and may have been related to some ritual involving the opening of the rood screen. Also in the north wall of the chancel is an opening which Canon Power took to be a sedilia but which in fact goes right through the wall and is therefore either a door or a window. It too has remnants of wicker centering.

The other remarkable feature of the church interior is a vault about seven feet square. In popular tradition it is the tomb of Valentine Wallis, 'an Augustinian friar of the penal days who, to retain some family estate, . . . conformed to the Established Church'.⁴ Documentary evidence proves the tradition to be remarkably accurate, for there was in fact a Franciscan friar named Valentine Walsh who in 1740, having unexpectedly inherited the lands of Ballynevoga and Gortavicary in this parish on the death of his two elder brothers, conformed to the Church of Ireland and was the subject of some complicated and murky transactions caused by the penal laws.⁵ During the Famine the typhus-stricken members of a starving family took refuge in this vault, and 'so foul was the atmosphere of the noisome chamber that the clergyman who administered the last rites was obliged to carry the dying creatures one by one to the surface of the earth before he could discharge his last sad office'.⁶

1 *Placenames of Decies*, p. 148.

2 Ordnance Survey Letters, pp 73-4.

3 'The ancient ruined churches of Co. Waterford', in *Waterford & SEI Arch. Jnl*, III (1896), pp 6-9.

4 Power, *Placenames*, loc. cit.

5 Chancery Pleadings: Andrews v. Dobbyn, 5 Jan. 1749; Kennedy v. Walsh, 14 Sept. 1752. See Hussey Walsh MSS, IV, pp 25, 46 (in library of Irish Genealogical Research Society).

6 Power, 'Ancient ruined churches,' loc. cit.

The graveyard contains over 120 inscribed stones, most of them on the south side of the ruined church. There are some good examples of local stonecutting, especially the very fine arrangement of Passion symbols on the Kirwan monument (Figure 2).⁷ A large Power headstone outside the south-west corner of the church is endorsed 'Done by McGrath', and another Power monument in the middle of the nave is inscribed 'Finished in Mullinahone'. Eccentricities of spelling and phraseology abound: Edmund Flyn is alleged to have died on February 30th (1787) and two of the Guiry's on February 29th (in 1887 and 1885 respectively - neither was a leap year).

Several inscriptions give interesting biographical information. A west-facing headstone has a Latin text commemorating the Rev. James Shea, a native of Kilcash who was parish priest here in the penal times. The name of Father O'Shea is still held in popular benediction and many tales are told illustrative of the good priest's reputation for sanctity. A reflected halo surrounds the memory of even Móinín the pastor's horse.⁸ A small monument (now set in concrete) to the south-east of the chancel commemorates D. Tobin who 'fought in the last American war under General Sherman and all his battles'.

The inscriptions were copied by Mr Des Prendergast in the summer of 1992 and checked by us in 1993. They were numbered in order of their appearance as one enters the graveyard from the path leading down from the road. The first dozen are to the east of the church ruin, most of the remainder are on the south side proceeding eastwards, and nos 105-121 are within the church.

7 For a discussion of this style of carving, see J. C. Walton, 'Pictorial decoration on east Waterford tombstones', *Decies* no. 14 (May 1980), pp 67-83.

8 Rev. P. Power, *Waterford & Lismore: A compendious history of the united dioceses* (Cork, 1937), p. 202.



FIGURE 1:

Kilrossanty old church: view from the chancel into the nave. The collapsed roof and subsequent burials have considerably raised the ground level, as can be seen from the top of the door or window opening on the right. In the foreground is 'Valentine's Vault'. The squint is on the right of the chancel arch, here shown without ivy.

THE INSCRIPTIONS

- BERESFORD:** See Kirwan.
- BROWNE:** Here lies the body Patrick Browne of Briskey who departed this life
the 15 1764 aged years.
- 9 **BROWNE:** In loving memory of Laurence Browne, Briskey, who died April 1938 aged 87.
His parents Michael and Mary. His brother Patrick died 1929 and 93 and his wife
Bridget died 1928 aged 84. Their daughter Mary Dalton nee Browne died October 1964
aged 83. Patrick Browne died June 1841.
- BRYAN:** To the memory of John Bryan who died June 27 1801 aged 50. Also his son
John died Jan. 28 1803 aged 23.
- 109 **CALAHAN:** This stone was erected by Mr Denis Calahan of New Gate, Waterford.
Michael his son died June 6th 1773 aged 7 years. Mary Calahan his sister died 1782
aged 14 years. Also the body of Denish Calahan who died July 16th 1787 aged 50
years.
- 52 **CALLAHAN:** In memory of Bridget Callahan alias McGrath who departed this life July
18th 1804 aged 36 years.
- 21 **CARBERY:** Sacred to the memory of Mr Michael Carbery of Kilrossanty died May 16th
1877 aged 43 years. Also his father and mother whose remains are interred here.
- 18 **CASEY:** Michael Casey of Knockadromlea's burying place. Also the body of his daughter
Margaret Casey who departed this life May 22nd 1810 aged 10 years. Gloria in Excelsis
Deo.
- 95 **CASEY:** Here lies the body of James Casey of Briskey who died the 14th June 1810 aged
96 years. Also his wife Mary Casey alias Cummin who died the 2nd of June 1810 aged
88 years. Also Laurence Casey of Cutteen, died July 6th 1913 aged 81, and his wife
Johanna Casey died 10th December 1929 aged 88 years.
- 107 **CASEY:** This stone is erected by Elanor Casey alias Walsh in memory of her beloved
husband Daniel Casey of Killaneen who died November 30th 1837 aged 68 years. Also
her most affectionate son Maurice Casey of Briskey who died April 5th 1838 aged 29
years, cut down in the prime of life. Also Ellen Casey alias Walsh, the beloved wife of
the above Daniel Casey, who died 1st August 1856 aged 84 years.
- 94 **CASEY:** In memory of Nora Casey, Cuteen, died 29th December 1973 aged 87 years.
- 55 **CHRISTOPHER:** Sacred to the memory of Garret Christopher who departed this life
October 15th 1794 aged 67. Also to his wife Christian Christopher who died January
29th 1803 aged 65 years. Also Henry Christopher their son who departed this life the
16th of September 1803 aged 30 years.

- 57 **CHRISTOPHER:** Sacred to the memory of Louisa Christopher born Perrier who died the 20th day of May 1845 in Tramore. Also to her husband Thomas Christopher
- CLEARY:** See Mahony.
- 58 **COFFEE:** Here lies the body of Thom Coffee who departed this life September 7th 1791 aged 55 years.
- 102 **COFFEE:** Erected by Morgan Coffee in memory of his mother Hanora Linchy of Ballylinch who died July 22nd 1809 aged 78 years.
- 101 **COFFY:** Here lieth the body of Timothy Coffy who died 16th June 1800 aged 65 years.
- COLEMAN:** See Connors.
- 81 **COMYNS:** Here lieth the body of Cormack Comyns who departed October 5th 1769 aged 76 years. Also Mary Comyns alias Lynnid died September 8th 1764 aged 69 years.
- 121 **COMYNS:** Here lies the body of James Comyns who died June 2nd 1788 aged 21 years. May the Lord have mercy on his soul.
- 119 **COMYNS:** Here lies the body of Jeffery Comyns who died May 12th 1808 aged 12 years. Pierce Comyn's burying place.
- 67 **CONIGHAM:** Here lieth the body of John Conigham who departed this life December 25th 1790 aged 67 years.
- 99 **CONNIGHAM:** Erected by Patrick Connigham, Ballicarouge, in memory of his wife Else Connigham depd November 17th 1779 aged 75 years.
- CONNOLLY:** See Connors.
- 89 **CONNOR:** In memory of Thomas Connor of Gurtivicary who departed this life November 22nd 1806 aged 71 years.
- 90 **CONNORS:** This monument has been erected by William Connors as a slight token of his love for his dear parents and affectionate brothers and sisters. Also his son Willie Connors died September 9th 1893 aged 13 years. Pray for the soul of Patrick Connors, Curraheen, who died April 1840 aged 67 years. Also of Mary Connors alias Power his wife who departed this life March 30th 1863 aged 70 years. Pray for the souls of Nicholas, Ellen, Margaret, Thomas and Catherine Coleman and Bridget Connolly, also children of Patrick and Mary Connors, who departed this life in the full vigour of manhood. May the Lord have mercy on their souls. Amen.
- 87 **CONNORS:** To the memory of Ann Connors, the faithful servant of Pierce Hely, J. P., D. L., and Pierce English, both of Rockfield, Cappoquin, died 2nd February 1892.
- 51 **CONNORS:** In loving memory of John Connors, Duckspool, Dungarvan, died 23rd June 1952. His wife Mary died 11th Feb. 1966. And their son Michael died 15th July 1965. Erected by his loving wife and family.

- CONNORS:** See Power.
- COONEY:** See Mara.,
- 1 **COWMEY:** Cowmey, Comeragh. R. I. P.
- 22 **CROTTY:** Erected by Thomas Crotty, Ballinakill, in memory of his father Denis Crotty died 27th Aug. 1866 aged 77. Thomas Crotty, Brenar, died 28th Jan. 1928 aged 63.
- CROTTY:** See O'Brien.
- 118 **CUMMINS:** Erected by Pierce Cummins and Anstise Hurly in memory of their son Edmond Cummins of Carrigahilla who departed this life 1810 September 12th aged 28 years.
- CUMMINS:** See Casey, Foulou.
- 99a **CUNNEHAM:** Edmund Cunneham's Burying Place.
- 68 **CUNINGHAM:** Here lies the body of Edmund Cuningham who died September 26th 1780 aged 67 years.
- 100 **CUNNINGHAM:** Here lies the body of Patrick Cunningham who departed this life October 12th 1812 aged 87 years.
- CURFAN:** See Walsh,
- DALTON:** See Browne, Walsh.
- DEE:** See Lynch.
- 73 **DONNELL:** Erected by John Donnell of Ballycahane in memory of his father and mother and sister. Also his beloved wife Nano Donnell died January 11th 1882, and his daughter Mary died young. Also the above John Donnell died April 29th 1900 aged 71 years. Also John O Donnell of Glenstown died 16th May 1936 aged 68.
- 39 **DOWER:** Here lies the body of Thomas Dower who departed this life May the 2nd 1778 aged 71 years.
- ENGLISH:** See Connors.
- 60 **FARRELL:** In loving memory of Peggy Farrell, Carrigbarshane, died 29th December 1913. Thomas Farrell died 11th October 1935. John Farrell died 12th January 1963. William Farrell died 19th December 1978.
- 66 **FITZGERALD:** Here lies the body of Edmund Fitzgerald who departed this life February 1st 1785 aged 22 years. Requiescat in Pace. Amen.

-
- 114 **FITZGERALD:** Erected by Patrick Fitzgerald, Lisnakill, in memory of his father Michael Fitzgerald who departed this life August 24th 1797 aged 66 years. Also his two sons John and William Fitzgerald, John aged 36 years, William aged 34 years. Requiescant in Pace. Amen.
- 65 **FITZGERALD:** [very worn] Erected by Richard Fitzgerald, Knockelan, in memory of his grandfather Richard Fitzgerald died July 1840, his father John Fitzgerald died 22nd January 1877 aged 68, his mother Margaret Fitzgerald died 29th January 1893 aged 60, his brother Edward died young, his sister Mary Moran died 7th July 1930 aged 74, and his sister Alice died 21st May 1932 aged 70 years. Also John Fitzgerald died 22nd December 1932 aged 82, and his brother Richard died 29th March 1940 aged 85.
- 70 **FLYN:** Here lieth the body of Edmond Flyn who died February 30th 1787 aged 76 years. Margett Flyn alias Keeffe died June 4th 1783 aged 71 years.
- 48 **FOLEY:** In memory of Thomas Foley who died March 29th 1805 aged 52 years.
- 14 **FOLEY:** Erected by Joseph Foley of Garrinvillian in memory of his father John Foley who died June 7th 1812 aged 72 years. Joseph Foley of Grawn who died 25th March 1830 aged 50 years. Margaret Foley died April 20th 1828 aged 90 years. And his wife Mary Foley alias McGrath died February 7th 1860 aged 70 years.
- 13 **FOLEY:** Erected by James Foley, Grawn, in memory of his brothers and sister. Thomas died May 1840, Joseph December 1846, John June 1857, Ellen January 1869, Patrick December 1878, Michael Foley May 1890. The above James Foley died October 17th 1898 aged 82 years.
- 49 **FOLOW:** In memory of Patrick Folow who departed this life January the 10th 1766 aged 50 years. Also John Folow who died April 6th 1800 aged 7 years. Also Margaret Hassed died September 9th 1796 aged 69 years.
- 82 **FOULOU:** Here lieth the body of Laurence Foulou who departed this life November 19th 1790 aged 22 years. Also the body of Judy Cummins, aunt to the above, who departed this life December the 11th 1790 aged 33 years.
- 63 **GRADY:** Erected by Mary Stack in memory of her husband Darby Grady who died May 10th 1813 aged 58 years.
- 62 **GREADY:** Here lies the body of Thomas Gready who departed this life May 1st 1782 aged 58 years. Patrick Gready his son died December the 29th 1795 age 44 years. Honor Gready died Jan 1st 17[] aged 25 years.
- 92 **GUIRY:** Erected by James Guiry, Stradbally, in memory of his father John who died February 2nd 1876 aged 58, his mother Bridget died February 29th 1887 aged 55, his sister Mary died December 14 1891 aged 36, and his three brothers: Patrick died September 4th 1873 aged 29, William died December 14th 1883 aged 24, John died February 29th 1885 aged 24. His sister Bridget died 3rd June 1894 aged 40, his wife Catherine died 25th May 1900 aged 53, his son John died 26 July 1910 aged 27, his son Patrick died 3rd July 1914 aged 24.

- 38 **HAHESEY:** Here lieth the remains of Thomas Hahesey who departed this life May 1st 1808 aged 60 years. Also his wife Briget died November 1793 aged 46 years. Their son Robert Hahesey died 14th September 1801 aged 45 years.
- 37 **HALLAHAN:** Here lieth the body of Matthew Hallahan who departed this life August 16th 1803 aged 52 years.
- HALLEY:** See Power.
- HASSED:** See Folow.
- 4 **HAYES:** Erected by Ellen Hayes in memory of her father Patrick Ryan, Briskey, died 1902. The above Ellen died 4th November 1981 aged 92. Her husband died 1925. Her son Patrick died 1922.
- HELly:** See Connors.
- HOLDEN:** See Walsh.
- 16 **HUNT:** Here lies the body of John Hunt who departed this life August 2nd 1782 aged 28. Also the body of Bridget Hunt alias Whelon who departed this life 11th August 1792.
- HURLY:** See Cummins.
- 106 **KEACEY:** Daniel Keacey and his children of Garranvillune's buring pleace August 1766.
- 17 **KEASEY:** Erected by Michael Keasey of Knocadromlea in memory of his mother Mary Keasey alias Whelan of Crough who departed this life March 25th 1804 aged 71 years. May she rest in peace. Amen.
- KEEFFE:** See Flyn.
- 29 **KEIRWAN:** Erected by Bridget Keirwan in memory of her son John Keirwan who departed this life the 28th of December 1823 aged 19 years. He was an obedient son, a tender and affectionate brother, an agreeable companion, and a pious Christian. He was beloved and esteemed by all who knew him for the purity of his principles and the amiable sweetness of his temper.
- 44 **KERBICK:** Here lies the body of Timothy Kerbick who died November the 7th 1768 aged 56 years.
- 34 **KERIVAN:** Here lies the body of Michael Kerivan of Ashtown who departed this life October the 4th 1826 aged 47 years. Patrick Kerivan died September the 9th 1824 aged 7 years. Mary Kerivan 3 years old. Andrew Kerivan Junior of Carrick departed this life July the 14th 1818 aged 42 years. And the Revd John Kerivan departed this life August the 3rd 1827 aged 44 years.

- 91 **KIELY:** Erected by Nancy Kiely in memory of her mother Catherine Kiely alias Walsh who departed this life October 7th 1819 aged 74 years. Also her brother Patrick Kiely of Derryluskan in County Tipperary who departed this life October 11th 1821 aged 36 years.
- 8 **KERIVAN:** Erected by Patrick Walsh, Corrodoon, in memory of his beloved uncle Pierce Kerivan who died April 11th 1871 aged 80 years.
- 28 **KIRWAN:** Mary Kirwan died March ye 27 1762 aged 5 years.
- 31 **KIRWAN:** Here lies the body of Laurence Kirwan of Commeen who died July 24th 1798 aged 26 years.
- 10 **KIRWAN:** Here lies the body of Edmund Kirwan who departed this life July 8th 1802 aged 49 years. Also two of his children.
- 30 **KIRWAN:** Sacred to the memory of Patrick Kirwan of Ashtown who died November 18th 1814 aged 45 years. Johanna, wife of Patrick Kirwan, died August 30th 1868 aged 80 years. His daughter Bridget died February 1st 1826 aged 15 years. His son John died June 25th 1840 aged 27 years.
- 33 **KIRWAN:** Here lieth the remains of that truly honest and benevolent man Patrick Kirwan of Graigavalla, who died June the 12th 1829 aged 55 years. Also his daughter Mary Ann Kirwan who died June the 5th 1828 aged 21 years.
- 32 **KIRWAN:** Erected by Mrs Catherine Kirwan in memory of her beloved husband Mr Andrew Kirwan of Graigivalla who departed this life the 12th day of February 1838 aged 34 years. Here are also interred the mortal remains of his father Mr Patrick Kirwan of Graigivalla who departed this life on the 12th day of June 1829 aged 55 years, of his mother Mrs Alice Kirwan otherwise Macrath who departed this life on the 16th day of October 1833 aged 60 years, and also of his sister Mary Kirwan who departed this life on the 5th day of June 1828 aged 21 years.
- Stand by my friends and sympathize with me whose joys are flown,
Since that alas my comfort lies interred beneath this stone.
- 9 **KIRWAN:** Erected by Nicholas Beresford, Castlequarter, in memory of his wife Johanna nee Kirwan who died 29 November 1876 aged 45 years, and his sister Mrs Alice Kirwan who died 16th February 1900. In memory of Patrick Kirwan, Kilrossanty, died 12th September 1940. Mary Kirwan 23rd October 1952 aged 66 years.
- 2 **KIRWAN:** In memory of Patrick Kirwan, Graiguerush, died 29th October 1976 aged 69. Also his mother Mary Anne Kirwan. Erected by his loving wife and family.
- 3 **KIRWAN:** In loving memory of Peter Kirwan, Kilclooney, who died 13th February 1983. His son John died 28th February 1954 age 1 month. R. I. P.

KIRWAN: See Walsh.

53 **LANDERS:** In loving memory of Margaret Landers nee Power, Garrahalish, who died 9th October 1970 aged 88. Her husband Thomas Landers died 4th June 1914 aged 26, interred in Old Parish. Their daughter Margaret died 30th April 1913 aged 2. Her father Maurice Power died 4th June 1922 aged 82. Her mother Catherine Power nee McGrath died 17th February 1917 aged 74. May they rest in peace.

LINCHY: See Coffee.

110 **LYNCH:** Here lies the body of John Lynch who departed this life March 25th 1774 aged 50 years. Catherine Lynch aged 4 years.

23 **LYNCH:** Here lieth the body of Denis Lynch who departed this life May 18th 1797 aged 69 years. Also two of his children who died young.

24 **LYNCH:** Here lieth the body of Kitt Lynch alias Dee who departed this life May 10th 1797 aged 55 years. Also Ann Lynch, daughter to the above, died May 10th 1784 aged 10 years. Lord have mercy on their souls. Ballynvaluna.

LYNNID: See Comyns.

83 **McGRATH:** Here lieth the body of John McGrath & Mary Welsh of Glin Daligin. The former died March 10th 1788 aged 89 years, ye later died 1799 aged 60 years. Margaret McGrath died August 1st 1803 aged 68 years.

50 **McGRATH:** Here lies the body of Bartholomew McGrath who died December 1st 1784 aged 30 years.

113 **McGRATH:** Here lies the body of James McGrath who departed this life February 14th 1791 aged 21 years. Also the body of his father Daniel McGrath who departed this life February 1st 1783 aged 44 years.

116 **McGRATH:** Here lieth the body of John McGrath who departed this life August 29th 1826 aged 51 years. Also his wife Mary McGrath alias Usher who departed this life [blank] aged [blank] years.

43 **McGRATH:** Here lieth the body of Mar. McGrath who departed this life April 7th 1796 aged 60 years.

46 **McGRATH:** [Stone broken] [Erected] in memory of [Bartholome]w McGrath of [.....] depd this

McGRATH: See Callahan, Foley, Kirwan, Landers

86 **MAHONY:** Here lies the body of Johanna Mahony of Kilmury who died in the year 1784. Also Mary Mahony died in the year 1787. Erected by their brother Patrick Mahony of Briskey.

85 **MAHONY:** Here lies the mortal remains of Timothy Mahony of Templeno who died January 1794. Also his wife Julian Mahony alias Cleary who died in the year 1807. May they rest in peace. Amen. Erected by their son Patrick Mahony of Bresky.

-
- 97 **MARA:** Erected by Thomas Mara in memory of his mother Ellenor Mara alias Cooney who departed this life November 28th 1825 aged 58 years. May she rest in peace. Amen.
- 19 **MOANEY:** Here lies the body of Thomas Moaney who died November 10th 1798 aged 50 years.
- 20 **MONEY:** Here lies the body of Andrew Money who departed this life December the 27th 1762 aged 18 years. Also the body of Mathias Money who departed this life the 7th of February 1792 aged 78 years.
MOONEY: See Power.
- 47 **MOONEY:** Here lieth the body of Pierce Mooney. Also his sons Edmund and Richard. Richard died February 1799 aged 56 years.
- 6 **MOONEY:** Erected by Thomas Mooney of Iland in memory of his son and daughter who died March 6th 1808, Patt aged 5, Brig 9 years. James Mooney died May 1st 1817 aged 23. Thomas Mooney died March 6th 1824 aged 16 years. Martin Mooney died December 22nd 1830 aged 15.

MOONEY: See Treacy.
- MORAN:** See Fitzgerald.
- MORRISSEY:** See Neil.
- 61 **MULLANEY:** Erected by Thomas Mullaney, Ballycerogue, in memory of his father John Mullaney died March 9th 1915 aged 88 years. His brother Maurice died October 6th 1915 aged 35 years.

MURPHY: See Welsh.
- 98 **NEIL:** In memory of Margaret Neil who died May 22nd 1801 aged 26 years. Also Thomas Morrissy who died in 1843 aged 60 years.
120. **O'BRIEN:** Here lies the body of Denis O'Brien of Ballyvoney who departed this life May the 6th 1800 aged 68 years. Also the body of Eleanor Crotty alias O'Brien his sister who departed this life September the 12th 1798 aged 48 years. The Lord have mercy on their souls. Amen.
- 112 **O'BRYAN:** Here lieth the body of Mary O'Bryan alias Power, wife of Laurence O'Bryan. She died March 1st 1772 aged 28 years.
- 88 **O'CONNOR:** Here lies the body of Thomas O'Connor of Gurtavicera who departed this life the 20th November 1806 aged 71 years.
- 72 **O'DONNELL:** Pray for the repose of the soul of the Rev. Michael O'Donnell, C. C., who died 3rd February 1905 in the tenth year of his sacred ministry aged 37 years.

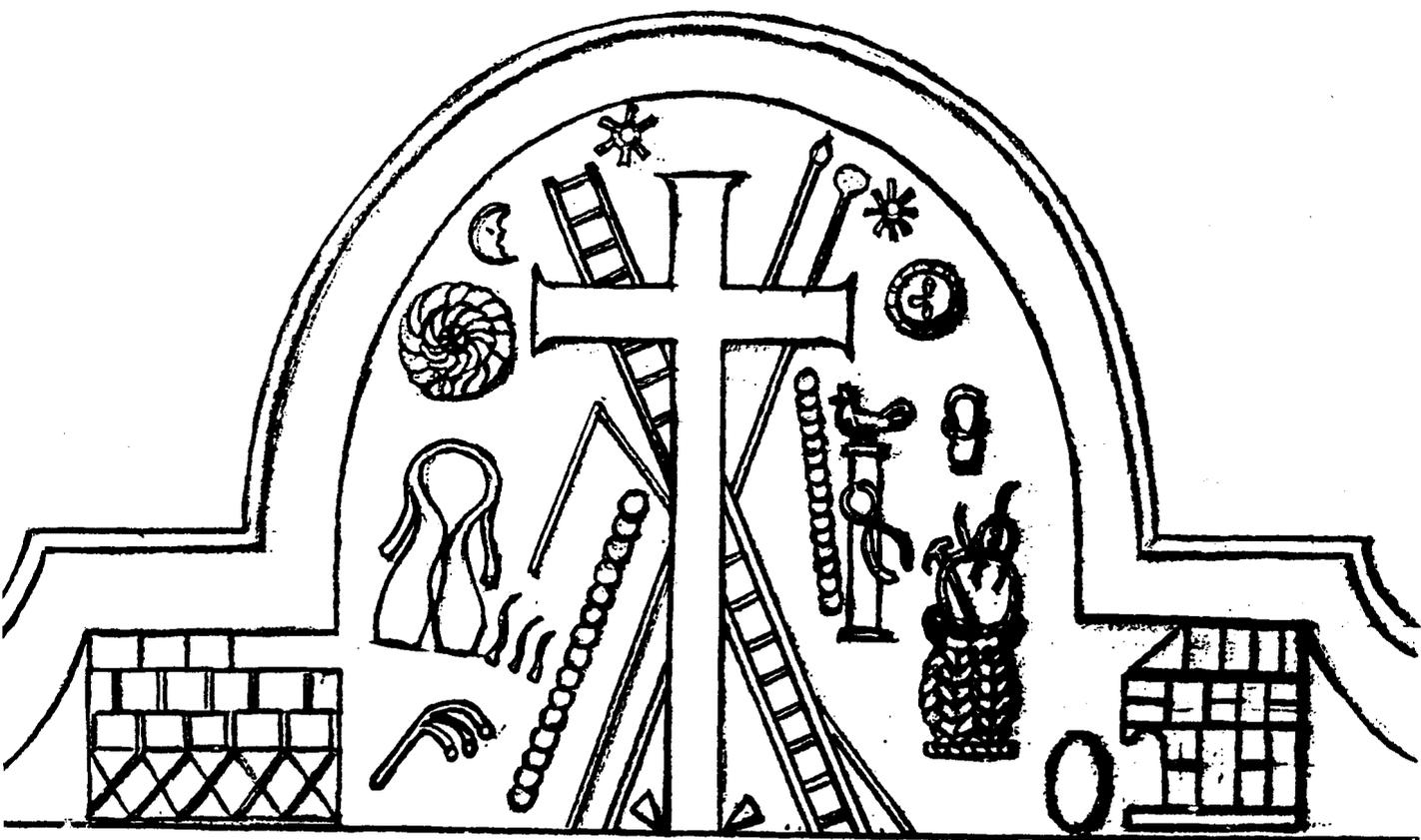
PERRIER: See Christopher.

- 40 **PHELAN:** My father John Phelan died November 7th 1798 aged 60 years. My mother Bridget Phelan died April 20th 1802 aged 52 years. My brother Joseph Phelan died September 29th 1803 aged 26 years. My sister Ellenor Phelan died August 10th 1805 aged 22 years.
- 5 **PHELAN:** Erected to the memory of William Phelan of Clondonnell Hill who died November 10th 1825 aged 80 years. Also his wife Bridget Phelan died May 6th 1827 aged 60 years. Also their son John Phelan died December 28th 1845 aged 75 years.
- 42 **PHELAN:** Erected by Capt. Thomas Phelan in memory of his father Nicholas Phelan who departed this life the 23rd of March 1826 aged 54 years. Also his brother Capt. Denis Phelan who departed this life the 27th of July 1833 aged 46 years. And that of his uncles Thomas and John Phelan. Requiescant in pace. Amen. And of his mother Mary Walsh who departed this life the 13th of October 1856 aged 84 years.
- 41 **PHELAN:** Sacred to the memory of Captain Thomas Phelan who died 17th November 1879 aged 60 years. Also James Phelan of Knockboy who died 17th September 1880 aged 4 years.
- 105 **POWER:** Edmond Power died February 27th 1763 aged 37.
- 115 **POWER:** June 5th 1768. Edmund Power's buring pleace.
- 64 **POWER:** Here lies the body of Laurence Power who died December 5th 1776 aged 65 years.
- 108 **POWER:** Here lies the body of Richard Power who departed this life May the 1 1783 aged 47 years. Requiescant in pace. Amen.
- 26A **POWER:** In memory of John Power who died October 1784 aged 60 years. Also of Catherine Power alias Money who departed this life March the 14th 1804 aged 70 years.
- 15 **POWER:** Here lies the body of Margaret Power who departed this life April the 19th 1801 aged 45 years. In memory of Peter Power died 6th February 1935 aged 78. His wife Mary Power died 4th June 1937 aged 69. His sister Ellen Connors died 27th April 1936 aged 78. Kate Power died 20th August 1923 aged 69. Michael Power died 20th January 1940 aged 79. Shanbally. John Power, Daltons Cross, died 16th June 1990 aged 91. [On back] Done by McGrath.
- 111 **POWER:** Here lies the body of Jeffery Power who departed this life July 11th 1807 aged 60 years. Also his father and mother Edmond Power and Mary Halley of Fahafeeley. Finished in Mullinahone.
- 117 **POWER:** Herein deposited the mortal remains of Maurice Power, Graigurish, who departed this life March 20th 1820 aged 44 years. Also his daughter Bridget who departed this life 29th of June 1818 aged 14 years. In loving remembrance of William Power, Graiguarush, died 25th August 1966 aged 65. Erected by his wife Jane.

POWER: See Connors, Landers, O'Bryan.

- 56 **QUINN:** Erected by Patrick Quinn, Furraleigh, in memory of his grandfather Patrick Quinn, Crough, who died 23rd December 1917 aged 87 years. Also his mother Mary Quinn who died 4th March 1932 aged 75 years. And his father John Quinn died 18th September 1935 aged 75. His nephews Tom Quinn died 30th January 1933 aged 16 years and Nickey Quinn died 8th June 1934 aged 10 years (both from Carrick-on-Suir). Thomas Quinn, Cushcam, died October 1948 aged 74 years. His wife Mary died May 1949 aged 65 years. Their daughter Mary died October 1936 aged 21 years.
- 69 **QUONEY:** Here lieth the body of Richard Quoney who departed 9ber 1st 1789 aged 67 years. William Quoney died April 27th 1784 aged 14 years.
- 26 **REILLY:** Erected by Daniel Reilly of Ballintlea in memory of his daughter Mary Reilly who departed this life May 18th 1855 (?) aged 22 years. Also the above Daniel Reilly who died February 1871 aged 77 years. His wife Bridget died 3rd August aged 88 years. And their daughter Catherine died 8th September 1927 aged 88.
- 93 **RONANE:** Here lies the body of Edmund Ronane of Kilcanavee who died December the 11th 1796 aged 61 years.
- 36 **RYAN:** Here lies the body of Mary Ryan who died March the 16th 1787 aged 24 years.
- RYAN:** See Hayes.
- 84 **SHEA:** Sub hoc tumulo jacet corpus Reverendi Jacobi Shea, Pastoris de Kilrossenty and [sic] Fews, qui hanc vitam decessit duodecimo die Junii anno etatis 84 atqui [sic] Domini 1794. Requiescat in pace.
[Beneath this tomb lies the body of Rev. James Shea, Pastor of Kilrossenty and Fews, who departed this life the 12th day of June 1794 aged 84 years. May he rest in peace]
- 104 **SHEEHAN:** [iron cross] Pray for the soul of Michael Sheehan.
- STACK:** See Grady.
- 103 **TOBIN:** D. Tobin fought in the last American war under General Sherman and all his battles. May he rest in peace. Amen. Died 1865.
- 45 **TREACY:** Erected by Patrick Treacy of Coolnamuc in memory of his father William Treacy who departed this life November [] 1808 aged 60 years. Also his mother Anastasia Treacy alias Mooney died November 1808 aged 54 years. Also his son Thomas Treacy died on [sic] the 20th year of his age.
- 27 **TREASY:** Here lies the body of Martin Treasy who died December 28th 1794 aged 55 years.
- USHER:** See McGrath.
- 35 **VEALE:** Erected by Nanno Veale in memory of her beloved husband Thomas Veale of Kerreen who departed this life March the 12th 1846 aged 71 years. And also his brother Patrick who [died August] 25th 1836 aged 50 years.

- 76 **WALSH:** Here lies the body of Edmond Walsh who departed this life February the 4th 1773 aged 27 years. Lord have mercy on his soul. Amen.
- 75 **WALSH:** Here lies the body of Michael Walsh of Comra who died July 4th 1817 aged 76 years. Also his wife Mary Walsh alias Dalton who died September 8th 1827 aged 88 years. Their son Thomas Walsh who died December 18th 1841 aged 84 years.
- 96 **WALSH:** Here lieth the body of John Walsh who departed this life August the 17th 1817 aged 63 years. Of Ballanakill.
- 11 **WALSH:** A tribute of respect by Mr Michael Walsh of Ballingown to the memory of his beloved parents. His mother Mrs Mary Walsh alias Kirwan died September 4th 1843 aged 42 years. His father Michael Walsh died September 14th 1867 aged 76 years. Have mercy on them, O God, according to thy great mercy and according to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out their sins. Amen.
Also Mary Walsh nee White died August 1928 aged 68. Also to the memory of his sisters Johanna died July 26th 1855 aged 24 years. Mary died May 28th 1862 aged 25 years. Ellen died June 24th 1869 aged 29 years. Margaret died December 7th 1876 aged 34 years. And his brother Lawrence who died in America in 1850 aged 31 years. In loving memory of Michael Walsh who died 18th December 1916 aged 86 years.
- 80 **WALSH:** Erected by Michael Walsh Esq., Comeraugh, to the memory of his children: Mary who died April 25th 1858 aged 14 years, Thomas who died June 30th 1862 aged 21 years, Joanna who died May 25th 1868 aged 19 years, Anne who died June 24th 1868 aged 17 years. Ora Pro nobis.
- 78 **WALSH:** In memory of Michael Walsh, Esq., Commeraugh, who died March 11th 1877 aged 77 years. Also his wife Johanna Walsh who died March 8th 1880 aged 78 years. Erected by David Holden Esq. of Waterford to the memory of his beloved wife Bridget Holden alias Walsh who died 29th July 1864 aged 36 years. Patrick M. Walsh died at Ardmore 28th April 1915 aged 84 years. His daughter Joanna M. Williams died at Fermoy 18th November 1906. Erected by Michael Walsh Esq., Commeraugh, to the memory of his children Mary who died April 25th 1858 aged 14 years.
- 12 **WALSH:** Erected by Edmond Walsh of Kilcannon in memory of his son Edmond who died May 10th 1880 aged 12 years. Lawrence and Bridget died young. Also the above Edmond died December 3rd 1898 aged 72 years. And his wife Johanna died August 23rd 1893 aged 55 years. Also his daughter Bridget Curran died April 20th 1904 aged 48 years.
- 59 **WALSH:** In memory of Thomas Walsh, Kilminion, Stradbally, died 28th February 1955 aged 89. Erected by his son John.
- 7 **WALSH:** In loving memory of our dear mother Alice Walsh, Briskey Upper, died 20th March 1990. Always remembered. Rest in peace.
- WALSH:** See Casey, Kerivan, Kiely, Phelan.
- 79 **WELSH:** Here lieth the body of John Welsh of Faha who departed this life July 8th 1788 aged 65 years.



Erected by Mrs. CATHERINE KIRWIN in

R.G.

FIGURE 2:

Passion symbols on the Kirwan headstone.

77 **WELSH:** Here les ye body of Thomas Welsh who died ye 12th of 10ber 1760 aged 24 years. Also Garret and Maurice Welsh.

74 **WELSH:** In memory of Mrs Bridget Welsh alias Murphy who died May 10th 1808 aged 29 years.

WELSH: See McGrath.

71 **WHELAN:** Erected by Kate and John Whelan, Cutteen, in memory of their son William Whelan died 4th September 1928 aged 20 years. William Whelan died 26th February 1916 aged 74 years. Ellen Whelan died 20th October 1904 aged 76 years. The above Kate Whelan died 12th September 1939 aged 67 years. The above John Whelan died 3rd February 1940 aged 73 years.

WHELAN: See Keacey.

WHELON: See Hunt.

WHITE: See Walsh.

WILLIAMS: See Walsh.

54 **UNKNOWN** In memory of Johanah. [.....] who died July 13th 1794 aged 54 years.

THE REYNETT FAMILY OF WATERFORD

By H. F. Morris

Agnew in his *Protestant Exiles from France* states:¹

Dr James Reynette, of Waterford, was a son of Henri de Renêt, a Huguenot landed proprietor in Vivarais in Languedoc. Five sons became refugees of whom the youngest, Gabriel, turned Roman Catholic, and got back the estate, two went to the Cape of Good Hope, and from their vineyards came a wine called Graf de Renêt, and two remained in Ireland, one of whom was Jacques.² His fame as a physician reached Dublin, and he received an offer from that capital of £200 a year for life if he would accept the charge of their greatest hospital. His refusal was regarded as a great compliment at Waterford, and he received the freedom of that city for himself and his heirs for ever and also (tradition says) more substantial rewards.

Agnew adds that Gabriel's descendants fled from France during the Revolution but returned at the invitation of Napoleon.³

Jacques Renet. Agnew's account of the origins of the Waterford family was presumably obtained from the traditional history of the family and is, no doubt, basically correct, but it clearly is inaccurate in respect of the parentage of Dr Jacques, as the register of the French Church of St Patrick's, Dublin, indicates. Here is recorded the marriage on 21 May 1693 of Jacques Renet, doctor of medicine, a native of Aubenas in Vivarais, son of Jacques Renet, apothecary, and Catherine Charbonnier. Jacques's bride was Charlotte, a native of Courtaumer in Normandy, daughter of Abel Barbier, minister of St Evangile, and his wife, Renée Pousset.⁴ There is also in the register of Nouvelle Eglise de Ste Marie an entry for the baptism of Pascal, son of Nathaniel Renet, on 10 February 1713.⁵ It will be recalled that Agnew writes of two brothers remaining in Ireland and it would seem probable that this Nathaniel was Jacques's brother.

Jacques first appears in the records of the Waterford Corporation in March 1696 when one Phil Bellew, who had petitioned to be received into the leper house, was to get a certificate from Jacques to the effect that he was a leper.⁶ In October 1697 Jacques received the freedom of the city.⁷ In 1703 at the sale of forfeited estates at Chichester House Jacques bought 425 acres in Ullard, on which were a farm house, a barn and ten cabins, for £694.⁸ Jacques was buried on 23 February 1721 in the French Church.⁹ His will was proved at Armagh and Canterbury in 1721¹⁰. By it he left £10 to the poor; the interest on £500 in the Bank of England to his wife Charlotte; ten shillings to his daughter Charlotte 'besides what she has had from me by her marriage, desiring that she be satisfied'; £300 and his library 'with £100 sterling of the annuities' to his eldest son; and similar sums to each of his three younger sons.

1 D. C. Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV*, 2nd edn (1871), II, p. 239.

2 Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots*, 6th edn (1889), p. 423, states that one of Henri de Renet's sons 'became a distinguished traveller'.

3 Agnew says that General Reynett (see below) 'wrote to his distant relatives who replied that they got safe home but found their house damaged by soldiers who had been quartered in it. Agnew, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

4 J. J. Digges La Touche, *Registers of the French Conformed Churches of St Patrick and St Mary Dublin (Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, vii)*, p. 92. Perhaps the landed proprietor Henri de Renet given as Jacques's father in the traditional family pedigree was, in fact, his grandfather or uncle. Certainly Jacques called one of his sons Henri and Henry has persisted as a christian name in the family throughout the centuries.

5 La Touche, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

6 Seamus Pender, *Council Books of the Corporation of Waterford 1682-1700*, p. 328. Dates in this article are given in New Style.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 342.

8 Matthew Butler's notebooks on Waterford families: NLI MS 9503.

9 Waterford cathedral (C of I) register.

10 PRO (Chancery Lane, London), PROB 11/582/229.

Jacques and Charlotte's children were;

1. James, of whom presently.
2. John James.
3. Gabriel.
4. Henry. He was left £500 by his brother Dr James, and so presumably was alive when the latter signed his will in 1730.¹¹ He was probably the grandfather of General Sir James Henry Reynett (1786-1864) whose ancestry is discussed below.
1. Charlotte, who married 23 July 1719 Captain John Ramsey, both being of St Michael's parish, Waterford.¹² Their son gave his name to the well known Waterford newspaper, published thrice weekly, *Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle*.

The eldest son

Dr James Reynett entered Leyden University in 1714, aged 18. He received an M.D. from Rheims University in 1717.¹³ He married, as his second wife, in 1723 Frances, daughter of the rev. Thomas France, Precentor of Waterford cathedral 1704-21.¹⁴ In 1726 James was admitted as a freeman of Waterford city. His will was signed on 26 June 1730 and was proved in the Prerogative Court, Canterbury,¹⁵ and in the diocesan court Waterford and Lismore in the same year. Dr James left a son

James Henry Reynett. Under his father's will, his uncle the rev. Nathaniel France, then curate of Youghal and later (1759-70) Precentor of Cloyne, and the rev. John Fell were his guardians until he came of age. In 1746 James Henry married Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Boyse of Cullenstown, co. Wexford,¹⁶ by his wife Anne, daughter of Thomas Cooke.¹⁷ Under the marriage settlement of 15 July 1746¹⁶ Elizabeth put in £400 which had been left her by her father and James Henry put in a like amount, these sums being vested in the trustees, Thomas Boyse of Bishop's Hall, co. Kilkenny, Elizabeth's brother, and Eaton Edwards of Waterford, her half-brother.¹⁸ James Henry was admitted a freeman of Waterford on 29 June 1750, was sheriff of Waterford city in 1775 and was Mayor 1775-6. He had died intestate by 1806, his property being divided between his nine surviving children by a deed of 19 September of that year¹⁶.

James Henry and Elizabeth had issue

1. John, baptised 27 October 1751.¹⁹ He evidently died young.²⁰
2. Nathaniel. He was admitted a freeman of Waterford 12 March 1770. He married first in 1781 Alice Ollife²¹ (who died 19 May 1794)²² and secondly on 18 January 1801 Mary Ludewig.²³ He died at his house in Newtown, Waterford, in October 1818,²⁴ and was buried at St. Olave's on 9 October.²⁵ By his first wife he left
 - a. James Henry. When aged 17 he was, on 17 September 1804, commissioned ('without purchase') as an ensign in the 45th regiment of foot. He was promoted ('without purchase')

11 This date is significant as being after 1726, in which year a burial is recorded in the register of St Patrick's Waterford of a Henry Reynett, who must, therefore, be some other member of the family.

12 Waterford cathedral register.

13 R. W. Innes Smith, *English Speaking Students of Medicine at the University of Leyden*, 1932, p. 193.

14 Reference to marr. sett. and to Frances being his second wife occurs in James's will.

15 PRO: PROB 11/640/289.

16 See R.D. 589.453.404418.

17 'Boyse of Bannow', *BLGI*, 1912.

18 After the death of Samuel Boyse in 1720, his widow married Dr Eaton Edwards of Waterford.

19 Waterford cathedral register.

20 Not mentioned in deed cited in n. 16, above.

21 C&R MLB index.

22 *Hibernian Chronicle* of 29 May 1794.

23 Parish register, St. Patrick's (C of I) Waterford.

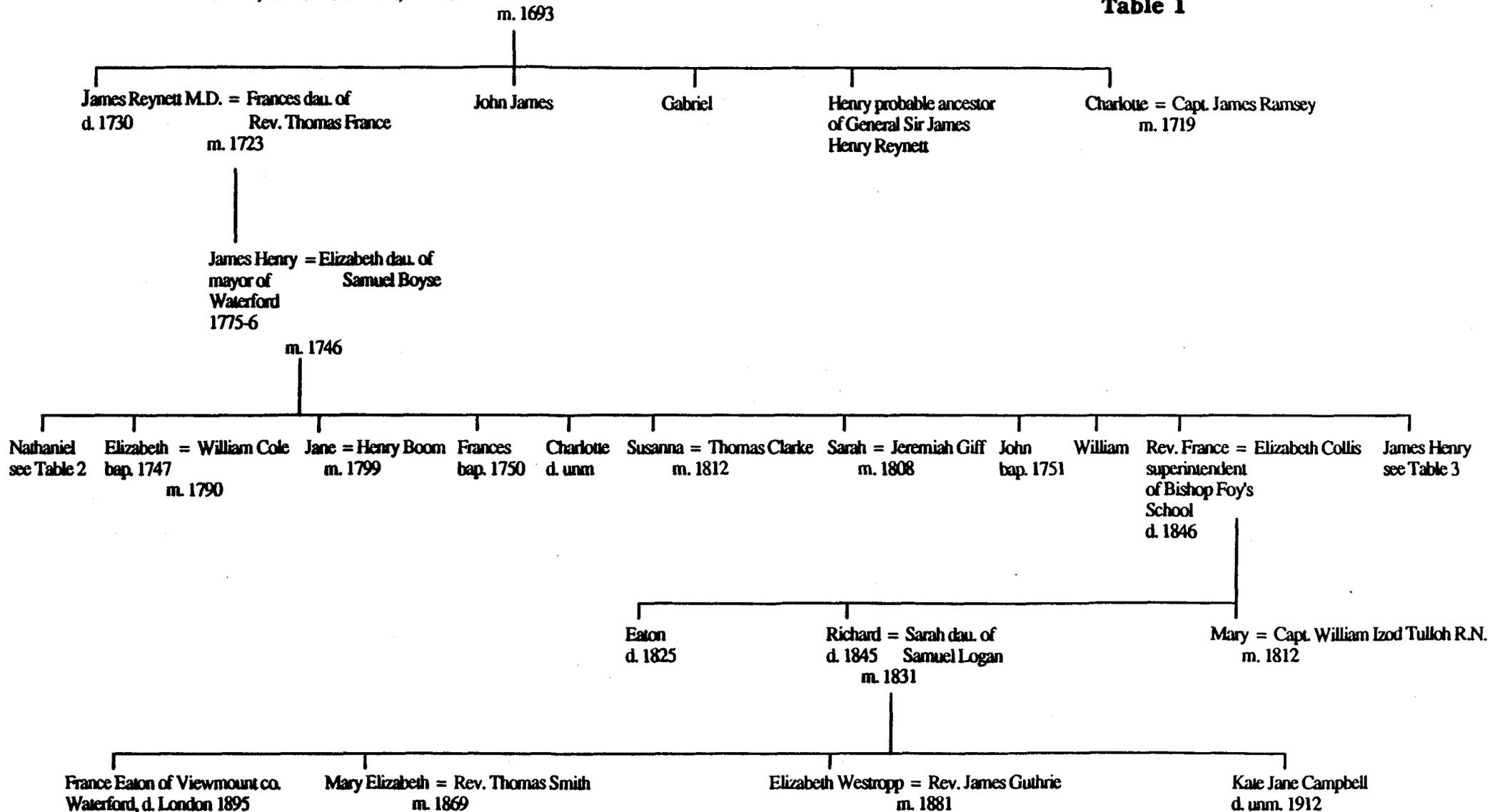
24 *Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle*, 8 Oct. 1818.

25 Parish register, St Olave's, Waterford.

Jacques Renet, son of Jacques, b. Aubenas, = Charlotte, dau. of Rev. Abel Barbier
 France, settled in Waterford, d. 1697

The Reynett family of Waterford

Table 1



lieutenant on 4 June 1806.²⁶ In 1804 he had been admitted as a freeman of Waterford. On 16 July 1812 *Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle* reported that

James Henry Reynett eldest lieutenant in the 45th Regiment who distinguished himself in several important and hard-fought battles in Portugal has returned for a time to his friends in this city in consequence of a severe wound which he received at the storming of Badajoz.

On 19 July of the same year he was promoted captain (again without purchase). On 15 December 1814 he was placed on half pay 'because of reduction of 2nd Btn 45th regiment'²⁶. On 23 November 1817 he married at Milford Bridget, daughter of Captain Nuttall of the *Camden Packet*.²⁷ He was of Milford Haven, Pembrokeshire, in 1837²⁸ and later of Paignton, Devon, where he died.

The career of James Henry illustrates well the pitfalls of genealogical research. There were three James Henry Reynetts who were more or less contemporaries: the subject of this note, his uncle (Nathaniel's younger brother) and General Sir James Henry (see below). This has resulted in Boase in his entry on Sir James Henry in *A Modern Biography* attributing the army career of James Henry (Nathaniel's son) to Sir James Henry, while William Bayly in the *Waterford Journal* of 1896²⁹ attributes the will of James Henry of Paignton to his uncle and gives the latter the children of the former in addition to his own!³⁰

James Henry in his will (dated 4 August 1848)³¹ left his house in Waterford 'now in occupation of John Robertson White Esq.' and his house in Lady Lane, Waterford, 'now in occupation of Charles Tandy Esq.' to his son. He died in 1855 and Bridget died on 20 September 1860.³² They had issue:

- i. James Henry, a surgeon of Williton, Somerset. He married on 9 September 1851 at Burnham, Somerset, Catherine, daughter of Thomas Proffitt, gentleman; died in 1894, aged 78.³³ James Henry by his will, dated 13 October 1877³⁴, left everything (apart from his clothing which went to his servant and a 'two handed silver cup' which went to his grandson France Reynett Middleton) to his daughter Kate Pritchard. He died on 18 December 1877, aged 57, leaving three daughters: Caroline Mary who married 1875 William Henry Middleton; Kate Hely who married 1867 John Woosnam Pritchard of Vale House, Roadwater, Old Cleeve, Somerset; and Adelaide Alicia.
 - i. Caroline Mary who married the rev. Nathaniel Davies, rector of Lexham, Norfolk, 1854-73.
 - ii. Adelaide of Paignton who died unmarried 19 October 1873, aged 52.³⁵
 - iii. Rosina Alicia of Paignton who died unmarried 6 July 1866, aged 43.³⁶
- b. William France, who, like his brother, was commissioned (without purchase) in the 45th regiment of foot on 20 July 1809, then aged 19. He was promoted (without purchase) a

26 PRO (Kew), W.O. 25/772, f. 100.

27 *Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle*, 6 Dec. 1817.

28 R.D. 1839.4.259.

29 William J. Bayly, 'The Roberts family of Waterford', *JWSEIAS*, xi, pp 98-103. Bayly promotes the father of Dr Jacques of Waterford to the rank of Marquis de Renet. The article cannot be recommended for accuracy.

30 He also gives the wife of James Henry (Nathaniel's brother) the name (Bridget) of Nathaniel's son's wife, instead of Hannah.

31 Will Pr. 1855; PRO, PROB 11/2212/446.

32 Will pr. 1860; Somerset House.

33 Reg. BMD; St Catherine's House, London.

34 Will pr. 1878; Somerset House.

35 Admon. 1873; Somerset House.

36 Will pr. 1866; Somerset House.

lieutenant on 28 February 1811³⁷ and took part in the battle of Vittoria.³⁸ In December 1818 he was placed on half pay through ill health.³⁷ In 1832 he married Mary Walsh.³⁹ William appears on the voters' register in 1829 as a £10 freeholder in respect of Firgrove house and lands, Faithlegg.⁴⁰ In 1835 William advertised Firgrove for sale or letting, the house being described as having 'two parlours, four bedrooms, two kitchens with dairy and requisite out offices'; the grounds were of 32 plantation acres, 'most of first quality'.⁴¹ In the voters' register of 1839 William appears as a freeman of South Parade, Waterford.⁴² William seems to have had considerable property in Waterford and St John's, Newfoundland, which at his death was divided between his daughters.⁴³ He died at his residence 6 South Parade, Waterford, on 11 January 1866.⁴⁴ He and Mary had issue:

- i. James Henry who died young.⁴⁵
 - ii. Edward who died 25 November 1850, aged 18.⁴⁶
 - i. Maria who died 1 February 1859.⁴⁷
 - ii. Catherine who married 24 August 1867 the rev. Patrick Hastings of Patricksdale, co. Monaghan.⁴⁸
 - iii. Elizabeth, born 23 January 1838,⁴⁹ who married 12 June 1867 Thomas Miles of the Provincial Bank, Waterford, son of the rev. Thomas Miles, prebendary of Fennor.⁵⁰ In 1868 he was of his late father-in-law's house on South Parade.⁵¹
 - iv. Mary Anne ('Minnie') born 15 August 1839,⁵² who married in August or September 1861 the rev. Albert Boyce James, curate of Rathlin co. Antrim.⁵³ He was the son of a schoolmaster, Humphrey James, then of Tramore, and was born in Waterford.⁵⁴ In 1885-6 he was rector of Thetford, Norfolk.⁵⁵ Albert and Mary Anne had a son Albert Edward Reynett James born 5 January 1864.⁵⁶ *The Irish Independent* of 29 May 1951, under the heading 'Waterford honours U.S. citizen', states that a Mr Dennis Noel Reynett James of New York had been made a freeman, adding that he was born in Canada and brought up at Westwood, New Jersey.
 - a. Elizabeth who married 3 December 1807 John Brownrigg.⁵⁷
 - b. Maria who married 21 October 1810 Thomas H. Gill.⁵⁸
3. William, who was admitted a freeman of Waterford city 12 March 1770. He evidently died young.

37 PRO (Kew), W.O. 25/772, f. 95.

38 *Munster Express*, 31 Jan. 1866.

39 Waterford & Lismore MLB Index, N.A.

40 *Waterford Mail*, 1 July 1829.

41 *Ibid.*, 3 Jan. 1835.

42 J. C. Walton, 'Waterford city polling list 1839', *Irish Genealogist*, viii (1991), p. 275. He was admitted a freeman on 29 May 1811.

43 R.D. 1868.36.133.

44 *Waterford Mail*, 12 Jan. 1866.

45 Family pedigree.

46 *Waterford Mail*, 26 November 1850.

47 *Ibid.*, 1 Feb. 1859.

48 *Ibid.*, 26 Aug. 1867; marr. sett., R.D. 1867.27.290.

49 St. Patrick's reg., Waterford.

50 *Waterford Mail*, 14 June 1867.

51 R.D. 1868.36.133.

52 St. Patrick's reg.

53 *Limerick Reporter*, 3 Sept. 1861. Marr. sett. R.D. 1861.27.127.

54 *Alum. Dub.*

55 *Crockford's Clerical Directory*.

56 Reg. BMD, Dublin.

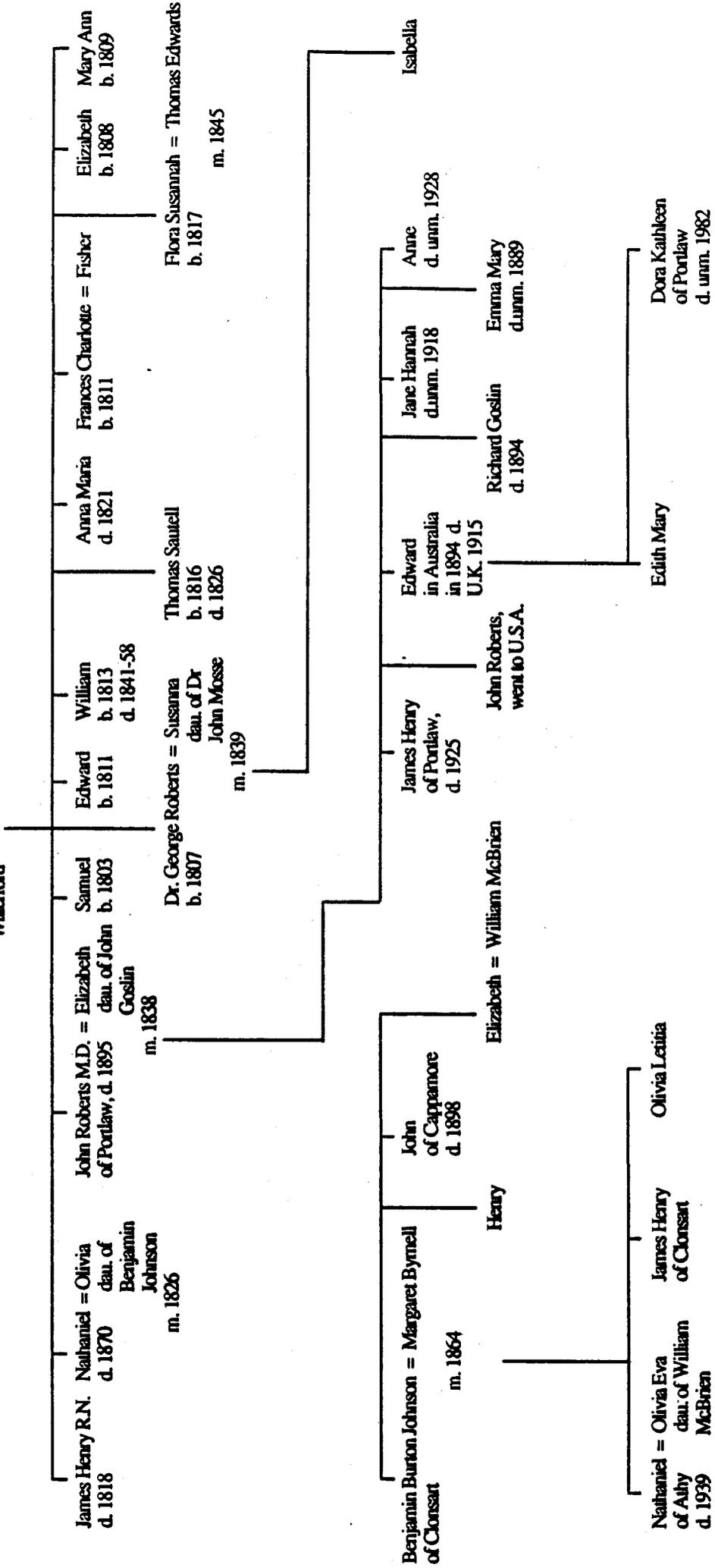
57 *Waterford Mirror*, 7 Dec. 1807.

58 St. Patrick's reg.

The Reynett family of Waterford

Table 3

James Henry = Hannah Humphries = Anne
 dau. of Edward
 Ryan
 Mayor of
 Waterford



4. Rev. France who, according to *Alumni Dublinenses* entered TCD in 1784.⁵⁹ He had been admitted a Freeman of Waterford on 12 March 1770. He was curate of Killoteran in 1808 and of St Olave's, Waterford, in 1810.⁶⁰ France married Elizabeth Collis of Limerick.⁶¹ She was probably the daughter of the rev. Richard Collis, chanter of Limerick Cathedral, whose marriage to Elizabeth daughter of Mountyfort Westropp of Melon is stated in *Burke* as having been in March 1771⁶², one of her granddaughters being called Elizabeth Westropp Reynett.

In 1821 France was superintendent of Bishop Foy's School, then situated at Grantstown, Ballinakill. The census of that year gives the following (with their ages) as staff of the 'Protestant charity school founded by Bishop Foy':

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| Francis Reynett | 61 Clergyman and Superintendent |
| Eliza Reynett | 55 his wife. Housekeeper |
| Eaton Reynett | 25 his son. Assistant |
| Richard Sotell Reynett | 22 his son. Assistant |
| Frances Collis | 42 sister-in-law. Assistant ⁶³ |

Elizabeth died on 9 June 1842, aged 71,⁶⁴ and Frances on 22 August 1846.⁶⁵ Their children were

- a. Eaton who, as has been seen, was, with his brother, assistant to his father at Bishop Foy's school. He d.s.p. and was buried at Ballinakill 11 September 1825.⁶⁶
- b. Richard who was admitted a freeman of Waterford 15 September 1832. He married 5 August 1831 Sarah Sophia, youngest daughter of Samuel Logan of the Dragoon Guards.⁶⁷ In 1839 he was on the Grand Jury of the city of Waterford.⁶⁸ The *Waterford Mail* of 23 October 1841 tells us that a potato weighing 3 lb. was grown on his farm of Farranshoneen of a variety called Pink Eye. Richard was of Grange Villa, co. Waterford, when he died in December 1845.⁶⁹ His widow is probably the 'Sarah Reynett of Kingstown, co. Dublin', who, according to the official list of landowners, had in 1876 89 acres in co. Waterford, valued at £179.⁷⁰ She was living with her son in London when she died on 21 September 1895, aged 76.⁷¹ Richard and Sarah had issue:
 - i. France Eaton who was admitted a freeman of Waterford on 4 August 1838. He was of Viewmount, co. Waterford, in 1861.⁷² He was later of 27 St Stephen's Square,

59 The entry in *Alum. Dub.* states 'Francis Reynett Pen. (Mr Aldwell), July 13 1784, aged 17; s. of James Henry, Generous; b. Waterford. B.A. Vern. 1789'. This indicates that he was born in 1767, but the age given France in the census of 1821 indicates that he was born in 1760 and that given in the announcement of his death that he was born in 1762. J. B. Leale in his Clergy Lists (in R.C.B.) gives a Francis Moore Reynett, chaplain, North Strand, Dublin, 1810-13. It seems quite possible that two Reynettes (France and Francis) were confused in the TCD records.

60 W. H. Rennison, *Succession List of the Dioceses of Waterford and Lismore*, pp 91,99.

61 Family pedigree.

62 'Westropp', *BIFR*, p. 1200.

63 Census abstracts in Greene MSS; NLI MS 170. It is relevant to state here that Major J. J. Greene, in the course of his massive researches on the Greene family recorded in these MSS, included some source material on the Reynettes in his attempt - unfortunately unsuccessful - to identify the first husband (- Reynett) of Frances, daughter of Joseph Nicholson who, as a widow, married 3 Dec. 1737 John Greene of Greenville, co. Kilkenny. He was probably one of the younger sons of Jacques Renet and Charlotte Barbier.

64 *Waterford Mail*, 11 June 1842.

65 *Ibid.*, 29 Aug. 1846.

66 Drummannon parish reg. *Cork Constitution*, 10 Sept. 1825, states, 'remarkable for amiability of disposition, honourable principles, strength of understanding, he lived admired and respected. His severe and protracted illness he bore with perfect resignation to the will of his heavenly Father.'

67 *Waterford Mail*, 12 Aug. 1831.

68 *Ibid.*, 19 Oct. 1839.

69 *Ibid.*, 10 Dec. 1845.

70 *Return of Owners of Land in Ireland*, 1876, p. 177.

71 M.I. Kensall Green, London.

72 R.D. 1861.8.79.

Bayswater, London, where he died without issue on 26 May 1895 and is buried in Kensall Green cemetery; he was aged 52.⁷³ii. Mary Elizabeth. In 1861 Elizabeth and her two sisters were all of Tramore, co. Waterford⁷². She married on 28 July 1869 the rev. Thomas St Lawrence Smith, curate of Carrickmacross, co. Monaghan.⁷⁴ He had entered TCD in 1849, aged 19, and he died on 8 October 1869, a few months after his marriage.⁷⁵

- ii. Elizabeth Westropp, who married at St Mary's Abbots, Kensington, 5 November 1881 the rev. John James Guthrie.⁷⁶
 - iii. Kate Jane Campbell, of Jersey when she made her will in 1906. She died unmarried on 27 February 1912, aged 77.⁷⁷
- a. Mary, who married on 1 September 1812 Lieutenant William Izod Tulloh, R.N.,⁷⁸ son of Lieutenant John Tulloh R.N. and Anne, daughter of John Stephens of Dromina, near Passage East, co. Waterford. He retired as a captain R.N. to Lakeview, Rosssduff, co. Waterford. They had issue (with twins who died as infants): John, William-France and Susan (married Andrew Kinninmouth), all three of whom emigrated to Australia; Eliza who married Edward Francis of St John's Newfoundland; Anna who married William Morris of Bellelake, Rosssduff, co. Waterford (the present writer's great-grandparents); Frances who married James Allen Merritt of Prospect, co. Waterford; Mary who married Henry King Dickinson of St John's Newfoundland; and Hester. Mary (the mother) died on 5 June 1826⁷⁹ and William married secondly on 15 May 1832 Elizabeth, daughter of William Morris of Harbour View, Rosssduff, co. Waterford,⁸⁰ by whom he had a daughter. He died on 19 October 1863.⁸¹
5. James Henry, of whom presently.
1. Elizabeth, baptised 18 March 1747.⁸² She married William Cole of Waterford on 20 December 1790.⁸³
 2. Jane who married Henry Boom on 1 April 1799.⁸⁴ She was in the West Indies in 1806.⁸⁵
 3. Frances, baptised 25 November 1750.⁸⁶ The 1821 census⁸⁷ gives 'Frances Reynett, gentlewoman' as living with her sister, Charlotte, on St John's Hill, Waterford. She died unmarried on 8 March 1833.⁸⁸
 4. Charlotte, aged 50 in 1821⁸⁷. She made her will on 9 January 1843, leaving her property to her sister Susanna for life and then to her brother James Henry and his family.⁸⁹
 5. Susanna who married on 16 April 1812 Thomas Clarke, Surveyor of Excise.⁹⁰ She must have married again since her sister Charlotte refers to her in her will as Susannah Shelly⁸⁹.
 6. Sarah who married in 1808 Jeremiah Giff.⁹¹

The fifth son.

- 73 Admon 1899, Somerset House.
- 74 *Limerick Reporter*, 10 Aug. 1869.
- 75 J. B. Leslie, *Clogher Clergy and Parishes*, p. 129.
- 76 *Waterford Mail*, 16 Nov. 1881.
- 77 Will pr. 1912; Somerset House.
- 78 *Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle*, 3 Sept. 1812.
- 79 *Waterford Mail*, 7 June 1826.
- 80 See *Irish Genealogist*, viii (1990), p. 38.
- 81 M.I. Dunmore East church.
- 82 St Olave's parish reg.
- 83 Cathedral reg.
- 84 St Patrick's reg.
- 85 R.D. 589.453.404418.
- 86 Cathedral reg.
- 87 See n. 63, above.
- 88 *Kilkenny Journal*, 20 March 1833.
- 89 NA, 1193/8.
- 90 St Patrick's parish reg.
- 91 W&L MLB.

James Henry Reynett was an attorney. On 10 August 1795 he married Hannah Humphreys⁹² (whose mother was a daughter of John Roberts, the Waterford architect).⁹³ Under the marriage settlement James Henry's father provided £1,200 and Hannah £200. If, however, Hannah were later to acquire further property this was to be added to the settlement. In 1819 Hannah inherited from her mother Mary Anne Humphreys of Waterford virtually all her property, worth £354.⁹⁴ James Henry was mayor of Waterford in 1802, 1804 and 1812 and sheriff of the city in 1809. The census of 1821⁹⁵ gives under the townland of Ballygunner 'James Henry Reynett, 50, gentleman farmer, Secretary to the Grand Jury of Waterford'⁹⁶ with his wife (aged 46), eight children and his mother-in-law Mary Anne Humphreys, aged 70. In 1830 he appears in the register of electors as of Mount Druid, freeman,⁹⁷ and votes for Lord George Beresford.⁹⁸ In 1843 James Henry advertised his interest in Mount Druid for sale or letting.⁹⁹ In 1841 Hannah made a will by which, after her husband's death, her money was to be divided among her eight surviving children of whom Samuel, George, Edward and William were to get only £1 each. She died in the following year but her will, although properly attested, was never proved.¹⁰⁰ On 9 January 1850 James Henry married Anne, daughter of Edward Ryan of Kilfera, co. Kilkenny.¹⁰¹ The 1851 census¹⁰² gives him as of Lower Newtown¹⁰³ with his occupation as 'fund holder' and with his wife aged 35, born Kilkenny, and his sister-in-law Ellen Ryan, aged 33.¹⁰⁴ It adds that his first wife had died of a decline in the winter of 1842. James Henry died on 24 May 1858.¹⁰⁵ By his will¹⁰⁶ all his surviving seven children shared his property. The terms of his will, combined with those of his first marriage settlement and of Hannah's unproved will (disinheriting four of their sons), created such legal problems that the executors were advised by counsel to procure an amicable settlement between the offspring to avoid having to go to Chancery.¹⁰⁷ Anne died without offspring on 22 May 1866.¹⁰⁸ By his first wife James Henry had issue

1. James Henry, who was in the Royal Navy. Together with his brothers Nathaniel, John Roberts, Samuel, George and Edward, he was admitted a freeman of Waterford 16 March 1813. He died on 3 August 1818 in Waterford 'after a tedious illness brought on by the hardships to which he was exposed at the loss of the *Tay* frigate',¹⁰⁹ aged 22; he was buried in the French Church, Waterford.¹¹⁰
2. Nathaniel, of whom presently.
3. John Roberts, M.D., born 10 May 1801.¹¹¹ He married in July 1838 Elizabeth second daughter

92 *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 20 March 1795.

93 Family pedigree.

94 Will pr. 1822; NA, 1193/6.

95 See n. 63, above.

96 For which he received £18/9/3 each half year; *Waterford Chronicle*, 15 Aug. 1826.

97 *Waterford Chronicle*, 9-21 Jan. 1830. Mount Druid is on the Waterford-Passage Road near Halfway House. James Henry leased 38 acres in 1812 from George Roberts of Rockview, who himself had the land on lease from Lord Waterford (Curraghmore MSS). Mount Druid was so called from the cromlech in the grounds in front of the house. James had been admitted a freeman of Waterford on 4 July 1774.

98 *Waterford Chronicle*, 11 March 1830.

99 *Waterford Mail*, 23 Sept. 1843.

100 NA, 1193/12.

101 *Waterford Mail*, 19 Jan. 1850.

102 See n. 63, above.

103 His house was called Parkview.

104 Ellen Ryan in the following year married Hugh Massey Reade of Kilkenny (see *Irish Genealogist*, viii (1992), p. 363) and when she died in 1870 she left her interest in the Reade property (in the Carrick-on-Suir area), which she had inherited from her husband, largely to the family of Dr John Roberts Reynett. See NA 1077/67.

105 *Waterford Mail*, 27 May 1858.

106 NA, 1A.2.46.

107 NA, 1193/12.

108 Will, NA, 1A.2.34.

109 *Ennis Chronicle*, 8 Aug. 1818.

110 Cathedral reg.

111 Cathedral reg. James Henry's children Nathaniel, John Roberts, Samuel, George, Elizabeth, Mary Anne, Frances Charlotte, Edward and William were all received into the church on 7 Sept. 1813.

of John Goslin, of Swift's Heath, co. Kilkenny¹¹² and niece of Anne Ryan, later to be John Roberts's step-mother. He was of the Beeches, Portlaw, co. Waterford, where he died on 24 June 1895.¹¹³ By his will¹¹⁴ he divided his property between his children, providing that if any child disputed anything in his will or in that of his wife such child should forfeit all claim to anything left him. Furthermore, if any of his sons should 'annoy or behave in an ungentlemanly manner to either of my daughters', such son should forfeit all claim to his share. His widow died on 19 June 1902.¹¹⁵ They had issue

- a. James Henry, of the Beeches, Porlaw, who died on 26 April 1925.¹¹⁶
- b. John Roberts, baptised at Clonegam 19 August 1842.¹¹⁷ He emigrated to America.¹¹⁸
- c. Edward. In 1886 he was in Melbourne, Australia, where he had apparently gone some years earlier, having an aunt on his mother's side who had emigrated there.¹¹⁹ In January 1886 a letter to Edward's father from M. Nugent states: 'I am very glad to tell you Edward is getting on very well now, he is gone into the Tramway as clerk, he will rise in it, the railway would not be permanent.'

In July 1890 Edward wrote to his father from Brunswick Tramway Car House, Brunswick, Melbourne, saying, 'I am glad to say that I have been promoted to be senior in this office and am receiving £3 a week'. In June 1892 M. Nugent writes to John Roberts Reynett: 'I suppose Edward has written and told you he was married. The first information I had was a newspaper he sent. He was married in March.'¹²⁰ Edward's wife was Maude Elizabeth ----- (who died 20 April 1936).¹²¹ Edward was in England at Lightgate House, South Petherton, Somerset in 1906¹²² and then at Hastings, Sussex, where he died on 17 January 1915, aged 58.¹²³ He had two daughters, Edith Mary Elizabeth who was unmarried in 1936¹²⁴ and Dora Kathleen Eugenie who inherited from her uncle James Henry, the Beeches, Portlaw, where she subsequently lived until her death, unmarried, on 2 February 1982 aged 91.

- d. Richard Goslin, banker, who died unmarried on 9 September 1894.¹²⁵
 - a. Jane Hannah Elizabeth who died on 29 August 1918.¹²⁶
 - b. Emma Mary who died on 9 July 1889.¹²⁷
 - c. Anne ('Nannie'), of the Beeches in 1906. She was baptised at Clonegam on 2 December 1839¹²⁸ and died on 16 July 1928, aged 90.¹²⁹
4. Samuel, born 15 August 1803.¹³⁰ In 1858 both Samuel and his brother George Roberts write in connection with their father's estate from Paris West Canada.¹³¹

112 *Waterford Mail*, 18 July 1838.

113 *Ibid.*, 29 June 1895.

114 *Pr.* 1895; NA. 1A.15.81.

115 *Waterford will*, pr. 1902; NA, 1193/30.

116 *Waterford will* pr. 1925; NA.

117 Clonegam vestry book; transcript in Irish Genealogical Research Society library.

118 Family pedigree.

119 It would appear from the Kilkenny will (pr. 1874) of Robert Goslin, uncle of Dr John Roberts Reynett's wife, and from correspondence in NA 1193/35, that Robert Goslin had a niece Mrs Mary Nugent (née Goslin) in Australia and that 'Nugent and Goslin' ran a hotel at Queenscliffe, near Melbourne.

120 Correspondence in NA, 1193/35.

121 *Will* pr. 1936; Somerset House.

122 When Jane Campbell Reynett made her will mentioning him.

123 *Will* pr. 1915; Somerset House.

124 When she proved her mother's will.

125 Letters of admon 1895 to James Henry Reynett; NA, 1193/28.

126 *Waterford will* pr. 1918; NA.

127 *Will*, NA, 1A.15.47.

128 See n. 117, above.

129 *Waterford will* pr. 1929; NA.

130 Cathedral reg.

131 NA, 1193/35.

5. Dr George Roberts, born 10 May 1807¹³⁰. He married Susanna Dora, daughter of Dr John Bartholomew Mosse, and died in Canada, leaving a daughter Isabella.¹³²
 6. Edward, born 7 May 1811¹³⁰.
 7. William, born 3 September 1813¹³⁰. He was alive when his mother made her will in 1841, but died during his father's lifetime.¹³³
 8. Thomas Sautell, born 17 April 1816¹³⁰ and buried Ballinakill 29 April 1826.¹³⁴
 1. Anna Maria, buried Ballinakill 27 May 1821¹³⁴.
 2. Frances Charlotte, born 1811.¹³⁵ She married ----- Fisher and went to America.¹³⁶
 3. Flora Susannah, born 5 December 1817¹³⁵. She married 29 March 1845¹³⁷ her cousin Thomas Robinson Edwards, son of Eaton Edwards of Newtown, Waterford. He was of Manor Street Waterford and later of Canada, where he died.¹³⁸
 4. Elizabeth, born 15 August 1808;¹³⁹ buried 15 March 1819.
 5. Mary Ann, born 8 August 1809¹³⁹.
- The second son.

Nathaniel was born on 2 July 1799¹³⁹. He was of Weir Cottage, co. Waterford, in 1828¹⁴⁰ and of Clonakilty, co. Cork, in 1859.¹⁴¹ In February or March 1826 he married Olivia, youngest daughter of Benjamin Johnson, of Spring Hill, co. Waterford,¹⁴² and Elizabeth niece of William Bennet, bishop of Cork and Ross and then of Cloyne.¹⁴³ Olivia was born at Stradbally, co. Waterford, in 1805¹⁴⁴ and died at Castle Bellingham on 23 March 1887.¹⁴⁵ Nathaniel died 30 September 1870.¹⁴⁶ They had issue

1. Benjamin Burton Johnson, of whom presently.
2. Henry, dead by 1912¹⁴⁴.
3. John of Cappamore, co. Limerick, farmer. He died on 27 April 1898, probate of his will to his nephews.¹⁴⁷
1. Elizabeth, of Whitehall, Castle Bellingham, co. Louth, in 1912¹⁴⁴. She married William McBrien.

The eldest son

Benjamin Burton Johnson Reynett who was of Kilhasson Lodge, co. Cork, in 1860,¹⁴⁸ and later of Clonsart, King's Co., farmer.¹⁴⁹ He was alive in 1912, aged 80.¹⁵⁰ He married Margaret Byrnell¹⁴⁹ and had issue

1. Nathaniel of Kilmoroney, co. Kildare, farmer. He was born in 1869 and married his first cousin

132 Ossory MLB; Bayly, op. cit.

133 NA, 1193/12.

134 Drumcannon par. reg.

135 Cathedral reg.

136 James Henry in his will of 1856 writes of having given money to 'my daughters Flora Edwards and Charlotte Reynett (now Fisher) on their leaving this country for America'.

137 St Patrick's par. reg.

138 'A digression on the family of Edwards of Newtown....' in Eaton W. Waters, 'The Waters family of Cork', *JCHAS* vol. 34, p. 100.

139 Cathedral reg.

140 R.D. 835.115.165.

141 NA, 1193/35.

142 *Waterford Mail*, 4 March 1826.

143 Brady, *Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, iii, p. 129, says that Benjamin's wife was a sister of the bishop of Cloyne, but it is clear from R.D. 835.115.165 that she was the bishop's niece.

144 I am grateful for the information regarding Olivia Johnson and her relatives provided by Mrs Jane Hills of Canterbury, Victoria, Australia.

145 *Irish Times*, 24 March 1887.

146 *Limerick Reporter*, 11 October 1870.

147 Admon granted 1898 to James Henry and Nathaniel Reynett of Cappamore; NA, will reg.

148 R.D. 1860.27.97.

149 From birth cert. of his dau., Olivia.

150 See n., 144, above.

Olivia Eva, daughter of William McBrien and Elizabeth née Reynett. He died on 6 August 1939¹⁵¹ and Olivia died on 25 January 1945.¹⁵²

2. James Henry of Clonsart, farmer.
1. Olivia Letitia, born 16 August 1864.

The Ancestry of General Sir James Henry Reynett

Family traditions are generally agreed that General Sir James Henry Reynett was descended from Dr Jacques of Waterford. Agnew states¹⁵³ that from James Henry, the mayor of Waterford, son of Dr James Reynett (died 1730) 'the above clergyman [the general's father] and general officer sprang' and this is supported in a family pedigree which places the rev. Henry James (the general's father) as a son of James Henry, the mayor, and his wife Elizabeth Boyse. This, however, can hardly be correct. We know that the rev. Henry James Reynett (the general's father) was born in 1737¹⁵⁴ whereas James Henry, the mayor, did not marry Elizabeth Boyse until 1746. Possibly Henry James was a son of James Henry by an earlier marriage but for James Henry, the future mayor, to have married and had a son by 1737 he must have been a son Dr James by his first wife and not by Frances France. Yet Nathaniel France in his will refers to James Henry as his nephew and France has been used as a christian name by the Reynetts over the centuries. Moreover, in the fairly well documented account of James Henry's children there is no indication that he had a clergyman son called Henry James. It would, accordingly, appear much more likely that the connection with the Waterford family is a generation earlier.

Swanzy¹⁵⁵ states that the rev. Henry James was born on 3 February 1737 at Sanhills, parish of Galloon, co. Monaghan, the son of Lieutenant Henry Reynett. Now it would appear very reasonable to identify this Lieutenant Henry with Henry the youngest son of Dr Jacques of Waterford (died 1721) who, as we have seen, was alive in 1730. Further evidence of a connection between the Reynetts of Northern Ireland and Waterford lies in the admission as freeman of Waterford city on 13 August 1758 of a rev Henry Reynett of Lisburn (presumably the general's father).¹⁵⁶ There is also a Henry Reynett who in 1726 married Susanna Taboys¹⁵⁷ who may well be the mother of rev. Henry James. On the other hand, however, Lieutenant Henry may not be the son of Dr Jacques and husband of Susanna, but a descendant (son or grandson) of Dr Jacques's brother Nathaniel of Dublin, mentioned above, who may, or may not, be the husband of Susanna. Be that as it may, Lieutenant Henry Reynett's son

Henry James Reynett entered TCD in 1754 and got his B.A. 1758 and D.D. (Edinburgh) 1793. He was curate of Annahilt, co. Down, 1761, vicar of Maghergall, co. Antrim, 1765-77, Glenavy, co. Antrim 1777-82 and Billy co. Antrim, 1782-90. He married first on 12 October 1761 Henrietta, daughter of the rev. Thomas Johnson, rector of Maghergall, co. Antrim.¹⁵⁸ By her he had a son

1. Henry James of Dublin. He served in the 7th regiment of foot being appointed lieutenant on 29 November 1791 and captain on 28 November 1792 and in 1797 he was paymaster of the regiment.¹⁵⁹ There are in the Registry of Deeds records of a number of property transactions of

151 *Irish Times*, 8 Aug. 1939

152 *Ibid*, 5 Feb. 1945. Admon of her property to her sisters.

153 Agnew, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

154 Henry B. Swanzy, *Succession Lists of the Diocese of Down*. Swanzy gives this year on the strength of an entry in the Johnson bible and this is confirmed by the age Henry James gives himself in his will.

155 Cited in n. 154.

156 The only objection to this identification is that the general's father was not ordained until the following year.

157 Dublin ML. She was probably a daughter of Abraham Tabois, merchant, and Susanne Arnaud (who was buried 16 March 1694, La Touche, *op. cit.* p. 143).

158 Swanzy, *op. cit.*

159 *Army Lists*.

the second and third decades of the 19th century involving Henry James of Dublin, but none provides a clue as to whether or not Henry James was married. In 1806 he was appointed paymaster of the Dublin recruiting district, which post he held until his death which is reported thus in the *Freeman's Journal* of 8 July 1828:

On June 23 Henry James Reynett, Esq. formerly aide de camp to his late Royal Highness the Duke of Kent and many years paymaster of the Dublin District.

The rev. Henry James married secondly on 11 October 1770 Mary, daughter of the rev. Thomas Gilbert Kennedy and Elizabeth, daughter of James Traill.¹⁵⁸ In 1790 Henry resigned as vicar of Billy and settled in London. What the cause of his resignation was is not known, but Henry evidently felt very bitter about it for in his will¹⁶⁰ he earnestly requests his wife

that if she hold my memory in the smallest veneration or respect she never on any pretext whatsoever revisit Ireland the place of her nativity where she must be conscious I have been treated with and actually received such []¹⁶¹ and never to be forgotten cruelty as neither she nor I can or ought ever to hold in amnesty or oblivion.

Henry when he made his will in 1804 was a magistrate of police for Goodman's Fields, London. Henry died in June 1810 in Sloane Square, London.¹⁶² By his second wife he had issue

2. James Trail, baptised at Belfast 13 February 1772.¹⁶³ He is not mentioned in his father's will and probably died young.
3. **Sir James Henry**, of whom presently.
 1. Maria, who married 7 March 1800 Sir William Bagenal Burdett, 3rd Bart.¹⁶⁴ She died on 5 July 1816, leaving an only child, Helen, who married Henry Bell of Woolsington, Northumberland. Sir William married secondly on 18 July 1820 Esther, daughter of Thomas Smith of Castleton Hall, Lancs., and died s. p. m. 14 December 1840, aged 70.
 2. Sidney who was married to Thomas Bordmore when her father made his will in 1804.
 3. Margaret, who married on 25 June 1795 John Agmondesham Vesey, aide de camp to Prince Edward, later major-general.¹⁶⁵ He died 2 December 1811 and she died 31 July 1859. They had a son Edward who died unmarried in 1830 and four daughters: Margaret who married John Southwell Browne, Augusta who married Sir John Kirkland, Mary who died unmarried, and Phoebe who married Major George Rose.
4. Elizabeth. It would appear from a somewhat outspoken passage in her father's will that she went on 'the fishing fleet' to India to find a husband, her father stating:

My daughter Elizabeth Baillie is indebted to me by bond...for the sum of £250 with interest being only a portion of the sum of money which I advanced on her going to the East Indies and which had she been unsuccessful in the expedition I would not have wished her charged with, but as she has returned richly provided for I should do injustice to the unprotected remaining parts of my family were I to bequeath the amount of her bond to herself.

Elizabeth, evidently as a result of her successful 'expedition', married on 13 December 1796 Colonel Hugh Baillie of Redcastle and Tarradale, co. Ross.¹⁶⁶ Hugh married 2ndly on 2

160 Dated 1804, pr. 1813; PRO, PROB 11/1549/566.

161 Word illegible.

162 *Gentleman's Magazine* 1810, pt. 1, p. 677.

163 Swanzey, op. cit.

164 See *Burke's Peerage* under 'Weldon'.

165 'Vesey of Derrahard', *BLG*, 1912.

July 1821 Mary, daughter of Thomas Smith of Castleton Hall (see above). By his first wife Hugh had, with three daughters (Maria Anne married the hon. William Ashley, son of the 6th Earl of Shaftesbury, Augusta Vesey, and Elizabeth who married William Brodie), a son the Rt Hon. Henry James Baillie, M.P., under-secretary of state for India. Henry married first on 29 December 1840 Philippa, daughter of the 6th Earl of Strangford. He died on 16 December 1865, leaving by his first wife Hugh, George, Elizabeth and Philippa.¹⁶⁷

5. Anne Louise who was unmarried in 1856 when her brother made his will in which he left her an annuity of £50.

The rev. Henry James's third son

Sir James Henry Reynett was born in 1786.¹⁶⁸ He was commissioned as an ensign (without purchase) in the 52nd regiment of foot on 25 November 1799 and was a brevet lieutenant-colonel (also without purchase) on 1 June 1814. He was an equerry to the Duke of Cambridge in 1822 and was aide de camp to the Sovereign from 12 July 1830 until 23 November 1841; groom to the bedchamber 1831 to 1837; K.C.H. 1823, K.C.B. 1862. He was Lieutenant-Governor of Jersey 1847-52 and was appointed a general on 5 May 1860. He was author of *A Short Memoir of his late Royal Highness Adolphus Duke of Cambridge*, 1858. He married on 25 September 1837 at Hampton Court Elizabeth, eldest daughter of James Campbell of Hampton Court.¹⁶⁹ The official list of landowners gives Sir James as holding in 1876 (though by that time he was already dead) 51 acres, valued at £66, in co. Down.¹⁷⁰ Sir James died at Hampton Court on 9 August 1864¹⁷¹ and his wife died aged 66 on 7 July 1866;¹⁷² they left two daughters: Augusta Adolphine Elizabeth Anne who died unmarried on 13 August 1914 aged 77,¹⁷³ and Mary Georgina Louisa Beatrice who died unmarried on 10 January 1887, aged 46.¹⁷⁴

As has been indicated above, it is virtually certain that the general's family was connected with the Waterford Reynetts and, quite apart from the recurrence of the names James and Henry coupled together in both branches of the family, there is in both branches the tradition of a descent of the general's family from Dr Jacques of Waterford. It is, therefore, somewhat surprising that the use of arms in the two branches does not confirm this. *Burke's General Armory*¹⁷⁵ gives to 'Sir James Henry Reynett, K.C.H., A.D.C. to the Queen...descended from Henri De Reynet, who left France at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes', the following arms: 'Quarterly, 1st and 4th, vert a tortoise pass. ppr; 2nd and 3rd, ar. a chev. gu. betw. three crosses crosslet fitchée sa. the whole within a double tressure flory counter flory of the second.' The Waterford Reynetts, on the other hand, have used as arms: azure a fesse between two lions' heads crossed in chief or and on the base a star argent; crest, an arm cramped at the elbow having in the hand an anchor proper; motto, *vi et virtute*.¹⁷⁶

167 Maternal grandmother of Viscount Whitelaw, U.K. Home Secretary 1979-83, Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Lords 1983-88.

168 For Sir James's career see entry under his name in Boase, *A Modern Biography* (but see p. 36, above) and PRO (Kew), W.O. 25/772, p. 89.

169 *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1837, II, p. 528. For marr. sett. see R.D. 1870.31.78.

170 *Return of Owners of Land in Ireland*, p. 245.

171 Will pr. 1864; Somerset House.

172 Admon intest. to her two daughters; Somerset House.

173 Will pr. 1914; Somerset House.

174 Will pr. 1887; Somerset House.

175 1884 edn., p. 849.

176 Framed copy of arms in 1193/40.

WATERFORD BRIDGE, 1793-1911

by Geoffrey Sutton

It is surprising that in a place so important politically and commercially as the city of Waterford no attempt was made to construct a permanent bridge until the year 1793. The fact that in former times it was considered a vast, even impossible task to erect a bridge across such a broad and fast-flowing river as the Suir contributed to the absence of a bridge. The main reason, however, was the presence of a number of ferries across the Suir which meant that nobody in Waterford felt the need for a bridge until the 1770s. Upon the discovery in 1770 of some fragments of piles and framed timber, the idea was put about that the Danes, when in occupation of the city, had built a wooden bridge across the Suir on the site of the present Brother Rice Bridge. The principal ferries across the Suir were those at Passage, Waterford and Grannagh. In the municipal records frequent mention is made of the ferries at Waterford and Grannagh. In 1715 special attention was called in the City Council to the bad condition of the high road leading to the ferry at Grannagh, and instructions were given to put the road into proper repair.

Notwithstanding the risks attendant on ferryage and the lack of facilities for the conveyance of merchandise across the river, the citizens of Waterford do not seem, during the greater part of the 18th century, to have realised the absolute necessity for constructing a bridge, and when in 1770 Thomas Covey put before them a reasonable scheme, he seems to have aroused little local interest. His scheme was based on a proposal by George Semple, an English engineer, who in turn based his scheme for Waterford Bridge on the system used by the Emperor Trajan for bridging the Danube in A.D.104. This bridge consisted of 20 arches on 19 piers, on artificial foundations of piled rubble. Covey suggested the upper end of the New Quay, at a place commonly called the Graving Bank, as the possible site for a bridge. Here some time ago a bank of gravel had been run out a considerable way into the river and from thence to the opposite shore, which happens to be a large abutment of rock. He envisaged building a stone bridge resting on a bank or causeway below low-water level. His design provided for 9 arches on 8 piers and 2 abutments, the whole being 601 ft long. The plan provided for a width of 44 ft divided by parapets, allowing a clearway of 40 ft. A single 10 ft flagged footway with protective railing for pedestrians was included at the downstream side, leaving a 30 ft carriageway for vehicles, livestock etc. Estimated cost was £36,745. Covey's proposal fell through either on grounds of impracticality, or for lack of interest, or because of the obstacle posed by the ferry rights.

The rapid increase in the export trade of Waterford in the 1770s and 1780s appears to have turned public attention to the necessity for better communication between the city and the neighbouring counties beyond the Suir. In 1786 a meeting of the mayor, sheriffs and citizens of Waterford was held, at which it was agreed to build a toll bridge across the river, the tolls to be extinguished at the end of fifty years provided that the subscriptions raised to erect the bridge had then been paid off. The promoters, however, were confronted with the difficulty presented by the position of the owner of the ferry and the uncertainty as to the extent of his rights. They accordingly submitted in 1786 a case for the opinion of the Attorney General for Ireland, who advised that no bridge which would interfere with the profits of the ferry could be erected across the Suir without the consent of the owner of the ferry or without statutory authority involving compensation.

Whether in consequence of this opinion or not, the Corporation appears to have abandoned the project and it fell into the hands of a number of private citizens, who in 1786 obtained an act of parliament, the Toll Bridge Act. It was not until seven years after the passing of this act that the promoters of the bridge succeeded in acquiring the property and rights in the ferry. On 24 June 1793, pursuant to a prior agreement, Cornelius Grogan assigned to the Bridge Commissioners 'the ferry or passage commonly called the ferry of Waterford over the river Suir,

and the slips and landing places on each side of the said river', in consideration of the sum of £13,000, subject to a quit rent of £4.10s.0d. payable to the king. The construction of the bridge then proceeded rapidly. It was entrusted to an American contractor, Lemuel Cox of Boston.

Lemuel Cox deserves to be better remembered in Waterford than he is. He was born in 1736 in Malden, Massachusetts, and began his career as a wheelwright. He was credited with a number of inventions: one, a machine for cutting cardwires in connection with the manufacture of textiles, earned him a sizeable reward. The fine drawing of steel wire was another improvement of his on the older system. In 1776 he was connected with a powder mill in Andover. It was as a bridge builder, however, that Cox realised his full potential and made his mark.

His first excursion into bridge-building was in 1785, when he was appointed master workman on the construction of a bridge across the Charles River from Boston to Charlestown. When completed, the bridge was 42 feet wide, resting on seven piers, each composed of seven oaken timbers; four solid wharves and buttresses were laid with stone in different parts to sustain the wooden piers. Cox, it was said, was 'honoured with a poem of forty stanzas' and, enterprising as ever, opened a liquor store near the bridge.

He was next connected with the construction of a bridge from Charlestown Neck to Malden Shore; this bridge was 2,000 ft long and 32 ft wide. Yet another bridge in the same district - between Salem and Beverley - was the work of Cox. He was paid 9/- a day and his board for superintending construction of the 1484 ft long bridge, and a bonus at its completion.

It was the Corporation of Derry that brought Lemuel Cox (then of the firm of Cox and Thompson) to Ireland. Having agreed to bridge the Foyle, he shipped the oaken timbers, and twenty skilled workmen, from Sheepscott, Maine. The bridge was commenced in 1789 and completed - at a cost of £13,594 - in 1791. The Foyle bridge attracted attention in Waterford and throughout Ireland. Cox went on to build the bridge at Waterford, and subsequently bridges at New Ross, Wexford, Enniscorthy and across the Shannon at Portumna. The fact that Irish workmen flocked to him led to his being charged in 1794 with 'enticing artisans to quit their native country'. He was, however, able to prove that it was they who applied to him, not he to them, and was acquitted. The same year, Lemuel Cox was presented with the freedom of the city of Waterford in a silver box 'as a testimonial of the very able, workmanlike and expeditious manner in which he has executed the building of the new wooden bridge across the River Suir in this city'.

Notwithstanding his various successes in the new and old worlds, Lemuel Cox died in poor circumstances: the inventory of his estate came to only 20 dollars. Eventually, his executors succeeded in realising a sum of \$2,555, which was divided in ten shares between his children and grandchildren. The house in Charlestown in which he died was destroyed by fire in 1835.

Picking and choosing from various descriptions of the bridge, we can build a word picture of the original construction, which I deduced to be as follows.

Estimates of the length of the bridge in 1794 on the day of completion range from 734 to 832 feet in different accounts. The lower figure can be taken as the length of the bridge after the widening of the quay; the higher figure must have been the original length, as it is given on the plaque fixed to the bridge and also in Friel's report.

Next, the number of piers can be calculated. Here numbers range from 40 piers to 37. Again the lower numbers can be discounted as they were taken from the shortened form of the bridge. The figure of 40 piers mentioned in a number of reports and carved on the plaque can in my opinion be taken as the actual number of piers on the original bridge.

The depths of the river at various points and the profile of the bed of the river can also be calculated. There are depths in the reports which range from 27 feet at lowest ebb tide to 43 feet deep at H.W.O.S.T. mark (High Water Ordinary Spring Tide). The Waterford Bridge Commission's *Report* of 1903 gives most details of the bed and depths of water, so we can accept its measurements. By fixing a level for H.W.O.S.T. and using the measurements from this report, it is possible to work out three depths of the river bed, at the south side, the north side and the

centre. The south side depth of 22 feet can be found by subtracting 12 feet (the depth of the rock beneath the bed of the river in the report) from 34 feet (the depth of the rock from the H.W.O.S. T mark). The depth at the centre similarly calculated was 39 feet and at the north side 43 feet.

The width of the bridge by general consensus was 40 feet, divided into a carriageway of 26 feet wide and two footpaths each of 7 feet in width.

According to the Waterford Bridge Commission's report the roadway was not perfectly level with the tide. They say it rose from 7 to 13 feet above the H.W.O.S.T. mark, suggesting that the bridge carriageway rose and fell in an arc to a height of 6 feet from the level of the beginning of the bridge to that of the centre.

The construction and positioning of the piers was also very difficult to ascertain and required a certain amount of calculation. Edmund Downey's *Waterford's Bridges* gives the only clues to the positioning of individual piers. The Waterford Bridge Commission's report gives distances of 15 to 19 feet between the piers, and others give distances of 9 to 22 feet, but in no report is there a breakdown of the spacings between groups of piers, except in *Waterford's Bridges*. It says that four piers have distances of between 9 feet 9 inches and 14 feet 3 inches. The last span on the Kilkenny side was of 21 feet 7 inches; 5 spans are between 13 feet and 22 feet; and the remaining 27 between 15 feet and 26 feet 9 inches. 6 of these 27 piers have spans of less than 16 feet, with the average of the remainder being 20 feet, none of them being under 17 feet in width. The piers consisted of seven vertical piles and a cutwater on each side. The basic construction is given in *Waterford's Bridges* but the sizes of the wallers and diagonal members and their method of jointing had to be calculated.

Again *Waterford's Bridges* is the main source of information for the dimensions of the carriageway of the bridge, but no constructional details are given. It mentions beams of 13 inches by 10 inches, 16 inches apart, supported upon the piers. By calculating the number of times the width of a plank plus the width of a spacing goes into 40 feet (the width of the bridge), I found there were 19 beams upon the piers running at eight angles to them. For the surface of the carriageway there were 2.5 inch thick planks of oak nailed to the oak, memel or pitchpine beams.

From the footpaths to the railings there are no dimensions or constructional details given in any report. All information for the footpaths and the inside and outside railings can be deduced from photographs of the original bridge in relation to its surroundings. For example, the outside railing on the bridge was at the same height as the neck of a man leaning on it, therefore the height of the railing was taken to be 5 feet.

The reason for the great differences in spacing between the piers was that they were assembled on the bank of the river without the diagonal support of the capping pieces and the sloping cutwaters. They were fitted to a trestle and dropped onto the bed of the river in any position Cox thought suitable. They sank about 6 feet into the bed of the river. The cutwaters were then driven by pile drivers into the bed to a depth of about 9 feet. Cox then dumped rubble from local quarries around the base of each pier to a depth of 4 feet, and it sank 2 feet into the bed of the river. It would have been extremely difficult to maintain a regular height of piers, so each pier might have been left to sink into the bed, then cut to the correct height, and only then fitted with the capping piece.

'When the bridge was completed,' writes John J. Fleming, Waterford Borough Surveyor, 'there was no opening. In or about 1800 a drawbridge was made nearer the south side to admit the passage of small vessels. This opening was 20 feet in width, and at first was worked by tackles, afterwards by ratchet quadrants made by Messrs Graham & Son of Waterford. This drawbridge is shown in a water-colour sketch by Thomas Sautelle Roberts dated 19 December 1805. Later it was found that paddle steamers could not pass through the opening, and a drawbridge was made near the centre of the river in the year 1854. The name of Messrs Graham and the dates were on the old castings used for operating the drawbridge. The width of the new opening was 40 feet'.

By the middle of the 19th century the citizens were displaying strong antipathy to the tolls demanded by the proprietors of the bridge. Public bodies held meetings expressing their anxiety to see the tollage swept away and the bridge made free. Under the auspices of the mayor, a meeting was held in the Courthouse on 6 January 1852 for the purpose of getting a free bridge. It was argued that the existing bridge had done its work. Councillor Walsh said 'it should have been swept away long since, for it was unfit for the present day - its cost of £1,000 a year for repairs was only a waste of public money'. Mr Clarke, T C., called attention to the views entertained by the City Council before the present bridge had been made. He read a resolution passed by the Council in 1706 approving of the project of erecting a bridge across the Suir. The Council had agreed that the builders of such bridge should be allowed to levy tolls in order to repay themselves, but that the tolls should not be greater than had been levied on the ferry, and that as soon as the amount expended on the erection of the bridge, with legal interest thereon, had been received, the bridge should be free. Edmund Power of Tramore described the bridge as 'old stick-in-the-mud', and declared that it was not a bridge at all - only a bundle of sticks.

The matter was hotly debated at a meeting of the Council held on 13 February 1852. Dr John Mackesy proposed a resolution that the city should not be taxed more than 4d. in the £1 for the proposed free bridge. Samuel T. Grubb said that the wooden bridge had cost originally £13,000, and that the committee was prepared to give the proprietors £45,000 for it and the ferry rights. In March the Free Bridge Bill presented to the House of Commons was thrown out in consequence of a technical error. After this the free bridge protagonists seem to have lost heart. Nothing further about the bridge was discussed in the local press until the following September, when it was announced that the proprietors of the bridge were contemplating a reduction of the tolls. In December an amended list of tolls was published, to great public joy.

However, the aspiration for a free bridge was never unanimous. For one thing, the bridge while in private ownership was a substantial contributor to the municipal finances and thereby a relief to the general body of rate-payers. The Bridges (Ireland) Act (1868), although designed to assist the provision of bridges, contained the prescription that the grand juries of Waterford and Kilkenny might not initiate a process for purchase of the bridge and ferry of Waterford without the assent 'of a majority in number and value of the rate-payers of the borough of Waterford'.

Maintenance was a constant factor in the preservation and operation of the wooden bridge. At that time maintenance costs were running at £1,000 per annum, there being 'an ample and competent staff of artificers and workmen employed'. (Average wage rates at the time were between 12 and 14 shillings - 60 and 70p-per week.) Ships passing through the opening span were regularly the cause of damage - frequently to the bridge timbers, sometimes to the vessels themselves.

The problem returned in greater measure between 15 and 29 January 1881, one of the ice-flows observed measuring 80 ft by 40 and 2½ ft thick. On this occasion, explosives were employed - unsuccessfully. Two steam tugs, the *Father Mathew* and the *Suir*, and the Railway Company's *Seagull* sought to break the ice and protect the vulnerable centre portion of the bridge. The wind changed direction on 29 January and a rapid thaw set in, dispersing the ice in a very short time. In November of the same year, the *Seagull* sank as a result of colliding with the bridge.

Amongst the mayors who worked energetically to secure a free bridge for the citizens were Cornelius Redmond (1869), Laurence A. Ryan (1880-82), Richard Power (1886-7) and W. J. Smith (1895-6). Ryan and Smith propounded schemes which were based on sound financial principles, but one mayor after another failed to accomplish his purpose. During the later stages of the controversy the lawyer for the Bridge Commissioners advised that the Corporation was free to erect a new bridge close to the west side of the existing bridge without paying compensation to anybody. This was also the contention of James J. Feely, who was Town Clerk of Waterford from 1892 to 1917, but apparently the Corporation was too timorous to take the plunge and erect a bridge

of its own.

However, it may be fairly said that it was mainly owing to Feely's exertions that Lemuel Cox's bridge was purchased by the Corporation in 1907 for the sum of £63,000. Nor should it be forgotten by the citizens of Waterford that John Allingham, B. L., for many years secretary to the Harbour Board, took the keenest interest in the free bridge project, and his accurate knowledge of portal affairs and legal training were fully availed of and greatly appreciated by the promoters of the many plans put forward. On 19 December 1907, the deed of conveyance was executed whereby the Corporation became owners of the bridge undertaking at a cost of £63,000. Lemuel Cox's wooden bridge was taken over by the Corporation and declared free of tolls on 31 December 1907.

At the end of 1909 it was decided to replace the old wooden bridge with a bridge on the Hennebique system, after which the project passed into the hands of the Joint Bridge Committee. This was composed of representatives of Waterford city and county and of cos Kilkenny, Carlow, Wexford, north and south Tipperary, and the Queen's County. Tenders were invited and fourteen received. On 1 September 1910, the tender of Messrs Kinnear & Co. Ltd., St Vincent Street, Glasgow was accepted in the sum of £64, 311.7d.

The intention to use the site of the wooden bridge for its replacement required the erection of a temporary bridge alongside, upstream. This was begun in November 1910 and completed in March 1911 - a timber-pile construction providing a 20-foot-wide carriageway and single 8-foot footpath, and with a 40-foot opening span. Meanwhile, the piles and cylinders for the new bridge were being cast on the site at Bilberry, the original terminus of the Waterford, Dungarvan and Lismore Railway (now occupied by Waterford Ironfounders Ltd). The first pile for the ferro-concrete bridge was driven on 5 June 1911; 207 more were to follow. The new bridge was certified complete on 6 February 1913 and it was opened to traffic by John Redmond, M.P., on Monday following, 10 February 1913.

Little remains of 'Timbertoes' today. Mrs Carroll, widow of the late M. J. S. Carroll (City Engineer 1948-73), has in her possession a casket made of oak used in its construction. The original plaque on the bridge in 1794 is in the possession of Waterford Corporation. The altar in the Dominican Church in Bridge Street was made of oak used in 'Timbertoes'; it was replaced in the 1960s and its present location is unknown.

THE BLUESHIRTS IN WATERFORD, 1932-1934

by Eugene Broderick

Part One

The standard history of the Blueshirts has been written by Maurice Manning.¹ However, there has been a dearth of local studies of the movement. This essay seeks to redress this situation by examining the activities of the Blueshirts in Waterford in the period 1932-1934.

1932 general election and a new organisation

Dáil Éireann was dissolved on 29 January 1932 and a general election called for 16 February. The Cumann na nGaedheal government of W. T. Cosgrave sought a renewed mandate based on its competent management of the state's finances and the maintenance of law and order in the difficult circumstances of post Civil War Ireland. The opposition Fianna Fáil programme was more detailed and specific, and included commitments to abolish the Oath of Allegiance, retain the land annuities, and promote industry.

The campaign was a busy but peaceful one. There were few disturbances, though heckling was frequent, especially at Cumann na nGaedheal meetings. At one held in Portlaw in late January speakers were heckled and interrupted.² Whatever about the campaign, the Fianna Fáil programme captured the public imagination, and voters, weary of ten years of Cosgrave's government, opted for change. Waterford constituency returned two Fianna Fáil and two Cumann na nGaedheal deputies.³

On 9 March Eamon de Valera was elected president of the Executive Council. The next few months witnessed frenetic activity on the part of the new government, as it sought to honour its electoral commitments. A bill to abolish the oath was introduced; the land annuities were withheld; and IRA prisoners, jailed under the Cosgrave administration, were released.

The speed with which Fianna Fáil moved to implement its election pledges and the nature of the policies themselves - particularly those in relation to the IRA and the annuities - caused much unease and concern in Cumann na nGaedheal ranks. Released republican prisoners and their supporters promised retribution on their political enemies and threatened to disrupt Cumann na nGaedheal meetings. Cosgrave's supporters were very critical of the government's apparently halting attitude to the IRA and condemned the annuities policy as disastrous for the agricultural community.

It was against this background that a new organisation came into existence. It was called the Army Comrades Association and was founded in Dublin on 9 February 1932, its objectives being (1) to uphold the honour of the state, and (2) to honour Irish volunteers who had died during the Anglo-Irish struggle, and eventually to raise a national memorial to them.⁴ It was an uncontroversial body, intended for old army comrades.

On 23 May, a meeting of this new association was held in Waterford city under the chairmanship of Dr J. V. White, a former Cumann na nGaedheal T.D. Col. Jerry Ryan, representing the national executive, outlined the ACA's aims and stated that he looked forward to having a very strong branch in Waterford, where 1000 army men were resident. At the end of proceedings, 250 members were enrolled.⁵

The character of the ACA underwent a significant transformation in August. A new leader was elected - Dr T. F. O'Higgins TD, a brother of Kevin O'Higgins, the assassinated Free

1 M. Manning, *The Blueshirts* (Dublin 1970).

2 *Waterford News* (hereafter WN), 29 Jan. 1933.

3 Elected were Capt. M. Redmond and J. Kiersey for Cumann na nGaedheal; S. Goulding and P. J. Little for Fianna Fáil.

4 Manning, *Blueshirts*, p. 23.

5 *Munster Express* (hereafter ME), 27 May 1932.

State minister. Its objectives were re-defined to include total opposition to communism and defence of the right of free speech for all. It was also announced that the ACA had decided to add a volunteer division to its organisation. The commitment to the defence of free speech and the recruitment of volunteers were a response to the apparent unwillingness of de Valera's government to protect Cumann na nGaedheal meetings. It is clear that from the very beginning there was a close relationship between the ACA and that party.

The autumn and winter of 1932 saw the political temperature rise both nationally and locally. Political gatherings became scenes of disturbances as followers of Cosgrave and their republican opponents clashed. While Waterford was spared some of the more serious disorder, an incident in September indicated a growing bitterness in politics. A Cumann na nGaedheal meeting in the City Hall was disturbed by a counter-demonstration held outside. A number of young men tried to force an entrance but were repulsed by what the *Munster Express* called 'Cumann na nGaedheal stewards' and a brief melee ensued. It is likely that these stewards were members of the ACA.⁶

1933 general election

On the second day of 1933 de Valera called a snap general election for 24 January. This election was to be the bitterest in the history of the state, with much violence in various parts of the country. While the ACA declared its political neutrality, its members nevertheless played an important role in the campaign, acting as stewards and bodyguards at meetings of the main opposition party.

In Waterford, the two big parties were reported as losing no time in perfecting their organisation and machinery for the election. There were eight candidates in all - three Fianna Fáil, three Cumann na nGaedheal, and one each from the Labour Party and the Centre Party, the latter being representative of farmers' interests. When a prominent Catholic cleric, Canon Byrne, appealed for charity and peace in the conduct of the election,⁷ spokesmen for all the parties stated that as far as Waterford was concerned the contest would be carried out in a harmonious manner.⁸ While the county avoided the scenes of serious disorder of other parts of the country, the election was very hard fought and by no means the occasion of charity desired by the canon.

Fianna Fáil strove to present its policies as a courageous and determined effort by an Irish government to break free from the unwanted ties with a large empire. Voters in Waterford were called on to support de Valera in the economic war, the actions of the British government being called 'a kind of economic Black and Tannery' by one of the constituency's outgoing TDs, P. J. Little.⁹ Opponents of the government were depicted as anti-national types. Another Fianna Fáil candidate, Sean Mansfield, told a meeting that Cumann na nGaedheal was always a Unionist party,¹⁰ while Little paid tribute to those people in Tramore who had rallied to de Valera, 'surrounded as they were by a rather Unionist element to a large extent'.¹¹

For their part, Cosgrave's supporters denounced the recklessness of the Fianna Fáil government which was termed 'a disaster' at an election meeting in the city.¹² At another one in Butlerstown, farmers were warned that their holdings would be in jeopardy if de Valera were returned.¹³ The Centre Party described the economic war as senseless and unnecessary and called on farmers to save themselves from the ruin and beggary towards which they were rushing.¹⁴

The ACA was present at election gatherings to provide protection for opposition speakers. At the Butlerstown one, thirty members were in attendance, having travelled from the city by bus.¹⁵ At a meeting in Broad Street heckling led to scuffles. Those seeking to disturb the proceedings

6 *Ibid.*, 9 Sept. 1933.

7 *Ibid.*, 6 Jan. 1933.

8 *Ibid.*, 13 Jan. 1933.

9 *WN*, 13 Jan. 1933.

10 *Ibid.*, 6 Jan. 1933.

11 *Ibid.*, 20 Jan. 1933.

12 *ME.*, 13 Jan. 1933.

13 *Ibid.*

14 *Ibid.*

15 *WN*, 13 Jan. 1933.

were ejected by Cumann na nGaedheal supporters, who were, according to a *Munster Express* account, aided by ACA volunteers. The same report observed that 'at no time did there appear to be any fear of matters becoming serious thanks to the adequate protection of the ACA and Civic Guards'.¹⁶

While the ACA saw its presence as fulfilling a protective role, its actions were deemed provocative by opponents. De Valera accused the association of being a danger to public peace.¹⁷ A Fianna Fáil candidate, Sean Goulding, speaking at Dunhill, warned against the danger of disturbing Cumann na nGaedheal meetings. This, he claimed, was only playing into the hands of the ACA, as the creation of disorder was its desired objective.¹⁸

The presence of ACA, republican and Fianna Fáil supporters at the same venue often did lead to confrontation. On the night of the election count, a large body of young men formed a procession and marched through the city carrying tricolours. They were obviously republican sympathisers. When they arrived at the Mall, scuffles occurred between them and ACA members. The gardaí prevented a serious clash by drawing batons.¹⁹

The extent of the violence in the county alarmed the government. The Garda Commissioner, General Eoin O'Duffy, was summoned to Government Buildings and informed that the full resources of the state were at his disposal to preserve public order. In Waterford, there was a large police presence at many meetings lest there be disorder. At a Cumann na nGaedheal meeting in Cappoquin extra gardaí were drafted in from Lismore.²⁰ In the same town a force of military paraded on polling day, while in the city soldiers equipped with steel helmets and carrying rifles patrolled the streets as people went to vote.²¹

Given the excitement of the campaign, it is not surprising that the count, which took place in City Hall, attracted much public attention. The *Munster Express* reported that 'despite the bitter cold, an enormous gathering assembled on the Mall and much liveliness and interest was displayed in any bit of news'.²² The result in the constituency reflected national trends. Cumann na nGaedheal lost nine seats, one of them in Waterford. Nationally, the Centre Party attracted votes away from Cumann na nGaedheal. In Waterford, it took one of Cosgrave's seats. Fianna Fáil's national vote increased, as did its complement of seats. While it did not gain seats locally, and while its two successful candidates did not reach the quota, their vote exceeded that of all the other candidates combined (19,405 first preferences as against 19,244), representing an increase of 3,706 votes on the 1932 total.²³

From blue shirt to O'Duffy: February-September 1933

During a Fianna Fáil victory celebration in the city in February, Sean Goulding described the ACA as a 'passing phase'; he declared that they would die out if left alone - they were of no significance.²⁴ Goulding was to be proven wrong in the next few months. Between February and September, two significant developments occurred which had major implications for the ACA.

The first one was in February. The national executive decided to adopt a blue shirt as a type of uniform. It appears that the idea was to promote comradeship and as a means of distinguishing members. This mark of distinction was probably deemed necessary to prevent ACA supporters attacking one another, as had happened during the election campaign.²⁵

The second development was the election of a new leader - General Eoin O'Duffy.

16 *ME*, 13 Jan. 1933.

17 Manning, *Blueshirts*, p. 51.

18 *WN*, 6 Jan. 1933.

19 *Ibid.*, 27 Jan. 1933.

20 *ME*, 20 Jan. 1933.

21 *Ibid.*, 27 Jan. 1933.

22 *Ibid.*

23 *WN*, 27 Jan. 1933. Elected were S. Goulding and P. J. Little for Fianna Fáil; Mrs M. Redmond for Cumann na nGaedheal; N. Wall for the Centre Party.

24 *WN*, 23 Jan. 1933.

25 Manning, *Blueshirts*, pp 54 -55.

O'Duffy had seen active service in the War of Independence and had become first commissioner of the newly formed Garda Síochána in 1922. In February 1933, he was dismissed from this position by the government. Fianna Fáil ministers lacked confidence in the general because of his close association with the Cosgrave administration in the previous decade. In July, he became leader of the ACA.

O'Duffy immediately changed the name of the organisation to the National Guard and set about recruiting new members. He brought great energy to his new role. The political temperature of the country soared. When he announced that a National Guard parade was to be held in Dublin on 13 August the proposed event was banned by the government. Fianna Fáil ministers were fearful of a coup, mindful of Mussolini's march on Rome. On 21 August, the National Guard itself was proclaimed. Furthermore, the Military Tribunal, which had existed under the Cosgrave government and had been dissolved by de Valera in 1932, was to be re-constructed.

General O'Duffy and Ernest Blythe, a former finance minister and a prominent member of the Blueshirts (as National Guard members were now popularly known), were due to address a meeting in the City Hall, Waterford, on 24 August. The meeting was banned at short notice. A large force of gardaí was conveyed by buses from surrounding districts. All the entrances and exits of the City Hall were closely guarded, while a police cordon was formed on the Quay and the Mall. Blueshirt and Fianna Fáil supporters began gathering, and when O'Duffy arrived at 8.25 p.m. he was informed that the meeting had been proclaimed. Attempts to address the crowd from the steps of the Imperial (now the Tower) Hotel were drowned out by catcalls. Skirmishes broke out, one Blueshirt receiving what was described as 'a rough handling' in the *Waterford News* account of the evening's events.²⁶

The proclamation of the Blueshirts and their meetings put O'Duffy in a very difficult position. How was he to respond to the government's actions? Wider political events offered him a solution.

The 1933 general election had been a disaster for Cumann na nGaedheal. It had experienced two electoral defeats in under a year. Such a calamity was bound to have repercussions for the party and its leadership. An editorial in the *Irish Times* declared that 'Mr Cosgrave's party is at the ebb of its fortunes. The glamour of success has deserted it'.²⁷ The *Waterford News* commented that 'the Cosgravian Party will never again return to power as Cumann na nGaedheal'.²⁸ Cosgrave was criticised for his failure to best de Valera. Again the *Waterford News* wrote:

Cosgrave has not that illusive something called personality; nobody can enthuse about him; nobody can become enraptured at his appearance or pronouncements. He lacks all the qualities of an effective leader.²⁹

Cumann na nGaedheal appeared politically bankrupt and rudderless.

Disillusioned and concerned party members, 'who had read the election results as a sentence of perpetual and futile opposition',³⁰ began looking for a new sense of political direction. The *Irish Times* observed that 'some of the most active minds of Mr Cosgrave's party seem to have allied themselves with the National Guard'.³¹ The *Waterford News* was more blunt: 'Cosgravism is dead'. This explains the attempt by the more restless members of Cumann na nGaedheal to cold-shoulder Cosgrave and use O'Duffy to grasp power by force'.³²

The urgent need for effective opposition to de Valera prompted the merger of Cumann na nGaedheal, the National Guard and the Centre Party to form Fine Gael in September 1933. O'Duffy became leader.

The National Guard, renamed the Young Ireland Association, was an integral, though

26 *WN*, 11 Aug. 1933.

27 *Irish Times*, 19 Aug., 1933.

28 *WN*, 11 Aug. 1933.

29 *Ibid.*

30 J. Bowyer Bell. *The Secret Army: A History of the IRA, 1916-1979* (Dublin 1980), p. 105.

31 *Irish Times*, 19 Aug. 1933.

32 *WN*, 18 Aug. 1933.

distinct, component of the new party. The initial approach to O'Duffy regarding the leadership of a united opposition grouping had been made in Waterford on the night of the banned National Guard meeting (24 August). A deputation, probably unofficial, from Cumann na nGaedheal and the Centre Party met the general to discuss the possibility of forming a new party, with him as leader. While he gave no immediate decision, he did accept the offer at a later date.³³

General O'Duffy was offered the leadership of Fine Gael because he had impressed many observers while head of the Blueshirts. It was believed that he had 'brought into public affairs a spirit of energy and discipline'.³⁴ James Dillon, a future Fine Gael leader, said that O'Duffy was seen as 'the man with dynamism for the new party'.³⁵ Manning has identified the advantages which gave the impression that the leader of the National Guard was the person to be at the helm:

His somewhat spectacular career during the War of Independence and his closeness to Michael Collins were well known. He had supervised the organisation of the police force and apparently did so with considerable success. He was a well-known national figure in both athletic and GAA affairs. He had a reputation as a vigorous and competent organiser with limitless energy.³⁶

Turbulent beginnings: September 1933 - April 1934

Fine Gael had a vigorous beginning, nationally and locally. A party convention was held in Dungarvan in early October. The chairman, Professor Hayes, explained that the opposition groupings had united in order to put the government out. The constituency organiser, Mr Liam Burke, outlined how he wanted to have a branch of Fine Gael in every parish in the county.³⁷ Later in the month, a party concert was held in the Theatre Royal.³⁸ Late November and early December saw four meetings in west Waterford, at Tallow, Touraneena, Ballinameela³⁹ and Ballymacarbery.⁴⁰

O'Duffy made two visits to Waterford in November. The first one was to attend a cinderella dance under his party's auspices, held in the Large Room of the City Hall. One hundred Blueshirts were present, together with fifty members of the ladies' auxiliary unit. The general arrived shortly after midnight. He referred to Fine Gael's wonderful progress in the city and county and warned his audience that they had before them the biggest battle in their history.⁴¹

The purpose of the second visit was to address a rally at Ballybricken. A large number of girls wearing blue blouses and a company of Blueshirts from Tipperary and Kilkenny were present. According to the *Munster Express*, the crowds converged from all sides on the meeting-place and the gathering was reminiscent of many of the big political meetings that had been held on the hill when the late John Redmond had been the idol of Waterford. O'Duffy announced that Fine Gael and the Blueshirts were making spectacular progress and that within the past week orders had been received for 50,000 blue shirts.⁴²

The catastrophic effects of the economic war were being felt throughout the country. The value of exports dropped from £36m. in 1931 to £19m. in 1933. In the livestock trade, the drop was from £18m. to £7m. in the same period.⁴³ Agricultural trade dominated port traffic in Waterford. There was a sharp decline in registered tonnage, from 450,250 tons in 1931 to 358,651 tons in 1933.⁴⁴ As a result of the deteriorating economic climate, many farmers were either unable

33 Manning, *Blueshirts*, p. 32.

34 *Irish Times*, 19 Aug. 1933.

35 R. Fisk, *In Time of War: Ireland, Ulster and the Price of Neutrality 1939-1945* (London 1983), p. 358.

36 Manning, *Blueshirts*, p. 70.

37 *ME*, 13 Oct. 1933.

38 *Ibid.*, 27. Oct. 1933.

39 *Ibid.*, 1 Dec. 1933.

40 *Ibid.*, 8 Dec. 1933.

41 *Ibid.*, 17 Nov. 1933.

42 *Ibid.*, 24 Nov. 1933.

43 Manning, *Blueshirts*, p. 109.

44 J. M. Hearne, 'Industry in Waterford City 1932-1962', in W. Nolan and T. P. Power (eds), *Waterford: History and*

to pay their rates or felt justified in withholding them in protest against government policy. In the country 88 per cent of the rate warrant for 1933-1934 was outstanding, as against 69 per cent in the previous year.⁴⁵

Fianna Fáil was determined to resist the campaign of non-payment of rates. The first to experience the tough action of the government were nine farmers from east Waterford. They were arrested in September under the terms of the Public Safety Act and lodged in jail in Dublin. The arrests caused a sensation in the city and surrounding districts.⁴⁶ The farmers were subsequently charged with seeking to promote, encourage and advocate the non-payment of local taxation.⁴⁷ Their trial received much local and national publicity. They were acquitted and accorded a rapturous homecoming from supporters, prominent among whom were members of Fine Gael and the Blueshirts.⁴⁸ This success of the Gaultier farmers bolstered anti-rate activity in the country. A few months later, a council official said that he was satisfied that the acquittal was unhelpful to the collection of rates.⁴⁹

The autumn of 1933 witnessed great bitterness between supporters and opponents of the government. The Blueshirts, Fine Gael members, and many farmers were convinced that the country was facing economic ruin due to the continuation of the economic war. Their political speeches in Waterford in these months were damning indictments of Fianna Fáil. The former leader of the defunct Centre Party, Frank McDermott, warned that the country was being driven deeper into poverty.⁵⁰ One of the constituency's opposition deputies, Nicholas Wall, spoke of economic degradation continuing apace⁵¹ and how farmers were being slowly pauperised.⁵² These complaints received scant sympathy from government ministers. The Minister for Agriculture, Dr Jim Ryan, addressing a meeting at Campile of Fianna Fáil supporters from Waterford and Wexford, observed that the small farmers in the poorer counties of the west were carrying on in a normal fashion. There were no indignant meetings; no parading of Blueshirts; and no campaign of non-payment of rates.⁵³

Bitterness was translated into violence. There were serious clashes in various parts of the country, including Tralee, Limerick and Kilkenny. Waterford was not the scene of dramatic disorder, but there were violent incidents nevertheless. During a Fine Gael dance at Kill in November windows were smashed, causing alarm. On the same night, the main road from Kill to Waterford City was blocked by a gate with barbed wire attached. The obstruction could only be seen with difficulty and a cyclist crashed onto it, receiving injuries to head and hands.⁵⁴ In Dungarvan, in February, a Blueshirt was attacked by masked men.⁵⁵

Such were the tensions in the city and county that expectation of violence accompanied political gatherings. On the night of the Fine Gael concert at the Theatre Royal in October, Fianna Fáil had organised a dance in the City Hall. The *Munster Express* reported that a large crowd gathered on the Mall in the hope of witnessing a confrontation.⁵⁶ Three hundred gardaí were on duty at the Ballybricken meeting in November, while two lorries carrying troops in full war dress arrived from Cork as an additional precaution.⁵⁷

Government determination to counter the growing strength of the Blueshirts became more evident in the last two months of 1933. On 30 November police raids were carried out on the

Society (Dublin 1992), p. 688.

45 *WN*, 20 Oct. 1933.

46 *Ibid.*, 8 Sept. 1933.

47 *Ibid.*, 29 Sept. 1933.

48 *ME*, 13 Oct. 1933.

49 *Ibid.*, 1 June 1934.

50 *Ibid.*, 24 Nov. 1933.

51 *Ibid.*, 1 Dec. 1933.

52 *Ibid.*, 8 Dec. 1933.

53 *WN*, 24 Mar. 1933.

54 *ME*, 24 Mar. 1934.

55 *WN*, 23 Feb. 1934.

56 *ME*, 27 Oct. 1933.

57 *Ibid.*, 24 Nov. 1933.

homes and offices of prominent members of that organisation. There was great activity in Waterford, as gardaí searched for arms and seditious documents.⁵⁸ These raids were condemned at a Fine Gael meeting Ballymacarbery a few days later.⁵⁹

However, other actions by the government against their opponents, and O'Duffy in particular, resulted in spectacular failures. On 8 December the Young Ireland Association was proclaimed. Six days later Fine Gael announced the association's dissolution and the formation of a new organisation, the League of Youth. The opposition party was determined to stand up to what it regarded as government persecution and harassment. O'Duffy was arrested in mid-December. Much to the government's chagrin, his release was ordered by the High Court following representations by his lawyers. The general was re-arrested two days later and summoned to appear before the Military Tribunal. His lawyers mounted a challenge to the tribunal's right to hear the case and it was ruled that most of the charges could not be proceeded with. Fianna Fáil's setbacks were not over yet. A bill - the Wearing of Uniforms (Restriction) Bill - was introduced in the Dáil on 23 February 1934. The proposed legislation prohibited the wearing of uniforms. A very bitter debate ensued, with Fine Gael again intent on resisting what it regarded as an unwarranted and vindictive attack on the party and its supporters. The bill passed the Dáil but was rejected by the Senate, which meant that it would not have legal effect for eighteen months. Thus, in the short period of four months the opposition had enjoyed a significant measure of success in thwarting the will of de Valera and his government.

At local level the spirit of defiance among Fine Gael and Blueshirt supporters found expression in large meetings to voice unqualified hostility to government actions. One was held in Lismore on the afternoon of 4 January 1934 and was attended by O'Duffy and other prominent figures. The *Munster Express* reported that long before mid-day contingents began to arrive in the town from various parts of the county. O'Duffy's entry was at the head of a procession of male and female Blueshirts. A prominent member of the organisation, Commandant Cronin, who was due to be jailed by the Military Tribunal, caused a sensation by appearing on the platform in full uniform.⁶⁰

The publication of the Uniform Bill aroused intense anger among O'Duffy's followers in Waterford. A Fine Gael meeting was held at Grand Hotel Square, Tramore, on 18 March. In attendance were Mrs Redmond and General Richard Mulcahy. It was reported that the following Blueshirt contingents took part:

| | | |
|-----------------------|---------|----------|
| Waterford City | 150 men | 32 women |
| Newtown; Kilmacthomas | 95 men | |
| Gaultier | 75 men | 35 women |
| Tramore | 150 men | 54 women |
| Fenor; Dunhill | 105 men | |
| Dungarvan | 25 men | 25 women |

Mrs Redmond expressed her delight at the numbers wearing blue shirts. Regarding the Uniform Bill, she was glad it was having no deterring effect on them. A local Blueshirt leader, in his address, declared that he was proud to have the privilege of speaking at a demonstration of the unpurchased and unpurchaseable genuine people of Ireland, led by the Blueshirts. Reflecting a sense of confidence that recent government setbacks had engendered in Fine Gael, he ridiculed the Uniform Bill. He observed that its first victim would be the Metal Man in Tramore. To the delight of his audience, he said that there was great competition among Fianna Fáil in Waterford as to who would rid the Metal Man of the offending blue.⁶¹

Before a meeting of women supporters of the Blueshirts in Waterford City, a procession

58 *Ibid.*, 1 Dec. 1933.

59 *Ibid.*, 8 Dec. 1933.

60 *Ibid.*, 19 Jan. 1934.

61 *Ibid.*, 23 Mar. 1934.

the ladies' section, wearing blue blouses and berets, paraded through the streets, accompanied by torch bearers. Mrs Redmond, sporting a blue blouse, addressed the crowd. She rejected the idea that there was anything wrong with wearing a blue shirt. Another speaker delighted in the fact that the Uniform Bill had been abandoned in the Senate like an orphan in the storm.⁶²

O'Duffy's first six months as party leader had been successful. To quote Manning:

It had been a breathless and exciting period and it had seen a rapid and sustained growth in Blueshirt numbers and in their involvement in the political life of the state.⁶³

However, the next few months were to be even more difficult, turbulent and violent than the preceding ones.

Anti-rates campaign and violence: summer and autumn 1934

The anti-rates campaign dominated Blueshirt activity in the summer and autumn of 1934. This was a reflection of the fact that the adverse effects of the economic war were being felt with increasing severity. The government had failed to find alternative markets for Irish exports and there was a glut of unsold and unsalable cattle. The introduction of the Calf Slaughter Scheme in April had highlighted the extent of the crisis. Nicholas Wall spoke of calves being given away in Dungarvan and complained that the farmer had carried the full weight of the economic war on his shoulders.⁶⁴

In four counties, where the county councils had strong anti-Fianna Fáil majorities, the councils refused to co-operate in the collection of rates. The counties were Laois, Kilkenny, Tipperary (South Riding) and Waterford. P.J. Little observed that Waterford was one of the worst three counties in Ireland for the payment of rates and compared very badly with Sligo, Mayo and Leitrim, where the people were far poorer.⁶⁵ The government ordered a sworn inquiry into the affairs of Waterford County Council⁶⁶ and dissolved it in June, Little defending the decision by accusing the council of encouraging the no-rates campaign.⁶⁷

Fianna Fáil ministers also acted against farmers who withheld their rates by seizing their cattle. Such seizures were reported regularly in the local newspapers throughout 1934. In late May, twelve cattle were seized from a farmer in Ballinavilla,⁶⁸ while fourteen were seized in June from two farms in west Waterford.⁶⁹ In late September, there was a seizure of fifteen cows in Tramore and of fourteen in Dunmore, which were sold at Clonmel pound.⁷⁰

Not surprisingly, the sale of such cattle was the occasion of protests by farmers and Blueshirts. Accordingly, a strong garda presence was necessary to deal with actual or potential disorder. In July, five farmers' sons were arrested for attacking a bailiff at a sale in Carrick.⁷¹ At a sale in Clonmel in September, farmers and Blueshirts were present in force. Gardai were obliged to proceed before the cattle as the animals were driven from the pound.⁷²

Officials who participated in the sales were particular objects of hatred. A rate collector and a sheriff's officer, who had carried out a sale in Clonmel pound on 20 August, were, in the words of a *Munster Express* report, 'victims of a sensational kidnapping affair'. They were taken from their homes in Carrick and Clonmel and driven by car to Rathgormack and tied securely to

62 *Ibid.*, 6 Apr. 1934.

63 Manning, *Blueshirts*, p. 127.

64 *ME*, 16 Mar. 1934.

65 *WN*, 1 June 1934.

66 P. C. Power. *History of Waterford City and County* (Cork 1990), p. 266.

67 *WN*, 22 June 1934.

68 *ME*, 1 June 1934.

69 *Ibid.*, 22 June 1934.

70 *Ibid.*, 28 Sept. 1934.

71 *Ibid.*, 6 July 1934.

72 *Ibid.*, 28 Sept. 1934.

posts on opposite sides of the road.⁷³

Waterford had avoided some of the more serious disturbances which had characterised other counties. However, the atmosphere of mutual distrust and hostility between Blueshirts and their opponents, which had poisoned national and local politics, exploded in scenes of violence on the streets of the city on a number of occasions between April and July.

Saturday 28 April witnessed one such violent explosion. The *Munster Express* described the scene in detail. Several prominent supporters of General O'Duffy were jeered by opponents as they left their Lady Lane Headquarters. As the jeering crowd closed in around them, they were forced to retreat back to the building. Blueshirts appeared on the street outside the hall to repel the attack. Attempts were made to strip them of their uniforms. Reinforcements were sent for and a large crowd of O'Duffy's followers came on the scene. The melee had by this time become general and blows were exchanged freely. Bottles and other weapons were used. For close on two hours the neighbourhood of Michael Street, Broad Street and Lady Lane was in a state of seething excitement. It was not until midnight that order was restored by the gardaí. On Sunday evening, fighting broke out again in the same place. While no one was seriously injured on either occasion, minor injuries were numerous.⁷⁴

More clashes took place outside the Lady Lane headquarters on Thursday 31 May. That night a meeting of Blueshirt opponents had been held on the Mall. Blueshirts had returned earlier from a meeting addressed by O'Duffy in Carrick. Jeering turned to physical violence and for more than an hour a fracas raged. Sticks and other weapons were used, while women spectators, some of them with babies in their arms, cheered on the combatants. At one period during the disturbance the Blueshirts retired to their headquarters on police persuasion. They emerged a few minutes later, armed with sticks and other weapons. Meanwhile, Blueshirts in the Glen, having been informed of what was happening, marshalled their forces and dashed down Patrick Street. They were met half-way down by a force of gardaí, all with batons drawn. Thus, these Blueshirts were prevented from rendering assistance to their comrades. Again no serious injuries were sustained, though several people received superficial ones. However, a garda received a nasty blow of a stick, while a Blueshirt was the victim of a rather bad mauling at the foot of Patrick Street.⁷⁵

On 8 June, a group of Blueshirts, returning from a parade in Slieverue, rode through Ferrybank on their bicycles. A political insult shouted by a girl caused them to halt and dismount. A crowd gathered and the Blueshirt leader, fearing an attack, ordered his men to draw batons, which they had concealed in their pockets and sleeves. Soon they were fighting with a number of men. One Blueshirt was struck by a jug wielded by a woman. At this juncture, members of the Ferrybank hurling team, travelling to Thomastown by bus, disembarked from their vehicle and charged the Blueshirts with hurleys. O'Duffy's followers retreated, leaving their bicycles.⁷⁶

While aspects of the above incidents have a certain comic quality and while serious injuries were avoided, the frequency of disorder and the readiness to resort to violence had become disturbing features of political activity. The language of the fist and baton were all too frequent in the tension-filled months of the summer of 1934. It was against this background that local elections were to be held in June. Manning has described the condition of the country in the months leading up to the poll thus:

bitterness in the Dáil, frequent and sometimes serious rows at political meetings, the persistence of violence and unrest and the prospect of economic collapse facing the agricultural community.⁷⁷

73 *Ibid.*, 31 Aug. 1934.

74 *Ibid.*, 4 May 1934.

75 *WN*, 1 June 1934.

76 *ME*, 29 June 1934.

77 Manning, *Blueshirts*, p. 134.

Local elections and their aftermath

Local elections had been called for 26 June 1934. One historian has written that 'the contest took on a significance rarely associated with such elections and out of all proportion to the importance of the seats to be filled'.⁷⁸ The reason was that this electoral contest was the first undertaken by Fine Gael with O'Duffy as leader. It was seen as a very important test of his leadership of the main opposition party.

As early as October 1933, Fine Gael supporters in Waterford had been called upon to make preparations for these elections.⁷⁹ A similar call had been made at the Tramore meeting of 1934.⁸⁰ The government also realised the importance of the poll, the *Waterford News* commenting in May that the Fianna Fáil organisation was throwing its whole strength into the campaign in every county.⁸¹

Prior to the elections, O'Duffy predicted that Fine Gael would win twenty of the twenty-three county councils being contested.⁸² This landslide did not materialise. Fianna Fáil emerged as the biggest party on fourteen councils, something Fine Gael achieved on only six.⁸³ The opposition's performance was creditable but after O'Duffy's predictions it represented a significant defeat.

In the election for Waterford Corporation, Fine Gael's supporters had little cause for celebration. The party won twelve seats, as against Fianna Fáil's seventeen. This represented a gain of ten seats for the government party. The *Waterford News* hailed the result as a 'sweeping victory' and as 'emphatic and positive proof that Waterford City is behind de Valera in the present policy that is being pursued'.⁸⁴

The failure of Fine Gael to make its much-vaunted gains had serious implications for that organisation, the Blueshirts and O'Duffy's leadership. The *Mayo News* commented at the time: 'The county council and municipal elections in the Free State have pricked and deflated the Blueshirt balloon'.⁸⁵ O'Duffy's political stature had been eroded and the Blueshirts were effectively in terminal decline.

The electoral aftermath saw an increase in anti-rate activity. O'Duffy gave a series of intemperate speeches. It was as if he were trying to compensate for the poor results of June. The Blueshirt Congress in August approved a resolution calling on farmers to refuse to pay their annuities and on labourers not to pay their cottage rents. Their leader's growing extremism alarmed senior figures in Fine Gael. Some of them were already questioning his political judgment. In particular, they were deeply unhappy with the party's association with the anti-rate campaign. If as Cumann na nGaedheal it had resisted lawlessness, how could it now support it? Concerns were voiced over O'Duffy's actions and the direction in which he was leading Fine Gael. The general resigned the leadership in September.⁸⁶

This event marked the end of the Blueshirts as a significant political force. Division and confusion after O'Duffy's resignation accelerated the process of decline. Though it struggled on for a year or more, the organisation was ineffectual.⁸⁷ The extent of its irrelevance and consignment to the margin of politics is evident from an examination of the *Munster Express* and *Waterford News* for the period October 1934 to December 1935. The Blueshirts are hardly mentioned.

(To be concluded)

78 *Ibid.*

79 *ME*, 13 Oct. 1934.

80 *ibid.*, 23 Mar. 1934.

81 *WN*, 18 May 1934.

82 T. Ryle Dwyer, *De Valera: The Man and the Myths* (Dublin 1991), p. 197.

83 Manning, *Blueshirts*, pp 135-136.

84 *WN*, 29 June 1934.

85 Quoted in P. Bew, E. Hazelkorn and H. Patterson (eds), *The Dynamic of Irish Politics* (London 1989), p. 57.

86 Manning, *Blueshirts*, pp 146-163.

87 *Ibid.*, pp 146-178.

REVIEWS

THE ROYAL CHARTERS OF WATERFORD. Text by Julian C. Walton. Published by Waterford Corporation with the technical support of the Institute of Public Administration. 1992, pp 56, £7.95 (softback), £29.95 (hardback in slipcase)

The city of Waterford is historically one of the richest in Ireland. Not only has much of its medieval past been recovered, but many of the records which document that past have been preserved in archives in Ireland and England. Perhaps the most important of these is what is preserved in Waterford itself, most notably in the custody of the Corporation (though there are others, such as the priceless register of the chantry of Saint Saviour, founded by Dean Collyn in the fifteenth century). Of the municipal records there are three distinct sections: the royal charters; the charter roll; and what is possibly the most valuable of all, the *Liber Antiquissimus* (or Great Parchment Book, to give it its more modern name). In all, in a period of five hundred years before the end of the seventeenth century, Waterford received no fewer than thirty royal charters, of which nineteen (the earliest of which comes from 1449) have survived in the possession of the Corporation, and of these seven are on display in Reginald's Tower.

The author of this book (Julian Walton, whose name modestly only appears inside on p.iv) states his purpose clearly (p. 2): '..... to present the charters in a more positive light and to explain to citizens and visitors the circumstances in which they were issued'. He succeeds admirably. But he does much more. The book is worth acquiring for the account and description of the Charter Roll alone, with the quite superb reproduction of a selection of the illustrations. The question of its date is thoroughly examined and a convincing argument is made for believing that it was compiled c. 1371.

The inclusion of William of Windsor among the portraits is striking, as is the final caption of the roll which begins: 'Writs sent by William of Windsor lieutenant of the lord king in Ireland' (p. 10). It is surely no coincidence that it was while this same chief governor was in office that a royal writ was issued in that same year, 1371, ordering all ships entering Waterford to unload there, thus dealing a mortal blow to the great rival port of New Ross.

Of the many records contained in the Great Parchment Book, the municipal statutes are of the greatest value. Properly used, they provide an unrivalled insight into the social history of late medieval Waterford. The analysis supplied here is first-class, even if it does not paint a very flattering picture of the city. As in Dublin around the same time, wandering pigs had become a menace, though in Waterford they were not held to blame for spreading the plague by making the air 'pestilential'. Rubbish, too, was a constant problem, so that in 1475 it was ordered that no one, man, or woman or child, was in future to throw 'dung or filth' into the river, Saint Mary street, nor the king's ditches. Married priests were common enough and they, too, could become a problem by creating scandal and with barmaids were regarded as what the author calls (p. 38) 'a particular occasion of sin'.

In dealing with municipal seals, the author suggests that the old view of the use of three galleys as an emblem might derive from the famous capture of three ships of the O'Driscolls in 1461 (p. 39). But it is more likely to commemorate an even more famous event from 1495, when Perkin Warbeck was laying siege to Waterford by sea. Contrary to what is usually believed, it was a company of gunners who were credited with lifting that siege. Their captains (one of whom, Adam van Edyngton, was from Flanders) were subsequently rewarded for their great achievements both in lifting the siege by Perkin Warbeck, the earl of Desmond and other enemies of the lord the king in position before the city of Waterford and in capturing three of their ships there'. It was as a result of this defiance of Warbeck, too, that Waterford became the *Urbs intacta*, a phrase that it retained as its motto thereafter. It might easily have been different. It was not long before this, in 1487, that another pretender had been crowned as Edward VI in Dublin, and on that occasion the Waterford

mint had issued coins in his name.

For many reasons, then, this is a book worth reading. It tells more about the history of medieval Waterford than do many of the classic accounts. And it does so in a manner which many readers can easily understand and enjoy. The book, too, is beautifully produced, with quite outstanding illustrations and a format that is a constant pleasure to the eye. It is a tribute to all concerned with its production, not least Waterford Corporation who have set an example and a standard which will not easily be reached by imitators, much less surpassed.

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KILKENNY: HISTORY AND SOCIETY. Interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county, edited by William Nolan and Kevin Whelan. Geography Publications, Dublin, 1990, pp xx, 715, hardback £37.00.

This book forms the third volume of the Irish County History series, following those for Tipperary (1985) and Wexford (1987). The Waterford volume (1992), which is the fifth in the series, was reviewed in *Decies* 47. There are twenty-five chapters contributed by a wide range of people with differing backgrounds (including academics, farmers, and business people) and two indexes, one (unusually for the Irish County History series) to persons, the other to places.

The first chapter, by Michael Gibbons, gives an overview of the prehistoric archaeology of County Kilkenny from Neolithic times (research on the Mesolithic period in the county is still in its infancy) to the Late Iron Age/Early Christian period; and a large variety of archaeological monuments is dealt with. Nancy Edwards's contribution on some of Kilkenny's stone crosses adds to the coverage of the county's Early Christian archaeology. Unfortunately, there is no general article on early (pre-twelfth century) history, though something of this era can be found in John Bradley's chapter on the origins and medieval development of Kilkenny City. Later medieval history (contributed by C. A. Empey and M. Phelan as well as by Bradley) is dominated by the impact of the Anglo-Normans, including the evolution of Kilkenny City, the colonisation of the county, and the earliest Kilkenny chroniclers. Apart from a brief treatment of the fourteenth-century native resurgence in north Kilkenny in Empey's chapter, Gaelic Kilkenny is poorly represented.

The same could be said to some degree of those articles covering the seventeenth century. This period is otherwise well represented, possibly owing to the strong tradition of pre-nineteenth century history in the *Old Kilkenny Review*¹. William Neely writes about the role of the Ormonde Butlers in Kilkenny from 1515 to 1715; William Smyth and Monica Brennan detail the impact of the Cromwellian and Williamite settlements on landownership in the county. Fearghus O Fearghaill, Jack Burtchaell, Dan Dowling, and Louis Cullen deal respectively with the Catholic Church (this article has a record number of 415 footnotes!), the tory activities of the Brennans of Idough (an old landed Gaelic family), eighteenth-century highwaymen, the Whiteboys, and the development of the county's economy and society - each article spanning the dates 1600-1800. Cullen's chapter is a slightly revised version of an article published in *Decies* 13 (though this is not stated) but it also contains an extended discussion of the 1798 insurrection.

Chapters specific to the eighteenth century include one by Joe Kennedy on Callan, based partly on the notes (found in 1986) of a local nineteenth-century historian who compiled them from now-destroyed original sources. Parliamentary representation in the county between 1700 and 1800 is discussed by Tom Power, while aspects of Kilkenny City over the same century are dealt with by David Dickson.

There follow two chapters which take us into the nineteenth century but are rooted in the eighteenth. The first, by John Mannion and Fidelma Maddock, deals with families who had emigrated from Inistioge to settle in Newfoundland between 1750 and 1890 (this includes an appendix listing the emigrants' names in alphabetical order). The other covers Kilkenny manuscripts written in Irish between 1700 and 1870. This latter article, by Éamon Ó hÓgáin, is itself written in Irish, and is complemented by Máirín Nic Eoin's chapter (in English) on the Irish language and literature of nineteenth-century County Kilkenny.

J. H. Andrews contributes a chapter describing Aher and Clements's map of Kilkenny (1812-24) and details its usefulness to historians interested in the development of roads, place-names, and townland boundaries in the county before the latter became standardised by the Ordnance Survey in the 1830s and 1840s. Other nineteenth-century themes include the Tithe War (1830-34), meticulously detailed by Michael O'Hanrahan, and Patrick Hogan's article on Fr Robert O'Keeffe and the Callan controversy of 1869-81.

More recent topics include Fidelma Maddock's study of the cot fishermen of the Nore in

1 William Murphy, Editorial in *Old Kilkenny Review*, no. 44 (1992) pp 955-7.

the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (this can now be compared with a similar treatment by Patrick C. Power² regarding the lower stretches of the Suir - it would be interesting if the Barrow were covered in a like manner), and Anna Brennan's and Willam Nolan's chapter on Nixie Boran and the mining community of north Kilkenny. Boran (1903-71) is described as a 'miner, republican, communist and trade union organiser', and the authors endeavour to place his life in both a local and a national context. Marilyn Silverman and P. H. Gulliver follow with a sociological analysis of Thomastown, dealing with the townspeople's attitudes to place, class, family, kinship, and gender. The award-winning painter Tony O'Malley presents some reminiscences of his youth in Callan during the 1920s and 1930s, illustrated with examples of his artwork dating from the late 1950s to the early 1980s (all interpretations of medieval sculpture from Jerpoint Abbey and St Canice's Cathedral). Finally, Michael O'Dwyer presents a select bibliography of County Kilkenny history arranged alphabetically by author. Unfortunately, it lists only books - no articles published in journals are included.

The indexes, particularly that for persons, are far from perfect. Many people mentioned in the body of the work are omitted, such as Jocelyn and John Flood, successively MPs for Callan in the 1760s and 1770s (pp 326 and 328), Barry Colles, mayor of Kilkenny in 1766, and Patrick Shee, an eighty-year-old tithe farmer who died during his kidnapping by Whiteboys in 1770 (both p. 235). Page references are also omitted from some of the index entries, such as that to David Rothe (Catholic bishop of Ossory in the 1640s). Other errors abound - W. Deane is entered between T. Kavanagh and Abp Kearney, the Rev. Edmond Kavanagh is indexed under both Edm. and Edw. Kavanagh, and J. Hatchett is given as J. Hackett. Despite the errors and omissions, the indexes are still useful as a rough guide to locating people and places in such a huge book. A subject index, however, would have better served some articles such as Gibbons's and Edwards's archaeological essays, in which personal names do not feature very strongly. Another technical glitch occurs with some of the footnotes of Fidelma Maddock's article which have been misnumbered or omitted - there are thirty-four in the text but only thirty-one are given on pages 703-04 (notes 32 and 33 are given respectively as 30 and 31 on p. 704).

Inevitably, the nature of such a collection of essays leaves some important themes uncovered, notably early Irish history, medieval Gaelic society, eighteenth/nineteenth-century landlord/tenant relations, the activities of the Rockites and Caravats/Shanavests, commercial history, and the historical experience of women. Nevertheless, *Kilkenny: History and Society* is an important contribution to the history, archaeology and sociology of County Kilkenny, and it will remain a resource for future researchers in those fields.

Thomas G. Fewer

2 'The Lower Suir - boats and boatmen of long ago', in *Tipperary Historical Journal*, 1991, pp 148-58.

TOWN AND COUNTRY, by Mark Girouard. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1992, pp 274, £25.

Mark Girouard is one of Britain's leading architectural historians and the author of some important books, notably *The English Town, Cities and People*, *Life in the English Country House*, and *The Victorian Country House*. Over the last thirty years some of his most significant writings have been published in periodicals, especially *Country Life*, and a selection of these is here reprinted, with some revision and much new illustration, under the general title *Town and Country*. The book is divided into four sections: most of the essays appear in the first and third, entitled respectively 'The Town' and 'Country-House Excursions'; for readers of *Decies*, however, interest will centre on the second section, 'Irish Interlude'.

Ireland, and above all the Waterford region, played a significant part in Mark Girouard's development. His mother was a daughter of the sixth Lord Waterford, and he spent many happy boyhood holidays at Curraghmore in the 1940s. It was here that he acquired his fascination with great houses and the lives of their occupants. Traditional country-house life in England was by then virtually extinct, but it was to linger in Ireland for another decade or so, long enough to impress itself on the mind of the young Mark. Over the next twenty years he spent 'long happy weeks exploring Ireland and Irish country houses with friends in the Irish Georgian Society'. In the first chapter of his Irish section, seven houses of the Waterford area are recalled with particular affection.

The second and fourth chapters deal with two great Westmeath houses. 'Belvedere and the wicked earl' revolves around 'a tragic story of adultery and revenge'. 'Modernising an Irish country-house' takes as a case study Tullynally Castle, seat of the earls of Longford. The provision of mod cons there began in 1800 with the erection of a tower 'dedicated to water closets.... The plans do not show where the soilpipe ran to,' remarks the author cheerfully, 'but it is unlikely to have run very far'. The technological revolution was complete by the eve of the 1914-18 war, when we leave the house with the description of tea being served to the family and staff in no fewer than eleven different rooms.

The third chapter is entitled 'Miss Smith comes to Tipperary'. Catherine Smith was a nineteen-year-old English girl who in 1815 was courted by Sir Thomas Osborne of Newtown Anner near Clonmel, a fifty-eight-year-old baronet with an estate worth £8,000 a year. Her family and friends were aghast:

Not only was Sir Thomas's manner 'so very outré and singular', but the names of his farms - Garrenmillon, Ballinagigla, Ballinasisla, Vallinvaluna, Carrigaready, Inchindrisla and so on - seemed so extraordinary to the Kentish solicitor that he found it hard to believe in their existence. A letter was written to Lord Braybrooke to ask if Sir Thomas was genuine. Lord Braybrooke replied that he was all that he professed to be. Unfortunately Sir Thomas got to know of the correspondence and was understandably furious.

Nevertheless the marriage went ahead and Miss Smith, now Lady Osborne, duly arrived in Tipperary. Perhaps fortunately, her elderly, reclusive and difficult husband died five years later. Catherine lived on in Newtown with her daughter and son-in-law (Ralph Bernal Osborne) until her death in 1856; her remarkable career, and her impact on this remarkable house, are the subject of this chapter.

The fifth and last chapter, 'The noblest quay in Europe', originally appeared as three instalments in *Country Life* in December 1966. This essay is in my opinion the most important piece of writing yet to appear on the historic buildings of Waterford. It comprises a twenty-page history of Waterford City down to the middle of the 19th century as seen through its buildings. The author's research is impressive: he has an unfailing eye for significant buildings, has unearthed hitherto unknown material about their construction, and has familiarised himself with the

vicissitudes of the great mercantile families that erected them. Not only does he deal with the city's great landmarks, he also points out the importance of apparently obscure buildings. He was, for instance, one of the first to realise the interest of St Patrick's Church, which he describes as 'that great rarity in Ireland, an eighteenth-century Catholic chapel. It is a building of few architectural pretensions but it has considerable charm and is vividly evocative of the period in which it was built.'

Dr Girouard combines erudition with anecdote, and the wit and elegance with which he writes make his work even more enjoyable to read. His verdict of John Roberts is especially memorable:

He achieved the remarkable feat not only of designing two cathedrals in one town but of giving the two buildings absolutely different characters, each suited to its own religion. The Protestant cathedral is cool and northern, redolent of lawn sleeves and the communion service; the Catholic cathedral, with its forest of huge Corinthian columns, is warm, luscious and Mediterranean.

The illustrations in this chapter, as throughout the book, are beautiful, though it is disappointing that the publishers reproduced the Van der Hagen so much reduced in size and only in black-and-white. The staircase of the Chamber of Commerce, magnificent as always, is also used on the back of the dust jacket. Most of the photographs are in colour and were taken specially for the revised edition; some, inevitably, have had to be reproduced from the 1966 edition, notably those of Adelphi Terrace and the Mason School in Lady Lane (demolished) and the interior of St Olave's (cannibalised).

The author's final comments in 1966, on the theme 'Whither Waterford?', are thought-provoking. A quarter of a century ago 'the centre of Waterford, like that of other Irish towns at the time, seemed scarcely altered since 1900'.¹ Enormous changes have taken place since then. How might Dr Girouard write today? Probably the middle ages would receive a higher profile, for our knowledge of medieval Waterford has been transformed by recent excavations and its surviving buildings have been professionally surveyed. Later buildings, however, have 'suffered from piecemeal demolition or insensitive alteration'.² So there has been both gain and loss.

In 1966 Dr Girouard put Waterford on the architectural map. His essay has never been surpassed. It deserves to be widely read, both here and elsewhere.

Julian C. Walton

1 Note on p. 265.

2 Note on p. 267. It is not really fair to include the Widows' Apartments in the list of buildings demolished; 'drastically altered' would be a better description.

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP

AS OF 1 SEPTEMBER 1993

- Ahearne, Miss S., 8 Sweetbriar Park, Waterford.
 Allen County Public Library, P.O. Box 2270, 900 Webster Street, Fort Wayne, IN46801-2270, U.S.A.
 Aylward, Rev. Fr J., Killea, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
- Barrett, Miss B., 5 Tyrone Avenue, Lismore Lawn, Waterford.
 Barron, Mr H. C. N., 3 Ravenscourt Square, London W6 OTW, England.
 Brazil, Mr D., "Killard", John's Hill, Waterford. (Hon.)
 Brennan, Mr J., Main Street, Mooncoin, via Waterford.
 Brereton, Miss J., 42 Grange Lawn, Waterford.
 Broderick, Mr E., 98 Elm Park, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
 Brophy, Mr & Mrs A., "Bushe Lodge", Catherine Street, Waterford.
 Burns, Mrs G. W., 99 Park Road, Loughborough, Leicester LE11 24D, England.
 Burtchaell, Mr J., Gyles's Quay, Slieverue, via Waterford.
 Byrne, Mr N., "Auburn", John's Hill, Waterford.
 Byrne, Mrs R., Ballyscanlon, Fenor, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
- Campion, Bro., Mount Sion, Barrack Street, Waterford
 Carroll, Mr P., "Greenmount", Crooke, Passage East, Co. Waterford..
 Carroll, Mrs S., "Ardaun", Newtown, Waterford. (Hon.)
 Cashin, Mr J., 32 Rockenham, Ferrybank, Waterford.
 Cassidy, Mr N., "Lisacul", Marian Park, Waterford.
 Cherry, Mrs N., Cathedral Close, Cathedral Square, Waterford.
 Clark, Mrs W., Jarpatt's Cottage, Gog Magog Hills, Babraham, Cambridge, England.
 Cody, Mr P., Portroe, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.
 Colclough, Mr B., 9 Pearse Park, Waterford.
 Condon, Rev. Fr E., P.P, Killea, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
 Condon, Mr S., 19 Beau Street, Waterford.
 Condon, Mr W., 31 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.
 Cooney, Mr T., 145 Rockenham, Ferrybank, Waterford.
 Coulter, Mr & Mrs D., "Selby", 46 Lower Newtown, Waterford.
 Cowman, Mr D., Knockane, Anestown, Co. Waterford.
 Cranley, Mrs J., 6 Parnell Street, Waterford.
 Croke, Mrs N., Cathedral Close, Cathedral Square, Waterford.
 Crowley, Mrs M., "Fern Hill", Ballyvooney, Stradbally, Co. Waterford.
 Cunningham, Mrs C., "Great Oaks", Dooneen, Kilmeaden, Co. Waterford.
 Curham, Mr L., 19 The Folly, Waterford.
- Dalton, Miss P., 5 Airmount Villas, Waterford.
 Dalton, Mr P., 92 Calderwood Road, Dublin 9.
 De la Poer, Mr N. K., Brentwood Preparatory School, Middleton Hall, Brentwood, Essex, England.
 Denn, Mrs T., Newrath, Waterford.
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Waterford County Council, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

Waterford Heritage Centre, Greyfriars, Waterford.

Waterford Heritage Genealogical Centre, Jenkin's Lane, Waterford.

Weir, Mr E., 15 Rockfield Park, Waterford.

Wentworth, Mr A., 36 Blenheim Heights, Waterford.

Whelan, Mr P. D. C. "Derg Valley", Rathmoylan, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.

Whittle, Miss B., Clonea, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

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.

Visits to places of historical and archaeological association are arranged for the summer.

The Society's periodical publication *Decies* is issued free to all members. Back-numbers of issues 1-47 (1976-1993), when available, may be obtained from Waterford Heritage Genealogical Centre, Jenkin's Lane, Waterford.

Membership of the Society is open to all. The subscription for 1994 is £10, payable direct to the Hon. Treasurer.

REPORT OF ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, 1993

The Annual General Meeting of the Old Waterford Society was held on Friday 30 April 1993 at the Garter Lane Arts Centre, Waterford. After a discussion of the usual Society business, the following officers and committee were elected:

| | |
|------------------|---|
| Chairperson | Mr Liam Eachthigheirn |
| Vice-Chairperson | Mr Fergus Dillon |
| Hon. Secretary | Mr Thomas Gregory Fewer |
| Hon. Treasurer | Mrs Renee Lumley |
| Hon. Editor | Mr Julian Walton |
| P. R. O. | Mr Eddie Fanning |
| Committee | Mr S. Condon, Mrs N. Croke, Mrs L. Gallagher, Mr G. Kavanagh, Mr P. Kenneally, Mr P. Kennedy, Mrs Anna Mahon-Smith, Mr J. O'Meara. |

COVER ILLUSTRATION:

CATHEDRAL OF THE MOST HOLY TRINITY, WATERFORD by Fergus Dillon

Waterford's Roman Catholic Cathedral celebrates its bicentenary this year. Erected on the initiative of Dean Thomas Hearn on the site of the 'Big Chapel' of penal days, it is Ireland's only 18th-century Catholic cathedral. The architect and builder was John Roberts, who had previously built the Church of Ireland cathedral. It says much for the wealth and self-confidence of Waterford's Catholic community that such a large and ornate cathedral was erected a whole generation before Catholic emancipation. During the 19th century it was enlarged and beautified. The magnificent baroque pulpit (shown here), chapter stalls and bishop's chair were added in 1883 during the episcopate of John Power II; they were designed by Goldie and Sons of London and carved in oak by Buisine and Sons of Lille.

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

Lecture Season 1993-94

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

1993

- 17 September 'The Venerable Edmund Ignatius Rice'
Br S. E. O Cearbhaill
- 15 October 'Waterford Bridge, 1793-1911'
Mr Geoffrey Sutton
- 12 November 'The Cathedral of the Most Holy Trinity, Waterford'
Rev. Mgr Michael S. Olden
- 5 December Annual Lunch
Separate notice will be sent to members

1994

- 14 January 'Waterford at war, 1689-91'
Dr Harman Murtagh, The Military History Society of Ireland
- 11 February 'Margaret Aylward, a Waterford woman with a Dublin mission'
Dr Jacinta Prunty, U. C. D.
- 11 March 'James Rice, mayor, merchant and pilgrim'
Mr Eamonn McEaney (Member)
- 22 April (Lecture to be confirmed)

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

Enquiries regarding *Decies* to: Mr Julian Walton, The Coachman's House, Woodlands, Halfway House, Waterford.

Membership of the Old Waterford Society is open to all. The subscription for 1994 is £10.00. Payment should be made to the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs Renee Lumley, Formby, 28 Daisy Terrace, Waterford.