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EDITORIAL

NEXT year, 2001, marks a milestone in the history of *Decies:* The journal will celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary. First published in January 1976, the 'Pilot Issue' was comprised of five sheets of stencilled paper stapled together. *Decies* has, since that time, evolved into a top quality annual publication which employs professional type setting and printing. Perhaps one of the most important decisions taken in this evolutionary process was, when in 1995, the journal was published in its present format. Julian Walton, editor at that time, must take credit for the visionary role he played in ensuring this professional transformation. During the last two years painstaking work by my predecessor, Greg Fewer, has, by ensuring the standardisation of text in *Decies,* brought the journal to a new level of professionalism. This has led to the production of a journal which now compares favourably with any similar publication in these islands.

But none of these recent changes have in any way compromised the founding principles of the co-founder of *Decies,* and editor of the first thirty editions, Des Cowman. Des believed that the journal should provide a focal point in promoting local historians and in helping them present their research in conformity with the standards of an academic publication. He also believed that the journal should be accessible to an academic and non academic readership and should be in a position to elicit articles from those same sources. On retiring as editor in 1984, he hoped that the future editorial policy of *Decies* would produce a readable and relevant journal. There is no doubt that the present journal is readable, relevant and accessible. I have no intention of deviating from that policy.

The recent sale of Grady's Yard in the city centre has major implications for Waterford's archaeological and histroical heritage. During the 1980s, the adjacent area around Railway Square was the scene of intensive archaeological excavations. The subsequent discoveries were not only of national significance, but of international importance also. Commenting on these discoveries, the then editor, Stan Carroll in Decies xxvi, 1984, complimented Waterford Corporation on their conservation work regarding past archaeological discoveries and the imaginative programme which the corporation had planned for future archaeological discoveries. Included in this programme was

> 'a comprehensive redevelopment of the Railway Square area involving the opening up and restoration of the Watch Tower, provision for a craft centre within the Grady's Yard site whereby the city wall, which forms the south boundary of same, will be exposed.'

While part of this programme was implemented, the Grady's Yard part obviously was not.

With Waterford experiencing major development in recent years, the city is in danger of losing its unique visual character. Waterford's visual panorama, the

product of over one thousand years of settlement, is as much part of our heritage as are the physical reminders of past generations. Once this part of our heritage is impaired, the character of the city is altered and can never be recreated. Development of the Grady's Yard site threatens to distort the visual and physical heritage of Waterford city. Waterford Corporation has an enviable record with regard to the preservation and conservation of our archaeological and historic artefacts. It is yet again incumbent on Waterford Corporation, as trustee of the city's heritage, to firstly, inform the purchaser and eventual developer of their obligations with regard to any development which may take place on this protected site; and secondly, to ensure that all necessary precautions are taken to protect both the visual and archaeological artefacts pertaining to the Grady's Yard site. I am confident that such precautions will be initiated, and that the preservation order protecting this site will be respected and thus prevent the commercial exploitation of one of Waterford's and Ireland's, most unique archaelogical treasures.

In my tenure as editor, I hope to maintain the exacting standards of my predecessors, and in my own way, contribute positively to the evolution of *Decies,* ensuring that it remains one of Ireland's most professionally produced journals. Many challenges lie ahead, not least the challenges from rapid technological progress. In an editorial in *Decies* 54 (1998), Greg Fewer raised the question of Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society setting up its own Web site. A recent committee decision agreed in principle to investigate this possibility. This is a very progressive move, and when expedited, should increase the accessibility of *Decies.* It should also offer the possibility to the Society, in whatever format deemed appropriate, to publish the journal on-line in the future.

In this, my first edition of *Decies* as editor, I hope that you, the reader, find the journal enjoyable, and readable; and that the articles therein form the basis of stimulating and critical debate. Above all, it is my earnest wish that the contents of *Decies* 56, further your historical and archaeological knowledge of Waterford, and that you will continue your valued support of the journal in the future.

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Is leachtóir é ***Caoimhín Ó Muirigh,*** i Roinn na Sean agus na Mean-Ghaeilge, Colaiste na hOllscoile, Corcaigh. Is ó Ros Comain go bunúsach é.

Pat McCarthy is a native of Waterford. He was educated at Mount Sion CBS and National University of Ireland, Dublin, where he graduated with a Ph.D. in chemistry, and subsequently with an MBA. He is employed in the pharmaceutical industry and has a particular interest in history. He is Correspondence Secretary of the Military History Society of Ireland.

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The Ruined Medieval Parish Church of Stradbally, County Waterford

An Archaeological Report

By Ben Murtagh

1. Introduction

THE picturesque seaside village of Stradbally, in south Co. Waterford, was a town in the Middle Ages. This is indicated by its Irish name, Stráidbaile (Street Town), from which its English name derives (see Power 1952, 178). The ruins of its original parish church survive in the graveyard of the modern Church of Ireland church of St. James (see Fig. 1). This medieval building is listed in the Sites and Monuments Record (32:12) of Dúchas: The Heritage Service (see Moore 1999, P.189, no. 1432).

Further to efforts by the Stradbally Union of Parishes (Church of Ireland) to conserve the ruins, the writer was engaged to carry out an archaeological survey upon them, and to compile a report of the findings, with recommendations for conservation work. The fieldwork was carried out during February/March 1999, and completed in February 2000. This article is based on the findings of the original report. It includes a look at the history of the church from documentary evidence; a description of the church, associated architectural remains and monuments.

2. Location and site layout

The ruined church occupies a commanding location to the S-W of the present village, which is in the Barony of Decies without Drum. To the south, the landscape slopes gradually away to the sea (see Fig. 1). Today the ruins are surrounded by an oblong graveyard, that is enclosed by a stone perimeter wall. A gateway in the latter gives access from the roadway that skirts the southern side of the graveyard.

At a short distance to the N-W of the ruins is the present St. James's Church (see Pls. A, B & D), while to the south and S-E is the Roman Catholic graveyard, which contains 18th/19th century gravestones (Pl. A). To the north, west and S-W, is the modern Church of Ireland graveyard, which dates from at least the early 19th century (see section 9). A linear pathway runs north from the entrance gateway in the south perimeter wall to the modern St. James's Church.

At the west end of the ruined church is an oblong plot of ground, enclosed by a high stone wall, which contains inscribed 19th century gravestones of the Beresford and Uniacke families (see Fig. 2; Pls. D & E). It measures internally 8.38m from N/S x 6.10m in width. Located at 2.2m to the south of the latter, to the S-W of the medieval church, is a c. 18th century stone-built mausoleum. This is oblong in plan, measuring 3.95m x 3.37m, and it contains a number of re-used dressed architectural fragments (see Pl. G). These will be referred to again in section 10.

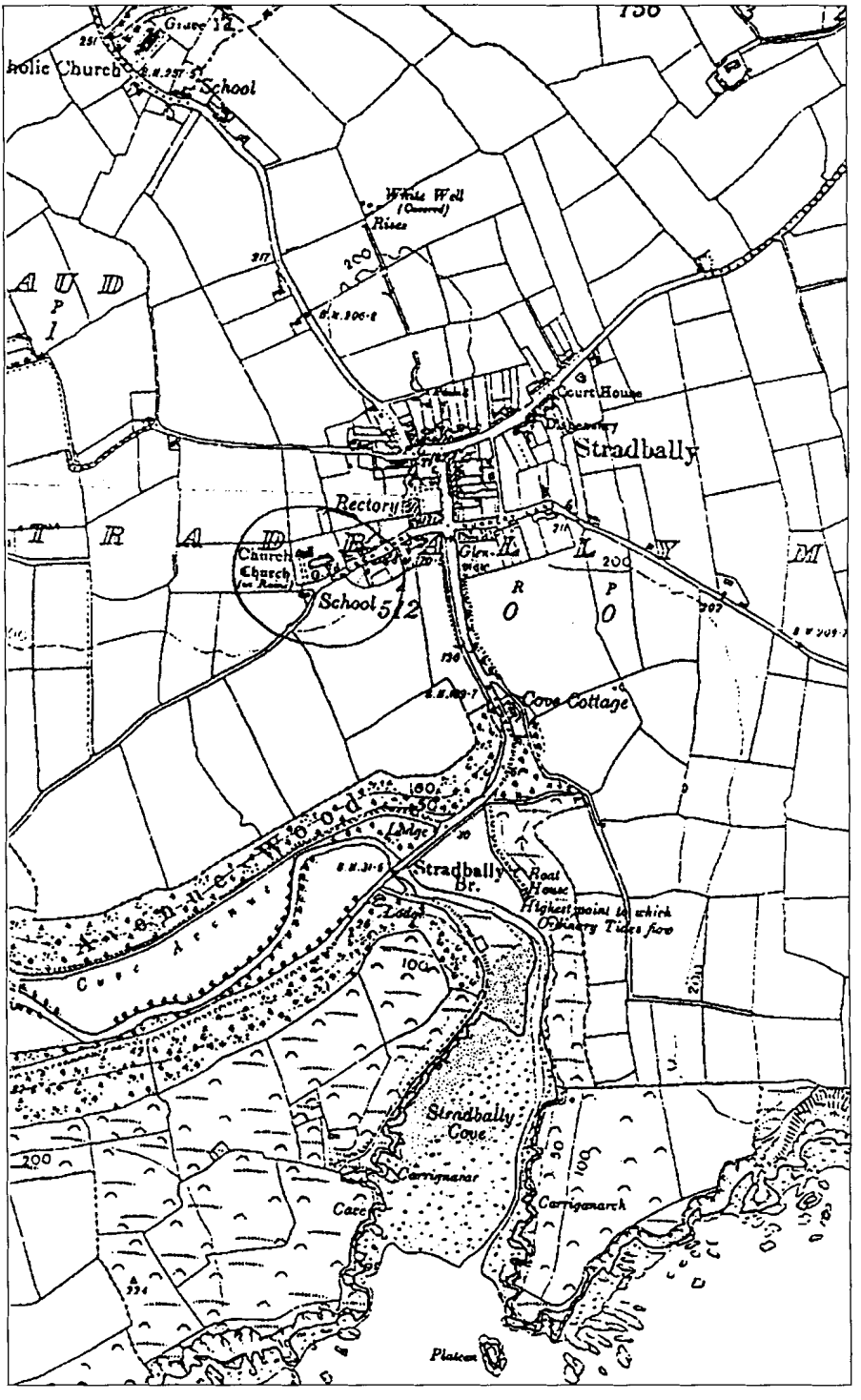

Fig. 1. Location of ruined medieval parich church of Stradbally on 6 inch O.S. Maps, Co. Waterford, Sheet Nos. 24 & 32.

3. Previous archaeological investigations of the ruined church

The antiquarian, John O'Donovan (Letters 1841, 27-29) who visited the site, during the course of his work for the Ordnance Survey, wrote a brief description of the medieval church, which at that time had been ruined for many years. The Rev. Patrick Power (1896, 195-208) published a description of the building in the 1890's. J.H. Mulholland (1981, 61-68) carried out a study of the monumental inscriptions in the graveyard. A brief description of the ruins is also to be found included in a leaflet concerning the present St. James's Church, by H.H.E. Peacocke, dated 29/7/1984. A brief unpublished report about the medieval church was compiled by Mr. Des Cowman, dated Nov. 1984.

Mr. Noel Dunne (1989), Archaeologist, compiled an unpublished field report concerning the medieval church and associated remains as part of the Archaeological Survey of County Waterford for the National Monuments Service. A brief summary of the latter is included in the Archaeological Inventory of County Waterford (Moore 1999) by Dúchas: The Heritage Service. Furthermore, a report has been recently compiled (16/02/2000) by Mr. David Kelly, consulting engineer, in relation to structural problems and proposed remedial works regarding the conservation of the ruins.

4. General description of the ruined church

The original medieval parish church consisted of a large nave to the west, with a short and narrower chancel to the east. Both were divided by a chancel arch (see Fig. 2). The latter and overlying gable are destroyed. Only the responds below survive (see Pl. 1). The present ruined church is 31.7m in length. As seen above, to the west of the nave there is now the enclosed 19th century Beresford/Uniacke plot. Abutting the north exterior of the nave, towards the east, is a 19th century stone-built mausoleum, which is uninscribed. It measures 3.85m square, and is 2.03m in height (see Fig. 2 & Pl. G).

The present chancel is on a different axis to that of the medieval nave (see Fig. 2). The former was rebuilt and extended during the Post-Medieval period (see Fig. 2 and section 7). Most of the clay bonded masonry of the secondary phase has collapsed (see Fig. 2; Pl. S), while the corresponding clay bonded masonry of the south wall has become unstable and has partially collapsed (Pl. P).

To the north of the chancel are the remains of a medieval presbytery tower that post-dates the primary church (see Fig. 2; Pl.s G, M-O). It is roughly square in plan. The southern half has collapsed, while the remains of the north half would indicate that the building stood to at least two storeys in height (see section 8).

5. Site history

A study of the architectural remains of the church would indicate that it was built in the 13th century (the chancel was altered later). This coincided with the founding of the parish and "town" of Stradbally by Thomas FitzAnthony (who also founded Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny), in the early part of that century. He was an Anglo-Norman magnate (d. 1229). He was also a household knight and seneschal (steward)

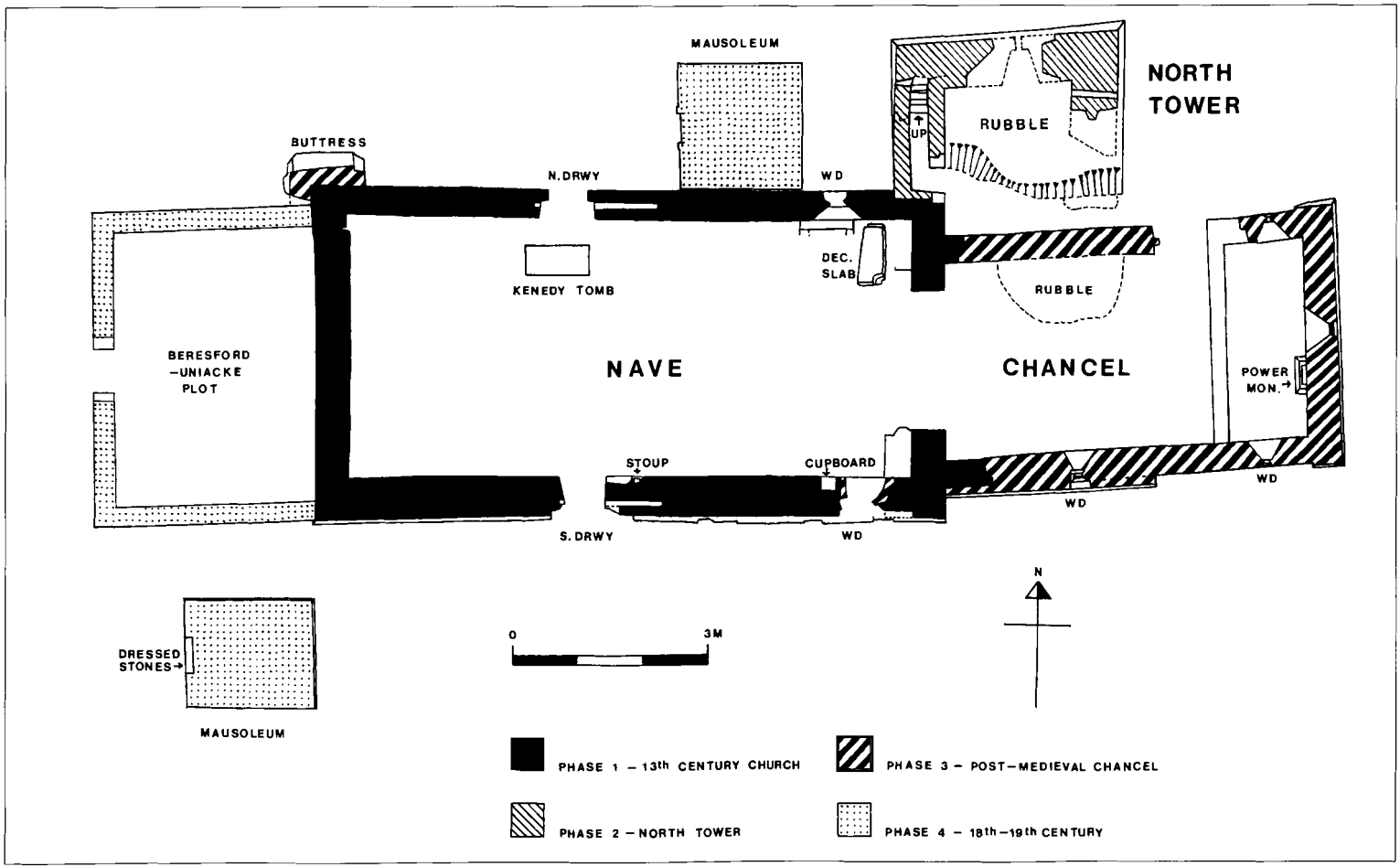

Fig. 2. Plan of the ruined medieval parish church of Stradbally, Co. Waterford, surveyed and drawn by Ben Murtagh 1999-2000.

of William Marshal (c. 1147-1219), the powerful lord of Leinster and Earl of Pembroke, and later Regent of England (Crouch 1990, 1, 63, 78-80, 116 & 164; Orpen 1911, Vol. II, 211, 245). From the latter, Thomas received the cantred of Ogenty in Co. Kilkenny (Empey 1990, 77; 1997, 10-11).

In 1215, King John granted custody of the counties of Waterford and Desmond (Cork) to Thomas FitzAnthony (Orpen 1920, Vol. III, 130-132, 134-136). The latter established a lordship in the south of Co. Waterford, the centre of which was Stradbally (Empey 1980, 14). It subsequently passed onto one of his heirs, Thomas de Dene (Empey 1992, 142-143). It is recorded that when the latter's son, Reginald died in 1302, he held a quarter of the "town" of Stradbally from the King (St. John Brookes 1950, 50).

The above would indicate that during the Anglo-Norman period Stradbally became a large and important settlement, which would have required a large parish church. The ruined building under discussion was spacious enough to have served such a function. Charles Smith writing in 1746 (45 & 93), remarked about its large size. He also tells us that it was then in ruins. Ryland writing in 1824 (301) states that the ruined church was an abbey of the **Augustinian** Friars, the last of whom was called the "White Friar".

Samuel Lewis (1837, Vol. 2, 579) also states that the ruined church was an ancient abbey, which belonged to the Augustinian Friars, and that the White Friar was the hero of many legends. John O'Donovan (1841, 27) in his description of the ruins for Ordnance Survey, also states that it was an abbey of Augustinian Friars. He also mistakenly believed that the "site of the ancient church of this parish is occupied by the modern Protestant one".

The Augustinian connection with the ruined church was dismissed by Canon Power (1896, 194). Gwynn and Haddock (1970, 368) in their book "Medieval Religious Houses in Ireland" supported this view. They identified the "White Friar" as Patrick White, who in 1588 was vicar of Stradbally (see below). They also state that the church was under the patronage of the Protestant bishop.

However in the Extent of Irish Monastic Possessions of 1540/41 (Nolan 1984, 45, 46, 48; White 1943, 187), the connection with the Augustinians becomes clear. At the time of the Reformation, the Rectory of Stradbally was owned by the Priory of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine at Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny. This is significant since the latter was founded by the same Thomas FitzAnthony, who founded Stradbally in the early 13th century (see Carrigan 1905, Vol. IV, 105, 108; Empey 1997, 10).

The above would indicate that at the time of the Reformation the Stradbally building had functioned as a parish church, while in the possession of the Augustinian Priory of Inistioge, for over 300 years. In 1540, the church and Rectory were taken into the possession of the Crown. It was occupied by the "Precentor of Lessemore" (White 1941, 187). Henceforth, it came under the control of the Bishop of Lismore (Gwynn & Hadcock 1970, 368).

As seen above, the chancel of the old parish church was rebuilt during the Post-Medieval period – possibly after its destruction by the collapse of the south side of

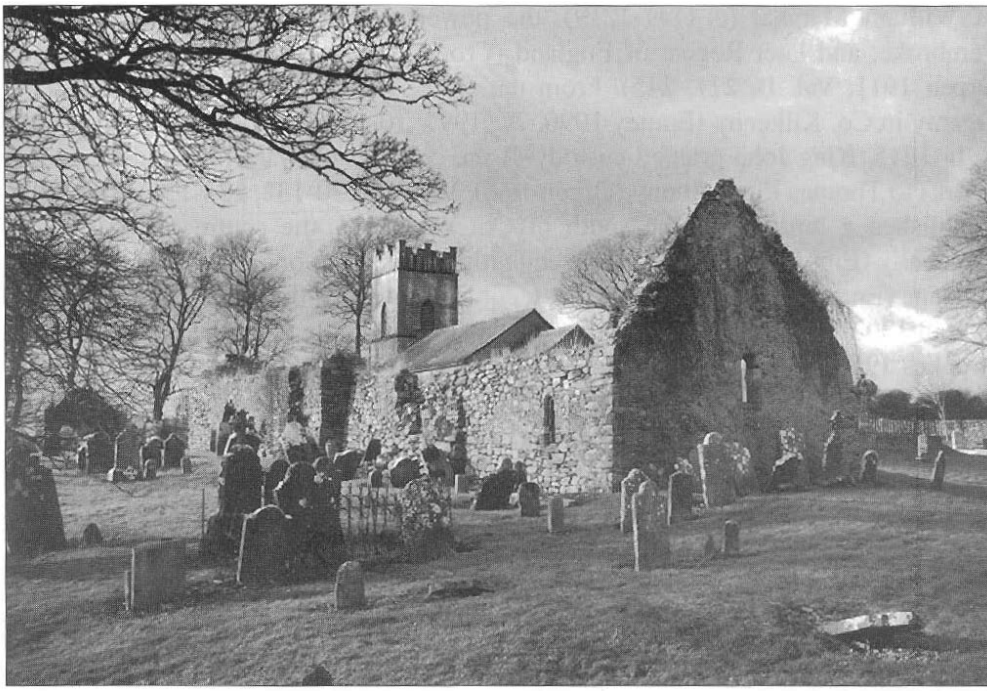

Plate A – Ruined church and graveyard from S-E.

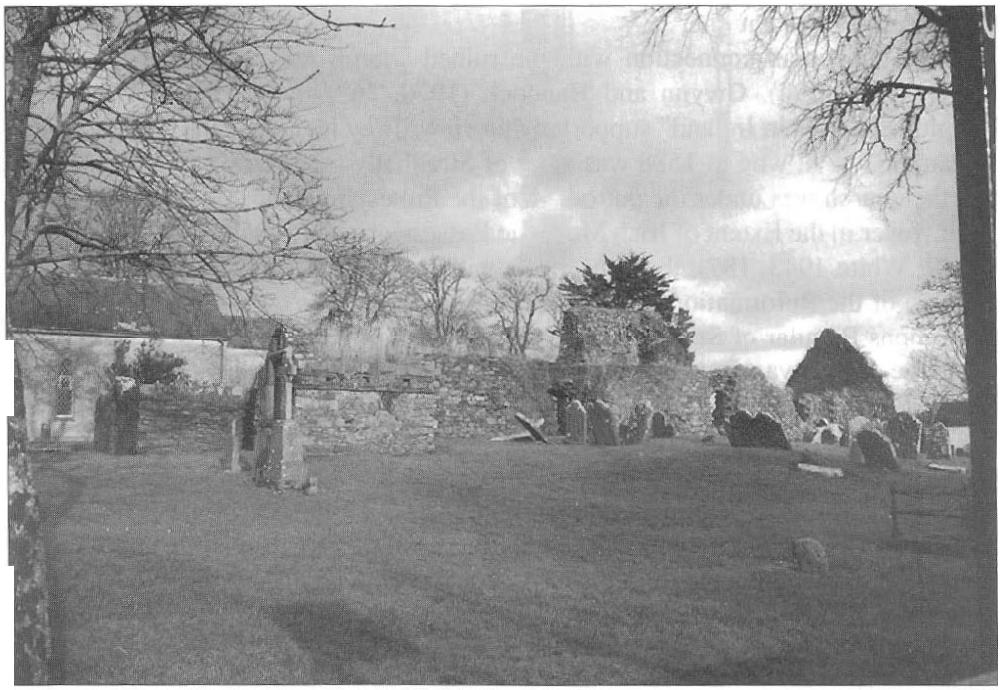

Plate B – Ruined church and graveyard from S-W.

the north tower (see section 8). A close date however, for when this work was carried out has not been ascertained. According to the leaflet by H.H.E. Peacocke, the chancel was still in use in 1607.

The early Post-Medieval period, subsequent to the Reformation of King Henry VIII (d. 1547), was one of disorganization and uncertainty in the diocese of Lismore and Waterford. This was a time when the material condition of churches generally deteriorated, while the Diocese was led by a series of corrupt or ineffectual bishops, who were loyal to the Crown, and who squandered the wealth of their ecclesiastical properties (see Anon. 1902, 103-105; Cowman 1984, 31-33; Power 1909, 157; 1913, 114-115).

In 1588, the year of the Spanish Armada, the controversial Archbishop of Cashel, Meiler McGrath (c. 1522-1622), who was also State bishop of the Diocese of Lismore and Waterford (1582-89; 1592-1608), was instructed by the Crown to carry out a survey of the latter. For obvious reasons he was rather coy on what he reported. The document produced however, does make clear the failure of the Reformation to establish control over the parish structures in the Diocese. Most parishes by this time had no clergyman and of those that did, some at least proved firmly Papist (Cowman 1984, 33).

According to the above survey or Vesitation, the Vicar of Stradbally in 1588 was **Patrick White**, who was also vicar of Kilgobnet and Kilrossenty (Power 1910, 9, 12). He may have been the same man as Peter White, who is mentioned as being Vicar of Stradbally in 1591 (Rennison 1920, 196). As seen above, he may have been the Papist "White Friar" or "White Vicar" of local tradition (Power 1937, 253). We cannot say if Patrick or Peter White rebuilt the chancel of the Stradbally church in the late 16th century, particularly during a period as we have seen of uncertainty and disorganization in the Diocese. It is interesting to note, that the clergy were responsible for upkeep of the chancel of churches within the Diocese, while the parishioners were responsible for nave (Power 1911, 50).

Almost three decades pass before the next vicar is mentioned in Stradbally. He was a Mr. Sparrow in 1619, a Protestant, who was also curate in 1623 (Renison 1920, 196-197). This was at a time when the State Church was endeavouring to correct abuses by its clergy, as well as, to check the loss of ecclesiastical revenues and properties (Anon. 1902, 103-105; Cowman 1984, 35).

It is possible that the chancel was rebuilt during the period from the time of Mr. Sparrow to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1641, or during the following eight years of the Confederation of Kilkenny, when it is likely that Catholic priests ran the church. During the latter period, archaeological investigations have shown that St. Peter's parish church in Waterford City was rebuilt by the Jesuits (see Murtagh 1997a, 235, 241-243). During the Cromwellian regime (1650-1660), the church would have been closed down, and probably fell into disrepair. We have no record if it was reopened for worship in the later 17th century, particularly during the reign of the Catholic King James II (1685/90). The appearance of gravestones within the church in the early 18th century, would indicate that it was ruined by then (see section 9).

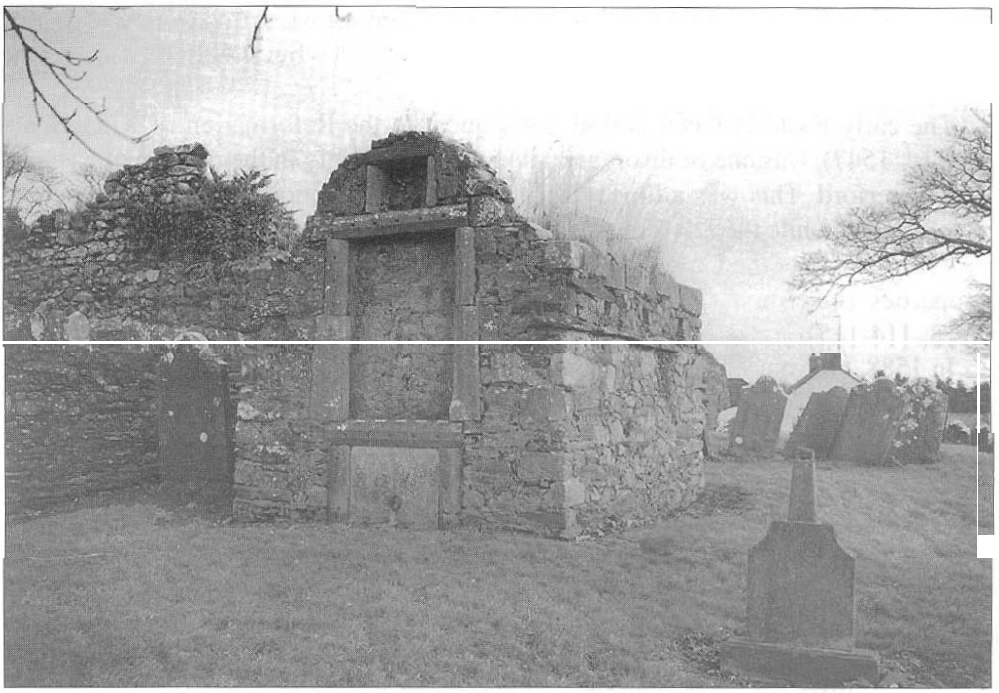

Plate C – c. 18th century stone-built mausoleum to S-W of ruined church.

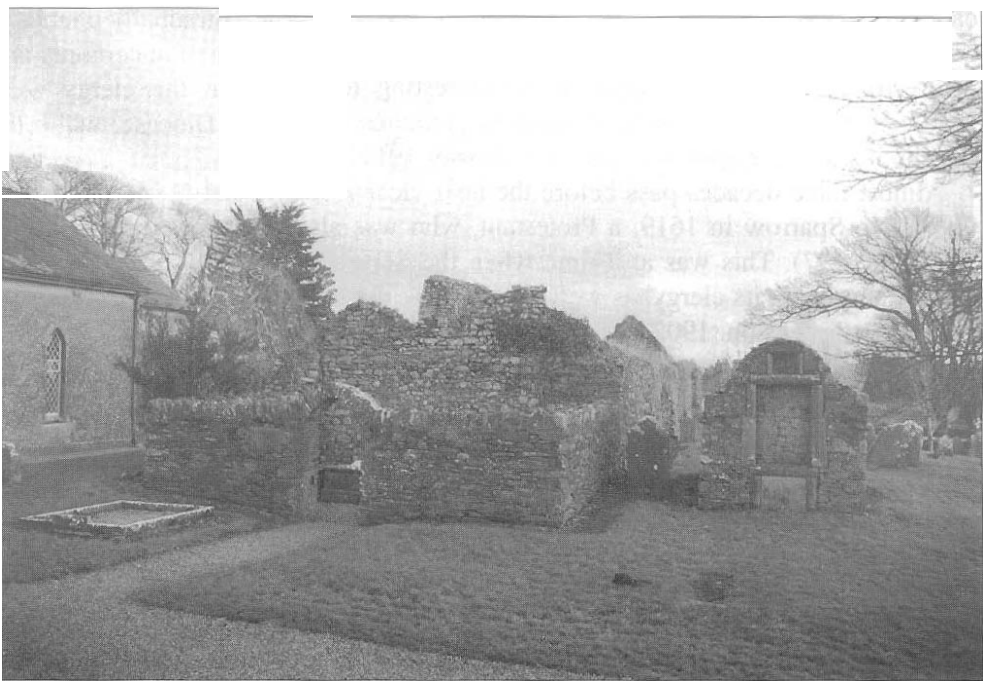

Plate D – Beresford/Uniacke enclosed plot at westend of ruined church – from west.

Harvey (1912, 192) in his Parochial History of Waterford and Lismore was of the belief that Augustinian hermits had some connection with Stradbally during the Penal Times. He states that Father Pierce Byrn, who was interred in the graveyard in 1777, was an Augustinian. In 1704, we find Richard Costelloe registered as Parish Priest of Stradbally and Kilrossenty. His place of abode is given as Carrigbarrahane and he was fifty years of age. In 1727, the Rev. Thomas Power who was then Parish Priest died. He appears to have resided at Brenan (Power 1937, 253). Due to the conditions of the time, it is uncertain if these priests had a chapel to say Mass in, since the old parish church was out of use. Nevertheless, the graveyard to the south of the latter continued in use as a Catholic burial ground (see section 9).

Regarding the Established Church, it would appear that it did not have a church in Stradbally for most of the 18th century. Samuel Lewis (1837, Vol. 2, 579) states that the present Church of Ireland church of St. James was "rebuilt" in 1786 by aid of a gift of £500.00 from the late Bord of First Fruits. H.H.E. Peacocke in contrast states in his leaflet that it was not until after 1799, with the appointment of John Devereux as vicar, that the new church was built. This was completed in 1802, the belfry was added in 1806, and it was enlarged in 1830 (Rennison 1920, 195).

6. Nave

This is rectangular in plan. Internally, the north wall is 17.4m length, while the south one is 17.24m. Also internally, the nave widens from 7.9m at east to 8.03m at west. Access is made through two original doorways – one each in the north and south walls. Towards the east end of these two walls, are the remains of two original single-light windows (see Fig. 2). Externally, there is a later buttress at the N-W corner of the nave.

The south wall stands to full height – though the upper courses have been weakened by growth. Generally, the inner face is in good condition (Pl. 1 & K). This is in contrast to the outer face, where there is a lot of growth. There is a noticeable batter on this face. Much of the pointing has been washed out. Between the south door and the window to the east, much of the lower part of the face is destroyed – exposing the core.

There is a noticeable drop in ground level from the outside into the interior – no doubt due to the number of burials in the graveyard. The wall is constructed with angular and roughly hewn blocks of red and yellowish sand-stone, as well as a local blue/green stone, together with some field stones – laid in irregular courses – and bonded with a course lime mortar, using sea sand.

Internally, the south doorway is 6.46m from the west wall (see Fig. 2). It is wide, and originally consisted of two orders: The outer (narrower) one is destroyed (Pl. K), but the intact north doorway gives us an indication of what it looked like. On the inside of the destroyed jambs are draw-bar sockets, for securing the door from the inside. The fact that they are low lying is due to build-up of ground at the doorway. The inner order splays inward, to 1.43m in width. This has a segmental arch of upright voussoirs – fashioned from the local blue/green stone. In the soffit of the arch are impressions of wicker centering.

Plate E – Exterior of west wall of church.

Plate F – Exterior of remains of west window of church.

On the inside of the doorway, to the east is an original stoup (for holy water) set into a small recess in the wall (Pl. K). The bowl is fashioned from a single block of sandstone. The low-lying position of the latter points to a build-up of ground within the nave.

As seen above, towards the east end of the wall are the remains of an original south window. This is 74cms from the chancel arch wall (see Fig. 2). On the outside, the window surround is destroyed. It splays to 1.25m in width on the inside. It is clear that the original window was later enlarged. The jambs were altered, the sill lowered, and the overlying arch replaced by a shouldered lintel. The latter is similar to the one over the inside of the north window of the chancel (Pl. T). This would suggest that the window was rebuilt at the same time as the chancel. Furthermore, the splay of the former is covered by secondary lime plaster that can be traced throughout the east end of the nave, and extends throughout the interior of the chancel. The primary lime plaster can be traced behind the later plaster on the inner face of the south wall. At 28cms to the west of the south window is a low lying cupboard.

As seen above, the inner face of the west wall of the nave is 8.03m in length (see Fig. 2). Towards the north end, there is a structural crack – at least 4cms in width – that rises upwards through the wall (Pl. H). As noted above, the west face forms the east side of the Beresford/Uniacke plot. There is a noticeable inward tilt in the wall – forming a horizontal curve higher up the west face.

The south end of the west face is abutted by the south wall of the Beresford/ Uniacke plot (Pl. D). At the north end of the same face is the later buttress, which supports the N-W corner of the nave (see Fig. 2 and Pl. G). The ground level on the inside of the wall is noticeably higher than on the outside – in the Beresford/Uniacke plot. This is no doubt caused by the burials inside in the nave, on the one hand, and the probable lowering of the ground outside on the other.

On top of the west wall, the gable has largely collapsed, and the surviving masonry is in poor condition (Pls. E & H). In the centre, are the remains of the single-light west window (Pl. F). This consists of the sill and lower jambstones. The window is chamfered on the outside, and there is an inward splay on the inside. Above this stood a bellcote, now destroyed, but it was still standing in the time of John O'Donovan (1841, 28).

The west face has traces of lime render. The wall itself, is constructed of rubblework masonry. This consists of a mixture of quarried stone and fieldstones – red and yellow sandstones, as well as the local blue/green stone. The faces of some of the stones appear to have been burnt.

The north wall of the nave stands virtually to full height. Generally, it is in good condition – though there is growth at the top, which has loosened some of the stones (Figs. G, I & L). Remains of the lime render survive on the outer face, while traces of lime plaster survive on the inner one. At the west end of the inner face, is a noticeable batter – resulting no doubt from the large crack in the west wall. This would explain why the later buttress was constructed at the N-W corner of the nave. The north wall is about 90cms (3 ft.) in thickness.

Plate G – North exterior of church – from west – with remains of north tower in background.

Plate H – Interior of west end of nave from east.

At 5.95m from the west end of the inner face, is the north doorway. The outer order, which is 1.17m in width, has a Gothic arch constructed of upright voissoirs, consisting of quarried local blue/green stone (Pl. L). There are impressions of plank centering under the soffit of the arch. On the inside, the second order is wider than the first, and is roofed with a segmented arch. On either side, are draw-bar sockets for securing the door from the inside (see Fig. 2).

As seen above (section 4), to the east of the north doorway, the north face of the nave was abutted by the 19th century mausoleum (Pl. G). Due to subsidence of the later, there is now a slight gap between the two.

At 1.52m from the east end of the inner face, are the remains of the north window of the nave. The dressed stones on the outside are gone. On the inside, the window splays inward to 1.53m in width, and is roofed with a segmented arch. Under the soffit of the latter, are impressions of wicker centering. As noted above (section 4), the east wall of the nave is now quite ruined (Pl. I). The chancel arch and overlying gable are destroyed. Only the responds lower down survive. These are 4.20m apart and 1.05m in thickness. The west surviving ends of the original north and south walls of the narrower chancel are bonded into the east face of the east wall of the nave. Externally the N-E quoins are destroyed above the present ground level.

7. Chancel

The present chancel extends 12.25m to the east of the nave (see Fig. 2). It was rebuilt and extended during the Post-Medieval period, and is on a different access to the nave. The west and east ends of the chancel are 6.07m in width internally. The present east gable wall stands to full height and is constructed of rubblework masonry – bonded with lime mortar (Pls. A, O & P), while to the west, most of the post-medieval sections of the north and south walls are constructed of clay bonded masonry. At the east end is the enclosed 19th century memorial plot to the Power family of Ballyvoil. This measures internally 6m N/S x 2.53m in width. It is bordered on the west side by a low lying cross wall (see also section 9).

Much of the south wall stands to full height – though there is a serious outward tilt about midway. At 1.21m from the west end of the inner face, is a vertical joint, where the original masonry ends. This would appear to be the west side of an original priest's doorway. The joint is sealed with post-medieval plaster. The latter, which contains flecks of coal covers the entire inner face of the south wall making a study of the masonry behind difficult.

The outer face which is 12.28m in length, has an off-set of 36cms about midway, where the south wall to the west thickens and to the east it narrows (see Fig. 2). The ground level on the outside slopes from west to east. The off-set western half of the south face has a noticeable batter. This post-medieval masonry conceals the remains of the original south chancel wall. The later masonry, which consists of clay bonded rubblework, is in poor condition.

At 3.85m from the west end, are the remains of a single-light window – one of two in the south wall (see Fig. 2). The dressed sandstones of the sill and east jamb survive. On the outside of the light, is a rebate for a wooden shutter – and a chamfer

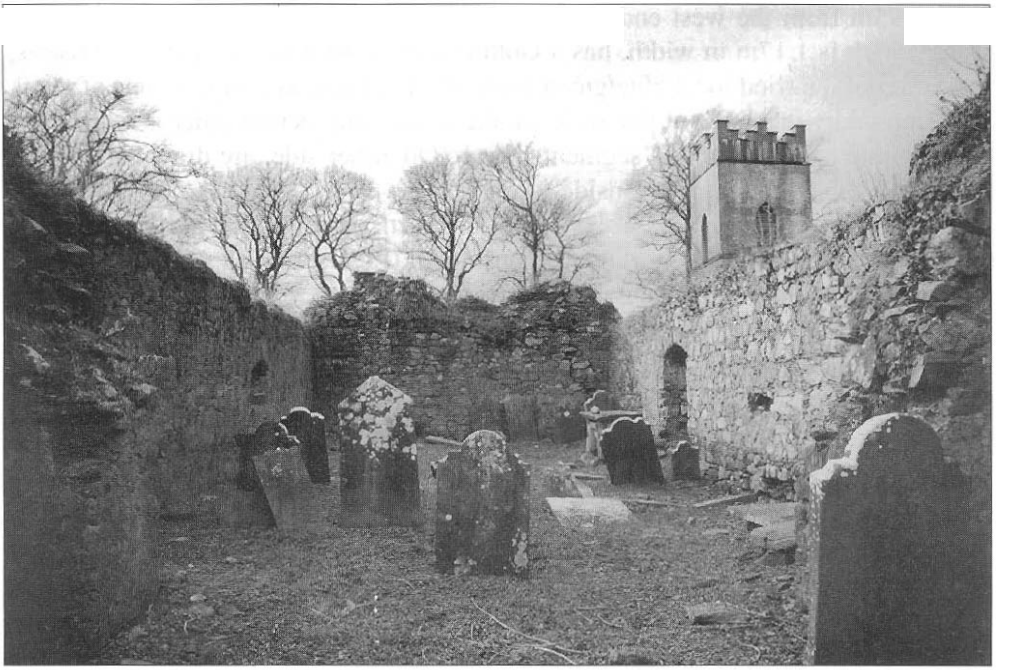

Plate I – Interior of nave from chancel – looking west.

Plate J – c. 16th century decorated grave slab in N-E corner on nave.

on the outside of this – in the fashion of the 12th and 13th centuries. The window splays inward on the inside of the dressed stones. On the east side, the springing of the rear arch survives. Impressions of plank centering can still be seen on the underside. The mortar used to construct the window is the same as the post-medieval plaster on the inside of the church. The same plaster also covered the splay. The stones of the window are re-used. These are set back from the south face – 25cms at sill level. The fact that much of the window has collapsed has greatly destabilised the wall in this area. Here medieval roof slates were found used as spalls in the post-medieval masonry.

The eastern half of the south face is vertical and in better condition than the west half. Patches of lime render survive. At the eastern end of the face is a slight buttress, which is contemporary with the post-medieval masonry. This section of wall appears to be bonded with lime mortar.

At just over 2m from the east end of the south face, is the second of the single-light windows (Pl. R). This is constructed of re-used dressed masonry from the 12th/13th centuries. It has a round head, which is not semi-circular. The sill stone however, is for a twin-light window. On the inside, the window splays inward, and is covered with post-medieval plaster. It is roofed with a rear arch with plank impressions under the soffit. This window is constructed in the same fashion as the one to the west. It is clear that both windows are contemporary with the post-medieval reconstruction of the chancel, re-using medieval dressed window masonry.

The east gable wall of the chancel survives in good condition and to full height (Pls. O & P). The gable has a pitch of 45 degrees. This wall appears to date from the post-medieval rebuilding of the chancel. The fact that it is constructed of rubblework masonry bonded with lime mortar, would explain why it has survived intact, as opposed to the clay bonded masonry of the north and south walls.

The inner face of the east wall is covered with the same post-medieval plaster that covers the inner face of the south wall of the chancel (Pl. P). There is a horizontal rebate along the base of the gable on the same face. Accordingly, the gable is noticeably narrower than the underlying wall. The top of the former is also rebated to take the roof. The size of this rebate might suggest that the former roof was thatched. This would explain why the slates from the earlier roof were not re-used.

There is a noticeable talus, or batter, on the exterior of the east wall. At either end of the latter, there is also a noticeable batter formed by the slight buttresses at the east ends of the north and south exteriors of the chancel (Pl. O). The eastern exterior is covered by patchy render. This consists of lime mortar, that is cream/grey in colour. It contains coarse sea sand, small angular stones, with flecks of seashells; flecks and small lumps of pure lime; sparse flecks and lumps of coal.

The single-light east window is slightly off-centre from the apex of the gable above (Pl. O). it is rebated on the outside in the fashion of the 12th and 13th centuries (Pl. Q) like the two south windows of the chancel. The head which is carved of a single piece of stone, is unusual in that it has an elliptical arch – in the fashion of the early Post-Medieval period.

On the inside, the window resembles the two south windows of the chancel. It

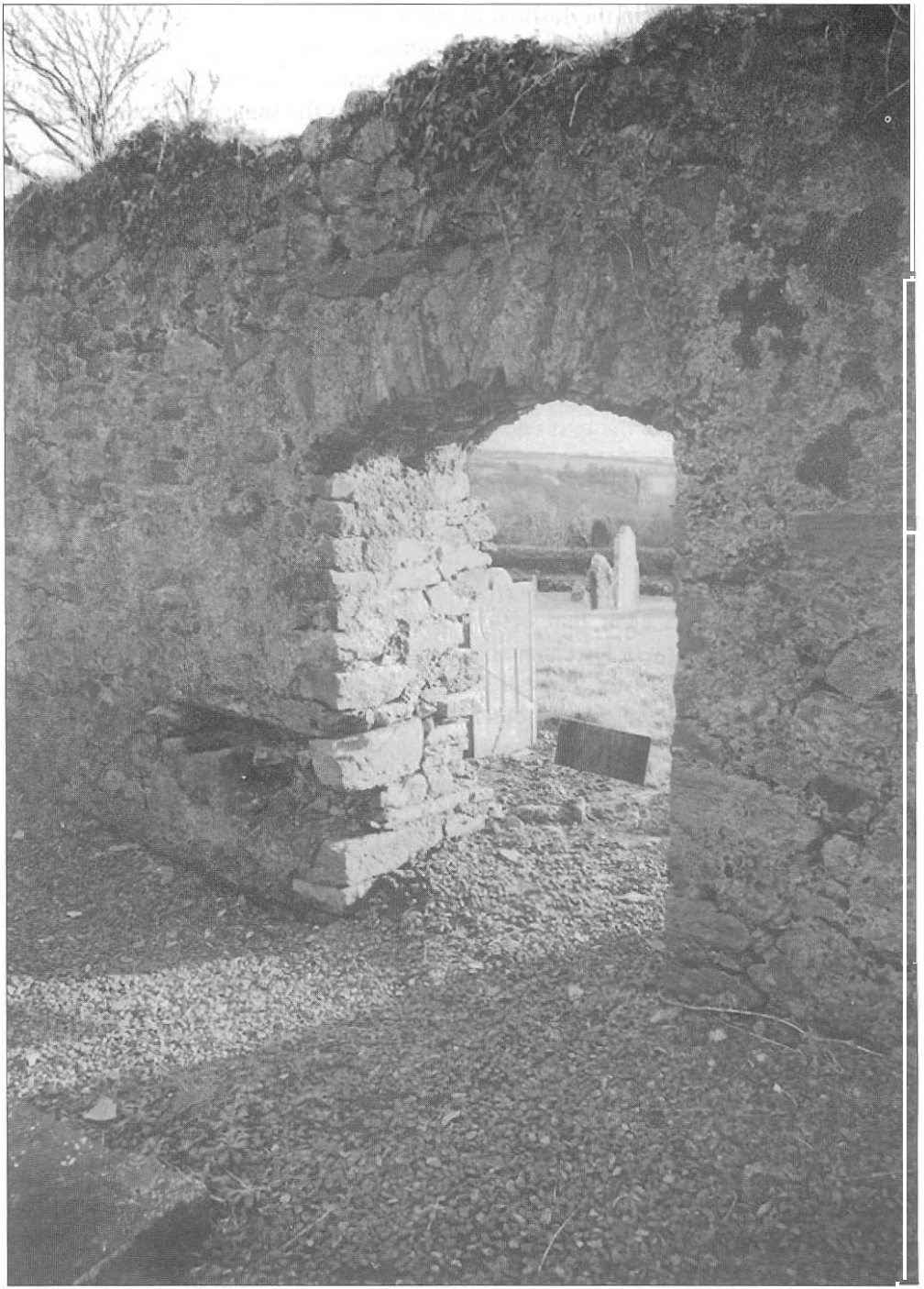

Plate K – South doorway of nave from inside.

splays inward (Pl. P). The sill slopes steeply inward. It is roofed with a segmental arch of upright voissoirs. The soffit has the same plank centering impressions that can be seen over the two south windows of the chancel. Furthermore, the mortar is the same as Post-Medieval plaster that is found throughout the interior of the chancel, and covers the splays of all the four windows.

The north wall of the chancel is largely ruined, or destroyed (see Fig. 2; Pls. P, S & T). This measured 11.04M in length internally. At the east end there is a short section, constructed of lime mortared masonry which is bonded into the east gable , and stands approximately to full height. It contains the single light north window (Pl. T). On the outside, it is constructed of dressed sandstone masonry, and has a round head. Unlike the three other windows of the chancel, there is no external rebate for a shutter in the fashion of the 12th and 13th centuries. Instead, the window is chamfered on the outside. There is a rebate and a pair of draw-bar sockets on the inside for a wooden shutter. The sill stone has punch dressing in the fashion of the 16th and early-17th centuries. From here the window splays inward, and is covered with the same Post-Medieval lime plaster that is found throughout the interior of the chancel. The splay has a shouldered lintelled-head (Pl. T), like the rebuilt south window of the nave.

To the west of the above short section of the north wall, is the north end of the low-lying Victorian boundary wall that delineates the memorial plot to the Power family of Ballyvoil from the rest of the Chancel (see Fig. 2; Pl. P and section 9). Beyond this, there is a gap of about 1.45m, where the north wall is destroyed, above the ground. To the west of this are the remains of the clay bonded section of the north wall, which has largely collapsed (see Fig. 2 and Pl. S). At the west end are the remains of the original medieval north wall, which is bonded into the east wall of nave. This short section of wall, which is 83CM in thickness, is only 45cms in length on the inside.

To the east of the above, the surviving clay bonded section of the north wall is 6.2m in length. Much of the wall has collapsed into the chancel – resulting in a noticeable inward batter on the exterior. The surviving wall descends in height from west to east. Deep roots have grown down into the core. On the exterior, there is Post-Medieval lime render, that is up to 2cms in thickness (see section 8). The collapsed masonry on the inside contains medieval roof slates that were re-used as spalls – mirroring what was found in the Post-Medieval south wall.

8. North Tower

This oblong structure is located to the N-E of the nave, and to the north of the west half of the chancel (see Fig. 2). It is later than the original church. The south end of the west wall was inserted into the outer face of the nave. The tower consists of the remains of ground, first, and second storeys (see Pls. G, M, N & O). None of these chambers were vaulted.

The southern half of the tower is destroyed. It is likely that it either abutted, or incorporated the original north wall of the chancel. It is possible that the missing half collapsed into the original chancel – necessitating the latter's rebuilding during the

Plate L – Exterior of north doorway of nave.

early Post-Medieval period. This is indicated by the lime render on the outer face of the rebuilt north wall. It could only have been applied if the southern half of the tower was missing.

The surviving north half of the tower is constructed of a mixture of old red sandstone and locally quarried slabs of blue/green stone – laid horizontally. Spalls were used to fill the gaps between the larger stones. The bonding lime mortar is quite distinct. It has a fine texture and a brown colour. It is not as coarse as that used in the medieval church. It has inclusions of small angular and water worn stones, together with flecks and small lumps of pure lime. There are square put-lock holes going right through the walls of the building. These date from the construction of the tower, and would have supported scaffolding.

A base batter runs along the surviving exterior of the ground storey of the tower (see Fig. 2; Pls. G & M). At the base of the tower, the west face is 4.55m in length, while the north face is 7.2m. The surviving bottom of the east face is 5.3m in length. It is not certain how entry was gained into the building. It is possible that a doorway was inserted through the original north wall of the chancel.

Internally , each of the three storeys of the tower had a main oblong chamber. At present, most of the bottom of the ground storey is filled with rubble (see Fig. 2). The southern end of the rubble, to the east, is delineated by a low lying dry-stone wall face. This runs parallel to, and is about 1m from the exterior of the Post-Medieval north wall of the chancel. It is 2.62m in length, and is a modern feature.

The ground floor chamber was about 3.85m in width E-W. There is now a large gap in the north wall where there was once a narrow window-loop. On the outside, the destroyed outer face has been rebuilt with dry-stone masonry in the lower part of the gap. It is likely that there was a similar loop in the east wall.

The remains of a doorway give access to a mural stairway in the west wall (see Fig. 2). The floor of the lobby on the inside, at the bottom of the stairway, is buried by rubble. Here only the lower part of the tower survives. However, just to the north of this, the remains of the building rise upward to the second storey. The stairway is roofed with a segmental vault that rises upward with the steps. Overhead, the impression of plank centering survive under the soffit. Two small loops lit the stairway on the west side.

The stairway rises in a northward direction as far as the N-W corner of the tower, from where a right turn leads to a lintelled doorway at the N-W corner of the first storey chamber (see Pl. N).The latter was lit by a window-loop midway in each of the west, north and east walls (Pl. N). The north window is the most complete, though the sill is destroyed. It has thick set jambs, that are 20cms apart, and a plain lintelled head. On the inside, there is an embrasure that splays inward (see Fig. 2), which was roofed with two lintels. Above this, there is a relieving arch. Only the north sides of the east and west window survive, but it is clear that they were of the same type as the north window (Pl. N). In the N-E corner of the interior, there is a square beam socket, which supported the former timber floor of the first storey chamber.

On the inside of the west and east walls is a horizontal off-set, or rebate, which supported the former timber floor of the second storey chamber. No windows

Plate M – North tower from N-W.

survive in the remains of the tower at this level. There is ivy growing on the interior and exterior of the remains of the east wall (Pl. N). On the surviving west exterior of the tower, there is a noticeable batter at a height of 4m off the ground at the N-W corner. It is about 1m in height. Above this, the face becomes vertical again. About 1m higher-up, there is the bottom of a similar batter on the north face. Above this, the vertical face does not survive (Pl. M).

Regarding the dating and function of the north tower, we can say firstly that it post-dates the construction of the 13th century church, and predates the Post-Medieval rebuilding of the chancel. The fact that the west gable of the church had a bellcot (O'Donovan 1841, 28), would suggest that the north tower was not a belfry. More likely, it was a residential tower for a priest. These became fashionable during the late Middle Ages, when they were built onto the west, north, or south exteriors of churches (see Murtagh 1994, 88-89; 1997b, 128). These were an off-shoot of the contemporary tower house phenomenon.

The Stradbally tower may be an early example of these residential buildings, perhaps dating from the 13th/14th centuries – thus predating the tower house era. Such towers are not unknown though rare. Interestingly, a 13th century example is the north tower (Black Castle) of the former Augustinian Priory of Inistioge – which as we have seen owned the Stradbally church (Carrigan 1905, Vol. IV, 108, 111-112; Leask 1960, 52).

The suggestion that the Stradbally tower is early, is based on some of its architectural features: For example, the interior of the building does not appear to have been vaulted. Vaulting was a feature of late medieval towers in Ireland (Leask 1951, 86). Square put-lock holes for scaffolding are a feature of Irish stone buildings, particularly of the 12th and 13th centuries – though they do occur into the 15th century. The three window loops of the first storey of the tower are unusual (see Fig. 2 and Pl. N). The embrasures on the inside of the thick-set jambs would point to a 13th/14th century date.

The plank-centered vaulting over the mural stairway in the west wall is found in buildings of the 13th century. For example, it can be seen over the spiral stairwell in the lower half of Reginald's Tower in Waterford. It can also be seen over the mural stairway in the hall keep of Grenan Castle outside Thomastown, which was probably built by Thomas FitzAnthony in the early part of that century.

The widely battered faces up on the exterior of the second storey of the Stradbally tower is unusual. In the case of the north tower, or the "Black Castle", at the former Inistioge Priory, the ground and first storeys are square in plan, but on the second storey, the corners of the exterior are noticeably battered. Accordingly, it has an octagonal plan above this level. The latter is an example of a 13th century Augustinian residential tower, where the prior probably lived. (Birthistle 1969, 39-40). At another Augustinian Priory in Co. Kilkenny, Kells, the 15th century "Priors Tower" abuts the south side of chancel, or choir of the church (see Barry 1987, fig. 32). The north tower at Inistioge appears to be earlier than its counterpart at Stradbally. Accordingly, the inspiration for the construction of the latter could have come from the one at the mother house in Co. Kilkenny.

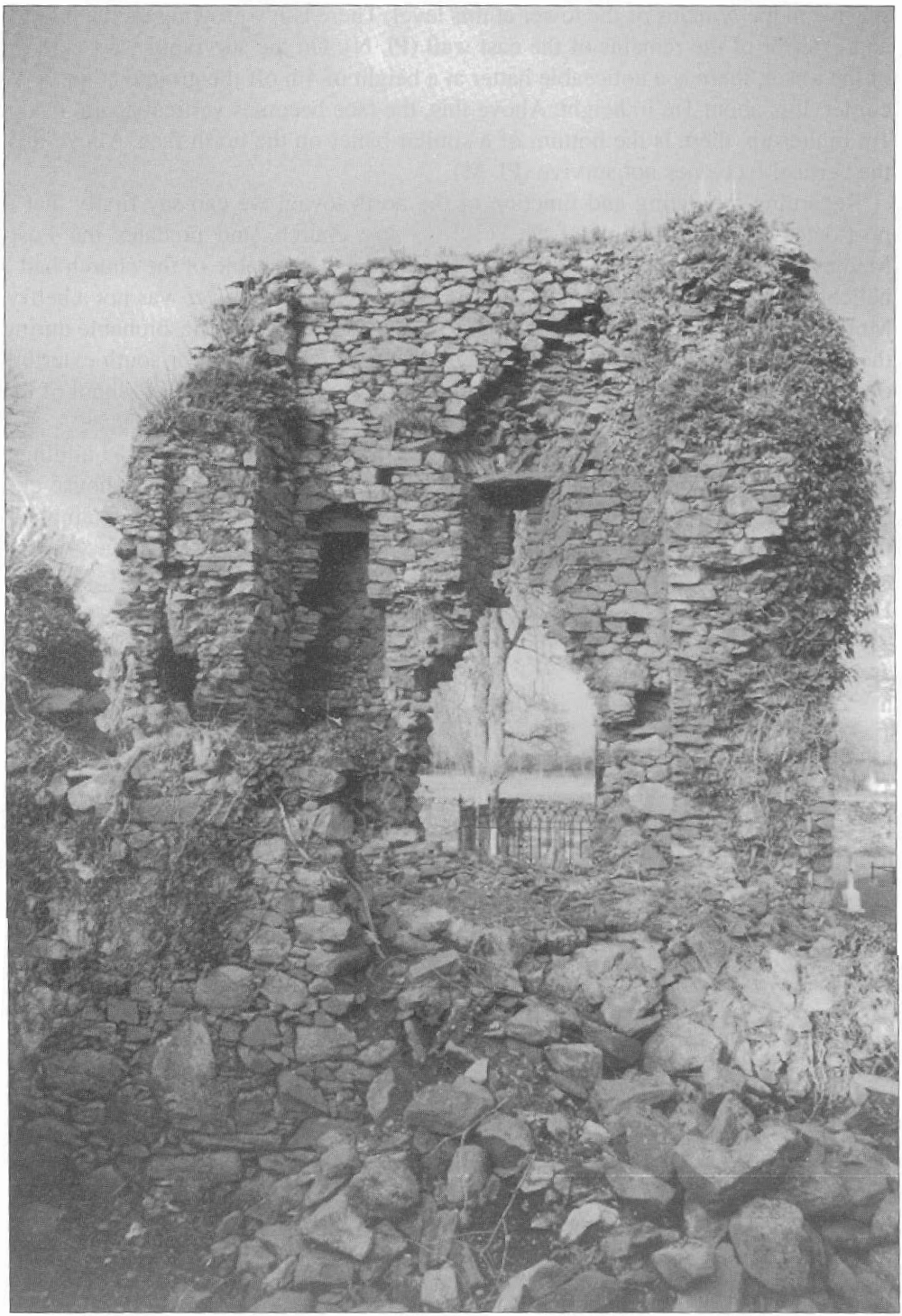

Plate N – Interior of north tower from ruined chancel – looking north.

9. Graveyard

This can be divided into three parts:

- The old Roman Catholic graveyard to the south and east of the church
- The gravestones and table tombs within the ruined church
- The modern Church of Ireland graveyard to the north and west of the ruined church.

The Roman Catholic graveyard dates back to medieval times, and would have functioned with the old parish church before it became ruined. There are at least 125 inscribed gravestones and plain stone markers. These are arranged into at least twenty rows of burial plots. There are at least four rows to the east of the church (Pl. A). One of the earliest inscribed gravestones refers to John Prendergast, who died in 1729. However, the earliest inscriptions mostly date to the second half of the 18th century, particularly to the 1770's. The later gravestones are inscribed as recently as the 1970's – even 1985 (see also Mulholland 1981, 64-68). In the west part of the graveyard, as far as the pathway, to the S-W of the ruined church, the gravestones become scarcer (Pl. B). The inscribed names include: Butler; Dwyer; Flahavin; Griffin; Hayes; Keane; Kelly; Kiely; Kennedy; Leahy; Morrissey; Navin; Power; Prendergast; and Walsh.

The gravestones within the ruined church are mainly confined to the nave (Pl. I). The inscribed ones would suggest that they are mostly, if not all, Roman Catholic. Within the nave, there are three 18th century table tombs and the c. 16th century decorated grave slab in the N-E corner (see Fig. 2). There are about 17 inscribed gravestones, dating to the 18th and 19th centuries, and at least 6 rough stone markers (see Pl. 10). The alignment of these would indicate that the grave plots were laid out in parallel rows – running N-S.

Apart from the c. 16th century decorated slab, the earliest inscribed gravestone is collapsed in the western part of the nave. It is incised with a skull and cross bones, and marks the grave of Michael Martin, who died in 1717. This would indicate that by the early 18th century the nave was ruined and was being used for burials. The family names inscribed on the gravestones include: Fleming; Galvin; Hally; Hern; McGrath; Riely; and Walsh. Some of the gravestones with the same family names are grouped together indicating that there were family plots within the nave. For example, to east of the inside of the north doorway, there is a plot to the McGrath family, delineated by kerbstones. There are two inscribed gravestones – one dating to the 18th century and the other to the 19th century.

In the western part of the nave is the first of the three table tombs (Pl. H). It is constructed of dressed grey carboniferous limestone which is not local to the area. The inscribed slabstone on top has been broken by collapsed masonry from the west wall. It commemorates members of the Roderick family who died between 1749 and 1770 (see also Mulholland 1981, 63).

The second table tomb within the nave is located on the inside of the north doorway (see Fig. 2 and Pls. H, I & L). The top is covered by a flat slab of dressed limestone, measuring 1.96m x 0.91m. On the south side, it is 0.91m off the ground.

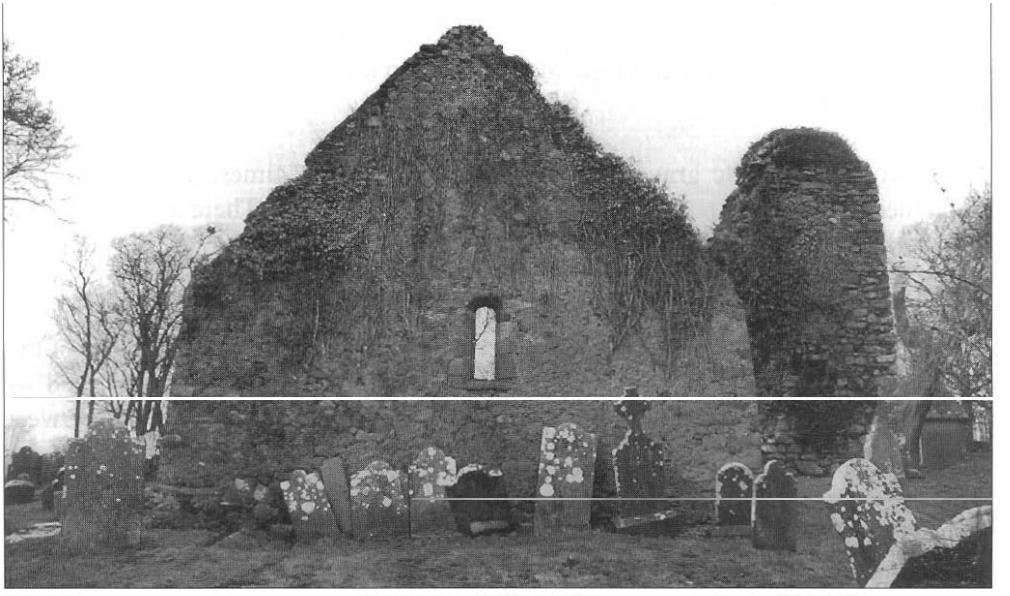

Plate O – Exterior of east gable wall of chancel from east.

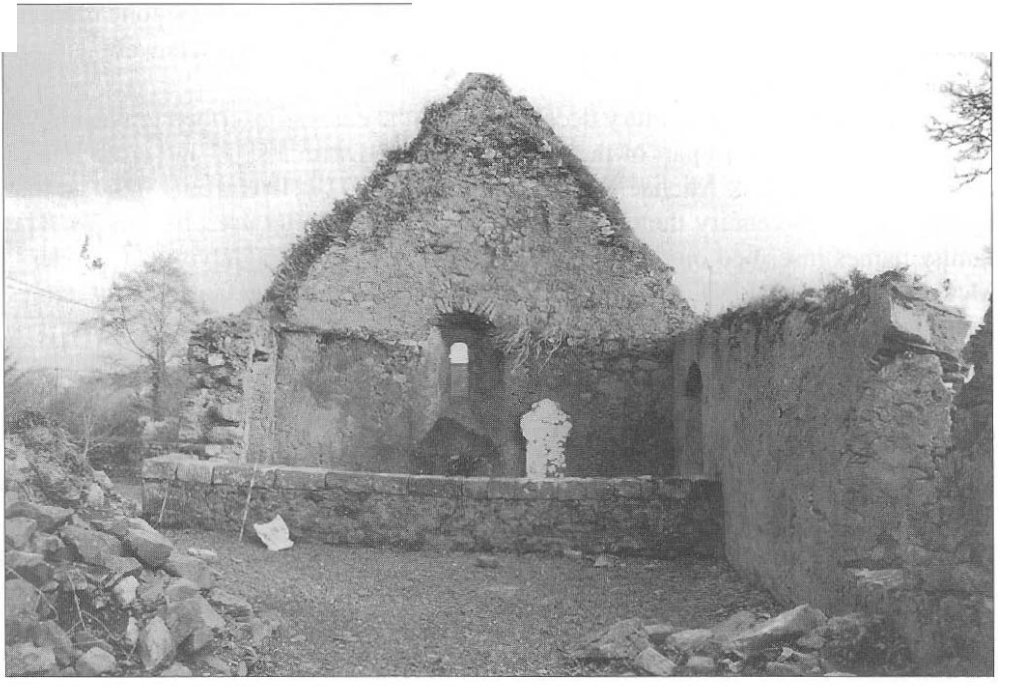

Plate P – Interior of chancel from west.

The inscription on the surface refers to members of the Kenedy family who died from 1719 to 1745. The table underneath is constructed of rubble-work masonry and re-used architectural fragments, bonded with lime mortar.

The re-used architectural fragments, which are located on the south side include, three dressed pieces of limestone from a single-light window, which had a flat head, and was 52cms in width. The fragments have square glazing bar holes, and are chamfered on the outside. The top of the lintel stone is flat, so as to support a hood moulding, or dripstone. This style of window was popular in the Jacobean period, during the early 17th century. At the base of the south face of the tomb is a kerbstone, which is in fact a re-used piece of elaborately dressed limestone. It is 1.355m in length and has a Jacobean style moulded chamfer. It has no glazing bar holes, and may have come from a fireplace or doorway. These stones bear similarities to re-used architectural fragments on the west face of the c. 18th century mausoleum that is located to the S-W of the church (see section 10). These fragments do not appear to have come from the church, but rather from a fine early 17th century stone house that stood in the vicinity.

The Kennedy table tomb over lies the southside of a small underground vault, or crypt. There is no access into this from the outside. It is constructed of rubblework masonry – bonded with lime mortar.

The third table tomb is located in the N-E corner of the nave, on the inside of the north window. It consists of a flat rectangular slab of dressed limestone. This is set on brickwork. The inscription on the slab states that it overlies the body of Mr. Anthony Hagherin (d. 1752) and his wife, Catherine McGrath (d. 1767), and her son.

Also in the N-E corner of the nave, to the east of the above, is the **c. 16th century decorated grave slab** (see Fig. 2 & Pl. J). It is 1.88m in length N-S x 81cms in width towards the south – narrowing towards the north. It is carved of old red sandstone, and is approximately 13cms in thickness. The decoration on the stone has been described in some detail by Rev. Patrick Power (1896, 204-207). He suggests that the remains of the inscription on the side refers to one Ysabelle Galvin – members of the same family are buried within the nave.

In the N-W corner of the chancel is a single gravestone erected by David Murphy of Waterford City in memory of his father-in-law, Maurice Toole (d. 1762), his wife Mary Toole (d. 1803), and their children.

As seen above (section 7), at the east end of the chancel, is the enclosed rectangular burial plot of the Powers of Ballyvoile (see Fig. 2 & Pl. P). This is delineated at west by a low-lying 19th century stone wall. On the south side of the east window, there is a limestone memorial attached to the inner face of the east wall of the chancel. The inscription states that it was erected by Thomas Lalor of Cregg in memory of his kinsman, William Power (d. 1727), his wife and their descendants, who were buried here (see Power 1896, 207-208).

As seen above, the Church of Ireland graveyard is located to the north and west of the ruined church. To the N-W of the latter, is the present early 19th century church (see Fig. 1; Pls. A, B, D, & I). The inscribed gravestones and memorials

Plate Q – Exterior of east window of church.

within this graveyard date to the 19th and 20th centuries. Also as seen in section 4, there is an oblong 19th century mausoleum on the northside of the nave of the ruined church, which is uninscribed (see Fig. 2 & Pl. G).

The enclosed Beresford/Uniacke burial plot at the west of the ruined church (see Fig. 2 & Pls. B, D & E), contains a row of six flat inscribed slabs running N-S. To the south of these is the grave of George John Beresford (d. 1864). The six inscribed slabs commemorate individuals who died between 1791 and 1869 (see also Mulholland 1981, 63). The plot, which is enclosed by a high 19th century stone wall on three sides, is entered through an arched gateway at west.

10. Mausoleum to S-W of church

This is an uninscribed oblong stone-built structure, which appears to be 18th century in date. It is almost 4m in length E-W x up to 3.37m in width (see Fig. 2). There is a noticeable batter on the east and south faces. There are traces of lime render on the stone faces. The mausoleum has a stone roof, with rising gables at the east and west ends. These are linked by two low parapets on the north and south sides, which are pierced by water chutes.

The mausoleum is constructed of mainly rubblework masonry, but it also has some re-used dressed stones. These are to be seen mostly on the west face, which is 3.46m in height (Pl. C). There are 15 re-used dressed stones on the west face. All are of limestone. They include at least 7 jambstones with double chamfers and square bar holes. At the bottom of the same face, is a dressed rectangular slab of limestone, set on edge, which has a large iron ring attached to it (Pl. C). On either side there are three of the re-used window jambstones. The jambstone at north has a mason's mark in the form of figure 8. Along the top, a fourth re-used jambstone is used as a lintel. This in turn also forms the sill of a large overlying recess in the west face.

The above recess is surrounded by re-used dressed stones – all limestone. The lower half on either side, consists of two re-used jambstones that are set upright. They differ from the re-used dressed stones mentioned above. Firstly, they are not window stones. Secondly, they are elaborately carved, having a moulded chamfer. They are either from a fireplace, or a doorway, and would appear to date from around the Jacobean period of the early 17th century. They resemble the re-used dressed stone at the base of the Kenedy table tomb in the nave of the ruined church (see section 9).

The upper half of the above recess is surrounded by three re-used window jambstones – similar to the ones described above. One of the stones is used as a lintel, which in turn forms the sill of a smaller overlying recess (see Pl. C). At either end of the same stone are two re-used dressed stones, that have at least one chamfer each, and may also be window jambstones. Either side of the smaller recess consists of two re-used dressed stones. The one to the south is from a dripstone or hood moulding – in the style of the 16th and first half of the 17th centuries. The stone on the northside may also be from a hood moulding. It has punch dressing in the fashion of the above period. The coping used on the south parapet of the mausoleum consists of eight re-used dressed sandstone quoins.

Plate R – Exterior of east window in south wall of chancel.

The re-used dressed stones described above, would appear to have come from features, such as window surrounds, that do not appear to belong to the ruined church. They can be compared to the re-used dressed limestone fragments on the southside of the 18th century Kenedy table tomb located on the inside of the north doorway of the nave (see section 9). As stated above, it is more likely that these architectural fragments came from a fine Jacobean stone house that once stood in the vicinity of the present ruined church, and which was demolished in the 18th century.

11. Conclusion

The investigations on the ruined parish church at Stradbally would indicate that it was built as a two-celled building in the 13th century, to serve the spiritual needs of the newly established town of the Anglo-Norman magnate, Thomas FitzAnthony. It was the property of the Augustinian Priory of Kells, Co. Kilkenny, which he founded. Accordingly , it was probably the latter which had the church built, under the patronage of FitzAnthony, or his heirs.

Subsequent to its construction, a residential tower was added to the north side of the church, which was reminiscent of the one built at the mother house at Inistioge. The latter owned the church for over 300 years until it was confiscated by the Crown in 1540, after which it came into the possession of the State bishops of Lismore and Waterford. At sometime during the following century the chancel was rebuilt, as it would appear, after the partial collapse of the north tower.

By the early 18th century the church was ruined. The old graveyard to south continued to be used for burial by the local Roman Catholic community, and this was extended into the interior of the building. By the beginning of the 19th century, the Church of Ireland built a new church to the N-W of the old one. The Protestant graveyard developed to the west and north of the latter.

Neglect, together with the ravages of growth and the weather, over the past three centuries, have taken their toll on the fabric of the medieval parish church. Parts of it are in an unstable and dangerous condition, requiring urgent attention. Yet, this is an important building on architectural and historical grounds, testifying to almost eight centuries of Stradbally's past. Accordingly, it together with its associated architectural remains and monuments, are worthy of preservation, and now require a programme of conservation works. Fortunately, due to the efforts of the Stradbally Union of Parishes, a start has been made during this Millennium year, funded by Waterford County Council and The Heritage Council.

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Plate S – Collapsed clay-bonded section of north wall of chancel from east.

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Plate T – North window of chancel from inside.

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Peter Lombard[1] (1554-1625) Prelate, Politician, Pragmatist

By David Smith

> *"The great theologian who has not expressed himself in print makes a comparatively poor appeal to posterity"*[2]

DOES the above quotation explain why, today, Lombard is so little known? If you mention Peter Lombard to any typical Waterfordian you will find, probably, that a few will mutter something about Lombard street – although that street was not laid down until 1726 – but that will be the extent of most people's knowledge of this man whose fame was once European; a man who was an advisor to five Popes; who was the great O'Neill's agent in Rome and who was regarded as one of the great philosopher theologians of an age that produced Saint Robert Bellarmine[3] and Francisco Suarez.[4]

There is an African saying that no-one is dead until he is forgotten and the ancient Egyptians believed that, by speaking of the dead they could bring them back to life. My purpose, in this article, is to bring Peter Lombard back to life and to make restoration for the years of obscurity into which he has fallen.

Lombard's family was descended from those merchant princes who contributed so much to the wealth and prosperity of Italy in the middle ages[5] and a group of those merchants came to Waterford in the fourteenth century from the plains of

1 Pronounced Lumbard in Waterford.

2 Power, Rev. P. (1920), *Waterford saints & scholars* (Waterford: The Waterford News, Ltd.). Although Lombard wrote voluminously, only two works were published (apart from some official documents) – "*Casus Circa Decretum Clementis Papae VIII*", (Antwerp, 1624) and "*De Regno Hiberniae Sanctorum Insula, Commentarius*", (Louvain, 1632).

3 Bellarmino, Roberto (1542-1621), Italian cardinal and theologian, an opponent of the Protestant doctrines of the Reformation. Ordained at Louvain in 1570. He became embroiled in the great debate regarding the Augustinian doctrines of grace and free will. He took a prominent part in the first examination of Galileo's writings. Bellarmine was sympathetic to Galileo's views and defended his right to publish them. He was canonised in 1930 and declared a Doctor of the Church in 1931.

4 Suarez, Francisco (1548-1617), Spanish Jesuit theologian and philosopher. He refuted the theory of the divine right of kings (then being expounded by James I of England) and he wrote that political authority derives from the consent of the people. He is regarded as a major modern theologian and as one of the founders of international law.

5 These merchants became so famous for business acumen that the term 'Lombard' is still used to denote a banker or moneylender.

Lombardy in Italy. Needless to say, members of the group were not all named Lombard but, in that typical Waterford way, they became known collectively, because of their origins, as 'The Lombards'. Over the passage of time these people adopted the name 'Lombard', originally given them as a mark of nationality. Their descendants were influential for over three hundred and fifty years in the administrative and business affairs of the city and the list of the city mayors in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is liberally sprinkled with the Lombard name. Indeed, one of the city's first mayors, was one William Lumbard (Lombard).

The name of Waterford was made glorious throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the number of great ecclesiastics it produced – five Waddings, including the famous Luke[6] (1588-1657); his brother Ambrose and his cousins Michael Wadding, Peter Wadding and Luke Wadding (the Jesuit); Thomas Walsh[7] (1580-1654) Archbishop of Cashel; Patrick Comerford,[8] Bishop of Waterford; Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland and the

6 Luke Wadding, Franciscan scholar. Born in Waterford 1588. Ordained in Portugal in 1613. Founded the Franciscan college of St. Isidore in Rome in 1625. He was the author of the *Annales Minorum* (1625-54). Instigator and director of the 1641 rebellion, he was the chief advocate in Rome of the Catholic Confederation and it was he who petitioned the Pope (1645) to send Nuncio Rinuccini to Ireland. He was also responsible for the sending of money, ships and arms to the Confederates. The Supreme Council of the Confederation sent letters to Urban VIII on 14th June, 1644, and to Innocent X on 23rd November of the same year, to raise Wadding to the cardinalate but he himself succeeded in suppressing the documents at Rome. It was only after his death that they were discovered among his papers. It is stated of Wadding, by contemporary writers, that he received votes to be pope.

7 Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel. Born in Waterford 1580. At eighteen years he left Waterford to study in Lisbon. He then went to Salamanca where he studied Philosophy and Theology and where he was ordained. Despite the activity of priest hunters Walsh spent some time on the Waterford mission. In 1624 Pope Urban VIII nominated him Archbishop of Cashel. He threw in his lot with the Confederancy and was a staunch supporter of the Nuncio. He was in Limerick when it was taken but he escaped and was not captured until 1652. He was taken then to Clonmel prison and eventually to Waterford. He was then old, worn out with care and bed-ridden. In 1654 he was allowed leave the country and he made his way to Compostella in Spain where he died shortly after his arrival.

8 Patrick Comerford, Bishop of Waterford. Born in Waterford 1586. Studied at Lisbon and Bordeaux. Entered the Augustinian Hermits at Lisbon and, after a short time in the Azores, he was ordained in Lisbon. Urban VIII elevated him to the title of Bishop of Waterford, the first such in fifty years. He was Bishop when Cromwell invested the city and when the city surrendered to Ireton the Bishop somehow escaped to France where he died in 1652. He was buried in Nantes Cathedral and, when his grave was opened ten years later to receive the body of Bishop Barry of Cork, his body was found to be intact and uncorrupt.

great scriptural commentator and scholar, Paul Sherlock.[9] All were scholars and writers and almost all were related to each other by birth or by marriage. Luke Wadding and Peter Lombard were first cousins – Wadding's mother, Anastasia Lombard being an aunt of Lombard.

Peter Lombard's life can be divided into three distinct phases; His early life in Waterford city where, in 1554, he was born; his life in the University, both as a student and as a professor and, lastly, as a prelate/politician deeply involved in the great controversies of the Church and as the accredited ambassador, to the Papal Court, of the great O'Neill. Elizabeth I had succeeded to the English throne in 1558 and, though the penal laws against Catholics had yet to reach a peak, it was not a propitious time to profess openly the Catholic faith. Notwithstanding the perilous times, the Lombard's, like their cousins, were deeply religious and an idea of the Catholic ethos of the home can be judged from a description of the practice in Luke Wadding's home where, every day, the whole household, including the servants, recited the Rosary and the Little Office of the Mother of God. Twice a week they added the Seven Penitential Psalms together with the Litany of the Saints and its appended prayers. Their daily lives were lived in strict conformity with the Gospel.

At that time Waterford was reputed to be one of the most Catholic cities in Ireland and this was due, in no small part, to the influence of the White family, originally from Clonmel and cousins of both Wadding and Lombard. Two of the family, James and John White were Vicars Apostolic of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore. In 1577 the Lord President of Munster, Sir William Drewry (Drury) wrote to Elizabeth's Secretary of State, Sir Francis Walsingham that

> John White is worshipped like a God between Kilkenny, and Waterford, and Clonmel. He suborneth all the dwellers of those parts to detest the religion established by her Majesty. He is a chief preacher to the contrary, an arrogant enemy to the Gospel, and one that denieth all duties to her Majesty.[10]

Drewry then described the condition of the city and wrote that the main supporters of the Catholic cause were Waterford students, educated at Louvain

> by whom ... the proud and undutiful inhabiters of this town are so cankered in Popery, undutiful to her Majesty, slandering the gospel publicly as well this side the sea as beyond in England, that they fear not God nor man, and hath

9 Paul Sherlock, Scriptural scholar. Born Waterford or Wexford 1595. He lived in a house at the south-east corner of Arundel Square. He entered the Society of Jesus in Spain and trained priests for the Irish mission. He was appointed President of the Irish Seminary at Compostella and, later, of the University of Salamanca. He died there in 1646.

10 State Papers, Pub. Rec. Off. Ireland; cited in Moran, Patrick Francis (ed) (1868), *De regno Hiberniae, sanctorum insula, commentarius, auctore Petro Lombardo* (Dublin: James Duffy) [cited hereafter as *Commentarius*].

> their altars, painted images, and candlesticks, in derision of the Gospel, every day in their synagogues, so detestable that they may be called the unruly newters, rather than subjects. Masses infinite they have in their several churches every morning without any fear. I have spied them, for I chanced to arrive last Sunday at five of the clock in the morning, and saw them resort out of the churches by heaps. This is shameful in a reformed city.[11]

Another brother was the celebrated teacher and humanist Peter White, the teacher of Peter Lombard and all the other famous Waterford men previously mentioned. It is interesting to read the comments of the historian, Anthony á Wood on Peter White.

> Peter White, noted for his excellency in humane learning, while he continued in the University [Oxford] was born in the Diocese of Waterford in Ireland, elected Fellow of Oriel College An. 1551, and in the year 1555 was admitted Master of Arts. About the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign (1558) he returned to his native country and became the happy schoolmaster of Munster, and Dean of Waterford (1566) for a time. From which last place being ejected for his religion about 1565 [sic, recte, 1570] he continued notwithstanding in his beloved Faculty of Pedagogy, which was then accounted a most excellent Employment in Ireland by the Catholics; especially for this reason, that the sons of Noblemen and Gentlemen might be trained up in their religion, and so consequently keep out Protestancy. His school was, during this time, in a flourishing condition, and by his care and industry many learned persons issued thence.[12]

Peter White was appointed Dean of the Diocese on the 5th June 1566 on the recommendation of Bishop Patrick Walsh who wrote that Peter White was

> a man very well learned, past degrees in schools, and of virtuous sober conversation [living][13]

The Bishop continued, that by his industry

> a great part of the youth both of this country [Waterford] and of Dublin have greatly profited in learning and virtuous education.[14]

White was deposed four years later because of his zeal in opposing the Protestant religion. It was then that White, the most distinguished Irish pedagogue of all time

11 Ibid.
12 Ronan, Very Rev. Myles. V. (1950), 'Waterford in reformation times,' in *Waterford News*, 29th December, p. 2, col. 3.
13 Ibid, col. 2.
14 Ibid, col. 2.

founded his celebrated classical school, perhaps the most famous school in Ireland, to where the gentlemen and noblemen of Munster and Leinster sent their sons to be educated in the classics, prose and verse, and in the tenets of the Catholic religion. Many years later, Luke Wadding described the schoolmaster.

> Tall of stature, with black hair and complexion slightly sallow, the lucky schoolmaster, with his handsome acquiline nose, inspires me even now with affectionate confidence. I feel myself back again in the old schoolroom where, in company with Richard Stanihurst, Peter Lombard, and Patrick Comerford, I listen to the charming utterances of the Munster scholar. I can now see him as of old, with pointer in hand and map spread before him, cleaving the waters of the Piraeus – holding with a master-hand, to our young feasting eyes, the ruined but unrivalled beauties of the city with the violet crown.[15]

This, then, was the school to which Lombard was sent for his preparatory studies under the watchful eyes of Dr. White and from where he would graduate to the great University of Louvain in Flanders, where so many of his Waterford predecessors had distinguished themselves. There is some disagreement as to whether Lombard attended Westminster school in London before he journeyed to Louvain. Stuart, in his "Historical memoirs of the City of Armagh" states that Lombard studied at Westminster under the celebrated Camden[16] and that he was there indoctrinated thoroughly in the tenets of Protestantism. The main evidence adduced for this belief is a passage from one of Camden's letters

> I brought there [at Westminster School] to church divers gentlemen of Ireland, as Walshes, Nugents, O'Raily [sic], Shees, the eldest son of the Archbishop of Cashel, Peter Lombard, a merchant's son of Waterford, a youth of admirable docility, and others bred popishley and so affected. – Letter to Usher, 10th July, 1618.

Moran[17] comments that the subject of Camden's letter cannot be our future Archbishop of Armagh because Camden was invited to Westminster only in 1575

15 Power, *Saints and Scholars*, p. 7.

16 Camden, William (1551-1623), Antiquary and Historian. He received his B.A. in Oxford in 1570 but he was excluded from the Fellowship of All Saints College by the votes of the Catholic Fellows. He was Usher of Westminster School 1575-93 and Headmaster in 1593. He first published *Britannica* in 1586.

17 Moran, Patrick Francis (1830-1911), Cardinal. Born Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow. Ordained at twenty-two, by special permission, Vice-rector of the Irish College in Rome 1856-66. In 1885 became the first Australian cardinal. He was an advocate of Home Rule for Ireland and Australian Federation. He edited, in 1868, the *Commentarius* of Peter Lombard. He also wrote the *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin* (1864) and *Spicilegium Ossoriense* (1873-74).

and we know that Lombard was at that time completing his philosophical course and beginning his theological studies at Louvain where he had commenced in 1572. There was indeed another Peter Lombard from Waterford, perhaps a cousin of the subject of this article and maybe it was he to whom Camden referred.

At all events Lombard left Waterford and Ireland in 1572 – he was fated never again to see either – and he entered Louvain to study philosophy and theology. The original university, the oldest in Belgium, was founded by a bull issued by Pope Martin V in 1425. During the 16th century faculty members included Justus Lipsius[18] (1547-1606), the Flemish humanist, classical scholar, and moral and political theorist and Gerardus Mercator[19] (1512-94) the Flemish geographer, cartographer and mathematician. At that time Louvain was the chief centre of anti-Reformation thought. The University comprised twenty-nine colleges and it was considered to be one of the finest in the world. Its international reputation attracted students from all over the world and, for over a century, it had an intimate connection with Waterford. It had sent a stream of priests into the city and diocese and, in return, Waterford sent to Louvain, and Belgium, some of its greatest professors like Lombard and Hearn.[20] Another connection with Waterford was that Dr. White was a disciple and admirer of the Dutch scholar and humanist Desiderius Erasmus[21] (1469-1536) and all White's pupils, including Lombard, were well trained in humanist philosophy. In 1517 Erasmus had become involved with the founding of Louvain's Trilingual College, 'the school of the new learning in Europe,' where chairs of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew were endowed.

Lombard entered Le Faucon College of Louvain in 1572 and at the completion of his philosophy course, in 1575, he graduated "*primus inter pares*" (first among his peers). It is interesting to note that, on the 23rd of June in that same year, he composed the customary Latin ode on the occasion of the graduation, as Doctor of

18 Lipsius, Justus (1547-1606). Flemish humanist, classical scholar, and moral and political theorist. Lipsius accepted the chair of history and Latin at Louvain (1592).

19 Mercator, Gerardus (1512-94). Flemish geographer, cartographer and mathematician whose most important innovation was a map, embodying what was later known as the Mercator projection, on which parallels and meridians are rendered as straight lines. He also introduced the term 'atlas' for a collection of maps. Graduated from Louvain with a master's degree in philosophy 1532.

20 Hearn, Rev. Francis (1747-1801). Born Lismore, Co. Waterford. Rector of Louvain. Distinguished linguist. He is regarded by the Flemings as the saviour of the Flemish language. There is a public monument to him in the centre of Brussels. He returned to Ireland in 1797 and was appointed by Bishop Hussey as parish priest of the city parish of St. Patrick. He died 22nd October 1801.

21 Erasmus, Desiderius (1469-1536). Born Rotterdam. Ordained 1492. He was the greatest European scholar of the sixteenth century. He introduced to education the new humanist emphasis on the classics. A member of the theology faculty at Louvain, he was closely associated with the Trilingual College (1517). He could be termed the founder of the liberal tradition of European culture.

Divinity, of Nicholas Comerford,[22] his great friend and fellow Waterfordman. Comerford had been a priest in the Waterford diocese but he was expelled for non-conformity and it was then that he began his study at Louvain (He had previously studied at Oxford). Lombard's ode was published under the title of "*Carmen Heroicum in Doctoratum* Nicolai Comerford." That poem and only one other work "*Carmina in Laudem Comitis Ormoniae*" are all that we have of Lombard's writings at this early stage in his career.

In about 1578, Lombard, after gaining his Doctorate in Divinity and being ordained, would have hoped for a speedy return to the Waterford mission but his brilliance as a student ensured that the authorities in Louvain would not want to lose him and he was retained, first as Professor of Philosophy and then as Professor of Theology. He was only twenty five years old. He was appointed Provost of the Cathedral of Cambrai in 1594 and his future life seemed to be mapped out for him as a professor and cathedral administrator but new honours and challenges were lying in wait for him. In the 1570's the University had come under suspicion of doctrinal errors related to Michael Baius (1513-89), a professor in Lombard's theology faculty in Louvain. Baius, was accused of heretical teaching regarding the nature of grace, predestination and free will. These teachings were later resurrected by the Flemish theologian and Bishop of Ypres, Cornelis Jansen, and formed the basis of Jansenism. Briefly, this heresy relied on a rigid interpretation of one aspect of St. Augustine's philosophy of predestination. Baius, and Jansen, taught that man is incapable of being saved without the unsolicited grace of God and, therefore, is destined to be either saved or damned and only a chosen few would be saved. This was so close to the teaching of John Calvin (the Jansenists were accused of being Calvinists in disguise) that Pope Gregory XIII issued a Bull in 1579 condemning the errors of Baius. Baius retracted his errors before he died in 1588 but the 'genie' had been let out of the bottle. The influence of Baius persisted in the University for a full ten years (although the Papal Bull was accepted by the professors and students of the University) until a doctrinal declaration was drawn up by the professors at Louvain, and of the equally famous Catholic University of Douai, declaring their full adherence to the orthodox doctrines of the Catholic Church. Peter Lombard was chosen to carry the declaration to the Holy See and he was also chosen as the University spokesman in the new controversy that had arisen, between the Jesuit and the Dominicans. The controversy concerned the nature of Supernatural Grace but it was also rooted in a power struggle between the two great Orders.

The Jesuits lined up behind the Spanish Jesuit Luis de Molina[23] (1535-1600) and the

22 Comerford (Quemerford), Nicholas (1544?-99), Born Waterford. Took his BA at Oxford 1563 and his D.D. at Louvain 1575. Joined the Society of Jesus 1578. Published controversial tracts.

23 De Molina, Luis (1535-1600), Spanish Jesuit. Ordained Coimbra, Portugal, 1553. He devised the theological system known as 'Molinism' which endeavoured to confirm that man's will remains free under the action of divine grace. 'Molinism' formed the basis of the 'grace' debate between the Dominicans and the Jesuits.

Dominicans behind their great Doctor of the Church, Thomas Aquinas[24] (1225-1274). The 'Grace' controversy arose from the deliberations of the Council of Trent,[25] called to address the many questions posed by the Protestants. After the Council, two schools of thought emerged in the Catholic Church concerning Divine Grace. Both parties agreed that grace was necessary but the Dominicans maintained that it was the nature of grace that was important (echoes of Michael Baius) and the Jesuits maintained that what was important was not the nature of grace but the use that man made of that grace. In this secular age it must seem extraordinary that such a debate could ever take place and could take up so much time – the debate lasted ten years and was never satisfactorily resolved. Argument had raged for a long time, with contributions from the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions before, eventually, the matter was brought, formally, before Pope Clement VIII in 1597 (The Pope set up a commission in 1601 to debate the matter and it was to this commission that Lombard was sent by Louvain). In 1598 a special Congregation of cardinals, bishops and theologians was set up to examine the matter and it was this Congregation that eventually led to the famous Congregation de Auxiliis of which Lombard was President.

In 1601 the Pope consecrated Lombard as Archbishop of Armagh. His appointment was registered on the 9th of July, 1601 as follows:

> *In Quirinale, die lunae 9° Julii, 1601. Referente Cardinale Mattheio Sua Sanctitas providit Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Armachanae, quae est Primatialis et prima Metropolis Regni Hiberniae, vacanti per obitum Edmundi, de persona Petri Lombardi cum retentione Praepoiturae una cum canonicatu quam obtinet in Ecclesia Cameracensi et alterius canonicatus quem obtinet in Collegiata Ecclesia Siclinensi Tornacensis Diocesis.*[26]

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24 Aquinas, Thomas (1225-74). His father was of Lombard origin; his mother was of the later invading Norman strain (Interestingly, the same ancestry as Peter Lombard). In 1256 Aquinas was awarded a doctorate in theology and appointed professor of philosophy at the University of Paris. After Aquinas, philosophers had to either follow his teaching or strike out in a completely new direction. Regarded as the foremost theologian and philosopher in the Catholic Church. Author of the *Summa Theologica*.

25 Council of Trent (1545-63), 19th ecumenical council of the Roman Catholic Church which, in response to the Protestant Reformation, initiated a general reform of the Church and defined, precisely, its essential dogmas. The decrees of the council were confirmed by Pope Pius IV, and they set the standard of faith and practice for the Church until the mid-twentieth century.

26 *Commentarius*, pps. xiv, xv, "At the Quirinal, on Monday the 9th of July, 1601, Cardinal Mattei being Relator, his Holiness provided for the Metropolitan Church of Armagh, which is the primatial and first see of the kingdom of Ireland, vacant by the death of Edmund, in the person of Peter Lombard, with permission to retain the provostship and benefice which he holds in the church of Cambrai, and another benefice in the collegiate church of Siclin, in the diocese of Tournai." (*Ex Actis Consist. Rom.*)

In 1602 the Pope decreed that the Congregation should hold its public debates in his presence and at the same time he appointed Lombard as a member of the Congregation. Furthermore, Lombard was deputed to act, in the Pope's absence, as President of the Private Conferences and he held this position until the Congregation was dissolved in 1607. Clement VIII died and was succeeded by Leo XI but the latter also died, shortly after his election, and it was to Pope Paul V that Lombard, as President of the Congregation, addressed a letter asking the Pontiff to decide on the controversy.

> ... your elevation, Most Holy Father, gives us hope that the past labours will be crowned with success, and that you, as Pontiff, will happily decide the controversy, in which hitherto, as Cardinal, you have had such an important part ... And, as some time ago...you wished me to draw up a paper presenting in detail the many reasons which require the prompt decision of this controversy, I now have perfected the work, which then, through sickness, I was unable to undertake; and I am happy to be able to address to you, as Sovereign Pontiff, the document which you yourself, as Cardinal, desired me to compose.[27]

The Pope, after several sessions, ordered the members of the Congregation to meet in the Archbishop's house and there draw up their various resolutions for submission to him. When this was done the Pope appointed Lombard to prepare a draft of the Papal Bull. The Pope approved of Lombard's draft but the majority of the members dissented. The Secretary of the Congregation then prepared a second draft, but Lombard, as President, refused to sign. The matter was left to the Pope and the Congregation was closed without reaching a decision.

Meanwhile, in Ireland, Hugh O'Neill's nine year war, waged in defence of his hereditary rights, was at a critical point. O'Neill asked Lombard to act as the representative of the Confederate princes to the Vatican and Lombard's career as a politician was started. In 1595, O'Neill found himself as the last great hope of Gaelic Ireland. With the increasing anglicisation of the towns in Munster, Leinster and Connaught and the spread of English law and customs, O'Neill realised that Gaelic Ulster, his fiefdom, was seriously threatened. He allied himself with the other Ulster chiefs and prepared for war, a war that ended in 1603 with O'Neill's submission to Elizabeth's deputy, Mountjoy (Elizabeth had died six days earlier). It was Lombard's great reputation that caused O'Neill to petition Lombard to act as his agent. Certainly their ancestries were totally different. O'Neill, despite his upbringing at the royal court, was the foremost Gaelic chieftain in Ireland while Lombard was representative of the Old English. This term came into use in the early seventeenth century to distinguish the descendants of the medieval settlers (overwhelmingly Catholic in religion though giving obedience to the king in politics), from more recent arrivals

27 Ibid, p. xviii.

who were exclusively Protestant. In the areas under Irish control, i.e. outside the Pale and the major towns, the people were, for the most part, native Irish.[28] There was little or no sympathy between the Gaelic Irish and the Old English – the only commonality was religion. The latter defined themselves and their religion within the context of the political constitution, while the Gaelic Irish defined themselves as a race.[29] Despite the apparent difference in politics, Lombard served O'Neill's interests until such time as the latter's failure caused Lombard to return to his own side.[30] All this, however, was in the future. In 1600 Peter Lombard wrote his famous "*Commentarius.*" It was written for the purpose of enlisting the sympathy and aid of the Pope and the Catholic European powers for the confederate princes.

At that time Lombard had not even met O'Neill. He first met the old chieftain in 1608 when O'Neill reached Rome on his final journey – he himself had left Ireland in 1572. It is easy to see, therefore, from where Lombard received his sources for the *Commentarius*. This work, a treatise on the kingdom of Ireland, was written in the interests of O'Neill. The last three chapters concentrated on the previous efforts of the Irish people to obtain their liberty, on the successes of O'Neill and the princes and on how to build on those successes to secure, finally, the goal of a Catholic Ireland free from Protestant government. In the work Lombard gives his estimate of O'Neill's character and – of great importance to the Pope – of his attitude towards the Catholic faith.

> If one looks to his education ... it was of such kind that he is most thoroughly versed in the politics and affairs not only of Ireland but also of England, in all matters relating to peace and war. If one considers his age, it was ripe for command, for though he had past his fiftieth year, yet he was as fresh and active as if he had not as yet attained forty. If one observes his qualities of mind and body, he is brave, spirited, ready, temperate, wary, patient, prudent, generous, affable, and has his feelings under control that if it were necessary for the matter in hand to appear serious or joyful, pleased or angry, he can most readily and in the most natural manner exhibit these emotions. Indeed he quite captivates the feelings of men by the mobility of his looks and countenance, and wins the affections of his soldiers or strikes terror into them. Above all ... he is eminently pious and devout towards God, and therefore respects and cherishes ecclesiastics and such like persons. Finally if his good fortune in this present war be considered, one must greatly wonder at his success against the most powerful and insolent heretics of all Europe...[31]

28 Becket, J.C. (1981), London, *The making of modern Ireland, 1603-1923*, Faber and Faber, pp. 14, 15.

29 Ibid, p. 38.

30 Fitzpatrick, Brendan (1988), Dublin, "Seventeenth century Ireland: the war of religions", Gill and Macmillan, p. 70

31 Byrne, Matthew J., trans. (1930), Cork, "The Irish war of defence, 1598-1600", extracts from the *De Hibernia Insula Commentarius* of Peter Lombard, pp. 27-9.

And, again,

> Amongst his subjects, besides the example of their Chief which, especially because of their great affection for him, they were quick to follow, his great prudence and diligence succeeded in putting down the crimes of stealing, pillaging, robbery drunkenness, concubinage, so that, in the whole of Ulster, law was much better administered and enforced than ever before in the memory of man. Before commencement of this war each one being so secure in his property was proportionately all the more diligent and industrious in cultivating the fields, and turning to profit the pastures, meadows and other advantages of the land. And so respected were priests and all ecclesiastics and religious that this Chief would never address a priest otherwise than with uncovered head until by him requested to be covered.[32]

In 1601, Lombard had been raised to the vacant Archdiocese of Armagh, reputedly at the behest of O'Neill. This was no sinecure. Indeed, the three previous archbishops had died as martyrs. Donatus MacTeigue had died after imprisonment and exile; Dr. Richard Creagh died in the Tower of London and Dr. Edmund McGauran had been killed on the battlefield. Lombard threw himself wholeheartedly into his new task: money and arms were sent to O'Neill through the Spanish nuncio and it was to Spain, the foremost Catholic country in Europe, that O'Neill and Lombard looked, as well as to the Pope. The latter sent letters to the Irish people, urging them to join O'Neill's army and granted them the same privileges and indulgences as were granted the Crusaders to the Holy Land. Despite all of these entreaties no 'Spanish ale' landed on Ireland's shore and eventually the war ended with the submission, on his knees, of O'Neill.

The latter's playing of the 'religious card' has called his commitment to the Catholic cause into question. In the treaty negotiations the confederate's most dramatic demand was for liberty of conscience. However, none of the complaints, which they had made hitherto, related to religious persecution. The reason why they now chose to make this demand must therefore have been primarily political rather than devotional ... the clarion call of religion was intended to strengthen the confederates' request for Spanish assistance and to widen their appeal at home.[33] Thus ended Lombard's flirtation with O'Neill and the Gaelic chiefs. In 1614 when writing about the Acts for recognition of the king's title and for the attainder of O'Neill and Tyrconnell, he described the princes as

> certain notorious persons, who had fled from the region a few years before. Catholics indeed by profession, they were adjudged and sentenced by these their compatriots as guilty of various excesses and crimes against the king and

32 Ibid, p. 37.

33 Morgan, Hiram (1983), Dublin, "Tyrone's rebellion", Gill and Macmillan, p. 198.

> the state. When these (crimes) had become known to the Catholics assembled in parliament, they voted to declare them enemies of the king and of the fatherland, and to confiscate to the crown all the lands that they had once possessed.[34]

The break with O'Neill and Tyrconnell was, indeed, complete. Lombard realised that with any hope of a Spanish invasion scattered, literally, to the four winds, he must now make some accommodation with the king, James I.

In the *Commentarius* Lombard had written that James had forfeited his right to rule Ireland because his right was based on papal grant[35] and as he, James, was fighting a religious war against O'Neill and the confederate princes he was, in effect, fighting against the Pope. The *Commentarius* represented the war as one fought in defence of Christianity against a heretical king. Lombard had high hopes that James, as son of the saintly Mary, would renounce heresy and become reconciled to the Catholic Church. In Lombard's book *Episcopion Doron* (c.1604), which he dedicated to the king, there is a preface in which the Archbishop, in surprisingly effusive language, congratulates the king on his accession to the throne (1603).

Silke writes[36] that "the gist of the primate's surprising prefatory letter is as follows. James, Lombard begins, has succeeded to the three thrones [Scotland, England and Ireland] by right of succession to his mother [Mary]...James is evidently called on by God to seal the union of his kingdoms ... temporal firstly, and then spiritual. Lombard hastens to congratulate James on making peace with [Catholic] Spain ... But now the second half of the programme must be completed, the establishment of the peace that binds to God and abolishes sects, peace, that is, in the unity of the Catholic faith." After trying to convince James of the truths of the Catholic religion, Lombard mentioned reports of the king's intended toleration to Irish Catholics and he pleaded that the Irish people be granted this toleration. He argued that, "The Irish ... are united in religion, however distinguished otherwise in customs and conduct."[37] He further states that they will be loyal subjects once taught to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the thing's that are God's.

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34 Rev. J.J. Silke (April 1955). 'Primate Lombard and James I', in *The Irish Theological Quarterly*, Vol. XXII (No. 2), p. 144

35 In his Bull, *Laudabiliter* the English Pope Adrian IV had given the English king Henry II jurisdiction over Ireland, **as a Papal fief**. The Pope's authority rested on a document called the Donation of Constantine. This stated that the Roman Emperor Constantine conferred sovereignty over Italy and the Western Empire on Pope Sylvester (314-35) and his successors. This document is now widely regarded as an eight-century forgery.

36 Silke, *Lombard and James I*, pp. 126, 127.

37 Ibid, p. 127.

James, however, had no intention of becoming a Catholic. In August 1604, on James' behalf there was issued a "Decree of the President and Council of Munster" an extract of which reads,

> As all the evils that afflicted the Province of Munster during the recent war are due to the influence of Jesuits and priests leading the people into sedition; and as their presence is a hindrance to the spread of the Gospel, it has been decided to decree capital punishment against such priests. Wherefore all Jesuits, priests and all seminarists are ordered to leave the Kingdom before the end of September of the following year – All those known to aid and abet them shall be imprisoned and fined – Informers to be rewarded.[38]

On 4th July, 1605 he issued his "Proclamation against toleration in Ireland."

> [James I] is informed that his subjects in the Realm of Ireland have since the decease of Queen Elizabeth, been much abused by an untrue suggestion and report to the effect that he purposes to give liberty of conscience or toleration of religion to his subjects in that Kingdom ... This false rumour is ... a secret imputation upon him ... [and] divers of his subjects ... are heartened and encouraged to continue in their superstition and recusancy; and such Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests and bishops ordained by foreign authority as did secretly before lurk in some sundry parts of that Realm, do now more boldly and presumptuously show and declare themselves in the use and exercise of their functions, and in contempt of the King, his laws and religion. He has therefore thought meet to declare his high displeasure with the report ... and his resolve ... that they shall ever have from him any toleration to exercise any other religion than that which is agreeable to God's word, and is established by the laws of the Realm.[39]

There followed a decree that all must henceforth attend divine service at the Protestant churches on Sundays and Holy days and the usual decree banishing priests and imposing fines and imprisonment for harbouring them.

It was becoming clearer then ever to Lombard that James must be convinced of the loyalty of the Irish Catholics and that the latter must show their loyalty. After the Flight of the Earls, James had planted the north of Ireland and he set in train a plan to call a parliament. To ensure a Protestant majority in this parliament, the government created forty new boroughs and, in May 1613, the parliament was called by Lord Deputy Chichester. The specific purposes of the parliament were threefold: to establish English laws and customs and to enforce conformity to the

38 Maxwell, Constantia (1923), *Irish history from contemporary sources (1509-1610)*, London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., p. 143.

39 Maxwell, *Contemporary sources*, pp. 143-44.

Protestant religion on the Irish. The Old English withdrew in protest from both houses over the third clause – they had no problem with the first two – and they sent a deputation of three of their number to the king in London. There was an inherent insecurity among the Protestant rulers of Europe – the deposing power of the Pope. When the deputation arrived, the king demanded an answer to the question of the Pope's deposing power. Sir Patrick Barnewell denied that the Pope had any such power but Thomas Luttrell and William Talbot would not assent and they were sent to the Tower. (After seven weeks Luttrell submitted but Talbot held out for over a year and was fined £10,000). Then the king delivered a famous speech to members of parliament, the recusant lords and members of the public. During the speech, the king castigated the Irish as only half-subjects –

> Look at your so-called Archbishop and Doctor Peter Lombard in Rome. And look at your Jesuit Holywood (Olibud) in Ireland. These two are not content with composing treatises to confirm you in your strong-headed obstinacy; no, they must be making you send your sons to the colleges and seminaries abroad, those seminaries that are scattered over Spain, Italy, France and the Netherlands, and other kingdoms as well. Every year those seminaries send many men back to these kingdoms of mine to act the traitor's part; to entice you to your usual rebellions; to persuade you, nay, oblige you with papal bulls, which this Lombard sends over every time he takes the notion of putting into execution his evil designs and yours. Surely I have good reason for saying that you are only half-subjects ("*vassali*") of mine. For you give your soul to the pope, and to me only the body; and even it your bodily strength, you divide between me and the king of Spain...[40]

Of course, James was correct in one thing, Lombard was indeed training up priests in foreign seminaries; but then he was not allowed to do so in Ireland. Chichester was succeeded by Oliver St. John and he was even more repressive than Chichester had been. The harshest penalties were promulgated against priests and those that aided them. Floggings became the norm and rule by terror reigned across the land. Nine hundred Catholics in Dublin were imprisoned for refusing to take the oath of supremacy acknowledging James as head of the Church. In Waterford city, two hundred citizens had the penalty of the law executed on them for absenting themselves from attendance at Protestant services. Spies and informers were everywhere. It was against this background that Lombard faced into the affairs of the Irish Church.

There were many problems facing him. To resolve them meant that politics had to be put aside while he re-organised the Irish Church. Foster writes that, 'Though the Dublin government would never have believed it, the organization of the Catholic Church in early-seventeenth Ireland was varied, haphazard, informal and

40 Silke, *Lombard and James I*, p. 131.

uncoordinated.'[41] At that time the Irish Church differed greatly from the international Church – it was Celtic rather than Roman. There was a great laxity in popular practise. Local pilgrimages to holy wells and belief in the efficacy of sacred trees and stones proliferated and confession and frequent reception of the sacrament were uncommon. It was then that Lombard, who was unable to visit his primatial see, appointed the celebrated David Rothe[42] as his Vicar General. He authorised Rothe to call a provincial synod of the northern dioceses at which a re-organisation of the Irish Church took place. Significantly the clergy were exhorted to abstain from political matters and to attend to their spiritual ministry. This was in line with Lombard's new thinking on relations with the king. Decrees were also issued dealing with the administration of the sacraments, vestments, when and where Mass was to be celebrated, the spiritual exercises and duties of priests, marriage and the condemnation of superstitions about holy trees and wells.

The Archbishop had jurisdiction over all the dioceses that were without a bishop as well as over Armagh. In this respect we find him granting sacerdotal facilities to priests in various dioceses and, in addition, he granted extraordinary privileges to the clergy on account of the difficulties and dangers that beset them in their ministry. Priests were not confined to one diocese, they were allowed to minister anywhere they were needed, to say Mass in un-consecrated places, to substitute prayers for the usual Office of the Church. A major problem in the Irish Church was the absence of bishops and in 1611 Lombard appointed eight new bishops to fill these vacancies. He appointed bishops to Waterford, Ossory, Limerick, Derry, Ferns, Kilmore, Ardfert and Meath. However due to the influence of England the consecration of the bishops was delayed for several years.

After Lombard had appointed Rothe as Bishop of Ossory and Vice-Primate of Ireland, in 1618, the latter convened, in Drogheda, by authority of Lombard, another synod of the clergy of Armagh where the rules and regulations were tightened for the whole Church in Ireland. In 1622 four sees had bishops appointed, viz., Cork, Limerick, Meath and Emly and in 1625, just a few weeks before Lombard's death, three other sees in the northern province had their bishops restored. A Munster synod was held in 1624, at Kilkenny, at which the newly consecrated Bishops of Cork, Limerick and Emly were present as well as the Vicars General of Cashel and Waterford. The result of this synod was to restore harmony between the regular and secular clergy.

In the meantime Lombard still faced the problem of how to reconcile the native Irish to the concept of James I as their temporal ruler. Lombard was of Old English

41 Foster, R. F. (1989), *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*, London, Penguin, p. 45.

42 Rothe, David. Born Kilkenny 1573. Educated in Douai and Salamanca where he graduated Doctor in Civil and Canon Law. Was secretary, in Rome, to Peter Lombard 1601-09. Appointed Vicar General of Armagh in 1609. Appointed Bishop of Ossory in 1618. Supported the Confederates in 1642 but quarrelled later with Nuncio Rinuccini. Died April 20th, 1650. Author of the famous *Analecta Sacra* (1615), Pub. 1617-19, a critique of English ecclesiastical policy under Elizabeth and James.

stock and he had no problem with James as a political leader, unlike the Gaelic Irish, although both took their religion from a foreign power – Rome. This dichotomy had its echoes in England. In that country there was also a Catholic group paying allegiance to the Pope and a "loyalist" party. The concept of true religion at that time was that only one version could be correct and, by inference, only one version could be tolerated by the state. Lombard was given an opportunity of resolving the problem of the duty of the Gaelic Irish towards the king.

A group of secular priests, known as the Appellants, was imprisoned for a long number of years in Wisbech Castle in Cambridgeshire. Twelve questions were put to the Appellants and Lombard, as consultor to the Holy See, was asked to answer them. His answer, known as *Ad Questiones XII* was written over one thousand and fifty pages of manuscript and dealt with the problem of how Catholics could reconcile their duties to God and the Protestant State. Lombard's reasoning was that James I was true king of Scotland, England and Ireland by descent from James IV of Scotland and Henry VII of England and although he was a heretic, he was a heretic in good faith, i.e., a heretic from birth. Therefore, Catholics could pay him homage and the Decretal[43] of Pope Gregory IX did not apply to him. This decree stated that Catholics were not obliged to obey a ruler who had deserted from an earlier profession of Catholicism and, Lombard argued, this did not apply to James. Elizabeth had been excommunicated – but she had rebelled against the Church – whereas James was a heretic from birth and from conviction and the excommunication of Elizabeth did not apply to James. Thus, Catholics could accept James as their legitimate king. Lombard's Vicar General David Rothe, who stood on good terms with the government, also weighed in with his comments in his *Analecta Sacra* on the adaptation of government to the needs of the governed.

> A very learned man [Josephus] gave this erudite advice to those who govern: 'Just as a pilot often shifts sails, not guiding his ship stil after one maner, and the physitian useth not one medication for every maladie, and tryeth severall ways for the health of his patient, so the governor of the common wealth ought to assume many shapes and formes. Hee ought to bee one kinde of man in peace, another in time of ware; after one sorte to oppose himselfe agenst a few adversaries and after another sorte against many.' This is my opinion of the government of subjects: and because the nation of the Irish redili with most perfect obedience which they have promised to their governing accordinglie performe accomplishing every part and the least jot of their duty yet by noe means will suffer themselves to be separated from that fayth and allegiance which universally by the direction and doctrine of the Church of Rome founded by Peter they professe let them hereafter bee permitted to goe

43 Decretals of Gregory IX, a code of canon law that was the fundamental source of ecclesiastical law in the Catholic Church. A major portion concerned the nature of heresy.

> forward, by the guide of their consciences. And because these people of ancient profession know not how to frame themselves to the institute of this new faith let the prince understand by his principality that if he shall use an equal temperament of discretion and prudence his lawes ought to be qualified according to the condition of the people over which he rules. Let subjects still shew themselves subjects in all lawful and necessary obedience, yealding unto Caesar what belongeth to Caesar so farr forthe as they take not away from God that which belongeth to God.[44]

It was all to no avail, however, as James was not for turning.

Lombard was involved in other issues on behalf of the Holy See. The most notorious was the decision reached on the Galileo[45] affair. In February 1616, the eleven consultors of the Holy See were called upon to deliver judgement on the Copernican system of astronomy. Lombard was president of the court and their judgement, reached after only six days, was that Galileo was heretical in saying that the sun was the centre of the universe.

Another controversy on which Lombard was asked to decide was that concerning the actions of certain Jesuit missionaries in China and Japan. Three consultors, including Lombard were appointed to examine these missionaries, who were accused of using pagan customs and rites in their zeal for converts. Their leader was Robert di Nobili who was a Jesuit of noble birth and who lived according to the existing Indian social order, i.e., the caste system. He learned Tamil and Sanskrit and lived the life of a sadhu (wandering ascetic). Lombard's decision was thirty pages long and the other two theologians each wrote a paragraph. One agreed with Lombard and one disagreed. More importantly the Pope, Gregory XV, sided with Lombard.

The Holy See recognised Lombard as its greatest expert on the modern age and on the accommodation that the Church needed to make with modern thought. This was seen when the question of the proposed Anglo-Spanish marriage arose. James had developed a plan to marry his second son, and heir, Charles to a Spanish Catholic princess, along with a concurrent plan to join with Spain in mediating the Thirty Years' War in Germany. It is surprising that Lombard assented so readily to the marriage but this is where his pragmatism came to the fore. He recognised that the marriage would be essentially a treaty between two states and he seized on the opportunity of using the marriage to gain some relief for the embattled Catholics of

44 Rothe, David, National Library of Ireland, MS 643, f. 20r. English, cited in Rothe, *Analecta*, ed. Moran, pp. 58-9.

45 Galileo, Italian astronomer, mathematician and physicist. Inventor of the telescope. He proved that the Earth revolves around the Sun and is not the centre of the universe, as had been believed. For this he was tried by the Church in Rome, ordered to recant, and forced to spend the last eight years of his life under house arrest. Galileo is regarded as the founder of modern mechanics and experimental physics.

Ireland and England. He thought that the marriage, far from diluting the princess' faith, might have a beneficial effect because it might make the king more lenient in the execution of the penal laws as it would make the Pope a partner to the marriage. All he required were some safeguards for the faith of the princess. A dispensation for the marriage was required and Lombard argued that concessions should be obtained before the marriage because it would be too late once the deal was done. A commission of cardinals, set up by the Pope, came to the same conclusion.

On various occasions Lombard had petitioned the Holy Father to let him return to Ireland but the exigencies of the Roman Curia and the need for his brilliant mind in Rome prevented that happy outcome. One of those petitions is still extant and in it Lombard asks that faculties and favours be granted to him like those that were granted to missionaries in Ireland. He mentions those faculties and favours in detail such as allowing himself (Lombard) to be nuncio to Ireland and to constitute the Primate, *pro tem*, as custodian of the seized monasteries thereby imposing on him the duty of preserving from oblivion their memories and traditions. Another part of the petition is of most interest to us here in Waterford and I quote it in full.

> Wherefore, Dr. Lombard prays the Holy Father to authorize him to allot the vacant sees to the bishops actually residing in Ireland, or about to be appointed by his Holiness. In particular, he requests that the administration of Waterford and Lismore might be granted to himself, that thus he might have a place of refuge in his native district, and be able to hold more securely the meetings and synods of the clergy; for the city of Armagh ... was almost totally destroyed in the late wars, and those that inhabit it are almost all English and Scotch heretics, who have an heretical pseudo-bishop, so that the Catholic primate cannot dwell there, and even the clergy, who are still in the diocese or province, cannot assemble there in synod, but are compelled to meet together elsewhere.[46]

So here we have the Archbishop, towards the close of his life, yearning to return once more, after a lifetime in exile, to the city by the Suir. That petition was unsuccessful however and two years later we find him petitioning again. There is mention of this petition in a brief memorial, dated 13th March, 1622, preserved in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. In this petition he prays that the Pope will expedite the matters for which he had petitioned,[47]

> These matters are of vital importance for the propagation of the faith in those insular regions; and if he does not secure their despatch before he leaves Rome, many Catholics will be scandalized, and it is to be feared that many, too, contrary to the desires of his Holiness, may waver in their faith and devotedness to the Holy See.

46 *Commentarius*, pps. lxv, lxvi.

47 Ibid, pps. lxviii.

This petition was favourably received and, on 13th June, 1623, the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda granted Lombard £50 towards the expenses of his journey home and also ordered that all Lombard's debts be paid out of the Congregation's funds. The Archbishop, however, was destined never to return to Ireland. After a stay of some months in Rome, Lombard fell ill towards the end of 1623. He retired to the town of Palombara, about thirty kilometres from Rome, in an effort to recover from a fever but he died there, at the monastery of San Pietro Palombara at the beginning of 1625, worn out in his great efforts for the suffering Church in Ireland.

How do we assess him? Lombard's main aim in everything he did was in agreement with the aim of the counter-reformation and that was, the regeneration and recovery of the Church after the wintry blasts of the Protestant Reformation. He was, first and foremost, a churchman and he used every opportunity to advance the interests of the Church and it's Catholic faithful. He was also an Irishman, even if he might not have passed Tone's and Davis' tests of nationality (although, when there was a realistic chance of ridding Ireland of the English he gave O'Neill his full support), and he strove to protect the vital interests of the Irish nation and its people, Gaelic and Old English alike. He was among the first to recognise that the old unanimity of Catholic Europe was broken and he used his great mind to make some accommodation with the new Protestant states – in effect treating heretics as equals, a totally new concept for the papacy. He was not averse to using warfare (O'Neill) when that course of action seemed profitable, but he was moderate and conciliatory (James) when O'Neill was defeated. He was one of the first to see the coming of the secular state and he had the capacity for genius that is granted to few men – the capacity to break free from the shackles of his upbringing and to make that imaginative leap forward in time – to an age that had yet to come.

He deserves better than to remain in obscurity amongst his fellow citizens.

The Grubbs – a Tipperary Quaker Family

By Michael Ahern

THE GRUBB family has been associated with Tipperary for almost three hundred years. For at least half that time they were one of the leading Quaker families in the county, with over thirty family groups producing more than two hundred children between them. Among the 400 odd interments in the Quaker graveyard in Clonmel are the remains of 143 members of the Grubb family. Few families made a greater contribution to the economic and social life of their adopted county – their many and varied commercial undertakings provided considerable employment. As committed Quakers they supported almost every charitable organisation that aimed at alleviating the distress of the poor and under-privileged.

The family are reputed to have originated in Denmark and north Germany.[1] By the fourteenth century persons of that name had established themselves at Raventhorpe in Northamptonshire, and it was from there that the Grubbs set out for Ireland. The progenitor of the Irish branch of the family was John Grubb (1620-1696), eldest son of Ishmael Grubb. Little is known of his life in England other than that he was supposed to have been an Annabaptist minister and that he served in Cromwell's army during the English Civil War.[2] At about the age of twenty three he married Mary Towers and they had six children. Around 1656, he arrived in Ireland accompanied by his wife and family.

John Grubb landed in Waterford where he was involved in farming and linen manufacture at Ballyrobin and Old Abbey, outside the city. His efforts met with little success and, five years later, he took another farm at Annaghs in south-east Kilkenny, a mile from New Ross. This venture proved more successful and he remained here for the next twenty-five years. In 1676, he became a convert to Quakerism, being 'convinced' by none other than William Edmondson, the father of Irish Quakerism. Around this time his wife Mary died and John re-married. After the marriage of his eldest son Samuel, John handed over the farm to him and went to live at Meyler's Park, on the opposite side of the Nore, in County Wexford. His second marriage produced a son, John, who inherited Meyler's Park on the death of his father in 1696.[3]

John Grubb Jr. (1682-1731), at the age of twenty five, married Ann Willan, an eighteen year old Quakeress from Lambstown in County Wexford. Their home became a venue for Quaker meetings, attracting non-Quakers as well. These

1 *Burke's Irish Family Records* (London, 1976), p. 515.
2 Grubb, G. W. (1972) *The Grubbs of Tipperary*, p. 32.
3 Grubb family pedigree (Dublin Friends' Historical Library), pp. 1-3.

gatherings incurred the wrath of the local Protestant clergyman, who elicited the support of the neighbouring farmers. In the face of such hostility, it is said that John Grubb's business suffered and he was forced to leave the district.[4] In 1717, he accepted the offer of a farm at Woodhouse, halfway between Fethard and Cashel in County Tipperary, from John Boles, a fellow Quaker and clerk of the Cashel meeting.

Shortly after settling at Woodhouse, John Grubb and his family were confronted by a series of calamities. First of all, the barn he erected collapsed, crops were devoured by insects and in the course of the harsh winter that followed, a number of his cattle perished, and the rest had to be sold to pay the rent. From this time on the family were forced to endure a poverty-stricken and nomadic existence. They next appear to have settled at Moorstown, a townsland between Clonmel and Cahir.

In 1727, John Grubb accepted an offer of employment from Francis Annersely, a Waterford merchant, to superintend the construction of a ship in America. From the outset the venture proved disastrous. Grubb was dismissed without payment, leaving him without the means to honour some business commitments, and he was imprisoned as a result.[5]

During her husband's absence, Anne Grubb and her family moved once again, this time to Coleman, near Fethard. To add to her woes, she was 'burdened with the nursing of twins', that had been born shortly after her husband's departure. A visiting minister from the local Quaker meeting, Elizabeth Fennell, 'found Anne Grubb and her children in a very poor cabin, and with marks of great poverty about her'.[6] As a result of this visit and with the assistance of the local Friends, she moved into a bigger cabin at Rathronan, situated two miles to the north of Clonmel.

On his return to Ireland, John Grubb produced certificates from the magistrates and from the meeting house of the county of Burlington in west Jersey, testifying to his integrity and that, at all times, he had upheld the interest of his employer, who, notwithstanding, refused to pay him for services rendered. He was not long home when he was attacked by inflammation of the lungs and died after a short illness, on the 2nd February, 1731.

Anne Grubb was left in a state of poverty, but proved herself a capable and determined woman. Her circumstances gradually improved due to her successful management of the farm and to the fact that her sons were able to find employment locally.[7] During her lifetime she was an ardent Quaker and her regular attendance at the meeting house brought her into contact with fellow members, who were already established in business in the town of Clonmel. One of the responsibilities assumed by the Quaker community was finding suitable apprenticeships for the children of poor members. Furthermore, on completion of their apprenticeship assistance was

4 Grubb, *Grubbs of Tipperary*, p. 42.
5 *ibid*, p. 45.
6 Leadbeater, Mary (1823) *Biographical notices* (London), p. 255.
7 *ibid*, p. 256.

forthcoming for those who wished to set up in business. Before she died in 1765, Anne had the satisfaction of seeing three of her children become successful businessmen in the town of Clonmel – Joseph (1710-1782) as a miller, John (1712-1779) and Benjamin (1727-1802) as a clothier and grocer respectively. Joseph, John and Benjamin and their descendants comprised the three major branches of the Grubb family in Tipperary. Anne Grubb continued to live at Rathronan for many years before she finally took up residence with her son, Joseph, who by this time had built his own corn mill on the banks of the Anner river, three kilometres east of Clonmel.[8]

Often in the Quaker community access to capital and business was facilitated by shared 'marriage family and commercial ties' and this appears to have occurred in the case of Joseph and Benjamin Grubb. Joseph married Sarah Greer, only daughter of a prominent wool merchant from Ballinakill, County Laois, while Benjamin married Susanna Malone, daughter of a wealthy farmer from County Carlow. We know nothing of John's wife, other than she was a Mary Jones from London. All three showed a remarkable degree of mobility, both socially and geographically, and the generous marriage portions which no doubt accrued from these unions, played a significant part in assisting them three to establish themselves in business.

It is generally accepted that 'the nature of Quakerism contributed to the Friends' successful business endeavours'.[9] Discipline in the Society was strict and great importance was attached to integrity in matters of trade. Regular epistles and advices were issued by the Society on business practice. Quakers exhorted members to be honest in their dealings, to give fair weights, sell at fair prices and keep their agreements. Failure to meet financial and other obligations could incur disownment or banishment from the Society. They were also warned against the 'snare of accumulating wealth' and speculation with a view to easy gain. This largely freed Quaker merchants and industrialists from profit accumulation, and made it easier for them to re-invest much of their returns into improving or developing their business concerns. Quakers achieved a reputation for being honest and trustworthy traders as well as becoming respected and valued members of the local community.

The democratic nature of Quakerism allowed all of its members to share in the administration and decision-making process. Government of the society was effected through monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings, the function of which was to provide funds for needy and imprisoned members, to keep records and to administer the affairs of the Society. It could also be said that 'In many ways their business procedures as used in the affairs of their own Society were not so very different from the business procedures of the secular world both in its philanthropic and commercial manifestations'.[10]

8 Grubb family pedigree, p. 7.

9 Hatton, Helen E. (1993) *The largest amount of good. Quaker relief in Ireland 1654-1921* (Montreal), p. 21.

10 Harrison, Richard (1988) Dublin Quakers in Business 1800-1850 (M.Litt. thesis, T.C.D., 1988), p. 107.

Apart from the nature of the Society, there were other compelling outside influences which directed Quakers along their particular economic road. Being dissenters, they were denied entry to many of the professions, to the universities and to offices in the public service. Consequently, trade and industry offered the only avenues to economic prosperity and social advancement. Arthur Young commented favourably on their success and their refusal to accept the contempt for trade which prevailed among the gentry of Ireland. He adds 'many Quakers, who are (take them all in all) the most sensible class of people in that kingdom, are exceptions to this folly, and mark the consequence, they are the only wealthy traders in the island'.[11] This view is shared by the Quaker historian, Isabel Grubb, who wrote 'On the whole, towards the end of the 18th century, Irish Quakers were looked upon by their contemporaries as wealthy and successful traders'.[12]

The rapid rise to prominence of the Grubb brothers in the commercial life of Clonmel can also be attributed to the fact that their entry into business occurred at a time when the town was on the threshold of rapid economic expansion. Mid-eighteenth century Clonmel was described as being 'as somnolent as a backwood settlement'.[13] Trade was mainly of a local nature, and apart from a few scattered houses in the suburbs, the town scarcely extended beyond its medieval dimensions. By 1800 the population had experienced a five-fold increase reaching an estimated figure of five thousand. By 1787, dramatic changes were taking place. The ancient town walls were being demolished on the quays, to accommodate the town's growing urban fabric, and its expanding river trade. The catalyst for this transformation was the corn trade, an industry which was to prove to be the cornerstone of Clonmel's prosperity for almost one hundred years.

The earliest reference to the involvement of any of the sons of John Grubb in the business life of the county is in 1752, when Joseph is mentioned as one of the trustees charged with the repair of the turnpike road from Clonmel to Fethard[14] and, two years later, he is named as one of three contractors engaged by the Navigation Board to improve navigation on the river Suir.[15] This diversity of commercial interests was typical of Grubbs and of Quakers in general.

The first significant venture of the Grubbs into the industrial life of Clonmel was through their involvement in the wool trade, a trade which was virtually a Quaker preserve in the 18th century. These 'powerful Quaker interests connected with the worsted wool trade, like the Grubbs of Clonmel, set up contacts with their fellow Quakers, particularly in Liverpool and Bristol'.[16] They were involved in various

11 Young, Arthur (1792) *A tour of Ireland* (London), ii, p. 248.
12 Grubb, Isabel (1929) *Quakerism and industry* (London), p. 18.
13 Burke (Rev.), William (1907) *History of Clonmel* (Waterford), p. 127.
14 O'Donnell, Michael (1992) 'Road repairing in 18th century Tipperary', *Tipperary Historical Journal*, p. 161.
15 V. T. H. & D.R. Delany (1996) *The canals of the south of Ireland* (Newtown Abbot), p. 143.
16 Foster, Roy (1988) *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London), p. 201.

facets of the industry, operating as woolcombers, as purchasing agents for the Gurneys of Norwich,[17] the largest wool merchants in England at the time, as well as organising the export of bay yarn through the port of Waterford. Thomas Grubb (1736-1809), son of the above mentioned Joseph, is listed among the Waterford merchants who were part of the lucrative wool trade to Minehead during the period 1766-1775 when he shipped 17% of the bay yarn from the port of Waterford.[18]

The industry with which the Grubb name became synonymous was milling. From 1758, stimulated by government bounties on the carriage of corn to Dublin, there was a marked increase in national cereal production. Clonmel, with its favoured location, became one of the greatest milling centres in Ireland. In 1765, Joseph Grubb built his first mill, two miles east of the town, just above the point of confluence of the Anner and Suir rivers.[19] In addition to the Anner mill, the Grubbs within the next sixty years were either to build or have an interest in a further seven mills in and around Clonmel. In 1794, while Clonmel continued to be the focal point of Grubb commercial interests, Samuel Grubb (1750-1815), a younger brother of the above mentioned Thomas, decided to expand his family's milling interests.[20] He moved to Clogheen, a village twenty kilometres west of Clonmel, where he and his descendants were to operate a further five mills. In 1823, Samuel's son, Richard (1780-1859) took over the enormous Suir mill in Cahir situated on the river Suir, some ten kilometres north of Clogheen. At one stage or another various family members had interests in five more mills in other parts of Tipperary, and in counties Cork and Waterford.[21]

Vast fortunes were made from the expanding corn trade up to mid-nineteenth century and the new-found affluence of the Grubbs was marked by the building of a number of elegant houses which adorn the landscape in south Tipperary. Other members of this branch of the family were equally successful in the butter and bacon trades, in addition to becoming wholesale hardware merchants and boat owners. However, not all their business ventures were crowned with success. They had a short-lived connection with an abortive attempt to promote the cotton industry in Clonmel in the 1780s[22] and were also involved in an unsuccessful venture to introduce the cultivation of flax in the 1820s.[23] After the abolition of the corn laws

17 Gurney Papers 1/87.24 Jan. 1771; 2/123. 30 Sept. 1770. (Friends' House, London)

18 J. Mannion, 'The Waterford merchants and the Irish-Newfoundland provisions trade 1770-1820' in Louis Cullen's and P.B. Mannion (eds.) *Negoce et Industrie en France et en Irlande aux XVIII and XIX siecles* (Bordeaux, 1980), p. 37.

19 Olive Goodbody, *Guide to Quaker records* (Dublin, 1967), p. 45.

20 Registry of Deeds, 500 31 311408.

21 Isabel Grubb, *J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir* (Dublin, 1928), p. 39; Registry of Deeds, 1844 1 81; Richard Harrison, 'A Cork Quaker dynasty' in *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, vol. 57, no. 1, p. 57; *Shearman's Directory* 1839, p. 22; Journal of Irish House of Commons, vol. xvi, appendix xxxvi.

22 Registry of Deeds 503 155 322073; *Finn's Leinster Journal,* 12 to 16 July, 1788; *Clonmel Gazette*, 12 Sept. 1789.

23 *The Nationalist*, 26 Dec. 1964.

in the 1840s, Irish milling gradually went into a state of decline and by 1912, the last Grubb mill in the county on Suir Island had closed. Today, the family's commercial connections with the county are still maintained by two descendants of Joseph Grubb, Nicholas Grubb of Clogheen, a noted breeder of pedigree cattle and by Louis Grubb of Beechmount, Fethard, producer of the internationally acclaimed *Cashel Blue Cheese.*

The second branch of the family was descended from John Grubb, Joseph's younger brother, who set up in the drapery business. This occurred sometime after 1763, when he returned to Clonmel with his family from London. By 1787, two of John's sons, Joseph and George, were conducting separate drapery businesses in Clonmel.[24] Other family members later became boat owners and bakers. Three of John's four grandsons went bankrupt, while the only successful one, Francis (1780-1857),[25] had no one to succeed him. By 1860, John's descendants had ceased to play any further part in the commercial life of the town. Benjamin Grubb, Joseph's youngest brother, became the founder of the Grubb grocery dynasty, a business that continued for four generations. This highly reputable firm was regarded as the leading tea-house in Clonmel.[26] In 1892, it was leased by the brothers Joseph Henry and Llewellyn Grubb,[27] and finally sold thirty years later.[28]

In the 1840s, John Grubb[29] set up in business as a corn merchant in Carrick-on-Suir. In 1876, he established the Suir Steam Navigation Company, an import-export business with depots in Carrick and Clonmel which acted as distribution and collection centres for the produce of the surrounding areas.[30] The development of the river Suir as a commercial waterway had always been central to Grubb business interests. A number of them served as members of the Waterford Harbour Commissioners[31] and were actively involved in the promotion of the non-commer-

24 Directory of Richard Lucas (1787) in Burke's *History of Clonmel* (Waterford, 1907), p. 134.

25 Francis Grubb (1780-1857) was married to Mary Milner from the Queen's County. Francis, apart from his drapery business, operated a hotel and stables in Clonmel.

26 *The Nationalist,* 14 Feb. 1912.

27 Joseph Henry Grubb (1840-1921) was a great-grandson of Benjamin Grubb. He became a qualified chemist, and after his marriage to Lucy White of Waterford joined the family firm in that city. The Whites operated a chemist/grocery/hardware shop and were exporters of fish and honey. This was one of many Grubb marriages with members of Waterford's Quaker community. They also married into the Ridgeway, Strangman, Allen, Davis and Jacob families. Llewellyn Grubb (1841-1915) died unmarried.

28 Grubb Papers (Tipperary S.R. County Museum), 1991.630.

29 John Grubb (1816-1870) was a grandson of Benjamin. In 1842, he moved from Clonmel to Carrick-on-Suir after the iron foundry business he operated in the town with his cousin, Henry Jacob collapsed.

30 Isabel Grubb, *J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir* (London, 1928), p. 52.

31 Minutes of meetings of the Waterford Harbour Commissioners (National Archives), *passim.*

cial Suir Navigation Company, which had been set up in 1831 to improve the river as an artery of commerce. John Grubb, his son, Joseph Ernest (1843-1927) and grandson, Louis (1865-1929), all served as secretaries to the company.[32] John Grubb's venture of hauling goods up-river from Carrick to Clonmel on horse-drawn barges, was never economically viable due to competition from the railways. In 1912, John Grubb's son, Joseph Ernest, sold off the business. It was the last business to be operated by this branch of the family in Tipperary.

The Grubbs, apart from providing much needed employment, enjoyed a reputation as conscientious and compassionate employers. On one occasion, J. Ernest Grubb was presented with an address by his employees which stated 'As an employer you have ever dealt liberally and fairly towards us in the matter of wages, and you have also taken a deep and practical interest in our welfare and that of our families, always showing yourself solicitous for our advancement morally and socially, as well as pecuniarily'.[33] A similar tribute occurred in his obituary notice which said that 'he and his family had an intimate knowledge of the families of the workers, visited their homes when they were ill and were unceasing in their zeal for their comfort and welfare'.[34]

As the nineteenth century progressed, for one reason or another, an increasing number of Grubbs began to abandon the family businesses. Surplus capital had been invested in land and property, and the Griffith Valuation of the 1840s shows they had considerable holdings in the towns of Clonmel, Clogheen and Cahir. Investments in banks and governments stocks and utilities such as railways and gas companies provided some of them with an independent source of income. Others decided to make careers for themselves in the professions or in the public service. One became a clerk of petty sessions, another governor of Clonmel gaol, while two others served as High Sheriff for County Tipperary and the neighbouring counties of Waterford and Kilkenny.

The Grubbs, as was typical of large well-to-do Quaker families, played a leading role in the activities of the Society of Friends.[35] Their financial independence enabled them to support the Society in different ways.[36] They are frequently mentioned in the records of the Society, serving as elders, clerks of the meeting, as overseers of marriages and as visiting ministers. On numerous occasions, they represented the Society at quarterly or yearly meetings. Pious testimonials afford glimpses into the spiritual qualities of the more illustrious members.[37]

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32 *Thom's Directories*, 1853-1921.

33 Isabel Grubb, *J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-on-Suir* (London, 1928), pp. 49, 50.

34 *The Nationalist*, 12 Oct. 1927.

35 Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers* (Dublin, 1992), p. 58.

36 Richard Harrison, Dublin Quakers in business 1800-1850 (M. Litt. thesis, T.C.D., 1988), p. 117.

37 Mary Leadbeater, *Biographical notices* (London, 1823), pp. 252-257, 327 and 363-366; Society of Friends, *Supplement to the Annual Monitor* (1834) no. 22; Society of Friends, *Biographical catalogue* (London, 1888), pp. 287-292.

Grubb women were no less active, participating in the affairs of the Society and in their promotion of the Quaker cause. Among them was Sarah Pim Grubb[38] of Anner mills, an elder in the Society for forty years and a regular attender at quarterly and yearly meetings.[39] Sarah Tuke Grubb[40] who became a minister in her twenty-third year and, accompanied by her husband, Robert, undertook arduous journeys in the ministry throughout England and the continent.[41] Sarah Lynes Grubb[42] was another itinerant minister who, together with her husband, John (1764-1841), became 'one another's helpmates in the service of the gospel'.[43]

Quakers are probably best remembered for the extent of their considerable philanthropy. Quakerism, centred on the doctrine of the Inner Light, which postulated that the voice of God speaks directly to every man, implies that all are equal in the eyes of God. It was this belief which provided a philosophical basis for Quaker benevolence. While their religious principles provided the motivation, their commercial success supplied them with the means to follow the dictates of their conscience. The Grubbs, like Quakers elsewhere, were actively involved in the many charitable organisations set up to relieve the distress of the poor and the homeless. They visited and gave comfort to prisoners and to the mentally ill. Their names frequently occur as committee members of various public bodies engaged in such humanitarian work. In addition to lending their moral support and administrative expertise, they provided generous financial support for the causes they espoused.

It was Grubb money which led to the setting up of the Clonmel House of Industry. It was described at the time 'as a common receptacle for all descriptions of malfortunes serving at the same time as a place of confinement for vagrants and lunatics as well as an asylum for the poor and helpless'.[44] The Grubbs supported and served on boards of such institutions as the fever hospitals in Clonmel and Cahir, the workhouses in Clogheen and Clonmel, and on those of the Clonmel Asylum and the Clonmel Borstal, the latter being an institution for young offenders. They were also active in establishing and administering the Clonmel Savings Bank. In the field of education, they provided a much-needed Charity School[45] for the town of Clonmel, and later supported the foundation of the Clonmel Mechanics' Institute.[46] Their

38 Sarah Pim (1746-1832) of London was the wife of John Grubb (1737-1784), son of Joseph Grubb.

39 Society of Friends, *Supplement to the Annual Monitor* no. 22 (1834), p. 26.

40 Sarah Tuke of York was the wife of Robert Grubb and sister-in-law of Sarah Pim.

41 Lindley Murray, *Some account of the life and labours of Sarah Grubb* (Dublin, 1792).

42 Sarah Lynes (1773-1842) of London married John, son of Benjamin Grubb.

43 Society of Friends, Supplement to the Annual Monitor no. 22 (1834), p. 26.

44 Mason's survey of Clonmel, 1809 in William Burke's Papers, Mount Melleray, Co. Waterford.

45 Grubb Collection (Dublin Friends Historical Library), Box 3c5.

46 Annual Reports of Clonmel Mechanics' Institute (Tipperary County Library, Thurles).

practical care for widows and orphans was expressed by their membership of the Clonmel Annuity Company.[47] The female members of the family were no less active and Miss Anne Grubb[48] was largely responsible for setting up a Lying-in Institution[49] to provide post-natal care for poor mothers.

Their concern was always underlined by a strong practicality and passionate sincerity. This is illustrated by the activities of Robert Grubb[50] in his capacity as a member of the Board of Superintendence of Clonmel prison. On discovering the cells

> 'were most uncomfortable situations, especially in winter, having no other barrier against the inclemency of the weather than whatever wisp of straw the prisoner could stuff between the bars. the Rev. Stephenson and Robert Grubb Esq., (to whom the unfortunate people confined in this gaol are much indebted) took particular care to have these windows glazed with the addition of wooden shutters'.[51]

On a visit to Clonmel in 1822, Thomas Reid who accompanied Robert Grubb on a tour of the prison, wrote of him,

> 'It is difficult to say what part of the character of this gentleman is most estimable. Regardless of all petty distinctions of sect or party, the bugbears of the little mind, his whole time is devoted to lessen the sorrows of the afflicted, and for the attainment of this praiseworthy end, his well cultivated and unwearied zeal peculiarly qualify him'.[52]

Famine relief, during the calamity of the 1840s, is regarded by many as the monument to Quaker compassion. The Grubbs of Carrick-on-Suir, Clogheen and Clonmel became members of local Famine Relief Committees. In Clonmel, one quarter of the committee members were Grubbs. These bodies were entrusted with the task of assessing relief applications, and subsequently, in organising its distribution. Benjamin Grubb,[53] a Clonmel grocer, had the added responsibility, as

47 Printed reports of the General Half Yearly Meeting of the Clonmel Annuity company (National Library).

48 Anne Grubb (1812-1879) was a daughter of Joseph and Lydia Grubb, and granddaughter of Benjamin Grubb.

49 Grubb Collection (Dublin Friends Historical Library), Box 51 s.c.3.

50 Robert Grubb (1778-1832) was a grandson of Joseph Grubb.

51 Mason's Survey of Clonmel 1809 in William Burke's papers, Mount Melleray, county Waterford.

52 Thomas Reid, *Travels in Ireland in the year 1822: exhibiting brief sketches of the moral, physical and political state of the country* (London, 1823), p. 257.

53 Benjamin Grubb (1805-1858) was a grandson of Benjamin Grubb.

secretary, of providing the Central Relief Committee in Dublin with trustworthy information concerning the extent of the distress.[54] One member of the family George Grubb[55] was to pay the supreme sacrifice for his humanitarian exertions when he fell victim to famine fever.[56]

The part played by the Grubb women during this calamity was no less impressive, especially at a time when all official relief committees and Boards of Guardians were exclusively male. Lydia and Susanna Grubb[57] played a leading part in the operation of the Clonmel soup kitchen and their names appear among the members of the Visiting Committee to the local workhouse.[58] Likewise, in Clogheen, Deborah Grubb,[59] who served as secretary to the local auxiliary committee which operated the soup kitchen, conducted a lengthy correspondence with government authorities, seeking additional funding.[60]

The nineteenth century witnessed a dramatic decline in Ireland's Quaker population, which was reflected in the number of Grubbs living in the county. However, it should be stated that by this time, not all of the Grubbs were Quakers. From the 1850s, an increasing number of them had resigned as members of the Quaker community and joined the Church of Ireland. Some were expelled for violating the rules of the Society. The most common misdemeanour was 'marrying out', while others were expelled for drunkenness, joining the army, bankruptcy, and two were found guilty of fornication.[61] They were those who left to live in other parts of Ireland, while a number emigrated to the United States and New Zealand, or returned to England. For those who remained in the Quaker fold, smaller family units and increasing celibacy, further depleted their numbers.

Perhaps, the incident which showed Quakerism at its most intolerant was that which led to the disownment of Richard Grubb and his wife Maria. Their love of music led them to build on a room to their residence in Cahir where they indulged themselves in their love of singing and dancing much to the disapproval of their more conservative Quaker brethren which was conveyed in the following:

> Whereas it has been the care of the Society of Friends, or people called Quakers, to endeavour to guard its members from all amusements or entertainments of a hurtful and injurious tendency, AND the practices of music

54 Society of Friends, *Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends during the famine in Ireland of 1846 and 1847* (Dublin, 1852), Appendix 1, p. 130.

55 George Grubb (1813-1848) was a grandson of John Grubb.

56 *Tipperary Free Press,* 22nd Jan. 1848.

57 Lydia (1818-1881) and Susanna (1820-1911) were sisters of the above mentioned Anne (1812-1879).

58 S. J. Watson, *A dinner of herbs* (Clonmel, 1988), p. 135.

59 Wife of Samuel Grubb (1787-1859), grandson of Joseph Grubb.

60 Edmund O'Riordan, *Famine in the Valley* (printed privately, 1997), p. 55.

61 Records of the Tipperary Meeting (Dublin Friends Historical Society), MM X F1.

and dancing are pursuits belonging to the vain and giddy world, being utterly at variance with our principles, the Society has declared its entire disunity with them. And whereas Richard Grubb Jnr.[62] and Maria his wife, who had their birthright and were educated in the said Society, have introduced and encouraged the practices of Music and Dancing in their house, and have also attended those harmful and injurious entertainments called Balls at which Music and Dancing form a chief part of the amusements, they have therefore been the subjects of much concern to the body, and have been repeatedly visited by appointment of this Meeting, and much affectionate labour used to persuade them to relinquish these things, and to convince them of their hurtful tendency.

But the care thus extended not having produced the desired effect, as they declined to discontinue the practice of Music nor would they agree to refrain from attending Balls, WE therefore feel it our duty to testify against their conduct, and WE DO HEREBY DISOWN the said Richard Grubb Jnr., and Maria his wife to be members of our religious Society; yet we desire they may be favoured to see the inconsistency of these practices with the Christian character, and that by submitting to the visitations of Divine Love they may be led into that life of self-denial and devotedness to their Creator, which is acceptable in His Sight.[63]

Although there are at present two Grubb families still living in County Tipperary, the closure of the Quaker Meeting house in Carrick-on-Suir in 1921 effectively brought the Grubb Quaker connection with Tipperary to an end. There can be little doubt that the Grubbs, as successful entrepreneurs and committed Christians, made an outstanding contribution to improving the welfare of the less fortunate inhabitants of their adopted county. The industries they built and most of the institutions they supported have long since vanished, but the ideals on which they were founded will always be relevant while the world still recognises and pays tribute to human goodness.

62 Richard Grubb (1812-1886) was a great grandson of Joseph Grubb. In 1837, he married Maria Garrett (1818-1870) of Dublin.

63 Minutes of Tipperary Monthly Meeting 28th Nov. 1844.

Tooraneena, Co. Phort Láirge: Léamh eile ar an ainm

Caoimhín Ó Muirigh

Coláiste na hOllscoile, Corcaigh

TÁ Tooraneena againn mar ainm ar bhaile fearainn agus sráidbhaile i bparóiste Seisceannán, barúntacht Déise lasmuigh den Drom, Co. Phort Láirge. 'Sé an tuiscint atá go forleathan mar gheall ar an ainm ná gur *Tuar an Fhíona*,[1] 'The pasture of the wine', atá ann. Tá sé soiléir ó dhán a chumadh san 18ú aois go bhfuil an léamh sin ann le tamall fada – an líne atá tábhachtach dúinn ná, 'Tuar an Fhíona mar a líontar an gloinne'.[2]

Tá Slieveaneena le fáil mar logainm i bparóiste Mhagh Cuilinn, Co. na Gaillimhe. An tuiscint a bhí ann tráth ná gur *Sliabh an Fhíona*, 'The mountain of the wine', a bhí i gceist ach tá sé léirithe ag Tomás Ó Concheanainn gur *Sliabh an Aonaigh* ba cheart bheith ann. 'Sé an fáth go dtugann sé an míniú seo ná "go bhfuil an dá *n* atá san ainm ina gconsain leathana i gcaint na ndaoine (ʃLiəwə'Ni:Nə)".[3] An dara eilimint atá faoi chaibidil aige ná *aonach* agus ceapann seisean gurb í an bhrí atá ag gabháil léi sa chás seo ná 'hill, height',[4] in ionad na gnáthbhrí, 'fair, assembly'.

Maidir leis an fhuaim, tá an rud ceanann céanna le cloisteáil i Tooraneena (Tuərə'Ni:Nə) agus níl aon dabht ach go bhfuil an dá *n* leathan.[5] Mar sin, b'fhéidir go mba cheart dúinn Ó Concheanainn a leanúint go ginearálta agus *Tuar an Aonaigh* a thabhairt ar an áit. Ó thaobh *Sliabh an Aonaigh* de, deireann sé:

> Criathrach is talamh sléibhe atá sa chuid is mó den limistéar sin agus is deacair a chreidiúint go mbeadh tionól daoine ná aonach beithíoch ann.[6] Tá cnoc maith

1 Féach *Liostaí Logainmneacha: Contae Phort Láirge*, Brainse Logainmneacha na Suirbhéireachta Ordanáis (Baile Átha Cliath, 1991) l. 94.

2 Tá leagan den dán le fáil i *The Place-Names of Decies*, Rev. P. Power (London, 1907) l. 168. Tá cur síos aige ar na logainmneacha ar fad atá le fáil i bparóiste Seisceannán (ll. 167-72), Tooraneena ina measc.

3 T. Ó Concheanainn, 'Ainmneacha Éideimhne: 1. *Sliabh an Aonaigh*', Dinnseanchas 2, i (1966) l. 15.

4 Brí atá go coitianta i nGaeilge na hAlban.

5 Tá na foirmeacha stairiúla den ainm faighte agam ón tSuirbhéireacht Ordanáis (buíochas le Dónall Mac Giolla Easpaig, an Príomhoifigeach). Bailíodh an fhianaise seo nuair a bhí an leabhar (atá luaite i nóta 1) á chur le chéile. Seo iad na leaganacha is luaithe atá acu (ón 17ú aois): 1620 *Toryny*; 1620? *Torenyny*; 1633 *Thowranynae*; 1654 *Tuore Inymy*; 1659 *Inerinmy*. Is deacair a dhéanamh amach ó na foirmeacha seo cad a bhí mar bhunús acu – ní féidir bheith cinnte ón bhfianaise seo go raibh an dara *n* leathan i gcónaí i gcaint na ndaoine. Faighimid *Touraneena* scríofa síos don chéad uair sa bhliain 1819.

6 Ina chur síos gearr ar pharóiste Seisceannán (*A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* [1837; athchló 1970]), ní dhéanann Samuel Lewis tagairt do mhargadh ar bith sa dúthaigh.

mór, thart ar chúig chéad troigh ar airde, sa limistéar agus tharlódh sé gurb é an cnoc sin atá i gceist sa dara cuid den ainm.[7]

Cheapfá go raibh sé ag scríobh mar gheall ar Tooraneena ach an talamh a bheith níos fearr agus an 'cnoc' a bheith níos airde. Tá Tooraneena i lár Sliabh gCua agus tá idir shléibhte is fánta ar gach taobh den sráidbhaile. B'fhéidir gur ceann díobh atá i gceist sa dara cuid den ainm – *Tuar an Aonaigh*,[8] – 'The hilly pasture'?

Summary

The purpose of this note is to question the traditional derivation of the placename Tooraneena from *Tuar an Fhíona*, 'The pasture of the wine'. Evidence is adduced to suggest that the placename may represent an original *Tuar an Aonaigh*, 'The hilly pasture', which may be more suitable in terms of its geographical location in the midst of the mountains of West Waterford.

7 Ó Concheanainn, *op. cit.*

8 Is deacair an fhoirm seo a chur i gcomparáid le foirm ar bith eile sa chontae. Tar éis féachaint dom ar na *Liostaí Logainmneacha* agus ar Power (*'place names'*), níl ach trí logainmneacha agam ón chontae le 'aonach' sa ghinideach iontu, .i. *Bóthar an Aonaigh* [Fairlane], *Cnoc an Aonaigh* agus *Páirc an Aonaigh* [nach bhfuil aistrithe go Béarla]. Ní thugann an fhianaise seo aon tacaíocht don argóint. Tá cosúlachtaí le fáil, áfach, idir an fhoirm Tooraneena agus foirmeacha i gcontaetha eile i gCúige Mumhan, m.sh. Mainistir an Aonaigh [Monasteranenagh], Co. Luimnigh (Monəstərə'Ni:Nə). Féach freisin ar an ráiteas ar logainmneacha le 'aonach / aonaigh' ag P.W. Joyce, *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* i (1869; athchló 1995) l. 205: 'The usual forms in modern names are *-eeny*, *-eena*, *-enagh*, and in Cork and Kerry, *-eanig*'.

Early Quaker Burial Grounds in Waterford City, 1689-1826

By Joan Johnson

Introduction

THIS STUDY was submitted for the 'Local and Regional Studies Course', UCC, held in Waterford 1999/2000, and aims to verify the existence and to research the sites of two early Quaker burial grounds in Waterford City. They had both been established by the late seventeenth century but are now obliterated from the geographical landscape. They were situated at St. John's Lane and at Parliament Street in the Parish of St. John's.

The following research endeavours to show, using early Quaker records and city maps, the exact site location and dimensions of these 2 distinct burial grounds and refers to some of the interments in them. The fact that there were two different graveyards, very close to each other, has not been totally clear in recent times, certainly within the current Quaker community, but also in sections of the local Waterford community. Over time confusion had occurred due to the very close proximity of the two sites and most people thought that the two different names referred to one site only.

Deeds, leases and other documents trace the changing landscape of Quaker properties in the city and raise the question as to how and why these burial grounds, closed since 1826, lie derelict and unmarked, despite being donated to Waterford city in 1950.

From these sources emerge the approximate numbers interred, and the identification of some of the first Quakers to settle in Waterford. Early family names are found that would prove to have a substantial influence in business, education, relief work and the development of the city for many generations in Waterford.

Quaker background and origins

During the civil and religious turmoil of seventeenth century England, Quakerism began in the Northeast of the country when George Fox (1624-1691) founded a small Christian group, which became known as the Religious Society of Friends, commonly known as Quakers. (Wigham, 1992, p. 2). They were disillusioned with the Established Church of the time, searching for a simple, more meaningful and practical religious experience. Important practices evolved from their strongly held Christian principles. These characteristics can be described thus:

> *No clergy nor liturgy, so no tithes; religious and civil liberty and equality for all men and women alike, so no titles or marks of servility or superiority; no taking up of weapons even on behalf of lawful authority; honesty in business, no oaths and a simplicity in lifestyle.* (Wigham, 1992, p. 15).

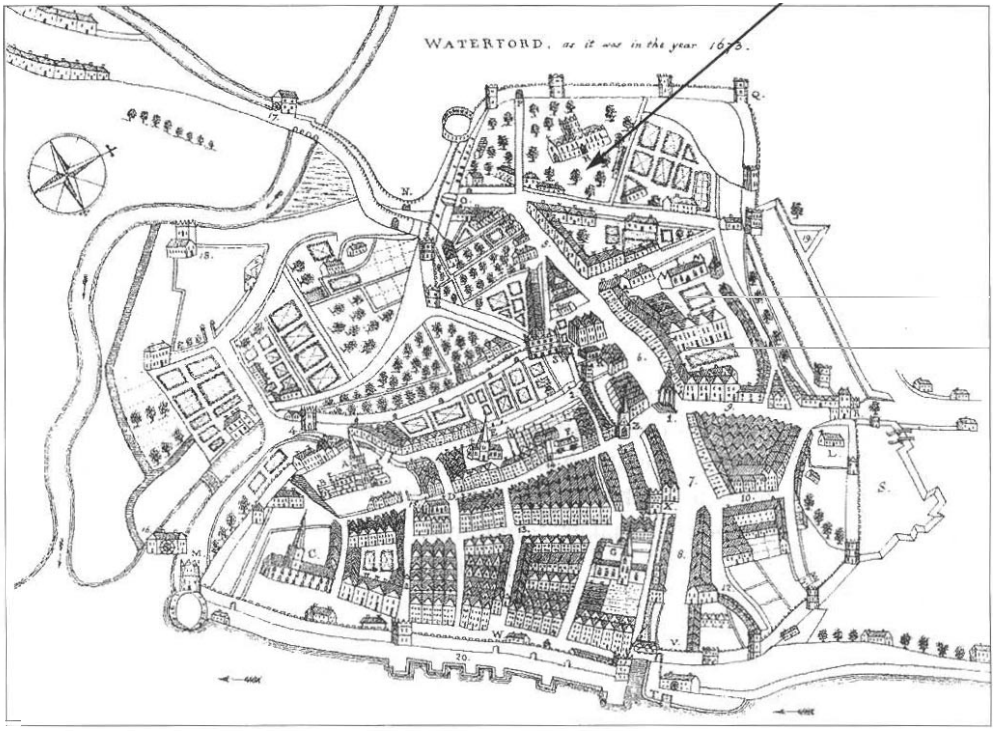

Fig. 1: Map of Waterford, 1673 (Waterford Corporation, 1998)

These early Friends were unpopular with both civic and church authorities. Religious persecution followed and many early Quakers experienced suffering and distress, often resulting in imprisonment, loss of property and possessions.

Waterford Quakers

Some early Quakers moved to Ireland and settled there between 1650 and 1680. (Grubb, 1927, p. 17). They settled in Waterford in or about 1655. (Rutty, 1751, p. 348). An early record of Quakers in Waterford is shown through an order ... *that the Governor, Colonel Leigh, and the Justices of the Peace, do apprehend forthwith all persons who resort there, under the name of quakers; that they be shipped away from Waterford or Passage to Bristol.* (Bennis, 1976, p. 2).

Many were deported, but some managed to settle. This small but significant community established their roots in Waterford in the parish of St. John (as shown in Fig. 1), working at first in small trades and milling. Having been meeting for their worship in private houses, in 1694 they procured a Meeting House off Bowling Green Lane, on the site of the present Christian Brothers' School in Manor Street (as

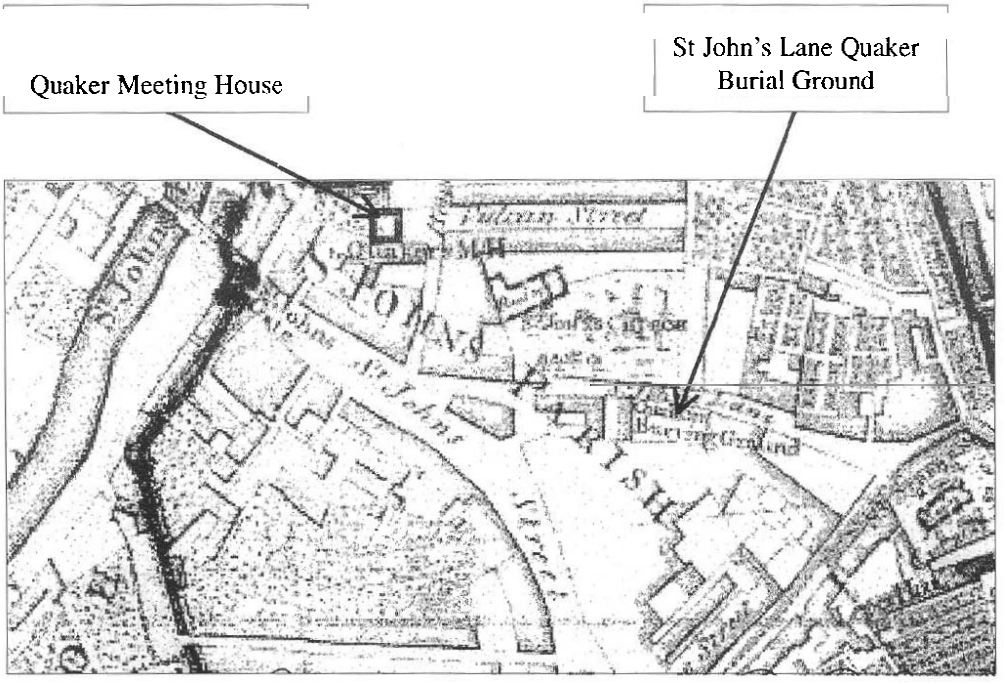

Fig. 2: Waterford Map (Scale & Richards, 1764)

shown in Fig. 2). They then built a new Meeting House in 1703, in Bowling Green Alley, before moving to King Street (now O'Connell Street) in 1791.

The requirement for their own burial ground led them to establish their first one in 1689 at nearby St. John's Lane (as shown in Fig. 2), before opening their second one on the opposite side of the Lane, in adjacent Parliament Street in 1764. Newtown School was later opened in 1798. (Bennis, 1976, pp. 2, 3, 7).

QUAKER BURIAL GROUND AT ST. JOHN'S LANE

Location

This first burial ground was situated in the parish of St. John, within the city walls, at the westerly side of a triangle formed by St. John's Lane, St. John's Street (leading to St. John's Gate) and New Street. The site of the burial ground was a small garden plot near St. John's Church (as shown in Fig. 3).

Dimensions and Deed details

According to the Deed dated 27th March 1689 the burial ground was:

> *those several old walls with a small garden plot containing ninety feet in length forty feet in breadth at the east end thereof and twenty two feet in breadth at the west end thereof butted and bounded on the south with the lane*

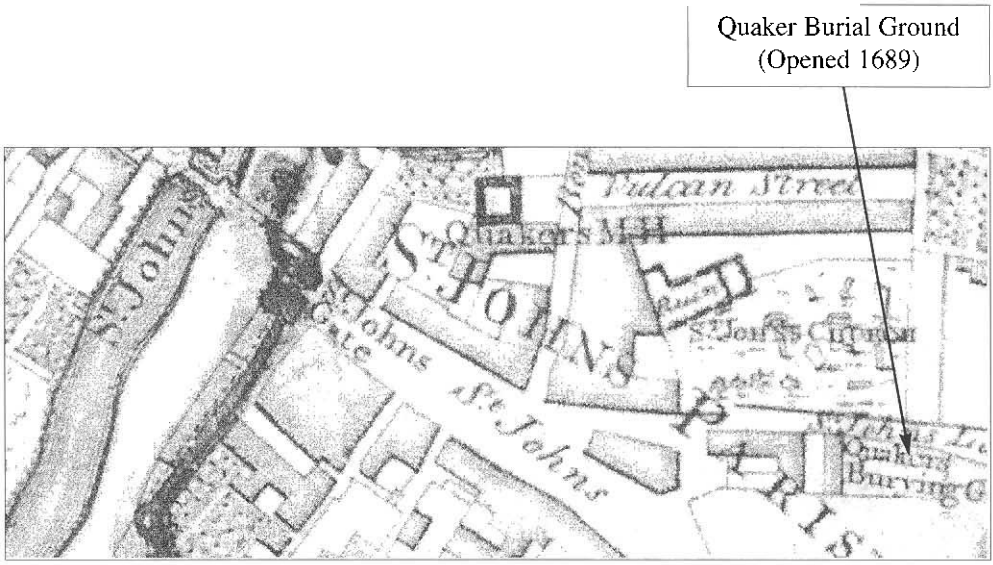

Fig. 3: Waterford Map enlarged. (Scale & Richards, 1764)

> *leading by St. John's Churchyard on the west a house formerly in the possession of James Morris on the north with a ruinous garden part whereof was then in the possession of John Griffin and on the east with another garden then in possession of the said John Griffin.* (Waterford Monthly Meeting – henceforth W.M.M. – 1926 box 1, nos. 3 & 11).

Usage

For 75 years this burial ground was used by Waterford Quakers. An estimated two hundred people are buried there (Friends' Historical Library – henceforth F.H.L. – Register of burials, 1649/1862 Waterford MN XI). According to Quaker practice, the layout of their burial grounds was simple; they used plain gravestones, preserving a uniformity in respect of material, size, form and wording on the stones, guarding against any distinction being made between any of the gravestones.

Burial practice

Advice for their burial services was given in 1694 from Dublin:

> *... Be weightily concerned to observe good order at burials; to avoid large companies previous to or needless provisions at or before the time of interment; and to go quietly and orderly, with a true concern and thoughtfulness of the occasion on the mind; so that Friends by their serious and weighty behaviour might influence others to a consideration of their latter end.* (Yearly Meeting of Friends in Ireland, 1841, pp. 164/165)

Further advices given to Irish Quakers relating to burials can be seen in Fig. 4

Next, as to *Burials*, whereas, among many other Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, there was a great deal of vain Pomp (in part laid aſide indeed of late by many ſober and conſiderate perſons of other Communities) inconſiſtent, in the view of this people, with the Moderation becoming Chriſtians, they obſerved the like Simplicity as in other caſes, *viz.* '* The Corps is carried in a plain Coffin without 'any Covering or Furniture upon it---- nor do the Kindred 'of the Deceaſed ever wear *Mourning*, they looking upon it 'as a worldly Ceremony and piece of Pomp.' And accordingly, when ſome in ſucceeding times departed from the primitive Example in this reſpect, the Yearly Meeting, *A. D.* 1717, expreſsly forbids Friends '*imitating the World* '*in the Uſe of any diſtinction of Habit, or other Mark or Token* '*of Mourning for the Dead*,' † and recommends, that 'if any, 'contrary to the ancient practice, had erected *Monuments* 'over the dead Bodies of Friends, ſuch ſhould be removed, 'as much as might be, with Diſcretion and Conveniency; 'and that none ſuch ſhould be ſet up in Friends Burying-'places for the future.'

Fig. 4: Quaker Burial Advices (Rutty, 1751, p. 432)

Closure

This small garden plot was filled by 1764. Some names of those buried are:-

Abell – Anderton – Annesley – Badcock – Balfour – Barnes – Blanch – Cantrell – Chandle – Chapman – Cherry – Constant – Courtenay – Davis – Dennis – Dickenson – Ellis – Fennell – Fossett – Harris – Howell – Hutchinson – Jacob – Keyes – Leathes – Moore – Neachallis – Strangman – Trapnell – White – Wickham (F.H.L. Register of burials, 1649/1862 Waterford MN XI)

Subsequent events

When the burial ground finally closed, (c.1764), efforts were made to keep it in proper condition and good repair (Bennis, 1976, p. 3). Almost 140 years later, this property in St. John's Lane, no longer a functioning graveyard, but still walled in, was leased to a Thomas McGrath. The concern of Friends to maintain the integrity of their property and the dignity of those 200 people buried there is revealed by the inclusion of conditions in the lease preventing any disturbance of the ground greater than one foot in depth. The leasee was required to:

... keep the walls surrounding the said premises in good repair and will not suffer or permit any trespass upon said premises and will not disturb the ground, or permit it to be disturbed, to a greater depth than one foot and will not assign, sublet or part with the possession of said premises or any part thereof without the consent in writing of the Leasors. (W.M.M., 1903, box 1, no. 7).

As time went by, much consideration was given by Waterford Quakers as to the best use of the now unused burial ground sites. Their records show that contacts were ongoing with Waterford Corporation, endeavouring to make acceptable arrangements to donate this property to the City. In 1944 they agreed to offer it to the City on certain conditions. A letter dated 20th of the 12th month 1950 stated that the burial ground had been taken over by the Corporation. (W.M.M., 1950, Guard book, 668)

Current Position

On a visit to this site in January 2000 there is no evidence of a graveyard. There is no building on the property. An open space backed by an old stone wall has its surface covered by tarmacadam and is used partially as a footpath and also to park up to 6 or 7 motor cars.

The existing parameters of the open space, when measured, coincide approximately with the dimensions in the original deed dated 1689 – viz. 90 feet in length, 40 feet in width at the east end and 22 feet at the west end.

Fig. 5: Former site of Quaker Burial Ground at St.John's Lane (Johnson, 2000)

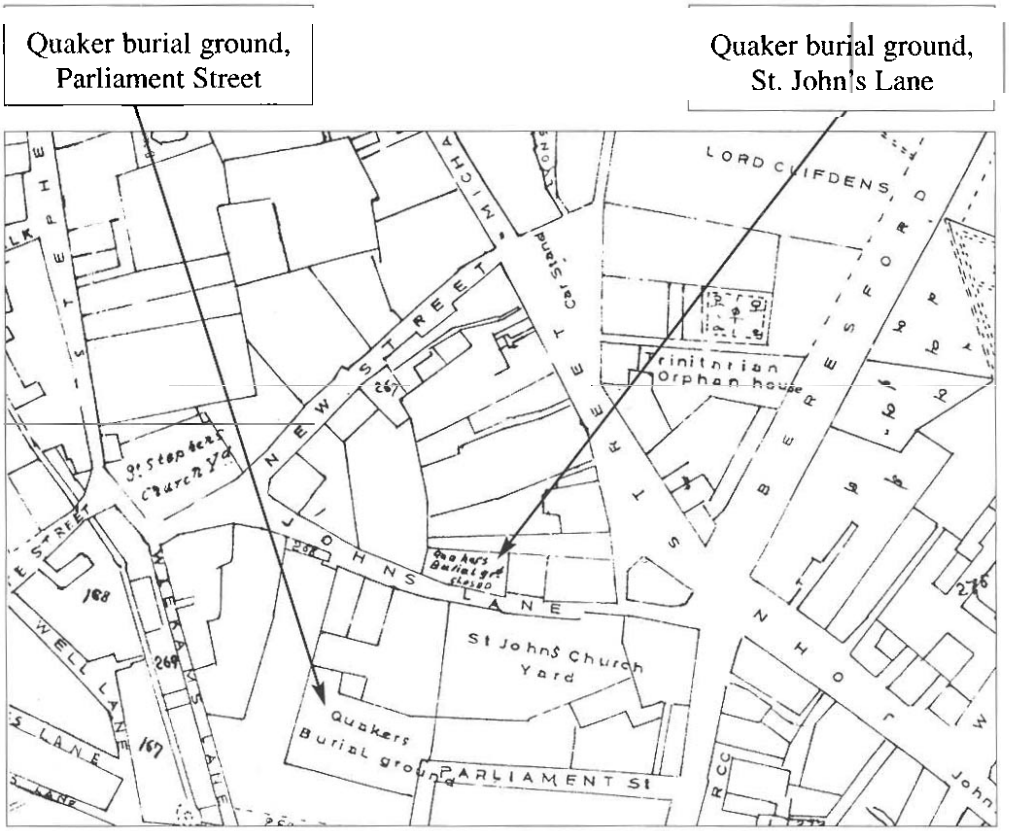

Fig. 6: Map of Waterford (Waterford Corporation Properties, 1831-1832)

QUAKER BURIAL GROUND AT PARLIAMENT STREET – 1764-1828

Location

The land for this Quaker Burial Ground was acquired in 1764. It was situated less than 100 yards from the John's Lane site, to the south of it. It was part of an area bounded by St. John's Lane on the north, Wickham's Lane (now Brown's Lane) on the west, Rampart Street (now Castle Street) on the south and Vulcan Street (now Parliament Street) on the east (as shown in Fig. 6). An Indenture of Lease dated 1764 describes the property as:

> *the piece or plott (sic) of ground lately in the possession of William Marchant of the city of Waterford, Farmer, and now in the possession of Edward Howis together with two small houses or tenements, built and erected on part thereof, mearing (sic) and bounding on the north-east by the said William Marchant's tanyard and other concerns belonging to him on the south-east by the holding of Thos. Wyse Esq and part of St. John's churchyard on the south-west and north-west by a garden belonging to Samuel Penrose and John Dennis,*

Merchants and also by the lane and two tenements belonging to and leading to said garden all which said demised premises are situate lying and being in New Street in the parish of St. John's and the City of Waterford aforesaid. (W.M.M., 1926, box 1, no. 11)

Dimensions

The property consisted of a rectangular walled site which measured approximately 130 ft. in length and 78 ft. in width. There were two gates – one leading to Parliament Street in the eastern wall and the other to Wickham's Lane in the western wall. (W.M.M. map)

A 1764 minute reads: ... *the Friends appointed are desired to get the requisite leases and Declaration of Trust respecting Burying Ground lately taken for the use of Friends of this Meeting finished.* Fig. 7 shows an example of the typical plain gravestones allowed in Quaker burial grounds. Subscriptions were collected to pay for the legal expenses, repairing the tenements and laying out the grounds. (Bennis, 1976, p. 3)

Interments

The first burial, ascertained from the original burial plan, was in 1765. There are approximately four hundred and fifty graves, of which eighty are those of children. There is also a section marked "stranger's lot". The majority of the latter interments are recorded during the late 1830s; however the last burial record appears to be dated 1869. (W.M.M. map – undated). Continued concern for the maintenance of their burial grounds was still evident, when a minute reads: *Samuel Davis, John Strangman are appointed to have the walls and gate of the graveyard put into proper condition and have a care over both of the Burial Grounds to keep them in good order* (Bennis, 1976, p. 3).

Fig. 7: Early 18th Century Quaker gravestones at Jordans Meeting House, England (Johnson, 1988)

Amongst family names recorded as being buried in Parliament Street are the following:-

Balfour – Barcroft – Barnes – Binns – Blain – Chandler – Cherry – Courtenay – Davis – Deaves – Fawcett – Fayle – Gatchell – Goff – Gouch – Harris – Hartland – Harvey – Hill – Howis – Hoyland – Jacob – Jones – Leathes – Moore – Morris – Newsom – Peet – Penrose – Phillips – Poole – Ridgeway – Roberts – Robinson – Russell – Sealey – Shannon – Stacey – Strangman – Usher – Wakefield – Walpole – Walsh – Waring – Watson – Webb – White – Wiley – Williams – Wilson – Wood – Wright. (W.M.M. map)

Quaker families in trade and industry

From these early Quaker families there was an unbroken involvement in trade and industry in the City of Waterford from the late seventeenth century until the mid twentieth century. They included glass manufacturing (Penrose and Gatchell), iron manufacturing and engineering (Jacob), brewing (Strangman, Goff and Davis), biscuit making (Jacob), ship building (White, Malcolmson and Jacob) and cotton spinning and weaving (Malcolmson). There was also direct Quaker family involvement in the Waterford Community through relief work (Tuskar Lodging House, Munster Dining Rooms and Famine relief), City affairs (the Corporation) and the business life of the city (through the establishment of the Chamber of Commerce and development of the Railways and the Waterford Bridge). (Hearne, 1998; Jacob, 1929; W.M.M.; Wigham, 1992)

Amongst such families interred in Parliament Street burial ground are the following:

Penrose and Gatchell families

At least 15 Penroses are buried here. Records show the graves of both George Penrose (1722-1796) and his nephew William (1745/6-1799). (W.M.M. map, undated). It was George and William who founded their Waterford glass manufacturing business in 1783. This early Waterford glass firm was a predecessor to the successful Waterford Crystal Company of the present time. Jonathan Gatchell (1823) also of the early Waterford glass firm, is buried here as well as 10 other members of the Gatchell family.

Strangman family

Approximately 24 members of the Strangman family are buried here (W.M.M. map). This family established a brewery in Mary Street in 1772 and later became influential nineteenth century Waterford merchants in both the import and export trades (Hearne, 1992, p. 1).

Jacob family

There are 19 members of this family listed. (W.M.M. map, undated) It was from direct descendants of Joseph Jacob, buried in Parliament St. in 1781, that the various

Fig. 9: Former site of Quaker Burial Ground at Parliament Street (Johnson 2000)

The historical geography of the area has changed over the 300 years. On a visit to the site early in January 2000 there is now no evidence that it was once a burial ground. The back wall seems very old and could possibly be the original. The property has not been built upon which indicates that the original conditions have been adhered to over the years ensuring the Quakers' wish to preserve the integrity of the burial ground. However, the present use of this area is a car park, with approximately the same dimensions as in the 1689 lease.

The historical geography of the **Parliament Street** site is little better than its predecessor. It is contained within a large open space surrounded by some walls. The dimensions of a grass surface (as shown in Fig. 9) are similar to the estimated measurements of the original burial ground site. Seen in January 2000, it was desolate, unmarked and in very poor surroundings. Alongside it is an unkept park, Wyse Park (as shown in Fig. 10).

During the years 1689-1826 there were approximately six hundred and fifty Quaker burials in these two burial grounds, a substantial number for a minority group. Identification of those buried reveals Quaker family names which were later to prove a substantial influence in the development of the city of Waterford during the nineteenth century.

From the 1920s to the 1940s discussions between Waterford Corporation and Waterford Quakers were ongoing, with the view that these burial ground properties be given to the City. It is clear that it was the wish of Waterford Quakers to ensure that the sites would be used as an amenity for the city and to safeguard this, they wrote to Waterford Corporation as follows:-

> *The place to be kept in decent order and under supervision as an open space in perpetuity for the benefit of the city. No drains or other digging deeper than two feet. No buildings to be erected other than lightly constructed shelters.* (W.M.M. Guard book, 1940, 265)

Both burial grounds were given over to Waterford Corporation, with certain conditions and safeguards, in 1950. It was recorded then that the Parliament Street

Fig. 10: Wyse Park (Johnson, 2000)

burial ground had been made into a pleasant playground and gardens. (W.M.M. Guard book, 1950, 668). Today, while no building has taken place on either site, the land lies neglected. There is no evidence of the former characteristics of the burial grounds of 250 years ago, nor as was the intention in 1950, any evidence of amenity value to the city of Waterford.

At a time of rapid development in Waterford city, alongside the current focus on its immense heritage, it is hoped that these sites of the 2 former burial grounds would be recognised, preserved and redeveloped as a useful amenity for future generations.

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The Sherlocks of Waterford

By Patrick Grogan

Sherlock House

THERE is an arched gateway in Catherine Street in this city over which is fixed a plaque bearing the legend SHERLOCK HOUSE. This is the only public display of a name which was famous for centuries in medieval Waterford. The owner of the house, 2 Catherine Street, in the courtyard behind the red-painted wooden door, was Mrs. Mary Duggan who resided there up to her death a few years ago, at the age of ninety one. She was a grand-daughter of Philip Sherlock, a farmer of Great Island, County Wexford, and she was born in a house in Beau Street, just around the corner from Catherine Street. She told me that Sherlock House dates from about 1750 and that she and her late husband Mr. Ernest Duggan, formerly of Lady Lane, bought the house in 1938 from Flynn Brothers, who were painters and decorators of Parnell Street, but the original owners are long forgotten. The house may have been named after the Wexford Sherlocks, but there is a strong connection with the Waterford family of the same name, which is explained under the next heading. The causeway from the St. Catherine's or Colbeck Gate in the old City Walls leading across to St. Catherine's Priory, ran along the course of the present street to the Priory where the Courthouse now stands. Within the courtyard of Sherlock House is a rounded outer wall, bearing a coat-of-arms showing a quartered shield of fleur de lis and lions, surmounted with the crown and rose, and flanked by a rampant lion and dragon. The inscription reads "Semper Vivum". The inner wall of the round room is within the premises of 1 Catherine Street [now Maryland Guesthouse] and is reputed to be part of the old gatehouse of the Priory.

Origins of the name

St. Catherine's (or Katherine), founded by the Ostmen about 950 AD, was later endowed by Elias Fitznorman for the Augustinian Canons of St. Victor in 1210; Pope Innocent the 3rd confirming the Prior and Canons in all it's possessions in 1211. The property, then almost an island, was bounded by St. John's River on the east, by the Suir River on the north and by a creek and marsh on the side towards the City. At the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539 the Priory was granted to James Sherlock of the City of Waterford,one of a local powerful family. His lease of the house and all it's property was dated 21st August 1540. At his death the Priory then passed to his brother Patrick, who received a new lease of 21 years on 4th July 1552. The annual rent at that time was the considerable sum of £47. 5s. 8d. Attached to the Priory also were houses and lands in Waterford and suburbs, in Priorstown, Blakesrath and Clonmel in Co. Tipperary, and the Rectories and Churches of St. Nicholas and Killowen in Co. Waterford.

When the Sherlocks first appeared in Waterford is not absolutely certain, but if the Municipal Rolls record a John Sherlock as Bailiff in 1457 and Mayor in the year

2 Catherine Street, Waterford.

1462 and again in 1475,this would indicate that the family were prominent in the commercial life of the City for some considerable time before this. Some sources give John as descended from a Walter Sherlock, seneschal or steward of the Earl of Ormond's lands in Tipperary and Kilkenny in the fifteenth century – he may have been from Kildare, the home of the Sherlock's by tradition. In all, family members held the Mayoralty of Waterford 19 times between 1462 and 1632 and were Bailiffs or Sheriffs 27 times. The family, under the names Scurlag, Scorlog, Skerlogue etc., are mentioned in the public records of Ireland from the middle of the thirteenth century. Tradition has it that the name is Scandinavian in origin – the name Scurlag being a derivation of a war-cry of the race meaning 'use the sword.' The name is now found in those parts of Ireland which were long occupied by the Danish race, in safe ports such as Waterford, Wexford and Dublin, as well as Meath and Kildare. They were also found settled in Glamorganshire at an early period and may have come into Wexford from there. In South Co. Wexford there is a townland near Great Island, the home of Mrs. Duggan's grandfather Philip, called Scurlocksbush, obviously another derivation of the name. There are written traces of the family in Kildare between 1251 and 1299 and a juror on an Inquisition at Wexford in 1296 was one Nicholas Skurlag. As jurors were among the larger land-owning class, it would appear that Wexford Sherlocks were well established by 1296.

The Sherlocks prosper

The afore-mentioned John Sherlock, the progenitor of the Waterford branch,born about 1420, married Catherine Rothe of Kilkenny and had a son and heir James,

who was born about 1450. He was Bailiff in 1471, Mayor in 1477, 1480 and 1490,and was married about 1480 to Belfleur Lincoln, daughter of another prominent merchant family in the City. They had three sons, to whom we will return later.

The City State of Waterford, operating independently under Royal Charters, was always ready to answer the call to arms from the Monarch,especially if there were to be rewards for the taking. In the reign of Henry the seventh, Waterford rendered much service to the Crown in opposing the Pretenders Lambert Simnel in 1487 and Perkin Warbeck in 1497, both of whom declared themselves to be the Princes supposedly smothered in the Tower of London by their uncle the Duke of Gloucester. King Henry had written several letters to the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of his loyal Waterford ; duly rewarding the city with charters and money, and the faithful citizens, with grants of land. Among those rewarded in 1494 was James Sherlock, grandson of the progenitor John Sherlock, who was granted the lands of Gracedieu and Rossduff, west of the city, for his services in the war. In 1499 James was also appointed along with John Wise, as Justice of the Peace.

The original family home of the Sherlocks was then in what is now Arundel Square, near Blackfriars Abbey, the now vanished Arundel Castle and probably on the site occupied by the former Aylward's public house. John Aylward told me that a lease for portion of this property mentions Sherlock's Castle. James Sherlock, grandson of John, and living at Gracedieu Castle, had as mentioned 3 sons. The eldest,James, succeeded his father at Gracedieu, the second, George who was appointed a Justice Itinerant for Munster, settled on lands at Rathcurby Co. Kilkenny, and was the founder of that line of the family. The third son Thomas, merchant of this City, married Mabel, daughter of Maurice Wise of Waterford. Thomas was bailiff in 1531 and Mayor in 1549. He had two sons – the first was John, bailiff in 1550, Mayor in 1559 and the second and more important was James, who acquired the lands of Upper Butlerstown including the Castle, from the Nugent family in 1544. From this time onwards, the Butlerstown branch of the Sherlocks became very prominent in City and County. James gained substantially from the Dissolution ; in 1556 he was granted Tibroughney parsonage in the Piltown area and in 1572 the emoluments of Athassel Abbey in Co. Tipperary from the Earl of Ormond. In May of 1570 he got a commission as High Sheriff to execute martial law in Co. Waterford. Although an Alderman in the City, he was never Mayor, but was Bailiff in 1539.

In foreign wars

Meanwhile, his cousin James of Gracedieu, born in 1481 was married to Belfleur Dobbyn in 1503. He became Bailiff in 1506 and 1534 and was Mayor in both 1519 and 1529. He was the man who was granted St. Catherine's Priory in 1540, supposedly as a reward for his services at the battle of Boulogne for Henry the eighth. The King of England and Ireland ordered a levy of troops from among the Irish to fight in the French war and the account by the chronicler Hollinshed makes for curious reading – 'Among the Irish Lords serving at the siege of Boulogne were

the Lord Power and (James) Sherlock of the County Waterford, who mustered 700 strong – in the same month (May 1544) also passed through the City of London in warlike manner to the number of seven hundred Irishmen with bagpipes before them, having for their weapons darts and handguns, and in St. James's Park beside Westminster they mustered before the King'. For his pains Sherlock received leases for 23 townlands in County Cork, also 2 rectories there, and lands in Counties Waterford, Tipperary and Kilkenny to hold for 21 years at £100 per annum, under King's Letter of Patent dated 20th August 1541.

Fighting the pirates

I am assuming that the same James Sherlock was among the citizens named as under-captains to Bailiff Woodlock, when three ships fitted out by the Mayor, including the Great Galley of the City, and filled with 400 men, sailed out on 1st April 1537 bound for Baltimore Co. Cork, to avenge themselves on the O'Driscoll Clan, long a scourge of Waterford and it's sea-trade. The latest act of piracy by Finian O'Driscoll was the seizure of a Portuguese vessel bound for Waterford laden with 100 tun of wine, off Cape Clear on 20th February 1537. This ship was successfully re-taken in a surprise attack by 24 men from Waterford under Captain Pierce Dobbyn in a vessel called the 'Sunday of Waterford', early in the month of March. The expedition of 1st April was to finally break the power of the O'Driscolls at Baltimore. The Waterfordmen captured the fortress on Sherkin Island, levelled it, destroyed all the villages there including the house of the Friars Minor and the Millhouse. They captured stores of malt,barley and salt, took Finian's chief Galley of 30 oars, which was sailed to Waterford, and about 30 pinnaces were burnt. Near Sherkin was another island with a castle, hall and orchards,all of which were destroyed,including the burning of all villages along the way. Finally, landing on the mainland the Waterfordmen burnt and destroyed Baltimore and 'broke down Teig O'Driscoll's goodly castle and bawn.' The victorious Navy entered Waterford in triumph on Good Friday 1537. Thus ended the O'Driscolls as a force in piracy off the Irish coast.

James of Gracedieu

The extended Sherlock family were by this time secure in their possessions for many years. The Reformation under Henry the eighth and continued under Elizabeth the first, hardly impinged on loyal Waterford. During the century that elapsed between Henry the eighth's death and the arrival of Oliver Cromwell, Waterford's affairs were governed by a select number of about 30 families – Sherlocks, Waddings, Dobbyns, Walshs, Lombards, Comerfords, etc. Among them the name of James Sherlock of Gracedieu Castle stands out. Son of John Sherlock and his wife Helen Walsh, daughter of Robert Walsh of Ballygunner, he succeeded to the family estates on his father's death in 1563.He was Bailiff of the City in 1564, in 1568 and in 1573-74. He had serious problems to deal with following the disturbances caused by the rebellion of James Fitzmaurice, Earl of Desmond. The country was laid waste and a mob of starving people admitted into the city on Good Friday 1574, ran amok, while

Sherlock House, Catherine Street.

rebels outside the walls ran off the citizens' cattle and destroyed crops right up to the gates of the city. James Sherlock was Mayor in 1580-01 and 1590-01 and in 1585-86 Sherlock was one of 2 members for the City in Elizabeth's second Parliament. During his first term as Mayor in 1580, James became embroiled in Church/State controversy. The impact of the Protestant Reformation in Waterford was not felt until the old bishop, Patrick Walsh, a member of one of the city's ruling families, was replaced by a reforming zealot in April 1579, who rejoiced in the name of Marmaduke Middleton, and who attempted to impose Protestantism rigorously on a flock largely reluctant to change from the old religion. Attendance at Protestant services was considered obligatory, especially for public figures such as the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the ancient city. Bishop Middleton therefore complained to the Lord Deputy that Mayor Sherlock and his fellow Corporators were not obeying the law. Sherlock in turn wrote to Walsingham, the Queen's Minister, denying the charges and implied serious shortcomings in the life of the bishop, hinting at sacrilege and robbery of church property. Mayor Sherlock led a deputation to the Lord Deputy in 1581 and make an attempt to refute Middleton's charges, but on the journey by sea to Dublin, their ship ran aground in an easterly gale and they were captured and held as hostages by the rebellious Kavanaghs of Wicklow. When the Mayoral party eventually arrived in Dublin, having been ransomed but having undergone some rough treatment by their captors,they discovered that the Lord Deputy had found for Middleton in their absence. The

charge of sacrilege against the Bishop was later heard in New Ross by Lord Deputy Grey, who again acquitted the Bishop, fined the Corporation 100 marks and ordered the Mayor to publish a written apology for the slander. Middleton, however found the strain of living in a hostile diocese too much and he soon begged to be translated to another see, being shortly afterwards transferred to St. David's in Wales in November 1582. Afterwards he was found to have been indeed a fraud, was accused of bigamy, of altering a will in his favour and of selling off church lands. He was defrocked and died a forgotten man.

Winds of Fortune

During James Sherlock's second term as Mayor in 1590-01, St. Patrick's Fort or Citadel was built as an additional defensive structure outside the City, northwest of St. Patrick's Gate and overlooking the river Suir. Around the same time Waterford citizens had rendered the Blockhouse at Passage East more secure while the great Fort at Duncannon was also being built. These measures were considered necessary for fears of a possible Spanish invasion, following the scare of the Spanish Armada off the English coast, when it is acknowledged that storm conditions alone saved England from an invasion. All this defensive work was carried on despite the continuance of the traditional and extensive trade-links with Spain enjoyed by Waterford merchants. Many sons of the prominent Waterford families went to Spain and France to be educated, many of them to the now- forbidden Roman Catholic priesthood. In 1592, the year after his Mayoralty, the following reference to James Sherlock illustrates his history and time; 'Certain rich merchants and good gents within the Cittie of Waterford do especially relieve and mainteyne seminaries and massing priests. James Sherlock who hath been Mayor last year doth retain in his house one Teig O'Sullivan, a Jesuit Seminarian, which priest hath divers times preached publickly in the house of one William Lincoln and other places in the city and county and also in Clonmel'. James Sherlock was married twice; his first wife being Rose Shee, sister of Sir Richard Shee of Kilkenny who built the almshouses there that still bear his name. James and Rose's eldest son, James, who succeeded his father at Gracedieu, was in his turn Mayor in 1603-04. Another son was called John, and their daughter Ellen married William Dobbyn of Ballinakill Castle, at the river-crossing to Little Island. The elder James's second wife was Margaret Fagan of Dublin, herself the widow of John Cusack of that city. By Margaret, James had a son Christopher and several daughters who were still babies when their father died at Gracedieu Castle in 1601. Margaret remarried again, this time to the afore-mentioned Sir Richard Shee[her previous husband's brother-in-law] and she survived until 1639. Christopher had a monument erected for his mother at the French Church in Grey-Friars, now unfortunately lost. In James's Will, written 17th September 1601, he was concerned with providing for the infants of his second marriage. He entreated his eldest son James to use the Parsonage of Stradbally, left to him, 'for the preferment in marriage of my daughters, beseeching him upon my blessing that he do prefer them as best he may and deliver them so much as I have appointed, and their Mother (Margaret) to be charged nothing with their finding or

bringing up, and he only with payment of their portions'. To his wife he left the Parsonage of Newtown, Co. Tipperary, 'to the apparelling of my young babes and to the keep of a chaplain for praying for me and herself, also for my first wife Rose Shee, for my Father and Mother and all my ancestors'.

Many other charitable bequests are mentioned; rooms to be endowed for the use of the poor; twenty-six shillings 'for the poor students to the priesthood beyond the seas'; sums for the upkeep of Christchurch and St. Patrick's; a sum of money 'to find my sister Ellen with meat, drink and clothes during her life'. He finally entreats his eldest son James 'In the bowels of Jesus Christ – to be good to my younger children and to be a Father to them'. He died soon afterwards and was buried in Christchurch.

The Lord Protector arrives

The fortunes of this remarkable family, along of course with many others, changed for ever following the victory of Cromwell's Parliamentary Party forces over the Royalist and Irish in the 1650's, leading to the confiscation of lands belonging to nearly all Catholic landowners, who were judged rightly or wrongly to be responsible for taking part in the rebellion of 1641 and for the subsequent alleged massacre of Protestant settlers. The dispossessed landowners were mostly compensated with poor land across the River Shannon, and the prime lands of Munster and Leinster were granted to the disbanded Cromwellian soldiers and the 'Adventurers' who had financed the English Parliament's Irish war in the firm expectation of grants of choice pastures. Such a massive transfer of land ownership required a detailed description of lands in the two provinces, parish by parish. This was done in the Civil Survey of 1654-1656,on the orders of General Fleetwood the Lord Deputy, who issued commissions to the 'most able men in each barony', to carry out the Civil Survey and for that purpose to hold Courts of Enquiry.The 'most able men' for County Waterford were John Cliffe, Robert Fawcett and George Cawdron. Fawcett and Cawdron were already in possession of forfeited lands in the Liberties of the city as were other Parliamentarians. Cawdron became the first mayor in the Puritan Corporation of 1656 following six years of military rule. Detailed maps were compiled by Sir William Petty and his teams of Surveyors, and the results became known as the 'Down Survey', because everything was 'written down'. He agreed to have the field-work done 'within one year and one month, provided the weather was agreeable and the Tories quiet'. His surveyors were expected to 'endure travaile, ill-lodging and diet, as also heat and colds, being also men of activity that could leap ditches and hedges, and could also rustle with the several rude persons with whom they might expect to be often crossed and opposed'.

The Sherlocks dispossessed

The Survey was done parish by parish, drawn to a scale of 40 perches to the inch with an index of landowners, the quality of land and it's use. Many of the parish maps were destroyed in a fire at the Surveyor General's office in Dublin in 1711, and the rest were blown-up in the Public Records Office in 1922, but fortunately maps and descriptions for 16 counties, Waterford among them, had been copied in

1787 for the Surveyor General, and are now on microfilm in the National Library. The Surveyor for Waterford was one Francis Cooper. I counted 12 Sherlock families as forfeiting lands in Co. Waterford in 1657, as follows;

Barony of Gaultier	1,270 acres
Barony of Middlethird-Kilmeaden, Dunhill,	4,556 acres
Barony of Upperthird-Kilmacthomas, Bonmahon,	5,327 acres
Total	11,153 acres

(11153 Plantation measure = 18600 statute acres.)

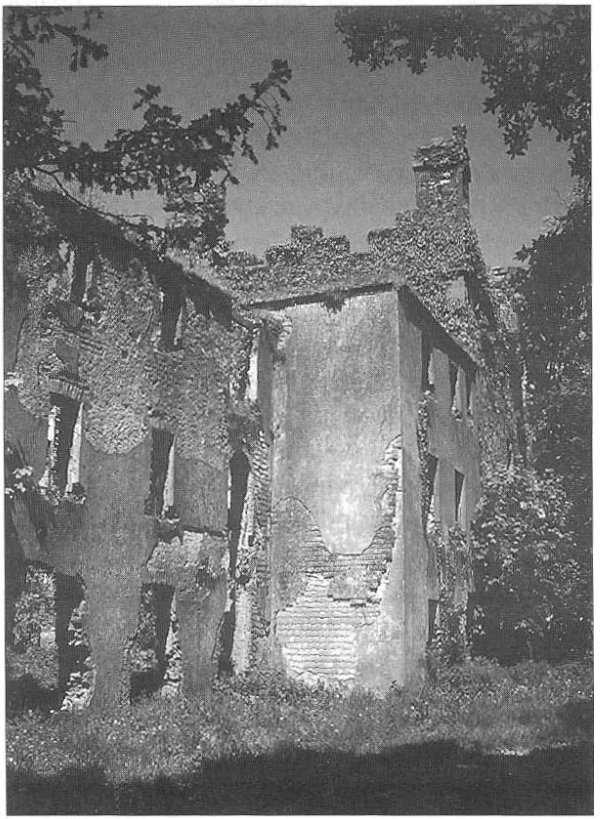
Sir Thomas of Butlerstown

Easily identifiable was Sir Thomas Sherlock of Butlerstown Castle,'Irish Papist' – Mayor of Waterford in 1632 – who forfeited a total of 9,450 statute acres of the total. It is worth noting that all Bishopslands and Glebes were also forfeited at this time. From 1650-1656, the City was governed by Commissioners appointed by Cromwell, and from 1656 onwards the Mayoral names changed from the familiar ruling family names such as Aylward, Wadding, Walsh, White, Wyse, Sherlock, Dobbyn, Leonard, Madden, Comerford, to the new Adventurers who now assumed power in the ancient City; Cawdron, Watts, Rickard, Dancer, Halsey, Christmas, Heavens, Exton, Wheeler and Bolton.

Sir Thomas Sherlock had previously further increased his holdings by purchase and mortgage. By 1641 when the Rebellion began, he owned 19 entire townlands and parts of 3 others, totalling 9,450 statute acres, apart from mortgages. He also owned several houses, yards and gardens in the City. In order to protect his possessions, he perhaps understandably refused to join the insurgents of the Confederation of Kilkenny, and in December of 1641, he actually co-operated with Sir William St. Leger, President of Munster, in the hunting down and hanging of Irish marauders. In 1642 the Confederates again called upon him to join the Rebellion as a Catholic – he refused and defended his castle against the forces of Lord Mountgarrett. But the castle was taken and it is written, they 'turned him out of doors in his slippers without stockings, leaving him only a red cap and green mantle, so that himself, his lady and children had not so much as their wearing clothes left, nor any relief but depended solely on their friends'. He fled to Dublin by night after six weeks 'in a bare suit and mantle', signed the Roll of the Catholic Confederation – though only to avoid imprisonment.

Hard Times

When the Duke of Ormond gave up the Capital City to Parliamentary forces in 1647, the new Governor, Col. Michael Jones, expelled all Irish inhabitants except Sir Thomas, who however could only stay until he got sea-passage to England. He returned with Oliver Cromwell himself in 1649, but the latter was unable to help him, as it had become common knowledge that Thomas had signed with the Confederates. He was not in residence at Butlerstown Castle when Cromwell, during his progress west from Waterford in December 1649, attacked the castle with



Butlerstown Castle and ruins of mansion

gunpowder to dislodge the Marquis of Ormond's forces holding it. Under the Cromwellian Settlement therefore, his estates were confiscated – he was not compensated in Connaught and upon the Restoration, King Charles II wrote on his behalf to the Lords Justice of Ireland. However,nothing was done for him until September 1663 when Sir William Domville, Attorney General, in a letter to the Irish Secretary Bennett, wrote that 'certain persons had been adjudged nocent (guilty) merely for living in rebel-held territory at the outset of the Rebellion, and holding some compliance with the enemy, although soon after, they made their escape from his tyranny and have ever since faithfully adhered unto and succoured the English, as Lord Dunsany, Sir Thomas Sherlock and others, who maybe thought more fit to be restored to the ancient seats of their honours and families, than that tinkers and cobblers should possess their lands, and they themselves retain only the empty titles of their honours'.

The Restoration

This restoration came too late for Sir Thomas – he died in poverty in December 1663 – probably at the house of his eldest son Paul in High St., who received a grant of £50 from the Treasury, on 9th December 'for defraying the charges of burying the said Sir Thomas'. Paul Sherlock was restored under the 'Acts of Settlement and Explanation' to Butlerstown Castle and about 2,940 statute acres and 663 mortgaged acres of his father's estates. The confirmatory grant was not made until 1679,but it is likely that he had possession for some years previously. Paul's eldest son Thomas, succeeded his father about 1689, and was one of two Deputy Lieutenants for Co. Waterford under Richard Power, Earl of Tyrone, in that year. In 1690 he was one of eight persons appointed in Co. Waterford to collect the 'Grand Applotment', a new tax instituted by King James II to raise money for his Irish war. Waterford's contribution was to be £1,292 a month for three months – an enormous sum for the time. Thomas assisted and served in the Irish Army of King James and fought on to the bitter end, thus vindicating the reputation of his family name, somewhat tarnished from an Irish viewpoint by the actions of his grandfather who had taken sides against his own people and co-religionists. By Decree of 29th June 1692, the benefit of the Articles of the Treaty of Limerick was granted to Thomas Sherlock of Upper Butlerstown – he therefore retained his estate intact. Interestingly, Thomas's name was on a short list, dated 30th March 1705, of 'all persons of the Popish religion within the Kingdom of Ireland who have licences to bear or carry arms' – in his case, a sword, case of pistols and a gun. Edmond Sherlock, his brother and who succeeded to the estate, also acquitted himself with credit in the Jacobite War on the Irish side, fighting on until the surrender. He also benefited under the Treaty of Limerick, retaining his lands at Ballingown, parish of Kilrossanty, before succeeding to Butlerstown in 1719.

Religious and Social Pressures

Paul, eldest son of Edmond, on his father's death in 1729, succeeded to Butlerstown, and seems to have conformed to the Established Church twice; firstly on 19th

February 1729, about the time he inherited the property, and secondly on 19th December 1759. He was more than likely under threat from a so-called 'Protestant Discoverer' – an individual on the look-out for confiscated lands of Catholics – so he had to take steps to safeguard his property. However, his children were brought up as Catholics. In 1775, Paul's rental at the lands of Butlerstown was estimated at £1,500, still a considerable sum on a smaller estate.

Thomas Sherlock, the eldest son, succeeded his father in 1776, and was the last of his line to inhabit Butlerstown Castle as head of the family. He had a reputation for hospitality and kept open house for the citizens and officers of the garrison who would ride out from Waterford to his entertainments. In 1794 a disastrous fire destroyed the interior of the castle, and the Sherlock family moved to Killaspy House, a large square three-storey house on the Kilkenny side of the Suir close to Waterford. On 28th September 1798 Thomas gave a lease, forever, to one Robert Backas of Waterford, on the ancestral lands at Upper Butlerstown, to whom the property was finally sold by his son Alexander early in the nineteenth century. P.H. Egan, in his *Guide to Waterford*, published 1894, described his visit to Butlerstown as follows – 'Walking through the castle the truth of the tradition that it was blown up by Cromwell becomes manifest. Two of the stone stairs are substituted by wooden ones, a new roof has been put on, and the battlements at the top look modern. All these improvements are attributed to Mr. Backas, who also built the beautiful and commodious residence attached. On the top floor may be seen a stucco representation of the crucifixion, which leads to the belief that this portion was at one time used as a chapel'. The crumbling remains of the mansion may be seen by today's visitor, although the castle has been preserved from further deterioration. Alexander Sherlock J.P., of Killaspy House, became an Alderman of the City, on the Corporation elected in October 1842 – thus after an interval of 150 years there was a Sherlock on Waterford Corporation, the scene of former family glories. It had been expected that Alexander would have the honour of being the first Mayor of the reformed Corporation – more due to his famous name than as an able administrator. He was proposed but declined, pleading other commitments. The election of Thomas Meagher, as the first Catholic Mayor for centuries, was seen by the citizens as an expression of religious equality. As a humane landlord, Alexander Sherlock did not survive the difficult years of the Great Famine unscathed, especially as his estates were 'encumbered' (mortgaged), and the family's move to the smaller house of Sweetbriar Park in Tramore, about 1850 and also the sale of lands to Lord Waterford in 1861, reflects the decline in it's fortunes.

A humanitarian landlord

Thomas Paul Sherlock J.P. of Carrigmorna, Co. Waterford, the eldest son of Alexander, was made a Freeman of Waterford on 28th December 1846. His estate comprised 1953 statute acres, but in an era of steadily decreasing rental income for landlords, his financial situation deteriorated, until in the 1870's he was obliged to take the Local Government post of baronial Cess Collector for the Barony of Decies-without-Drum [the area around Dungarvan], to make ends meet. This

involved resignation from the Bench – he was J.P. for counties Waterford and Kilkenny – lest he be both judge and prosecutor in the same case. A story was told of how he took his family to the Continent around this time to economise. However, they brought the grand piano along with them, which was considered a bad start! Thomas Paul died on 19th August 1888, and his obituary notice in a local paper tells us; 'He was one of the few landlords in this county to take into practical consideration, the condition of their tenantry in the trying years 1879-80, helping to tide them over the crisis by granting liberal and timely reductions in their rents'. He had been married twice and left a large family (nine in all), and among them was Margaret Mary, born 1844, who entered the Ursuline Convent in 1864 as Sister Mary Berchmans, studied art in Belgium and taught that subject for 60 years in the Waterford boarding school .She was an expert genealogist and antiquarian, publishing many articles in the old Waterford Archaeological Journal, including a study on her own family.This and all the rest were published under the pseudonym 'P' [for Peggy], as it was not considered proper for a sister in religion at that time to be a published author on secular subjects. The Editor of the Journal at that time, Rev. Patrick (later Canon) Power, was credited with Sister Berchman's work. When she died on 6th June 1935, aged 91, she was the last survivor of her family.

End of the Line

The eldest son of Thomas Paul, Alexander, who succeeded in 1888, broke the entail and tapped the estate for large amounts. He died unmarried at Newton Heath, Manchester on 30th December 1897, aged 43 years. The second and only other son of Thomas Paul,by his second wife, emigrated to Chicago and married one Margaret Kennedy. Their son,Patrick John, was left an orphan at an early age. The only male Butlerstown Sherlock of his generation, he succeeded to what remained of the estate under guardians – one of whom was his sister Helen. He is mentioned in a letter to his aunt, Sister Mary Berchmans of the Ursuline Convent in Waterford, dated 1st February 1898, from which it seems he gave great trouble at a boarding school in Mountrath Co. Laois, and that his guardians were negligent and should be changed by a judge in court.

Sister Berchmans in reply to Mr. Kelly of the school,calls her nephew headstrong and impulsive. As a young man, Patrick John went to Australia and from thence to America, where he settled in San Francisco, dying, unmarried in about 1930. Thus ended the male line of the Waterford Sherlocks.

The family tomb

Very close to the wall of Butlerstown Church is the family tomb of the Sherlocks. Right next to it is a modern and unsightly oil-tank for the church heating. Within the tomb are laid to rest many members of the family, including Thomas, last occupant of Butlerstown Castle, also Alexander of Killaspy who died 1863, and a number of his children who died young. Many earlier generations of Sherlocks were buried in City graveyards, including Greyfriars and Christchurch, while Paul Sherlock (1775) and others are buried within the ruins of Lisnakill Old Church.

The following legend is enscribed on this table tomb at Butlerstown Parish Church;

Erected to the memory of Alexander Sherlock Esq.
Who departed this life 16 May 1863 aged 83
and of his Mother Jane Sherlock nee Mansfield
his brother Thomas and of his children
Anne Sherlock,Teresa Sherlock,Alexander Sherlock, Mrs. James Scully
and of his grand-daughter Margaret Scully
and of his wife Helen obit. 22 May 1877, also
sacred to the memory of his eldest son
Thomas Paul Sherlock Esq. J.P. obit 19 August 1888
and of his wife Margaret, obit 1 July 1873
and of their children
Mary Bolger obit Nov.1874, Anna Sherlock obit 22 May 1882
Patrick Sherlock obit 24 April 1884, Helen Kelly obit 26 Sept. 1917

Erected by Helen the beloved wife of Alexander Sherlock Esq.
Requiscant in Pace

The arms of the Sherlock family is displayed at the foot of the altar tomb –
A shield with two fleur de lis, surmounted by a crest showing a pelican.

Eminent Churchmen

There is a brass plaque in Waterford's Cathedral of the Most Holy Trinity, on a pillar next to the great pulpit, measuring six feet by two and a half. It was erected in 1919 due to the efforts of Canon Patrick Power,diocesan historian and antiquarian, already mentioned, and paid for by the priests of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore. It commemorates a unique group of priests, natives of the diocese and eminent in the Church at home and abroad. Listed among them is Paul Sherlock SJ (1595-1646), Commentator on Holy Scripture, a scion of the Gracedieu branch – son of James by his second wife Margaret Lee [or Ley], of Waterford. With the exception of Geoffrey Keating, all the other twelve priests were related by blood-testifying to the strong links in family and trade in these sons of Waterford's ruling dynasties – the Lombards, Comerfords, Whites, Waddings, Walshs, Barrons, and Sherlocks. Paul Sherlock SJ, was the son of James Sherlock of Ballydavid Woodstown, who was the son and successor of James of Gracedieu. Paul left Waterford in 1612 aged 17 and entered the Society of Jesus at Salamanca in Spain. After ordination he duly became Rector of the College at St. Iago de Compostella, and in 1631 was nominated Rector of the Irish College of Salamanca, where Irishmen studied for the priesthood for more than 300 years.He was also appointed Censor of Doctrine by the Sacred Inquisition. As mentioned, Fr. Sherlock was the author of many works of theology, to be found in many ecclesiastical colleges even today. On 24th April 1642, Fr. Robert Nugent the Superior of the Jesuits in Ireland

wrote to the Father General of the Order, Fr. Viteilleshi, asking for two Waterfordmen to work in the city – 'Fr. Peter Wadding from Bohemia, or his brother Luke from Salamanca, and Fr. Paul Sherlock'. Almost a year later Fr. Nugent wrote again, on 28th February 1643 – 'I hope your paternity will send us from Spain Fr. Luke Wadding and Fr. Paul Sherlock who are absolutely necessary to this mission'. The Waddings referred to were cousins of the famous Fr. Luke the Franciscan. However,neither priest was to return home, but Fr. General gave permission to Waterford Jesuits who held chairs in various Continental Universities to send books for use to the Waterford residence.When the last Jesuit pastor of St. Patrick's parish, John Barron, died, his books were given to the library of St. John's College and it is probable that some of these gifts from Waterford Jesuits were among them. Fr. Paul Sherlock was not of very robust health, but that did not prevent him from wearing a hair shirt,practicing severe austerities and penances for as long as he was able. He died in Salamanca on August 9th 1646 at the age of 51 years.

Epilogue

The male line of the Butlerstown Sherlocks ended with the death of Patrick John in 1930, but there are numerous descendants of them through the female line. At the Cromwellian confiscations, many of the Sherlocks were scattered to the four winds – I recently checked the telephone directories with the following results;

Waterford,Wexford, Kilkenny, Offaly, _____	17 Sherlocks listed.
Galway, Mayo, _____	39 Sherlocks listed.
Clare, North Kerry, _____	19 Sherlocks listed.

Readers of the novels of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle may not know that the name of his famous detective, Sherlock Holmes, was named after the wife of his uncle Henry Edward Doyle. She was a daughter of Jane Sherlock of Butlerstown Castle, who married Judge Nicholas Ball of Clonmel in 1817.

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Listing of Ships sailing from Waterford to Newfoundland in May 1765

By Bill Irish

IT was claimed in London and Dublin newspapers of late May 1765 that the number of ships which sailed from southern and eastern Irish ports to Newfoundland this season were as follows; 28 vessels from Dublin, 16 vessels from Cork, 12 vessels from Waterford, and 8 vessels from Youghal.[1] However when Faulkners Dublin Journal investigated the authenticity of the figures with the Custom Houses of Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and Youghal, a different picture emerged. The official list of ships that sailed from these ports to Newfoundland up to the end of May was: Dublin – none, Cork 8, Youghal 3, and Waterford 50.

Faulkners Dublin Journal went a step further and sourced the names of the ships leaving Waterford, and also the names of their masters.[2] These are outlined hereunder.

Name	Port of Register	Master
Elizabeth	Jersey	Phil Nicholle
Seaflower	Jersey	William Howard
Three Friends	Jersey	Noah Gautier
Mary	Jersey	Theo. Deputon
Arthur and Betty	Dartmouth	John Whitney
Grampus	Dartmouth	George Nickels
Weston	Bristol	Richard Scott
Surprise	Dartmouth	William Chanell
Tartar	Newfoundland	Matthew Wallace
Speedy	Topsham	Joseph Baker
Brothers	Waterford	Laurence Hearn
Litchfield	Topsham	John Treat
Elizabeth	Dartmouth	Francis Line
Industrious Bee	Poole	Henry Trather
Venus	Dartmouth	John Parr
Brittannia	Dartmouth	Arthur Eames

1 Matthew Butler Manuscripts 9495–9505 (11 Volumes) National Manuscripts Office N.L.I. Shipping and Waterford shipping information contained in notebooks 9503–9505.

2 *Faulkners Dublin Journal*, 1/6/1765 on microfilm at N.L.I. (M/F 1763-66.)

Name	Port of Register	Master
William and Mary	Dartmouth	Andrew Griffin
Fanny	Bristol	Robert Quick
Endeavour	Poole	Benjamin Green
Prussian King	Dartmouth	William Harvey
Lion	Dartmouth	Simon Carder
Tom Codd	Tinmouth	John Fouraker
Priscilla	Poole	James Sampson
Adventure	Topsham	Daniel Fellett
Dolphin	Bristol	Conway Heighington
Billy	Poole	Philip Steak
William	Cork	Nicolas Power
Suckey	Poole	Francis Penny
Mermaid	Poole	Joseph Primer
Serviceable	Liverpool	Hugh Roberts
Juno	Poole	Moses Cheater
Suckey	Poole	Joseph Miller
Johanna	Bristol	Jeri. Coghlan
Amy	Poole	Oliver Frampton
Providence	Poole	William Moores
Molly	Poole	James Bartlett
John	Poole	John Whales
Mary	Bristol	Robert Power
Chance	Poole	Richard Wood
Sunflower	Poole	James Joshua (—illegible—)
Seaflower	Poole	Jacob Bartlett
John and Jenny	Topsham	Samuel Sage
Lovely Peggy	Waterford	Edward Weekes
Active	Poole	James Leager
Lamb	Poole	Benjamin Linthorn
Mary and Ann	Dartmouth	Richard Hutchings
Unity	Plymouth	Robert Bayley
Recovery	Waterford	William Francis
Sally	Poole	Edward de Hearne
Two Friends	Ross	Thomas Keily (or Kelly)

The newspaper added that "several more ships for Newfoundland were expected at Waterford this season. The superior number of ships victualled there this year, and for some series of years past is attributed to the excellency of their pork, ... and the goodness of every other particular necessity to fit out ships for that fishery. It is also noticed that many thousand fishermen and servants who are employed at Newfoundland, live in the county of Waterford and parts adjacent."[3]

3 *Ibid.*

Michael Cavanagh of Cappoquin, 1822-1900

By Pádraig Ó Macháin and Thomas F. Overlander

THE purpose of this article is to present some biographical notes on Michael Cavanagh, a lifelong patriot, poet and literary figure, on this the centenary of his death. It does not pretend to be comprehensive, or to deal to any great extent with Cavanagh's prodigious literary output. What is presented here may be regarded as a prologue to such a study, and a selective commentary in commemoration of an important and somewhat neglected figure in the history of Co. Waterford.[1]

As there is much about Michael Cavanagh – Young Irelander, Fenian, United States Army veteran, poet – which might be considered romantic or even enigmatic, it is appropriate that even his date of birth has remained uncertain until now. His death certificate gives his age as seventy-three at the time of his death in 1900,[2] which would mean that he was born about 1827. Just a few weeks prior to his death he had given his age as sixty-six in the Twelfth Census of the United States, stating that he was born in January 1834, which, inter alia, would have him a too-youthful 14 years old during the stirring events of 1848. Again, the declaration on his pension application in 1890 (see below) that he was fifty-eight at the time would mean that he was born about 1832. He certainly knew the date and month – 22 January – as he so dates his own 'Birthday Song'.[3] Minimisation of age was commonplace in the nineteenth century when age could be a serious barrier to employment; it is also true that in nineteenth-century Ireland many people were genuinely uncertain as to the precise year of their birth.

Michael was baptised in Cappoquin – 'that village of tenacious memories by the Blackwater'[4] – on Wednesday, 23 January 1822, and was probably born on the 22nd.[5] His baptismal sponsors were Cornelius Keefe and Johanna Keane. His parents were Andrew Cavanagh and Mary Cullanane.[6] Mary Cullanane was from Modeligo, and according to Dubhghlas de hÍde, she and Seán Ó Dálaigh had been schoolfellows.[7] From a poem which he composed in the persona of his sister Katie,

1 Acknowledgement is due to Michael Kane, Pittsburgh, Peter H. Viles, Worcester, and to Charles Laverty, New Jersey, for help at certain points during the preparation of this article.

2 District of Columbia Certificate of Death no. 131448.

3 NLI MS 3308, p. 107.

4 Cavanagh's words: *Shan Van Vocht* 3/11 (1898) 200.

5 This means that Michael was a year and a half older than the subject of his book,Thomas Francis Meagher.

6 Cappoquin Parish, Baptismal Records 1810-70, p. 99.

7 *Worcester Messenger*, 23 June 1888; *Mise agus an Connradh (go dtí 1905)* (Dublin 1937) 153.

it appears that Michael was the only boy of eight children:

> Of those fond sisters seven
> who played around you there
> one rests thank God in heaven
> the rest still live elsewhere.
> And you our only brother
> an exile o'er the foam
> 'twere hard sad thoughts to smother
> while gazing on our home.[8]

Katie,[9] was baptised 15 January 1837. Of the other sisters, we have identified to date Ann (bap. 21 May 1827), Brigid (bap. 18 October 1830), Julia (bap. 5 October 1833) wife of another Cappoquin poet John Walsh,[10] Margaret,[11] and Mary who with Ann emigrated to America. Mary became Mrs William Keane in Waterford, Saratoga County, New York State (see below); and Ann, a teacher living in Katona, became Mrs Hagarty, and is known, from family tradition, to have been in charge of mathematics for the Westchester County Schools.

Michael's father Andrew was a cooper. Andrew's brother, Thomas, had five children who went to America. Andrew lived in Cook Street, where he rented four houses from the Keanes. One of these he held on a 61-year lease which in 1848/9 was said to have twenty-six years remaining before expiry.[12] This suggests that Cook Street is where Michael Cavanagh was born and reared; and that the Miss Mary Daniel mentioned in Griffith's and elsewhere as occupying the three houses on the town side of Andrew Cavanagh's, opposite the Mercy Convent, was the Mary O'Donnell addressed by Cavanagh in his poem to his 'kind old neighbour' and 'oldest living friend'.[13] Andrew Cavanagh disappears from the valuation records for Cook Street about 1857, perhaps on the occasion of his death. Thereafter Cavanaghs in Cappoquin appear concentrated in Barrack Street.[14]

We know that Michael attended the Christian Brother's, John Mulcahy's, school,

8 NLI MS 3308, p. 193; other poems addressed to Katie ibid., p. 153.

9 Later Mrs Richard Walsh of Graiguemore, Scart, Modeligo; her son Fr Michael Joseph said the funeral mass for Michael Cavanagh in Washington in 1900.

10 Selection of works published by Fr Michael Hickey in *Clonmel Nationalist*, 13 April to 29 June 1892. Poem by Cavanagh to Julia in *Celtic Monthly* 2/4 (November 1879) 314.

11 Poem addressed to her by Michael in MS 3308, p. 161.

12 National Archives of Ireland: Valuation Field Book, Cappoquin (OL 4.3349).

13 She was 90 years old at the time (1882), and it was she who had told him about his grandfather's participation in 1798 (NLI MS 3308, p. 153).

14 So too the Molowney family, whom Cavanagh describes (*Celtic Magazine* 1/7 (1883) 648) as his neighbours during his childhood. Presumably they had left Cook Street by the time the valuations were made.

in Cappoquin.[15] He tells us himself, in a poem dedicated to an old schoolmate, Frank Keating, that Mulcahy had a fine fruit garden adjacent to the school, and that the boys would raid this garden in vengeance for punishment meted to them in the course of their education.[16] T. F. O'Sullivan says that, in addition to attending National School, Michael also attended the Seminary at Mount Melleray;[17] given that Mount Melleray Seminary was not founded until 1845 it is not surprising that no records of Michael's attendance there have been found.[18]

From the traditions which Michael later put in writing, it is clear that as a mature writer he was able to wed local folklore of his native West Waterford with his reading of Irish history and mythology in general. His awareness of the wider literary traditions of Ireland began at an early age. John Boyle O'Reilly, Cavanagh's good friend, credits Michael's mother with instilling in him a love of Irish language and culture:

> His father was a cooper, and his mother the daughter of a farmer. She was instructed in the Irish language, and from her the son derived his first knowledge of his native tongue in print, as well as his love for the traditional lore with which her mind was well stored, and to which he added by the study and research of after-years.[19]

De hÍde informs us that Michael could recall listening, at the age of eight years, to his uncle's nightly readings from an old Irish manuscript which contained Ossianic tales and lays. Such was the effect of these readings on young Michael that in later life he was still able to recite these verses and, indeed, to anticipate John O'Mahony in the latter's readings of 'Agallamh Oisín agus Phádraig'.[20]

These literary encounters with Ireland's heroic past probably constituted one factor in the development of Michael's political awareness. Others, we may assume, are to be found in the general political and social climate of his youth, the O'Connell years of Emancipation and the Repeal Movement, when the struggle against injustices such as the tithe-system was coming to a head.[21] As a young man he

15 For some references to this school see Melanie O'Sullivan and Kevin McCarthy, *Cappoquin: a walk through history* ([Cappoquin 1999]) 141-3.

16 Michael Cavanagh, 'To my last school-fellows living at home', *Celtic Magazine* 1/7 (1883) 665.

17 *The Young Irelanders* (Tralee 1944) 374.

18 We are grateful to an tAthair Uinseann Ó Maidín OCSO for his assistance in this matter.

19 John Boyle O'Reilly, *The poetry and song of Ireland* (New York 1887) xlviii.

20 *Mise agus an Connradh*, 153-4.

21 In the latter years of his life, Michael could still recall an English version of one of the ballads of Carrickshock which struck the hearer 'as being so revoltingly savage and at the same time so good a specimen of Irish vowel-rhyming that it were a pity not to preserve it', Justin McCarthy, *Irish literature* Vol. 10 (Philadelphia 1904) 3917-8.

listened to Fr Patrick Meany, a curate in Lismore, 'exhorting the more congenial spirits of Cappoquin' in political matters, when prevented from so doing in Lismore by the Parish Priest, Fr Fogarty.[22] And there can be little doubt that the Great Famine as experienced in west-Waterford also left its mark on Michael Cavanagh:

> But I have seen full-grown men and women plucking wild rape and nettles for the purpose of keeping body and soul together, while the yellow wheat waved in abundance over smiling fields, and cattle and sheep fed on the fertile borders of this same Blackwater, and yet, no blow was struck then for corn or cattle, or land, or life.[23]

The combination of the Famine and the evictions of the tenants of Arthur Keily Ussher (whom Cavanagh terms the Exterminator) at Ballysaggartmore also proved a formative experience for him:

> It was on an April day in 1847, a day of alternate sunshine and showers, that I went from Cappoquin to visit some friends in Lismore. On my return I passed through the Mall, leading from the Main Street to the venerable Cathedral of Lismore. While walking down the middle of the broad avenue, I heard someone moaning feebly under one of the stately trees that grew on the embankments bordering the road on either side. On looking in the direction of the sound, I saw a man lying on a little straw under a tree – from whose dripping branches the rain fell on his haggard, fever-flushed face. Half paralized by fear and horror at such an unwonted sight in a Christian country, I asked another commiserating onlooker who the man was, or why he was left there under the rain. He told me 'the poor creature was one of Kiely's turned-out tenants who had the fever and could not get into the poor-house infirmary till next 'board day' so the neighbours who brought him into the town had to leave him there under the trees, as they daren't bring him into their own homes'. Continuing the man said, 'There are three more sick, poor creatures, two men and a little boy, under the trees down there before you'. I saw them in passing, and the sound of their pitiful moans still echoes in my memory. It was a sight never to be forgotten and very hard to be forgiven.[24]

With this understanding of Cavanagh's first-hand experience of the effects of injustice and tyranny, it is not difficult to appreciate his motivation in involving himself in the Young Ireland movement. We are fortunate that, in his major work,

22 Michael Cavanagh, *Memoirs of Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher* (Worcester, Mass. 1892) 44; for Fr Meany see Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Sagairt an Leasa', *An Linn Bhuí* 3 (1999) 72-81.

23 Cavanagh in *Worcester Messenger*, 11 May 1889.

24 Ibid., 25 May 1889. (Cavanagh's parents and youngest sister suffered, in May 1847, from the typhoid fever spread by this particular episode: *Worcester Messenger*, 1 June 1889.)

his *Memoirs* of Thomas Francis Meagher, he has left us an account not just of Meagher's part in the events of 1848 and later, but also of his own participation in those events. Although there is no shortage of documentation provided by the protagonists of the Young Ireland movement, Cavanagh's differs significantly in that it gives a picture of what it was like among the foot-soldiers of that movement, particularly in Dublin prior to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

When John Williams organised the Confederate Club of Cappoquin in 1847, Michael and his cousin Dan McGrath joined immediately.[25] The following year Cavanagh and McGrath had decided to emigrate but, learning of the revolution in Paris, and caught up in the excitement of that event, they resolved to stay and take part in whatever might transpire. Michael was now twenty-six years old and, as is clear from his writings, imbued with the optimism and abandon which characterize the Young Irelanders of early 1848.[26]

An aggregate meeting of United Repealers was organised for Dublin on St Patrick's Day, 1848. Dan and Michael determined to attend and journeyed to Dublin the evening before, taking lodgings in Smithfield. The next day they discovered that the meeting had been deferred to Monday 20 March. They resolved to seek out Bob Ward, a journeyman saddler from Ballyhale who had served some of his time in Carrick and who was now working at Rooney's of Capel Street. Ward arranged lodgings for them at the corner of North King and Lurgan Streets, and there Cavanagh and McGrath remained until forced to leave Dublin a few months later. Ward it was who, within a matter of days, proposed them for the famous Swift Club of 31 Queen Street, and they were soon settled into the centre of Confederate activity, and had met all the leading Young Irelanders, including Meagher and especially Thomas Devin Reilly with whom Michael was on friendliest terms.[27]

In his account of the events in Dublin in the Spring and Summer of 1848, Michael Cavanagh is naturally partisan. His narrative is also personal, however, and it is this aspect of his book which gives it vitality. He witnesses the transfer of Mitchel from the Newgate to the Four Courts during which Bob Ward levelled a Peeler with a blow, which blow Cavanagh considered to be the first of the revolution.[28] He and Dan McGrath meet a soldier on duty outside Beggar's Bush, who it transpires is one James Murphy from Tallow. Murphy later warns Cavanagh of a planned general search for arms; Cavanagh meets with Reilly and Mitchel at the latter's home in Rathmines. The plan is made public and thereby foiled.[29]

The *Memoirs* are filled with such details, and lend authenticity and authority to the more general opinions expressed by Cavanagh on the controversial issues of the Young Ireland revolt. While Duffy was later to make the excuse that the rebellion

25 *Memoirs*, 112. McGrath was a saddler; he died in Marshall, Missouri, 24 December 1888 (ibid., 284).
26 Ibid., 6.
27 Ibid., 6, 110-13, 117-18.
28 Ibid., 181-2.
29 Ibid., 168-70.

could not have taken place in Dublin, and, implausibly, to blame that on Mitchel himself,[30] Cavanagh was in no doubt that the Mitchel trial should have been the occasion for a general rising. His defence of Meagher in breaking the news to the Dublin clubs that nothing was to happen is strained: 'when he undertook to dash down the hopes and chill the hearts of those trusting enthusiasts – whose life-blood would be freely shed in following him to the rescue of John Mitchel. What was facing 'Marye's Heights' to this?'[31]

He is equally critical, scathing indeed, of the deliberate absence of any code of secrecy within the Young Ireland movement,[32] and of the absurdity of many aspects of the campaign once the leadership had been forced to leave Dublin.[33] His verdict on the entire affair is succinct:

> Whatever were the opinions entertained by honest and intelligent men as to the various *auxiliary* causes of the failure, there can be no reasonable doubt that the *main* cause was owing to the absence of preliminary organization among the people selected by the leaders to inaugurate the insurrection, and to the utter lack of military knowledge among the leaders themselves.[34]

Michael Cavanagh's account of his own activities from the 25th to the 30th of July reads like a personal odyssey, at times surreal or even allegorical. With Ward and McGrath he left Dublin by train on the 25th. He carried with him the pike-head which John Mitchel had sensationally displayed at the Music Hall on Lower Abbey Street in late March. Mitchel had presented it to Cavanagh on the occasion of their first meeting in the offices of the *United Irishman* in early April, and Michael now carried it inside his vest as a 'cherished memento of our banished Felon'.[35] They were headed for a rendezvous with Devin Reilly at Michael Doheny's house in Cashel but, on arrival at Thurles, Cavanagh found that he could not sit comfortably in the Bianconi car, which was to take them to Cashel, without publicly displaying the pike-head. Michael chose to walk.

Arriving in Cashel, and introduced to Mrs Doheny by members of the local (Cormac Mac Cuilleanáin) Confederate Club, Cavanagh elected to act sentry in the field opposite and await the arrival of Reilly, Doheny and Smith O'Brien whom Mrs

30 Charles Gavan Duffy, *Four years of Irish history 1845-1849* (London, Paris and New York 1883) 596-7.

31 *Memoirs*, 196. The reference is to the battle of Fredericksburgh.

32 Ibid., 167-8.

33 For example he describes as 'utterly Quixotic' the plan for D'Arcy Magee to lead an invasion of Glasgow-Irish by sea, through Sligo and on to Tipperary (*Memoirs*, 245-6 n.).

34 Ibid., 285-6.

35 Ibid., 258. It was in the *United Irishman* offices in April that he caught his one and only glimpse of James Clarence Mangan: UCD Archives LA15/336, Cavanagh to D. J. O'Donoghue, 3 January 1897.

Doheny believed to be in Kilkenny. Michael spent the night of 25 July in the field, in what must have been one of the most inspiring vigils of the entire event, in sight of Carraig Phádraig and Sliabh na mBan: 'Surely, these were subjects which, under the circumstances, might well occupy the thoughts of a young Irish enthusiast – imbued with the spirit of their past associations – during the fleeting hours of a short summer's night'.[36]

Reilly arrived the next morning and instructed Cavanagh to go to Cappoquin to alert Hugh Collender to the impending rising. Cavanagh, Ward and McGrath spent the day walking to Cappoquin, carried out their mission, and set out for Carrick that night. The next day, 27 July, was spent crossing the Comeragh Mountains, and they arrived in Carrick that night. It was possibly on this occasion that he enjoyed the hospitality of Fr Michael Hickey's grandmother in Carrickbeg, an experience which he remembered with gratitude and affection, and which cemented his friendship with Fr Hickey in later years.[37]

The following day Michael met Fr Patrick Byrne who changed a pound note for him, agreeing to differ on the rights and wrongs of revolution. Fr Byrne, until very recently when he had begun to suspect the sanity of Smith O'Brien, had been an outspoken supporter of the Confederates. The next day, 29 July, the day of the affray at the Commons, Michael and his two comrades walked through the unfriendly country of Piltown and Mooncoin, and were relieved to cross the bridge into Waterford City later that afternoon. Here they met with the City Confederates and the Carrick boatmen, all bewildered at the absence of Meagher and at the failure to give the word for the rising. They left by boat for New Ross that evening in the company of a member of the Art McMurrough Club of that town. The next day, Sunday 30th, was spent in Ross, and on Monday Cavanagh resolved to leave his friends and head for Cappoquin, walking for nine hours until he reached his native town, where for the first time he heard of the debacle at the Commons. He was never again to meet with Bob Ward.

Here Cavanagh's account of his own personal involvement in 1848 comes to an end. We know, from John O'Mahony's narrative of events (which survives in copies Michael made), that Cavanagh must have immediately set out again from Cappoquin for Carrick. We find him assisting O'Mahony to draw the attention of suspected Government agents away from Meagher, O'Donoghue, Leyne and McManus thus keeping them temporarily out of harm's way:

> On Cavanagh and I thundered through mountain, glen and plain. We soon distanced the heavily laden jarvies of the Dubliners, and got to my house safely after a most exciting and break-neck race of ten or twelve miles.[38]

36 *Memoirs*, 261.

37 *Worcester Messenger*, 29 December 1888, p. 7; *Letters from the Rev. Michael P. O'Hickey, D.D. (1892-1895) with a brief memoir by Edmund Downey* (Waterford 1916) 17.

38 NLI MS 7977, 73.

The likelihood is that due to his minor status within the movement Cavanagh was subsequently able to return to Cappoquin without drawing the attention of the authorities upon himself. With Habeas Corpus still suspended he was able to attend the six o'clock morning mass at Mount Melleray on Christmas Day 1848.[39]

In Cappoquin, Cavanagh remained in contact with the vestiges of the revolutionary movement. His first interaction with the leadership since July 1848, however, was when he attended a meeting in Clonmel on 5 September 1849.[40] This meeting settled on 16 September as the date for a new rising, to take place in Cork, Limerick, Clare, Kilkenny, Cashel, north Tipperary, Cappoquin and Dungarvan. Another meeting on 11 September was held to refine and finalise the plans.[41] This meeting was hosted by the four remaining leaders of the movement: James Fintan Lalor, Joseph Brenan, Philyp Gray, and Thomas Clarke Luby. Michael's opinion had been sought as to who should lead the Cappoquin attack, and he had suggested Joseph Brenan. At this meeting arrangements were made to rendezvous with Brenan on the eve of the rising.

At 9 pm, on Saturday 15 September, Michael met with Brenan and Gray (who was to take charge of the rising in Dungarvan) outside Cappoquin, and conveyed them to Hugh Collender's house. The events of the following evening in Cappoquin have been well documented in two recent publications,[42] but one element which may have contributed to the fiasco, and which has not received attention, is the fact, noted by Cavanagh, that Joseph Brenan was very ill at the time, to the extent that Cavanagh suspected cholera. Collender nursed Brenan through the night and throughout Sunday 16. Gray left for Dungarvan that afternoon, and as the hour of 9.30 pm approached Brenan pronounced himself fit and ready to lead his men. That such was hardly the case is shown by the fact that following the abortive attack on the barracks, and the ultimately fatal assault on Constable Owens, Brenan fell ill again as they fled towards Dungarvan in an attempt to meet up with Gray. Collender succeeded in locating a safe house near Dungarvan, and the following day Brenan was well enough to go disguised to Waterford, and from there to Dublin, London, and on to New York which he reached on 30 October 1849.

In looking back on the events of 1849, Cavanagh does not appear to have taken any great pride in the affair. All he would recall was that they had been defeated; the actual events of the night itself, it seems, were not to be dwelt upon:

> It forms no part of my present purpose to enter further into the details of what took place that night in Cappoquin. Others may take pride in the actors, and

39 Michael Cavanagh, 'The Midnight Mass at Melleray', *Celtic Monthly* 4/6 (1880) 561.

40 The following derives from Cavanagh's account in 'Our dead comrades: Joseph Brenan Part II', *Celtic Magazine* 1/3 (1883) 379-85, and in *Worcester Messenger*, 28 June 1890.

41 Tomás Ó Néill, *Fiontán Ó Leathlobhair* (Dublin 1962) 116-8.

42 Anthony M. Breen, *The Cappoquin rebellion 1849* (Thurston, Suffolk 1998); Brendan Kiely, *The Waterford rebels of 1849* (Dublin 1999). See also Anthony M. Breen, 'Cappoquin & the 1849 movement', *History Ireland* 7/2 (Summer 1999) 31-3.

> say they deserved well of their country! But their own feelings found expression in the words of a local poet: ... *For John O'Dwyer a gleanna we were worsted in the game*![43]

And when recalling his brief revolutionary life in Ireland, it was 1848 that he emphasised:

> Still, in the Isle God gave their sires, are Irish boys encroachers,
> Their pastimes banned, their rights curtailed by tyrants small and great;
> But, this being a progressive age, belike the youthful poachers
> Will follow in our footsteps: we were Rebs in forty-eight![44]

His verdict on 1849 was that it had been a rash undertaking, instigated by leaders driven 'mad' by famine, subjection, the exile of the 1848 leaders, the necessity to take action or be presumed cowards, and by the sight of Victoria visiting Ireland at a time when she was transporting Ireland's leaders to the antipodes thus creating the impression of the Irish as 'loyal slaves':

> The organisation which those enthusiasts [*sc.* Lalor, Brenan, Luby, and Gray] directed failed in attaining its object at the time, because, without adequate means, it attempted to inaugurate a revolution at a pre-determined time, upon a pre-arranged signal. The attempt was desperate and its promoters were madmen.[45]

Cavanagh, Collender and Dan McGrath left for America,[46] taking two months longer than Brenan to arrive there. The reason for this was that while it was some time before the authorities discovered that Brenan was involved (it was a matter of pride for Lalor that 1849 was the first ever Irish rebellion in which the leadership had not been betrayed),[47] the involvement of Cavanagh, McGrath and Collender was well known. They were named in *Hue and Cry* and a reward of £100 each offered for their capture.[48]

They arrived in New York in January 1850.[49] They immediately resolved to continue their revolutionary efforts and, to quote Cavanagh: 'As a first step they

43 Cavanagh, 'Joseph Brenan', 381.

44 Michael Cavanagh, 'Hunting the wren: a St. Stephen's Day reminiscence', *Celtic Monthly* 2/5 (1879) 448.

45 NLI MS 3225, p. 37. As explained above, 'madmen' here is not a term of criticism.

46 Via Dungarvan and France, according to one source (Frank X. O'Leary, 'The Black Christmas: a fragment of West Waterford history', *Cork Hollybough* (1956) 33); or via Dublin, perhaps (Breen, *Cappoquin rebellion*, 47). Family tradition speaks of Michael disguising himself by dying his hair, and escaping with his comrades in the middle of the night by rowing down the Blackwater.

47 Ó Néill, *Fiontán Ó Leathlobhair*, 120.

48 *Memoirs*, 283; 'Joseph Brenan', 381.

49 'Joseph Brenan', 382. Date confirmed in Cavanagh's Naturalization Petition, 1855, and Census return, 1900.

joined an Irish military organization, and so learned to perform a man's part more effectually when the next opportunity came for striking a blow for Irish liberty'.[50] Irish militia companies flourished in New York at the time and foreshadowed the formation of the Phoenix Brigade in 1858.[51] The Irish Republican Union had been founded in New York in 1848 by Michael Phelan, James F. Markey and John G. Fay; and in 1849 it had been organised into companies prior to being incorporated as the 9th regiment into the New York State Militia in 1850.[52] From his description of the Irish Republican Union (in his account of Michael Doheny), it would appear that this was the 'Irish military organization' referred to by Cavanagh, but to what company he belonged is unclear. It could also be that being resident some two hundred miles north of New York City (see below), and given the informal and ceremonial nature of these companies, he was able to transfer from one to another in order to suit his circumstances. It is unlikely, for instance, that he did not have some connection with the Mitchel Light Guards, an independent company raised by Joseph Brenan – assisted by John D. Hearn from Shanakill in Dungarvan, one of the 1849 leaders in that town[53] – and comprising almost exclusively natives of Cappoquin and Dungarvan. This company had the added attraction of having simpler and cheaper uniforms than those of the State Militia, at a time when members had to pay for their own uniforms.[54] The implication of his report (see below) of Colonel Corcoran's April 1861 speech is that Michael was not, at that time at least, a member of the State Militia.

Michael was small in stature: his pension records tell us that in 1890 he was 5'7", had brown hair and hazel eyes, and weighed 131 pounds. For quite some years after arriving in America, he plied the family trade of cooper.[55] Family tradition records that on arrival in America, Michael practiced for a while in Brooklyn where his first cousin, Thomas Cavanagh,[56] had a cooperage. If so he cannot have stayed too long there as in early 1851 we find him visiting New York 'from the country', on which

50 *Memoirs*, 283.

51 Michael H. Kane, 'American soldiers in Ireland, 1865-67', *The Irish Sword* 21 (forthcoming; we are grateful to the author and to the editor for supplying us with a typescript prior to publication). 'Generally, these amateur soldiers did little beyond marching in the annual St. Patrick's Day parade, but they did acquire at least a little experience with arms and tactics': Edward K. Spann, 'Union Green: the Irish community and the Civil War' in Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher, *The New York Irish* (Baltimore and London 1996) 194.

52 Michael Cavanagh, 'Our dead comrades – Col. Michael Doheny Part II', *Celtic Monthly* 4/6 (December 1880) (516-25) 517-18.

53 *Memoirs*, Appendix, 17-18.

54 'Joseph Brenan', 382. The Mitchel Light Guards formed the nucleus in 1853 of Meagher's Republican Rifles, later to become the Irish Rifles, and still later, during the Civil War, the 37th NYV (*Memoirs*, 331-2).

55 O'Reilly, *Poetry and song of Ireland*, xlviii; D. J. O'Donoghue, *The poets of Ireland* (Dublin and London 1912) 65; O'Sullivan, *Young Irelanders*, 374.

56 Thomas F. Overlander's great-grandfather.

occasion he stayed with Brenan.[57] We know for certain that in 1852 he was domiciled in Shushan, a town in Washington County in upstate New York, thirty miles north-east of the town of Waterford on the Hudson which itself was one hundred and fifty miles north of New York. It is probable that he had obtained a position here within a year of his arrival.[58] It was in Shushan that he first heard from a shop-mate (who had got the news in Troy, Rensselaer County, between Waterford and Albany) of the arrival of Meagher in New York in May 1852, and he immediately set out to travel the two hundred miles to meet him in Brooklyn.[59] In December of the same year Cavanagh was in attendance at a lecture given by Meagher in Albany, fifty miles south of Shushan.[60]

In June 1855 Michael was staying with his sister Mary in Waterford, Saratoga County. She was thirty-two years old, and was married to William Keane from Ireland, a cooper. They had two children at the time, Thomas (2 years old), and Ann Mariah (1 year).[61] It was in nearby Troy that Cavanagh applied for and was granted citizenship of the United States, 15 October 1855.[62] In 1857 Cavanagh was living in New Orleans, engaged in what occupation we do not know.[63] By 1860 he was back in Waterford, Saratoga County, again staying with his sister and her family. He was working as a cooper and owned real property in Waterford valued at $500.[64] At the time of his marriage in 1863 (see below) his address is given as 6 Centre Street, New York, the Fenian headquarters. It is probable therefore that he maintained his connection with Waterford, Saratoga County, up to that time at least.[65] There was a rail connection between Waterford and New York City from 1850.

57 'Joseph Brenan', 384. He swam with Brenan in the East River off Thirty-Fifth St, New York (NLI MS 3225, p. 7).

58 A major source of employment in this region at this time was the construction of the Rutland and Washington Railroad (communication from William A. Cormier to PÓM).

59 *Memoirs*, 316-9.

60 Ibid., 336-7.

61 New York State Census 1855. In the Federal Census of 1860 there is no mention of Ann; another daughter (Margaret, aged 3) is mentioned.

62 Certificate of Naturalization, Troy Justices' Court, County of Rensselaer, State of New York.

63 He is given as living in New Orleans in the subscription list to the first edition of O'Mahony's translation of Forus Feasa (*The history of Ireland ... translated by John O'Mahony* (New York 1857)); O'Mahony also mentions Cavanagh as being in New Orleans in his memoir of 1848: NLI MS 7977, p. 73. As he tells us that he never again saw Joseph Brenan after October 1851 (*Celtic Magazine* 1/4 (1883) 444-5) we must assume that Cavanagh's arrival in New Orleans postdated Brenan's death there 27 May 1857.

64 Federal Census of the United States 1860. Cooperage was the oldest business in Waterford NY, and had further expanded following the construction of the Champlain Canal in 1825: Sydney Ernest Hammersley, *The history of Waterford, New York* (Waterford NY 1957) 168.

65 The 1864/65 directory for Brooklyn records a Michael Cavanagh, Cooper, living at 433 Columbia Street (information from Joseph M. Shinonte).

The Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood was founded in 1858 – the American organisation later to be called the Fenian Brotherhood – and the concomitant Phoenix Brigade was founded in New York the same year. One company of the first regiment of the Brigade was known, from the style of uniform, as the Phoenix Zouaves.[66] The foundation of the Brigade was supervised for the Brotherhood by Michael Corcoran and Michael Doheny, Corcoran having overall command. In his role as secretary to the Head Centre, his old friend John O'Mahony, and de facto general secretary to the Brotherhood, Michael Cavanagh was involved with the Phoenix Brigade from at least 1861, to the extent that he could function as the spokesman for the Zouaves,[67] in which company he eventually held the rank of Lieutenant. That this was more a reflection of status or organisational skill rather than military accomplishment is shown by the case of Matthew Murphy, a leading figure in the Brigade (later a hero of the Civil War), who, like Cavanagh, commanded a company in the Brigade, and who, to gain military training, felt it necessary to enlist as a private in the 69th Regiment New York State Militia.[68] Such dual membership was commonplace.

This crossover between the Brigade and the 69th meant that at the outbreak of civil war in 1861 a goodly number of Fenians were headed for the front.[69] Those, like Cavanagh, who were not members of the 69th were counselled by Corcoran – then acting Head Centre in place of O'Mahony who was visiting Ireland – in a speech delivered two days before leading the 69th by ship to begin service at Annapolis near Washington, to stay out of the war and concentrate on building up the organisation. (This was also his personal advice to O'Mahony who on his return wished to enlist.)[70] It was advice which Cavanagh took to heart and, apart from his ceremonial activities in the Phoenix Zouaves, he spent most of the period of the Civil War as secretary to O'Mahony, organising, initiating new members, and building up the organisation. His ceremonial duties included escorting down Broadway, with his fellow Zouaves, at Colonel Corcoran's invitation, the 69th Regiment on their departure from New York, 23 April 1861.[71] In the aftermath of the first battle of Bull Run he is said to have assisted in the recruitment drive for the proposed Irish Brigade in the Autumn of 1861, acting as recruiting officer with Robert Nugent.[72] In September 1862 he helped organise the Corcoran Legion at Camp Scott, Staten Island, for General Corcoran, recently released from a

66 The Zouaves were Corcoran's idea (*Memoirs*, 365).
67 *Memoirs*, 365.
68 *Celtic Magazine* 1/7 (1883) 637.
69 *Memoirs*, 372.
70 *Memoirs*, 359-60, 370-71.
71 *Memoirs*, 371.
72 Thomas Keneally, *The great shame* (London etc.: Vintage 1999) 341. This same source says that Cavanagh himself enlisted, a detail, among some others in this book, which seems to be incorrect, and which shows signs of confusion between Michael and Captain (later Major) James Kavanagh.

Confederate prison camp.[73] In December 1863 he lead an escort party of Zouaves before the hearse bearing the remains of Patrick O'Regan to Calvary Cemetery.[74]

In 1860 John O'Mahony went, via France, on a fact-finding mission for the Brotherhood to Ireland, where his reception by James Stephens, according to Joseph Denieffe, was anything but cordial.[75] As has been stated, on his departure O'Mahony left Corcoran in charge, with Cavanagh as his secretary. Conscious of the possible risks he was taking, O'Mahony gave Cavanagh instructions as to the disposal of his books should he fail to return.[76] There is some evidence to suggest that as both Cavanagh and Corcoran were ill during some of the period of O'Mahony's absence,[77] the headquarter's work of the Brotherhood was neglected in some small degree.[78] This is mentioned merely as an indication of how potentially significant the work of Michael Cavanagh could be to the Brotherhood at this time, and to O'Mahony as well.

The two were close friends, a friendship which went back to the dramatic days in the valley of the Suir in 1848 (referred to above). One of Cavanagh's sons, Andrew O'Mahony Cavanagh (died 1879) was named for his friend,[79] and O'Mahony was godfather to one of Michael's daughters.[80] A token of Cavanagh's affection for O'Mahony, and of his loyalty to him, can be seen in Cavanagh's participation in a fund-raising committee and circulating a letter, unknown to the Colonel, in which he explained O'Mahony's difficulties with the publisher of his translation of *Forus Feasa ar Éirinn* and sought donations to help O'Mahony settle a debt whereby he would become sole owner of the plates of that book.[81]

Cavanagh's devotion to O'Mahony was a microcosm of his concern for all who, like himself, were exiled or had otherwise suffered on account of their exertions for their native country. Witness the friendship he formed with Kickham during the latter's visit to New York in 1863;[82] or the help he gave to John Boyle O'Reilly (later

73 *Irish World*, 23 June 1900; *Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society* 3 (1900) 182.

74 Cited in Michael H. Kane, 'American soldiers'.

75 Joseph Denieffe, *A personal narrative of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood* (New York 1906, reprint Shannon 1969) 60-62. According to Cavanagh (*Celtic Magazine* 1/3 (1883) 330) O'Mahony's cousin, Charles J. Kickham, was the only person initiated by O'Mahony during his stay.

76 Kenneth E. Nilsen, 'The Irish language in New York, 1850-1900', in Bayor and Meagher, *The New York Irish* (252-74) 265.

77 He returned in May 1861.

78 Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio: MS 3073, Cavanagh to William Sullivan, 16 April 1861.

79 Name given as Master John O'Mahony Cavanagh in report in *Celtic Monthly* 1/4 (May 1879) 384.

80 Catholic University Archives, Collection 14, File 16, Cavanagh to O'Mahony, 5 March 1874.

81 Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio: MS 3073, Cavanagh to William Sullivan, 25 June 1863 (letter and handwritten circular).

82 *Celtic Magazine* 1/3 (1883) 331-2.

owner and editor of the *Boston Pilot*) on his arrival in America from Australia, when Cavanagh 'was one of the first to receive him, and give him all the assistance, advice and hospitality that his limited means would admit'.[83] O'Reilly was later to allude to this kindness in a letter to Cavanagh in 1878: 'We are growing old, Mike, and our turn will soon be here. May we be remembered with affection as they are – as all the kindly hearts are. After all, there is nothing so strong as kindness, everything else – esteem, admiration, friends – is good, but there is nothing so pure and strong to hold our affections as the memory of a warm and sympathetic heart.'[84]

Although a detailed account of Cavanagh's literary career is beyond the remit of the present article, some allusion must be made to the literary milieu in New York which spawned it, and which was inextricably linked to the political context of the emerging Fenian movement. Both O'Mahony and Michael Doheny were involved in the production of the Gaelic Department column in the *Irish-American* in 1857, Doheny's involvement with that paper going back to the early years of the decade.[85] In 1859 O'Mahony and Doheny founded the *Phoenix* 'for the purpose of furthering the objects of the Fenian Brotherhood, and defending the organization from the attacks and misrepresentations of its enemies'.[86] This may well mark Cavanagh's entry into journalism,[87] though traces of his work are hard to detect in the *Phoenix*,[88] and he was at the time, apparently, still coopering in Waterford NY. The New York Ossianic Society was founded at this time as a branch of the parent Ossianic Society in Dublin. In the membership list Michael gives his address as 'Phoenix Office, 6 Centre Street', the Fenian headquarters.[89]

Whatever his literary beginnings, in the words of John Boyle O'Reilly: 'it was not until 1868 that he commenced writing for a livelihood in the *Emerald*, a literary illustrated weekly published in New York'.[90] He also contributed to another of O'Mahony's publications, the *Irish People*.[91] Many of his early writings are unsigned; in time he would sign his writings in his full name, or with his initials, or he would frequently use his pen-name 'Cloch an Chúinne', after the beloved landmark of Cappoquin. Among his unsigned contributions to the *Emerald* are his

83 *Irish World,* 23 June 1900.

84 James Jeffrey Roche, *Life of John Boyle O'Reilly* (Philadelphia n.d.) 379.

85 Nilsen, 'The Irish language', 259, 261.

86 Cavanagh in *Celtic Monthly* 4/6 (1880) 520.

87 Nilsen, 'The Irish language', 264.

88 Except, perhaps, for the description of John Yorick (Sir Richard Keane's gatekeeper who fired on the rebels in 1849) in the 'Rock's Hue and Cry' column (e.g. *Phoenix*, 5 November 1859).

89 *Transactions of the Ossianic Society* Volume 5 (Dublin 1860) ix, 338-40, Volume 6 (Dublin 1861) 223-4; Nilsen, 'The Irish language', 264-5.

90 *Poetry and song of Ireland*, xlviii.

91 In his War Department Records, and Pension Records, his occupation prior to enlistment in 1870 is given as 'clerk'. On O'Mahony's involvement with these publications see his own remarks in James Maher (ed.), *Chief of the Comeraghs: a John O'Mahony anthology* (Mullinahone 1957) 103-6.

portraits of illustrious Irishmen such as Wallace, MacLise, Edward Walsh and John Hogan. In one of the articles which appear under his pen-name he describes himself working in Dublin before eventually making his way to discover the novel beauty of County Waterford, thus demonstrating that he could, when he wished, adopt a persona and mingle fact with fiction.[92] The extent of his writing commitment to the *Emerald* may be gauged from the quantity of material provided by him for Volume 1 of that publication in the first half of 1868: thirty-six 'Historical and Biographical Sketches', eight 'Tales and Stories', nine 'Descriptive Prose Essays', and five poems.

The money which was to be made from such journalism can be deduced from an invoice which Cavanagh sent to the management of another of O'Mahony's papers, the *American Gael*, in 1874. For contributions to ten issues of this weekly paper, May-August 1873, Cavanagh was due $157.50.[93] Such remuneration, representing nearly $16 per week, must have been a welcome supplement, at the time, to his army salary at the War Department (see below).

Terrence Bellew McManus died in San Francisco 15 January 1861. The San Francisco Brotherhood resolved to have his body disinterred and transported back to Ireland for burial. On 13 September 1861 the remains arrived in New York by steamer on the first leg of the journey home. The coffin was escorted by Phoenix Zouaves into the Cathedral three days later for a ceremony presided over by Archbishop Hughes. It was then taken to a vault in Calvary Cemetery while arrangements were finalised for the journey to Ireland, which took place on 19 October arriving in Ireland on the last day of the month.[94]

Delegates were appointed by the Brotherhood to accompany the remains to Ireland and to attend the funeral in Glasnevin. Michael Cavanagh – protected by his American citizenship – was, with Michael Doheny and Frank Welpley,[95] in the New York delegation.[96] Cavanagh gives an emotional account of his first sight of Ireland since he left in 1849:

> Captain Welply and I shared the same cabin, and we agreed to watch alternately for the first glimpse of land. About 3 a.m. I lay down in my clothes,

92 'Gleann Seachain by Cloch a Cuanna', *Emerald* 2/44 (1868) 276.

93 Catholic University Archive, Collection 14, Folder 16, Cavanagh to O'Mahony 13 February 1874, with enclosure. This letter, and two others (5 March, 13 March), display a coolness towards Cavanagh's good friend, John Savage.

94 *Memoirs*, 416-25.

95 Welpl(e)y, or Whelply, was from Skibbereen. A captain in the Phoenix Brigade, he was killed at Ream's Station in August 1864. His body was returned to Skibbereen the following year; Kane, 'American soldiers'; *Memoirs*, 407-8.

96 William D'Arcy, *The Fenian movement in the United States 1858-1886* (Washington 1947) 20. The remainder of the delegation was made up of Colonel M. D. Smith and Jeremiah Kavanagh of San Francisco, and John T. Mahony from Philadelphia; Philip O'Reilly and Francis Maguire represented the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

> and shortly before daybreak I was aroused by my comrade rushing to my side ... I caught a glimpse, through the rigging, at a dark mass of mountain looming dimly against the star-lit sky. That one glance swept the night-mare from my brain, and sent my heart to my throat and tears to my eyes.[97]

The reception in Cork, Limerick Junction, and Kingsbridge Station was remarkable. Not having the approval of the Church, the remains lay in state in Dublin for over a week at the Mechanics' Institute. On 9 November, the day before the funeral, the American delegates, accompanied by a Manchester delegate (carrying an introduction from Fr John Tracy of Cappoquin), paid a visit to Wolf Tone's grave at Bodenstown. Cavanagh's account of this visit is full of interest for its descriptions of the countryside, the scrutiny of the Peeler at Sallins Station, and of course the visit to the grave itself. Cavanagh cut slips of ivy as mementos of the pilgrimage, and he also cut a blackthorn stick as a present for John O'Mahony.[98]

Returning to Dublin that afternoon they visited Glasnevin to inspect the grave. That evening they formed a guard of honour around the catafalque, in the presence of McManus's sister, who had welcomed them to Dublin on their arrival at the Shelbourne Hotel. Later that evening, according to Joseph Denieffe, they attended the tempestuous meeting at which the Templederry priest Fr John Kenyon, of 1848 fame and infamy, allegedly attempted to wrest the funeral from Fenian control, only to be rebuffed by Thomas Clarke Luby. (It must be said, however, that Cavanagh admired Fr Kenyon and had nothing but good to say of him; and this is particularly true in his description of an occasion at dinner with the delegates in Dublin when Fr Kenyon offered £10 to Fr Conway of Headford, who was collecting funds for a new church, if he would use it to buy pistols to shoot the landlords who were opposing the construction of the church.)[99]

The following day, 10 November, was wet, and, such were the crowds cramming the streets of Dublin, it was dark when the funeral procession reached Glasnevin, where Colonel Smith gave the oration.[100] The next day the representatives of the country districts came to bid farewell to the American delegation, and it was on this occasion that Cavanagh met Kickham for the first time, laying the foundation for their friendship in New York two years later.[101]

Cavanagh spent the next six months in Ireland, presumably in Cappoquin.[102] He was shocked to learn of Doheny's death on 1 April 1862, and on 11 May he arrived

97 *Worcester Messenger*, 8 November 1890.

98 Michael Cavanagh, 'A visit to Bodenstown', *Celtic Monthly* 2/5 (1879) 430-35 (reprinted in *Shan Van Vocht* 3/7 (1898) 117-21).

99 Michael Cavanagh, 'Father Kenyon', *Worcester Messenger*, 24 January 1891. O'Donovan Rossa (*Rossa's recollections* (NY 1898) 238-9) has Doheny instead of Kenyon.

100 Denieffe, *Personal narrative*, 64-71, 166-79.

101 *Celtic Magazine* 1/3 (1883) 330.

102 He visited his old neighbour, Mary O'Donnell (see above), on this occasion (NLI MS 3308, p. 153, verse 5).

Wedding photograph of Michael Cavanagh (in Zouave uniform) and Anne O'Brien, July 1863.

back in New York.[103] His view on the McManus affair was that it was a great advancement for the Brotherhood, which undoubtedly it was. More exaggeratedly, he also saw it as giving a warning to England with regard to the organised state of the Irish revolutionary movement, as a consequence of which they avoided taking sides in the American Civil War.[104]

On 25 July 1863 Michael married Anne O'Brien at St Mary's Star of the Sea Church, Brooklyn.[105] She was daughter of Richard O'Brien and Cathleen Lynch,[106] and, according to family tradition, she came from Affane. According to her Census return she was born in March 1844 and, like Cavanagh, had emigrated to America in 1850.[107] They appear to have had nine children of whom eight survived childhood. They were: Anna-Maria (born 24 February 1866);[108] Julia (born 13 March 1868);[109]

103 *Celtic Magazine* 2/1 (1883) 29.

104 *Memoirs*, 425.

105 Marriage certificate. The celebrant was Fr Robert J. Maguire; the witnesses were Thomas Murphy and Margaret Ross.

106 Joseph M. Silinonte, *Bishop Loughlin's dispensations Diocese of Brooklyn 1859-1866* I (Brooklyn 1996) 31.

107 Details in Federal Census of the United States 1900.

108 Later Mrs Annie West. Visited Ireland 1890: see Michael's poem to her on that occasion, NLI MS 3308, p. 29.

109 Became a teacher. Later Julia T. Somers of Germantown, Pennsylvania. Her father's birthday poem to her is in NLI MS 3308, p. 155.

Catherine (born 14 March 1870);[110] Michael (born 22 October 1873);[111] Mary (born 28 September 1875);[112] Andrew (born 1877, died 27/28 April 1879, aged 20 months),[113] Richard Bryan (born 20 November 1879);[114] Ellen (born 27 October 1881); and Thomas (born 1 May 1884).[115] Five of these children were still living at the time of Anne's death in 1918: Anna, Julia, Mary, Ellen, and Richard.

In January 1864 the Phoenix Brigade, under the leadership of Colonel John O'Mahony, was incorporated into the 99th New York National Guard (informally referred to as the New York Volunteers), thus entering the Civil War. Their main duty was as a garrison troop at the infamous Union prison camp at Elmira, western New York state,[116] and their period of service was three months.[117] That Michael saw service with this regiment is suggested by a document in his pension records which states that he had served in Company B 99th NYV.[118] What dates were involved is not stated. The same document also states that his name was not found in the records of the 99th; that was the case in 1890 and it is still the case today. In addition, there is no mention of him among the officers of Company B listed in General Orders of 22 January 1864.[119]

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110 Became 'a well known magazine writer' according to Cavanagh's obituary in *The Irish World.* Articles by her were published in the *Atlantic Magazine* and in *Harper's Monthly*. She was also a poet, and a signed typescript copy of a poem (dated 25 December 1890) by her to Michael is mounted inside the front cover of NLI MS 3308. Later Mrs John Collins. Died 1912.

111 Worked as secretary to John Russell Young, Librarian of Congress, and afterwards as a stenographer in the Philippines (in the office of future President William Howard Taft); died 6 October 1914. (Cavanagh's obituary in *The Irish World,* and information recorded from Michael junior's daughter, Rosemary Cavanagh, b. 21 May 1903, d. August 1999.)

112 Occupation given as printer's assistant in Federal Census of 1900. Later Mrs Mary Asmuth.

113 Records of Mount Olivet Cemetery, Washington; see note 79 above. The death of his infant son forms the subject of a fine lament composed by Cavanagh: O'Reilly, *Poetry and song of Ireland*, 966-7.

114 Admitted to Bar of the District of Columbia 1901, became a prominent patent lawyer with his own firm in New York (Cavanagh & James); served as Captain, Field Artillery, 4th Division, in World War I, and is said to have visited Cappoquin on his way home from war. Died 17 June 1930, buried at Arlington.

115 Died of Pott's Disease 20 May 1904.

116 Kane, 'American soldiers'; cf. John O'Leary, *Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism* I (London 1896) 195.

117 O'Mahony was mustered out after the expiry of his three months service, and was uncertain if he would be needed again: Maher (ed.), *Chief of the Comeraghs*, 89.

118 Document dated 17 September 1890, War Department Record and Pension Division: National Archives, Washington, Record Group 15.

119 *Irish-American*, 6 February 1864 (communication from Mike Kane, Pittsburgh to PÓM).

In so far as Michael Cavanagh was an active participant in the Civil War, that appears to have been its extent. This is not to say that he did not have primary knowledge of or familiarity with the situation in the field. This knowledge was acquired from friends returned to New York on furlough;[120] or from acquaintances on Corcoran's and Meagher's staffs; or from Meagher or Corcoran themselves; or recounted to him by veterans after the war: it was in Brooklyn after the war that he first made the acquaintance of Dr Lawrence Reynolds (63rd NYV), the Waterford poet.[121] He was also able to observe matters at first-hand while on recruiting or other duties for the Brotherhood. Thus in 1863 he was in New Bern, North Carolina, with the 132nd NYV, where he initiated Thomas J. Wise (from Cork City) of that regiment.[122]

His familiarity or otherwise with the events of the Civil War is of relevance in the context of his military service in the United States, and of his writings on the battles and engagements involving the Irish Brigade. It is probably a combination of both which has led to occasional suggestions that Cavanagh may have 'fought' in the Civil War,[123] though that term may merely refer to participation rather than to seeing action. Examination of the available evidence indicates that he did not see action, and a close reading of his writings shows that he was usually assiduous, to a scholarly degree, in citing sources and crediting his informants in every instance so that there could be no ambiguity regarding the basis for his descriptions. For example, in his account of the Battle of Antietam[124] he draws on McClellan's official report, accounts by Captain Edward Field and Colonel William Fox, the London *Times*, and volume 19 of *The War of the Rebellion.*

This does not mean that his work in this regard is without value. At this remove it has the importance of historical scholarship and is frequently cited in studies of Meagher and the Irish Brigade. In its own time it was recognised for its accuracy and authenticity. Thus his vivid description of Cold Harbour, which he makes clear is 'compiled from the most authentic sources',[125] was extolled for its accuracy by Cavanagh's friend Captain Patrick O'Farrell who himself had participated in the battle.[126] In his other historical/biographical writings one may cite, as an example of the continued relevance of his work, Cavanagh's account of the sculptor John

120 Cf. his account of Captain James Rorty 42nd NYV, killed at Gettysburg, whom he met in New York, June 1863: *The Irish World*, 18 June 1887.

121 Michael Cavanagh, *Waterford celebrities* (Waterford n.d.) 11.

122 Catholic University Archives, Washington DC, Collection 14, 'Roster of the Military Officers of the Fenian Brotherhood of New York, 1856-1865', pp. 118-9 (sections of this roster are in Cavanagh's handwriting).

123 O'Donoghue, *Poets of Ireland*, 65 (information probably derived from Cavanagh himself); O'Sullivan, *Young Irelanders*, 375; Diarmuid Breathnach and Máire Ní Mhurchú, *1882-1982 Beathaisnéis a haon* (Dublin 1986) 20.

124 *Memoirs*, 459-63.

125 *Celtic Magazine* 2/3 (1883) 217.

126 *Irish World*, June 23 1900.

Hogan[127] – derived in part from Hogan's cousin, Richard, a friend of Cavanagh – which is still considered a noteworthy source for the biography of that artist.[128]

While clearly supportive of the Union cause, Cavanagh's loyalty was not uncomplicated. In this he was by no means exceptional. For instance he was, along with a large section of the Irish community, opposed to conscription.[129] Nor did he view the Civil War as a struggle for the abolition of slavery. He belonged to his time, and, in concord with a sizeable proportion of the Irish-American community, he could, at times, express a low opinion of some African-Americans.[130] Though remembered as a chronicler and partisan of the Union campaign, Cavanagh did not necessarily hold the Confederates in any less esteem than their northern brethren. Indeed it would be strange if he did when two of his Young Ireland comrades, Joseph Brenan and John Mitchel, had at different times espoused the Southern cause. John O'Mahony, in a letter aimed at deterring young men in Ireland from coming to America to fight, had articulated this balanced attitude at the beginning of the war:

> If the fame of Thomas Francis Meagher entices you to join the ranks of the one party, remember that the gallant son of John Mitchel – a young man whose services may Ireland soon call to another field – fights with distinction in the other.[131]

Cavanagh stated his own position retrospectively in his tribute to Mitchel's son, John, whose brother Willie was killed during Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg, July 1863, and who himself was killed while commanding officer of Fort Sumter during the Union bombardment, 20 July 1864:

> With the originating of the late lamentable civil war, our Irish citizens, North and South, had no act or part. The fratricidal strife was not of their engendering. However it resulted, their position in the land of their adoption could not be improved. With the prosperity of the whole country their interests were identified. But when forced by fate into the inevitable contest, they, on either side, stood manfully for the land which they had selected as their adopted home when driven by oppression from their soil. They performed their

127 Cavanagh, *Waterford celebrities*, 42-66.

128 John Turpin, *John Hogan: Irish neoclassical sculptor in Rome 1800-1858* (Dublin 1982).

129 Catholic University Archives, Washington DC, Collection 14, File 16: Cavanagh to O'Mahony, 31 July 1862. Opposition among the Irish community was to lead to the tragic riots of July 1863.

130 Cf. *Memoirs*, 387. For the conservatism of Irish-Americans at the time see Spann, 'Union Green', 207.

131 *Phoenix*, 1 June 1861.

duty as became honourable citizens and brave soldiers who remembered the race from which they sprung.[132]

This impartiality of Cavanagh's might be taken as a natural extension of the Fenian position of viewing the war as a training ground for the anticipated forthcoming war in Ireland. It must also be noted that it was in Cavanagh's nature to be fairminded. Witness his assessment of Sir Richard Keane whom, in the light of 1849, he had no reason to hold in affection; though contrasting him unfavourably with his brother John Keane, and listing his failings with some amusement, Cavanagh still pronounced on him as follows: 'There were some better landlords, and many far worse. He had some gross faults, and some of what may be termed negative virtues. He was not a religious bigot; neither was he vindictive; consequently he was not hated, and the veriest rebel in the town would not think of doing him a personal injury, though he was often treated with disrespect.'[133]

Whether or not Cavanagh's active involvement in the administration of the Brotherhood was affected by the renovations to the organisation instituted at the Fenian Conventions of 1863 and 1865 is not clear. It is most probable that the estrangement of O'Mahony from the Senate element of the organisation in 1865, and O'Mahony's resignation in May 1866 following the Campobello fiasco,[134] signalled the end of that function of Cavanagh's. As has been stated, working on the *Emerald,* a weekly literary newspaper of Irish interest, occupied him from 1868 to 1870.

Cavanagh left New York for Washington in Spring 1870.[135] There, with recommendations from John O'Mahony, Major Downing and Colonel Hanly, he enlisted as a private in the United States Army, 29 April 1870.[136] He was assigned to the General Service where he was given the duty of Watchman (or security man) in

132 *Celtic Magazine* 2/5 (1883) 338 (reprinted in *Shan Van Vocht* 4/2 (1899) 23; an earlier, unsigned version appeared in the *Emerald* 2/31 (1868) 73). At a public meeting in New York, 5 September 1861, Meagher called for three cheers 'for the two sons of John Mitchel, who are fighting as bravely on the other side' (*Memoirs*, 416). Compare Mitchel on Meagher: 'Technically and formally we became enemies – at heart, as I trust, always friends. His home was at the North; mine at the South. He took the part which he believed his duty as a citizen called for; I did the same' (*Nation*, 25 January 1868); see also John Francis Maguire, *The Irish in America* (London 1868) 546.

133 *Celtic Magazine* 1/7 (1883) 651.

134 In this regard O'Mahony's note, dated 28 May 1866, on a manuscript subsequently owned by Cavanagh, seems both pointed and poignant: 'Faei mhuir na n-én ní bh-fuil aniu duine nís mí-ádhmharaighe iná me' ('there is nobody under the sky today more misfortunate than I'), NLI MS G 598, front endpaper (Pádraig Ó Macháin, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland* 11 (Dublin 1990) 130).

135 Year of move to Washington given on Death Certificates of Michael and Anne. Anne had just given birth to their third daughter, Catherine.

136 Personal Histories of War Department Employees in Washington DC: RG 107/284.

the Adjutant General's Office at the War Department. His army record shows that he was discharged, in accordance with his terms of service, 30 June 1874, and that he re-enlisted the same day. He was again discharged 29 June 1879 and he re-enlisted the next day, 30 June. He was honourably discharged for the last time 11 August 1882.[137] The following day, 12 August 1882, he was re-appointed, as a Civil Servant, to his position of Watchman at the War Department at an annual salary of $720, one of twenty such watchmen so appointed.[138] This was a Congressional appointment, in recognition (according to family tradition) of his military affiliations. He held this position – somewhat incredibly, given his age and disability (see below) – until his death in 1900. There can be little doubt that the untaxing nature of his work afforded Michael Cavanagh the time to concentrate on his writing.

The Cavanagh family had a number of different addresses in Washington before finally settling at 1159, 4th Street North East about 1890. In July of that year Michael applied, through his attorney and friend Patrick O'Farrell, mentioned above, for a disability pension from the army. He claimed to have contracted piles from 'sitting on cold steps' during the winter of 1879, and hydrocele of the left testicle in January 1882 from the same cause.[139] This, he now claimed, had left him totally disabled. It took two years for the investigation of his application and of his condition to be completed. The investigation involved affidavits from fellow workers in the Adjutant General's Office, from doctors, and from Cavanagh himself. In June 1892 he was awarded a pension of $12 per month, backdated to 29 July 1890, the date of his initial application.[140]

Michael's writing and publishing continued into the latter years of his life. In the late seventies and early eighties he was a regular contributor to the *Celtic Monthly*, later the *Celtic Magazine*, where, to quote John Boyle O'Reilly, 'the greater portion of his published poems, original and translated, appeared'.[141] From its foundation in January 1887 Cavanagh wrote regularly for the *Worcester Messenger*, a Catholic monthly (converting to weekly in January 1888) published in Worcester, Massachusetts.[142] He contributed many articles to this paper, including a 'Topographical History of the County of Waterford' (May 1887 to October 1889) and the biography of Thomas Francis Meagher which was serialised from March 1891 to July 1892. The *Messenger* published the biography in book form later in 1892, and Cavanagh's *Memoirs* of Meagher is the single work for which he is generally known today. On publication of the book Michael informed Fr Michael Hickey that it was now his intention to undertake a book on John O'Mahony, which

137 Pension Records: Adjutant General to Commissioner of Pensions, 15 September 1890.

138 Annual Register of War Department Employees in Washington DC: RG 107/282.

139 Pensions Application 788783. A cure for swollen testicles occurs as a marginal entry in NLI MS G 598, p. 93, a manuscript owned by Cavanagh.

140 Pension Certificate 781311.

141 *Poetry and song of Ireland*, xlvix.

142 For information on this publication, still current, we are indebted to Peter H. Viles.

would include accounts of 1848 and 1849.[143] On the occasion of Cavanagh's death in 1900 it was said[144] that among his unfinished projects was the publication in book form of his 'Corner-Stone Chronicles', publication of which, even today, would still be a worthwhile project.

Michael Cavanagh had been a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians since at least 1861. On St Patrick's Day of that year he is recorded as parading in New York, not with the Phoenix Zouaves, who also paraded, but with a division of the AOH, the Thomas Francis Meagher Club, of which Cavanagh was treasurer.[145] It was Cavanagh's involvement with the AOH which led him to do some service for Irish studies in 1895. At conventions in New Orleans in 1892 and Omaha in 1894 the Order adopted resolutions calling for membership subscriptions to endow a Gaelic Chair at the Catholic University of America in Washington.[146] A future rector of the University, Fr Thomas J. Shahan (whose family origins were in Kerry) addressed the Omaha conference, 9 May 1894, in a moving speech which had the desired effect on the membership.[147] When the necessary funds had been raised, Cavanagh wrote to his old friend Fr Michael Hickey in January 1895 with the suggestion that another Waterford man, Fr Richard Henebry, might be a suitable candidate for the position. Hickey immediately wrote to Henebry in Manchester, forwarding Cavanagh's letter, and he also wrote to Shahan at Washington. Henebry accepted the position on 2 April.[148] Hickey afterwards gave Shahan, Cavanagh and himself the credit for the appointment.[149] Even though things eventually turned sour between Henebry and the University, his appointment can be taken as yet another illustration of Cavanagh's effective work in a background position.[150]

In the early morning of Tuesday, 19 June 1900, Michael Cavanagh rose from his bed to go to his library to read, as was his habit. He was now a feeble man of seventy-eight. In the dark he stumbled and fell down the stairs. He suffered concussion of the brain from which he did not recover. He died on Thursday 21 June and his funeral

143 *Letters from the Rev. Michael P. O'Hickey*, 39-40: Hickey to Downey, 5 September 1892 (see also John O'Leary's DNB entry on O'Mahony). Cavanagh did not have an agent for the *Memoirs* in Europe. He himself sent many copies to Ireland, to among others Fr Hickey and John Fleming, and to Dubhghlas de hÍde who responded with a poem in Irish addressed to Michael (NLI MS 3308, p. 358).

144 *Irish-American*, 30 June 1900.

145 *Irish-American*, 23 March 1861.

146 Seanan, 'Risteird de hIndeberg, sagart agus ollamh', *Earna* 1/4 (Márta 1924) (1-12) 7.

147 Blase Robert Dixon, *The Catholic University of America 1909-28: the rectorship of Thomas Joseph Shahan* PhD Thesis (CUA 1972) 37-9.

148 Catholic University of America, Dept of Archives and Manuscripts, Hickey to Shahan 30 March 1895, Henebry to Shahan, 2 April 1895.

149 Pádraig Ó Macháin, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in Mount Melleray Abbey Co. Waterford* (Dublin 1991), 55.

150 At their Boston convention in 1900, the Gaelic League of America, on behalf of the Irish people, passed a resolution of indebtedness to the AOH for endowing the Chair (*Fáinne an Lae*, 21 Iúl 1900).

took place on Saturday. The funeral mass was read at St Aloysius' Church by Michael's nephew, Fr M. J. Walsh, who was attached to the Church of Our Lady of Mercy in Brooklyn;[151] he was a son of Michael's sister Katie, his father Richard Walsh was a teacher from Modeligo.[152] Michael Cavanagh was buried, after mass, in the family plot in Mount Olivet Cemetery. His wife Anne outlived him by eighteen years. She died in their home at 1159, 4th Street, on 21 January 1918, aged 75.

Michael Cavanagh was a prolific writer. He wrote in English, and a complete bibliography may confirm our suspicion that he wrote virtually exclusively so.[153] (The only composition in Irish which we have encountered to date and which may be his is that entitled 'Nuair bhíomar óg' which is included under his compositions in his index to his own manuscript, MS 3308 in the National Library of Ireland.)[154] His prose consisted of traditions and stories from the old country, and the recent history of the new. His poems were either original work in English, or English translations of Irish originals by other authors. In this regard, his translations of the Co. Waterford songs 'Aonach Bhearna na Gaoithe' and 'Seán Gabha' published in the *Gaelic Journal* (and elsewhere) are exemplary.[155] On the evidence of his own manuscript collection (MS 3308) his translations outnumbered his original poems by nearly two to one. These translations concentrated on the work of two poets in particular: Dubhghlas de hÍde and Michael's good friend Pádraig Ó Beirn.[156] Of these he remarked:

> Then there is Patrick O'Beirne – who, with the single exception of his friend, Dr Hyde, is the greatest *Gaelic* poet and most versatile and racy Irish lyrist that

151 *Irish-American*, 30 June 1900. The high esteem in which he was held by the Irish-American community is indicated by the motions of condolence passed by The United Irish Societies of New York City at their meeting on Sunday 24 June (*Irish World*, 7 July 1900). Tributes in verse to him were published by John A. Joyce ('Rest', *Pilot*, 30 June 1900) and M. E. Torrance ('The Dead Bard', *Irish World*, 7 July 1900). Alice Milligan, who edited some of Michael's material in the *Shan Van Vocht*, wrote the elegy beginning 'You were dear to me, Michael Cavanagh' (Henry Mangan (ed.), *Poems by Alice Milligan* (Dublin 1954) 107-8, reference from Mrs Nuala Murnaghan, née Cavanagh).

152 When he died in 1937 his brother, Fr John Francis Xavier (of Gretna, Louisiana), and his cousin Fr William Keane (of Schenectady NY, son of Michael's sister Mary), said his funeral mass.

153 While the translations into English are Cavanagh's, the original Irish poems attributed to him in Kiely, *Waterford rebels*, 97-101 are not by him but by Pádraig Ó Beirn; Ó Beirn's lament for General Grant will be found in Stiofán Ó hAnnracháin (ed.) *Go Meiriceá siar* (Dublin 1979) 112-3.

154 The poem itself occurs in MS 3308, p. 197.

155 *Gaelic Journal* 3 (1887) 28, 46, 72.

156 Ó Beirn, in turn, translated some of Cavanagh's work to Irish: Cavanagh's 'Lament for John O'Mahony' was so translated and used as a test-piece at the first Macroom Feis (*Claidheamh Soluis*, 21 Iúl 1900, p. 293). Both original and translation are in *Shan Van Vocht* 2/11 (1897) 219-20.

> Ireland gave birth to within the present century. I might go further (and prove my assertion) by stating that those two young men wrote *more good Irish songs* than all other poets of the present century combined.[157]

He was, then, a poet and a prose-writer, an essayist, whose constituency was a readership of Irish immigrants and Irish-Americans to whom his accounts of the humour and simplicities of the past in the old country, and his glorification of the heroics of the Irish in the New World, held a great attraction. In recounting his childhood memories he anticipated the lucrative genre of nostalgia-writing current today. According to John Boyle O'Reilly, Cavanagh's literary friends held his prose-work in higher esteem than they did his poetry.[158]

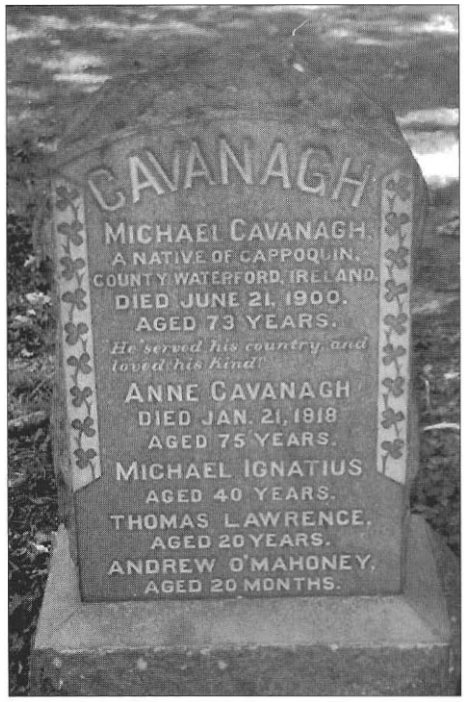
His was a deliberately positive outlook. In his introductory notes to 'Corner-Stone Chronicles' he states plainly his personal literary manifesto:

> I wish to depict Irish life in its reality, as I experienced it in the days when I could enjoy its bright side, without permitting the reverse of the picture to cast its sombre shadows, for any length of time, on my heart.[159]

In these, as in all his writings, his perspective was that of the historian who had intimate knowledge of the events which he himself recounted. To a certain extent he was following in the tradition of his Young Ireland associates: Duffy, Doheny, Mitchel, Savage, et al. He eschewed the polemicism of these writers however, and in Cavanagh's writings one is always conscious of a humility, of an awareness of being a small detail in a vast picture. His primary sources were his own experiences, his own acquaintances, and these he supplemented, when required, with reference to documents – correspondence, private papers – in order to give what he considered to be a comprehensive account. As an historian, whether of his childhood, his native town, his country or his countrymen, he hovers between the eye-witness and the detached observer. Even at his most detached however, as in his accounts of Cold Harbour and Fredericksburgh, where his sources are second-hand, he remains partisan. For his single unifying theme throughout his writings is the glory of Ireland: the glory of its people, its defeated leaders, its heroic exiles, and the glory of its resilience – sometimes grim, sometimes good-humoured – in which resilience always to Cavanagh lay the hope of future resurgence.

To call him an historian, however – though that is possibly the description which he himself would have considered most appropriate – is still inadequate. His interest in Irish literature and mythology, and his knowledge of the Irish language itself, combined with a real writing talent, his devotion to translation, and an ability to compose verse, mark him out as a literateur, a man of letters. Though he wrote in English, the literary tradition to which he belongs is firmly an Irish one. For his

157 UCD Archives, LA15/333, Cavanagh to D. J. O'Donoghue, 29 December 1893.
158 *Poetry and song of Ireland*, xlvix.
159 *Celtic Magazine* 1/5 (1883) 465.



Michael Cavanagh's grave, Mount Olivet Cemetery, Washington DC

literary creations, historical, biographical, or poetic, are all characterised by a declamatory and celebratory essence which lies at the heart of Irish literature itself, from earliest times, through the bardic era, and continued in the Fianaíocht verses with which Cavanagh was familiar from his childhood. His was not the reconstructed writing of a Celtic revival, rather it was an organic literature which celebrated the past and the present in anticipation of a future for which he had always striven, and which he always considered achievable. Though neither aspiring nor attaining to the status of 'major writer', to his readers the writings of Michael Cavanagh must have seemed quite contemporary.

Above all else Michael Cavanagh was a Waterford man with a renowned knowledge of his native county.[160] In testimony of this we leave the last word to Fr Michael Hickey:

> M[ichael] C[avanagh] knows more of Waterford city and county men and things and events – ay, far more – than anybody I have fallen in with. His mind is a regular storehouse of information regarding everything concerning Waterford of either the past or present – history, archaeology, topography, and everything else. His mind is perfectly phenomenal: he seems never to forget anything.[161]

160 Among the societies of which he was a member was the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society.

161 *Letters*, 17: Hickey to Downey, 19 April 1892.

James Vincent Cleary (1828-1898)

By Sr. Assumpta O'Neill

FOR the Catholic Church in Ireland, the nineteenth century was one of recovery, of consolidation, of re-structuring. Church-building was one of the visible signs of it. The Synod of Thurles in 1850 was a high-point of the campaign for re-organisation. Cardinal Cullen was its main promoter.[1] Individual churchmen gave their energies to it. Some of these had been educated on the continent and had experienced for themselves what 'freedom of religion' meant in everyday terms. The subject of this essay was born and died in that century and exemplified in himself the struggle for independence and self-determination. Circumstances were such that the struggle was for him largely focused on the issue of education, so much so that he declared that Catholic Emancipation meant little if parents were not at liberty to have their children educated in accordance with their religious beliefs. His words in 1871 reveal how he saw the picture:

> We have been engaged now many years in reviving our institutions of piety and learning and in building up our churches.[2]

This was his life's work. He had two great loyalties, to his country and to his church.

A Dungarvan Childhood

James Vincent Cleary was born in 1828 in Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.[3] His parents, Thomas Cleary and Margaret O'Brien, had a large family, of whom seven sons and

1 For a brief but succinct account of Cardinal Cullen's programme of reform, see Robert Arthure (1998) *A priest of his time, Patrick Fogarty (1791-1866)*, pp. 93-7.

2 Throughout this essay, this and other quotations from his speeches and writings are from newspaper reports of the period, conveniently available to me in a large *Scrap Album* kept in the archives of the Presentation Convent, Waterford. The cuttings may have been preserved by Dr Cleary himself and the Album deposited there when he moved to Canada. There is a possibility that Julia Cleary of Owning, Co Kilkenny who joined the Waterford convent in 1863 was a cousin of James Vincent. When she took the veil, she adopted St Vincent as her patron. The newspapers in question include *The Freeman's Journal*, *The Catholic Telegraph*, *The Clonmel Chronicle*, *The Waterford Chronicle*, *The Waterford News* and *The Waterford Citizen*. As the title of the paper is not always included in the cutting, there may well be others.

3 This is the date given in Louis J. Flynn (1976) *Built On a Rock: The story of the Roman Catholic Church in Kingston 1826-1976*, p. 68. On the other hand, *Patrick Power (1912) Parochial History of Waterford and Lismore* states that he was born in 1829. It is not possible to verify either date, as there is a gap in the Dungarvan Baptismal

one daughter survived to adulthood. In Slater's *Directory* (1846) Thomas Cleary's business in the town is variously described as 'hatter', 'woollen and linen draper', 'haberdasher' and 'shipowner'. At his death in 1871, Thomas, then in his 79th year, was described as 'a character of strictest integrity, good sense and rare excellence of domestic virtue.' His wife's maiden name was and is a fairly common surname in the area. She was most probably a daughter of Matthew O'Brien of Ballyguiry. However, my only justification for this conclusion is that the Cleary grave in the parish cemetery in Dungarvan is closely flanked on the south side by that of the O'Briens of Ballyguiry. On the north side is a flagstone now largely illegible. James Vincent was a cousin of the Fenian, James F. X. O'Brien.

Of his six brothers, four predeceased him. Matthew, Patrick, Michael and John had all died by 1879, when James Vincent was about fifty.[4] The remaining two, Thomas and William, were still living in 1895 when he signed his will. At that time, Thomas was living in Dublin and William 'in or near Melbourne, Australia'. His sister Hannah had also died by then, but mention is made of her husband and son, James and Thomas Lyttleton.

James Vincent's elementary education took place at the school in Church Street, Dungarvan, run by Mr Edward O'Dwyer and his wife. The latter took care of the junior boys, while her husband took the senior boys. Many years later, Mr O'Dwyer recalled:

> This reverend gentleman came to my wife to school in his very childhood, and many and many a time I heard her at that period dilate upon the brilliant talents which he evinced, and the avidity and interest with which he sought to cultivate those talents. She also frequently pointed out to me another qualification in that young child. She told me repeatedly that James Vincent Cleary, the little boy, was one of the most intelligent, most shrewd and brightest of children she ever met in the whole course of her life. After graduating in this humble school he progressed to mine . . . Here he won the good esteem of his brother pupils, so much so that he was sincerely regretted by them when he took leave and entered college.

James Vincent matriculated from Maynooth on 26 August, 1846.[5] Not surprisingly, his college career at the Irish Colleges in Rome and Salamanca was a

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Registers for the years 1823 to 1830. The records now missing were certainly there up to 1880, for they were consulted by J.V. Cleary himself while he was parish priest of Dungarvan, i.e. between 1876 and 1880. P. McCarthy (1998) 'James Francis Xavier O'Brien, 1828-1905 – Fenian and Waterfordman', in *Decies*, 54, p. 108.

4 All these, together with their parents Thomas and Margaret, are buried in Dungarvan. Other siblings, Richard, Charlotte and Charles, born between 1834 and 1839, probably died in infancy or early childhood. The name Charlotte is barely decipherable on the flagstone mentioned above.

5 Archives of St Patrick's College, Maynooth, courtesy of Miss Penny Woods.

brilliant one. He was ordained in 1851 and returned to Ireland to St Patrick's College in Maynooth. Three years later, in 1854, he came to St John's College in Waterford to teach Dogmatic Theology and Biblical Exposition. As things turned out, he was to spend twenty-two of his allotted lifespan of seventy years there, from 1854 until 1876. This was the longest continuous time spent in any one place.

Academic glory

James Vincent began his teaching career in Waterford in a glow of academic achievement, for in the same year he came to St John's College, he won great public acclaim for his outstanding success at the examination for the degree of Doctor of Theology at the Catholic University in Dublin.[6] The *Catholic Telegraph* gave a detailed account of the proceedings:

> The examination lasted three days, on the first of which it was conducted privately but on the two subsequent days it took place publicly in the University Hall before several of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, the rector and professors of the University, the superiors and professors of Maynooth College, a number of professors of Divinity from the various colleges and seminaries in Ireland, and a very numerous assembly of the most respectable ladies and gentlemen from Dublin and its vicinity.

Any one of this rather intimidating audience was entitled to question the candidate on any one of a hundred supplied topics. But James Vincent was unabashed.

> For hours together did this gifted young priest stand there . . . Master of his subject, in rills of the purest ecclesiastical Latin, clear and fluent, did he pour forth the rich fruit of his ability and study, and, withal, with a modesty, a gracefulness and a dignity of manner in which were happily blended the ripe scholar, the accomplished man, and the humble-minded priest.

The Vice-President of Maynooth declared:

> The doctorate is not so much an honour to him as he is to the doctorate.

The report concludes:

> We are sure the people of Dungarvan, his native town, as well as those of Waterford, where he is so much esteemed, will feel gratified at his acquisition of the honours he has so nobly won.

6 The Catholic University was opened in 1854, following a decision of the Synod of Thurles. John Henry Newman was its first rector.

Waterford Years

When he first joined the staff of St John's college, the building was located at College Street (where the Good Shepherd Convent later stood) but in 1867 a 'spacious building, of elegant architectural design' was commenced on a 25-acre site at John's Hill overlooking the city.[7] The new premises were ready for occupation for the academic year beginning in September 1871. There were about fifty students and the fee was £30 per annum. In the following year, James Vincent became President of the college. One of his predecessors in that office was his own brother Patrick, who had resigned in 1858 due to failing health. He was appointed curate in Kilgobinet and died the following year and was buried in Dungarvan parish cemetery. He was thirty-eight years of age at his death, which implies that he was born around 1821. This would make him some seven years older than James Vincent.

During his years in Waterford, Dr Cleary's interests were not by any means confined to college affairs. He seems to have taken an active part in the life of the city, and to have been 'universally respected', to use a nineteenth century compliment. All his life he was deeply convinced of the importance of education for all social classes and it is therefore not surprising to find him taking an interest in the community of Presentation Sisters, who had opened a school for girls in the city in 1798. After fifty years, they had moved, in 1848, to a new building at Lisduggan, west of the city. As chaplain to the nuns, Dr Cleary was shocked to discover that much of the building, including the school and chapel, was in a very unfinished state. Still worse, they had no money! So he organised a meeting in the Cathedral sacristy one Sunday at which the Mayor took the chair and Dr Cleary himself was Secretary. It was arranged to make a collection at the church doors on the following Sunday, and in order to encourage a generous response, the Secretary wrote a long letter to the papers and described to the readers the destitution of the nuns. From a historical point of view, it is an interesting letter, containing a summary of Presentation history but also a very direct statement of his strong belief in the relationship between education and freedom:

> How were the masses prepared for O'Connell's sublime theory? How did they attain the high degree of intelligence needed to recognise the power of thought superior to material force; to discern and combine the elements of union amidst the clashing interests and prejudices of hostile races? The cause is to be found in the two Institutions just mentioned; and accordingly let us acknowledge the precursors of Catholic Emancipation.[8]

7 The Good Shepherd Convent site is now part of the campus of the Waterford Institute of Technology, and the name 'College Street' has acquired a new significance very much in keeping with the original. The building on John's Hill continued to function as a seminary until the year 1999. Its future use is undecided.

8 The 'two institutions' mentioned here are the Presentation nuns and the Christian brothers. In a previous paragraph he had credited the nuns with being 'the pioneers

It is not surprising that when Dr Cleary's cousin, James F.X. O'Brien, was released from Portland Prison in 1869 and arrived in Waterford, he was taken straight to the Presentation Convent, as he tells in his autobiographical sketch.[9] James F.X. was wearing the suit of clothes ordinarily supplied to released convicts, had his head closely cropped and in his own words was 'easily recognised as a released jail bird'. He recalled the hospitality of the Convent on the occasion:

> If I had been the favourite brother of each of the nuns my welcome could not have been warmer or more kindly.

Besides the fact that one of his sisters was a Presentation nun elsewhere, perhaps he was welcomed also as a Fenian hero.

Not all the good causes supported by Dr Cleary were local or even national. The Great Fire in Chicago in 1871 called forth an eloquent appeal for help:

> It well becomes the city of Waterford, whose characteristic virtue is charity towards her own poor, to unite with the other cities of this kingdom and of Europe, in administering relief to the victims of that appalling catastrophe, which has befallen a great city, startling the world by its awful suddenness, and the magnitude of its devastation. The divine virtue of charity knows no geographical boundaries. Whencesoever the wail of sorrow comes, it awakens us to a sense of duty towards the sufferers, and calls for a manifestation of sympathy. It recognises mankind as one family of God on earth, and all men as brothers, made in one likeness of their heavenly Father. Those many thousands of human beings, therefore, who have been rendered homeless and destitute by the devouring flames in the city of Chicago, and who are threatened with still more fearful misery throughout the winter, are our brothers, though the wide Atlantic lies between them and us, and are entitled to our charitable assistance by right of our common humanity and the more sacred right of Christian fellowship.

Homecoming

In December, 1875, the parish priest of Dungarvan, Jeremiah Hally, died at an advanced age. He had been in charge of the parish since 1838. Early in 1876, Dr Cleary was appointed to fill the vacancy in his native parish. The people of Dungarvan received the news with great joy and prepared to give him a warm

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who opened the way, for the very existence of their Institute was a constant demand for a counterpart to supply education to the male youth of Ireland; and it is a historical fact that the success which attended the efforts of the Presentation Nuns in this city, first suggested to the ever-venerable Edmund Rice the happy thought of founding the congregation of Christian Brothers – the most laborious and most useful body of men on the face of the earth."

9 MacCarthy, 'James Francis Xavier O'Brien', in *Decies* 54, p. 131.

welcome. On the day of his induction into the parish, the church was packed to capacity. His sermon was, as he said himself, 'a favourable opportunity to speak to you the language of my heart':

> Why should we not work together for God? Why should not I have your confidence, who was born among you in this good old town? Dungarvan is dear to me. Its reputation is dear to me as my own personal reputation. I am at home again in the home of my childhood, never to be separated from you till death . . . whatever of public spirit or patriotism is among you, I will aid for the old town, the object of my love and affection . . . I ask you to give me the help of your prayers to draw down the grace of God on you and on me, and that this grace may fructify in peace and charity and in abundance of good works during the career we have inaugurated today.'

After Mass, a deputation met him in the sacristy and presented a formal address of welcome. The Chairman was none other than his old teacher, Mr Dwyer. In thanking them for the love and charity with which he had been met, Dr Cleary acknowledged that he had felt apprehension about his new charge:

> I have come amongst you and I am more than relieved of the fear that pressed on me . . . I may tell you, I am happier today than I was yesterday . . . Whatever I learned since I was in Mr Dwyer's school, thirty years past, and went to the Eternal City, all is at your service, and I will give it with a heart and a half.

His promise to serve the people of Dungarvan till death seemed reasonable on the day it was made. Time was to reveal that the new parish priest had less than five years in his native parish before a new charge was placed on him and that 'wide Atlantic' was to roll between him and his friends in Dungarvan.

Pastoral Care

Dr Cleary's stated ideal as pastor of Dungarvan was to work 'not exclusively for the benefit of the Catholic community, but to promote as far as in me lies the well-being of society.' From the outset, great confidence was expressed that his coming to the town would have a beneficial effect. The *Freeman's Journal* considered it an event which promised to be fraught with blessings to the town:

> For many years past some unpleasantness of feeling existed there between some of the clergy and a section of the people, owing to political differences, which at one time rose to a great height.[10] But on the induction of their new

10 The reference is probably to the 1868 election when 'there was a contest of the most heated character', in which the people of the town, both clergy and laity, were 'almost evenly divided'. The rancour lasted long after. See Keohan (1924) *Illustrated History of Dungarvan*, p. 81.

> parish priest, all classes of his parishioners rallied round him and welcomed him with affection and enthusiasm. The deputation which waited on the very rev. gentleman, to present him with an address of welcome, included men of every shade of political opinion. Thus an old quarrel is happily buried in oblivion, and of the recurrence of any similar trouble there seems to be not the remotest prospect while so prudent and patriotic a pastor as the Very Rev. Dr. Cleary bears spiritual sway in the good old town of Dungarvan.

The Local Government Board appointed Dr Cleary chaplain to the Dungarvan Union workhouse, where the question as to whether to place the workhouse school under the National Board was causing some concern. The Board's regulations were that religious and secular education were to be strictly separated throughout the day and consequently schoolbooks which included any religious element were not permitted. As the children of the school were, and had been for twenty-five years, exclusively Catholic, Dr Cleary considered it right that the books they used should support their religious beliefs. Before the end of March, a meeting was held at which he pleaded for the religious rights of the fifty or sixty little boys and girls being brought up there 'before being cast out at 14 or 15 years of age to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow.' His speech was summarised in a report in the *Freeman's Journal*:

> He shows that the peculiar and lamentable circumstances of the workhouse child render necessary special care of his moral being. For, as Dr Cleary submitted, while other children pass from the school to their parents' homes, and there receive the best practical moral and religious training, the poor workhouse child, homeless and friendless, receives no religious training to prepare him for the battle of life, save it be what he receives in the schoolroom.

The controversy about the books in use had spread to the town and all sides were anxious for a settlement. The Board, chaired by Lord Stuart de Decies, expressed its willingness to accept Dr Cleary's arguments and so 'a controversy full of heart-burning and hostility present and future has been happily and we hope decisively set at rest.' A few days later, under the heading 'Battle of the Books', a correspondent inquired whether any Protestant pauper child would be compelled to read the Christian Brothers' books. Dr Cleary replied:

> Most certainly no Protestant child would be compelled to read the Christian Brothers' books or any other books of a distinctively Catholic character . . . If necessary, a Protestant teacher would be provided by the Board for the one Protestant child rather than require him to learn out of Catholic books.

Church Improvement

The church in Dungarvan had been built in the 1820s on a site given by the Duke of Devonshire. It was first opened for worship on Sunday 27 March, 1828, about six months before the birth of James Vincent Cleary. The new parish priest decided to

enhance it by the addition of stained-glass windows. These were unveiled in 1879 and 1880 during his last year as pastor. Each window carries the name of its sponsor at the base. Some were individuals, some families, and some corporations such as 'the farmers of the area in thanksgiving for the abundant harvest of this year 1880'. This is a reference to the three preceding years of bad weather and poor harvests, when the Dungarvan area experienced 'poverty bordering on destitution'.[11] The first window on the north side carries the legend:

> *James Vincent Cleary STD Pastor, to the honour of God and the Immaculate Virgin Mary and in suffrage for the souls of his parents Thomas and Margaret and his brothers Matthew and Rev. Patrick STD, Michael and John, also for the good estate of his sister Hannah Littleton, his brothers Thomas and William and himself.* The date is indicated in brackets thus: *Presentation BVM 1879.*

It was 21 November and though he did not yet know it, he had less than a year remaining to him in his native town. On 1 October, 1880, Pope Leo XIII appointed him bishop of the diocese of Kingston in Ontario.

Beginning again

The diocese had been established in 1826 and the new bishop would be the sixth.[12] His immediate predecessor, though born in Canada, carried the very Irish name of John O'Brien, but I do not know whether he had any family connection with Dr Cleary (whose mother's maiden name was O'Brien). Dr Cleary was not the first Irishman to be given the charge of the diocese. Patrick Phelan of Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny was the fourth bishop and was responsible for the building of Kingston Cathedral.

Dr Cleary was consecrated in Rome on the Feast of Presentation, 21 Nov, 1880. Dr Croke of Cashel, together with Bishop Butler of Limerick, assisted at his consecration. Shortly afterwards he returned to Ireland to prepare for departure and to say goodbye to his friends. The pride felt by the people of Waterford and Dungarvan was mingled with great regret at losing him. In fact when he delivered his farewell address in Dungarvan 'there were many in the crowded assembly that

11 For this 'almost-famine' and Dr Cleary's efforts to organise help, see William Fraher, Bernadette Sheridan, Seosamh O Loinsigh and Willie Whelan (1997) *Desperate haven: the Poor Law, famine and aftermath in Dungarvan Union*, pp. 223-5.

12 For information on his years in Canada I have relied entirely on three sources – a copy of his will obtained from the Archdiocese Archives in Kingston, copies of two of his pastoral letters and a published account: Louis J. Flynn (1976) *Built on a rock – the story of the Roman Catholic Church in Kingston (1826-1976)*. As a source for an essay on Dr Cleary, the latter has two shortcomings. First, it is a diocesan history rather than a biography of any individual. Second, it ends at the year 1976, with the result that much of the information is now in need of updating.

were moved to tears.' Before he left, he was presented with an address in which he was commended for 'your zeal for souls, for the beauty of God's house, for public worship and ceremonial, as well as your ceaseless efforts in the cause of Education and your never-failing charity towards the poor.' One of his last functions in Dungarvan was the consecration of the new marble altar in the Augustinian Friary on 21 January.[13] He left Ireland on 16 March and arrived in Kingston, via New York and Toronto, on 7 April (1881). As in Dungarvan so in Kingston, he lost no time in getting involved in his pastoral duties and his first Pastoral Letter was issued on 18 May that year.

The new bishop had the care of a diocese which originally comprised the entire province of Ontario, and after some reduction in size during the first fifty years, it still had an area several times the size of Ireland. There were vast distances to be travelled and horse and carriage were not always adequate for the climate. The 'sleigh and fine black bear robes' bequeathed to one of his friends remind us of the difference between Dungarvan winters and Canadian snows. There was a Catholic population of about 80,000 served by 47 priests. Many of these were of Irish birth or descent and some had studied at All Hallows' College in Dublin.[14] St Mary's Cathedral, consecrated by Bishop Phelan in 1848, was proving inadequate for the size of its congregation. Dr Cleary increased the capacity by removing two sacristies which had been behind the side altars and incorporating the space into the church. He moved the side-altars back to the wall, added ornamental wooden grill work between the first three pillars on each side of the sanctuary and installed stained glass windows. The finished church must have looked remarkably like the parish church in Dungarvan!

Dr Cleary's interest in freedom of education was exercised very much in Kingston. 'The Battle of the Books' had to be fought over again, this time with a good deal more acrimony, possibly against a more powerful opponent. In particular, he was concerned about the 'ill-selected, anti-Catholic textbooks' provided in the common (i.e. state) schools. His view was that the only solution lay in separate schooling. In December 1882, he issued a Pastoral Letter on the subject. To the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Meredith, he wrote in support of separate schools:

> The Catholic parent has as much right as you, Sir, to educate his child for this life and for the next in the light and warmth of religion according to his faith.

To another official he wrote:

> Nothing is asked for the Catholics which will not be cheerfully accorded to every other denomination.

13 Keohan, *History of Dungarvan*, p. 109.

14 The College of All Hallows in Dublin was opened in 1842 to prepare priests for missions in English-speaking countries. In 1907, there were about 500 past students of the college working in various parts of the English-speaking world.

Regiopolis College in Kingston, commenced as early as 1839, was a third-level college for clerical and lay students. In 1869 it was forced to close for lack of funds. Now Dr Cleary determined to have it reopened in a new location as:

> A Literary, Scientific and Commercial School to be named 'Regiopolis College School' for the education of Roman Catholic young men (non-Catholic young men not to be considered, however, to be hereby excluded from participation in the educational benefits of such school on condition of their paying the regulated fees) in Ancient and Modern Languages and Literature and in the branches of Science commonly embraced in the Arts Course of the Universities, and in the Departments of Education dedicated to Commercial pursuits.

This he succeeded in doing in 1896, two years before his death. The college was the main beneficiary of his will, inheriting $30,000 of his personal fortune to be used 'to establish a Chair of Latin and Greek Classics and Ancient History Sacred and Profane.' He had always been a careful manager of his financial affairs and showed a shrewd business sense. His personal private funds were very clearly distinguished from diocesan funds and he was of sufficiently independent means to relinquish for the entire eighteen years of his episcopacy the income which would normally be his support from the Cathedral.

Another institution in which Dr Cleary took great interest was the Portsmouth Penitentiary. (Portsmouth was then a village near Kingston, but with the growth of the city in modern times, it is now included in the urban area.) Since it was built in 1833, it had been served by a part-time chaplain. However, in 1881 a chapel was built in the prison and consecrated by Dr Cleary. In 1893, he appointed the first full-time chaplain, Rev. J.V. Neville. Flynn, the diocesan historian, claims that Fr Neville was a nephew of Dr Cleary. This supposes that he had another sister besides Hannah Lyttleton. Perhaps Neville was a grand-nephew or a cousin. In 1894, a new parish church was consecrated for Portsmouth and named for Saint Dismas, the name traditionally given to the 'good thief'. Most of the labour of the building was provided by the convicts who were paid 25 cents per day, the rate settled by the Government. The Bishop must surely have recalled the 'relief works' of the Famine days in Ireland where the payment on occasion was 'one meal of porridge a day'.[15] The bell for the Church of the Good Thief was christened James Vincent.[16]

15 A native of Dungarvan area once showed me a stone pier at Ballintaylor and told me that it had been built in famine times and this was the rate of payment.

16 Dr Cleary used the names of his baptismal patrons in various projects, either out of devotion to the saints or in a desire to have his name recorded for future generations. Two stained-glass windows in the sacristy in Presentation Convent, Waterford, show images of St Vincent and St James. The first two of the eight new missions he set up in Ontario were named for the same two saints.

The historian of Kingston diocese tells us:

> From the time of his arrival in Kingston, Bishop Cleary stood out as one of the great intellects of his time in Canada . . . His pastoral and doctrinal letters are recognised as literary masterpieces. He was always ready to help a movement for the public good and he could never have been charged with concealing his sentiments on the Irish question.

In 1889, the diocese of Kingston became a metropolitan see and so Dr Cleary became its first Archbishop.

Archbishop James Vincent Cleary died on Thursday, February 24, 1898. His remains were interred in the vault of the St James Memorial Chapel on 1 March. In accordance with the terms of his will, a solid silver sanctuary lamp in his memory hangs in the chapel of St John's College in Waterford and another in the chapel of the Presentation convent. There are portraits of him on the cloisters of Maynooth and Waterford colleges and in the Presentation Convent in Waterford. A portrait similar to the latter was recently donated to the Dungarvan Museum by the Presentation sisters in the town of Dungarvan.

After his death, the *Boston Pilot* had the news that 'it is generally supposed in Waterford that Bishop Sheehan of Waterford will succeed the late Archbishop J.V. Cleary as archbishop of Kingston, Ontario'. However, the predictions turned out to be incorrect, and the new archbishop was a native of Kingston diocese, Charles Hugh Gauthier. As he was a past student and former Director of Regiopolis College, he would surely have been approved by Dr Cleary.

The Portlaw cotton plant: work and workers, 1835-1904

By Tom Hunt

Introduction

THE PORTLAW cotton plant was the most important industrial concern in nineteenth-century county Waterford and the most visible element of the Malcomson multi-national business empire. This empire embraced a disparate range of economic activities during the nineteenth century including flour-milling in Clonmel and Pouldrew, salmon exporting from Limerick, oil preparation in Scotland, marine insurance in London, shipbuilding in Waterford, linen spinning and weaving in Belfast and Carrick-on-Suir, cotton manufacturing in Manchester, coal mining interests in Germany and an international merchant marine. This essay examines the manufacturing activities carried on in the Portlaw plant and the nature and scale of the employment generated there. Fortunately for the historian, at least two very detailed contemporary newspaper articles describing the workings of the Portlaw plant are available. The *Waterford Mail* published a four-part series of articles in June and July 1856 describing a tour of the plant undertaken by its reporter.[1] Twenty years later a similar type two-part series was published, originally by the *Cork Examiner*, and later reproduced by the *Waterford Daily Mail*.[2] Using these accounts it is possible to reconstruct in detail the nature and organisation of the manufacturing processes that were carried out within the plant at Portlaw.

The Portlaw cotton plant was a fully integrated one embracing the three distinct cotton manufacturing activities, spinning, weaving and finishing, and these were supported by a range of ancillary activities designed to make the complex as self-sufficient as possible and to allow the primary manufacturing processes to continue without interruption. Spinning involved converting the raw cotton into yarn, weaving converted the yarn into cotton cloth and the finishing processes included dyeing and bleaching.

Spinning

The raw cotton was converted into yarn in three main stages and was carried out in the spinning mill, a large six storey rectangular shaped building that dominated the complex.

The first stage required the opening and initial preparation of the bales of raw cotton. The bundles of raw cotton were ripped apart using a machine called 'the devil'. The strong, sharp, rapidly revolving teeth of this machine tore apart the lumps of cotton. The cotton fibres were then willowed and scutched. A willowing

1 *Waterford Mail*, 14, 21, 28, June, 5 July 1856.
2 *Waterford Daily Mail*, 14, 22 Jan. 1876.

machine contained a large drum filled with iron spikes, which loosened and separated the fibres, and a powerful fan which blew away dust and other impurities through a large pipe. The scutcher removed further impurities from the willowed cotton by beating it with rapidly revolving blades.[3] At Portlaw, the raw cotton was blown when required through a chute to the top floor of the spinning mill where it was thrown on to a slowly moving cloth and had any remaining dust blown off by a current of air. Processing of the raw cotton in Portlaw took place from the top floor downwards. Following the completion of the initial preparatory procedures, the carding process took place. The loose cotton was fed into the carding machines and emerged as a ribbon of cotton, termed a sliver, roughly one and a half-inches wide falling from the machines into tin vessels. Six to eight of these pieces were then combined into one band using the roving frame. The Portlaw plant contained approximately 160 of these carding machines in the 1870s.[4] The carding machine basically consisted of a wide drum with a surface of wire spikes rotating within a close-fitting casing which was also lined with spikes.[5] At this stage, in Portlaw, the cotton thread in its untwisted state and known as roving was moved downstairs where the third and final spinning processing was completed. By the 1870s two modes of spinning were carried on in Portlaw – mule spinning and throstle spinning. The *Waterford Mail* reporter of 1876 found the throstle room 'the most sensational spectacle of the place',

> *with its wondrous maze of machinery in which the young operatives are immersed like victims cast into the toils of some huge many limbed monster, only that the faces have no expressions of pain upon them and the ceaseless whirr and rattle mingles not with any human cry. More interesting though less exciting is the mule spinning. The machinery looks simpler and does its work with an almost silent calmness that gives one the idea of its being possessed of intelligence.*[6]

Mule spinning produced the finer thread used for the weft (threads which lie widthwise in the cloth) while the throstle mode produced the warp or thread for the length of a piece of cloth.

Weaving

Weaving was the second distinct cotton manufacturing process carried on in Portlaw and from the beginning power looms rather than handlooms were used. This aspect

3 Timmons, Geoffrey (1996), 'Technological change', in *The Lancashire Cotton Industry, a history since 1700*, Mary B. Rose (ed), (Preston), p. 45.

4 *Returns of inspectors of factories*, 1870, p. 71, H. C. (440), lxii, 105. 1874: p. 7, H. C., 1875 (393), lxii, 57.

5 Williams, M. & Farnie, D. A. (1992), *Cotton mills in greater Manchester* (Preston), pp. 6-7.

6 *Waterford Mail*, 22 Jan. 1876.

of the business expanded rapidly during the 1850s when the number of power looms reported in use increased from 626 in 1850, to 900 in 1856 and to 940 by 1862.[7] This was the highest number of power looms returned. By 1874 the number in use had decreased to 812.[8] The weaving shed 'a single storey building with flat glass roof',[9] was located to the west of the spinning mill and the canal linking the factory to the river Suir via the Clodiagh river (figure 1).

The Portlaw weaving shed consisted of three rooms. In a preparatory room at the entrance to the shed, the thread was unwound from the large spinning spools on to large revolving frames and then placed on beams and cylinders that corresponded in length and width to the size of the cloth that was to be manufactured. Inside the weaving shed the looms were arranged in regular rows and this arrangement allowed each attendant manage the operation of two looms. Located close to the ceiling were the 'long lines of iron shafts which are continually turning around at a rapid speed, and which by means of a leather strap or belt communicates motion to the loom'.[10] Here 'the clatter was something awful',[11] generated by the 'incessant whirl of the numerous pulleys, the constant play of the endless belts, the busy din of the innumerable wheels of various sizes, and the ceaseless stroke of the shuttle as it is driven backwards and forwards'.[12] The woven pieces of cloth were then taken to a third room, where a quality-control check was carried out, and the cloth was also measured.

Finishing

A number of different finishing processes were also carried on in Portlaw. The most important of these were dyeing and bleaching. These were carried out on the ground floor of the main building. The yarn for coloured cloths was passed through huge vats of dye stuffs and the manufactured fabrics were immersed in great tanks of boiling chemical solutions. When the cloth was removed from the vats it was partially dried and then underwent the calendar process. This process closely resembled ironing cloth on a large scale, and impressed the *Mail* reporter. As he described it, a piece of cloth was brought on a beam or wooden cylinder and fixed on the front of a large machine composed of a series of cylinders. The centre cylinder was heated by steam, and was surrounded by wooden cylinders covered with paper. The cloth in its damp state was then unrolled from its carrier beam and was wrapped around the central heated cylinder and pressed against it by the other cylinders with 'a pressure equal to many hundred weights'. This process was designed to give the cloth a proper finish.[13] Smaller pieces of cloth were bittled.

7 *Returns of inspectors*, 1850, p. 10, H. C., 1850 (745), xlii, 455. 1857: p. 16, H. C., session 1 (7), xiv, 173. 1862: p. 19, H. C., 1862 (23), lv, 629.
8 *Returns of inspector*, p. 7, H. C., 1875 (393), lxxi, 57.
9 *Mail*, 14 Jan. 1876.
10 *Mail*, 28 June 1856.
11 *Mail*, 22 Jan. 1876.
12 *Mail*, 21 June 1856.
13 *Mail*, 14 Jan. 1876.

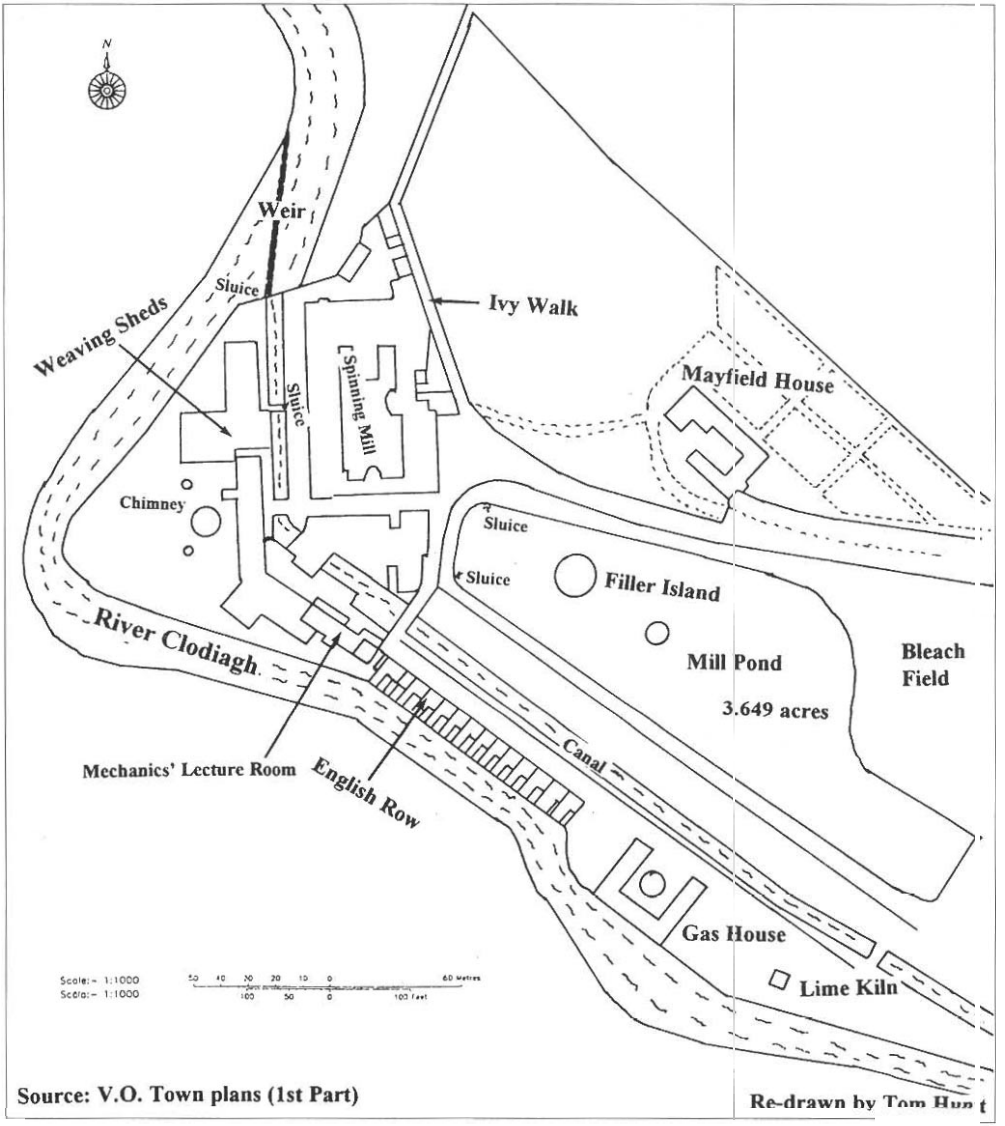

Figure 1: The factory complex, Mayfield, Portlaw

Rolled upon wooden cylinders the pieces of cloth were beaten by a series of vertical staves until they acquired a 'beautiful gloss'.[14] Finally the cotton cloth was packaged in the dispatch loft and made into bales, 'compressed into the smallest possible compass by powerful hydraulic presses, wrapped in canvas and bound with iron hoops, for the long voyages, and duly branded and labelled for exportation to the ends of the earth'.[15]

14 *Mail*, 5 July 1856.
15 *Mail*, 14 Jan. 1876

Ancillary support systems

The fourth sector of the Portlaw development included the administrative offices and a variety of workshops. Most of these were located in a section of two-storey buildings situated to the front of the spinning mill and they formed an impressive industrial complex in their own right. Included were;

> *a large foundry and workshops in which every implement and appliance required in the mill was especially manufactured. Everything in the way of machinery and fitting, from the huge 20ft. iron mill wheel to the tiny wooden bobbin is produced here for the establishment, and such is the wear and tear of a huge mill like this that the whole series of workshops and their staffs of mechanics are kept in constant employment.*[16]

The pattern room stored thousands of moulded wooden patterns used to cast the various machine parts as they were required and there was 'no variety of wheel, spindle, crank of any kind used in the establishment that had not its counterpart' there. The workshops included a sawmill, a turners' shop, a pattern makers' shop, painters' and glaziers' shops and crucially, the harness makers' quarters where 'the driving bands, great and small, for the machinery are made and the iron spindles receive their buffing with leather before they are ready for the mill'.[17]

Employment trends, 1835-74

In the forty years prior to the collapse of the Malcomson commercial empire in 1876, the Portlaw factory provided employment for over 1,000 men, women and children. Reliable statistics for the numbers employed are available in the nine sets of returns compiled by the factory inspectors, between 1835 and 1874, when requested to do so by Parliament. The factory complex was ten years in business at this stage, but for the purpose of this paper the focus of attention will be on the period for which official returns are available. Four sets of returns are also available for the post-bankruptcy period and these are also examined. The information contained in these reports is invaluable in examining the employment history of the firm but the value of the returns is reduced somewhat by their irregular nature, being non-consecutive, they lack the value of a continuous annual series. The numbers employed in the factory for the years 1835-74 are illustrated in table 1.[18]

16 *Mail*, 14 Jan. 1876.

17 *Mail*, 14 Jan. 1876.

18 The employment figures used in this article (unless otherwise stated) are from the returns of the factory inspectors as follows: a return of the number of persons employed in cotton, woollen, worstead, flax and silk factories in the U.K., p. 3, H. C., 1836 (xlv), 51. 1839: p. 335, H. C., 1839 (41), xlii, 1. 1847: p. 8, H. C., 1847 (294), xlvi, 609. 1850: p. 10, H. C., 1850 (745), xlii, 455. 1857: p. 16, H. C., 1857, session 1 (7), xiv, 173. 1862: p. 19, H. C., 1862 (23), lv, 629. 1867: p. 23, H.C., 1867-8 (453), lxiv, 811. 1870: p. 71, H. C., 1871 (440), lxii, 105. 1874: p. 7, H. C., 1875 (393), lxxi, 57.

TABLE 1: MALES, FEMALES AND TOTAL NUMBERS EMPLOYED IN PORTLAW COTTON FACTORY, 1835-74

	1835	1838	1847	1850	1856	1862	1867	1870	1874
Males	263	516	514	598	726	559	775	668	701
Females	471	495	709	764	922	853	854	777	778
Total	734	1011	1223	1362	1648	1412	1629	1445	1479

On the evidence of these returns, the period between 1835-56 was a time of continuous growth with the numbers employed increasing annually at a rate of 3.9%. The number of power looms in use had increased from 339 in 1835[19] to 900 in 1856.[20] This development would have generated hundreds of additional jobs especially for young females who operated the looms.

Factory legislation, in particular the Ten Hour Act introduced in 1847, had an impact on the numbers employed. This act restricted children, women and young persons to working a maximum of ten hours daily or fifty-eight hours weekly. Malcomsons reacted to this legislation by introducing the relay system to their work practices, but they also found it necessary to hire an additional 135 employees to counteract the restrictions imposed by the new legislation.[21] Between 1856 and 1862, numbers employed decreased by 236, due partly to the immediate impact of the American Civil War (1861-65) on raw cotton supplies.[22] The late 1850s were also a time of severe economic crisis that began with a financial collapse in the United States. This crisis had a severe impact on companies dependent on the local market. The linen trade in Belfast was brought to a virtual standstill and almost all the mills in the area were put on short-time from November 1857.[23] A company such as Malcomson Brothers, totally dependent on the export market, was likely to be even more seriously affected by international trends. This setback was a short term one as in 1867, 1,629 employees were employed in the factory. The increased employment at a time when the American war was at its height was due to the swift reaction of the managing partner of the time William Malcomson. William, an economic pragmatist of the first order, ended the firm's specialisation in cotton manufacturing and introduced linen weaving and mixed fabric production. The scale and swiftness of this change is evident from his comment in September 1864, "that five hundred

19 *Returns relating to power looms used in factories for the manufacture of woollens, cotton, silk and linen respectively, in each county of the United Kingdom respectively, so far as can be collected from the returns of the factory commissioners*, p. 9, H. C., (24) xlv, 145.

20 *Returns of inspectors*, 1850, p. 10.

21 *Factory inspectors report*, p. 48, 1850 (1141), xxiii, 181.

22 *Waterford News*, 5 Dec. 1862.

23 Ollernshaw, Philip (1985), 'Industry, 1820-1914', in Kennedy, L. & Ollernshaw, P. *An economic history of Ulster, 1820-1939* (Manchester), p. 76.

hands were in their establishment in the flax manufacture alone'.[24] Decline did not take place until after the American Civil War. Having survived the vicissitudes of this war, the firm reportedly suffered very severe losses in trade and business on all fronts over the three years 1867-9.[25] These difficulties are reflected in an 11% decline in the numbers employed in Portlaw between 1867 and 1870; a decline that had stabilised by 1874. At this time, the Malcomson empire was struggling to survive, with the Portlaw plant making only a marginal contribution, if any, to its overall well-being. The point was emphasised by William Malcomson, in October 1871, when he explained to the guests at the Iverk farming society banquet that his firm had invested £10,000 in providing housing for the Portlaw workers despite the fact that the 'firm had carried on their work for years, he might say, without profit in order to keep the labour in their neighbourhood'.[26]

Men, women and children

Children under thirteen, males under eighteen, females over thirteen and males over eighteen were the usual categories used by the inspectors to enumerate the workforce of the textile factories and are also used in this article to examine the age structure and gender balance of the Portlaw workforce. Excluding 1839, when 51% of the workers were male, the labour force at Portlaw was a mainly female one. 1839 was a unique year, for it was the only occasion any return for an Irish textile plant showed a male majority. The number of adult (over twenty-one) males employed between 1835-9 increased from sixty-three to 311. This can only be explained in the context of the building developments taking place in Portlaw. Work was concluding on the completion of the northern extension to the spinning mill; the *Waterford Chronicle* reported that 'a large addition is making to the edifice' of the weaving shed,[27] while a house building programme was also necessary to cater for the accommodation needs created by the factory expansion. These developments required the employment of a large number of skilled tradesmen and labourers and these were obviously included in the returns made to the factory inspectors. Figure 2 illustrates the overall gender balance of the labour force for the period under consideration. In the returns of 1847, 1850 and 1857, females formed an average of 57% of the employees, in 1862 it had increased to 60%; and for the years 1867, 1871 and 1874 it was 53%. This proportion of female employees was relatively low for a textile plant. Nationally, cotton plants employed an average of 72% females over the period 1835-74. The integrated nature of the Portlaw plant increased the demand for male labour. The finishing processes in particular, with the heavy nature of the work, required a significant male input, apart of course from the ancillary support systems where up to 250 skilled tradesmen and labourers were employed at any one time (Table 2).

24 *Mail*, 30 September 1864.
25 National Archives, *Malcomson family papers*, 975/14/6.
26 *Waterford Daily Mail*, 5 October 1871.
27 *Waterford Chronicle*, 8 October 1839.

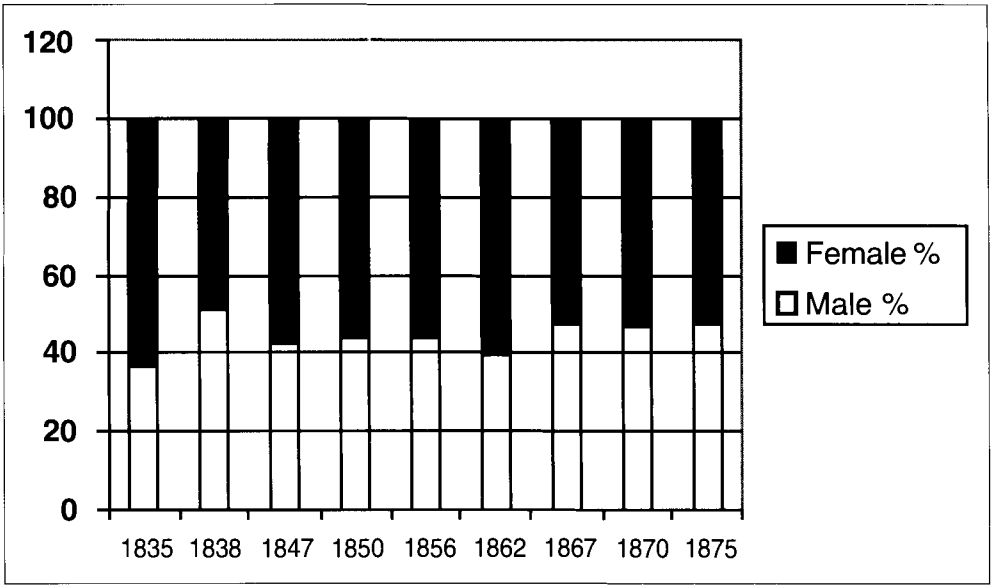

Figure 2. Gender balance at the Portlaw cotton factory, 1835-74.

Gender balance

The variety of manufacturing activities taking place in Portlaw generated a wide range of job opportunities. The tasks which individuals undertook were largely determined by their age and gender, and were also influenced by contemporary considerations as to what represented suitable employment for males and females. Men dominated jobs requiring physical strength such as the preliminary cleaning and sorting of raw cotton, the preparation of the cloth for dyeing and printing, warehousing, loading and unloading the cotton and stoking the boilers. In English mills this was regarded as low status poorly paid work, very often carried out in an unpleasant and unhealthy environment. The initial preparation of the raw cotton and the carding process exposed the workers to dust and floating cotton fibres in the atmosphere. Bleaching and dyeing involved exposure to strong and poisonous chemicals.[28] Power loom weaving was essentially womens' work, being relatively light and unskilled, according to the reporter of 1856, requiring nothing more difficult than 'supplying fresh shuttles as the old ones are exhausted of their thread and mending the thread in case it becomes broken'.[29] A fully trained female operative was responsible for the operation of two power looms. Tasks of a managerial-supervisory nature were a male preserve.

Male overseers supervised the young girls in the sheds; the ratio of female weaver to male overseer being about twelve to one.[30] The importance of females in the

28 Winstanley, 'The factory workforce', p. 124.
29 *Mail*, 28 June 1856.
30 *Mail*, 24 Nov. 1865.

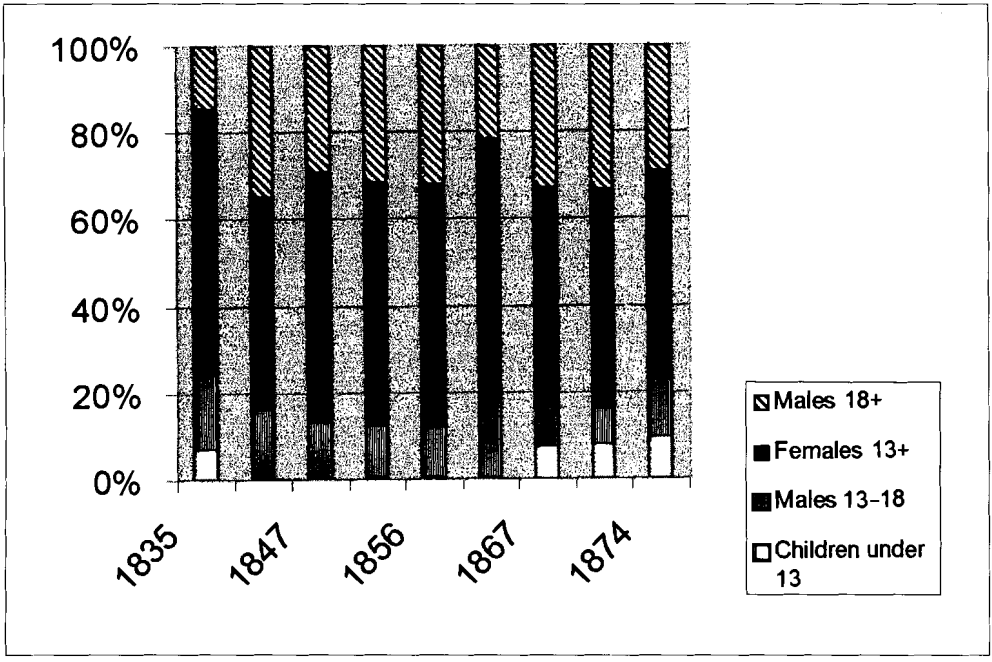

Figure 3. Age structure of Portlaw workforce, 1835-1874.

weaving section of the business is best illustrated by the increased number of females employed between 1850 and 1856. During that time, 158 extra females were returned at a time when the number of power looms increased from 626 to 900; almost the equivalent of one female employee for each two additional looms. Accurate information is available on the division of labour on a gender basis that was practised at Portlaw. Dr. James Martin, the factory doctor, in his address delivered to the social science congress on 26 August 1861, provided a detailed breakdown of the nature of the work undertaken by the male and female workforce.[31] This is illustrated in Table 2, and highlights the extent to which weaving was a female occupation and bleaching and dyeing was a male speciality. Also worthy of note is the proportion (15%) of skilled tradesmen and labourers in employment at the plant.

Age structure

If the gender balance of the workforce remained relatively consistent over the period examined, significant variations took place in the proportions of the various categories of workers employed (Figure 3). Children formed 7% of the employees in 1835, and were not represented again in the returns until 1867. Educational legislation was responsible for the change in the 1830s. From 1836, children under

31 *Mail*, 30 August 1861.

TABLE 2: GENDER DEFINED EMPLOYMENT AT THE PORTLAW COTTON PLANT, 1861

	Male	Female
Preparation and carding	66	87
Spinners	96	113
Winders and reelers	15	101
Weavers and beamers	93	540
Dyers and bleachers	93	6
Mechanics and carpenters	156	—
Masons and labourers	80	—
Sundries	6	60
Total	605	907

Source: *The Waterford Mail*, 30 August 1861

thirteen years of age were required to attend school at least two hours daily and they were also prevented from working more than forty-eight hours weekly or nine hours daily.[32] This act was welcomed by the Malcomson management at Portlaw, for it gave legislative support to their desire to exclude children from the workforce and made it easier to resist parental pressure to employ children.[33] Children were reintroduced to the workforce in the 1860s. Various possibilities can be suggested to explain the presence of children in the workforce at this time. In 1858, William Malcomson began a policy of recruiting children from local workhouses for employment in Portlaw. Evidence exists of children from workhouses in Clonmel[34] and Waterford,[35] taking up employment at Portlaw. Children were also brought to Portlaw from Lancashire in 1865 to protect them from the difficulties caused by cotton shortages due to the American Civil War in that district.[36] Employing children was also likely to reduce costs at a time when the firm was coming under increasing financial pressures.

A notable change in 1862 was the decline of 220 in the number of adult males employed. This was at a time when the town of Portlaw was being re-built. The town was redesigned due to the direct intervention of the Malcomson family and a number of the original streets was replaced. This work was in the final stages of completion in 1862, and it is likely that much of the adult male workforce of the

32 *An act to regulate the labour of children and young persons in the mills and factories of the United Kingdom, 3 & 4 William IV, c.103 (1833).*

33 *Report of the inspector of factories for half year ending June 30*, 1839, p. 20, 1839 (20), xix, 539.

34 Lonergan, *Eamonn (2000), St. Joseph's Hospital, Clonmel: a historical and social portrait* (Clonmel), pp. 42-5.

35 *Mail*, 16 October 1858.

36 *Mail*, 6 Nov. 1865.

factory was re-deployed to the construction work available in the village.[37] In the returns of 1867 and 1871 the status quo of approximately 33% of adult male workers was restored.

After bankruptcy, 1876-1904

In 1876, the firm of Malcomson brothers became bankrupt with accumulated liabilities of £349,800. This had a devastating effect on the Portlaw cotton plant. But it did not bring about a total collapse of the cotton industry in the town. In 1877, William and Joseph Malcomson, sons of William Malcomson, the senior partner in the firm of Malcomson Brothers at the time of bankruptcy, established the Mayfield Spinning company, 'engaged in the business of cotton spinning similar to that formerly carried on by Malcomson Brothers'.[38] This business continued for another twenty-five years on a much smaller scale than the original venture. Based on the consistency of the factory inspectors returns, it seems that the firm employed over 330 between 1877-90, a level of employment comparable in scale to the later tannery development but insignificant in comparison with its predecessor. In 1887, the brothers also formed the Mayfield Dairy Company, for the manufacturing and trading of dairy and creamery products.

The factory inspectors returns (table 3), provide the quantitative evidence of the impact of the bankruptcy on employment in the town.[39] The immediate results were catastrophic. 1,141 jobs were lost between 1874 and 1878. Male and female employees were affected in almost equal measure, 577 males and 564 females becoming unemployed. 142 children, 163 males under eighteen, 496 females over thirteen and 340 adults males were faced with the prospect of finding alternative employment after 1876.

The brothers' partnership was dissolved in November 1895 when Joseph Malcomson retired from the business and withdrew his share valued at £1,316. At this stage the industry was offering employment to only 100 persons. William continued the business of cotton spinning until 'the last bobbin ceased to revolve on 1904'.[40]

Conclusion

Functionally-specialised industrial villages such as Portlaw represented the ultimate in potentially vulnerable socio-economic entities. Portlaw, dependent on a singular

37 Hunt, T. (2000), *Portlaw, county Waterford 1825-76, portrait of an industrial village and its cotton industry* (Dublin), pp. 21-27.

38 National Archives, Joseph Malcomson with William Malcomson, deed of dissolution of partnership, 975/14/6.

39 *Return of number of factories authorised to be inspected under the factories and workshops acts*, H. C., 1878-79 (324), l xv, 201. 1884-85 (340), l xxi, 1081. 1890 (328), l xvii, 169. 1897 [c. 8561] xvii, 9.

40 Power, Patrick (1910), The Portlaw cotton factory, in *Waterford and south eastern archaeological society journal*, 13, p. 64.

TABLE 3: EMPLOYMENT IN MAYFIELD SPINNING COMPANY 1878, 1884, 1890 AND 1896

	1878	1884	1890	1896
Children (half-timers)	2	21	19	2
Males under eighteen	33	38	42	8
Females over thirteen	213	206	167	65
Males over eighteen	90	95	109	26
Total males	124	142	165	36
Total females	214	142	165	36
Total employees	338	360	337	101

Source: *Returns of inspectors of factories in 1878, 1890 and 1896*

and somewhat exotic economic activity enmeshed in the web of international global economy market forces that were 'governed by complex and often uncontrollable forces of finance, raw materials and geo-political upheaval,'[41] was particularly vulnerable. Inevitably, the collapse of the cotton industry sent the town of Portlaw into immediate decline. The census returns of 1871 and 1881 record a population decline of 1,883. Continuous economic migration characterised the town after 1876. By 1901 its population was reduced to 1,101.[42] The town of 363 houses had 112 of them uninhabited in that year. Two streets in particular shared this privation. Forty-four of the fifty-five houses in George's Street were left empty, twenty-two of the sixty-four of William's Street were similarly deserted.[43] Economic stagnation and decay was reflected in the physical disintegration of the town. In 1900, it was far removed from its representation as a model village, eulogised by a variety of English travel writers in the 1830s and 1840s. David Ward, a Presbyterian minister from Waterford city visited the village in 1900 and found a 'general air of decay' pervading throughout the town. It was a town of

> *'long rows of houses, with windows boarded up, and stuck over with a patchwork of advertisements in various stages of decay, or with gaping holes where the glass has been broken away, while off the outsides the plaster has fallen in great patches given the walls the appearance of having been attacked by some devastating skin disease'.*[44]

Portlaw without its cotton industry and deprived of the paternalism of the Malcomson family was a town struggling to survive.

41 James Walvin, *The Quakers-money and morals* (London, 1997), p. 193.
42 Vaughan and Fitzpatrick, (eds) (1978), *Irish historical statistics, population 1821-1971* (Dublin, 1978), pp. 34-35.
43 National Archives, *Census-Waterford 4, DED Portlaw*, 11c, 1-11.
44 *The Missionary Herald*, 1 March 1900.

The Original Subscription List of the Waterford and Limerick Railway Company (1845): A brief analysis

By John M. Hearne

THE recent discovery of the original parchment document containing the names of the subscribers, and their individual shareholdings, in the Waterford and Limerick Railway (1845) sheds new light on the question regarding the availability of risk capital in the nineteenth century Irish economy.[1] In this context the document is of national importance and lends weight to recent academic research which questions the traditional view which propounded that there was a shortage of capital in Ireland during the nineteenth century; and that this shortage was a serious obstacle to Ireland's economic development.[2]

The purpose of this article is twofold. Firstly, and of chief importance, is to place in the public domain for the first time, the subscription list of the Waterford and Limerick Railway Company 1845; and secondly to support, by means of inductive economic analysis, recent academic research which argues that there was in fact a surplus of capital in nineteenth century Ireland.

When Henry Ingliss visited the city in 1834 he observed that there were few capitalists in Waterford. This, he believed, resulted from low market prices and consequently, low profits. He also indicated that the heavy consumption of alcohol seriously inhibited investment.[3] Six years later, in 1840, the Halls, during their visit to Waterford, mentioned that while the temperance movement had now created an environment for such capital investment in the city, it was the virulence of repeal agitation which now posed a major impediment to such risk capital being attracted.[4] Thus, the impression given was that Waterford's economic development was being inhibited by a lack of capital in the locality. But these observations do not stand up to serious scrutiny.

Professor Joseph Lee has stated that the reluctance to invest was not due to lack of savings as, in Ireland, far more capital was saved than was invested domestically.[5]

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1 In 1995, a safety deposit box was discovered in a branch of the Bank of Ireland in Waterford city. This contained, among other items of significant historical importance, the original subscription list of the Waterford and Limerick Railway Company (1845).

2 Lee, J. (1969) Capital in the Irish Economy, in L.M. Cullen (ed), *The Formation of the Irish Economy* (Cork: Mercier), pp. 53-63. In this essay Professor Lee addresses this topic.

3 H. D. Ingliss (1834), *A Journey Through Ireland during the Spring, Summer, Autumn of 1834* (London: Whitaker), pp. 61-6.

4 Mr. & Mrs. S. & C. Hall (1840), *Ireland: Its Scenery and Character* (London: Cox), p. 311.

5 Lee, Capital in the Irish Economy, p. 54.

The Trustee Savings Bank, which had a branch in Waterford, can be used as an example to test the validity of this thesis. In 1829, the bank had £912,869 on deposit nationally. This had increased to £2,302,302 by 1841; and was £1,358,062 in 1848,[6] in the midst of the famine. The Trustee Savings Bank in Waterford in 1829 had £56,454 on deposit;[7] by 1841 this had increased to £103,401.[8] In 1848, deposits at the Waterford branch were £46,192[9] but by 1850 had recovered to £52,157.[10] Thus, savings, being a withdrawal from the circular flow of income, were substantial during the first half of the nineteenth century. Indeed in 1840, an editorial in the Waterford Chronicle made a stinging attack on this high propensity to save in Waterford, stating that

> We are assured that there is no less a sum than three hundred thousand pounds sterling out of circulation in the city, we can well understand why the state of the poor should be deplorable, when men who boast of plenty choose rather to horde up their savings ... than make it fructify under the head of generous industry.[11]

Some months later the same paper estimated that 'at least £10,000 was leaving the city and environs on imported hats.'[12] With imports during the latter years of the 1830's valued at 40% of a total portal trade of over £3,000,000[13] it was evident that there was no shortage of disposable income in Waterford. Indeed there is no evidence to suggest that merchants had any difficulty funding their working capital (which would have been substantial) necessary for their trading activities. Nonetheless, there did seem to be genuine difficulty in attracting risk capital into industry.

Most of Waterford's successful business enterprises were owned by members of the city's Quaker community.[14] Capital for these enterprises was normally raised by reinvesting profits. This provided a steady stream and a cheap source of capital. However, when George Gatchell dissolved his partnership with George Saunders in

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6 Charles Eason, (1930) The Trustee Savings Banks of Great Britain and Ireland, in *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland.* Vol. xvii, p. 20.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

8 *Waterford Chronicle*, 15 December 1841.

9 Eason, The Trustee Saving Banks, p. 21.

10 *Chronicle*, 7 December 1850.

11 *Ibid.*, 6 June 1840.

12 *Ibid.*, 16 November 1840.

13 S. Lewis, (1837) *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (London), p. 497. According to Lewis, the total trade of the port of Waterford in 1835 was £3,095,399. Of this total, exports accounted for £1,821,245, or just under 59%, while imports accounted for £1,274,154, or just over 41%.

14 The most well known of these businesses were Malcomsons, Strangmans, Jacobs and Gatchells.

1848, he assumed sole ownership of the Waterford Glassworks.[15] With profits during the 1840's at very low levels,[16] he wrote to his cousin stating that if he was to carry on, new capital would be needed. He advertised in English and Scottish papers for a suitable partner and outlined to his cousin that

> I do not like to abandon the old concern without a further struggle, although suffering as regards remunerating power, from general depression and from want of capital ... I must now either get a partner with adequate capital – sell or stop work finally in a few months.[17]

He failed to acquire the necessary capital and was closed within a year.[18]

It was ironic that during the same period, millions of pounds of domestic and foreign capital poured into Ireland's embryonic railway system. In 1845, a third attempt to provide Waterford city with a rail network was initiated by the government.[19] As the powers of Ireland's first Railway Act, that of the Limerick and Waterford railway in 1826,[20] had lapsed, the Waterford and Limerick railway was promoted and received parliamentary approval in 1845. This act authorised the company to raise £750,000 by way of share capital, consisting of 15,000 shares at £50 each, and if necessary, to borrow a sum amounting to £120,000. The company failed to attract the full capital cost by way of private investment and was thus required to borrow the £120,000 authorised by the act. This sum was subsequently lent by the Board of Public Works. Furthermore, as the combined private and public investment was only a little over 43% of the total cost, the government was eventually forced to provide the outstanding amount from public funds.[21]

15 *Waterford Evening News*, 22 December 1848. Notice of the dissolution of Gatchell-Saunders partnership appears.

16 J. M. Hearne, Quaker Enterprise and the Waterford Glassworks 1783-1851, in *Decies* **54**, p. 36.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

19 The Limerick and Waterford Railway act of 1825 was Ireland's first railway act. In 1835, the second attempt to get a rail link to Waterford was made when the secretary of the British and American Intercourse Company approached the Waterford Chamber of Commerce with regard to raising private capital, by way of a share issue, for a railway from Waterford city to Valentia, County Kerry. It was not successful due to the failure to raise the necessary private capital. A third, and successful attempt to link Waterford to the embryonic rail network was made in 1845.

20 Doyle, O. & Hirsch, S. (1983) *Railways in Ireland 1834-1984* (Dublin: Signal Press), p. 25.

21 Marmion, A (1856) *The Ancient and Medieval History of the Maritime Ports in Ireland.* 2nd edition (London), pp. 127-8. Marmion states that the company was allowed borrow up to one third of the amount authorised to be raised by shares. By 1850, the Railway company had drawn down £120,000 of the total amount.

Nonetheless, in light of previous attempts to entice private risk capital into railway ventures in Waterford, private investment on this occasion was substantial.[22]

The list of subscribers to this venture shows that one hundred and seventy eight individual subscribers invested a total of £205,900.[23] This was just over 27% of the initial capital cost. Of this subscribed investment, 38.9% came from Waterford; 10.4% from Cork; 8.1% from the Clonmel – Carrick-on-Suir area and 8% from Limerick. While 72.8% of this private investment was Irish in origin, a substantial amount, £56,000 or 27.2% was English. These figures comply broadly with recent historical research which contends that Ireland at this time did not suffer from a lack of capital, rather it was the type of capital which hampered industrialisation. While there was an ample reservoir of capital seeking a safe outlet in landed property, risk capital was at a premium. And accordingly, it was only after English investors had borne a disproportionate share of the initial risk that Irish investors realised that profit making opportunities existed.[24] The Waterford and Limerick Railway is a good example of this thesis. Many of the large single investments were from English investors and total English investment was greater than the combined Irish investment from Cork, Limerick, Clonmel and Carrick. But investment is a function of the current rate of interest and expectations of future profits. Potential Irish investors in the railways had already seen that initial investment in British Railways had yielded profits in excess of interest on bank deposits or indeed government securities. Furthermore, the success of the Dublin-Kingstown Railway ensured that safe capital lying in bank safes would find its way into railway investment.[25]

The Waterford and Limerick was not unusual in this regard. But on initial examination of the subscribers outlined hereunder, it would seem that, in general, the Catholic merchant class were risk averse, at least with regard to this particular venture. However, a much more detailed analysis would be needed to ascertain if this was indeed the case; and if so, why. But this is outside the scope of this brief commentary, but offers a topic of research for others in the future.

22 See 'subscription list' below.

23 *Ibid.*

24 Lee, Capital in Irish Economy, p. 54.

25 The prevailing rates of interest ranged from 2.5% for money on deposit to 3.5% on Consols.

Private Capital Investment in the Waterford and Limerick Railway Company (1845)[26]

Name	From	Status	Quantity of shares	Value of shares £
Thomas Burns	Waterford	Sailmaker	10	500
Edward Clibborn	Waterford	Merchant	30	1500
Benjamin Budd	Waterford	Merchant	20	1000
Marcus Davis Hill	Newtown	Esquire	60	3000
Stephen Davis	Waterford	Brewer	5	250
Edward O'Hare	Waterford	Pawnbroker	5	250
John Pim Penrose	Waterford	Gent.	2	100
John Mackesy	Waterford	M.D.	20	1000
Benjamin Collins	Waterford	Gent.	4	200
Benjamin Graham	Waterford	Iron Founder	5	250
Daniel Carigan	Waterford	Merchant	4	200
Albert White	Waterford	Merchant	20	1000
William Finnigan	Waterford	Merchant	5	250
George Wyse	Manor St. John	Baronet	10	500
John Jackson	Waterford	Cashier B/T	5	250
Sinclair Bain	Waterford	Merchant	5	250
James Lawson	Waterford	Gent.	5	250
William Lawson	Waterford	Gent.	5	250
James Cuddy	Waterford	Shopkeeper	2	100
Thomas Philip Dormor	Waterford	Contractor	8	400
Thomas Halley	Waterford	Contractor	10	500
Richard Coleman Pope	Waterford	Gent.	10	500
(Samual) King	Mount Pleasant	——	20	1000
George Gatchell	Waterford	Glassmaker	10	500
Michael Power	Waterford	Cooper	20	1000
Thomas Wyse	Waterford	—	20	1000
Charles Hardcastle	Waterford	Clerk	2	100
J. J. Classtett	Waterford	Clerk	5	250
James Moore	Waterford	Clerk	5	250
Thomas Carew	Ballinamona	——	100	5000
William Carroll	Tramore	Gent.	10	500
Thomas Dillon	Summerville	Gent.	10	500
Jane Flanagan	Summerville	Spinster	2	100
Richard Pope	Rockshire	Merchant	120	6000
Joseph Waring	Waterford	Gent.	10	500

26 The original subscription list is now housed at the Waterford City Archives; reference number, P50/01.

Name	From	Status	Quantity of shares	Value of shares £
Julia Young	Dunmore	Spinster	6	300
George Meara	Mayfield	Esquire	20	1000
John Flahavan	Waterford	Tanner	6	300
John Martin	Portlaw	M.D.	5	250
Thomas S. Mackesy	Waterford	M.D.	5	250
James Clibborn	Clonmel	Merchant	20	1000
Henry Scott	Glenbower	Esquire	100	5000
Thomas Sidwell	Clonmel	Gent.	5	250
James Ramsey Smith	Carrick-on-Suir	Esquire	50	2500
Pat Carey	Clonmel	Shopkeeper	10	500
Joseph Higgins	Clonmel	Seedsman	20	6000
Maurice G. O'(illegible)	Clonmel	Clerk	5	250
Henry Pierce-Pilkington	Clonmel	Clerk	2	100
Edmund Patterson	Clonmel	Pawnbroker	10	500
William Keely	Clonmel	Tanner	4	200
Francis Ayrton	Clonmel	Gent.	5	250
Robert Banks	Clonmel	Shopkeeper	40	2000
James John O'Shea	Clonmel	Gent.	10	500
William Castell	Clonmel	Clerk	5	250
Ralph Osborne	Newtown	Esquire	60	3000
Margaret Thompson	Clonmel	Spinster	1	50
David Butler Franks	Clonmel	Esquire	5	250
Theo. Butler &	Clonmel	Esquire	1	50
J. M. Vitle	Clonmel	Esquire		
Viscount Lismore	Lismore	——	10	500
James Sadlier	Clonmel	Banker	50	2500
John Hacket	Clonmel	Seller	10	500
Thomas Hobson	Clonmel	Shopkeeper	20	1000
Anne Grubb	Clonmel	Spinster	10	500
Thomas Hearne	Clonmel	Shopkeeper	6	300
Elizabeth Butler	Clonmel	Widow	1	50
Pat Fennelly	Clonmel	Merchant	20	1000
Joseph Fennel	Cahir Abbey	Esquire	10	500
Hannah Fennel	Cahir Abbey	Spinster	2	100
George Fennel	Cahir Cottage	Esquire	54	2700
Richard Grubb	Cahir Abbey	Miller	10	500
Henry Mauncell	Limerick	Esquire	10	500
Tim O'Brien	Limerick	Gent.	10	500
Francis Lloyd Egan	Limerick	Clerk	3	150
Sir Bisston (illegible)	Limerick	Knight	10	500
M. MacNamara	Limerick	Esquire	20	1000
Thomas Palmer Achison	Limerick	Clerk	5	250

Name	From	Status	Quantity of shares	Value of shares £
Margaret Francis Geary	Limerick	——	10	500
Thomas Wilkinson	Limerick	Gent.	20	1000
Edward Besnard	Limerick	Merchant	20	1000
John MacMahon	Limerick	Clerk	5	250
Frances Cherry Sykes	Limerick	Merchant	70	3500
William Gough Gubbing	Limerick	Esquire	5	250
Robert Henry Decourcey	Limerick	——	2	100
Charles Thomas Lefebere	Cork	Shipbroker	10	500
James Bull	Cork	Solicitor	10	500
George Newenham Harvey	Cork	Broker	10	500
Joseph Dunbar	Cork	Merchant	100	5000
Joseph Hayes	Cork	Esquire	70	3500
William Hayes	Cork	Solicitor	10	500
William Pennington	Cork	Shopkeeper	20	1000
William Bart. Hackett	Cork	Merchant	20	1000
James Carmichael	Cork	Shopkeeper	20	1000
Frances Lyons	Cork	MD	5	250
Robert Carr	Cork	Merchant	50	2500
William Carr	Cork	Merchant	25	1250
Jeremiah McDaniel	Kinsale	Merchant	10	500
Reuben Deaves	Cork	Merchant	20	1000
Thomas Harvey Deaves	Cork	Merchant	20	1000
Adam Carr	Cork	Merchant	25	1250
Thomas Lyons	Cork	Cloth Manufact.	5	250
Roger McGrath	Dungarvan	Apothecary	2	100
Michael Mahoney	Dungarvan	Shopkeeper	2	100
Thomas Pyne	Waterford	MD	10	500
John Malcomson	Waterford	Merchant	50	2500
Joseph Jeffers	Newrath	Merchant	40	2000
Frances Davis	Waterford	Brewer	5	250
Joshua Williams	Waterford	Shipbroker		1000
Richard Sargent	Waterford	Wine Merchant	30	1500
Dora Anne Sargent	Waterford	——	5	250
James Keating	Waterford	Esquire J.P.	20	1000
William Lloyd	Waterford	Esquire	10	500
Henry Davis	Waterford	Brewer	5	250
James Coleman	Portlaw	Land Steward	40	2000
Henry Ridgway	Waterford	Merchant	20	1000
David Condon	Waterford	Merchant	10	500
William Peet	Waterford	Merchant	30	1500
Rev. Alexander Alcock	Waterford	——	20	1000
Sarah White	Waterford	Spinster	5	250

Name	From	Status	Quantity of shares	Value of shares £
Hon. Anne Deane Carew	Woodstown	Spinster	5	250
Hon. Ellen Jane Carew	Woodstown	Spinster	5	250
Lord Carew	Woodstown	——	20	1000
Elizabeth Scott	Glenbower	Spinster	80	4000
John Hartnett	Liverpool	Merchant	100	5000
Barnet Joseph	Liverpool	Merchant	50	2500
William Richyard	Liverpool	Merchant	100	5000
George Campbell	Liverpool	Merchant	20	1000
Edmund Humpreys	Liverpool	Merchant	25	1250
John Edward Hore	Liverpool	Merchant	50	2500
John O'Neill	Limerick	Merchant	50	2500
Morgan O'Connell	Liverpool	Merchant	50	2500
Henry O'Shea	Limerick	Merchant	50	2500
Allan England Fowler	Liverpool	Merchant	25	1250
Maria O'Sullivan	Birkenhead	Spinster	25	1250
Louisa O'Sullivan	Birkenhead	Spinster	25	1250
George William Boyd	Liverpool	Merchant	100	5000
John David Parry	Manchester	Manufacturer	50	2500
John Fielding	Manchester	Manufacturer	50	2500
James Bennett	Manchester	Manufacturer	30	1500
Thomas Morris	Leeds	Bookkeeper	20	1000
William Wilcock Fennell	Leeds	Manufacturer	20	1000
Edwin Birchall	Leeds	Manufacturer	30	1500
Edwin Birchall	Leeds	Manufacturer	20	1000
Nathaniel Briggs	Bradford	Manufacturer	20	1000
John Darlington	Bradford	Banker	20	1000
Sir Arthur De Capal	Booke	Baronet	150	7500
Adam Murray	London	Land Agent	10	500
John Froggatt	London	Solicitor	60	3000
John Brown	Limerick	Esquire	40	2000
Leah Montifiore	London	Spinster	50	2500
John Greene	Greenville	Esquire	20	1000
Elizabeth Bush	London	Widow	20	1000
John Hillyards-Power	Athy	——	100	5000
Henry Peare	New Ross	Esquire	10	500
William Connolly	Waterford	M.D.	10	500
Arthur Fleming	Greenville	Esquire	16	800
James Caulfield Harrington	Waterford	Engineer	5	250
George Reade	Tramore	Esquire	68	3400
Mary Anne Harper	Tramore	Spinster	32	1600
Joshua Mason (Junior)	Waterford	Merchant	10	500
Pierce Newport Barron	Waterford	Esquire	10	500

Name	From	Status	Quantity of shares	Value of shares £
Maria Gahan	Waterford	Spinster	2	100
Elizabeth Gahan	Waterford	Spinster	2	100
Barbara Gahan	Waterford	Spinster	2	100
Rev. John T. Medlicott	——	——	100	5000
Richard Greene	Dunkitt	M.D.	20	1000
John Anderson	Roussborough	Esquire	10	500
Rev. George S. Monck	Coolfin		5	250
Mary Strangman-Hill	Waterford	Spinster	11	550
Thomas Simmons Walpole	Waterford	Gentleman	10	500
Richard O'Donnell	Carrick-on-Suir	Gentleman	4	200
John Blackett	Belline	Esquire	10	500
Earl of Besbrorough	——	Peer	10	500
Lady Harriett Ponsoby	——	Spinster	1	50
James William Hill	Coolnamuck	Esquire	10	500
Clement Sadlier	Carrick-on-Suir	Banker	30	1500
Mary Fuhan	Carrick-on-Suir	Widow	10	500
Andrew H. Bagot	Dublin	Merchant	4	200
Robert Carew	Dublin	——	10	500

UNDER TWO FLAGS

– The Military Career of Capt. Patrick F. Clooney, Ballybrickenman

By Pat McCarthy

JUST to the right, as one enters Ballybricken churchyard from Church Lane is the impressive memorial to Patrick Filan Clooney. Although he was buried on the battlefield of Antietam where he died, a monument was erected to him in his native city less than a year after he fell leading his men in the type of charge that was so characteristic of Meagher's Irish Brigade and so costly to them. This essay sets out to trace the military career of Captain Clooney, a career that saw him serve in two Irish Brigades, that of the Pope, and that of the Union Army in the American Civil War.

1. Italy 1859 – The threat to the Papal States[1]

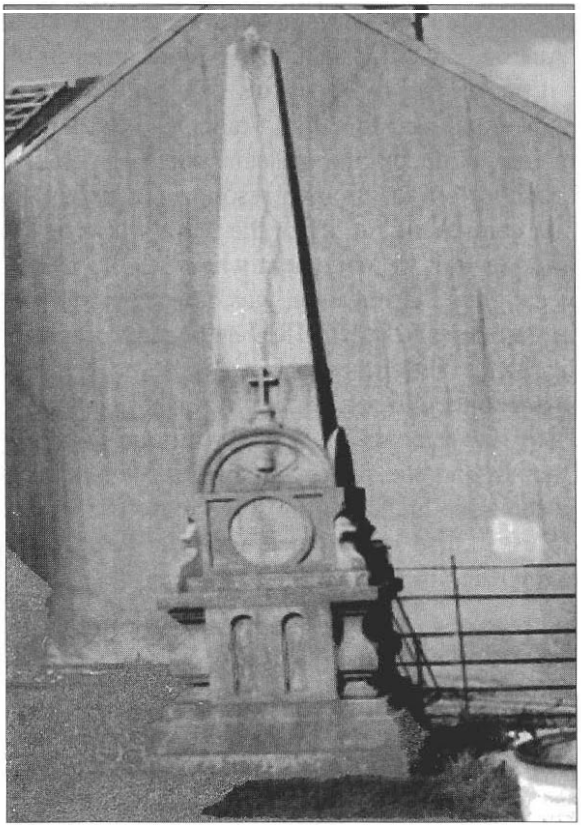
After the turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars, the Congress of Vienna in 1815 had restored to the Papacy its territory in central Italy. Moreover, Austria guaranteed the integrity of the Papal States and was prepared to intervene when necessary. Three times in the forty years after 1815 Austria sent troops south to restore order in the Papal States, including 1848 when it put an end to Pope Pius IX's brief flirtation with liberalism. However, defeat by the combined forces of France and Sardinia in 1859 left Austria momentarily unable to check the nascent forces of Italian nationalism and the Papacy was forced to look to its own resources to defend its territorial integrity. With hindsight, we can see the futility of the Papacy in trying to halt the movement for the reunification of Italy, a movement which was supported by the vast majority of its own subjects. Pius IX, however, was determined to pass on to his successor the inheritance of Peter and so in late 1859 he began to consider ways and means of strengthening his own armed forces.

On 20 December 1859, the Pope announced to a gathering of bishops in Rome that he intended to organise volunteer movements in various catholic countries provided that by doing so he did not offend the ruling authorities.[2] An obvious source of volunteers was Ireland but the Pope had certain reservations. The British representative to the Holy See, Odo Russell, had several meetings with Pius IX and reported them faithfully to the Foreign Office in England.

1 Taylor, A.J.P. (1954) *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe* (Oxford). Chapter VI, pp. 99-124.

2 Mary Jane Cryan Pancani (1986) 'New Light on the Background to the Irish Participation in the Papal Army of 1860', in *Irish Sword*, Vol. XXI, **64**, pp. 155-165.

Clooney Monument, detail.



Clooney Monument, Ballybricken Churchyard.

Clooney Monument, detail.

31 Jan. 1860: Then he spoke of the volunteer movement in England and expressed a wish to enlist some Irish soldiers for his own army if he could do so without giving any annoyance to Her Majesty the Queen. All Europe he thought would want soldiers next Spring and he requested me to talk the matter over with Cardinal Antonelli.[3]

30 July 1860: The progress of recruitment for the Papal army was unfortunately rather slow, but the Pope received many letters from Ireland, offering any amount of soldiers for his army. He foresaw, however, two reasons against organising Irish regiments: 1st, the cheapness of wine in Italy which might prove fatal to the Irishmen, and 2nd, the laws of England which might involve the Pope in difficulties with Her Majesty's government if he accepted the offers made by these Irish Volunteers. In consequence he had no intention of accepting them. I replied that his judgement of the difficulties was perfectly correct.[4]

Whatever about the incompatibility of Irish volunteers and cheap wine, the Foreign Enlistment Act, prohibiting the enlistment on British soil of soldiers for duty in foreign armies was to prove a major obstacle to the formation of an effective Irish

3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.

Brigade in the Papal service. Originally introduced in the 1830s to stop enlistment for service in South America, it enforced secrecy and discretion on Papal recruitment in Ireland. On 16 May 1860 Dublin Castle issued a proclamation reminding all persons concerned that under the Foreign Enlistment Act any person entering the service of a foreign government was guilty of a misdemeanour punishable by fine and imprisonment, as was also anybody helping him to do so. Although the proclamation did not stop young Irishmen from enlisting for the service of the Pope, it certainly slowed down the process.[5]

As noted above, Austria was temporarily powerless militarily but the Emperor Franz Josef was anxious to help in every other way possible and encouraged some of his officers to assist in strengthening the Papal army. Among them were two of Irish descent, Field Marshall Prince Nugent and Count MacDonnell. It was these two officers who gave the impetus to form an Irish Brigade and who were responsible for the military organisation of the unit. On 28 January 1860, the *Illustrated London News* printed a small but significant news item when it reported that Field Marshall Prince Nugent, an Irish nobleman in the service of Austria, had just been appointed to be Grand Prior of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta in Ireland. The same month Cardinal Antonelli obtained letters of recommendation for Count MacDonnell, nominally secretary to Prince Nugent, and armed with these the Count travelled to Ireland. He presented himself to the bishops of Cork, Ferns, Dublin and Waterford, and began his recruiting campaign.

Despite the need to preserve secrecy, MacDonnell's mission was successful. Father Joseph Mullooly, O.P., prior of the basilica of San Clemente, wrote to Nugent on 26 April

> Our friend's success in Ireland is truly consoling to us all and far exceeds our expectations. He has procured 1,000 for the H.F.[6]

If one can judge by the nationalist local press, something akin to a war hysteria swept the country as Catholic Ireland rallied to the defence of the Pope. The editorial in the *Waterford Chronicle* on 24 January 1860 thundered:

> We cannot see why the late Italian war should be allowed to result in the perpetration of so gross an act of injustice to the Holy Head of the Church!

A month later the papers were full of the National Collection for the Pope and the same paper proclaimed:

> 'We cannot see why Waterford City and County should not stand prominently forward on the list of Irish contributors.'[7]

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5 G.F.H. Berkeley, G.H.F. (1929) *The Irish Battalion in the Papal Army of 1860,* (Dublin), pp. 21, 22.

6 Pancani, 'New Light', p. 157.

7 *Waterford Chronicle*, 25 Feb. 1860.

During March the amounts raised were listed, parish by parish along with the names of the contributors – Stradbally £29-9-6; Kilrossanty and Fews £50-0-0; St. John's £77-4-3; St. Patrick's £85-12-6, etc. In each case the list was headed by the parish priest who usually gave £5. The Cathedral parish raised £285 with the bishop giving £50. Among the other contributors was Mr. John Clooney – 5/-. The Clooney family would also make another contribution, for among those who answered the call to arms was young Ballybrickenman Patrick Clooney. Patrick Clooney was born on 5 May 1840 and baptised the following day in St. Patrick's Church. His parents were John Clooney and Catherine Phelan. He was well educated, as can be seen from his letters to the Waterford newspaper, *The Citizen and Commercial Record,* in September and October 1860 where he described his experiences as a soldier of the Pope.

Clooney joins the Papal Army

Starting in May, groups of Irishmen began to make their way to Rome to enlist in the Irish Brigade. Most made their way quietly, their departure sometimes being recorded in local newspapers as pilgrims or emigrants. On at least one occasion this mask was thrown off. The newspapers of 23 June recorded

> **Pilgrims for Rome**
> The greatest excitement prevailed yesterday at the North Wall (Dublin) on the sailing of the City of Dublin Company's vessel *The Windsor*, when 150 young men left, as was stated, for the purpose of joining the army of His Holiness the Pope. Thousands were assembled to witness their departure who again and again lustily cheered as the vessel steamed down the river.

Commenting on this scene the *Waterford Chronicle* reporter wrote 'We have no doubt but that before our next issue several of the Brave Sons of the Urbs Intacta will be among the volunteers'.

Patrick Clooney, however, opted to avoid any formal send-off. On 29 June, travelling alone he left Waterford for London, thence to Paris where he met some comrades. Together they travelled by train to Marseilles and then by boat to the port of Civita Vecchia. Writing to the Waterford paper, the *Citizen and Commercial Recorder*, and dated 'The Citadel Spoleto, August 26th' he announced

> Despite the English proclamation, the Irish Brigade is an accomplished fact!

The triumphant tone in Clooney's letter has to be understood in the context of the sustained and vicious campaign waged against the Irish Volunteers in the pages of the English newspapers. The *London Times* led this onslaught. On 12 May it commented:

> When fighting is promised and popery is provoked it is no more than natural that Ireland should desire to have a finger in the pie.

A week later the *Morning Herald* (18/5/60) combined anti-Irish invective with a diatribe on priests and papal rule in the States.

> Another brigade of Hibernian aborigines has started, it seems, to add a new chapter to that history of Irish chivalry abroad which, like to Druidical Annals, can alone be found in declamations and speeches. By the fostering care of the priests, aided by the opportune slumbers of Lord Carlisle, the Pope is to have the aid of at least one thousand individuals, whose lungs have been strengthened crying for liberty at repeal meetings, and their muscles developed by the midnight parade of phoenix clubs and the prison exercise that thereupon ensued, and those devoted free-lances are further to illustrate their notions of liberty upon such of the subjects of the Papacy as venture to murmur at the paternal rule. That the streets of Perugia have happened within a few months to present scenes which their own most fertile imaginations never succeeded in inventing as having been inflicted on the ancestors of the Irish by Cromwell, is no inconsistency in the eyes of those who talk of the friends of liberty – the Irish priests who shipped off the cargo said to have arrived at Rome. If the facts so often declaimed are to be believed, Irish peasants who mysteriously escape the surveillance of English viceroys have won all the battles of the despots of modern history. At Oudenarde, Malplaquet, Ramilles, the "charge of the Irish" was so terrible and made with such courage that they swept upon the enemy with a velocity that prevented continental historians noticing their presence at all .....

And so it continues combining racial invective, anti-Catholic slurs and bad history in a sneering and sarcastic tone. It is no wonder that Clooney and his companions felt they had something to prove.

Despite the triumphant note in Clooney's letter, forming the Irish recruits into a trained and equipped military unit was proving difficult.[8] The original choice of a commanding officer of the Irish Battalion fell on Major Fitzgerald, a serving officer in the Austrian Army, who had been instrumental in organising the transit of many recruits via Vienna and Austrian occupied Italy to the Papal States. However, British diplomatic pressure on Austria and a failure to agree on an appropriate rank for Fitzgerald in the Papal Army meant that it was inadvisable for Fitzgerald to accept command. The choice then fell on Major Myles O'Reilly. O'Reilly came of a Co. Louth family of gentlemen farmers. He was an officer in the Louth Militia and a keen student of military affairs. Despite his relative lack of experience, he set to to form his unit and to train them in the short time available. He was a strict disciplinarian and was to prove himself a capable and brave officer.

The Papal Army which the Irish were about to join was certainly the most curious in Europe. Intended purely for the maintenance of order within the Papal States it

8 Berkeley, *Irish Battalion,* pp. 23-39, 50-89. See also Crean, C.P. (1959) 'The Irish Battalion at the Defences of Spoleto, 1860', in *Irish Sword,* Vol. IV, **14**, pp. 52-61.

The Irish Battalion of St. Patrick 1860 (Cenni).
Quinto Cenni (1845-1917) was the most prolific and finest Italian Military Artist of the 19th Century and his superb watercolours won international renown.

had neither the numbers nor the equipment to fight a war. Command of the army was given to a distinguished French General, De La Moriciere. He found himself commanding an army composed of at least ten different nationalities with three official languages of command, none of them English. The main components of the army were:

Italians	(approximately)	.....	6,500
Austrians	(")	.....	5,000
Swiss	(")	.....	3,500
Irish	(")	.....	1,040
Belgians	(")	.....	610
French	(")	.....	530

Beside these were some Poles, Czechs, Germans and Spaniards!

De la Moriciere knew that he could not trust his Italian troops. Almost to a man they sympathised with the cause of Italian unity and he had no choice but to leave them in garrison. Any fighting would thus devolve mainly on the Austrians, Swiss and Irish. The Austrians were perhaps the most serviceable troops in the Papal Army because they consisted largely of regulars commanded by experienced officers. They were quickly organised into five battalions. The Swiss were below their usual standard and the Commander-in-Chief was reluctant to commit them to battle.

The Irish were brave and enthusiastic but largely untrained and, prior to the arrival of O'Reilly, notoriously undisciplined. A special dark green Zouave uniform had been designed for them but very few specimens saw the light of day. The quartermaster department of the Papal army had failed miserably to provide even the basics. Even when fighting started the Irish troops were short of boots, uniforms, haversacks, indeed just about everything! All throughout June and July detachments of young Irishmen arrived in Rome. Unlike the Swiss,who had a standing military organisation in Rome or the Austrians,who included a large number of well-trained and experienced officers, the Irish had to arrange everything from the very beginning. O'Reilly and Fr. Forde, the representative of the Irish Hierarchy, had to create the whole organisation from company officers to cook-house orderlies, to train and equip the recruits – and all in less than two months from the date of landing to the start of hostilities. Firearms were a particular problem: less than a hundred had rifled muskets, and the rest were armed with obsolete smooth-bores, which made them useless except at very short range. An inventory carried out just 13 days before the outbreak of war found the battalion short of 200 muskets, 500 haversacks, 300 pairs of shoes, etc. It is no wonder that the Irish never became a fully equipped or adequately armed force.

The leadership of Sardinia and of the Italian *risorgimento*, King Victor Emmanuel and his Prime Minister Cavour, were aware of the frantic efforts of the Papacy to assemble a fighting force and were not about to give their enemies too much time. In the first week of September they began to mobilise their troops on the borders of the Papal States. In response De La Moriciere started to concentrate his forces at Spoleto. He knew that it would be foolish in the extreme to risk a battle against the overwhelming forces of Sardinia and her allied Northern Italian States. Instead, he decided to entrench his men in and around Ancona and prepare for a siege. A fighting defence of Ancona, lasting say two or three months, might arouse the sympathy of Catholic powers like France or Austria and invite intervention which would preserve the Papal States. The Italians were fully aware of the plan and thus the initial stages of the war would be a race for Ancona. As part of his preparations, De La Moriciere split his Irish troops. Four companies under O'Reilly formed the core of the garrison of Spoleto, while the other four were detached to other stations. One company, two officers and 143 men under the command of Captain Blackney, and including Patrick Clooney, were sent north to form part of the garrison of the key border town of Perugia. In the final few days of peace the atmosphere was tense with rumours and false alarms sweeping the area. As Clooney described in a letter to the *Citizen*:

> We were stationed in one of the palaces – that of the Corso. Time wore on for a few days and we were in expectation of an attack but it did not come off at this time. However, on the Sunday evening after, I was sitting with a friend on one of the walls of the fortress, speaking of poor old Ireland, when we were interrupted by the noise of persons on horseback flashing under the walls beneath us, and looking down we beheld a mounted gendarme sweeping under

the gates of the fort. He had not passed us, scarcely, when another appeared, his horse dripping with sweat, and himself in apparent consternation. After him followed another bearing on his horse's back the clothes of a wounded comrade. They conveyed the information that a band of rebels from Tuscany, which had been hovering about the frontier for some days, had entered one of the villages by surprise, routed the gendarmerie, had taken a captain prisoner with four men, and murdered one of their comrades.

This was news of some importance to us, and we were ordered to be ready to turn out at a moment's notice as an advance on Perugia was expected. Of course we were ready in little or no time, but no attack was made by the supposed rebels.[9]

The reported attack may or may not have been a trick. A few days later there was a similar report and General Schmidt, Commander of the Perugia Garrison responded. On 10 September he led out a column of 1,250 men, leaving just two companies – one Irish and one Italian (of suspect loyalty) – and a few gendarmes – in all less than 400 men behind to hold Perugia. The next day, 11 September war was formally declared and an Italian force of 12,000 men, the right wing of the army, commanded by General Fanti, advanced on Perugia.

The Capture of Perugia[10]

As soon as he heard that war had been declared, Schmidt rushed back to Perugia, hoping to get there before General Fanti and his 12,000 Piedmontese regulars. After marching 27 miles in 14 hours, he arrived there at about 7 a.m. on the morning of the 13th, just a half-an-hour before Fanti arrived. To gain time while he deployed his exhausted troops, Schmidt sent some of the Irish to guard the gates of the walled town. Clooney himself now takes up the story.

The Irish, God knows, were small enough in the fortress being only 120 strong (Company No. 1) but they were to be still smaller, and twenty Irishmen were ordered to go and guard the gate of St. Angelo from attack. I happened to be one of the twenty; and down we went to guard the gate. Here there was no cover for us; so we should stand in the open street if an enemy came upon us. Our orders on leaving the fort were, if attacked by odds to fire on the enemy and retire to fortress. We had not been an hour at the gate when sharp cross firing was heard in several directions; and we knew the enemy had entered the town. It was so. He had gained admission by the eastern gate of the city. The cannon was firing from the fortress but the enemy held the town, and had taken all the guards except the twenty of which I was one. In a few minutes cross firing was heard near us and presently the enemy appeared at the top of the

9 *The Citizen and Commercial Record*, 21 Sept. 1860.

10 Berkeley, *Irish Battalion*, pp. 111-122.

street (not through the gate, as we expected him). The enemy drawing up in a front three deep, discharged a heavy volley into the twenty men. We grasped our firelocks and gave them a volley in return, when we retired behind the street corner and the enemy came down on our small band who retreated down the street. We took our way as well as we could find through strange streets we had never seen. At the corner of each street as we cleared it we got a volley from the enemy. Only for God was with us we were all cut up. One of our lads was severely wounded, a musket ball passing through his leg. He fell into the hands of the enemy. At the corner of one of these streets, I received a slight wound in the arm from a spent ball. There will only be a slight mark. The men, nineteen in all, formed up to attempt to force a passage through to the fort when they were forced back by a fresh volley from the enemy. I regret to say one of our men, a lad from Dublin – Corporal Allman – a medical student of that city, was shot through the heart. He fell by our side bathed in blood. Here also more of our men were severely wounded, among them Corporal Synan of Clonmel by a bullet passing through his jaw and out again. Our men now discharged at the enemy, killing and wounding many of them. We were now forced to divide. Six of our lads passed across the street and got under cover; twelve more turned across and wheeling by a small street, broke open a door where we endeavoured to protect ourselves till evening when we might join the whole company of Irish for a deadly fight. But some of the civilians sold us and in about an hour after entering the house we were surrounded by Piedmontese soldiers. The whole of the young men asked me to direct the movements, though there was a corporal to do so. I directed them to remain silent for a while as it was best to stab them as they came up the dark stairs; but scarcely had the Piedmontese broken open the door and demanded a surrender when six of our lads discharged a volley right into them, wounding several. They now appeared at and around the house, fired away at the windows and below them in about our ears, while others poured volley after volley up the stairs and our lads were blowing down on them in return. They demanded a surrender. I feared that they might fire the house. I advanced and shook hands with a sergeant and so we made an honourable surrender. Of how we were treated I cannot speak now, as I am a prisoner. While we were fighting in the streets the Irish in the fort did good service; and if everyone in the fortress there had fought as well as the Irish Perugia would never have fallen into enemy hands. I cannot finish without mentioning the name of M.L. Luther, a young lad formerly of the Waterford Artillery and from Clonmel. He was always at the guns, firing and directing the fire. His name will live on the lips of every man of the Irish Brigade while there is one of us alive. My love to all enquiring friends and well-wishers. My bag and all it contained were blown to pieces in the fort.[11]

11 *The Citizen*, 21 Sept. 1860.

The rest of the garrison would soon join Clooney in captivity. There are few details available as to the capture of the fortress and the rest of Company No. 1. General Schmidt in his report stated that he had been obliged to surrender when his Italian and Swiss troops refused to fight on. However, he exempted the Irish from this criticism.

> The Irish company and the majority of the 2nd Line Battalion alone showed themselves determined to do their duty.[12]

The End of Hostilities

The capture of Perugia opened the road to Spoleto some 60 miles to the South, which was now garrisoned by about 800 officers and men, almost half of whom were Irish and all under the command of Major O'Reilly. On the 15th Fanti and his troops approached the town. A summons to surrender was rejected by O'Reilly and at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 17th the Piedmontese opened a heavy artillery bombardment. After a gallant resistance that won the admiration of many, O'Reilly was forced to surrender.[13] Writing sixty years later, the English historian G.M. Trevelyan wrote:

> For twelve hours on September 17th the North Italians bombarded the Rocca of Spoleto, and in the afternoon attempted to storm its gate. Almost all of the small column of assault were killed or wounded. Both Irish and North Italians, here, as a few weeks later at Ancona, displayed the ferocious self-sacrifice of men fighting for ideas. The assault was repulsed for that day, but when the night fell the castle was crumbling beneath the bombardment, the ammunition was running out, and the Swiss and Italian Papalists compelled Major O'Reilly and the boys to open the gate.[14]

Other Irish troops offered similar brave resistance at Ancona and Castelfidardo. By the end of September Ancona had fallen, the war was over and the Irish there had joined their comrades from Perugia and Spoleto in captivity. They were then marched across Italy and interned at Genoa.

Release and Return Home

Imprisoned in Genoa, the Irishmen must have wondered what lay in store for them. Unlike their fellow Austrian, Swiss and Belgian prisoners, they did not have a concerned government to intercede for them. While Austria, Switzerland and Belgium arranged for the immediate release and repatriation of their citizens, the British government showed no such urgency. Catholic Ireland, however, rallied to

12 Rapport du General de La Moriciere, p. 19. Cited in Berkeley, *Irish Battalion,* p. 122.
13 Crean, also in *Irish Sword,* Vol. IV, No. 15, Winter 1959, pp. 99-109.
14 G.M. Trevelyan (1928) *Garibaldi and the making of Italy* (London), p. 225.

their cause and a further national collection was taken up to assist the prisoners. However, the Italians were equally keen to be rid of their unwelcome guests and towards the end of October the Irish were released and sent by steamer to Marseilles. There the funds collected came in useful in feeding, clothing and transporting the 1,000 destitute ex-prisoners-of-war. Travelling by train via Paris they arrived in Le Havre and boarded the specially chartered steamer, *Dee*.

Judging from the interviews given by some of the men on their return, they were more than a little apprehensive as to the welcome that might await them as they approached Cork. While passing through Paris they had seen copies of English newspapers which had poured scorn on their efforts, mocking them, calling them cowardly mercenaries, etc. They need not have worried.

Just as A.M. Sullivan and John Francis Maguire had been instrumental in organising the despatch of the Irish volunteers, they were equally to the fore in organising the welcome home. At first it was expected that the men would travel in groups of two to three hundred, but with less than two days' warning the committee learned that all 960 members of the battalion would arrive together. Plans for a dinner were cancelled and the committee concentrated on having food, clothing and medical attention for the volunteers, some of whom were reported to be in poor health and all of whom were said to be suffering from malnutrition. A contemporary account in the Cork Examiner noted with pride the achievement of the tailors of Cork, who worked day and night to produce 960 new suits of clothes.[15]

As the *Dee* steamed past Roches Point, bonfires were lit on all the hills surrounding the harbour. Thousands of people lined the shores cheering and waving flags, while all the ships at anchor, including two British gun-boats, sounded their sirens and dipped their flags in salute. After the men disembarked, they formed up and led a triumphal parade through the streets of Cork to the C.Y.M.S. rooms in Castle Street, the headquarters of the committee. Speeches followed before the men dispersed to be looked after. The next day they were treated to a banquet before most of them left on a special train to Dublin, where they received an equally triumphant reception. The members of the Brigade then dispersed to their home towns and villages, where they were invariably treated as heroes.

Waterford had collected £247-3-10 to the National Fund for the Repatriation of the Prisoners and the local committee offered Patrick Clooney a gratuity of £10 from the fund. Conscious of the other demands on the monies he declined so the committee decided to present him with an inscribed watch instead. So, by the middle of November young Patrick Clooney was back home in his native city after an adventurous five months. One might have though that his taste for soldiering would be satisfied but within months a greater conflict, the American Civil War, would call him back to arms.

15 W.M. McGrath, *Evening Echo*: 'Irishmen in the Papal Brigade', a series of commemorative articles, in Sept. 1960.

Thomas Francis Meagher in the uniform he designed himself for Company "K", 69th New York Regiment, 1860

The 69th and the Outbreak of the American Civil War

The Spring of 1861 found the famous New York 69th Regiment – 'The Fighting Irish' – under a cloud and its Colonel, Michael Corcoran, facing a court martial. In October 1860 the Prince of Wales had visited New York. Corcoran had pointedly refused to parade his regiment for inspection by the son of the 'Famine Queen' when ordered to do so. His action led to a predictable uproar from the largely anglophilic New York society, led by the press. There were many calls for the regiment to be disbanded and for Corcoran to be court-martialled and imprisoned.[16]

All of this was quickly forgotten when on 12 April confederate guns began to shell Fort Sumter – the Civil War had begun. President Abraham Lincoln issued a call for volunteers and called all state militia regiments to active service for 90 days – the extent of their legal obligation. This also reflected a belief that the war would be over in three months. Although the Irish were traditionally supporters of the Democrats and were certainly not enthusiastic abolitionists, to the surprise of many they rallied to the colours to a man. Under the command of Corcoran (all charges against him were quickly and quietly dropped), the 69th prepared to leave New York for the fighting front in Virginia. In his biography of Thomas Francis Meagher, Cavanagh describes what happened next:

16 John L. Garland. *Michael Corcoran and the formation of his Irish Legion.* Irish Sword, Vol. XVII, No. 66, Summer 1987, pp. 26-40.

In his consultation with Colonel Corcoran – on the day before the sixty-ninth left New York – Meagher ascertained that as the 'Brigade Lancers' (which was attached to the 69th) could not go with the regiment, there was a vacancy of one company, 'K' to be filled. This was the opportunity Meagher wished for, and he took immediate steps to organise the required company. It had been arranged between him and Colonel Corcoran that the new company should be designated the 'Irish Zouaves' and wear the Zouave uniform. Meagher's own uniform was made on the pattern of that worn by an officer of the 'Phoenix Zouaves.[17]

Two days later on 23 April an advertisement appeared in the *New York Herald*:[18]

Young Irishmen to Arms!
To Arms Young Irishmen!
Irish Zouaves

One hundred young Irishmen – healthy, intelligent and active – wanted at once to form a Company under command of

Thomas Francis Meagher

To be attached to the 69th Regt. N.Y.S.M. No applicant under eighteen or above thirty-five will be enrolled in the company.

Application to be made at 36 Beckman Street, every day, between the hours of 10 a.m. and 5 p.m.

Within a week the company was full and on 12 May, Company K formally joined the 69th. On their departure the *New York Herald* observed that 'their uniform consists of a loose navy blue jacket fringed with red and pantaloons of a bluish gray with caps a la 69th Regt.'[19]

The outbreak of the Civil War in America also presented new opportunities for young Irishmen at home in Ireland. Many of the veterans of the Papal Brigade hastened to cross the Atlantic, among them the legendary Captain Myles Walter Keogh (who was to die with Custer at the Little Big Horn) and young Patrick Clooney. According to David Conyngham, historian of the Irish Brigade, Clooney landed in New York in June 1861 and immediately joined Meagher's company. His experience, limited though it was, must have been invaluable to the raw volunteers in Company K, for in early July he was promoted to Sergeant.

17 Cavanagh, Michael (1892) *The Memoirs of General Thomas Francis Meagher* (Worcester, Mass.).

18 *New York Herald*, 23 April 1861.

19 *New York Herald*, 4 May 1861.

Throughout June and early July McDowell, Commander of the Federal Army, concentrated on training the thousands of raw recruits and half-trained militia regiments in the camps around Washington. However, conscious of the fact that most of his army would soon evaporate with the expiry of the service of the '90-day' men and under incessant prodding from an impatient Lincoln, McDowell began to advance Southwards on 18 July. The Confederate Army was entrenched along the banks of a small stream called Bull Run. Anticipating an easy and spectacular victory much of Washington society, both ladies and gentlemen, drove out in their carriages and secured vantage points on the hills near the battlefield.

Both armies numbered about 40,000 men. The ensuing battle of Bull Run, fought on Sunday 21 July, was a series of minor engagements, culminating in a general action centred around Manassas railway junction. At first the Federal Army was successful and appeared to be on the point of winning the battle until the arrival of Confederate reinforcements under 'Stonewall' Jackson. They key to the confederate line was a small hill held by Jackson's Brigade reinforced by artillery. Regiment after regiment assaulted the hill in vain – first the 2nd Wisconsin, then the 79th New York, then it was the turn of the 69th led by Corcoran.[20] Three times they charged, three times they were repulsed. Meagher had his horse killed under him while the colourful uniforms of his company made them easy targets. After the battle one member of his company wrote to the newspaper *The Irish American* as follows:

> 'We were taken to the shambles to be slaughtered; we got no chance to fight but we stood until we were more than half thinned; all we have saved is our honour. We have lost our principal officers and have made the bravest stand of the day.'

After the three unsuccessful charges the 69th were ordered to fall back. However, as the Union army retreated, a Confederate cavalry charge converted the retreat into a rout. The 69th was one of the few regiments that maintained some semblance of order. The fleeing federal troops were greatly hampered by congestion on the roads caused by the carriages of the spectators. Colonel Corcoran was cut off during the retreat, wounded and captured. His second-in-command, Lt. Col. Haggerty of Donegal was killed and according to Conyngham 'beside him fell poor Costelloe, a recent arrival from Waterford and a noble amiable youth.'[21] Meagher managed to lead the remainder of the regiment to safety. Altogether the 69th lost 38 men killed, 59 wounded and 95 missing in action at Bull Run, while acquitting themselves as well as, if not better than, any other Union outfit, regular, militia or volunteer on the field. Moreover, it was now clear to all that this would not be a short or easy war.

20 Bilby, Joseph G. (1995) *The Irish Brigade in the Civil War* (Pennsylvania), pp. 11-18. Also Conyngham D.P. (1866) *The Irish Brigade and its Campaigns* (New York), pp. 17-24.

21 Conyngham, *Irish Brigade*, p. 20.

Formation of the 88th Regiment[22]

Four days after the Battle of Bull Run the 69th went home, its enlistment term having expired. When they arrived in New York they were given a heroes' welcome as they paraded up Broadway. Although they were now released from active service most responded to a fresh call from President Lincoln, who now appealed for men to serve for three years or for the duration whichever would be the shorter.

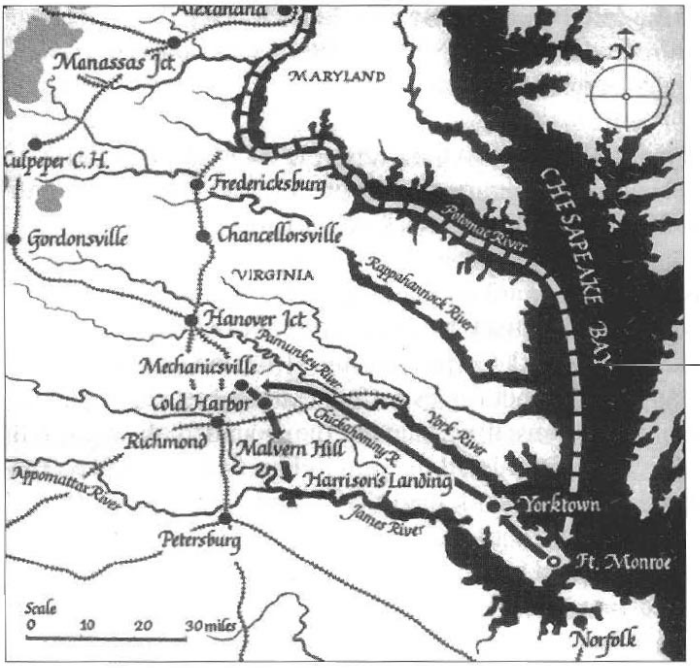
The 69th was reformed as the 69th New York Volunteers. On the night of 21 August a large majority of the members of the Regiment decided to offer their services for the duration of the war. Although Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Nugent was the ranking officer of the old 69th (the Colonel, Michael Corcoran was in a Confederate prison), the offer of service was made by Meagher, technically one of the junior captains, and it was to him, as "Colonel" Meagher that the acceptance was addressed on 30 August. Although offered command of the regiment, Meagher declined . He had decided to organise an 'Irish Brigade', a name redolent of history, a name which would mean much more than simply a military unit to all Irishmen. The first mention of the projected Brigade appeared in the press on 23 August 1861. By 7 September the organisational plan was firmly in place. The Brigade would consist of four regiments:

2 from New York – the 69th and 88th N.Y. Volunteers,
1 from Pennsylvania – the 116th Pennsylvania Vol.
1 from Boston, Massachusetts – the 28th Massachusetts Vols.

Formation of the 88th was authorised on 30 August with Meagher as Colonel. His company of Zouaves, Company K of the 69th, volunteered to a man and formed the nucleus of the new regiment. On 16 September Clooney was commissioned as Captain and given the task of forming and commanding Company E. His two lieutenants were William McMahon O'Brien (aged 22) and John W. Byron (aged 24). Clooney was obviously good at recruiting and within a few days he had 5 sergeants, 8 corporals, 2 drummers and 64 privates, all drawn from the Irish community in New York City. On 8 November the 88th was presented with its colours by the wife of Thomas Francis Meagher. This, along with the fact that the regiment was officered almost entirely by Meagher's old 'Company K men', led to it bearing the nickname 'Mrs. Meagher's Own'. In December Henry Baker was appointed Colonel of the 88th and soon afterwards Meagher was commissioned as Brigadier-General of the Irish Brigade.

In December 1861, the Brigade, initially consisting of the 69th, 88th and 63rd N.Y. regiments moved to Virginia to join the Army of Potomac, and there to prepare for the battles ahead. Meagher's formal assumption of command of the brigade on 5 February 1862 was the occasion of a riotous party for the officers of the 88th. Around this time the regiment was joined by its chaplain, the famous Father Corby

22 O'Flaherty, P.O. (1976) "The Formation of the Irish Brigade" (unpublished thesis, New York).



McClellan's Campaign on the Peninsula

who left the comfortable position of Professor at Notre Dame University to join the Irish. Training continued, aided by the military experience of many of its members. Clooney, of course, and others had served in the Papal army as well as in the 69th, while William O'Grady, who started his American army career as a private in the 88th, claimed that a third of the regiment's recruits had taken the Queen's shilling at some stage. By March 1862 the Brigade was deemed to be combat ready and became the 2nd Brigade of General 'Fighting Dick' Richardson's 1st Division of Lt. General Sumners II Corps, and as such it prepared to take part in one of the major strategic moves of the war.

The Peninsula Campaign – May 1862[23]

In March 1862, Lt. General George McClellan, Commander of the Union Army, carried out what could have been a strategic masterstroke. Tired of the winter stalemate in the Virginia mud around Manassas, he withdrew the greater part of his army. Then, using Union naval superiority, he transported 100,000 men down to Fortress Monroe. He now had his army nearer to Richmond than Joe Johnston and the Army of Northern Virginia. Between him and the confederate capital was a force of not more than 12,000 men under General John Magruder. One quick decisive advance could have given McClellan possession of Richmond and possibly ended the war. However, Magruder rose to the occasion. Never especially distinguished as a combat general, in his spare time he had shown a flair for amateur dramatics and

23 Foote, Shelby (1991) *The Civil War – A Narrative* (London), Vol. I, pp. 277-514

he now indulged himself to the full. By constantly shuffling his forces he convinced McClellan that he was confronted by a strong force. The Union commander had missed his chance and he now began a slow, methodical advance up the Peninsula towards Richmond.

As McClellan slowly advanced his army to the gates of Richmond, Joe Johnston, the Confederate commander, moved his army down from Virginia and prepared to attack. On the morning of 31 May, Johnston attacked the Union vanguard at Fair Oaks, just 5 miles east of Richmond. Meagher's Brigade, which had reached Yorktown on 11 May, was hurried forward and on that morning was in immediate reserve as part of II Corps. Johnston's attack hit the Union IV Corps like a sledge-hammer and almost wrecked it. The III Corps, positioned behind the front line, managed to halt the Union advance but both sides suffered severe casualties. On the Confederate side General Johnston himself was among the wounded. As night fell on the battlefield the Irish Brigade was ordered forward to Fair Oaks Station on the Chickahominy River. They reached the battlefield that evening and got whatever rest they could amidst the debris of the battlefield.

The next day the battle was resumed and at first the 69th and then the 88th came under enemy fire. Among the first to fall was Private Michael Herbert, a British Army veteran of the Indian Mutiny and a companion of Clooney in the Papal Brigade. Despite the musketfire the 88th, led by their Colonel, Patrick Kelly, advanced, seized and held the enemy line, precipitating a retreat by the Confederate Army. Fair Oaks was a clear victory for the Federal Army but McClellan did not see it that way. Suffering from the perpetual fantasy that he was outnumbered he dug in and again missed his chance. One unfortunate effect for the Federals of their victory was the replacement of Johnston by Robert E. Lee, who refused to admit defeat and kept McClellan's lines under constant pressure.

There followed the battles of the Seven Days, a series of bloody struggles at Mechanicsville, Gaines Mills, Chickahominy, Peach Orchard, Savage's Station and Malvern Hill. From 26 June to 3 July both armies fought by day and by night at a total cost of more than 32,000 men. The Irish Brigade played a full part and suffered more than seven hundred casualties – killed, wounded, sick or missing – almost a third of its strength.[24]

On 27 June 1862, reinforced by Jackson's Valley soldiers, Lee launched an all out assault on the V Corps position at Gaines' Mill. Although reinforced by Brigadier General Henry W. Slocum's First Division of the VI Corps, Porter's position was overrun late in the afternoon.

The Irish Brigade, then camped at Fair Oaks Station, was, along with Brigadier General William H. French's Brigade, ordered to Porter's support. Although the two II Corps brigades arrived too late to prevent a Rebel victory, they were able to mitigate what threatened to be a complete Federal disaster. As the Irishmen and the

24 Bilby, *Irish Brigade in the Civil War,* pp. 31-49; Conyngham, *Irish Brigade,* pp. 67-103.

'Yankees' of the 29th crossed the Chickahominy, they saw to their front "an immense cloud of dust, through which teams and horsemen hastily broke ... these teams and horsemen were followed by crowds of fugitive stragglers on foot, whose cry was that 'they had been cut to pieces'".

General Meagher deployed a company of the 69th with fixed bayonets, under the direct command of Colonel Nugent. These Irishmen succeeded in "driving back the fugitives and steadying the broken masses of the Union forces'. Then the II Corps brigades, with the 69th New York leading the way, marched up the hill to their front in line of battle and stiffened the broken V and VI Corps which were attempting to rally at its crest. The Irishmen then marched obliquely to the right and relieved Brigadier General George Sykes' battered regular army troops. Heavily mauled in victory, the Confederates did not press their advantage. Acting as rear guard, the Irishmen withdrew south of the Chickahominy the following morning and the men of the 88th, the last unit to cross, destroyed the bridge behind them.

Following Gaines' Mill, Meagher's men returned to their fortified camp at Fair Oaks, but were soon ordered to Savage Station, as the Army of the Potomac prepared for McClellan's 'change of base' retreat to the James River, which had been planned even before Gaines' Mill. As Lee's army pursued, the withdrawal turned into a nightmare of marching and fighting.

At Savage Station General Sumner ordered the 88th, led by Major James Quinlan, to charge an enemy battery deployed across the Williamsburg Road. Quinlan led his men forward at the double quick. The Rebel gunners fired one blast at the rapidly advancing Irishmen; then limbered up and took off for the rear. A superior officer noted that Quinlan "deserved the badge of gallantry to be awarded to the most brave and intrepid on the field".

The worn out infantrymen of the Irish Brigade trudged into White Oak Swamp in the wake of the army's ambulance train. They marched all night, following ill-sprung creaking, ambulances full of moaning wounded down sand and clay roads that glistened with a moonlit blood-glaze. Flankers thrown out to the left and right of the road sank down into the swamp and had to be pulled out of the muck by their comrades. The brigade halted on the other side of the morass and, on the morning of 30 June, deployed on a hill and awaited the Rebels.

The enemy arrived that afternoon, and Rebel artillery was soon pounding the Yankee position with a fearsome barrage. Although the Irish Brigade did not suffer much from the artillery, the 69th was temporarily disorganised by a stampede of frightened mules agitated by the Confederate shellfire. With no infantry fighting to do, some of the Irish, including General Meagher, took a hand at helping the Federal gun crews. Meagher then mounted and, accompanied by his glittering staff, rode up and down the Union line.

Again the Irishmen provided the Federal rear guard as the rest of the army withdrew to Malvern Hill, an easily defensible plateau located where Union gunboats on the James could supply heavy supporting fire. As the Army of the Potomac deployed on the high ground at Malvern, the exhausted II Corps men occupied a reserve position behind the main line.

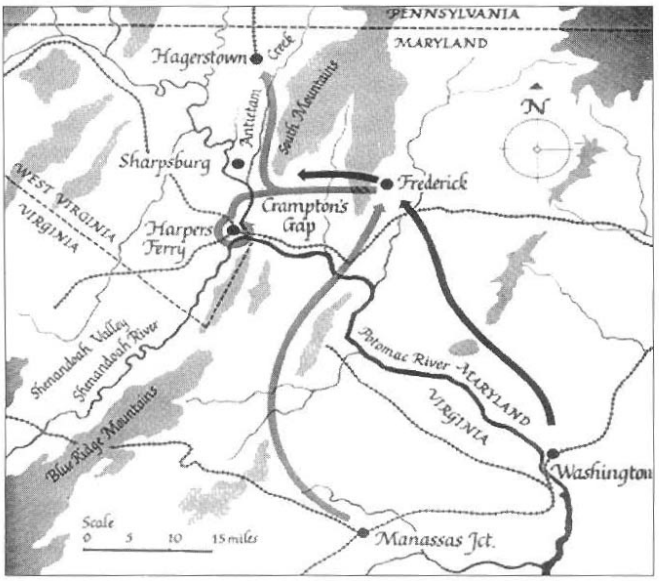
The last battle of the Seven Days was at Malvern Hill. Here Lee attacked the Federals who were entrenched in an almost impregnable position. On the evening of 1 July the Irish Brigade was called upon to stop a Confederate breakthrough. Advancing through the remains of the battered V Corps, they found themselves involved in a vicious firefight with the 10th Louisiana Infantry, which like many other Confederate Regiments raised in New Orleans contained its fair share of Irishmen. A bayonet charge by the 88th stopped the rebel advance and after a bout of vicious hand-to-hand fighting the Irish were left victorious on the battlefield with many rebels, including Colonel Eugene Waggaman, C.O. of the 6th, their prisoners. McClellan's army was saved but dead and dying Irishmen covered the hillside. The Irish Brigade suffered heavily, incurring about 400 casualties on the day. The 69th suffered the brigade's heaviest casualties, seventeen men killed, 110 wounded and twenty-eight missing in action. The 88th was relatively lucky – five dead, twenty-eight wounded. They also won two Congressional Medals of Honour, one of them to Major James Quinlan who had led his men, including Clooney's Company in a desperate and successful attack on a Confederate battery at Savage's Station. Clooney himself was unscathed even though he was in the thick of the fighting. His luck was attributed by many to the Papal Medallion which he wore.

The Seven Days Battles left both sides temporarily exhausted. McClellan's force had not been broken but he was no longer in the suburbs of Richmond or within sight of its spires. Dispirited, he retreated into a fortified camp around Yorktown, all thoughts of an advance on Richmond gone. However, Lee was not one to settle for the stalemate of a siege. In July, moving with the speed that was one of his trademarks, he quickly transferred most of his army back to the Washington front. On 30 August he shattered the Federal Army of the Potomac in the second Battle of Bull Run. This resounding defeat caused panic in Washington and McClellan immediately began to transport his army back to defend the capital. By August 1882 the Irish Brigade, including Clooney and the 88th, was back in camp near Washington, waiting for the next move of Robert E. Lee.

The Maryland Campaign – September 1862[25]

The State of Maryland was in some ways anomalous. Home to a large slave-owning class and scene of the famous rebellion by John Brown at Harpurs Ferry, it had not seceded with the Southern States. Although nominally loyal to the Union, it had a large minority who were sympathetic to the Confederacy. Hoping to win the State to the Southern cause or, at worst, to transfer the war away from battle-ravaged Virginia, Lee decided to invade Maryland via the Shenandoah Valley. Leaving a small force at Manassas, he quickly moved the bulk of his army, over 60,000 men, westward and on 5 September the Army of Northern Virginia crossed the State line

25 Foote, *The Civil War – A Narrative,* Vol. II, pp. 660-700. See also Nurfin, James V. (1965) *The Glen of Bayonets – The Battle of Antietam and Robert E. Lee's Maryland Campaign* (Louisianna, 1965).



Lee's invasion of Maryland

into Maryland. Part of the army under Jackson laid siege to the large federal depot at Harpurs Ferry. The remainder, dispersed into many small units, began to gather supplies in the rich harvest-laden fields.

McClellan was baffled as to the exact whereabouts and intentions of Lee and his army. Fearing a direct attack on Washington, he kept most of his army entrenched around the capital while cavalry patrols sought his elusive opponent. Then he had one of the luckiest breaks that can ever have happened to an army commander. Lee had issued only five hand-written copies of his orders. One of his divisional commanders had used his copy to wrap some cigars. Along the roads of Maryland he lost his cigars with their precious wrapping, where a day later it was found by a federal cavalry patrol. The patrol commander brought the document to McClellan, who feared a trick. But on McClellan's staff was an officer who had been a classmate of Lee and he verified the handwriting. Now McClellan knew how widely dispersed Lee's army was and what an opportunity he had to smash each part of Lee's forces in turn. He immediately set his army in motion and 90,000 men began moving over South Mountain along a road which crossed the Antietam Creek at a little village called Sharpsburg. The scene was now set for the bloodiest single day in the history of the United States.

The Battle of Antietam[26]

Alerted by his cavalry scouts, Lee was soon aware that the federal army was on the move. A desperate rearguard action by a small detachment at the passes over South

26 Bilby, Joseph G. & O'Neill, Stephen D. (eds.) (1997) *My Sons were Faithful and They Fought – The Irish Brigade at Antietam* (New Jersey, 1997).

Mountain slowed down but could not halt the federal army. Messages were sent to all units to concentrate at Sharpsburg and Jackson was urged to capture Harpers Ferry, as quickly as possible, and then to join his commander.

On 16 September, McClellan had most of his troops assembled on the East side of Antietam Creek – by his own count 87,000 men. Across the little river Lee had only 26,000 men. To the amazement of his staff, Lee calmly drew up his men in a line of battle while he waited for Jackson to arrive with his corps of 21,000 hardened veterans. As the day passed, McClellan busied himself arranging his brigades and regiments preparing for the battle. He would not attack until the 17th when everything would be ready. His detailed preparations cost him the greatest opportunity of the war. On the morning of the 17th after an epic night-march, Jackson arrived on the battlefield bringing Lee's strength up to 47,000 men. Despite these reinforcements Lee's position was precarious. He was outnumbered, his back was to the broad Potomac river with no ready escape route. If the Federal army should break his line, the army of Northern Virginia would be finished, and with it the Confederate cause.

That evening McClellan finalised his plan. It was based essentially on the presence of three stone bridges that spanned the creek on the left, centre and right. The one on his left was closest to Sharpsburg and the enemy line. Any troops crossing it would come under fierce enemy fire. The centre bridge, about a mile above the first, had much of the same disadvantage and faced the strongest point of Lee's line. The upper bridge, a mile and a half above the second, was beyond the range of the confederate artillery. Moreover, an upstream crossing would allow McClellan to deploy his troops safely and then to launch a massive offensive southwards which, in conjunction with attacks across the other two bridges, would shatter Lee's army. He decided that General 'Fighting Joe' Hooker should lead the main attack and gave him the best troops in his army – three corps, half his army – including Sumner's II Corps and the Irish Brigade of Richardson's Division.

In the misty, pre-dawn darkness, the Second Corps' three veteran divisions assembled. By common consent it was the most powerful and experienced body of troops in the whole of the Federal Army. Hookers I Corps and Mansfield's XII Corps led off, to be followed by Sedgewick's and French's divisions of Sumner's II Corps. McClellan ordered Richardson's division held back. Soon the roar of the cannon heralded the beginning of the battle. Meagher and his brigade waited impatiently. At about 8.30 a.m. McClellan finally released Richardson and Meagher ordered his men forward to join the rest of Sumner's Corps. While Richardson and his division had waited, Mansfield and his corps had attacked the rebel line but had been shattered by the rebels and Mansfield himself wounded. Hooker was next to attack and the result was the same. Although they had repulsed the first two attacks and had suffered severe casualties, the Confederates maintained their battle line and prepared to receive the next attack. The attack by Sumner suffered from all the faults that afflicted the Union army that day. Instead of one concerted assault, there was a series of piecemeal attacks, which enabled the enemy to just about hold off each one.

Sedgewick moved first. With flags flying and fife and drums playing, the division of 5,000 men moved off with a steady tread up the long rise towards the little white

church that crowned the hill and the Confederate batteries that surrounded it. The rebels held their fire until the division had almost reached the crest. Then a massive volley of rifle and artillery fire stopped the division in its tracks before a counterattack sent it reeling back down the hill. In a matter of minutes the division was out of the battle, with more than 2,200 dead and wounded including Sedgewick himself.

French's division hurried across the ford, assembled in the same formation as Sedgewick, and began the long march up the hill towards the church. After clearing the rebels out of two outposts French advanced to attack the Confederate centre, posted in a sunken road. Standing in this natural trench, D.H. Hill's rebel infantry opened a sustained fire on the attacking infantry. The leading brigades were soon decimated but the others settled into a prolonged firefight with appalling casualties on both sides.

Back at the creek, Richardson could hear the sounds of French's desperate battle. Meagher's brigade was ready and Richardson ordered it forward on the double.[27] Meagher's men dashed up the lane through a scene of complete disorder. Bodies covered the ground, while hundreds of wounded tried to make their way to the rear. Richardson rode up to Meagher and ordered him to deploy his men in line of battle on the edge of a cornfield. As soon as the men were deployed, Meagher rode to the front and prepared to lead his men forward. The regimental chaplains, including Fr. Corby of the 88th, rode along the front of the line giving general absolution to the men, many of who would soon be dead or wounded. The chaplains then moved to the rear to be ready to attend to the wounded while the Irish Brigade, 1,400 men strong, stepped off in line through the cornfield and headed up to the hill towards the sunken road, which would forever bear the name 'Bloody Lane'. As they moved off, Meagher shouted out his instructions "To the top of the hill, two volleys and then the bayonet". Perhaps the image of a Fontenoy-like charge was in his mind.

As they charged up the hill they came under intense fire, first from the Confederate skirmishers and then from the North Carolina regiments that lined the sunken road. Soldier after soldier fell but the survivors led by Meagher pressed on until they were within thirty yards of the main Confederate lines. Every colour bearer went down, some with multiple wounds, among them the bearers of the two regimental flags of the 88th. Clooney sprang forward to rescue the colours, while ordering his men to fire on the enemy. A desperate attempt at a bayonet charge failed but the brigade held its line and poured a murderous fire into the enemy ranks. The firefight continued for about twenty minutes, round about 12 o'clock. Suddenly a rebel bullet smashed into Clooney's knee. Clooney fell but struggled back up using the staff of the regimental colour as a crutch. His men begged him to go to the rear but he refused. Then he was hit twice, in the head and chest and died instantly. Shortly afterwards Meagher's horse went down, throwing the general to the ground. He was carried from the field concussed. Other officers of the brigade and many

27 Ibid., pp. 3-35; Conyngham, *Irish Brigade,* pp. 140-158.

other ranks fell dead or wounded. The 69th, which had charged across Antietam Creek that morning with 330 men, lost 196 of them, forty-four dead and 152 wounded, twenty-seven of whom subsequently died. The 63rd had thirty-five men killed, 165 wounded and two missing while the 88th suffered twenty-seven killed and seventy-five wounded. Among the killed and wounded were seventy-five of the 120 recruits who had just joined the brigade, men who had come perhaps because of the charisma of the man who led the brigade or perhaps simply because they were out of work or looking for adventure.

Richardson, soon to be mortally wounded himself, arrived at the front appalled at the fate of his favourite brigade. Almost out of ammunition, the remains of the Irish brigade managed to stop a Confederate counter-attack. Just before he died, Richardson ordered the brigades of Caldwell and Brooke to relieve the Irish. The fresh troops managed to push the rebels out of the sunken road but even they could not progress any further. Gradually the battle faded away as both armies exhausted themselves. Behind the front line the Irishmen began the sad process of removing their wounded and burying their dead. On the crest of the hill the enlisted men were buried in groups, with as many as ten in each grave. The officers were treated with more respect, earning individual graves with simple wooden markers bearing their names. Captain Clooney's men dug a deep grave for him and gently laid his blanket-wrapped body in it. Father Corby came up from the hospital to oversee the burial. He recited the prayers for the dead, then Company E's survivors took a piece of wood and planted it firmly at the head of Clooney's grave. Below his name they carved a simple description:

> 'He like a soldier fell.'

Sometime later his remains were exhumed and removed to Calvary Cemetery, Woodside, Queens, New York City.

The Company's second-in-command, Lieutenant John Byron, wrote to Clooney's father to tell him of the death of his son and in his letter he said

> 'By his death Ireland lost one of her most devoted sons, the American Republic one of her bravest defenders, and the noble Irish Brigade one of its bravest soldiers'.[28]

When news of Clooney's death reached his native city the *Citizen and Waterford Commercial Record* editorialised on 10 October 1862

> 'As brave a young fellow as ever handled a rifle or sword, a gallant Irishman and a soldier every inch of him, fell mortally wounded at the Battle of Antietam Creek, September 17th. Most citizens remember the brave young

28 Quoted in *The Citizen and Commercial Record,* 17 Oct. 1862.

The American Civil War was the first war to attract the new science of photography. Hundreds of photographers followed the armies especially the Federal Army of the Potomac. The above photo is usually captioned "Officers of the Irish Brigade". However, the papers of the late John Garland, a renowned expert on Irish participation in the American Civil War identified some of the officers and quoting W.D. O'Grady who served in the 88th, identifies the officer seated on the left as Capt. Clooney. Beside him is Fr. Dillon, chaplain to the 63rd N.Y. Regt. and on the right Fr. Corby, chaplain to the 88th who performed the burial rites for Clooney.

man who made such a sensation after the return of the Irish contingent of the Papal Army from Rome by wearing a portion of the Zouave uniform in the streets when on his way to visit some of his numerous acquaintances. That man was Patrick Clooney.'

The following week the *Citizen* had an editorial endorsing a suggestion in the letter columns that a memorial be raised to Clooney.

Shortly afterwards a committee led by T.W. Condon, P. Kinahan and J. Hennessy was set up to raise the necessary funds. Fundraising does not seem to have been a problem for the commission was soon given to a Mr. McCloy. A few months later, on 21 February 1863, it was unveiled, a fitting tribute to a Waterford soldier.[29]

29 Ibid., 25 Feb. 1863.

High Drama at Ardmore

By Jim Stacey

ON St. Patrick's Day, 1911, the weather began to deteriorate and, that night, a fierce gale buffeted the southern and western coasts of Ireland. Destiny was to bring together the crew of a small Welsh schooner called the "Teaser" and the people of Ardmore.

Extraordinary events were to take place which would bring the local community to the notice of the people all over the British Isles. In particular, the local Curate, Fr. John Michael O'Shea, a Lismore-man, was to be showered with medals and awards, and to be received by King George V of England at Buckingham Palace, and by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Aberdeen.

Fr. O'Shea received (1) The Gold Medal of the RNLI (The Victoria Cross of the sea) for gallantry and for conspicuous service in saving life from shipwreck, (2) A Gold watch from the Carnegie Hero Fund Trust – the highest award they could offer, (3) The Silver Medal of the Board of Trade presented by the King, (4) the British Empire Medal for Gallantry in 1924, and (5) The George Cross in 1941 for "acts of the greatest heroism, or of the most conspicuous courage in circumstances of extreme danger".

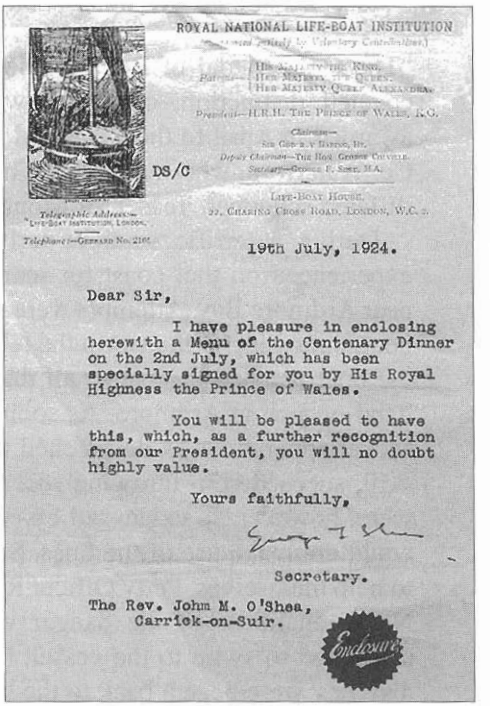
What happened that merited these awards?

The story is taken up by *The Lifeboat*, 1st August, 1911.

> "The Gold Medal of Royal National Life-boat Institution, which is a much coveted distinction, only bestowed for deeds of exceptional valour, was awarded in April to the Reverend John M. O'Shea, Parish Priest of Ardmore, Co. Waterford, who, with others, made a noble attempt to save the crew of the ill-fated schooner, Teaser, of Montrose.
>
> During a terrific south-easterly gale – the most terrible that had been experienced on that coast for many years – the schooner was driven ashore near Ardmore Bay. Attempts were promptly made to summon the nearest Life-boat, but owing to the storm the telephonic communication failed, and by time the boat reached the scene, all that was possible had been done by a gallant band of men at Ardmore. As soon as the Coastguard observed the vessel the rocket apparatus was despatched to the nearest point. The Coastguards, with skill, succeeded in throwing rocket lines over the wrecked vessel. The crew were, however, so exhausted by exposure and so numbed with cold that they could not make use of the lines. Seeing that the unfortunate men were unable to help themselves, Petty Officer Richard Barry and Coastguardman Alexander Neal, regardless of the danger which they ran, plunged into the sea and attempted to swim to the vessel, but the heavy seas were too much for them and they were beaten back to the shore.
>
> It was then that Fr. O'Shea, seeing that their efforts were unavailing, remembered that there was a fisherman's boat nearly a mile away. He gathered

Gold Medal of RNLI

The George VI Cross



ROYAL NATIONAL LIFE-BOAT INSTITUTION

DS/C

Telegraphic Address:—
"Life-Boat Institution, London."
Telephone:—Gerrard No. 2105

LIFE-BOAT HOUSE,
99, CHARING CROSS ROAD, LONDON, W.C. 2.

19th July, 1924.

Dear Sir,

I have pleasure in enclosing herewith a Menu of the Centenary Dinner on the 2nd July, which has been specially signed for you by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

You will be pleased to have this, which, as a further recognition from our President, you will no doubt highly value.

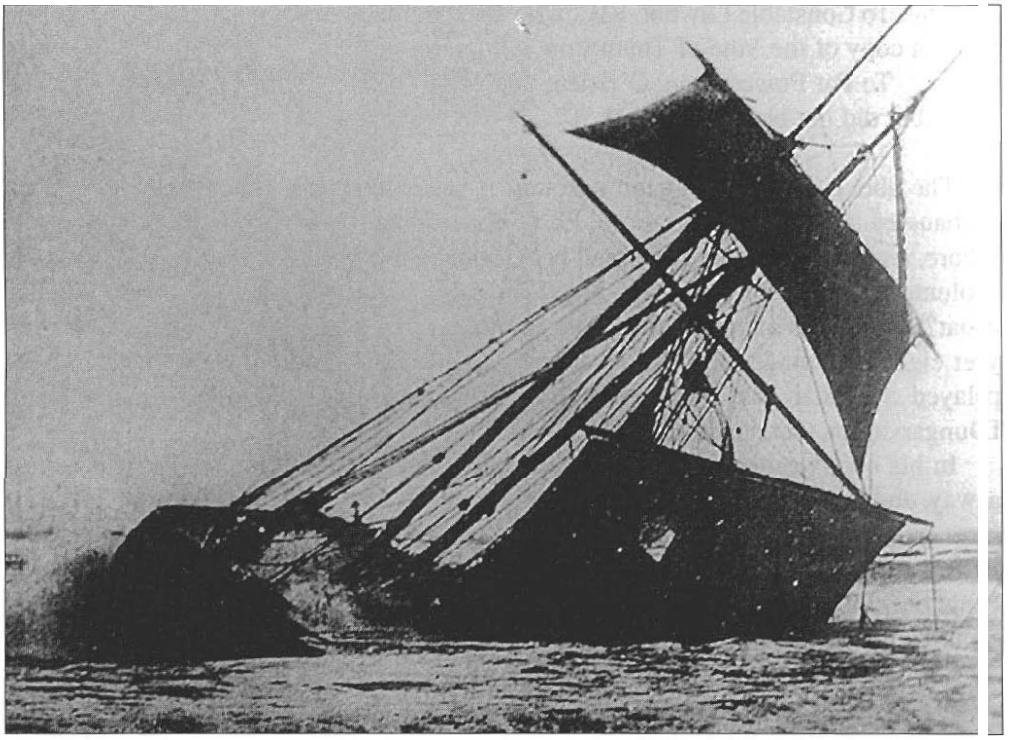
Yours faithfully,

Secretary.

The Rev. John M. O'Shea,
Carrick-on-Suir.

Enclosure

Souvenir Menu of the RNLI centenary Dinner signed by Edward, Prince of Wales. Edward became King Edward VIII in 1936 and abdicated to marry Mrs Simpson.



The Teaser, Ardmore Bay, 18-3-1911

a willing band of volunteers, who with him went for the boat, and by dint of great exertions they got it to the scene of the wreck. Then these brave men, which included Barry and Neal, entered the boat, and at very great risk – the risk on the one hand of the heavy sea running, and on the other of being dashed against the ship – they succeeded in boarding the Teaser. Two of the crew were, however, beyond all aid, and the other man succumbed soon afterwards in spite of everything possible being done for him, both on board the wreck and later ashore. Whilst the men were on board Coastguardman Neal collapsed from exhaustion, and artificial respiration had to be used to restore him.

The efforts made on this occasion were characterised by exceptional courage, and the Committee of the Institution were satisfied that the gallant and continued attempts at rescue were due to the noble example and initiative displayed by Fr. O'Shea. They therefore decided to award him the Gold Medal of the Institution and a copy of the Vote of Thanks on vellum. They also granted the following awards – To Richard Barry, Petty Officer Coastguard, and to Alexander Neal, Leading Boatman Coastguard, who attempted to swim off to the vessel, and afterwards boarded her at great risk, the Silver Medal and £5 each and a copy of the Vote of Thanks on vellum.

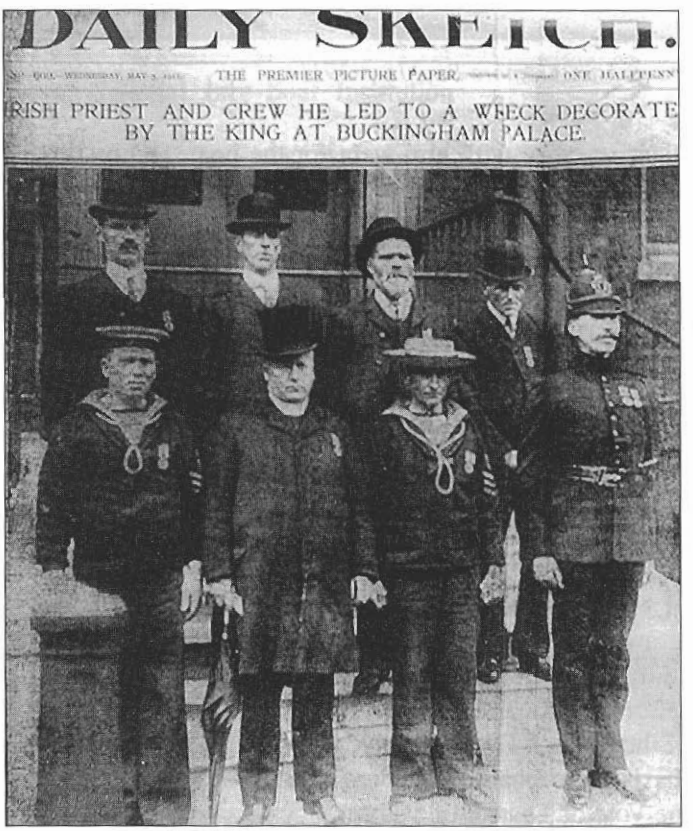
To Mr. William Harris, who boarded the vessel at great risk, a binocular glass and a copy of the Vote of Thanks on vellum.

To Constable Lawton, RIC, who also boarded the vessel at great risk, £5 and a copy of the Vote of Thanks on vellum.

To Pat Power, Con. O'Brien, and John O'Brien, who went out in the boat but did not board the wreck, £7.10/- each."

The above is just a skeleton account. It seems that when the coastguards were exhausted and could do no more, Fr. O'Shea rallied the sympathetic crowd on the shore, and having procured a small boat, donned a lifejacket himself, and called for volunteers to help him. "Come, boys", he said, "who will help me to man the life-boat?" It seemed an act of madness. It seemed like going to inevitable death. And yet eight men made the heroic journey and all returned alive. He seemed to have played a similar role to Captain John Veale when the "Moresby" foundered in Dungarvan on Christmas Eve, 1895.

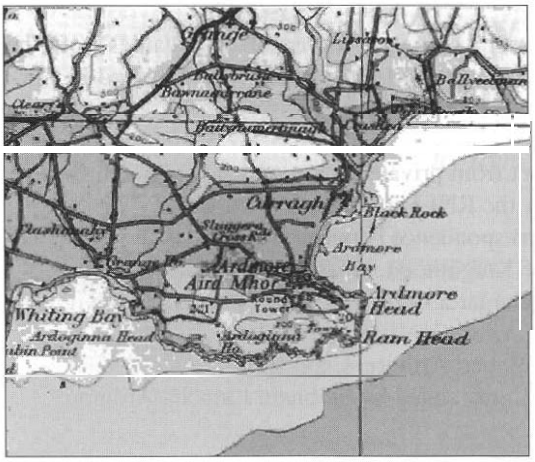
In his own words – "There is no (life)boat at Ardmore. The nearest was a mile away, and at my invitation 100 men were eager to dash away and bring it. The boat was pulled, pushed and carried over all kinds of rough ground. It was splendidly manned by the two Coastguards, William Harris, a local hotel proprietor, Constable Lawton, John O'Brien, Patrick Power and Cornelius O'Brien, with myself in command. We all rowed hard in the blinding snowstorm, and on reaching the Teaser


DAILY SKETCH.

THE PREMIER PICTURE PAPER

RISH PRIEST AND CREW HE LED TO A WRECK DECORATE
BY THE KING AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

From left to right:
W. Harris, P. Power,
J. O'Brien, Con O'Brien,
R. Barry, Fr. O'Shea,
A. Neal, D. Lawton



Ardmore Bay

found one man in the rigging thoroughly exhausted, and two others on the deck very nearly as bad. I climbed the rigging, and found a sailor dying, and in a position from which it was impossible to move him. I administered the last Rites of the Church to him. He died shortly afterwards. Our labours were complicated by one of our own party falling overboard, for he could not walk on a deck tilted to an angle of 75°. The two Coastguards dived into the sea and rescued him. We succeeded in getting the other two men of the Teaser into our boat. One was very bad, and I administered the Last Sacrament to him. He died before we reached the shore, and the third man died shortly after we landed".

The Teaser was wrecked, 18th March 1911, on the Black Rock in the middle of Ardmore Bay with the loss of all three of her crew. Medical assistance was rendered by Dr. Foley, who was the father of the late Dr. Ann Casey of Dungarvan.

Fr. O'Shea received a further award for his role in the wreck of the "Marechal de Noailles" at Minehead in January 1913. In 1924, on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the RN4 all living recipients of the Gold Medal of the RNLI were given the British Empire award for Gallantry, and in 1941 this was exchanged for the George Cross.

Fr. O'Shea later moved to Carrick-on-Suir, and was Parish Priest of Ballyporeen from 1932 until he died in 1942. His sister, Laura Whelan, lived at Mayfield, Lismore and is herself buried at St. Carthage's Cathedral. His portrait still hangs in St. Declan's Hall, Ardmore and his medals are in the care of the monks at Mt Melleray. They may be seen by appointment with Fr. Michael, Archivist.

A truly extraordinary story of courage and daring concerning a country Curate and his parishioners in rural Ireland in 1911!

The author especially wishes to thank Margaret Ormonde for her generosity in lending the original Scrap Book of Fr O'Shea, and Fr Michael of Mount Melleray for his kindness and interest.

Councillor Mary Strangman and 'the health of the city', 1912-1920

By Irene Finn

EARLY in 1943, Waterford newspapers reported the death of Mary Strangman, the city's 'first lady doctor'.[1] Mary Strangman's more public role, as Waterford's first 'lady councillor', was not mentioned. The philanthropic and political aspects of her career, and her 'special interest in all matters affecting the health of the city', had apparently been forgotten.[2] This article examines the background to Mary Strangman's election and outlines her subsequent role as a member of Waterford Corporation between 1912 and 1920.

Mary Strangman grew up in the comfortable and spacious surroundings of Carriganore, a Georgian house overlooking the river Suir at Killotteran, a few miles west of the city. Born on 16 March 1872, she was the daughter of Sarah White Hawkes Strangman and of Thomas Handcock Strangman, a prosperous 'gentleman'.[3] The Strangmans were one of Waterford's prominent Quaker merchant families, and although Mary was raised in her mother's religion, as a member of the Church of Ireland, it is probable that her father's Quaker principles were an important formative influence.[4] The Quaker commitment to 'good works' may well have been a factor in Mary's choice of career; Quaker belief in the importance of educating daughters as well as sons made it possible for her to pursue that ambition.

For middle-class women of the 1890s, the opportunity to become a doctor offered the prospect of combining the traditional female role of service with an exceptional degree of independence. When Mary and her sister Lucia set out for Dublin in 1891 to become students at the Royal College of Surgeons, it was still the only medical school in the United Kingdom which admitted women on the same terms as men. For the first small group of female medical students, courage, determination and self-confidence were as essential as intellectual ability.[5] Stories of the two Strangman sisters, dressed in bloomers, archetypal 'New Women' cycling from

1 *Waterford News*, 5 February 1943. *Waterford Standard*, 6 February 1943.

2 Mary Strangman's election address, *Waterford Standard*, 10 January 1912, *Waterford News*, 12 January 1912.

3 Register of Births, Waterford No. 1 Urban. Strangman family pedigree, Religious Society of Friends Historical Library, Dublin.

4 For an introduction to the history of the Quakers in Ireland, see Maurice Wigham (1992) *The Irish Quakers: a short history of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland* (Dublin, Historical Committee of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland).

5 See Irene Finn (2000) 'Women in the medical profession in Ireland, 1876-1919', in Bernadette Whelan (ed.) *Women and work in Ireland, 1500-1930* (Dublin, Four Courts Press), pp. 102-119.

Mary Strangman in the early 1890s. (By kind permission of Dr O.W.S. FitzGerald).

Dublin home to Carriganore, give an indication of their willingness to defy conventional Victorian standards of propriety.[6]

Mary Strangman's professional knowledge and expertise were acquired in a city notorious for its slums and its high mortality.[7] Her medical education included practical clinical experience in Dublin hospitals, attending to the most needy section of the population.[8] Following qualification in 1896, she worked for some years in England. She was awarded the Fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1902, and set up in practice in Parnell Street, Waterford, the following year.[9] A detailed account of contemporary conditions in Waterford can be found in a report prepared by the Local Government Board (LGB) inspectors in 1910.[10] Poverty was

6 I am grateful to Mary Strangman's nephew, Dr Bill FitzGerald, for this insight, and also to Cyril Strangman for his help at an early stage of my research.

7 Mary E. Daly (1984) *Dublin the deposed capital: a social and economic history 1860-1914* (Cork, Cork University Press), pp. 240-76.

8 For full details of the curriculum, see *The medical directory* (1895), pp. 1545-6.

9 An outline of her career can be found in the *Medical directories* of the relevant years.

10 'Report upon the sanitary circumstances and administration of Waterford County Borough' in *Report of the local government board for Ireland 1910-11* H.C. xxxiii (1911) pp. 407-33.

widespread. An estimated 70 per cent of the total working population at the time was unskilled, and at least 30 per cent of these unskilled workers depended on casual employment. The scarcity of employment for women was even more marked.[11] A very large section of the population, according to the report, were 'in a chronic state of want ... even when a wage-earner is in constant employment as a labourer, it is totally impossible for a family to be fed, housed and clothed on the average wages of 13s. per week'. Consequently, many were 'continuously underfed', living on a diet of tea, bread, potatoes and bacon or dripping.[12] Families dependent on this inadequate diet had little resistance to disease.

Housing was a further problem for low-paid workers. Behind the city's main streets a network of narrow lanes and 'courts', or cul-de-sacs, contained numerous small, damp, poorly ventilated dwellings, some without any sanitary provision whatever. Many were described as 'not fit for human habitation'. Tenement houses, 87 in all, housed 1450 individuals. Yet, a severe shortage of accommodation meant that owners could demand high rents even for the most unhygienic, overcrowded dwellings.[13]

Inevitably, many of the inhabitants of these buildings succumbed to disease and death. The general death-rate, the infantile death-rate, the death-rate from the principal epidemic diseases, and the death-rate from tuberculosis, were described as 'high and above the average' in Waterford. Tuberculosis, the principal killer disease in Ireland at the time, accounted for 517, or one in five of all deaths, an average of 103.4 per annum in the five years 1906-1910. In the same period, there were 157 deaths from diarrhoeal diseases, a rate 'far in excess of any town in Ireland'. Infant mortality was also above average: 436 children had died before reaching their first birthday.[14]

Mary Strangman was familiar with these problems. As a doctor, and particularly through her charitable work, she was acquainted with the broad spectrum of Waterford society. She became honorary physician to two local charities, the Lying-in hospital in Parliament Street and the Burchall Asylum in Parnell Street, thus bringing a new, professional dimension to the practice of female philanthropy. In addition, she took a special interest in the problems associated with addiction and alcoholism, treating patients who were 'often in want of the bare necessaries of life'.[15] With the inauguration of the Women's National Health Association of Ireland (WNHA) in Dublin in 1907, the scope of women's voluntary work was broadened; it was through the WNHA that Mary Strangman came to prominence as a public health activist in Waterford.

11 Ibid., p. 408.
12 Ibid., p. 426.
13 Ibid., pp. 408-9.
14 Ibid., pp. 423-4.
15 Mary Strangman (1907) 'Morphinomania treated successfully with atropine and strychnine', *British medical journal*, May 1907, pp. 1173-4. Mary Strangman (1908) 'The atropine treatment of morphinomania and inebriety', *Journal of mental science*, October 1908, pp. 727-33.

The WNHA was a government backed initiative 'to arouse public opinion, especially that of the women of Ireland, to a sense of responsibility regarding the public health'. Lady Aberdeen, wife of the Lord Lieutenant, was its president.[16] Superficially, it can be seen simply as an offshoot of the Edwardian health movement, imported in response to the high mortality that accompanied the appalling conditions found in large towns and cities, including Waterford. The Irish situation, however, was more complicated, its most notable feature being the sanitary authorities' reluctance to accept responsibility for public health. In Waterford, for example, it was noted that the LGB had been drawing the corporation's attention to the same problems for ten years. The inspectors observed

> It is not, therefore, for want of advice that many of the defects referred to still continue. It would rather appear as if the Sanitary Authority have not realised the powers they possess under the Public Health Acts, nor the vast amount of good which would result from a more vigorous enforcement of their powers.[17]

These comments reflect the paradoxical nature of the 'democratisation' that followed the passage of the Local Government (Ireland) Act (1898). Under earlier legislation, consolidated in the Public Health Act of 1878, local authorities were designated sanitary authorities, under the supervision of the Local Government Board for Ireland. Following the extension of the franchise in 1898, local government became more representative, and therefore predominantly nationalist. The continuing role of the LGB as the controlling administrative arm of British rule in Ireland was increasingly resented. This hostile relationship partly explains why so many local authorities failed to implement public health legislation, although there were other factors. Most of the relevant acts were permissive. Enforcement was left to the discretion of local representatives, who were unwilling to introduce any measures which might place an added burden on the ratepayers who had elected them. Little was done to reverse the effects of earlier neglect.[18] The 1898 act was a significant step towards self-determination. However, the LGB's interventions in local affairs were a reminder that the Union was still in place. Nationalist attention was focused on Home Rule, at the expense of the poorest section of the population. Susanne Day, a poor law guardian in Cork city, wished that her colleagues would 'stop talking about the Nation, and work for the Race'.[19]

16 Women's National Health Association of Ireland (1958) *Golden jubilee 1907-1957* (Dublin, Three Candles) p. 1. For a recent study of this period, see Greta Jones (1999) 'The campaign against tuberculosis in Ireland 1899-1914', in Elizabeth Malcolm and Greta Jones (eds.) *Medicine, disease and the state in Ireland 1650-1940* (Cork, Cork University Press).

17 *Report,* p. 428.

18 See John M. Hearne (1995) 'Richard Power, mayor, 1886, 1887', in Éamonn McEneaney (ed.) *A history of Waterford and its mayors from the twelfth to the twentieth century* (Waterford, Waterford Corporation), pp. 201-19.

19 S.R. Day (1916) *The amazing philanthropists* (London, Sidgwick and Jackson) p. 92.

Against this background, it is not surprising that Mary Strangman was drawn to the WNHA. In its campaign to 'promote the upbringing of a healthy and vigorous race', it aimed to 'stamp out consumption' and reduce infant mortality. It was widely publicised; details were sent to all members of the medical profession and to the clergy of all denominations. Within a year 41 branches had been established.[20] Mary Strangman was a founding member and honorary treasurer of the Waterford city branch, which was inaugurated on 18 March 1908.[21] In the years leading up to Mary Strangman's election the Waterford branch took a practical approach, selecting and adapting WNHA methods to suit the local situation. It achieved a surprising level of acceptance, overcoming class barriers and successfully maintaining a non-political and non-sectarian identity. Mary Strangman, the branch treasurer, was already well acquainted with local problems, as was Annie Forde, the branch secretary, who until recently had been head of nurse training in the workhouse infirmary.[22] A week after the branch was established, the WNHA's travelling tuberculosis exhibition visited the city.[23] Later, with the co-operation of the clergy and the religious orders, Mary Strangman and other local doctors gave lectures on tuberculosis in the city and surrounding areas. Various other projects followed, and within a year, there were more than 550 members in Waterford.[24]

The association's acceptance in the local community was largely due to the branch committee's decision to work in close co-operation with the Waterford District Nursing Association. Two 'Jubilee' nurses, as they were popularly known, were already working in Waterford, providing a high standard of nursing care for the poor of the city. The WNHA gave a commitment to raise funds to cover the cost of employing an additional nurse. Although the new nurse dealt exclusively with tuberculosis patients and their families, it was obvious that she could care for only a small fraction of the city's estimated 900 cases.[25] In most instances she was called too late to allow any hope of recovery. The real value of her work, therefore, was in preventing the transmission of the disease to other family members. In so far as possible, the patient was isolated. Beds were supplied so that patients could sleep alone. Food and milk were provided. Advice was given on ventilation and general hygiene.[26] Tuberculosis mortality was closely related to social class, ranging from 0.63 per thousand among the professional class to 5.39 per thousand among porters, hawkers and labourers. At the WNHA's inauguration, a Catholic priest had expressed his misgivings about these 'poor people

20 Women's National Health Association (hereafter WNHA) (1908) *First Annual Report,* pp. 17-19.

21 *Waterford Standard,* 21 March 1908.

22 Waterford Sisters of Mercy (1976) *Centenary Mass booklet.* In May 1908 Annie Forde was elected to the Waterford board of guardians, and was replaced as secretary by Elizabeth Shortis.

23 *Waterford Standard,* 8 April 1908. WNHA, *First Annual Report,* pp. 67-9.

24 WNHA (1909) *Annual Report,* pp. 79-81.

25 Report of medical officer of health, *Waterford News,* 28 June 1912.

26 *Waterford Standard,* 18 October 1911.

Dr Mary Strangman, 1910 (National Library of Ireland)

of the lanes and alleys of the city' being subjected to 'simple health talks' by the 'ladies' of the WNHA. Another priest remarked that 'cheap advice is a very undesirable commodity'.[27] It is noticeable that the more condescending aspects of the WNHA's approach were not adopted in Waterford.

27 *Waterford Standard,* 21 March 1908, 11 April 1908 (special supplement).

The WNHA's nationwide crusade had difficulty convincing the public that tuberculosis was preventable and, if treated at an early stage, could be arrested. Most people still saw the disease as a personal and family tragedy, not a national disaster. A slow death from 'consumption' lacked the horror of diseases such as cholera, and the epidemic proportions of tuberculosis mortality were less obvious, even though it killed an average of 11,627 per annum in Ireland in the decade 1901-10, peaking in the age group 25-35.[28] Fatalism prevailed, relieving the sanitary authorities of responsibility.

On 16 December, 1911, the Local Authorities (Ireland) (Qualification of Women) act was passed, making women eligible to stand for election to county borough councils. With the support of the Waterford WNHA, Mary Strangman went forward as a candidate in the Tower Ward in the January 1912 municipal election. Her priorities were clearly stated in her election address to voters:

> As a member of the Working Committee of the Women's National Health Association since its inception in Waterford, I take a special interest in all matters affecting the health of the city. As a woman I am concerned for the welfare of the homes and the women and children of the community; and as a citizen and ratepayer I am prepared to do all I can to promote the efficient and economical administration of Municipal affairs.[29]

In the preceding months, her increasingly visible role as the leader of the women's suffrage movement in Waterford had heightened her public profile, and revealed her talent for confident and persuasive public speaking. From a feminist perspective, her decision to stand for election was a practical expression of the philosophy of the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, 'Freedom to Serve'. Most voters, presumably, associated her primarily with her medical and philanthropic work. Concern for public health, as the WNHA's activities had shown, could transcend religious, political and class boundaries. Mary Strangman's nomination paper reflects this broad appeal. She was proposed by Francis Shortis, a Roman Catholic cattle dealer, and seconded by Alexander Nelson, a Protestant Unionist, the city's deputy lieutenant and a former mayor.[30]

As the election results were to prove, support for Mary Strangman extended across a broader social spectrum than press coverage of the time would suggest. Her candidacy was prominently featured in the Unionist newspaper, the *Waterford Standard*, but virtually ignored by the nationalist *Waterford News* and *Munster Express* in favour of another lady candidate, Mrs Lily Poole.[31] The *Waterford*

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28 *Supplement to the forty-seventh report of the registrar general of marriages, births and deaths in Ireland, containing decennial summaries of the returns of marriages, births and deaths in Ireland for the years 1901-1910,* H.C. 1914, xv.

29 *Waterford Standard,* 10 January 1912, *Waterford News,* 12 Jan 1912.

30 *Waterford Standard,* 6 January 1912.

31 Lily Poole, a Catholic, was married to the city's leading photographer; she and her three children also worked in the business. She failed to win a seat in the January election, but was successful in a bye-election held on 21 February.

Standard portrayed her as a philanthropist, emphasising 'her work among the poorer classes'. An editorial on 10 January stated: 'Going out as she does among the people, Dr Mary Strangman has many opportunities of studying the conditions of the people, and of recognising their wants'.[32] Her connections with the suffrage movement were played down. She conducted no personal canvass, 'leaving it absolutely open to the electors to vote for her or not as they wished'. Instead, a campaign was organised by supporters who 'went around and gave the electors her election address'.[33] This was a novel approach at a time when references to bribery and pints of beer were a normal feature of elections, but the strategy proved effective.

On polling day, 15 January 1912, the voters of the Tower Ward clearly expressed a wish for change. The area encompassed the best and the worst of Waterford's living conditions, from Newtown and the Dunmore Road where the homes of the wealthy stood in extensive private grounds, to the Miller's Marsh where the insanitary dwellings of the very poor adjoined the city's manure depot. While Mary Strangman probably received some votes simply because she was middle-class, Protestant, or a woman, it seems certain that her long-standing commitment to improving the health of the city was the deciding factor in her election. The outgoing candidate was defeated. Thomas O'Neill, the Labour candidate, topped the poll with 290 votes, the second seat going to Mary Strangman with 282 votes.[34] A vote for either was a challenge to the status quo within Waterford Corporation, which one disaffected councillor described as 'a little family circle'.[35]

It is clear from Mary Strangman's election address that she intended to use public office as a means of extending the WNHA's health promotion work in Waterford. She soon found, however, that WNHA policy on co-operation with local authorities was counter-productive. Offers of assistance to the Corporation were invariably rejected. In March 1912, for example, when she suggested that the WNHA might help to defray the cost of appointing a third, preferably female, sanitary officer the matter was 'postponed'. In June, an offer to provide equipment for the treatment of tuberculosis got a similar response. While councillors could apparently accept the WNHA as a traditional female voluntary organisation, working quietly behind the scenes to prop up an inadequate system, they were not prepared to give it official recognition. The WNHA's connection with the powerful but unrepresentative Local Government Board put local politicians on the defensive. Mary Strangman was relieved of the burden of WNHA identity shortly afterwards when the Waterford branch was dissolved. This would appear to have been a purely diplomatic gesture, as the members renewed their commitment to provide financial support for the third Jubilee nurse.[36]

32 *Waterford Standard,* 10 January 1912.
33 *Waterford Standard,* 17 January 1912. *Waterford News,* 19 January 1912.
34 Ibid.
35 *Waterford Standard,* 7 February 1912.
36 *Waterford News,* 18 October 1912.

Mary Strangman was one of the few councillors who regularly attended the fortnightly meetings of the public health committee, which was officially a committee of the entire council. For nationalist councillors preoccupied with the prospect of Home Rule, public health was a marginal issue. However, the council's role as sanitary authority opened up many welcome opportunities for patronage; the LGB inspectors had noted that in Waterford 'individual interests frequently receive more consideration than the general good'.[37] Mary Strangman challenged this custom. Her objections to a corporation decision allowing men to use the ladies' public baths at Phillip street on four days a week tested the tolerance of her colleagues in the council chamber. Backed by a memorial signed by 132 women, and supported by local Catholic clergy who objected that the baths were overlooked by the Mercy convent, she used her professional authority and expertise to argue successfully that the baths should be reserved for the use of women and children only. The earlier corporation decision was therefore rescinded, and the newly appointed caretaker – the real issue at stake – was obliged to forgo his post.[38]

This was Mary Strangman's first taste of success as a councillor. Chivalry, and the respect due to her position as an elected representative, may account for the absence of reports of any unfavourable reaction. Before long, however, the impossibility of detaching public health from larger political questions brought hidden hostility into the open. The Home Rule bill was introduced in early April, but at the expense of a Conciliation bill which would have given a limited parliamentary franchise to women.[39] In an interview with a local reporter, Mary Strangman threw caution to the wind, declaring that if the Home Rule bill did not contain a clause offering enfranchisement to women, she would not accept it under any conditions. Mr Redmond, in her opinion, had 'sacrificed the suffragist cause'.[40] In the prevailing climate of nationalist fervour and hero-worship of John Redmond, Member of Parliament for Waterford, and prospective head of the Irish government under Home Rule, this was not a popular view.

In the months that followed, the Irish suffrage movement rapidly acquired an 'anti-Irish' identity. Following an incident in Dublin on 18 July 1912, in which John Redmond was slightly injured by a missile thrown by English suffragettes, women were violently attacked in the streets.[41] One Waterford councillor evidently felt that chivalry towards Mary Strangman could now legitimately be set aside. Condemning women who 'tried to break the head of the Irish leader with a hatchet', he called on the men of Waterford to 'take up the cudgels against Dr Mary Strangman'.[42]

37 *Report,* p. 427.
38 *Waterford News,* 24 May, 7 June 1912.
39 Rosemary Cullen Owens (1984) *Smashing times: a history of the Irish women's suffrage movement 1889-1922* (Dublin, Attic Press) pp. 47-50.
40 *Waterford News,* 12 April 1912.
41 Owens, *Smashing times,* p. 57.
42 *Waterford News,* 2 August 1912.

Although it is evident that the campaign against tuberculosis had little more support within the council than the campaign for women's suffrage, some progress was made in combating the disease in Waterford. The National Health Insurance Act of 1911 included new measures to control tuberculosis. Insured workers were entitled to 'sanatorium benefit', in addition to sickness benefit and maternity benefit. Committees were appointed in each local authority area to administer the act, which came into force in Ireland on 15 July 1912. In compliance with the requirements of the act, two women, Mary Strangman and Lily Poole, were appointed to the Waterford city insurance committee.[43]

While sickness benefit and maternity benefit were straightforward cash payments, the provision of sanatorium benefit required a more active involvement on the part of the insurance committee. Their first task was to establish a tuberculosis dispensary for the purpose of diagnosing patients and assessing their suitability for treatment, either at home or in a sanatorium.[44] Mary Strangman played a large part in ensuring that the dispensary scheme was not killed by apathy. Her determination to confront tuberculosis was not widely shared within the council. Only ten of the forty members attended a special meeting called for the purpose of submitting a scheme to the LGB in order to qualify for a government grant, and of these, according to an editorial in the *Waterford News*, 'only four displayed the smallest eagerness to discuss a question that cries aloud for sympathetic discussion and instant action'.[45] The councillors' attitude, of course, reflected the general fatalism, shame and ignorance of the day. Moreover, because of the colonial relationship, no aspect of social legislation was taken at face value by nationalist local representatives. Waterford Corporation, in common with most local authorities outside Ulster, had refused to adopt Part 1 of the Tuberculosis Prevention (Ireland) Act, 1908, which made notification of the disease compulsory. Many councillors had been further alienated by the contents of the recent LGB report on conditions in Waterford.

The strained relationship between the council and its medical officer of health was another symptom of the politicisation of public health. The medical officer's official monthly reports on the health of the city often reflected unfavourably on his employers, and he was therefore caught in an invidious position between the corporation and the LGB. In July 1900, he had been evicted from his office in the City Hall. By 1912, the issue was still unresolved, and the office was being used to store ballot boxes.[46] His proposals for a dispensary to deal with an estimated 500 'curable' tuberculosis cases were not well received.[47] One councillor dismissed the project as 'a desperate waste of money'. Doctors were not necessarily any more

43 Waterford corporation, *Council minutes,* 21 May 1912.

44 Ruth Barrington (1987) *Health, medicine and politics in Ireland 1900-1970* (Dublin, Institute of Public Administration) pp. 34-7, 69-73.

45 *Waterford News,* 28 June 1912.

46 *Report,* pp. 427-8. Letter from MSOH, *Waterford Standard,* 19 October 1912.

47 *Waterford News*, 28 June 1912. A further 400 were classified as incurable.

enlightened in their attitudes. One, a member of the corporation, was so antagonistic that on one occasion he aborted discussion of the dispensary project by walking out of the council chamber in order to render the meeting inquorate. His own theory regarding tuberculosis was simple – 'the healthy emigrate'– a theory which conveniently placed the blame for the disease on British government policy and at the same time denigrated Mary Strangman's belief in the value of the scheme.[48] Despite these obstacles, however, the scheme was adopted, and a part-time tuberculosis medical officer was appointed.[49]

Most councillors remained unconvinced of the merits of a tuberculosis dispensary, and there was little sense of urgency. Two years later, one councillor wearily predicted that 'it would take half as long to decide the battles in Europe as it had taken to decide this tuberculosis business in Waterford'. However, the task of appointing a resident caretaker to the dispensary premises in Hennessy's Road gave new life to the debate. Mary Strangman's proposal that a suitably qualified nurse could also perform the duties of a caretaker met with the inevitable opposition, and her appeal for 'common sense' fell on deaf ears.[50] In fact, until the summer of 1916, one section of the premises was used exclusively as the city headquarters of the Irish National Volunteers.[51] The dispensary was officially opened in early 1916, complete with medical officer, nurse and caretaker, its effectiveness somewhat reduced by a further three-year delay in introducing compulsory notification of the disease.[52] Regular press reports of the tuberculosis committee's proceedings indicate that Mary Strangman and the other members were energetic and efficient managers. In April 1917 they obtained LGB sanction to employ a Jubilee nurse. The District nurses' important community role in tuberculosis treatment, created almost a decade earlier by the Waterford WNHA, was thus maintained.[53]

It was generally accepted that insanitary housing contributed to the incidence of tuberculosis. While there was probably some truth in the declaration by a member of the Town Tenants League that 'the greatest microbes of this tuberculosis are the landlords and the agents of house property in this city', overall responsibility lay with the corporation.[54] According to the LGB inspectors, 'the provision of sanitary houses for the poorest section of the inhabitants' was 'one of the most urgent necessities from a public health point of view'. In his inaugural address in February 1912, the incoming Mayor echoed this opinion. He promised to expedite, by every means in his power, a scheme for the housing of the very poor as the best means of improving the health of the city.[55]

48 *Waterford News*, 12 July 1912.
49 *Waterford News*, 9 August 1912, 8 November 1912.
50 *Waterford Standard*, 4 November 1914.
51 *Waterford News*, 28 July 1916.
52 *Waterford News*, 25 February 1916, 14 March 1919.
53 *Waterford News*, 27 April 1917.
54 *Waterford Standard*, 28 March 1908.
55 *Report*, p. 409. *Waterford News*, 23 February 1912.

How this could be achieved was not clear. The LGB report offered no easy solution to the city's housing problem, other than an increase in the rates, which were in fact lower than in the other county boroughs. This was a proposal which no councillor was prepared to contemplate, and was certainly not part of Mary Strangman's election promise to 'promote the efficient and economical administration of municipal affairs'. At all times her preferred approach was to seek money from central funds for local purposes. At the time of her election, 81 houses and 14 flats had already been built under the provisions of the Housing of the Working classes (Ireland) Act, 1908. Contrary to the spirit of the act, however, these houses were expected to pay their way, at no cost to the ratepayers. Consequently, skilled workers, rather than the 'very poor', availed of municipal housing. According to one councillor, a profit was actually made.[56]

A second housing scheme was under discussion during Mary Strangman's first year as a councillor. She was present at each stage of the debate and had obviously familiarised herself with the legal and administrative details of the scheme. When plans for 259 houses on eight sites were presented to the council in early October, she was insistent that the scheme should be fully discussed and not simply passed 'holus bolus'. She objected strongly to a proposal to house 22 families in flats, which she said were 'condemned all over the civilised world'. The proposed site, at Alexander Street, was unsuitable for housing for the poor; there was no playground, and children would be forced out into the street. She also objected to plans for 23 houses in New Street which, at a rent of four shillings per week, could not be availed of by the poorer classes. According to the LGB, 1s 6d was an appropriate rent for social housing, but in Waterford the minimum rent was 2s per week. Within the council chamber, however, the interests of ratepayers and property owners appeared to outweigh those of the poor, and the plans for Alexander Street and New Street were passed by a majority of more than two to one.[57]

The fault did not lie solely with local councillors, however. The LGB inspectors' regret that the jerry builder had never made his appearance in Waterford, 'because even the worst jerry built houses would be infinitely better than hundreds of the insanitary dwellings which are at present occupied', ignored the scale and the complexity of the housing problem.[58] Their criticism seems misplaced, in view of the fact that the most important initiative of the time, the Housing of the Working Classes (Ireland) Act (1908), had been drafted by the Irish Parliamentary Party. Ingeniously devised by J. J. Clancy, M.P., the act provided the first direct subsidy for urban housing in Ireland. Although it involved no cost to the British Exchequer, it met a hostile reception at the Treasury, and was never fully implemented in its original form, the available capital being severely reduced.[59]

56 *Waterford News*, 6 September 1912.

57 *Waterford News*, 4 October 1912.

58 *Report*, pp. 411-12.

59 Murray Fraser (1996) *John Bull's other homes: state housing and British policy in Ireland, 1883-1922* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press) pp. 87-95. Daly, *Dublin the deposed capital*, p. 310.

Early in the First World War, a moratorium was placed on house building funds. At that stage, none of the houses under discussion in Waterford in 1912 had been built. From Mary Strangman's perspective, housing was primarily a social issue, but there were political implications also, which John Redmond exploited on behalf of the city, putting pressure on the British government, and in the process overruling the LGB, in order to secure two separate £5000 loans for Waterford.[60] Between 1915 and 1917, sixty-two houses were built by Waterford corporation.[61]

The effects of the war focused attention on public health. A new mood of consensus emerged, especially concerning the health of the next generation, and a number of government measures to protect the health of mothers and children were introduced. The services already provided by the century-old Waterford Lying-in hospital and the associated maternity charity were in some respects ahead of the new legislation. It is notable that the annual reports of the registrar general for Ireland in the early twentieth century show that while infant mortality in Waterford was above the average rate for Ireland as a whole, it was consistently below the rate for large towns.

The Notification of Births Act (1915) authorised local authorities to appoint health visitors to advise and assist pregnant women and mothers of young children.[62] A Maternity and Child Welfare scheme was adopted by Waterford corporation in April 1917. Some of the reservations expressed at the time, about health visitors 'going into a poor man's house and advising and recommending this that and the other when they can not afford to pay for it', recalled earlier concerns about the WNHA's 'cheap advice'. Mary Strangman, on the other hand, welcomed this expansion of the council's power and hoped for further improvements in the care of mothers and children.[63] Other measures followed. The Midwives (Ireland) Act (1917) set new standards, reducing the risk of maternal death. In 1918, financial provision for maternity and child welfare schemes was significantly improved; research commissioned by the Carnegie trust had revealed that the infant mortality rate in Ireland, 90 per thousand, was higher than the mortality rate for soldiers at the front.[64]

Mary Strangman played an important co-ordinating role in the development of the Waterford scheme. In March 1919, an estimated 900 people attended the WNHA's travelling health and child welfare exhibition in Waterford. At the end of its three-day visit Mary Strangman chaired a meeting of 'representative ladies' from the Lying-in hospital, the District Nursing Association, the corporation Child Welfare committee, the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, and the Irishwomen's Civic Federation.[65] The defunct city branch of the WNHA was re-inaugurated, in order to

60 Fraser, *John Bull's other homes*, p. 152, p. 158.

61 For a chronology of municipal housing in Waterford, see Daniel Dowling (1988) *Housing in Waterford* (Waterford, Waterford Corporation) pp. 42-3.

62 Barrington, *Health, medicine and politics*, pp. 75-9.

63 *Waterford News*, 5 April 1917.

64 Barrington, *Health, medicine and politics*, pp. 78-80.

65 The re-named Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation after the vote was won.

obtain an additional special grant of £500 for the development of the extended Maternity and Child Welfare scheme.[66]

The scheme presented to the meeting by the medical officer of health was an ambitious project, depending on a high level of co-operation between the corporation and the voluntary bodies. In the interests of the next generation, differences and divisions were transcended, at a time when the city was undergoing a profound shift in political allegiance. On St. Patrick's Day 1919, in this, the last stronghold of Redmondism, it was reported that 'an organised mob of soldiers, hooligans and depraved women' shouted 'Up Redmond!' as a triumphant Sinn Féin procession passed by.[67] Sinn Féin swept belatedly to its first Waterford victory in the local elections of January 1920. Waterford had fallen into step with the rest of nationalist Ireland, but with one unique distinction: the seat vacated by Mary Strangman in the Tower Ward was won by Ireland's only WNHA candidate, Mrs. Sarah Holmes White.[68]

Mary Strangman continued to serve on the Tuberculosis Committee and on the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee. In 1923 she was appointed physician at the Waterford County and City Infirmary. She held this position for the remaining twenty years of her life while continuing in general practice at her home in Parnell Street. She also became a committee member of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society (forerunner of the present Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society) which was re-established in 1920 after a five-year lapse due to the war. Founded in 1894, the society was non-political and non-sectarian, promoting the study of national antiquities as a 'common meeting-ground' for all classes and creeds.[69] Unfortunately, this vision of harmonious diversity did not survive the reality of the emerging 'new Ireland'. By the time of her death in 1943 Mary Strangman had already in effect been written out of Irish history by a constitution which redefined Irish identity and relegated Irish women to domestic life.[70]

During the period under review in this article, on the other hand, women's role in the public sphere was expanding. In Waterford, and throughout Ireland, a wide range of essential health and welfare services was provided by women. Nuns, as agents of church and state, managed large institutions such as the workhouse infirmary and St. Dominick's industrial school. The Women's National Health Association, the District Nursing Association and the Lying-in hospital were examples of effective voluntary organisation. Women moved into public administration, as members of local government committees, and were also elected to public office as poor law

66 *Waterford News*, 14, 21 March, 23 April 1919. WNHA, *Annual Report*, 1918-19, p. 68 and health exhibition supplement.

67 *Waterford News*, 21 March 1919.

68 *Waterford News*, 9 January 1920. *Waterford Standard*, 21 January 1920. WNHA, *Annual Report, 1919-20*, pp. 15-16.

69 Waterford and south-east of Ireland archaeological society, *Journal*, 1894, 1920

70 *Bunreacht na hÉireann* (1937) Article 41.

guardians and as councillors. As a doctor and an elected representative, and an active participant in charitable work, Mary Strangman challenged prevailing attitudes to public health and to women.

It is difficult to give an accurate assessment of Mary Strangman's influence on 'the health of the city'. Certainly, she kept her election promises, both inside and outside the council chamber, providing a focal point for public health and giving new impetus to the various groups and individuals who supported her position. Her professional status, and her personal involvement in charitable organisations, gave authority to her contributions to public health debates in City Hall. But for her persistence, it seems probable that advances in the medical understanding of tuberculosis, and the resulting legislative provisions for its treatment, would have been largely irrelevant in Waterford. Her personal knowledge of the professional, voluntary and official aspects of infant health care was an important factor in the successful establishment of the Maternity and Child Welfare scheme. Despite her obvious interest in the matter, she had little influence on municipal housing which was brought almost to a standstill by the First World War and by political unrest in Ireland. Mary Strangman was single-minded in her commitment to the health of the city, at a time when, in the words of F.S.L. Lyons, 'most Irishmen had other things on their minds'.[71] This preliminary study of her term of office would seem to indicate that there is scope for further investigation of this forgotten aspect of Waterford's history.

71 F.S.L. Lyons (1971) *Ireland since the Famine* (London, Fontana Press) p. 660.

List of County Waterford soldiers who died in World War One

Compiled by Ann Allridge, Richard Power and Jim Stacey

THE following is a list of corrections and new names*, which have become apparent since the 1999 Edition of Decies.

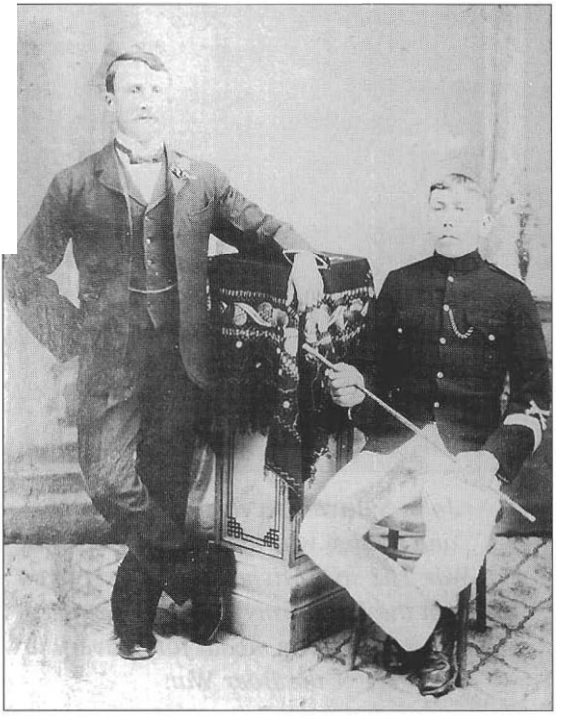
Two names should be deleted, being double entries. These are Fred Forsey 10788, and Private William Power of Slieverue.

Photos of Frederick McAuliffe from Ballybricken, and four Sullivan Brothers from Portlaw are included. All four Sullivan brothers served in the Great War. Mikey and Patsy did not survive. John returned and his grand-daughter is Mrs. Brigid Cahill of 355 George's Street, Portlaw.

Frederick McAuliffe
Born Ballybricken
Killed in action, F & F
August 27, 1918
Enlisted in Liverpool
Corps of Royal Engineers
198124 A/L/CPL

John Sullivan received a leg wound, and the leg was amputated after the War. His son, Michael, was a sergeant in the Irish army in World War II. John received a medal for bravery in the Boer War.

James Sullivan
Brother of John
Portlaw
The fate of James is not known.



Private Patrick Sullivan, 6831,
2nd Royal Irish Regiment
Died at the Somme
July 14, 1916, age 40

Private Michael Sullivan, 7225,
2nd Royal Irish Regiment
Died in France,
September 17, 1914, age 33

Barry	James	7948	Rifleman	7th, Royal Irish Rifles	Killed in action, F & F, Aug 16, 1917	Waterford
Barry	Richard	1983	Private	7th, Royal Irish Reg.	Killed in action, F & F, Mar 21, 1918. MM	St. Patrick's, Waterford
Barry	Thomas	10731	Private	Royal Irish Regiment 2nd Batt.	Killed in action, F & F, Oct 21, 1914	Lismore, Co. Waterford
Bell	Rupert	SPTS/1380	Private	23rd, Royal Fusiliers	Killed in action, F & F, Feb 8, 1916	The Quay, Waterford
Bellman *	Arthur	Stoker	K/19206	RN, HMS Monmouth	Died, November 1st, 1914	Lismore
Clancy *	William	5584	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds, F & F, May 25, 1915	Res. Carrickbeg, Co. Waterford
Condon [1]	John	6322	Private	Royal Irish Reg, 2nd Batt.	Died, F & F, May 24, 1915. Aged 14	Ballybricken
Conners	John	7295	Corp	1st, Royal Irish Rifles.	Killed in action, F & F, July 1, 1916	Waterford
Costigan *	Michael	3824	Private	Royal Irish Reg., 2nd Batt.	Killed in action, Oct 15, 1914	Resided Waterford. Family Dungarvan
Crotty	Lawrence	62614	Gunner	Royal Field Artillery	Killed in action, F & F, July 4, 1915	Waterford
Daye	Richard	6443	Private	Royal Irish Reg., 2nd Batt.	Killed in action, F & F, May 9, 1915	Mooncoin, enlisted in Waterford
Dobbyn *	William A.		2nd Lieutenant	Lancashire Fusiliers, 15th Batt.	Died, February 4, 1917, age 20	Newtown, Waterford
Dunne	Martin	6940	Gunner	Royal Garrison Artillery.	Killed in action, F & F, Aug. 24, 1916	Dungarvan.
Dunne	William	9973	Private	2nd, Leinster Reg,	Died of wounds, F & F, May 2, 1915	Lismore, Co. Waterford
English	James	4414	Private	Royal Munster Fus., 9th Batt.	Killed in action, F & F, March 27, 1916	Ballybricken, Waterford
Fives	Patrick	13459	Private	4th South Wales Borderers	Killed in action, Mesopotamia, April 9, 1916	Waterford
Forde *	Henry R.		Captain	Yorkshire Light Infantry, 2nd Batt.	Killed in action, F & F, December 2, 1917	The Manor of St. John, Waterford
Glynn *	Frederick	RNVR	Third Engineer	S.S. Rhineland, Mercantile Marine	Died on November 11, 1915, aged 27	Lismore
Glynn *	J. ? John	? 397	? Corp	Leinster Reg	Died ? F & F, Aug 22, 1916	Lismore Roll of Honour.
Grant	Maurice	26/240	Private	Northumberl Fus. (Tyneside Irish)	Killed in action, F & F, July 1, 1916	Waterford.
Grant	Richard	8798	Private	1st East Lancashire Reg	Killed in action, F & F, Nov 3, 1914	Trinity Without, Waterford
Healy [2]	Michael	5130	Sergeant	Royal Munster Fus., 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds, F & F, March 2, 1917	Dungarvan

1 Said to be the youngest soldier on the Allied side to have died in the Great War.

2 Awarded the Albert Medal, the Distinguished Conduct Medal, the Military Medal, and, later, a Bar to his Military Medal. Michael Healy is said to be the most decorated Irish solder of the Great War.

Herlihy	Patrick	7024	Corp	1st Leinster Reg.	Killed in action, F & F, Feb. 14, 1915	Lismore, Co. Waterford
Kearney *	Arthur J.		Lieutenant	Royal Munster Fusiliers, 1st Batt.	Killed in action, F & F, Sept 9, 1916, age 23	Tramore
McAuliffe	Frederick C.	198124	Acting L/C	Royal Engineers,	Killed in action, F & F, Aug. 27, 1918	Ballybricken, Waterfor
Nolan *	William		Leading Seaman	Royal Navy Reserve	Died age 28, March 1, 1917	Cahir Fenor, Tramore
Nugent	Maurice	10798	Private	Royal Irish Reg, 2nd Batt,	Died of wounds, F & F, June 2, 1916	Born Ballymacarbry, Co. Waterford
O'Sullivan	David	CH/21243	Private	Royal Marine Light Infantry	HMS Hindustan, Holland, April 23, 1918	Tallow, Co. Waterford
Power	Patrick	23096	Private	Royal Dublin Fus., 1st Batt.	Killed in action, Gallipoli, Dec 22, 1915	Tramore, Co. Waterford
Power	William	6843	Corp	2nd, Royal Irish Reg	Killed in action, F & F, May 8, 1915	Lismore, Co. Waterford
Robertson *	Frank		Captain	12th, Worcestershire Reg.	Died of wounds, June 26th, 1915	Newtown Lodge, Waterford
Ryan	Patrick T	13559	Private	6th, Royal Irish Fusiliers	Killed in action, Gallipoli, Aug 15, 1915	Waterford
Smith [3]	Andrew	3085	Lance Corp	6th, Leinster Reg.	Killed in action, Gallipoli, Aug 11, 1915	Ballybricken
Smith	Frederick J	16666	Private	2nd, Hampshire Reg.	Killed in action, F & F, Oct 12, 1916	Waterford
Smith	Frederick P.	150820	Gunner	Royal Field Artillery	Died, F & F, Sept 26, 1917	Waterford
Sparkes	Edward	70088	Private	16th, Sherwood Foresters	Killed in action, F & F, Oct 10, 1916	Born Fenor, Co. Waterford
St. Clair	Richard	13050	Private	11th, King's Liverpool Reg.	Killed in action, F & F, Aug 12, 1915	Waterford
Stephens *	Michael	K/21670	Stoker	Royal Navy Division, Hood Batt.	Died Gallipoli, May 8th, 1915	Ozier Bank Tce., Poleberry
Sullivan	Michael	7225	Private	2nd, Royal Irish Reg.	Died of wounds, F & F, Sept 17, 1914	Portlaw, Co. Waterford
Veale	Michael	295061	Petty Officer	HMS "Vivid II"	July 15, 1915	Dungarvan
Villers-Stuart	Desmond	7107	Private	Australian Imperial Forces 16th Batt.	Messines Ridge, Aug 7, 1917	Son of Capt. Gerald Villers-Stuart, Lismore
Walsh	John	15130	Private	7th, Glouc. Reg. (Service Batt.)	Killed in action, Mesopotamia, April 21, 1916	Waterford
Walsh *	Patrick	6906	Private	Royal Irish Reg, 2nd Batt.	Killed in action, F & F, May 24, 1915	Enlisted in Waterford
Walsh	Patrick	6769	Private	Royal Irish Reg, 2nd Batt.	Killed in action, April 28, 1915	St. Patrick's, Waterford
Walsh *	Patrick	1288	Private	Royal Irish Reg, 5th Batt.	Died of wounds, F & F, Nov 24, 1918	Enlisted in Waterford
Walsh	Patrick	10061	Private	1st, Irish Guards	Died of wounds, F & F, Sept 24, 1916	Kilmacow, Co. Waterford

3 The number 308 is given in the CD-Rom "Soldiers died in the Great War 1914-19" by the Naval & Military Press.

Book reviews

By John M. Hearne

Maynooth Studies in Irish Local History Number 33

Portlaw, County Waterford 1825-1876: Portrait of an Industrial Village and its Cotton industry by Tom Hunt. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000. Pp. 80. Price £8.50 (paperback: ISBN 0 7165 2722 7)

Tom Hunt's analysis of the Malcomson cotton industry fills a void in Irish history. In taking on a long neglected aspect of Irish socio-economic history he has produced a well written, readable and clinically researched study. Drawing on an eclectic range of sources, parliamentary papers, private papers, newspapers, government reports and contemporary accounts, the author brings to life the realities of working and living in a nineteenth century industrial village.

The book has three main themes. Firstly the initial development and redesign of the purpose built industrial village of Portlaw is examined. Secondly, the author investigates the sophisticated social structure which developed to cater for the workers' needs. The final theme analyses the factory infrastructure and performance.

More than half this book concerns the development of Portlaw as an industrial village and describes the lives of the workers in the cotton mill. The remainder illustrates the production techniques employed, and compares the Malcomson enterprise with similar national and British firms.

From the evidence portrayed in this study, there can be little doubt that the Malcomsons endeavoured to improve the lot of their workforce and of the Portlaw area in general; but on their own terms. Workers were provided with education, medical and savings facilities along with good quality cheap housing. The philosophy being that a healthy worker was also a productive worker. But when factory legislation, introduced in the 1830s, threatened to impinge on the Malcomsons supply of cheap labour, a 'relay system' was introduced in the factory. This necessitated groups of workers being available from 5.30 a.m. to 6.30 p.m. to make up for shortfalls in production resulting from the shortage of child labour and a shorter working day. This attempt to circumvent the legislation was certainly against the spirit of factory legislation and an exploitation of their monopoly position. Some would even argue that it was an extreme form of social control; but others would view it as a practical response to, what must have been for them, a critical situation. Nonetheless, the fact that the village of Portlaw was spared the devastating effects of the Famine is testimony to the endeavours of the Malcomsons in ensuring that the community was self sufficient and in a position to withstand such exogenous shocks. Given the privations endured by the majority of the population, especially during the first half of the nineteenth century, such an inconvenience was perhaps a small price to pay given the relatively high standard of living enjoyed by the workers and their families.

Perhaps the most interesting part of this study compares the Malcomson enterprise in Portlaw with similar cotton mills in Ireland and Britain. This analysis shows that the Portlaw factory was technologically more advanced than similar national firms and was equal in status with the larger and more efficient Lancashire mills. The author also highlights the production flexibility of the mill which, during the American Civil War, to compensate for the reduced supply of raw cotton, began importing flax, hemp and jute. Furthermore, as there was no competition for factory labour in the Portlaw hinterland, the Malcolmsons were able to maintain a competitive price edge over their commercial rivals.

Though outside the brief of this study, the author gives a short overview of some of the contributory factors which led to the ultimate collapse of the Malcomson business empire. He concludes that the wonder was not that the Portlaw industry collapsed in 1876, but that it had vigorously survived to that date. However, his sympathetic treatment of the stewardship of William Malcomson during the final years of the enterprise is contentious to say the least. But it should not be dismissed too readily. While a much more comprehensive analysis of the collapse would be required to reach any such definitive conclusion, the author has at least provided a forum for rational debate on this particular issue

Tom Hunt's study is the most comprehensive analysis of any aspect of the Malcomson business empire published to date. While it rectifies, to some extent, the shameful neglect by professional academics of the this aspect of Irish nineteenth century socio-economic history, it is nonetheless only part of the Malcomson story. But it is an important start, and will, I believe, become a standard reference point for those who wish to analyse other aspects of this multifaceted, multinational Quaker business.

This study makes an important contribution to our understanding of nineteenth century socio-economic history. NUI Maynooth is to be commended for initiating this series of studies in Irish local history.

* * * * * *

James & Mary Ellis. Background and Quaker Famine Relief in Letterfrack, by Joan Johnson. Dublin: Historical Committee of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, 2000. Pp. xiii, 81. Price £7.50 (paperback: ISBN 0 9519870 4 6)

This is a warm and engaging book which tells the story of how and why a wealthy Quaker businessman, James Ellis, at the age of fifty-six, uprooted his family in Bradford and 'pitched his tent' among the peasantry of Connemara in the midst of the Great Famine, and did 'all that God would allow him to better their condition.' The Ellis family spent almost eight years in Letterfrack before returning, unexpectedly, to Britain in 1857, leaving behind a legacy of commitment and energy which provided a foundation upon which this small community was to progress in the future.

In the first chapter of this book, the author offers a brief history of the Society of Friends; and in tracing the genealogy of James Ellis in the following two chapters,

the reader is drawn into the complex social world of the Quaker communities in Britain and Ireland. Through many genealogical charts and maps one sees how many of the most important names in nineteenth century business (and still recognisable in the twenty-first century), Rowntree, Priestman, Seebohm, Bewley and Goodbody were linked through marriage. James Ellis was related to many of these. In 1832, Ellis was one of the original subscribers to, and directors of, the Friends Provident Institution, now known as Friends First. In the same year his first wife Mary, died, and in 1837 he remarried Mary Wheeler. Over the next ten years James became a very successful businessman. But between 1846 and 1848 he was influenced by the reports of various Quaker visiting groups to Ireland which highlighted the distress resulting from famine. As a result, James Ellis retired from business and in the following year, 1849, having acquired almost 1,000 acres of land, settled his family at Letterfrack, 'in the wild and little frequented district of Connemara'.

James and Mary Ellis spent almost eight years in Letterfrack. During that time they turned their land into an experimental farm which produced turnips, cabbages, carrots, beans and even strawberries. They also built a school, temperance hotel, dispensary, doctor's residence and cottages for the labourers. Upwards of eighty were eventually employed on the farm and they were paid punctually, in money wages.

Through the correspondence of Mary Ellis, in chapter six, we learn that she thought their workers to be 'gentle, polite, cheerful and easily made happy ... and by no means idle'. But she was very critical of the local gentry, whom she asserted, spent their money on hunting and drinking; money which she believed would have been better used in the cultivation of the land and thus giving much needed employment. But in 1857, the family were forced to return to Bradford because James Ellis was in poor health, choosing to leave at an early hour on that February morning 'in order to avoid the pain of leave-taking'.

It was indeed ironic that within six months of returning home, Mary Ellis had died. James Ellis recovered but eventually died in 1869. His philosophy in going to Letterfrack was to try to become a practical illustration of the possibility of improving the physical and moral condition of the roughest Irish labourer by physical and moral instruction. Supported by his wife, his hard work and commitment to building programmes and relief works, led to the development of Letterfrack village.

Joan Johnson has created a gem of a book which shows how a singular act of human goodness improved the lives of a small isolated community during and after the Famine. She has successfully managed to put human faces to Quaker relief work; a task facilitated by the excellent genealogy charts (compiled by Joan's husband, Roger), which make a most interesting complement to this beautifully produced book.

This is a publication which cannot be recommended too highly. It should be required reading those wishing to acquire a fuller knowledge of Quaker relief works, and their motivation for so doing.

Dr. John B. O'Brien: Historian An Appreciation

I REMEMBER the first time I met John. It was a cold January night, some fourteen years ago, in the 'new' science building in U.C.C., and I asked him to supervise a thesis I was thinking of completing. Perhaps I remember this incident so well because of John's reply; "you know", he said, "I'm a very hard taskmaster, but come and see me anyway". And with that he was gone, in that quick energetic walk of his, into the night outside. Little did I realise what I was leaving myself in for; nor could I have foreseen that this brief meeting would be the beginning of a warm, enduring and fulfilling friendship, which would transcend the world of academia.

John was a exceptional scholar. Born in Nenagh, County Tipperary, his career began as Senior Research Officer in the Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics. This led him to lecturing posts in the University of Adelaide, La Trobe University, Melbourne, and finally in the mid 1960s, he was appointed Statutory Lecturer in History, at University College Cork. It was here that John left an indelible mark.

Primarily an economic historian, John's interests broadened with the passing years, and his more recent works were concerned with political and constitutional issues pertaining to the Irish and Australian experience within the Commonwealth. Indeed he was the only Australian specialist working in a European University. This allowed him travel the world on lecturing tours to such places an Sydney, Nice, Montreal, Jakarta and other such destinations. But perhaps his greatest academic contribution was to his adopted Cork where he redefined it's nineteenth century social, economic and political history. During one of my last meetings with him, he expressed the view that his booklet, *The Catholic Middleclasses in Pre-Famine Cork (1980)* was his finest piece of academic history. Few would disagree.

John was a gifted lecturer and communicator. His lectures were as humorous and witty as the were informative. As a result, Economic and Australian history were some of the more popular undergraduate courses at UCC. It was these characteristics which also endeared him with local history societies and made him a much sought after speaker throughout the country. He first lectured in Waterford at the Central Technical Institute in the 1970s as part of UCCs. Diploma in Social Science. Thereafter he was a frequent visitor to the city and never ceased to comment on the city's architectural heritage. His two favourite buildings being the Presentation Convent and in particular Pugin's turret, and the Holy Ghost building on the Cork road (now housing the Music Department of Waterford Institute of Technology).

Those who worked closely with John quickly became aware that he was indeed a hard taskmaster; but also a very fair one. His own standards were very high, and he would accept nothing less from his postgraduate students. Watching him dissect work you had spent a month or more putting together, and then seeing his razor sharp intellect fashion it into a coherent structure, could be a very humbling

experience. But one was always aware that the master craftsman was teaching the apprentice a valuable lesson.

You never went ill-prepared to John, and you certainly never made the same mistake twice. But once your work had John's imprimatur, you knew that you had passed the sternest test you were ever likely to undergo. And that is perhaps John's most significant contribution to academia; in developing the critical skills of his students in line with his own exacting standards, he ensured that future historical research would be in safe hands.

But at the heart of John's successful career, was his family; in particular his wife, Catherine. In the numerous meetings we had over the years, much of the time was spent discussing our respective families and the successes, disappointments and expectations of the children. His interest was genuine and his advice generous. One never left such meetings without a smile, and his infectious laugh ringing in your ears as you drove home to Waterford. The last time I spoke with him was, when I phoned him unexpectedly, just a few days before he passed away and he told me of Catherine's appointment to the Chair of Italian at NUI Galway only days before. I don't think he could have been happier had he himself been in receipt of a similar appointment.

John's untimely passing on 1 March 1999, at just sixty years of age, came as an unexpected shock. There were many tears visible in subsequent days at removal and requiem. But there was also much laughter as the large crowds, who came from far and near, and representing all strata of society, could not refrain from recalling witty quotes or humorous lectures that were John's unique trademark. This was no sign of disrespect; merely a manifestation of the esteem in which he was held, by porter and professor, whom John treated with equanimity. But the sense of loss was no less palpable; and for Catherine and the family, it was a loss borne with great dignity and courage.

John O'Brien was one of Ireland's few internationally renowned historians. The 'College' will not be the same without his cheerful presence. He will be sadly missed.

I ríocht Dé go raibh sé go deo.

Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society Membership 2000

(Up to September 30th 2000)

Abbeyside Reference Archives, Strandside South, Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Allen County Public Library, P.O. Box 2270, 900 Webster Street, IN 46801-2270, USA.
Aylward, Mr J., 'Wander Inn', Johnstown, Waterford.

Balekis, Mrs N., Apt. 4B, Newtown Court, Newtown, Waterford.
Brazil, Mr D., 'Killard', John's Hill, Waterford (Hon.).
Brennan, Mrs E., 11 The Brambles, Ballinakill Downs, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Brennan, Mr D., 11 The Brambles, Ballinakill Downs, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Brennan, Mr J., 25 Daisy Terrace, Waterford.
Broderick, Mr E., 1 Pheasant Walk, Collins Avenue, Waterford.
Brophy, Mr A., 'Bushe Lodge', Catherine Street, Waterford.
Brophy, Mr P., 21 Morley Terrace, Waterford.
Brophy, Mrs S., 21 Morley Terrace, Waterford.
Burns, Mrs A. M. B., 97 Park Road, Loughborough, Leicester LE11 2HD, England.
Burtchaell, Mr J., Gyles Quay, Slieverue, via Waterford.
Byrne, Mr N., Auburn, John's Hill, Waterford.

Carpendale, Mr S., Dublin Road, Dunkitt, via Waterford.
Carroll, Mr P., 'Greenmount House', Crooke, Passage East, Co. Waterford.
Carroll, Mrs S., 'Greenmount House', Crooke, Passage East, Co. Waterford (Hon.).
Caulfield, Mr S., Robinstown, Glenmore, Co. Kilkenny.
Clarke, Mr F., 9 Leoville, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Coady, Mr M., 29 Clairin, Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary.
Condon, Very Rev. E., P.P., Killea, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Condon, Mr S., 52 The Moorings, Ballinakill, Waterford.
Cowman, Mr D., Knockane, Annestown, Co. Waterford.
Cranley, Mrs M., 6 Parnell St., Waterford.
Croke, Mrs N., Cathedral Close, Cathedral Square, Waterford.
Crowley, Mrs M., 'Fernhill', Ballyvooney, Stradbally, Co. Waterford.
Crowley, Ms N., 45 Orchard Drive, Ursuline Court, Waterford.
Curham, Mr L., 19 The Folly, Waterford.
Curran, Mr C. P., 20 Friarsland Road, Goatstown, Dublin 14.

Davis, Mrs M., 1335 Fairway Oaks, Sun Lakes, Balling, CA 92220, U.S.A.
Deegan, Mr P., 2 Fairfield Park, Belvedere Manor, Waterford.
Delahunty, Mrs M., Rocksprings, Newtown, Waterford.
Dillon, Mr F., 'Trespan', The Folly, Waterford.

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The Ruined Medieval Parish Church of Stradbally, County Waterford

An Archaeological Report

By Ben Murtagh

1. Introduction

THE picturesque seaside village of Stradbally, in south Co. Waterford, was a town in the Middle Ages. This is indicated by its Irish name, Stráidbaile (Street Town), from which its English name derives (see Power 1952, 178). The ruins of its original parish church survive in the graveyard of the modern Church of Ireland church of St. James (see Fig. 1). This medieval building is listed in the Sites and Monuments Record (32:12) of Dúchas: The Heritage Service (see Moore 1999, P.189, no. 1432).

Further to efforts by the Stradbally Union of Parishes (Church of Ireland) to conserve the ruins, the writer was engaged to carry out an archaeological survey upon them, and to compile a report of the findings, with recommendations for conservation work. The fieldwork was carried out during February/March 1999, and completed in February 2000. This article is based on the findings of the original report. It includes a look at the history of the church from documentary evidence; a description of the church, associated architectural remains and monuments.

2. Location and site layout

The ruined church occupies a commanding location to the S-W of the present village, which is in the Barony of Decies without Drum. To the south, the landscape slopes gradually away to the sea (see Fig. 1). Today the ruins are surrounded by an oblong graveyard, that is enclosed by a stone perimeter wall. A gateway in the latter gives access from the roadway that skirts the southern side of the graveyard.

At a short distance to the N-W of the ruins is the present St. James's Church (see Pls. A, B & D), while to the south and S-E is the Roman Catholic graveyard, which contains 18th/19th century gravestones (Pl. A). To the north, west and S-W, is the modern Church of Ireland graveyard, which dates from at least the early 19th century (see section 9). A linear pathway runs north from the entrance gateway in the south perimeter wall to the modern St. James's Church.

At the west end of the ruined church is an oblong plot of ground, enclosed by a high stone wall, which contains inscribed 19th century gravestones of the Beresford and Uniacke families (see Fig. 2; Pls. D & E). It measures internally 8.38m from N/S x 6.10m in width. Located at 2.2m to the south of the latter, to the S-W of the medieval church, is a c. 18th century stone-built mausoleum. This is oblong in plan, measuring 3.95m x 3.37m, and it contains a number of re-used dressed architectural fragments (see Pl. G). These will be referred to again in section 10.