

# DECIES

## JOURNAL OF THE WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL SOCIETY

No. 66  
2010

Irisleabhar Cumann Seandálaíochta  
agus Staire Phort Láirge

**COMHAIRLE CATHRACH  
PHORT LAIRGE**

**WATERFORD CITY COUNCIL**

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**Cover Illustrations**

*Front Cover:* Tall ships on the Quay at Waterford, 1900.

*Courtesy Waterford Museum of Treasures.*

*Back Cover:* Fort Sumter Medal and Kearney Cross, presented to General Thomas Francis Meagher of the Irish Brigade, Union Army in 1863 during the American Civil War.

*Courtesy Waterford Museum of Treasures.*

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*First lecture of the Autumn Winter Season 2010. Dr Daire Keogh with Fergus Dillon, Chairman of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society.*



*Society outing to Fethard Co Tipperary, with guide Colm McGrath.*

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*In Passage with our guide Jim Hegarty.*



*Michael Maher PRO, Jim Hegarty guide and Fergus Dillon Chairman, following the society outing to Passage.*

## EDITORIAL

### *Return of the Tall Ships*

Waterford has a long and proud maritime tradition stretching back over a millennium. By the eighteenth century Waterford merchants had developed worldwide trade links including with Newfoundland. English ships sailing from Bristol and the West Country ports *en route* to the cod fisheries off the Grand Banks began to call to Waterford to take on provisions for the fishing season. In time they also took on men to fish the cod and thousands of people migrated from Waterford, Kilkenny, Tipperary and Wexford to Newfoundland which was known locally in the Irish language as *Talamh an Éisc* (the Land of the Fish).

The success of the provisions trade was one of the factors which prompted Waterford merchants to begin building their own ships and by the early years of the nineteenth century the city could boast a vibrant shipbuilding industry.

Thomas White, a Quaker businessman, came to Waterford in 1775 and opened a grocery business in King Street, now O'Connell Street. His son William established a shipyard in Ferrybank in 1818. White's first ship the *Erin* was launched in 1820. White's shipyard also built the largest and fastest ship ever built in Waterford, the *Merrie England*.

In 1843 the Neptune Ironworks opened at Park Road as a repair yard for the growing fleet of ships of the Malcolmsoms, a Quaker family who had established a cotton factory in Portlaw in the 1820s. At the end of 1846 the first steamer built in the Neptune yard was launched, the *SS Neptune*. The shipbuilding business continued to develop especially under the management of John Horn from 1849-70 and employing over 1,000 men locally. In total forty steamers were built at the Neptune yard including five trans-Atlantic liners for the Malcolmson London, Le Havre and New York line, the *SS Cella*, *SS Iowa*, *SS Cordova*, *SS William Penn*, and *SS Indiana*.

From the mid 1850s to the mid 1860s the Malcolmsoms owned the largest fleet of iron steamers in the world.

In 2005 Waterford celebrated its rich maritime history by hosting the first leg of the Tall Ships' Race.

In the summer of 2011 the Tall Ships will return and Waterford will again host the first leg of this prestigious maritime event with over seventy majestic sailing ships, 1,500 sail trainees and an anticipated 500,000 visitors converging on the city, celebrating and acknowledging our rich maritime heritage.

### *Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society and the Internet*

The artist Pablo Picasso once remarked that 'Computers are useless. They can only give you answers'.

In spite of the reservations Picasso had in relation to modern technology Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society now has its place on the World Wide Web.

Over the summer months a society 'Blog' was developed – <http://waterford-history.blogspot.com> and here all the latest news of the society can be found. This includes the programme of events, news updates as well as photographs and information on lectures and outings.

Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society also has its own Facebook page which is attracting followers and friends from all over the world.

The society website, [www.waterford-history.org](http://www.waterford-history.org) is now online, thus ensuring that the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society will continue to develop well into the future.

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

I would like to point out to intending contributors that the final deadline for the submission of articles for *Decies 67* (2011) is 1 May 2011. **Articles received after that date will be held over for publication in the following year's journal.**



*Members of the society in Kilmacthomas, with guide Seán Murphy.*



## List of Contributors

**Lynn Cahill** is originally from Dublin and moved to Waterford in 2006. She is the co-founder of the Cat Laughs Comedy Festival in Kilkenny, which she managed for fourteen years. Lynn has performed on stage at the Abbey, Gate, Peacock and Project Theatres in Dublin, the Royal National Theatre, Greenwich Theatre and the Bush Theatre in London. Lynn is currently the Arts Manager of Christ Church Cathedral, and the Marketing Manager of the Theatre Royal in Waterford. She holds a Masters Degree in Arts and Heritage Management from the Waterford Institute of Technology.

**Patrick J. Cummins** has written and lectured on the history of Irish aviation and has a particular interest in the history of aviation in the South East of Ireland. He has contributed to *Decies* in the past and is the author of *Emergency: Air Incidents South-East Ireland 1940-1945*.

**Catriona Gleeson** is a licence eligible archaeologist and also specialises in archaeological leather, with published articles on leather artefacts recovered from excavations in Cork city, Galway, Drogheda and Carrickfergus. She is currently a PhD student in the Department of Archaeology, NUI, Galway.

**Eoin Grogan** specialises in prehistoric settlement and social organisation. Eoin began his career as a researcher and lecturer in UCD where he completed his PhD in 1989. Between 1992 and 2002 he was director of the North Munster, and subsequently the Lake Settlement, projects in the Discovery Programme. Eoin lectures in Irish and European prehistory in the NUI, Maynooth, and works as an archaeological consultant.

**Susan Lyons** specialises in the analysis of palaeo-environmental remains, specifically plant macrofossil analysis and wood/charcoal identification. She has been a contributing environmental specialist on archaeological excavations in both Ireland and Scotland. Susan has also contributed to a number of research projects such as the Irish Bog Body Project, which was undertaken by the National Museum of Ireland.

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

**Clare McCutcheon** is a graduate of UCC where she completed master's research in 1995 on medieval pottery from Cork. She is the leading expert on medieval pottery in Ireland. Clare has contributed specialist reports to many published excavations and has authored a monograph on the ceramic assemblage from the Dublin city excavations.

**Alice Mc Dermott** lectures in History and Cultural Studies at Waterford Institute of Technology. She holds an MA in History from University College Galway and an MA in History and Local Studies from the University of Limerick. Her biography of Bridget Redmond TD was recently published in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

**Niall O'Brien** is a young farmer from Ballyduff, West Waterford. He is executive secretary for the County Waterford Community Forum and is currently a member of the County Waterford Cultural and Heritage SPC. In 2008, he published a local history book entitled; *Blackwater and Bride: Navigation and Trade, 7000 BC to 2007*. Niall has also published articles in other historical journals.

**Donal O'Connor** was Professor of Old Testament at St Patrick's College, Maynooth until 1985 when he was appointed parish priest of Ardmore, Co Waterford. His articles in *Decies* explore the importance of the Déise in twelfth-century Ireland; Lismore under the guidance of Bishop Malchus, as the foremost centre of Church Reform; Ardmore's achievement in architecture and figure sculpture, coinciding with its brief period of diocesan status under Bishop Eugene.

**Helen Roche** is an internationally respected ceramic specialist who provides pottery assessment for a wide range of companies and institutions. Helen worked in the Department of Archaeology, UCD, where she was assistant and later co-director of the excavations at Knowth, Co. Meath, and in the Discovery Programme where she was director of the Tara Excavations Project. She completed an MA on Grooved Ware pottery at UCD in 1995 and is currently pursuing a PhD on Middle to Late Bronze Age pottery in Ireland.

# A Ringfort and Nearby Area of Prehistoric Activity, Williamstown, Co Waterford: Report on an Archaeological Excavation Undertaken Prior to the Construction of the R710 Waterford Outer Relief Road

*Caitríona Gleeson with contributions by S. Lyons, E. Grogan, H. Roche and C.  
McCutcheon*

## **Summary**

*An archaeological excavation was carried out at Williamstown, Co. Waterford. The work was undertaken in response to earlier archaeological testing by Headland Archaeology (Ireland) Ltd. The primary objective of the excavation was to preserve by record any archaeological remains threatened with destruction within the development area.*

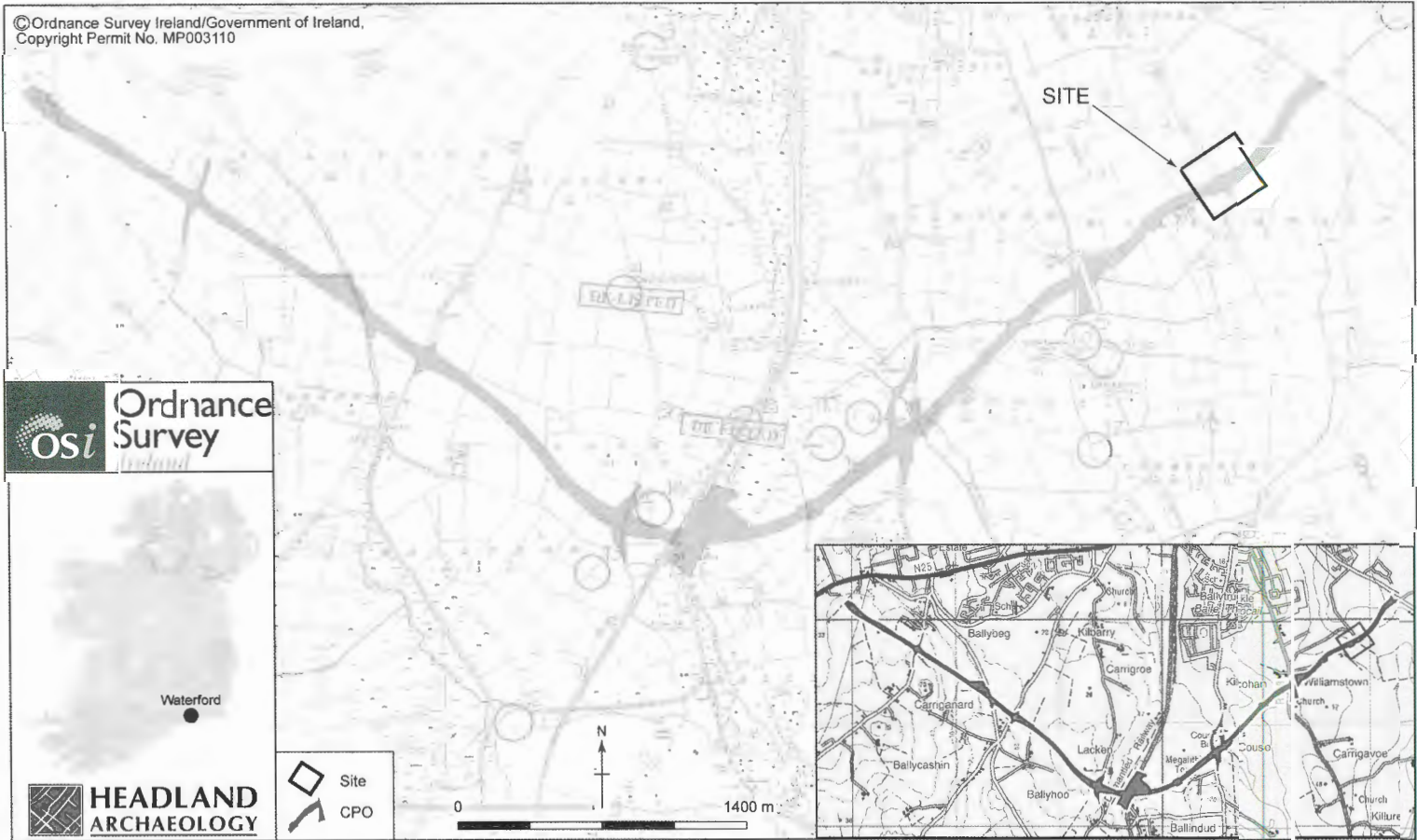
*The excavations at Williamstown uncovered an early medieval circular enclosure, most likely a ringfort, (Radiocarbon Date 977-1037 cal AD) and a nearby area of prehistoric archaeological activity of possible Early Bronze Age date (Radiocarbon date 1929-1741 cal BC). These features have been excavated to the level of natural subsoil.*

## **Introduction**

This article details the results of an archaeological excavation carried out at Williamstown, Co. Waterford by Headland Archaeology (Ireland) Ltd. The work was completed as part of the archaeological requirements preceding the construction of a ring road around the south side of Waterford city. The excavation was undertaken in accordance with Licence No. 03E1755.

## **Site Location and Description (Figure 1)**

The area of excavation was located at the northeast of the Waterford Outer Relief Road Route, immediately north of Williamstown Golf Course. The surrounding area is mainly low-lying and gently undulating with the exception of an area of marshy land, known as Kilbarry Bog, which dominates the landscape at the mid and southernmost point of the route.



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Figure 1: Site Location with RMP map extract

During the course of centreline archaeological test trenching of the route by Headland Archaeology (Ireland) Ltd (Licence No. 03E1174) a number of features of archaeological potential were identified within two fields at either side of the access route to Williamstown Golf Course. The fields comprised areas of tillage which sloped gently from northeast to southwest.

### **Archaeological Background**

The features uncovered were located within a multi-period archaeological landscape that spans from the Mesolithic to the present day. Evidence for this occupation is manifest in stray finds that possibly date from the Mesolithic to the Bronze Age and a variety of sites that include Bronze Age standing stones, early medieval earthworks, late medieval church sites, industrial sites and the Viking and Medieval City of Waterford (Gleeson and Tierney 2001).

Within the environs of the site there are a number of recorded archaeological monuments. In the townlands of Lacken and Ballyhoo, both earthwork sites and a tradition of earthworks have been noted (WA017:013/CHC 1, WA 017:014/CHC2, and WA018:059). In Kill St. Lawrence there is a church site (already in ruins by the time of the first Ordnance Survey in 1841), an associated graveyard and a possible Bronze Age standing stone (WA017:005/CHC 6, WA017: 108/CHC 7). In Ballindud there is a portal tomb (WA017:016/CHC 4) and a possible standing stone (WA017: 110/CHC 5) (*ibid.*). Recent work in the area undertaken by Headland Archaeology (Ireland) Ltd as part of this project uncovered a *fulacht fiadh* in the adjacent townland of Carriganard (Licence No. 03E1176).

### **The Excavation**

#### **Area 1**

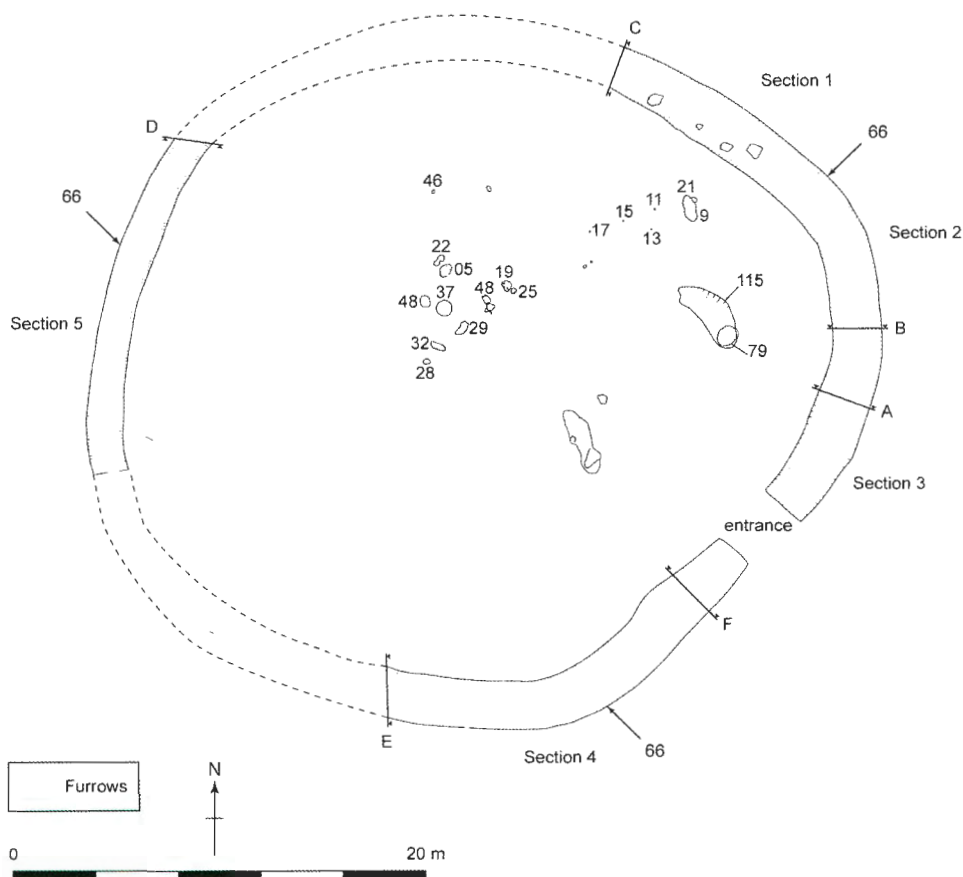
On fully stripping the 120m by 40m area it became apparent that the remains comprised a broadly circular ditch which enclosed an area of *c.*30m in diameter. The ditch (66) was U-shaped in section and measured 2m in depth, *c.*2m in width at the top and *c.*0.4m at the base. Excavation revealed that the lower fills appeared to slope in from outside the ditch which may have denoted the original presence of an external bank (see Discussion). The depth of topsoil in this field was *c.*0.4m and the enclosure was heavily plough truncated. A field boundary and relatively modern roadway cut the enclosure at the west which resulted in the destruction of approximately 30-60% of the ditch and 40% of the interior. One entrance was revealed in the southeast of the ditch and this comprised a causeway (3m wide) of natural subsoil which was left intact during the original construction phase of the enclosure. Five sections were excavated along the exposed length of the ditch.

Two areas of the ring-ditch remained unexcavated. The first was located at its south-western extremity. This area was partially truncated by a post-medieval field boundary ditch and had also become contaminated as a result of vandalism, which rendered it unsafe for archaeological excavation. The northern extremity of the ditch was also truncated by the post-medieval boundary ditch and partially located outside the roadtake.

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*Section 1*

Section 1 was located in the northeast of the ditch and adjacent to the northern limit of excavation (Figures 2-3). The stratigraphy observed in this section was broadly consistent with that excavated within the ditch as a whole. The basal layer (126) was a light brown sandy clay, similar to the natural subsoil, which may represent collapsed bank material. Overlying this was (125), a thin strip of black silty clay which contained a significant quantity of charcoal along with patches of burnt clay and iron slag. This may have been dumping from a fire or smelting area. Over this were two layers ((116-7)) of silty clay with a high charcoal content and frequent heat-shattered stones. A badly corroded iron spade blade (Find No. 03E1755:116:1) was recovered from (116). The burnt stone deposits were overlaid by a series of sandy clay deposits with occasional charcoal flecks. These layers were similar in composition and compaction to the natural subsoil and may have been collapsed/subsided bank material. These layers were under (123), a mixed light brown to yellow silty clay, possibly deposited as a result of deliberate infilling of the ditch.



*Figure 2: Plan of Area 1*

*Section 2*

Section 2 was located in the east of the ditch and measured 8.5m in length (Figures 2-3). The basal layer was (201), a natural silt deposit, possibly run-off from the original bank. Over (201) were a series of silty layers ((202-207)), largely deposited as a result of natural processes. Some of the layers were humic in composition and contained charcoal flecks which were probably blown in to the ditch as a result of contemporary activity within or near the enclosure. A number of lenses of charcoal were identified within the silty layers which may have represented dumping from activities within the ringfort. At its upper levels the ditch was filled by (207) and (208) which were mixed clay deposits possibly representative of both natural silting and deliberate infilling of the ditch. These layers were similar in composition to the natural subsoil which implied that the remains of the bank may have been used to backfill the ditch.

*Section 3*

Section 3 extended east from the eastern terminal of the ditch for 4.5m (Figures 2-3). The basal layer was (227), a natural silt deposit which possibly constituted run-off from the bank and construction debris. Immediately over this was Context 226, a deposit of heat-shattered angular stones, 0.35m in depth, contained within compact grey wet clay with frequent charcoal inclusions. Over (226) was Context 225, another layer of heat-shattered stones, 1m in depth, contained within dark brown loose silty clay with moderate charcoal inclusions. This lay under a series of sloping silty clay deposits (222-4, 67-8) which appeared to be the result of natural silting processes. Aside from the stone-filled layers, none of the above contained evidence for deliberate dumping in the form of humic or charcoal inclusions.

*Section 4*

Section 4 extended west for a distance of 20m from the western terminal of the ditch (Figures 2-3). A similar stratigraphy was observed to that in Section 3. At the eastern end of Section 4, adjacent to the terminal, two silty layers (92) and (91) – (the upper of which contained occasional flecks of charcoal) had naturally accumulated at the base of the ditch. Possible subsided bank material (91) sloped steeply from the south (outer) side of the ditch. Over this was a layer of large stones (0.75m in depth) which appeared to have been dumped into the ditch. This was under a layer of heat-shattered stones (89), which were tightly compacted within mid-grey sticky clay with occasional charcoal flecks and was very similar to (226), excavated in Section 3, although (226) was significantly deeper. Overlying the stone deposits was a number of sloping layers of silty clay which represented natural silting within the ditch and possibly deliberate backfilling. The deposit of heat shattered stones extended c.3.5m west from the ditch terminal and the depth of the layer decreased along its length. The stratigraphy of the remainder of the trench largely comprised successive layers of silty clay with occasional charcoal flecks. At the lower levels these deposits sloped into the ditch from its exterior possibly implying episodes of subsidence from an external bank (see Discussion). In the upper levels of the fill the deposits sloped from both edges.

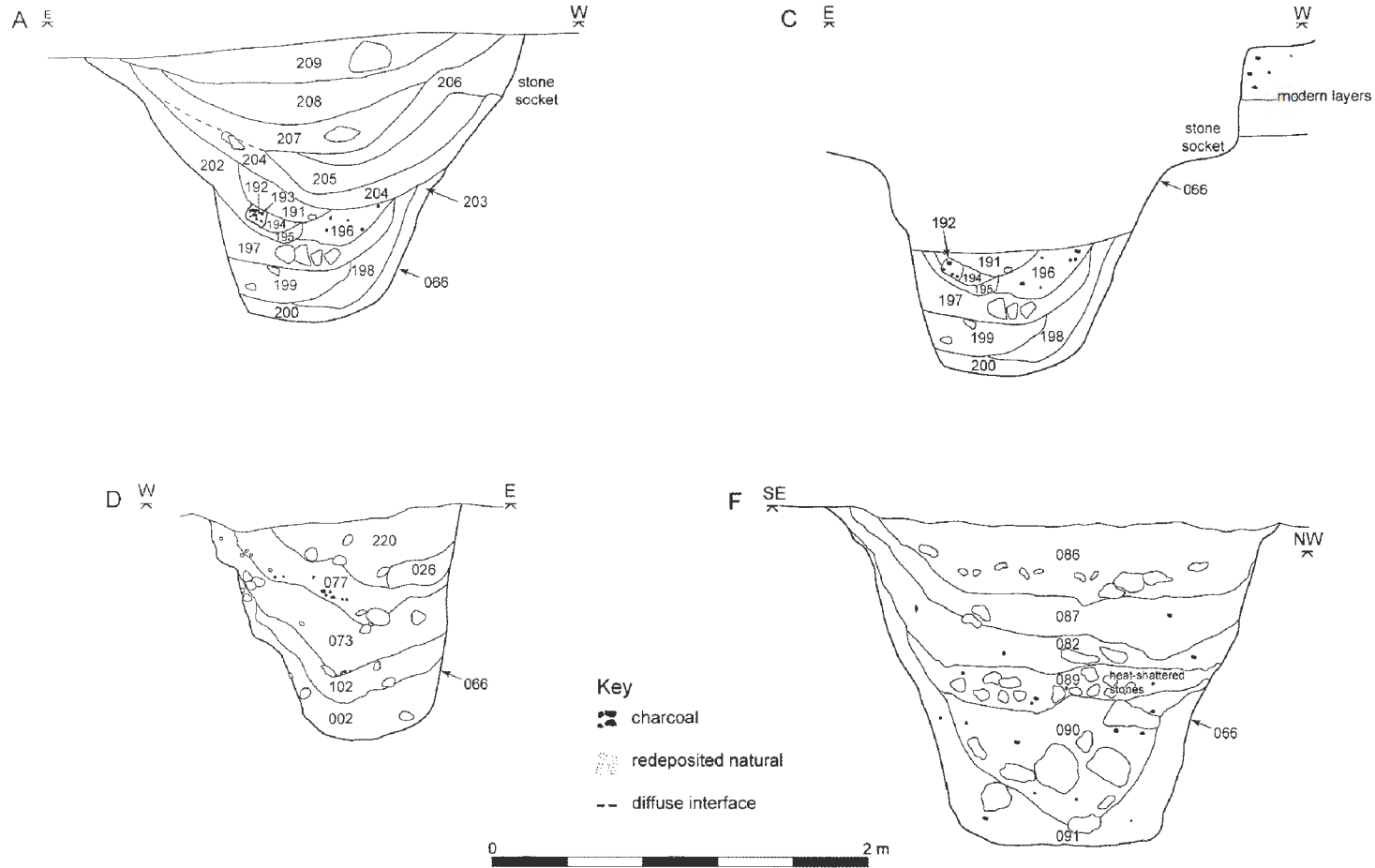


Figure 3: Sections through enclosure ditch



*Section 5*

Prior to excavation, the area of Section 5 lay under the original access way to Williamstown Golf Course. Following removal of the roadway it became apparent that this had truncated the ditch by c.0.9m. The ditch survived to a depth of 1.2m in Section 5. A similar stratigraphic profile as the remainder of the ditch was observed in this section. At its lowest levels the fill comprised sloping layers ((70), (72) and (73)) of compact silty clay which possibly represented run-off material from an enclosing bank. Occasional charcoal flecks were noted in the deposits which indicated contemporaneous burning within the vicinity of the enclosure. Radiocarbon dates for (73) provided the date range cal AD 977-1037 (2 $\sigma$ ) (1009 $\pm$ 31 BP; UBA-6323) for the origin of the deposit. Three charcoal rich deposits (192-4) containing a small quantity of burnt animal bone were excavated from the southern end of Section 5. It is possible that these constituted dumped refuse from an episode of domestic burning, possibly within the enclosure. The stratigraphic profile within the remainder of the trench was consistent with that excavated in the previous trenches i.e. successive layers of silty clay with occasional charcoal flecks. Twelve sherds of medieval pottery (Find Nos. 03E1755: 77:1-12; Appendix 3) and some fragments of iron slag were recovered from (77), a grey brown silty clay layer situated c.0.5m above the base of the ditch.

*Internal features*

A number of internal features were excavated and these included the truncated remains of postholes, stakeholes and pits (Figure 2). These features were truncated both as a result of disturbance from the field boundary and relatively modern roadway cut as well as deep ploughing; many of the plough furrows at the site exceeded the depth of the surviving stake and post-holes. No coherent relationship between any of the internal features was apparent during the course of excavation.

*Possible Kiln/Posthole*

A large feature excavated in the east of the enclosure (115) was originally believed to have been a corn-drying kiln as excavation revealed a series of charcoal rich clay layers (43, 52, 59, 60 and 62) under a stoney fill (47). Further investigation however, failed to identify a distinct bowl or flue within the feature. Excavation of the sides of the feature showed that it had been re-cut and re-packed and a large posthole was identified at its base. The cut of (115) measured 4m in maximum length northwest-southeast, 1.6m in width and 0.9m in depth. The large posthole (79) was 0.7m in diameter and 0.4m in maximum depth.

Radiocarbon analysis of a sample from one of the charcoal rich layers (52), which adhered to the side of the possible kiln (115), produced a date range of 2485-2284 cal BC (2 $\sigma$ ) (3892  $\pm$  38 BP; UBA-6332) This is an earlier date than that obtained for the prehistoric archaeology excavated in Area 2 (see below). It places the origin of the feature at the end of the Neolithic period and implies that an earlier feature was re-used or re-cut. It is possible that during the early medieval occupation of the site this feature was emptied, a posthole was dug in its base and

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the remainder of the cut was re-filled with the kiln debris and smaller stones used as packing material. It must also be considered that the sample which provided this date may have originated outside the feature and possibly entered the fill through natural means.

### *Stakeholes, Post-holes and Pits*

A group of stakeholes (11, 13, 15, 17, 56 and 57) was excavated in the northeast quadrant of the enclosure. Three of these (11), (15) and (17) formed a northeast/southwest running line (c.3.6m in length); in addition (13) was situated equidistant (c.1-1.2m) from (11) and (15). Stakeholes (56) and (57) were located 1.2m south of this alignment, however they may have been associated features. Another stakehole (54) was situated c.11m south of the above features. The large posthole (79) identified in the base of pit (115) may indicate the location of a central post of a round house in the east of the enclosure and the stakeholes identified may have marked the wall of the structure. Alternatively it is possible that a series of shallow pits ((19) (25) (48) (29) (32) (28)) excavated in the approximate centre of the enclosure may have been truncated postholes. The features were between 0.4m and 0.8m in diameter, 0.05m to 0.2m in depth and a number revealed oxidized clay at their bases. A number of these features aligned with (11), (15) and (17) suggesting that together they may have represented the long side of a linear structure. Four further pits ((05) (22) (37) (48)) were excavated in the centre of the enclosure. These had similar dimensions to those described above. No discernable alignment was apparent in their distribution and it is suggested that they represented the truncated remains of storage pits, fire pits or a porch or lean-to structure adjacent to a possible structure.

### *Tree Throw Hole*

A tree-throw hole (63) was excavated in the south of the approximate centre of the enclosure. This comprised a crescent-shaped feature filled with topsoil and pushed-up subsoil with root-holes at its base, which formed when a tree fell on the site, possibly prior to the construction of the enclosure. At its upper level the feature was stone filled which may have occurred while levelling the internal surface of the enclosure to render it suitable for occupation.

## **Area 2**

Area 2 was located c.20m west of the enclosure and contained a feature originally thought to have comprised part of the enclosure ditch (above) during the archaeological testing phase of the project. During the course of excavation this ditch was interpreted as a possible eighteenth or nineteenth-century field boundary. However, a number of potentially prehistoric features were revealed in Area 2. These included a possible cremation pit, some larger pits and a number of post and stake holes. Evidence of burning was also uncovered. Many of the archaeological features in Area 2 were truncated by cultivation furrows.

*Possible Structure*

Excavation in Area 2 uncovered three postholes and two truncated possible postholes ((165) (172) (121) (99) (113) respectively) which together formed a broad curved line *c.*9m in length. The postholes were located 2 - 2.5m apart and were irregular in plan and profile (Figure 4). The fills were mostly brown sandy clay with moderate to frequent charcoal inclusions. Radiocarbon analysis of charcoal from the fill of (113) produced a date range of 1929-1741 cal BC (2 $\sigma$ ) (3499 $\pm$ 35 BP; UBA-6325), indicating an Early Bronze Age date for the origin of the feature. Prehistoric pottery was recovered from the base of (121) (see Appendix 3) however this was found to be of later date (Middle-Late Bronze Age), *c.* 200-600 years later than the radiocarbon date range obtained from (113). Posthole (172) had a similar fill to the others however the sides of the cut showed extensive signs of burning.

There was a cluster of stakeholes, irregular in profile and distribution, around each of the easternmost postholes ((172 and 165)). No stakeholes were identified in proximity to the remaining two postholes. North of the postholes a pit with a charcoal-rich fill (122) was exposed. The area around the postholes was truncated by five deep furrows which significantly affected the survival of the archaeological features.

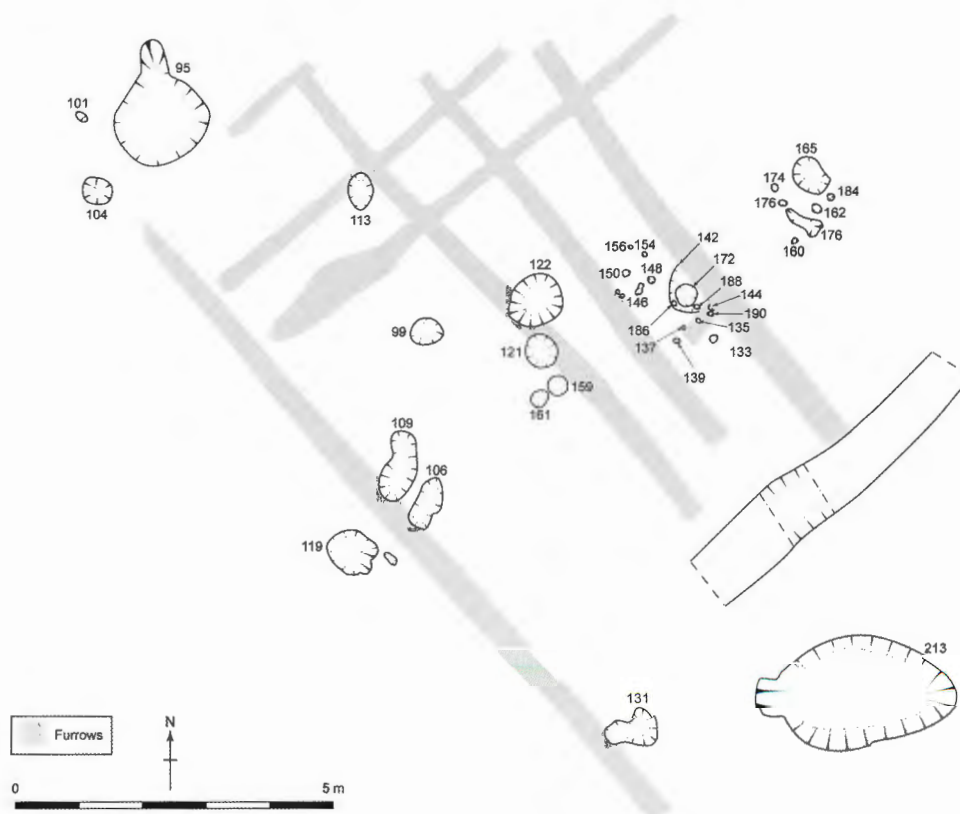


Figure 4: Plan of Area 2

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### *Possible cremation pit*

Approximately 4m west of the westernmost posthole (113) a small pit (104) was excavated. This was circular in shape with concave sides, measuring 0.44m north/south, 0.38m east/west and 0.24m deep. The fill was dark brown/black peaty clay with frequent charcoal inclusions throughout its depth. Small fragments of human bone (David Henderson, *pers. comm.*) were recovered from the centre and base of the pit which may have constituted the truncated remains of a cremation burial. The bones were too fragmented for further analysis, however it is suggested that they represented the remains of one individual (*ibid.*). No artefacts were recovered from this deposit. Charcoal from the deposit was dated using radiocarbon analysis and produced a date range of 1873-1637 cal BC ( $2\sigma$ ) (3410±34BP; UBA-6324), placing its origins towards the end of the Early Bronze Age.

A pit (95) was located 0.6m northeast of (104) and measured 2m north-south, 4.5m east-west and was 0.3m in depth. The pit was roughly circular in shape and had two fills. The lower fill (94) was mid-brown loosely compacted silty clay with infrequent charcoal inclusions probably deposited as a result of worm activity from the overlying charcoal rich layer. The upper fill (93) comprised dark brown silty clay with occasional burnt stone and frequent charcoal. A small quantity (six pieces ≤ 5mm in diameter) of burnt, possibly human bone (David Henderson, *pers. comm.*) was recovered from this pit which may imply a functional link with the adjacent cremation burial or constitute small fragments blown into the pit fill. As the bone was too fragmented to confidently identify its origin it is also possible that it comprised faunal remains and represented domestic refuse from occupation or usage of the site.

### *Possible early medieval - medieval pit*

Four further pits were excavated in Area 2, two of which, (119) and (131), showed evidence for intense burning in the form of whitish-red clay at the sides and base of the features. Both pits were irregular in plan and profile and measured 0.6m and 0.8m in diameter respectively. Environmental analysis of the fill of (131) identified the remains of bread/club wheat, oats, barley and rye grains (see Appendix 2). These grains are typical of those recovered from an early medieval – medieval assemblage and would therefore indicate that these features do not share a date of origin with the nearby prehistoric remains. It is likely that this pit represented some form of peripheral activity contemporary with the nearby early medieval ringfort.

### *Possible post-medieval pit*

The remaining pit (213) was larger and did not display evidence of *in situ* burning. This feature measured 3.1m east-west and 1.3m north-south and 0.4m in depth. The fill was loose greyish brown sandy clay with occasional flecks of charcoal. Its composition was not homogenous which may imply that the fill dates to the medieval or post medieval period. No artefacts were excavated from this pit.

## **Discussion**

The archaeological excavations at Williamstown uncovered a broadly circular early medieval enclosure and a nearby area of prehistoric archaeological activity.

### **Area 1**

The enclosure excavated at Area 1 measured approximately 30m in diameter surrounded by a fosse of 2m in maximum width at its upper levels and 2m in average depth. The size of this enclosure fits the measurements (between 27 and 30m) of a typical ringfort described by Stout (1997, 14). Ringforts are one of the most numerous archaeological sites found in Ireland and the only domestic monument that survives in significant numbers (Stout 1997, 11). They are the farmsteads of the early medieval period of Irish history and essentially comprised a circular bank and surrounding ditch/fosse which enclosed a circular area. They are generally accepted as dating to the period between *c.*300 AD and *c.*1100 AD. Both the pottery excavated from the ditch and the radiocarbon dates indicated that the enclosure was occupied between the tenth and twelfth centuries placing its origins in the later period of ringfort construction in Ireland.

### *The Ditch*

At its basal levels the ditch fill sloped mainly from its external side. The majority of the fills appeared to have accumulated as a result of natural silting and subsidence of the bank into the ditch. Excavation of the ditch revealed it to be a single-phase construction with no evidence of re-cutting or alteration. There was little evidence of weathering on the cut of the ditch which implied that it may have not been open and exposed for a significant period of time following its construction.

At the upper levels the fill sloped from both sides suggesting that the ditch was deliberately backfilled. This form of deposition may also indicate the presence of an internal bank, perhaps originally set further back from the ditch than the external enclosing bank. The absence of negative features from the area immediately inside the ditch is tentatively suggested as a substantiation of this theory.

The formation processes observed in the basal ditch fills may indicate that an external bank originally enclosed the monument. The banks of ringforts are usually located inside the fosse however it is assumed that there were some exceptions to this rule (Stout 1997, 17). Excavations undertaken at 'Raffin Fort' (Raffin, Co. Meath) uncovered a circular area *c.*40m in diameter enclosed by a U-shaped fosse and an external bank. A tentative date of the early medieval period was suggested for this site although the excavators were 'not in a position to confirm the site type' (Newman 1989). A possible small ringfort with an external bank and enclosing ditch was excavated at Mullagharlin and Haggardstown, Dundalk, Co. Louth (Moore 1998). If it is the case that Williamstown is a ringfort with an external bank it may not be considered a lone example of this type of feature in the Irish archaeological record.

The most substantial deposit within the ditch comprised a layer of heat-shattered stones around the entrance. This may have been deposited for a number of

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reasons. It is possible that there was a stone revetment near the entrance which collapsed after the enclosure fell into disuse. The stones may also represent a dumped deposit following an episode of burning within or near the enclosure. The stones had an average diameter of 15 – 20cm which implied that they had not undergone repetitive burning and cooling and it is therefore possible that their origin or original function constituted a single phase of burning activity. They were excavated from the lowest layers of the ditch, which may imply that they were dumped during occupation of the site. It is also considered that the stones may have been deposited in an attempt to widen, or stabilise, the entrance causeway to the enclosure.

#### *Internal features*

Most excavations of ringforts have uncovered the foundations of a range of buildings within their banks indicating that the surviving monuments were farmsteads which would have enclosed a single family and their retainers (Stout 1997, 32). Although the site was deeply truncated by later ploughing activity some shallow internal features survived. Structural evidence in the form of postholes and stakeholes was uncovered within the enclosure. By assuming that these features are broadly contemporaneous it is possible to speculate on how their distribution may be representative of structures within the fort. One tentatively suggested possibility is that the large posthole (79), within pit (115), was the location of the central post of a round house/structure in the east of the enclosure and the stakeholes identified may have marked the wall of the structure. Alternatively when it is considered that the series of shallow pits excavated in the approximate centre of the enclosure may have been truncated postholes and that a number of these broadly aligned with stakeholes in the northeast quadrant it is possible that together they may have represented the long side of a linear structure. Research undertaken on the internal features of ringforts suggests that rectangular houses were introduced in the later stages of ringfort use, replacing the earlier circular house type (*ibid.*). Therefore, considering the late date associated with this site, it is possible that the stakeholes and post-holes may have related to a rectangular structure.

The artefacts recovered from Area 1 all appeared to be early medieval in origin and include fragments of medieval pottery (possible cooking ware), iron-slag, an iron spade blade and a possible grinding stone (Section 3). The recovery of iron slag and humic deposits along with potential refuse pits and structural evidence reinforce the suggestion that this site was constructed for a domestic, possibly agrarian, purpose. The domestic pottery and badly corroded spade blade may attest to this. The relatively low incidence of carbonised cereal grain among the sample recovered from the site, however, does not appear to indicate that significant food preparation was carried out within the enclosure. This dearth of cereal grain may imply that many of the features in Area 1 were not directly associated with domestic activity (see Appendix 2). An assemblage of carbonised medieval plant remains recovered from Area 2 (see below) may suggest that food preparation was undertaken extramurally. If it is accepted that this ringfort is a later example of the type,

perhaps when the defensive focus was less significant (reflected in contemporary sites) it is possible that more activity was completed outside the confines of the enclosure and indeed extra-mural features have been excavated at similar site types in Ireland (Edwards 1990, 32-3).

The radiocarbon date range (2485 – 2284 cal BC) obtained from (52), one of the charcoal rich layers which adhered to the side of the possible kiln (115), suggested that this area was occupied in the later Neolithic period. No Neolithic artefacts were recovered from the site and the archaeological remains excavated in Area 2 are distinctly Bronze Age in date. Therefore this date may indicate an isolated episode of Neolithic activity in the area. It is also possible, however, that further contemporary remains may have been completely truncated by the later occupation of the site.

## **Area 2**

Excavations at Area 2 uncovered a number of possible structural features (post-holes and stakeholes), evidence of a cremation burial and fragments from a Middle to Late Bronze Age domestic vessel. This, in conjunction with the radiocarbon dates would suggest an Early to Middle Bronze Age date for activity in this area. The features appear to have been ritual in nature and reflect a mortuary rite dated to the early second millennium BC i.e. cremation burial in pits contained within an enclosed or unenclosed cemetery. Early to Middle Bronze Age features, both ritual and domestic, uncovered within Co. Waterford would appear to indicate that the area was extensively occupied during this period (Waddell 1990; Woodman & Moore 1992, 49-72).

### *Cremation Burial*

A possible cremation burial (103-4) was excavated in Area 2. The bone matter was calcined which suggests an efficient cremation/burning process was undertaken (Gowen 1988, 113). The remains did not constitute enough material to represent a complete skeleton and the small size of the fragments suggests that they were pounded or crushed prior to burial. Evidence of similar practices was identified at Early Bronze Age sites excavated as part of the Irish Gas Pipeline Project in Co. Limerick where it was understood that partial or token deposition of small fragments of bone was the normal form of burial. No evidence of pottery or gravegoods was retrieved from the burial pit. It has been suggested that human remains were sometimes interred with protective organic materials (Waddell 1990, 16), no trace of which would survive in a soil matrix like that at Williamstown.

### *Structural Remains*

The postholes and stakeholes in Area 2 may be representative of a wattle and daub wall, possibly part of a ritual (mortuary) structure. The cluster of stakeholes around the two easternmost postholes may indicate an entrance way where a 'door-like' element was successively erected and dismantled over a period of time. The remaining pits which date to this period can possibly be regarded as a result of

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activity associated with the ritual process undertaken on the site during its period of usage. This is evident from the identification of a small quantity of bone fragments recovered from the fill of pit (95).

The vessel recovered from one of the postholes (121) may have been ritually deposited and may reinforce this interpretation of the structure. The fact that the pottery appears to have been broken prior to deposition may be further indication of this. This type of pottery may represent an early emergence of the distinctive Late Bronze Age coarse domestic pottery (Appendix 3). While the other dates from the complex are improbably early for this development the general association with pits (113) and (104) reflects a very early emergence of coarse domestic pottery in this area (*ibid.*). The minimum 200 year date discrepancy between the radiocarbon dating results and the earliest pottery date may suggest that the site was re-used at intervals of a significant period of time.

No enclosing element was identified around the area of prehistoric archaeology. If such a feature ever existed it may have comprised a bank that was subsequently ploughed out and destroyed. This area has been significantly truncated by post-medieval farming activities and in some cases the depth of the furrows exceeds that of the negative archaeological features. It is also possible that the enclosing ditch/bank may have been outside the limit of excavation undertaken for the purposes of the Waterford Outer Ring Road Project.

#### *Medieval Activity*

The pits that were found to contain an assemblage of typical medieval plant remains are more than likely associated with extra-mural activity undertaken by the occupants of the ringfort (Area 1-see above).

#### **Conclusions**

The archaeological excavations at Williamstown uncovered an early medieval enclosure (ringfort) and a nearby area of prehistoric archaeological activity. The elevated position of the site, with commanding views to the east, south and west along with its proximity to water and good quality land, probably rendered this an attractive location for both prehistoric and early medieval communities.



Appendix 1 – The Radiocarbon Dates

Lab code	Sample ID	Material	$\delta$ 13C	Radiocarbon age BP	Calibrated Age Ranges (1 $\sigma$ )	Relative probability	Calibrated Age Ranges (2 $\sigma$ )	Relative probability
UBA-6323	context 73 , sample 23	Charcoal	-27.3	1009 $\pm$ 31	cal AD 998-1025	1	cal AD 977-1037	1
UBA-6322	context 52, sample 19	Charcoal	-29.8	3892 $\pm$ 38	2464-2336 cal BC	1	2485-2284 cal BC	1
UBA-6324	context 103 sample 36	Charcoal	-27.3	3410 $\pm$ 34	1748-1683 cal BC	1	1873-1841 cal BC	0.05
							1814-1805 cal BC	0.01
							1779-1637 cal BC	0.94
UBA-6325	context 112, sample 37	Charcoal	-23.9	3499 $\pm$ 35	1887-1854 cal BC	0.2	1929-1741 cal BC	1
					1849-1764 cal BC	0.8		

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### **Appendix 2 – Post-ex analysis of the soil samples from Williamstown, Co. Waterford (Licence No. 03E1755) by Susan Lyons**

A total of forty-eight bulk soil samples were retained from the excavation, with analysis of the material focused on the carbonised plant remains recovered from both the retents and flots (Tables 1 and 2).

#### *Area 1*

The samples taken from Area 1 were largely made up of wood charcoal fragments, which would imply a degree of localised burning, especially from the medieval ditch (066), pit features (005, 033 and 048) and a kiln (047). The low incidences of charcoal from other internal features and burnt deposits at the site are likely to be re-deposited material from such sources, which have been re-distributed across a wider area.

The occurrence of carbonised cereal grain at the site was relatively low, which may indicate that many of the features from Area 1 were not directly associated with domestic activity. The cereals from a pit (037) and ditch (066) were in a poor state of preservation, with oat the only identifiable grain type. Oat was a diverse crop of the medieval period traditionally used in baking and cooking, but also utilised in the brewing of ale and as animal feed. While this material, along with carbonised hazelnut shell fragments from the same features, can be construed as domestic refuse, it is unlikely that this was burnt *in situ*, rather re-worked from nearby domestic deposits, which may have entered these features during backfilling.

#### *Area 2*

Features associated with prehistoric and medieval activity were recorded in Area 2. As a result of post-medieval farming practices and furrow activity, many of these features proved difficult to interpret.

*Prehistoric Activity:* A number of features associated with a Bronze Age cemetery site were located at the north-west extent of Area 2. The soil samples were devoid of any indicators of settlement or domestic activity. Instead, high concentrations of charcoal from pits (095, 104 and 113) and a post-hole (099) were recovered, which suggests extensive burning in and around these features. This, together with the on-site retrieval of cremated bone would be entirely in keeping with the function of the area as a funerary site.

*Medieval Activity:* The carbonised cereal grain assemblage was confined to a single pit (131) located at the south east of Area 2, while a very low concentration of grain was recorded from a nearby pit (165) and post-hole (172). Despite the poor preservation of many of the grains, all four primary medieval crops were identified – bread wheat, barley, oat and rye. It is highly probable that these features were associated with small-scale cereal processing or food preparation and are likely to be contemporaneous to the early medieval activity in Area 1.

Ethno-historical evidence indicates that small-scale cereal drying was carried out on domestic hearths and accidents during this process would have produced burnt grain.

The recovery of barley, oat and rye follows a trend that has already been noted on other early medieval sites, notably Lisleagh, Co. Cork (Monk 1991) and Lackenavorna, Co. Tipperary, where barley frequently occurred, with oat and rye found less so (Monk 1985/6, 33). There have, however, been only a few instances where wheat has been recovered, namely Clover Hill Lough Crannóg, Co. Sligo (Monk 1985/6, 33) and Ratoath, Co. Meath (Lyons 2004) and so the high concentration of wheat grains present in pit (037) at Williamstown is unusual. Wheat is recorded in the medical law tract, *Bretha Déin Chécht* (Judgements of Dían Cécht), as being a luxury crop during the early medieval period (Lucas 1960, 11-12). While its presence at Williamstown could potentially suggest a high status for the site during this time, later truncation and farming activity in the area may have disturbed secure deposits and hindered any definitive interpretation.

### **Conclusions**

The results of the soil sample analysis supports the claims that two phases of activity were identified at Williamstown, Co. Waterford. While medieval features were primarily recorded in Area 1, the evidence for medieval domestic activity, in the form of food preparation or small-scale cereal processing was identified from Area 2. The plant remains recovered from prehistoric features in Area 2 were dominated by charcoal fragments. This coupled with the on-site recovery of cremated bone, would be consistent with the function of the area as a funerary site.

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**TABLE 1 - AREA 1**

Context number	Sample number	Wood Charcoal		Carbonised hazelnut shell	Comments
		Qty	AMS		
<b>Area 1</b>					
3	9	+++		+	
4	10	++			
8	3	+			
10	1	+			
18	2	+			
20	5	+			
23	7	+			
24	8	+			
25	4	++			
27	6	++			
30	11	++			
34	16	++++		++	
35	13	++		+	
38	12	+++		++	
41	14	+			
43	15	+++			
49	21	+++			
50	22	+			
51	27	+++			
52	19	++			
55	17	+			
60	20	+			
64	18	+			
71	24	++			
73	23	++++			
75	25	+			
77	26				
78	28				sterile
- 29	+++				
102	35	+++			
116	38	+++			
192	51	+++			

TABLE 1 - AREA 2

Context number	Sample number	Wood Charcoal		Carbonised hazelnut shell	Comments
		Qty	AMS		
Area 2					
93	33	+++			
94	34	+			
96	30	++			
97	31	+++			
98	32	++++		+	
103	36	++++			
112	37	++++		+++	
118	39	++			
120	52	++			
127	40	+			
128	41	++			
129	42	+			
130	43	+++			
140	48	+			
141	49	+			
158	46	++			
160	45	++		+	
162	44	++			
164	47	++++			
171	50	++			

Table 1 – Composition of retents

TABLE 2 - AREA 1

Context number	Sample number	Wood Charcoal		Carbonised cereal grains	Carbonised hazelnut shell	Comments
		Qty	AMS			
<b>Area 1</b>						
3	9	++				
4	10	+				
8	3					
10	1	+				
18	2					Archaeologically sterile
20	5					Archaeologically sterile
23	7	+				
24	8					Archaeologically sterile
25	4	++				
27	6					Archaeologically sterile
30	11					Archaeologically sterile
34	16	++				
35	13	+				
38	12	+		+	++	Cereal indet x 9
41	14	+				
43	15	++				
49	21	+				
50	22					Archaeologically sterile
51	27	+				
52	19	+				
55	17	++				

TABLE 2 - AREA 1 (CONTINUED)

Context number	Sample number	Wood Charcoal		Carbonised cereal grains	Carbonised hazelnut shell	Comments
		Qty	AMS			
<b>Area 1</b>						
60	20	+				
64	18					
71	24	++		+		<i>Avena</i> x 2; Cereal indet x 2
73	23					NO FLOT
75	25	+				
77	26					NO FLOT
78	28		+			
- 29						NO FLOT
102	35		+++			NO FLOT
116	38					NO FLOT
192	51			+		Cereal indet x 3

TABLE 2 - AREA 2

Context number	Sample number	Wood Charcoal		Carbonised cereal grains	Carbonised hazelnut shell	Comments
		Qty	AMS			
Area 2						
93	33		+			
94	34		+			
96	30		+			
97	31		+			
98	32		+++			
103	36		+++			
112	37		++			
118	39		++			
120	52					
127	40		+	+		<i>Triticum aestivum/compactum</i> x 2 <i>Avena</i> sp x 1
128	41		++	+++		<i>Triticum aestivum/compactum</i> x 40 <i>Avena</i> sp x 4; <i>Hordeum</i> sp x 23. Cereal indet x 19
129	42					Archaeologically sterile
130	43		++			
140	48		+			
141	49		+			
158	46		+			
160	45					Archaeologically sterile
162	44					Archaeologically sterile
164	47		+++	+		<i>Secale cereale</i> x 1; <i>Avena</i> sp x 1
171	50		+	+		<i>Triticum aestivum/compactum</i> x 1

Table 2 – Composition of Flots



**Appendix 3 – The Finds by E. Grogan and H. Roche, C. McCutcheon and C. Gleeson**

**Prehistoric pottery (Figure 5) – E. Grogan and H. Roche**

*Introduction*

A substantial part of a Middle to Late Bronze Age domestic vessel came from the basal fill (158) of a pit or posthole (121). During excavation it appeared that the vessel, although disturbed, may have been placed intact into the pit in an inverted position. While this may have been the case the pottery recovered does not represent a complete vessel and there is some differential wear to the sherd edges that suggests the vessel had been broken prior to deposition. The position of the vessel, in the base of the pit or posthole, further suggests that the subsequent disturbance had not removed portions of the vessel, an assessment that is further strengthened by the recovery of sherds from all portions of the pot.

*Discussion*

The Williamstown pot is a poorly made bucket-shaped domestic vessel. Both the surfaces and wall-thickness are irregular and there are several distortions to the vessel profile. Nevertheless, it is clear from sooting on the inner surface of several sherds that the pot was successfully used for domestic cooking. In general the comparatively small number of re-fitting sherds can be attributed to the friable nature of the pottery. However, there is significant difference in the wear damage to the edges of some of the sherds. For example, sherds 121.7 and 9 are much worn; while their condition might have resulted from damage to the pit and subsequent weathering it is more probable that this indicates pre-depositional wear. In this regard it is improbable that weathering *in situ* could have caused the disintegration of part of the vessel as, while of poor quality, the vessel was robustly fired.

The general form has widespread parallels. The closed profile (with a rim diameter smaller than that of the widest portion of the body) is similar to examples from Priestsnewtown, Co. Wicklow, Lough Eskragh, Co. Tyrone, Knockaholet, Co. Antrim, and Circle P, Lough Gur, Co. Limerick (Grogan and Roche 2004, Figure 1; Collins and Seaby 1960; Henry 1934; Grogan and Eogan 1987). The slight cavetto neck of the Williamstown vessel is unusual but can be paralleled at Aghnaskeagh, Co. Louth (Evans 1938, Figure 1B)<sup>1</sup> and Dún Aonghasa, Aran More, Co. Galway (Cotter 1993, Figure 1E). Internal rim bevels are common in the Middle Bronze Age but also occur in later contexts, as at Dún Aonghasa and Carrig, Co. Wicklow (Grogan 1990).

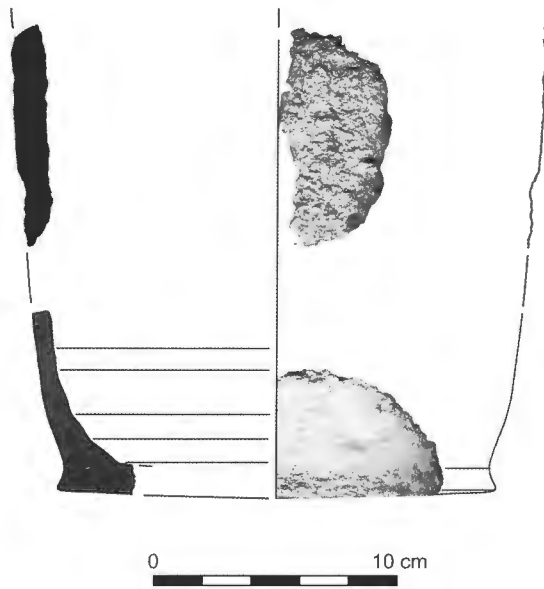
The very poor quality of both fabric and manufacture is more difficult to parallel. Generally, while coarse, Late Bronze Age vessels are not as crude as the Williamstown pot. Nevertheless, vessels of similar fabric and finish, although not form, have come from a number of sites, such as Duntryleague,

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<sup>1</sup> In profile the Aghnaskeagh pot is on the fringes of a distinctive group of vessels with an S-shaped profile; these occur principally on high status sites, such as Rathgall and Mooghaun, and are of finer quality than most Late Bronze Age pottery.

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Graphical reconstruction of possible pot form



External and internal view of second base sherd



*Figure 5: Bronze Age pottery from Area 2*

Mitchelstowndown North, Shanaclogh and Raheen, in Co. Limerick (Gowen 1988, Figure 2; Grogan 1988). This is interesting in view of the dates from the Williamstown complex as Raheen also produced part of a palstave mould as well as a radiocarbon date of 1672-1459 cal. BC. Slightly later dates came from Mitchelstowndown North (1428-1264 cal. BC, 1416-1224 cal. BC) and Shanaclogh (1399-1262 cal. BC). These dates all fall into the Middle Bronze Age and represent the emergence of coarse domestic vessels from a background of domestic cordoned urns (Grogan and Roche 2010). More recent evidence from sites such as Corrstown, Co. Derry, Ballybrowney Lower, Co. Cork, and Knockhouse Lower, Co. Waterford, show that this development occurred after 1500 BC (Roche and Grogan 2008; Cotter 2005; Richardson and Johnston 2007). While domestic cordoned urns may have continued in use to perhaps as late as 1400 BC by this time they had been completely replaced, in both domestic and funerary contexts, by coarse ware vessels (Grogan 2004a).

As noted vessels of the Williamstown type occur on both habitation and burial sites. Complete pots containing cremations can be inverted or upright. For example, the two vessels at Knockaholet appear to have been inverted in pits and a rounded boulder seems to have been placed over the mouth of one of the pits. Both upright and inverted vessels came from burials at Kilbane, Co. Limerick (O'Callaghan 2003; Grogan and Roche 2004b). The Circle P, Lough Gur, pots were both upright and contained cremations, as were those from Priestsnewtown. The absence of any cremated bone, or very small quantities, as apparent in Williamstown pit/postholes (104) and (95), has been noted at several sites (Grogan 2004a). For example at Altanagh, Co. Tyrone, pit F172, dated to 1516-1264 cal. BC, produced only 186g of bone representing an adult burial (Williams 1986). However, it would be unusual for an intact vessel to contain no burial evidence; indeed, in general the intact coarse ware vessels contain larger quantities of bone than unaccompanied burials or those associated with token pottery sherds.

#### *Regional context*

Until recently there has been comparatively little Middle to Late Bronze Age activity recorded in the south Leinster – east Munster region - the settlement evidence from Dalkey Island, Co. Dublin (Liversage 1968), the burials at Carrig and in the secondary re-use of the wedge tomb chamber at Moylisha, Co. Wicklow (Ó h-Iceadha 1946, Figure 2). Four burials in the tomb at Harristown, Co. Waterford, appear to be of Middle Bronze Age date.<sup>2</sup> In the past few years, further mainly domestic evidence has been identified at a small number of sites including Cooltubrid East, Co. Waterford (Tierney *et al.* 2002; Roche 2004), Ballinaspig More (Danaher 2004; Grogan and Roche 2004c), Ballybrowney Lower 1, Scartbarry and Rathealy 3, Co. Cork (Roche and Grogan 2005) To the north in Co. Wicklow this type of pottery has come from Ballynabarny (Gahan 2004),

2 Two of these (Nos. 6 and 7) are unaccompanied cremations; No. 1 was contained in a Cordoned Urn placed on its side while No. 4 was accompanied by sherds from a coarse vessel.

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Charlesland, Greystones (Molloy 2007; Grogan 2004b), and Rathmore (McLoughlin 2004). At a wider regional scale Late Bronze Age coarse ware comparable to that from Williamstown has also been found on settlement sites such as the hillforts at Freestone Hill, Co. Kilkenny (Raftery 1969, 86-96), and Rathgall, Co. Wicklow (Raftery 1976; 1995). Pottery of this type has been very securely dated at Rathgall, Haughey's Fort, Co. Armagh (Mallory 1995), and Mooghaun South, Co. Clare (Grogan 2005), to between 1100 BC and 800 BC.

### *Conclusions*

The Williamstown complex, and particularly the Middle Bronze Age vessel, is an important addition to our regional understanding of this period. At a national level the vessel is also significant as it is of both type and fabric that represents the early emergence of the distinctive Late Bronze Age coarse domestic pottery. While the other dates from the complex are improbably early for this development the general association with pits (113) and (104) reflects a very early emergence of coarse domestic pottery in this area. The overall evidence suggests that the Williamstown vessel should date to the Early Middle Bronze Age between c.1450 and 1250 BC

### *Catalogue*

The excavation number 03E1755 is omitted. In the catalogue the context numbers are indicated in **bold** followed by the find number. Find numbers in square brackets (e.g. **121**.(12, 14)) indicate that the sherds are conjoined. The thickness refers to an average dimension; where relevant a thickness range is indicated.

Vessel 1. There are 25 sherds (6 rimsherds: **121**.(1, 4, 11, 15), 10(a-b); 15 bodysherds: **121**.6(a-b), (12, 14), (5, 19), 3(a-b), 8(a-b), 2, 7, 16, 18, 21; 4 base/base angle sherds: **121**.9, 13, (17, 20); as well a large number of featureless fragments and crumbs: **121**.22 (300g)) from a small to medium sized vessel with a slightly closed S-shaped profile. There is a rounded everted rim with a broad, irregular, and a steeply sloped inward bevel. In forming the rim the top of the pot was folded over outwards and pinched in creating a slight cavetto neck. There are occasional, and accidental, fingernail impressions in the neck where the clay folds were pinched together. The upper body has a sharply convex profile and beneath this the body tapers slightly to the flat-footed base. The very poor quality fabric is cream-buff to occasionally red-buff in colour with a grey to grey-buff core and inner surface. The surfaces are rough and uneven and the wall thickness is inconsistent. The outer surface was finished with a fine slurry of wet clay and this masked most of the surface inclusions. This has partly worn off on basesherd **121**.13 exposing the rougher pre-finish surface. There is a high content of crushed shale inclusions (4 x 5.5mm, up to 8 x 8mm). Sooting occurs on the inner surface of rimsherds **121**.10(a-b) and bodysherds **121**.6(a-b), 18 indicating that the vessel was used in a domestic context for cooking. The outer face of basesherd **121**.13 is abraded which may indicate wear through domestic use as the edges are unworn. Body thickness: 10-14.5mm.

Maximum external diameter of rim: 225mm.

Diameter of base: *c.*175mm.

Height of vessel: *c.*200mm.

Total weight of sherds: 1,900g.

### **Medieval Pottery (Figure 6) – C. McCutcheon**

#### *Description*

A total of twelve sherds of medieval pottery were presented for study (03E1755:77:1-12). Following reassembly, this was reduced to two sherds, representing two cooking pots. The largest reassembled sherd is *circa* one-third of the rim of a cooking pot (D. *c.*180mm) with a portion of the shoulder and body attached. The fabric is relatively coarse with rounded quartz and iron nodules visible. The vessel fired to a pink/brown surface with a grey section. Both surfaces are very pitted, possibly indicating limestone in the matrix. The rim is at quite a straight rather than an everted angle to the body. The top of the rim is rounded with a D-shaped thickening on the exterior and evidence of a 2mm groove lying horizontally on the interior, 5mm below the top of the rim. The shoulder is clearly defined and there is evidence of some burning on the exterior up to the line of the shoulder.

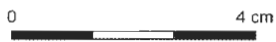
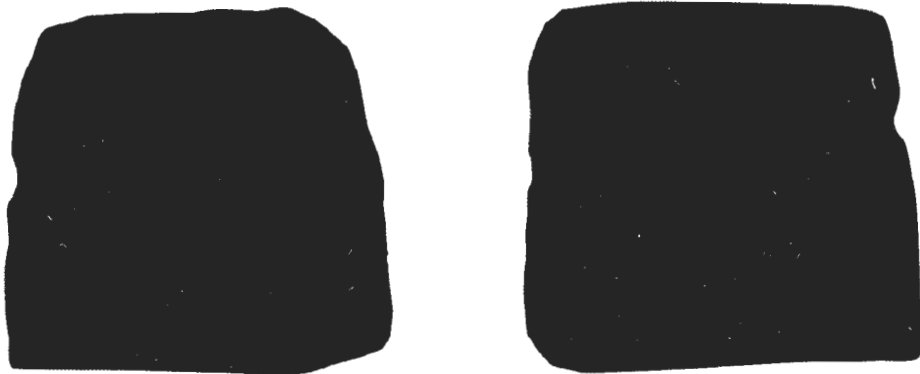
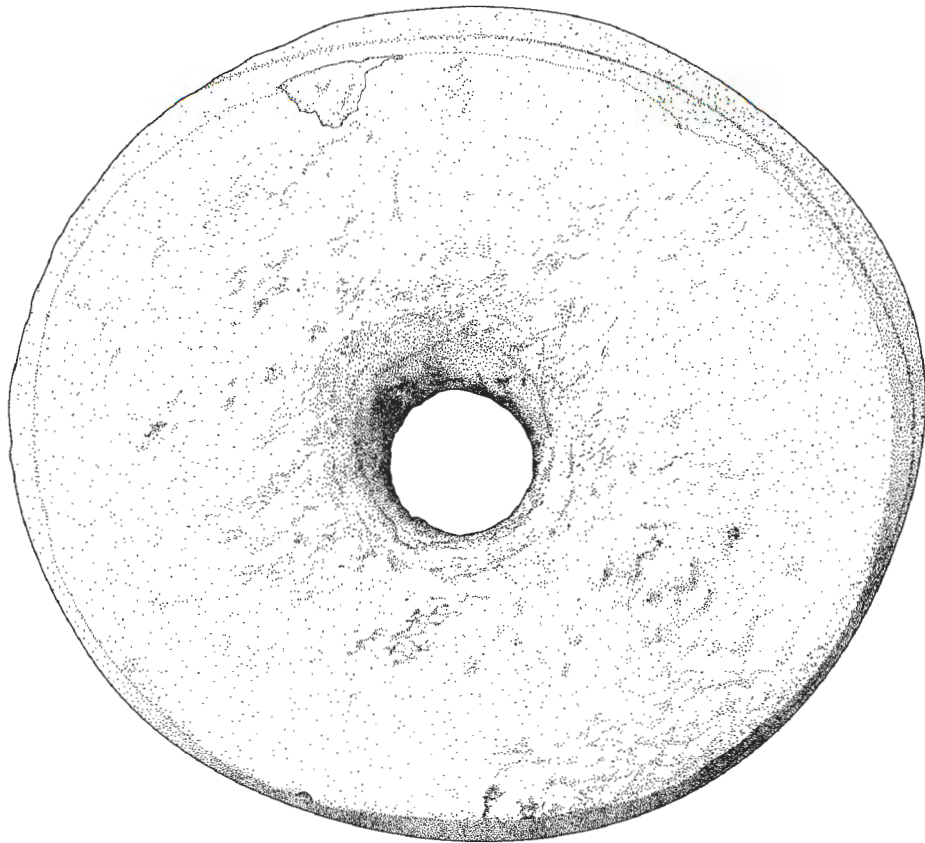
The second sherd is the possible base of a second pot. The sherd is in a different fabric from the first cooking pot and is dark grey in section. While some voids or pitting are visible, these are not as deep and as distinctive as the first piece. Mica and calcareous material are evident through the clay matrix and on the surface. Although it is suggested as a base sherd, this must be tentative and the apparent curvature of the sherd would indicate that the smooth blackened surface was then on the interior of the pot with a dark brown on the exterior surface.

#### *Discussion*

The sherds were recovered from a single context (77) in Section 5; the lower deposits in Section 5 were carbon dated to cal AD 977-1037 (see Appendix 1) suggesting a terminus post quem of the mid-eleventh century for these sherds. Waterford city overlies volcanic rocks of Ordovician age (500-440 MA) and in addition carboniferous limestone, Old Red Sandstone and conglomerates, Leinster Granite and Devonian sedimentary rocks (Unitt 1997), also form part of the clay matrix available.

It is difficult to tell if these cooking pots were locally made based on the fabrics as described and the fact that the closest neighbour and trading partner in Britain lies on similar geology. Widespread excavations in Ireland over the last number of years, including extensive excavations in Waterford city, have produced a considerable range of pottery dating from the eleventh to the early fourteenth centuries (Gahan & McCutcheon 1997). Almost 900 sherds (2.8% of the English wares) were classified in Waterford as Coarsewares and 'while the fabrics of this group have varying degrees of coarseness, the everted rims, ovoid bodies and sagging bases conform to the medieval cooking-ware shape' (*ibid.*, 289). The findspots of the majority of these wares in the well-stratified sequence in the city centre excavations showed that they pre-dated the introduction of south-east Wiltshire and

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*Figure 7: Possible grinding stone from enclosure ditch*

Ham Green wares in the early twelfth century, many being found in the sunken buildings dating to the later eleventh century (*ibid.*). Similar material has been recovered from the eleventh-century houses at Bride Street, Wexford (McCutcheon *in prep* (a)), and has also been recovered recently in a series of excavations on the South Island, Cork (McCutcheon *in prep* (b & c)). In spite of the growing body of material dating to the eleventh century, however, all that can be said at present is that it is most probably south-west English, from the area that supplied so much pottery to Ireland until the later seventeenth century.

#### **Grinding stone (Figure 7) – C. Gleeson**

The grinding stone (03E1755:74:1) was wheel-shaped and measured 145mm in diameter and 58mm in thickness. There was a hole in the approximate centre of the piece which was 43 mm in diameter and narrowed to 32mm at the middle of the perforation. The piece was manufactured from coarse English sandstone with a high silica content. A groove around the external edge of the stone indicated its function as a grinding stone for sharpening knives or swords. Ferrous staining on the inside of the hole implied that it was mounted on an iron axle and subsequently rotated to sharpen the blades.

Similar grinding stones have been recovered from early medieval sites in Ireland notably at Lagore Crannog Co. Meath, which was occupied in the early medieval period from the fifth to the eleventh centuries AD. Here it was suggested that this type of stone may have been used for sharpening weapons i.e. swords or spearheads (Edwards 1990, 96).

#### **Iron Objects – C. Gleeson**

The badly corroded blade of an iron spade (03E1755: 116:1; Figure 8) was recovered from (116), c.0.3 m above the base of the ditch (66). The blade was flat and measured 188mm in length, 141mm in maximum width and 21mm in thickness. The 'upper' half of the piece was folded over from each edge during manufacture to form a socket into which a wooden handle was secured. The 'socket' was 110mm in width and 34mm in height. The sides of the blade were relatively straight and the 'base' appeared to be fractured (probably the reason why the piece was originally discarded). The remains of a possible rivet are evident c.20mm from the base of the piece and traces of another may form part of corroded accretion at its centre base. A base fragment of an 'iron-shod' spade excavated from an early medieval context at Ballinderry 2 crannog, Co. Offaly (Edwards 1990, 62) shows three circular marks (possible perforations) along its upper edge. The positions of these marks broadly correspond to the estimated alignment of rivet marks on the Williamstown spade. It is therefore possible that the spade was originally of bipartite construction, the lower piece was mended or replaced as wear and tear dictated. Iron spades were used primarily in agriculture during the early medieval period and were mostly employed for turning soil in land that was unsuitable for the plough.

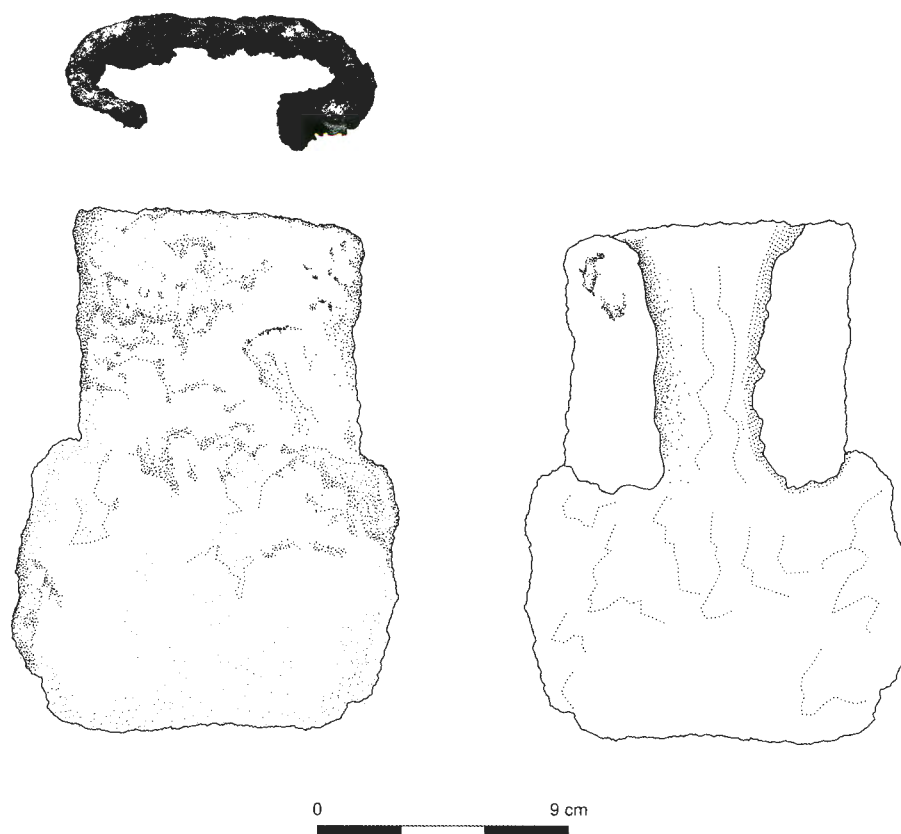


Figure 8: Possible iron spade blade from Area 1

#### **Iron Slag – C. Gleeson**

Iron slag was recovered from seven contexts within the entire excavation of Area 1. Most of the slag was very fragmentary in nature ( $\leq 120\text{mm}$  in diameter). However some larger pieces (E03E1755:116:1) were recovered along with some burnt clay from (116) in Section 1 of enclosure ditch. This may represent the dug-out remains of a small bowl furnace, no evidence of which survived inside the ringfort. The quantity of iron slag retrieved from the excavated area compared to the large size of the site implied that iron-smelting and tool manufacture was not undertaken on a large scale within the confines of the ringfort.

#### **Animal Bone – C. Gleeson with D. Henderson**

A small quantity of animal bone and teeth (under twenty fragments) was recovered from the lower to mid-levels fills of (66), the enclosing ditch of the ringfort. The bone was primarily from cattle with a lesser amount of sheep remains (David Henderson, *pers. comm.*). This is consistent with animal bone findings from excavated early medieval sites in Ireland and reflects the importance of cattle in animal husbandry practices of the period. The small size of the animal assemblage from



Williamstown probably reflects the poor preservation conditions within the deposits as opposed to an absence of livestock during the original occupation of the site. All of the surviving bone matter appears to have been exposed to heat and some pieces are very fragmentary. It is likely that these remains constituted waste from food eaten by the occupants of the site however the minute nature of the assemblage impeded further analysis of the material.

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# The Topography of Ardmore's Ecclesiastical Site in W.H. Brooke's Drawing of the Round Tower (1824)

*Dónal O'Connor*

William Henry Brooke (1772 – 1860) was the son of a Dublin painter and illustrator, Henry Brooke, who moved to London some years before William was born. William, who became a distinguished portrait painter, kept close links with the Irish scene.

In 1822 he illustrated Moore's *Irish Melodies* and etched the first published drawings of Daniel Maclise in Thomas Crofton Croker's *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (1826) and, in this period too he drew and etched four scenes for R.H. Ryland's *The History, Topography & Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford* (London, 1824).

The four scenes were Reginald's Tower, the City of Waterford, Lismore Castle and the Round Tower, Ardmore. In all four he inserted human figures of varying sizes at different locations to indicate scale and relative distances. Thus in his drawing of the Ardmore scene (Plate 1) he placed two men and a dog on the promontory close to the artist (or viewer), and in the distance, close to the round tower, the much attenuated figure of a man holding an upraised stick, thus indicating the distance – a walk of about half a mile – between the promontory and the tower, and also, incidentally the approximate height above the ground of the door-sill of the tower.

Whereas other artists generally selected a viewing point close to the tower, none of them, I believe, did so from the position Brooke used for which he had to walk a considerable distance away from the tower. Other views of the tower show the tower close up and the Bay of Ardmore in the distance. Another view takes in the tower and the west wall of the cathedral with its figure sculptures. Another still looks northward to include the tower and the southern wall of the cathedral.

Brooke's drawing does not show the beautiful Bay of Ardmore. What it does show is the tower in all its height and splendour. And it shows features that can only be seen from his unique viewing point: almost the entire enclosure wall; the floor of the valley of the glen with its little stream; the doorway of the tower, with an indication of its approximate height above the ground, and the daylight penetrating the entrance and revealing the thickness of the wall inside. If one depended on other illustrations of Ardmore one would never suspect the existence of the glen and its stream. One would not realise that the ecclesiastical site of Ardmore was located on the western slope of the glen and that the eastern slope of the same glen provided a magnificent view of the round tower rising tall above the western hill



*Plate 1: William Henry Brooke's drawing of the round tower at Ardmore from Ryland's History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford.*



*Plate 2: This photograph shows the floor of the glen today and was taken from a position twenty yards east of the present perimeter wall. The white gable of the house left of centre marks the position from which Brooke drew the round tower*



*Plate 3: This photograph is taken from the position where Brooke made his drawing; notice the profusion of trees that have grown up in the 200 years since Brooke's visit. These trees have blocked out all the perimeter wall, the Oratory and the stream.*

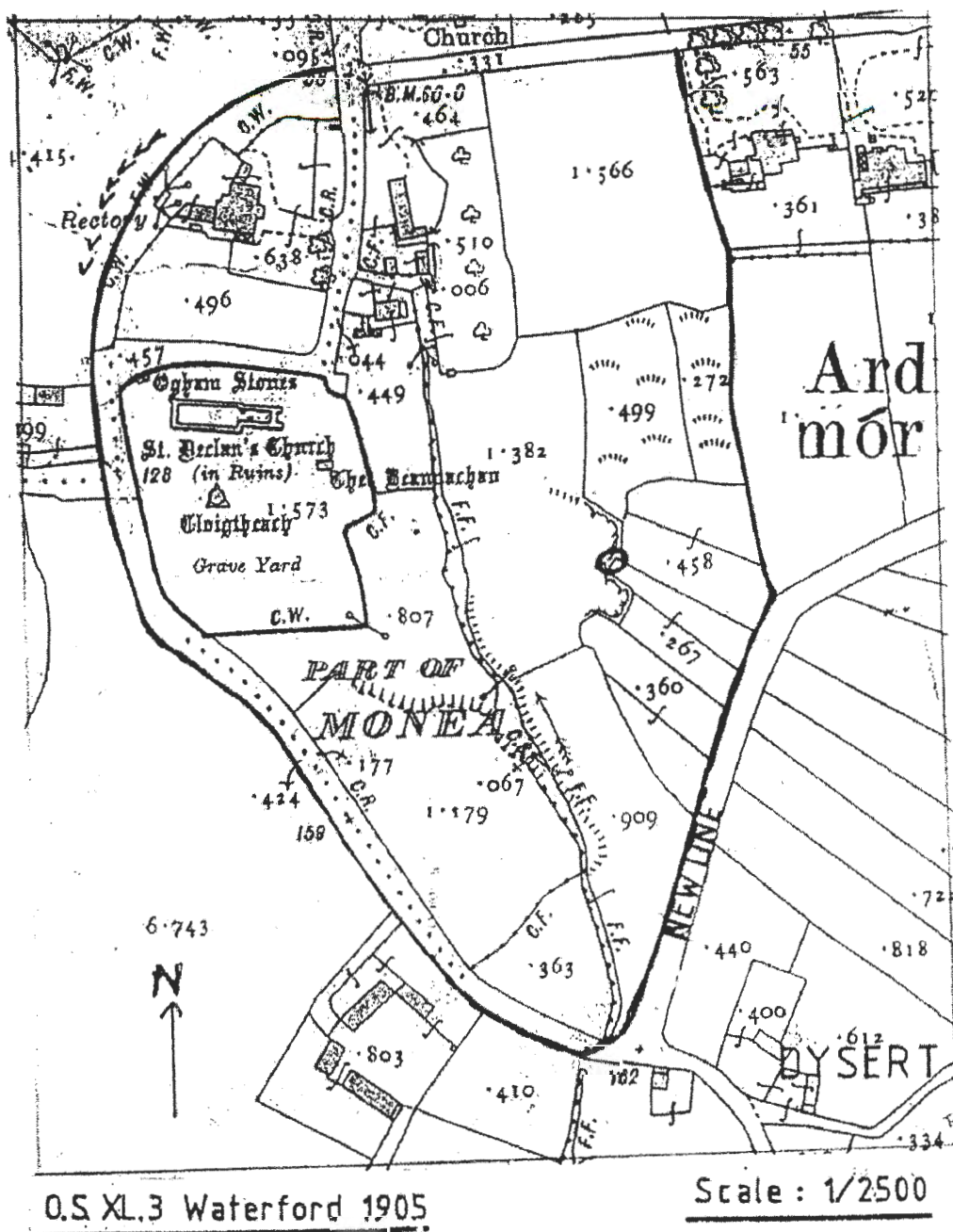


Plate 4: From the 1905 edition, Ordnance Survey map.



behind it. And if one keeps in mind that the Ardmore site had not just one enclosure (which is still standing) but a second or outer enclosure<sup>1</sup> which would almost certainly have included part of the glen, then Brooke's drawing has thrown considerable light on the topography of the ecclesiastical site.

### **The glen as it looks today**

Within the glen, and left of centre is the ecclesiastical enclosure within its perimeter wall. It contains the round tower (the Irish name: cloightheach meaning the bell house), the graveyard, the ruined cathedral called St. Declan's Church on the Ordnance Survey map (Plate 4), and a small rectangular building, locally known as the Beannachán. This building, also called the Oratory, is the oldest building in Ardmore, its lower stones going back to the eighth century, and, according to tradition, it contains the tomb of St. Declan.

In 1716 the then Protestant Bishop of Waterford Dr. Thomas Milles, restored the Beannachán and added a slate roof at his own expense. But, as Brooke's drawing shows, the Beannachán, which, in the drawing, is in front of the seated figure, had again fallen into disrepair, its roof partly covered with weeds.

In the 1905 edition of the Ordnance Survey map (Plate 4) the arrow denotes the stream which flows through the glen, rising in the field just south of the glen (bottom in map) and running from south to north and eventually flowing into the Bay of Ardmore.

A section of the outer (or second) enclosure wall, which was revealed by aerial photography, is indicated by a series of <<<<< signs curving through the word Rectory (top left). This outer wall may have included much, of the glen.

A small circle in the centre-right of the glen indicates the approximate location of Brooke's viewing point for his drawing.

### **The glen as the Pilgrims' Theatre**

A notable feature of twelfth-century piety was the popularity of pilgrimages to the shrines of saints and the cult of relics. The object of this piety was to obtain spiritual favours and also bodily and mental healing through the intercession of the saints. Many shrines became wealthy due to the offerings of the pilgrims, and this sometimes led to competition between different centres, e.g. when many pilgrims flocked to Canterbury to the shrine of the martyred Thomas A Beckett, rivalry arose between Canterbury and the older shrine of St. Cuthbert at Durham.

The Ardmore community in the twelfth century claimed to have three prestigious relics of its founder, the fifth-century St. Declan. These relics were considered to have survived the passing of seven centuries, and also to be the occasion of healings and miracles that were still taking place.

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1 Brian Lalor, *The Irish Round Tower*, (Cork, 1999), p. 16 has an aerial photo (1972) of the earthen outer ring of the second enclosure; Kevin Dwyer, *Ireland: Our Island Home*, (Cork, 1997) has an aerial colour photo showing the curved sunken ring and the whole area of the glen.

The first and most important relic was the body of St. Declan, which had been buried in the place marked out by him in Ardmore. Thus in the Irish *Life of Declan*:

St. Declan was buried with honour in his own city in Aird Declain in the tomb which he himself had designated. There signs and miracles are worked through him at all times (Irish: *as in Anúas*) through the intervention of Our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>2</sup>

So also the Latin *Life*, which uses the strange word *Levicana* for the tomb, records that the miracles are still being worked at all times (Latin: *omni tempore*)<sup>3</sup>

#### **The Founder's Bell**

A small black bell (*cymbalum*) was sent by God to Declan while he was in a certain church and it rested on the altar before him. And through this gift his resolution was strengthened against the barbarous ferocity of the pagans. The Irish called this bell *Duibhín Decláin* (the small black of Declan), and from that day to this (*ab illo die usque hodie*) many signs have been worked through it.<sup>4</sup>

#### **The Founder's Staff**

St. Declan's staff (crozier) is said to have worked wonders when used by the saint as he miraculously linked the hill of Ardmore to the mainland: 'When the staff (Irish: *bachall*; Latin: *baculus*) was given into St. Declan's hand he touched the water in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and immediately the waters (between the hill and the mainland) began to recede. As to the staff which was in St. Declan's hand, its name is Declan's Wonderworker (*Fear Teach Declain*). And, says the *Life*: 'many miracles at all times (Latin: *omni tempore*) are worked through this staff.'<sup>5</sup>

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2 Patrick Power, *The Life of St. Declan and the Life of St. Mochuda of Lismore*, (London, 1914), pp. 72, 73.

3 Charles Plummer (ed.), 'Vita Sancti Declani', in *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 2 Vols., (Oxford, 1910; Rept. Dublin 1997), Vol. II, p. 59.

4 *Ibid*, p. 39. Thus the Latin text, and thus also the English translation of the Irish *Life* by Canon Patrick Power. But unfortunately, the Irish text has a scribal error by which the *Duibhín Declain* is called a bell in one passage but a stone in another, and whereas Canon Power originally chose to translate the word as 'bell' in both passages, he later changed his mind and wrote 'stone' in both. See his *Ardmore, its Founder and Early Irish Memorials*, (Dublin, 1931), p. 31. Modern scholarship does not share Canon Power's preference of the Irish *Life* rather than the Latin.

5 Charles Plummer (ed.), 'Vita Sancti Declani', in *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 2 Vols., (Oxford, 1910; Rept. Dublin 1997) Vol. II, p. 44.

### The Pilgrims' Theatre

The tomb of Declan was undoubtedly the goal of the great pilgrimages that came to Ardmore. And so also were the founder's crozier and bell and the fact that miracles were attributed to them right up to the twelfth century when the *Life of Declan* was being written.

The celebration of festivals would be an occasion for displaying the relics of the founder, when a distinguished ecclesiastic or bishop might come forward holding in his hands the crozier and bell. An interesting example is one of the stone sculptures in the twelfth century church on White Island in Lough Erne, Co. Fermanagh, which represents a high ecclesiastic dressed in a long tunic and cloak and carrying the symbols of his office – the crozier and bell, (Plate 5). In the case of Ardmore, however, these same symbols were those actually belonging to the founder and thus special instruments of healing, according to the *Life*.

We may presume that once the round tower had been completed it became the safest place for keeping the crozier and bell and other important items such as manuscripts and liturgical vessels. Such was the case in Slane, Co. Meath until the round tower there was burnt down by the Vikings and 'the crozier of the patron saint and a bell, which was the best of all bells were destroyed' (*Annals of the Four Masters*, 948 AD)

Tadhg O'Keeffe speculates that the elevated doorway of a round tower could have given a senior cleric an opportunity to stop briefly before entering the round tower, to turn around to face those observing him to display his office by holding a relic.<sup>6</sup>

If one may take this speculation a step further: one can visualise a senior cleric, using the entrance to the round tower as a platform from which prayers could be said and the founder's bell rung, for example to ward off the plagues which are frequently mentioned in the *Annals*. In Ardmore the doorway of the round tower could be seen by many pilgrims, even those located on the eastern slope of the glen, as far away as the three figures in Brooke's drawing. Indeed this view from the eastern slope of the glen is better than that from the lowest part of the present perimeter wall where the land falls steeply to the east.

Older residents in Ardmore remember, as children, playing and picnicking in the glen, but today the area is no longer frequented nor is it used for grazing as it once was. The stream, which is indicated by the arrow in the Ordinance Survey map, cannot be seen as it is covered by over-growth. The present profusion of trees, as the modern photograph indicates, (Plate 3) blocks the view of the ecclesiastical enclosure not only for someone in the floor of the glen, but also for those on the eastern slope,

But Brooke's drawing draws attention to a period, 200 years ago, when both the western and the eastern slopes of the glen were in easy view of each other. And one can imagine the setting of the ecclesiastical complex when its second or outer perimeter may have included a large portion of the glen and when great pilgrimages could occupy the eastern slope of the glen and have a good view of the tower

6 Tadhg O'Keeffe, *Ireland's Round Towers*, (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 2004), p. 99.



*Plate 5: Ecclesiastic holding crozier and bell, White Island, Co. Fermanagh.*

and the cathedral and the Beannachán (i.e. the Oratory) and the ceremonies being conducted there on festival occasions. Brooke's drawing, showing the man with the raised stick, standing next to the round tower, would indicate that on the day of a large pilgrimage the pilgrims on the eastern slope had a good view of the whole ecclesiastical complex, as if the glen were an open-air theatre.

### Appendix

There is one detail in Brooke's drawing relating to the cathedral which is of special interest to the historian, namely the condition of the roof: whereas the nave is roofless, the chancel still retains its roof. This had been the situation in the previous century when Charles Smith noted it.<sup>7</sup> In Brooke's time, however, the situation had worsened, as R.H. Ryland observes that 'the church... is now almost entirely gone to decay; a part only of the chancel being kept in repair and used for divine worship'.<sup>8</sup> And this is how Brooke portrayed it in his drawing (1824); and thus also, six years later, did Frederick Newenham in his lithograph of Ardmore (1830).

Indeed the east wall of the chancel was in danger of collapsing outwards and the terrain on which it was built was quite uneven, as Brooke shows. Back in the seventeenth century two buttresses had been built to support the wall, and Brooke's drawing shows one of these clearly while the other is only faintly traced.

But the days of the chancel were numbered: by 1829 the Ardmore Vestry Book gives a detailed account of a memorial, sent by the Vestry to the Board of First Fruits, for the sum of eight hundred pounds for the erection of a new church on another site, since 'the present church is so much out of repair as to be almost unfit for the celebration of divine service'.<sup>9</sup> Initially the Vestry's request to move to a new site was refused and consideration given to repairing the existing building. But this was later dropped.

So, in 1838 the new church of St. Paul's (Church of Ireland) was built on a site further down Tower Hill, where it is still in use today. The twelfth-century Cathedral of Ardmore was abandoned, and the chancel, which incorporated part of the original single-cell church (tenth-century), was allowed to fall into ruin. But even the ruins are of interest to scholars today.

7 Charles Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County & City of Waterford*, (Dublin, 1746), p. 42.

8 R.H. Ryland, *The History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford*, (London, 1824), p. 329.

9 Siobhán Lincoln, 'The Old Order Changeth: St. Paul's Ardmore' in *Decies* 28 (Spring 1985), p. 34, quoting the entry from the Ardmore Vestry Book for Monday, 20 July 1829.

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# Questions and Answers on the Mandeville Deeds

*Niall O'Brien*

Within the extensive Lismore Papers housed in the National Library of Ireland is an early seventeenth-century manuscript containing abstracts in calendared form of the title-deeds of the Mandeville (later Manfield and ultimately Mansfield) family of County Waterford. The deeds cover a period of 400 years from 1207 to 1607 and refer to family property principally found in County Waterford with a few references to property in the Earldom of Ulster and County Meath. This manuscript (number 6136) was edited by Kenneth W. Nicholls in 1985.<sup>1</sup> Nicholls presumed that the manuscript came into the Lismore Papers through the many land-purchase transactions made by Sir Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Cork but noted that the *Civil Survey* made no mention of Boyle as being connected with any former Mandeville property.<sup>2</sup> This article hopes to answer that question while raising some new questions.

For the answer to this puzzle, we have a number of references in the Lismore Papers, edited by Rev. Grosart, to give assistance.

On September 20 1631 the Earl of Cork paid £20 sterling for the land of Cronaghten, near Cappoquin from Mrs O'Brien. This woman was the widow of Walter Mansfield junior and had married a Mr O'Brien after Walter's death. Previously, the land of Cronaghten was conveyed by Walter Mansfield senior of Ballynemultinagh to his son Walter and his then wife.<sup>3</sup> Thus the Earl of Cork acquired Mandeville/Mansfield property. In the *Civil Survey*, the townland is included with Affane and Cloghdahiny with the Earl as proprietor.<sup>4</sup>

Two years later, on 20 September 1633, the Earl of Cork wrote:

I lent Richard Dalton the elder 20s 7d upon some old writings of Mansfield lands, that he left in a leathern bag (being 3 in number) with William Barber.<sup>5</sup>

It is very probable that these 'old writings' are the deeds which now form MS 6136 in the Lismore Papers.

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1 K.W. Nicholls (ed.), 'Abstracts of Mandeville Deeds', in *Analecta Hibernica* No. 32 (1985), pp. 3-26.

2 *Ibid*, p. 3.

3 Rev. Alexander Grosart (ed.), *The Lismore Papers*, (London, 1886), first series, Vol. III, p. 101.

4 R.C. Simington (ed.), *The Civil Survey County of Waterford AD 1654-1656*, (Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1942), p. 47.

5 Rev. Alexander Grosart (ed.), *The Lismore Papers*, (London, 1886), first series, Vol. III, p. 210.

The townland of Cronaghten (also written as Cronaghtane and Crannaghtane) seems to have come into Mandeville ownership sometime in the fourteenth century. It is first mentioned in October 1382 when the townland was transferred, along with the rest of the Mandeville estate, from Richard Fitz Nicholl to Sir Thomas de Mandeville. The other townlands in this transfer were Ballinemolltine (Ballynemultinagh), Ardsallagh, Ballycoigne, Rathlead and Moyeghe.<sup>6</sup>

From a study of the history of these other townlands it may be possible to discover the origin of Cronaghten.

The first townland, Ballynemultinagh, came to the family in 1337 by a grant from Sir Richard, son of William de Walleis to Walter de Mandeville.<sup>7</sup> Walter's son, Thomas had at about the same time married Anastace de Walleis, a possible daughter of Sir Richard. It is not clear if Ballynemultinagh formed part of a marriage settlement or was a straight sale by Sir Richard to Walter. On the other hand the manor of Kilmanahan does seem to be Anastace's dowry to the Mandeville family. Shortly after 1341 Kilmanahan passed from Thomas de Mandeville to the first Earl of Desmond after the two had signed an indenture of maintenance.<sup>8</sup>

This latter agreement brings us onto Ardsallagh. In February 1342 Sir Walter de Mandeville acquired from the first Earl of Desmond the site of a mill pool and six acres of land in Ardsallagh which adjoined Sir Walter's own townland of Rossenthenane. Sir Walter got the latter townland from Hammond Gascoigne two years previously. A long term lease was entered into and the Mandevilles still held it in 1456.<sup>9</sup> The Earl of Desmond and later the Fitzgerald family of Dromana remained as the chief owners.

The townlands of Ballycoigne and Rathlead were purchased from Sir Gerard, son of Philip Christopher in 1338 by Sir Walter de Mandeville.<sup>10</sup> The final townland of Moyeghe has no previous history before 1382 as recorded in the present Mandeville deeds and we do not yet know when it came into the family.

This latter comment can also be said of Cronaghten before 1382. Thus at this time we can only suggest that Cronaghten came to the family after the marriage of Maurice, son of Sir Walter de Mandeville to Magina, daughter and heir of Roger Fitz Nicholl. The description of Magina as daughter and heir of Roger adds some strength to this suggestion. The couple had two sons, Henry and John and they were to inherit the townlands mentioned in the 1382 deed if Sir Thomas de Mandeville had no children as it appears that he did not.

The question of who owned Cronaghten before it came to the Mandeville family may never be answered. In the survey made of Thomas Fitz Maurice's lands in 1299 we find Jordan de Exeter holding the whole barony of Artmothan (Affane)

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6 K.W. Nicholls (ed.), 'Abstracts of Mandeville Deeds', in *Analecta Hibernica* No. 32 (1985), pp. 11-2.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 18-9.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 15.

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.



directly from the crown.<sup>11</sup> As mentioned near the start of this article, Cronaghten was included with Affane in the *Civil Survey* so its earlier history may lie with the de Exeter family.

The patchwork quilt nature of surviving medieval documents may prevent an answer to this question of pre-Mandeville ownership yet one lives in hope of miracles.

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11 H.S. Sweetman (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland, 1171 – 1307*, reprint, (Liechtenstein, Kraus-Thomson, 1974), Vol. 4 (1293-1301), p. 262.

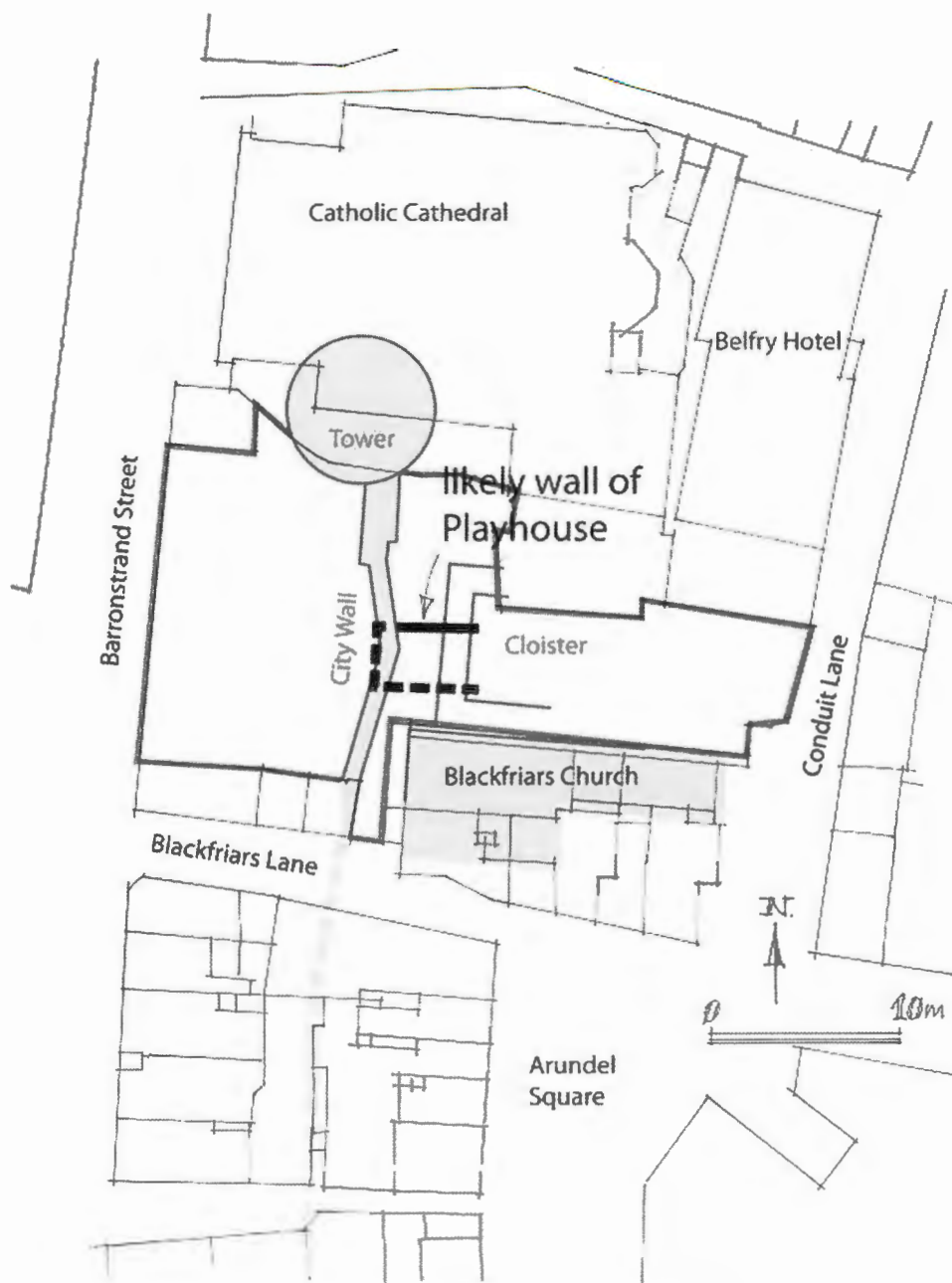


Figure 1: Outline of the playhouse at Blackfriars. Courtesy of Mr David Pollock, MIAI.

# Theatrical Activity in Waterford in the Eighteenth Century

Lynn Cahill

## Introduction

The eighteenth century in Ireland is the period when theatre as a form of entertainment began to take on a formal structure, with the building of purpose-built theatres, the emergence of touring theatre companies, and the rise in popularity of performers and plays.

Prior to the eighteenth century, there are reports of theatrical activity taking place in Ireland in the form of religious pageantry, such as the annual Corpus Christi events which took place in Dublin and Kilkenny; records of which can be found in the corporation minutes of both cities. In the seventeenth century, Dublin was the centre of theatrical activity in Ireland, with the earliest known purpose-built theatre in Ireland erected on Werburgh Street *circa* 1635. By 1662, a second theatre had opened in Dublin's Werburgh Street, known as the Smock Alley Playhouse and was the first Theatre Royal in Dublin. (Morash 2002)

Throughout the early decades of the eighteenth century, theatre entertainment had become an important part of the social and cultural life of Dublin city and it was from there that the theatrical touring phenomenon began that would instigate the construction of a purpose-built theatre in Waterford.

## The Playhouse at Blackfriars

The earliest known reference to theatrical activity in Waterford is recorded in the *Dublin News Letter* of 25 June 1737 with the announcement that the Smock Alley players, under their manager, Lewis Duval, were 'in a short time to set out for Waterford and to open there with *The Committee; or, The Faithful Irishman*,<sup>1</sup> the part of Teague to be performed by Mr John Barrington'. The Smock Alley players were to be accompanied by three guest performers from London, 'the English Gentlemen, Messrs. Dennis Delane, Adam Hallam and Bridgewater'. (Clark 1965, 147)

It is likely that the Smock Alley players performed at Waterford's first purpose-built theatre, which was erected at Blackfriars sometime in the mid 1730s, approximately the same time as a new theatre was built in Cork city, in the summer of 1736. The exact year that a theatre was first built in Waterford is not known. However, research indicates that it was almost certainly one of the earliest that was established outside of Dublin, and it predates the purpose-built theatres in Belfast (1768), Limerick (1770), Galway (1783), and Kilkenny (1794). The theatre historian W.S. Clark states that the theatre in Waterford was financed and owned by the

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1 A political comedy written by the English playwright Sir Robert Howard, (1626–1698).

Dublin theatre manager Thomas Elrington, whose widow subsequently sold on the title for the Waterford theatre in August 1741.<sup>2</sup>

The site of the first purpose-built theatre in Waterford was in an area known as Blackfriars, on the west side of Conduit Lane, adjacent to the Dominican Friary (Figure 1). In recent years, the site was home to a Penny's department store which was demolished and then rebuilt in 2009 (Figure 2). Excavation work undertaken at the site in the summer of 2009 adds weight to the mid-1730s construction date of the playhouse at Blackfriars, as the archaeologist on site, Mr David Pollock, discovered a north wall dating back to the early eighteenth century, which was most likely part of the Playhouse marked on the 1764 Richards and Scalé map of Waterford city (Figure 3).

There is little known evidence about the interior of the Playhouse at Blackfriars, and no extant newspaper advertisements mention the presence of a stage, pit or boxes for the audience. However there is a reference to the existence of a 'gallery' in an advertisement for a performance of a play entitled *The Conscious Lovers*, when 'the two first rows of the Gallery will be railed in for the



Figure 2: Photograph of the north wall of the playhouse at Blackfriars, which was discovered during archaeological excavations in July 2009.

Courtesy of Mr David Pollock, MIAI.

2 Office of the Registry of Deeds, Dublin, Old Vol. 106, p. 420, indenture of 11 August 1741 between Frances Elrington, widow of Thomas Elrington, and Lord Mountjoy, trustee for the Dublin Theatre Royal proprietors. (Clark 1965, 148).

Friendly Brothers'. (*Waterford Chronicle*, 17 – 20 September 1771) The 'Friendly Brothers' were a fraternal guild which were common in Ireland in the eighteenth century.

There are two references to theatrical activity in Waterford in the 1740s. Firstly, a newspaper advertisement: 'To be sold. The Play-Houses of Corke and Waterford'. (*Finn's Dublin Journal*, 22 – 24 December 1741) Secondly, later that same decade, in a travel diary entitled *A Tour through Ireland in Several Entertaining Letters*, the author describes the theatre in Waterford as:

...a neat theatre, which I was surprised to see scenes so elegantly painted. This, like that of Cork, belongs to the King's company of Dublin; but there were no plays exhibited while we were here. (Chetwood 1748, 160)



Figure 3: Section of 1764 Richards and Scalé map of Waterford city which shows the location of the Playhouse at Blackfriars. By kind permission of Waterford City Archives.



Figure 4: *Dorothea Jordan* by John Jones of London, 1791, after a painting by John Hoppner.

The ‘King’s company’ referred to by Chetwood most likely refers to the Smock Alley Playhouse which held the only royal patent in Dublin at that time and was referred to as the Theatre Royal in newspapers of the day. (Stockwell 1968)

Between 1765 and 1773, the actor-manager Thomas Ryder headed a theatrical touring company that visited Waterford on a regular basis, and in one instance, he is recorded as bringing his company to the Playhouse at Blackfriars for three weeks in 1767. Ryder advertised a new pantomime entitled *Harlequin in Waterford; or, The Dutchman Outwitted*, announcing that he had spent £40 on the scenery, which depicted ‘a view of Tramore, the Quay of Waterford, Christendom Church and Churchyard, Farm-yard, Tombs, Church, Pump, & c’. (*Leinster Journal*, 21 November 1767)

Also at the Playhouse at Blackfriars in November 1767, Ryder presented the premiere of a new play entitled *Love and Despair*, ‘a tragedy written by an unnamed Waterford gentleman’. (*Leinster Journal*, 21 November 1767)

It would appear that the theatre at Blackfriars may have closed its doors for a period of time, as, four years later, Thomas Ryder announced his intention to return to Waterford to open a theatre:

Mr Ryder with infinite pleasure informs the Ladies and Gentlemen of the City and County of Waterford, that he has obtained permission from the present Worshipful Mayor, to open a Theatre in the said City... And as he had the ill fortune to displease some of the Ladies and Gentlemen of Waterford by not coming at the former appointed times, he declares in this public manner, it did not proceed from the want of a proper respect, he ever did, and ever shall retain for them, but a chain of concurring disappointments which totally deprived him of the means for undertaking so long a journey, being then near 200 miles from Waterford. (*Waterford Chronicle*, 9 August 1771)

Dorothea Jordan, (née Bland) who was reputed to have been born in Waterford circa 1762, became a very famous actress on the London theatre scene in the latter part of the eighteenth century. (Figure 4) Dorothea Jordan performed a small part in a Thomas Ryder production of Shakespeare’s *As You Like It*, before she left Waterford in 1774 to go and work at the Theatre Royal in Cork (Boaden 1831, 7). While the exact date and location within Waterford of Ryder’s production of *As You Like It* are not specified, his theatre company were frequent visitors to the Playhouse at Blackfriars throughout Dorothea Jordan’s early years in Waterford, and it is therefore possible that sometime prior to 1774, the famous Mrs Jordan made her stage debut at the Playhouse in Blackfriars. Dorothea Jordan later became the mistress and long-time companion of King William IV of England, with whom she bore ten children. It is interesting to note that the current British Prime Minister David Cameron is a direct descendant of King William IV and Dorothea Jordan.

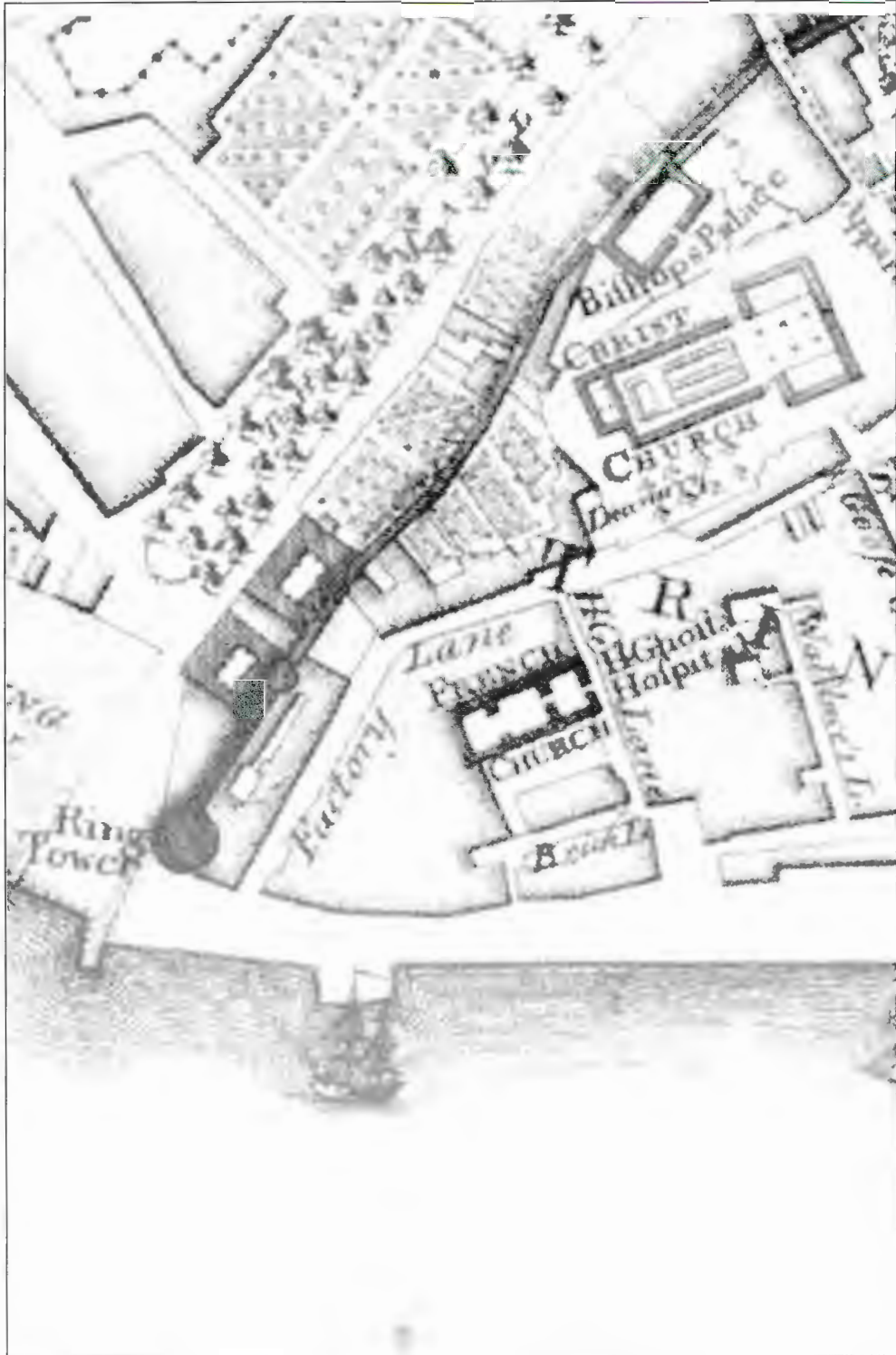


Figure 5: Section of the 1764 Richards & Scalé map of Waterford city which shows the site where the Theatre Royal was later built. By kind permission of Waterford City Archives.



In October of 1771, Mr Ryder's company announced a benefit night in aid of Mrs Ryder.<sup>3</sup> The advertisement concluded thus:

The whole to conclude with the Ramble through Dublin, containing a visit to Stephen's Green, the College green, Music Hall in Fishamble Street; a Lick at Modern O'Economy, with an Address to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Waterford, written and to be sung by Mr RYDER. Tickets to be had of Mrs RYDER, at Capt Byrne's, on the Quay: Mrs Crawley, Peter Street, and the Printers hereof. N.B. The reason of putting the above off till this evening, was on account of the bad weather yesterday. (*Waterford Chronicle*, 25 – 29 October 1771)

Very little information survives regarding theatrical performances in Waterford in the mid-eighteenth century and is not known at what point the Playhouse at Blackfriars ceased operation, although given the fact that a new theatre opened nearby on the Mall in 1784, it is possible that the theatre at Blackfriars simply closed its doors and 'went dark'.<sup>4</sup> It is very likely that touring theatre companies continued to visit Waterford regularly throughout the period for which data has not survived. The majority of newspaper advertisements after 1784 simply refer to plays taking place at 'the theatre', suggesting that only one theatre remained in operation, and that was almost certainly the new theatre on the Mall.

### **The Theatre Royal**

Towards the second half of the eighteenth century, fuelled by a thriving import and export industry, Waterford began to prosper. The city entered into a period of development, the results of which may still be seen in landmark buildings such as the City and County Infirmary (1785), the Anglican Christ Church Cathedral (1779) and the Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Most Holy Trinity (1793). Waterford Corporation set about the construction of a civic building on the Mall, within which a new theatre and assembly rooms would be built. The Waterford Corporation Minute Book records that on the 18 May 1784, it was 'Resolved that the sum of £200 be granted by the Corporation for the purpose of carrying on the building of the new Play House and Assembly Rooms and that the Mayor be empowered to sign an Order for the same'. There are no known surviving architectural plans of the interior of the stated 'Play House and Assembly Rooms', although John Roberts has been identified as the architect who designed the building on the Mall within which the new theatre was housed (Figure 5). In 2004, the Irish Architectural Archive published an unidentified drawing (Figure 6) which it states corresponds comparatively with the original interior design of the building. (*An Introduction to the Architectural Heritage of County Waterford* 2004, 30)

3 A 'benefit night' meant that the named actor would receive that evening's income from the ticket sales, minus operating expenses which were retained by the manager.

4 A theatrical term for when a theatre is closed.

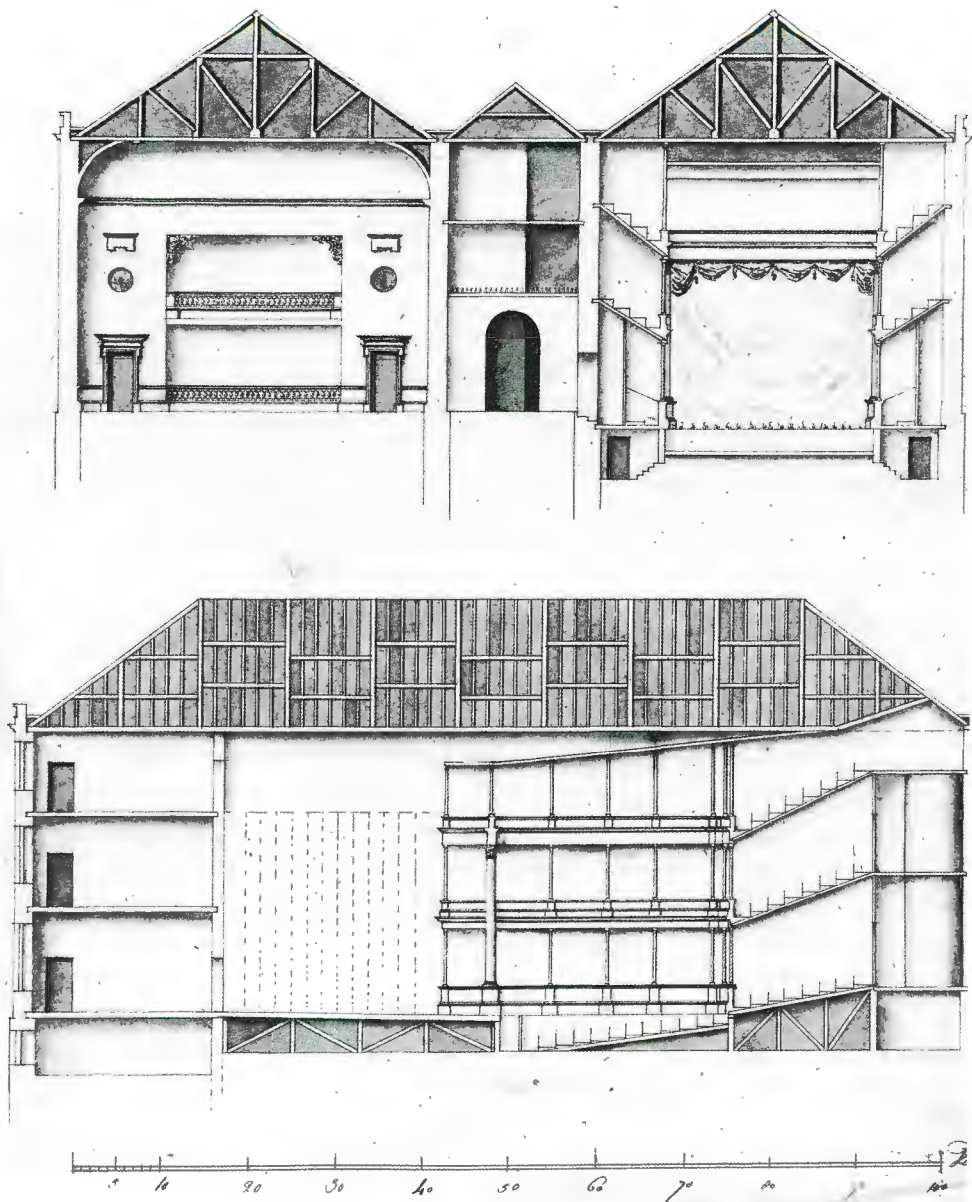


Figure 6: Drawing which corresponds comparatively to Waterford City Hall and the Theatre Royal, artist unknown. By kind permission of the Irish Architectural Archives.

The new theatre on the Mall opened on the evening of Monday 26 July 1784 with a speech by the actor-manager John Vandermere, who had earlier that year announced that he was to be the manager of the new theatre in Waterford (*Leinster Journal*, 28 February 1784). The main play of the evening was Shakespeare's popular five-act comedy *As You Like It*, followed by a presentation of Arthur Murphy's popular two-act farce *The Citizen*, which was first produced in London's Drury Lane Theatre in 1761. There were to be 'Special orchestral numbers with Charles Clagget of Dublin' (*Dublin Evening Post*, 3 August 1784), while top of the bill was a famous opera singer from England, the soprano Mrs Billington, who had made her Irish debut in Dublin several months beforehand to great acclaim. Vandermere continued to manage the new theatre for just two seasons, up to his death in February 1786. (Clark 1965, 154)

A contemporary newspaper account of the opening night of the new theatre in Waterford was reported in Belfast, and described 'the superb theatre... [which was] ...built by the inhabitants'. (*Belfast Mercury*, 6 August 1784)

Mrs Billington performed for a number of nights in Waterford subsequent to the opening of the new theatre, and the following incident was reported in a controversial biography of her which was published in 1792:

In Waterford all was apparently peace and regularity, until her second benefit night, which not being an overflowing house, though nearly so, induced Mrs B. to break out into the most scurrilous and abusive invectives, against the truly respectable inhabitants of that city; which she continued to do during the ensuing day, particularly at the music shop on the quay, to the astonishment of all who heard her, as such oaths and imprecations were uttered, as to induce her auditors to imagine themselves addressed by a Billingsgate, (instead of a Billington) or common street walker. (Ridgway 1792, 22)

The facts surrounding how and when the new theatre took on the name 'Theatre Royal' remain in question. In the eighteenth century, the name 'Theatre Royal' was used by theatres which had been granted a royal patent to perform spoken dramas. However, despite extensive research, there is no known evidence of a royal patent ever having been issued to the Theatre Royal in Waterford. The author's theory of how the Theatre Royal took its name is that it occurred quite early on, *circa* 1786, when the holder of the royal patent in Dublin, Richard Daly, took on the lease of the new Waterford theatre for four years. Daly's Dublin Theatre Royal company performed regularly in Waterford throughout the four years with a range of popular pieces including *The Beggar's Opera* and *The School for Scandal*, as well as Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello*. (Clark 1965) It is possible that Richard Daly advertised plays in Waterford under the banner of his 'Theatre Royal' company, and the theatre may have simply assumed the title during this period through common usage. There is no known evidence to suggest that the theatre on the Mall had any other name prior to assuming the title of Theatre Royal.



Figure 7: Drawing of the Fitzgerald Monument in Christ Church Cathedral.  
By kind permission of Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford.

A newspaper advertisement for a performance of *The Grecian Daughter* at the Theatre Royal announced tickets prices as ‘Boxes 3s. 3d. - Pit 2s. 2d. - Gallery, 1s. 1d.’ (*Waterford Herald*, 23 August 1792) This proves conclusively that the newly built theatre contained auditorium arrangements similar to theatres in London and Dublin, with similar price structuring, i.e. the more expensive seats in the house were in the boxes and the pit, with cheaper seats up in the gallery.

In January 1792, a touring theatre company arrived in Waterford which included a couple named Mr and Mrs McCrea and other performers who were identified as Mr Wells and Mr Power. They presented a ‘new pantomime’ entitled *The Witches of the Rocks; or, the Regions of Fancy*, with an ‘elegant display of scenes, dresses, and decorations’. (*Waterford Herald*, 28 January 1792) An eyewitness account described the staging of the piece:

The first scene showed a grove so romantic and charming as to cause a burst of applause from the whole house – and the trees instantly transformed themselves into the weird sisters of Macbeth. Then Harlequin appeared in the churchyard in the likeness of Time, with a scythe, even like the sculptured marble of the Fitzgeralds, in Christ Church. (*Waterford Herald*, 2 February 1792)

The Fitzgerald monument in Waterford’s Christ Church Cathedral had been created twenty-two years earlier in 1770 by the Dutch sculptor Johann Van Nost the Younger (Figure 7). The monument still stands inside Christ Church Cathedral, and underwent extensive restoration work in 2009, facilitated by The Heritage Council of Ireland.

In March of 1792, the same company presented the premiere of a new opera written by a local doctor, James St. John, entitled *The Siege of Waterford, or, The Marriage of Earl Strongbow to the Princess Eva*. The plot centred on King Diarmuid’s capture of Waterford in 1170, and Strongbow’s subsequent marriage to Diarmuid’s daughter Eva (Aoife). An unidentified critic reviewed the production:

To those who have had an opportunity of being acquainted with the literary abilities of the author, it will be needless to observe that the language is at once sublime, nervous and animated. On the whole, *The Siege of Waterford* cannot but prove a great acquisition to the stage, for notwithstanding the many disadvantages under which its first representation laboured (which would be, perhaps uncharitable to criticise upon), it was nevertheless received with a degree of applause and satisfaction that can be no less grateful to the feelings of the author than creditable to the discernment of the Ladies and Gentlemen of Waterford. (*Waterford Herald*, 27 March 1792)

*The Siege of Waterford* was staged again later that same year, presented by ‘a Number of YOUNG GENTLEMEN of this city, at the Theatre, for the benefit of the author’. (*Waterford Herald*, 6 November 1792) Another review appeared which was once again lukewarm in its appreciation of the evening’s entertainment:

To say there were no faults, would be no less ridiculous than insulting: and some characters were well sustained. Master Bowman's hornpipe and his song of *The Good Ship Rover* received and merited the ample plaudits of the whole house. Of the other gentlemen, we shall only observe generally, that if they were not equally forceful with those we have mentioned, it was not from want of inclination or exertion. (*Waterford Herald*, 22 November 1792)

While the critic of the day was clearly unimpressed by the production, it does represent the only known evidence of the staging of a dramatic work by inhabitants of Waterford, and the 'young gentlemen of the city' were an early version of a local amateur dramatic society, a pastime which became popular towards the latter part of the nineteenth century in Ireland.

In late August 1792, an advertisement appeared in the newspaper for a benefit night by a strolling theatre company at the Theatre Royal in aid of the well-known actress Mrs Melmoth. The advertisement promised a production of Richard Steele's *The Conscious Lovers*. Notably, the advertisement declared that:

The part of Myrtle by a YOUNG GENTLEMAN of this City, who will also recite Dryden's Ode on ALEXANDER'S FEAST. (Being his first appearance on any stage). (*Waterford Herald*, 30 August 1792)

The 'young gentleman' in question appears to have been making his professional stage debut with the company, and this kind of local involvement may have been an early promotional device, aimed at attracting a larger local audience, keen to see 'one of their own' on stage. However, it is odd that the advertisement especially announces his appearance without actually naming him.

In May 1794, an incident occurred at the Theatre Royal which reflected the growing political unease in Waterford at the time. Two audience members sitting in the auditorium refused to remove their hats when *God Save the King* was played at the end of the evening's entertainment:

An uproar ensued, and rumours of further incendiary action arose. The Mayor promptly ordered the playhouse to be shut until measures could be taken to prevent the threatened outrage. (Clark 1965, 160-1)

An eyewitness account of a night at the theatre in Waterford in 1796 reveals a loyalist fervour:

The public demanded the air of '*God Save the King*, and, according to custom, obliged all the actors who had appeared in the piece to present themselves and sing in chorus. Shouts of 'Off with the hats' were directed with single fury against those who had forgotten to uncover. A good creature who had been asleep was unmoved by the cries until a soldier came and gave him a sound blow on the side of the head, at the same time pulling his hat off and throwing it into the pit. (De Latocnaye 1984, 65)

### Conclusion

For sections of Waterford society in the eighteenth century, theatre going was an important social and cultural activity, and the construction of two theatres during the century clearly demonstrates the popular demand for theatrical entertainment. An evening at the theatre was likely to have been quite a social occasion, presenting an opportunity to meet peers and enjoy theatrical entertainments. While it is clear that a lively theatrical scene existed in Waterford, it is regrettable that there are large gaps in the surviving evidence, as the existing sources reveal just a flavour of the rich social and cultural tapestry of theatrical activity in the city in the eighteenth century.

Further research is required to realise the complete history of Waterford's theatrical activity, and in particular, to restore and recreate as much as is possible of the history of the Theatre Royal, which continues to play an important role in the social and cultural life of Waterford city to this day.

This paper is based on a thesis submitted by the author to Waterford Institute of Technology in 2009 as part of an MA Degree in Arts and Heritage Management.

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# Lawrence Reynolds: Waterfordman, Young Ireland leader, Civil War soldier and much more besides

*Pat McCarthy*

Thomas Francis Meagher was not the only Waterfordman to have two careers, Confederate Leader in 1848 and Union Army Officer in the American Civil War. Lawrence Reynolds did the same and added to them the extra roles of surgeon, poet, classical scholar and Fenian organiser. In the course of a long life he followed many careers and involved himself in many causes, not least the cause of Irish freedom and the welfare of his countrymen at home and abroad. This is his story.

## **Classical Scholar and Entrepreneur**

Laurence Reynolds, the youngest of four brothers was born in Waterford in 1803. The family was originally from County Kilkenny. Paul Reynolds, father of the four boys, had moved to Waterford where he established a thriving drapery business. One of Paul's brothers was involved in the newspaper business as both proprietor and editor of the *Leinster Journal*, later the *Kilkenny Journal*. According to Cavanagh, Lawrence 'received the best education which his native city afforded to Catholics in those days'.<sup>1</sup> This was at St. John's College, Waterford. The college had been founded in 1807 by the amalgamation of three small schools run by priests in the city. For many years it took in both lay pupils and those studying for the priesthood and it did not become a seminary until 1870. A surviving college account book records his presence from 14 October 1816 until 1819.<sup>2</sup> The account books for the prior and subsequent years have not survived so we cannot determine the full length of his stay at St. John's. While a pupil there Reynolds would have come under the tutelage of Professor Maurice Hearn, dean of lay students and a noted classical scholar.<sup>3</sup> It is probable that it was Professor Hearn who gave the young Reynolds a deep knowledge and love of the classics. In 1827, aged just twenty-four, he published *The Satires of Persius translated into English verse with various original poems*. Apart from being a first attempt to demonstrate his prowess both as a translator and a poet, the little book also gives a fair indication of his political leanings. It is dedicated to Daniel O'Connell for,

1 Michael Cavanagh, *Waterford Celebrities*, (Waterford News, 1887), p. 3.

2 Waterford Genealogical and Heritage Centre, St. John's College Account Books.

3 Maurice Lenihan, 'Reminiscences of a Journalist', in *Limerick Reporter*, 9 October 1869.

my gratitude for your able and unremitting exertions for Catholic Emancipation – the only measure that can give permanent tranquillity to Ireland, and unite in brotherly affection her children of every denomination...

Prominent among the list of subscribers is Henry Villiers Stuart, the successful Catholic-interest candidate in the bitterly contested Waterford constituency in the election of 1826. The book contains four original poems one of which was written to mark the election of George Canning as Prime Minister in April 1827. Canning was a moderate Tory of whom much was expected by the Irish but who died after just five months in office. This poem and one of the others, was originally published in the new local paper, the *Waterford Chronicle*. Lenihan says that the Reynolds brothers were briefly involved in the newspaper business. If this was so it is likely to have been with the *Waterford Chronicle*.<sup>4</sup> In the 1820s and 1830s there were three newspapers in Waterford – the *Chronicle*, the *Mirror* and the *Mail*. Both the *Mirror* and the *Mail* were conservative in politics and did not change ownership in this period. However, for the *Chronicle*, the oldest, originally established in 1765 with pronounced liberal views, the 1820s was a time of extreme turbulence. In the 1826 election it had campaigned vigorously for Villiers-Stuart. A series of lawsuits alleging libel taken by supporters of the defeated Beresford candidate had bankrupted the owner, Pierse Richard Barron and he was forced to sell his interest in the paper to a Mr. Peter Strange in March 1827. It ceased publication temporarily in April 1827 but reappeared as the ‘New’ *Waterford Chronicle* on 8 May 1827, containing Lawrence’s poem on Canning. It changed hands several times that year and subsequently and it is possible that the Reynolds were briefly the owners. It eventually reverted to the ownership of the Barrons when Richard Netterville Barron purchased it in 1831.

For Lawrence, however, there was a change in career. In the preface to his book of poetry, he wrote ‘this winter I must devote to my professional studies’. This is surely a reference to his medical career. After finishing his studies at St. John’s College it is probable that he took up the study of medicine almost immediately. In Ireland in the early nineteenth century there were only two medical schools, Trinity College, Dublin and the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland – neither of which has a record of any student named Lawrence Reynolds in the 1820s. However it was also possible to qualify as a doctor by a more circuitous route. One could enrol at the Apothecaries Hall, qualify as an apothecary after four years, do a further period of study or an apprenticeship with an already qualified physician and then have one’s medical knowledge validated by an examining body. One such examining body was the Royal College of Physicians in Ireland. This was the oldest established medical institution in the country and by royal charter of 1692 had the power to examine and to license doctors as being fit to practice. Reynolds seemed to have followed this route. The *Waterford Chronicle* of 7 February 1827 noted,

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<sup>4</sup> Séamus Ó Casaide, *A Guide to Old Waterford Newspapers*, (Waterford News, 1917), pp. 18-22.

On Thursday night, a little after ten o'clock a man belonging to the *Nora Creina* steam vessel named Alexander Alexander, fell into the river opposite Quay-Lane and was unfortunately drowned. Mr. Lawrence Reynolds, Apothecary, in his anxious efforts to save the poor fellow also fell into the river but, being a good swimmer, soon extricated himself.

There is also a Lawrence Reynolds mentioned in 'The list of names examined by the College of Physicians and who obtained certificates 1822 -1833 prepared by the Registrar Dr. Kennedy, April 20 1833'.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately no dates are given for the examinations of the individual candidates. However, by whatever route, it seems safe to say that by 1832 Lawrence Reynolds was a qualified physician.

His career then took a strange if not bizarre twist. One of the musical oddities of the age was the Russian Horn Band.<sup>6</sup> This ensemble consisted of two leaders and twenty-five musicians with fifty-five instruments. Each instrument was essentially a hunting horn which could only play one note! A varied repertoire required unbelievable dexterity by the members of the band but it was the popular hit of the era. By 1832 the band was in the middle of a prolonged farewell tour which took it all over England before visiting a number of countries including France, Belgium and Germany. According to Cavanagh, Reynolds became secretary to the Russian Horn Band in 1832 and toured with it for several years. The band's final performance seems to have been in 1836 in Vienna. For the rest of that decade and for the early 1840s Dr. Lawrence Reynolds disappeared from view.

#### **Young Ireland Leader and Doctor**

Reynolds next comes to notice as a doctor in the Liverpool Irish community. We do not know when he began but by 1846 he had built up a thriving practice and was one of the leaders of his community. As well as his medical duties he was involved in journalism, sharing an office at the *Liverpool Weekly News* with John Brady.<sup>7</sup> Brady had spent his life trying to organise trade unions in Dublin before relocating to Liverpool to continue his lifelong struggle for working people.

According to the 1841 census there were 49,639 Irish-born people in Liverpool, 17.3% of the population. These were predominantly unskilled and they tended to settle in two of the major working-class areas in the city. However, there was also a growing Liverpool-Irish professional middle-class which provided leadership in the community. Liverpool was a stronghold of the Repeal movement contributing significantly to the weekly Repeal Rent. From 1846 on there was a massive influx of Irishmen and women into Liverpool as thousands fled the Famine. Many moved on but many stayed. These were often the disease-ridden and impoverished, either unable or unwilling to take advantage of opportunities elsewhere in Britain or in

5 National Library of Ireland MS, p. 929.

6 Robert Ricks, 'Russian Horn Bands', in *Musical Quarterly*, (Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 361-371.

7 John Belchem, 'Liverpool in the Year of Revolution', in *Popular Politics, Riot and Labour: Essays in Liverpool History*, (Liverpool University Press, 1992), p. 74.

North America. By 1848 some sources estimated the Irish-born population of Liverpool at almost 100,000, a fact noted with alarm by the municipal authorities aware of the growing militancy of the Irish community.

As a stronghold of the Repeal Movement, Liverpool was also subject to the internecine squabbling within that movement. Significantly the local leaders tended to favour the more militant approach of Young Ireland and the Confederate Clubs rather than the conciliatory approach of the O'Connellite faction. The main leaders of the Liverpool-Irish at this stage were Terence Bellew McManus, shipping agent and George Smyth, a merchant. By 1847 they had been joined as spokesmen for the community by a trio of medical doctors – Patrick Murphy, a cousin of McManus, Francis O'Donnell and Lawrence Reynolds.<sup>8</sup> It is not unreasonable to surmise that the appalling suffering that they witnessed as they tended to the victims of famine radicalised them and turned their thoughts to the political violence of the more extreme Confederate Clubs. By January 1848 almost 100 Confederate clubs had been formed in total. George Smyth had established the first one in Liverpool in June 1847 and within a year there were some forty clubs, each with fifty to sixty members. Reynolds was obviously held in high esteem for he was one of three delegates elected to represent the Liverpool-Irish at the three-day convention of the Confederation held in Dublin from 31 January to 2 February 1848.<sup>9</sup> The acknowledged leader of the Confederation in Liverpool was Terence Bellew McManus.<sup>10</sup> He was close to John Mitchell and became more and more committed to armed insurrection. In this he was to receive strong support, both vocal and otherwise, from Lawrence Reynolds among others.

Although Liverpool was not a stronghold of the radical Chartist movement in England there did exist the possibility of joint action with the Confederate Clubs. After all, the leader of the Chartists was an Irishman – Fergus O'Connor – who strongly favoured Repeal. However, the Chartist movement, dedicated to the cause of parliamentary reform in Britain, was totally committed to peaceful means, of parliamentary lobbying, of peaceful demonstration and of petition – the same means which had failed O'Connell. Reynolds was among those who attempted to build an alliance between the two movements. Speaking at a Chartist meeting on 31 March 1848, he introduced himself as a 'Young Irelander – one of that class of men who detested and hated and spurned the word "petition."' Nevertheless he appealed for unity,

Let the Chartists of England and Irish Repealers unite in one grand body, and all the powers of England, and foreign assistance to help them, could make no impression upon the phalanx they would present.<sup>11</sup>

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8 *Ibid.* p. 75.

9 *Ibid.* p. 78.

10 Thomas G. McAllister, *Terence Bellew McManus: A Short Biography*, (Maynooth, 1972).

11 W.J. Lowe, 'The Chartists and the Irish Confederates: Lancashire 1848', in *Irish Historical Studies* Vol. 24 (1984), pp. 172-196.

The difference in approach between the Chartists and the Confederate Clubs was too big and soon grew larger. Reynolds focussed more and more on preparation for armed revolt. Although the Confederate Clubs had tried to limit access to their meetings, police informers were ubiquitous and one of them quoted Reynolds as saying:

Every street in Liverpool and every town ought to have its club; every club its president and other commanding officers; every club ought to take care of defending itself; every officer ought to have his rifle, every committee man his musket and every member ought to have his pike (great cheers).<sup>12</sup>

Reynolds was true to his words and was to the forefront in arming the Liverpool Confederates. On 1 April he told a meeting that he intended to make it possible for the people to obtain inexpensive arms by giving up his medical practice and opening up an 'ironmongers' shop. He promised his listeners that the weapons would be sold cheaply, regardless of the law:

I tell you this: I care not whether my weapons are legal or illegal; no cause ever yet succeeded in which men were not prepared, if need be, to lend themselves to the scaffold. I would rather die in glory.<sup>13</sup>

Within a month he had indeed opened his shop at Milton Street, known to the Confederates as 'Larry's Ironmongery'. He advertised and sold the weapons as cheaply as possible: muskets for twelve shillings, pistols for four shillings, and swords, bayonets and pikes for between four pence and a shilling. Cutlasses and two-foot long machetes could be bought for six-and-half pence each. When queried by a policeman as to their use, he replied 'to cut bacon – or anything you like'. His shop assistant, Joseph Cuddy was more specific. He told a blacksmith to whom he had taken some for sharpening that they were for killing people.<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, McManus was working away in the background on the plans for a rebellion and the part that the Liverpool-Irish would play. In May he travelled to Dublin for Mitchell's trial and was afterwards conferred with the Confederate leadership. He agreed that in the event of a rising in Ireland he would seize three of the largest steamers in Liverpool load them with arms and ammunition from Chester Castle and sail to Dublin. He also pledged diversionary action in Liverpool itself to tie down troops. This would include the burning of the cotton warehouses along the dockside. These were 'filled with material as inflammatory as the dried grass of a prairie'. Given McManus's extensive knowledge of the shipping trade, of the Liverpool docks and the overwhelming predominance of Irishmen among the dockers, these plans were not beyond the bounds of possibility. McManus then

12 Dieter Dowe, *Europe in 1848: Revolution and Reform*, (Berghahn Books, 2000), p. 252.

13 *Liverpool Mercury*, 11 April 1848, quoted in Louis Bisceglia, 'The Threat of Violence: Irish Confederates and Chartists in Liverpool, 1848', in *The Irish Sword* Vol. XIV (1981), p. 211.

14 *Ibid.* p. 211.

returned to Liverpool to further the preparations. Crucially the leadership decided to defer any action until early September when the grain harvest would be in and the rebels could gain support by stopping the export of grain.<sup>15</sup>

The authorities in Liverpool were fully cognisant of the Confederate threat but felt constrained by the law from proceeding decisively. William Rathbone, a celebrated Liverpool Liberal, explained the dilemma in a letter:

100,000 unemployed Irish in Liverpool, and Chartists to join, are fearful materials of mischief... our open docks and warehouses leave us much at the mercy of the incendiary.... the English Law is defective, we cannot search for arms when we know where they are, we cannot incarcerate the leaders, though preaching rebellion or virtually such, though not legally; nor can we enter the houses where clubs we know meet, and the most inflammatory and rebellious language is used, yet Liverpool is the high road to and from Ireland.<sup>16</sup>

However, despite these constraints the authorities were not idle. Thousands of special constables were recruited and extra troops drafted to the area. Movements and speeches of key leaders were closely monitored and informers carefully noted the words and actions of men like Reynolds. Meanwhile the Confederates plotted and prepared and waited for the harvest. The British Government had no such need to wait. On 24 July Habeas Corpus was suspended in Ireland allowing the detention of suspects without trial. The authorities in Liverpool immediately petitioned the Home Secretary for a similar measure for Liverpool. Although this was refused they nevertheless moved quickly. Joseph Cuddy, Reynolds's right-hand man had been detained on 22 July when found in possession of a sack carrying thirty-one pike-heads. The next day the police raided a number of suspect houses. Among the places targeted was a warehouse belonging to Reynolds on Vauxhall Road where they found fourteen pike-heads, twenty-three cutlasses, five pikes and a quantity of ammunition. At another location a Confederate minute book was seized giving plenty of information about the leadership and the location of other arms-dumps including one cache of 500 cutlasses and some barrels of gunpowder. Warrants were issued for the arrest of the known leaders. McManus was actually on his way to Ireland and to his part at Ballingarry when the police swooped. Murphy, Somers, Smyth and other prominent Confederates were arrested but Reynolds managed to avoid capture.<sup>17</sup> He crossed to Birkenhead and from there made his way to Birmingham. With the police hot on his tail he escaped to South Wales

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15 Christine Kinealy, *Repeal and Revolution: 1848 in Ireland*, (Manchester University Press, 2009). This is the most recent, and most authoritative account of the Young Ireland movement and the attempted rising.

16 John Belchem, 'Liverpool in the Year of Revolution', in *Popular Politics, Riot and Labour: Essays in Liverpool History*, (Liverpool University Press, 1992), p. 91.

17 Louis Bisceglia, 'The Threat of Violence: Irish Confederates and Chartists in Liverpool, 1848', in *The Irish Sword* Vol. XIV (1981), p. 214; Michael Cavanagh, *Waterford Celebrities*, (Waterford News, 1887), p. 6. See also John Denvir, *The Irish in Britain*, (London, Paul Kegan, 1894), pp. 150-1.

where he hid for a few weeks before boarding a ship at Bristol for New York. 'Larry' had escaped but his companions were not so lucky. At the winter assizes in Liverpool they were sentenced to varying periods of detention. With their arms seized, the leadership in prison or on the run and Liverpool like an armed camp with police and troops, the Liverpool Confederates played no part in the attempted insurrection.

### **Doctor and Democrat**

In October 1848, Lawrence Reynolds arrived in New York, free but an exile from his native land. Just over a year later he moved upstate to the town of Oswego on the shore of Lake Ontario.<sup>18</sup> At first he took rooms at Woodruff Block, West First Street. By January 1850 he was well established there, as witnessed by the appearance of an obituary of his father in the *Oswego Commercial Times* on 19 January 1850.

Oswego had been established as a fur-trading settlement by the British and Dutch in 1722. During the Seven Year War (French and Indian War, 1756-63) strong forts had been built in the area. The opening of the Oswego branch of the Erie Canal in 1829 and the building of roads and docks led to a boom for the town and county. The trans-shipment of grain, lumber and iron ore by lake, canal and railway contributed to unprecedented prosperity which attracted many immigrants, including a significant Irish element. It was among the latter that Lawrence Reynolds first practised and laid the foundation for his enduring popularity in the area.

Before too long Reynolds was immersed in local politics. Like most of his fellow Irishmen, he supported the Democratic Party - this in a town and county which was strongly opposed to the Democrats. He does not seem to have contested any public office himself but was a frequent speaker at Democratic Party rallies and a delegate to many party conventions.

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s there was a growing anti-Irish sectarianism as many Americans reacted against the flood of Irish people fleeing the ravages of famine. The Know-Nothing Movement, which was strongly opposed to Irish Catholic immigrants in particular, was particularly strong in the major cities of the eastern seaboard.

Numerous attempts were made, especially by some members of the Catholic hierarchy, to encourage rural settlement among the Irish. By far the strongest advocate of rural colonisation was Thomas D'Arcy McGee, like Reynolds, an exiled Young Irelander. In the pages of his papers, the *New York Nation* and then the *American Celt* he constantly promoted the idea, seeing it as a method of promoting the moral and material welfare of the immigrants and of freeing them from the rampant bigotry of the Know Nothing Movement McGee organised the Irish Catholic Colonization Convention<sup>19</sup> which met at Buffalo, New York in February

18 John C. Churchill (ed.), *Landmarks of Oswego County, New York*, (Mason and Company, 1895).

19 *New York Times*, 16 February 1856; also Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration*, (University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 105.

1856 with ninety -five delegates drawn almost equally from Canada and the USA. Reynolds represented New York State at the proceedings. The delegates agreed unanimously on the necessity of moving their compatriots away from the ‘demoralizing’ influences of urban dwelling but could not agree on any practical measures to translate their wishes into actions. The convention broke up a few days later having agreed only to meet again in Chicago in the spring of 1857. In the meantime, it became clear to McGee that the finance needed to fund an initial purchase of land would not be forthcoming. The second convention never took place and the project lapsed.

Meanwhile Reynolds concentrated on his medical work and Democratic politics. In the 1860 presidential election he campaigned strongly and spoke often in favour of Stephen Douglas, candidate of the Northern Democrats. However it was a losing battle and Oswego supported Lincoln, with a majority of 3,638, much larger than the usual Republican vote. Like millions of other Americans, Reynolds must have watched anxiously as events unfolded and his adopted country moved inexorably towards conflict.

### **Army Surgeon and Fenian**

On the morning of 12 April 1861 Confederate guns opened fire on the federal fortress of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbour, South Carolina. The Civil War had begun. In response Abraham Lincoln called up 75,000 militia for their statutory ninety-day obligation, while simultaneously issuing a call for 80,000 volunteers to serve for two or three years. Across the North thousands of men, both Republican and Democrat, responded to the call. For a time at least party differences were put aside in order to defend the Union.

In Oswego the volunteers were formed into the 24th Regiment, New York State Volunteers under the command of Colonel Timothy O’Sullivan.<sup>20</sup> Lawrence Reynolds was among the first to volunteer and was commissioned as Assistant Surgeon. The regiment was formally taken into service with effect from 17 May 1861. On 2 July it moved to Washington where it spent the winter as part of the garrison. On 26 February 1862 Reynolds was promoted to Surgeon and transferred to the 63rd New York State Volunteers.<sup>21</sup> He served the remainder of the war with the 63rd, sharing both the tedium of camp life and the carnage of the battlefield with his fellow Irishmen.

The 63rd had been recruited in New York City in October 1861 as the 3rd Irish Regiment, the Irish Brigade, under the command of Colonel Richard Enright. It moved to Washington in November 1861 and spent the winter with the other regiments of the brigade drilling and training. In May 1862 the Irish Brigade moved to Yorktown to take part in McClellan’s Peninsular Campaign. Hard fighting in the

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20 Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of Rebellion*, (New York, 1890); John C. Churchill (ed.), *Landmarks of Oswego County, New York*, (Mason and Company, 1895).

21 For the history of the 63rd New York State Volunteers, see Patricia Varricano, *A Defense of the 63rd New York State Volunteer Regiment of the Irish Brigade*, unpublished MA Thesis, University of Richmond, 2008.



Seven Days' Battles cost the 63rd and the Irish Brigade many casualties. It is to this period that we owe a pen-picture of Reynolds given by Michael Cavanagh, courtesy of Capt. Edward Field, 4th U.S. Artillery,

When McClellan was finally ready to move, it was found that the enemy had abandoned their works at Manassas, and we were pushed forward on their retreating tracks. While riding through their abandoned camps, two of us, both youngsters, and about equally 'green' came across a most curious figure, an old man with long white hair, and a patriarchal, although sadly unkempt beard. He was dressed in a nondescript coat which looked as if it had begun life blue, then decided to be green, and finally hit upon a dirty drab. He nodded and rode by. We wondered who or what he could be. The more we thought about him the more suspicious he seemed, and we finally agreed that he must be a sort of rebel Rip Van Winkle, who had waked up to find his friends gone and his foes in possession, and was making the best of his way South. We felt proud of our acuteness, and only regretted that we had let him get such a start of us, and that it was impractical to arrest him, or at any rate to satisfy our suspicions. A day or two after we met our old rebel riding along with General Meagher, chatting most amicably, and found that it was Dr. Larry Reynolds, of the Sixty-third, familiarly and fondly known as 'Old Larry' a poet of no mean performance, steeped to the eyes in Irish lore, honest as a looking-glass, with the heart of a child and the growl of a mastiff – a Celtic Diogenes.<sup>22</sup>

As a 'poet of no mean performance' he soon became the poet laureate of the Irish Brigade celebrating its every accomplishment and indeed every suitable occasion in poetry. When Meagher returned to visit his old brigade in the winter of 1863, Reynolds welcomed him with a poem, the first and last verses of which were:

A Welcome to the General<sup>23</sup>

Welcome, welcome, back again,  
Chieftain famed for sword and pen;  
Welcome, hero of the sword –

Speaker of the burning word.  
Like branches from the strong oak cleft,  
We pined – of thee, our trunk, bereft;  
Chief, for whom so long we prayed,  
Welcome to your old Brigade.

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22 Michael Cavanagh, *Waterford Celebrities*, (Waterford News, 1887), p. 10.

23 David C. Newton, Kenneth J. Pluskat (eds.), *The Lost Civil War Diaries: The Diaries of Corporal Timothy J. Regan*, (Indiana, Trafford Publishing, 2003); [www.civilwar-poetry.org](http://www.civilwar-poetry.org)

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Not till our gallant patriot band  
On Erin's soil in arms shall stand,  
And all her silent tears shall fade  
Before the march of our Brigade.

This green flag, which our cheers now fill,  
Shall float in pride o'er Tara's hill;  
And, undisgraced by Saxon crown  
On Dublin Castle shall look down.  
In Old or New World's righteous war  
We ask no nobler chief than Meagher  
And greet with hearts, joys fountains made,  
Our hero to his old Brigade.

After the failure of the Peninsular Campaign, McClellan clashed with Lee at the Battle of Antietam where the Irish Brigade won fame but at an appalling cost. The 63rd alone lost six officers killed and 202 other ranks either killed or wounded out of 341 men engaged. Reynolds and the other surgeons won praise for their dedication as they tended to the bloody butcher's bill in makeshift field hospitals on the battlefield itself. Three months later the regiment, now just 162 strong, went into battle at Fredericksburg and forty-four were reported killed or wounded. The survivors were consolidated into two companies though retaining the title of the 63rd Regiment. It was a similar story for the other regiments in the Irish Brigade and after the Battle of Chancellorsville in May 1863 Meagher resigned his command claiming that his beloved brigade now amounted to little more than a corporal's guard. Despite his resignation the Irish Brigade soldiered on, fighting gallantly at Gettysburg, Brandy Station, Cold Harbour and Petersburg. For its final campaign the brigade was commanded by Brigadier General Tom Smyth who had become a close friend of Reynolds. They both shared a deep commitment to the Fenian movement and Reynolds lauded him in verse on more than one occasion. Smyth was the Brigade's last casualty. He was killed in a skirmish just two days before Lee surrendered at Appomattox in April 1865.

The regiment was formally mustered out of service on 30 June 1865 at Alexandria, Virginia. It then travelled to New York where it participated in the Independence Day parade down 5th Avenue. Pride of place among the officers of the 63rd was given to 'Old Larry'.

At first the Fenian movement had mixed views towards the American Civil War.<sup>24</sup> Some Fenians believed that the Irish should stand aloof and save their efforts for a revolutionary struggle in Ireland while others saw it as an opportunity to gain military experience in preparation for that struggle. However, many Irish

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24 William D'Arcy, *The Fenian Movement in the United States: 1858-1886*, (Catholic University of America Press, 1947).

joined the federal armies and inevitably some began to organise Fenian circles. After the first Fenian convention in Chicago in 1863 a determined effort was made to recruit, especially in the armies. The Army of the Potomac soon became a Fenian stronghold and the head-centre there was Lawrence Reynolds. The monthly meetings were held in the hospital tent. No effort was made to hide the intentions of the brotherhood and meetings and organisation went on openly. Undoubtedly the meetings were convivial as well as conspiratorial. Thomas Galwey, an officer of the 8th Ohio Volunteer Infantry recorded his attendance at one of these meetings noting that it ended with liberal servings of a 'Fenian punch' concocted by the doctor, consisting of whiskey, hot water, condensed milk and nutmeg - mostly whiskey.<sup>25</sup>

The work of Fenian recruitment continued, aided by Tom Smyth. In 1864 the Fenian movement in the United States grew remarkably and when the second national convention was held in Cincinnati in January 1865 there were 348 delegates representing 273 circles, a huge increase on the sixty-three circles at the first convention in Chicago in 1864. Lawrence Reynolds was there, representing the Army of the Potomac. For three days the delegates debated policy, agreeing that 1865 would be the year of action and renewing their organising effort with the appointment of fulltime organisers.<sup>26</sup>

The end of the Civil War in April and the mustering out of thousands of experienced native-born Irishmen and first generation Irish-Americans presented a fertile recruiting ground for the Fenian movement. There is one letter in the Fenian archive showing that Reynolds's commitment to the Fenian cause continued after the war.

To: D. Downing  
28th March 1866.

Hawley, Pennsylvania

According to your instructions I lectured in Hamedelin on the 24th. We formed a circle, elected as centre Edward D. Hollywell to whom you will please send his commission, 17 paid their induction fee, 10 men pledged for next meeting. D. McCarthy, a fine honest fellow who wrote to you paid me \$10 for a bond which I gave him.

On last night I addressed the Irish of Hawley and formed a circle. The number that joined was 64 and about 30 others. M. Bohan elected centre and presided at the meeting and is an able and honest Irishman. Please send him his commission speedily. I already sent for Commissions for John Devlin, Jas. Reilly (Penn.), Fras. A Whittaker (Haze(ton)). I hope they have been sent. On tomorrow I leave for Rockport to visit Capt. O'Shea and labor among his employees.

25 Thomas Francis Galwey, *The Valiant Hours*, (Harrisburg, Stackpole Inc., 1961), p. 75.

26 William D'Arcy, *The Fenian Movement in the United States: 1858-1886*, (Catholic University of America Press, 1947), pp. 47-51.

The weather has been very unpleasant, cold, snowy and I suffered much among the coal hills being often obliged to travel by coaching. However I care not if we help the cause.

I find even among the Roberts and Sweeny men here no railing at John Killian but they imagine a raid into Canada a necessary affair and they are very eager for it and have been taught that to throw men into Ireland or even transport ammunition there is impossible – so tho' they are wrong they are honest.

I am yours truly,

Lawrence Reynolds<sup>27</sup>

Apart from showing his continuing dedication to the Fenian ideal – travelling through the snow-covered hills of Pennsylvania cannot have been easy for a sixty-three-year old man – the letter also throws light on Reynolds's views on the Fenian split. In October 1865 over 600 delegates assembled in Philadelphia for the third national convention. Two conflicting policies emerged. The so-called 'Senate' wing, led by William Roberts and Thomas Sweeney favoured an immediate invasion of Canada. The traditionalists led by John O'Mahony and Bernard Killian wanted to focus on helping a rising in Ireland. It is clear from the letter that Reynolds was a traditionalist. His reference to the Fenian Bond also supports this view since it was the O'Mahony faction that issued these as a fundraising mechanism.

In April and May 1866 the Roberts-Sweeney wing of the Fenian movement prepared their attack on Canada.<sup>28</sup> Given its location on the shores of Lake Ontario and the presence there of an active Fenian circle, Oswego was an important staging-post. On 23 April the *New York Times* reported the seizure by US Marshalls of 140 Springfield rifles in Oswego. They were packed in crates, marked for Patrick Regan, 'a prominent Fenian' and said to be the local part of a consignment of 900 rifles, some of which had already been distributed among Fenians. However, the Fenian plans ended with a raid into Ontario in June. Given Reynolds's views he is unlikely to have played any part in the planning or execution of the Canadian venture.

Riven by faction, Fenianism in America subsequently declined rapidly and it seems that Reynolds's active service to the movement ceased.

### **The Final Years**

Sometime in 1866 Lawrence Reynolds returned to Oswego and resumed his medical practice. His old patients returned to him and he gained many more especially among the immigrant Irish and the demobilized war veterans. Once again he

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27 American Catholic History Research Centre and University Archives, Fenian Brotherhood Collection, Box 1, Folder 9, Item 19.

28 Hereward Senior, *The Last Invasion of Canada: The Fenian Raids, 1866-1870*, (Dundrum Press, 1991).

became active in many associations. As a speaker he was in constant demand especially at meetings of the Democratic Party. He constantly campaigned for Democratic nominees especially for the presidency. In 1884, at the age of 81, he spoke on a public platform in favour of Grover Cleveland, declaring that if elected Cleveland would be the only honest president in twenty-five years. Cleveland was elected, the only Democrat to be elected in the era of Republican domination from 1860 to 1912.<sup>29</sup> However, personal loyalty could override political ties. In 1879 he wrote to the newspapers endorsing an old comrade, General Joseph M. Carr, a Republican, as candidate for Secretary of State for New York. He was active in the local post (branch) of the Veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic. He was also president of the Father Matthew Temperance Society in Oswego – a slightly surprising position given his liberality with Fenian punch!

By 1881 ‘Old Larry’ began to consider retirement. Although never very assiduous in collecting his professional fees as a doctor, he had amassed the not inconsiderable sum of \$30,000. Like many others, his thoughts turned to the West. He invested his money, via a land-agent named John McDonald in a 360-acre farm in Pawnee County, Kansas. Perhaps he had an idyllic idea of retiring to a rural Eden, maybe he thought of his father living out his final years as a gentleman farmer near Dunmore East or maybe he thought of that old project to encourage rural settlement by immigrant Irish. The first week in July 1881 was marked by farewell parties and public tributes and then he headed west. There was to be no happy ending. When he arrived in Pawnee County he found neither farm, nor money nor any trace of the land-agent. At the age of seventy-eight he was alone, penniless and his health was failing him.<sup>30</sup> After some months, word of his predicament reached Oswego. His friends rallied around him and organised a benefit concert.<sup>31</sup> The funds raised enabled him to return, first to Chicago where he convalesced for a while and then home to Oswego. A notice in the *Oswego Palladium* in March 1883 announced that he had taken rooms and was resuming his practice. Although he was soon involved again in Democratic politics and other interests, to many it seemed that his old sparkle and wit were gone. The Kansas episode had broken his spirit. He died on 25 April 1887 after a brief illness.

The obituaries praised him for his devotion and philanthropy, the phrase ‘poor man’s doctor’ featuring in many of them. All noted how he had ministered to the most needy without thought or expectation of being paid. His funeral was a massive event as thousands turned out to pay tribute to their favourite doctor, most not knowing of his many and varied careers.<sup>32</sup> A scholar, a poet, a wit, a dedicated doctor and above all a man who loved his country and its people, his death went largely unnoticed in the city of his birth. One small notice in the *Waterford News* of 20 May 1887 which was copied from the *Limerick Reporter* of 17 May was the only mark of his passing.

He surely deserved better.

29 *Oswego Palladium*, 2 September 1884.

30 *Oswego Palladium Times*, 20 November 1945; *Oswega Morning Post*, 7 July 1881.

31 *Oswego Moring Post*, 10 May 1882; *Oswego Daily Palladium*, 14 June 1882.

32 *Oswego Daily Palladium*, 25 April 1887; *Oswego Morning Express*, 10 May 1887.

### **Note on Sources**

Details of the first forty years of Lawrence Reynolds's life are meagre. What we do know we owe in the main to two sources – Michael Cavanagh and Maurice Lenihan.

Michael Cavanagh (1822-1900) and Lawrence Reynolds shared much in common – Waterfordmen, Young Irelanders, poets, Civil War veterans and Fenians. Cavanagh fled to the USA after the attempted rising in Cappoquin in 1849 – the last flicker of Young Ireland. For most of the Civil War he stayed in the background but there is some evidence that he served briefly in the 99th New York Volunteers. He was primarily involved in the Fenian movement and it was Fenianism that drew Cavanagh and Reynolds together in Brooklyn in 1865. They became close friends and shared reminiscences which Cavanagh used in his book *Waterford Celebrities*.

Maurice Lenihan (1811-1895) is known today for his *History of Limerick* published in 1864. However, he was a native of Waterford, born in St. Patrick's Parish on 5 February 1811. After education locally and at St. Patrick's College Carlow he became a journalist. In 1833 he joined the *Waterford Chronicle* and stayed there for eight years before moving to Limerick to become the editor of the *Limerick Reporter*. If, as suggested above, Reynolds's newspaper involvement was with the *Waterford Chronicle*, then he would have been in a position to at least know of Reynolds. Hence the value of the reference by Lenihan to him in the series entitled 'Irish Reminiscences' which he published occasionally in the pages of the *Limerick Reporter* in the 1860s.

# Arthur Westcott-Pitt: Waterford's Aviation Pioneer

*Patrick J. Cummins*

## **Introduction**

The decade from 1930 onwards was the golden age of aviation in Ireland and Arthur Westcott-Pitt can be considered to be one of the pioneer aviators of that period. However, he is rarely mentioned in books or references dealing with the history of Irish aviation, despite having established the third Irish airline company, owning one of the few private airstrips in the country and operating several aircraft.

Arthur Pitt was born in Wallington, Surrey, England on 20 October 1899 to John and Emily Pitt. His mother was the eldest daughter of Henry Bell, who had established a pharmaceutical company in Waterford city in 1862. The firm, Henry Bell Ltd, which also specialised in veterinary medical preparations, had premises at 62 the Quay, beside the Granville Hotel. A large mock ball was suspended on a mounting over the entrance to these premises, which became a landmark for many years.

## **Early interest in aviation**

Arthur served with the Comitié Britannique de la Croix Rouge (Red Cross) during the First World War until he was demobilised in May 1920. His interest in flying apparently originated about this time when he returned to England after demobilisation.

In the same year the De Havilland Aircraft Company had been established at Stag Lane aerodrome, on the outskirts of London, which was near Pitt's home. The company had constructed a factory at this aerodrome for the production of light aircraft and also formed the De Hallivand Flying Cub for teaching people who had acquired the company's aircraft how to fly. On most days Pitt used to cycle from his home to watch the aerial activity at Stag Lane. He eventually learned to fly in 1924, probably with this flying club. He was issued with Certificate No.8636 by the Royal Aero Club on 10 June 1929 and a PPL (Private Pilots' Licence) was issued by the Air Ministry seven days later.

## **Waterford and Irish Airlines**

In 1924 Arthur Pitt moved to Waterford, joining his grandfather's firm, Henry Bell Ltd. He and his brother Ernest studied Pharmaceutical Chemistry in Dublin, qualifying in 1924 and 1926 respectively.



*Plate 1: Arthur Westcott-Pitt in flying gear, probably circa 1930.*



His principal interest remained aviation however. On 11 October 1930 Pitt received an endorsement to his PPL by the Transport and Marine Branch, Department of Industry and Commerce, which allowed him to fly aircraft in the Irish Free State.

He established Irish Airlines with a registered address at 62 the Quay, Waterford (the premises of Henry Bell) and laid out a private grass airstrip on land at Croxtown, on the outskirts of Dunmore East, with a hangar to accommodate the airline's aircraft. The airline offered the following services: aerial photography, aerial advertising, air taxi, aerial gymkhana, pleasure flying and also had a sales department for aircraft. Two Avro 504Ks (EI-AAM and EI-AAN) and a Blackbird Bluebird IV (EI-AAO) were acquired for the airline. Two experienced pilots, Andrew Woods and Cecil Miller, were also employed.

From 1917 the Avro 504k had been the standard basic training aircraft operated by the RFC (Royal Flying Corps) and later the Royal Air Force and remained in service for a decade following the end of World War I. More than 300 war-surplus Avro 504Ks were also acquired by civilian aviation enterprises, similar to Irish Air Lines, which were used for flying training, pleasure flying, aerial advertising and other tasks. The Blackbird Bluebird IV, with side by side seating, was used by civilian training schools and other operators as a training and touring aircraft from about 1928 onwards.

Commencing in July 1932 these aircraft provided pleasure flights for visitors to Tramore, taking off from the famous strand when the tide was out. On Sunday 31 July 1932, one of the Avro 504s (EI-AAM), piloted by Andrew Woods, took off from the strand at 11 am and 'was seen to rise up vertically', which 'was first thought to be part of a stunt', according to a contemporary newspaper report. At an altitude of approximately 60 feet, the aircraft 'turned over on its back' and went into a nose dive and crashed near the Promenade, the impact with the strand causing the aircraft to turn over on its back. Both wings were broken, and the propeller was smashed in the crash. Pitt was the first person to reach the crashed aircraft and with the help of bystanders released Woods from the wreckage. He was treated by a local doctor before being brought to the County and City Infirmary but was not seriously injured, only sustaining superficial injuries and shock. The Avro 504 was damaged beyond repair and had to be scrapped. Andrew Woods later joined the Irish Army Air Corps, and reached the rank of Commandant and officer commanding the photographic section.

On August 19, 1932 the Bluebird IV (EI-AAO) was wrecked in a crash on the Back Strand at Tramore. Carrying two priests as passengers the aircraft had just taken off when 'the engine seemed to stop', just over the 'site of the stand of the old racecourse', according to a contemporary newspaper report. The Bluebird ended up on its nose 'in the mud near Halley's field' and was damaged beyond repair, but the pilot and passengers were not injured. Following these crashes there was only one aircraft left available for flights, the Avro 504K (EI-ANN), and Irish Airlines went out of business in 1933.



*Plate 2: Avro 504K (EI-AAM) which was badly damaged in a crash on Tramore Strand, July 1932.*



*Plate 3: Arthur Westcott-Pitt with his Auster Autocrat light aircraft, which he acquired in 1947.*

Pitt's aviation activities seem to have been curtailed over the next twelve years, which was probably due to his involvement in the management and restructuring of the pharmaceutical company, Henry Bell Ltd. The managing director of the company, Samuel Bell, a son of Henry, retired in 1935, which resulted in Pitt with his brother, Ernest, becoming joint managing directors of the company. A factory 'for the manufacture of chemical preparations' was also established at Exchange Street Waterford about the same time.

During this period Arthur married Miss Emma Elizabeth Westcott on 31 July 1936 and he changed his name to Westcott-Pitt by deed-poll following his marriage. They lived in a substantial residence in Dunmore East, which had been constructed early in the twentieth century.

Between 1939 and 1945 all private flying was banned by the Irish government for the duration of the Emergency. However, according to a local newspaper report in 1946, Westcott-Pitt was 'engaged in ferrying 'planes from Canada to Britain . . . in the early part of the late war'.

### **Post-war years**

In 1946 Westcott-Pitt resumed his flying activities, initially by developing the airfield at Coxtown for commercial aviation. Following an inspection by engineers from the Department of Industry and Commerce, a licence for the airstrip under the Air Navigation Regulations was granted in the following year. Named the South of Ireland Airport, the airfield was licensed 'as a regular place of landing or departure of aircraft carrying passengers or goods for hire or reward and instructional flying'. At that time the new airport was the only one licensed for the use of civil aircraft, south of the airports at Collinstown (later named Dublin International Airport) and Rineanna (later Shannon International Airport). The airport, which had a main runway of 750 yards with a grass surface, could provide petrol refuelling facilities and hangar accommodation for three ten-seater planes. A ground engineer was also available and customs clearance facilities could also be arranged for visiting aircraft.

In 1947 there was an unsuccessful attempt to establish an airport at Waterford. An Airport Committee was set up by Waterford Chamber of Commerce and there were discussions regarding the matter with the Department of Industry and Commerce. Westcott-Pitt offered the use of his airport free of cost until 31 October 1947 to Waterford Corporation, Waterford County Council and the Irish Tourist Board 'to judge the possibilities and requirements for the local airport', but the offer was not accepted.

In May 1947 Westcott-Pitt acquired an Auster J/1 Autocrat (ex G-AIBK) for his own private use, which was registered in Ireland (as EI-ACY) and was based at the airport. The Autocrat, which was a popular light aircraft in the immediate post-war years, was constructed by the British aviation company, Auster Aviation Ltd. Capable of carrying two passengers and a pilot, the autocrat was inexpensive to fly and maintain. The Autocrat was flown regularly by Westcott-Pitt until he sold it to the Galway Flying Club in 1965.



*Plate 4: Westcott-Pitt in the cockpit of the Auster Autocrat.*



*Plate 5: The hangar at the airfield at Coxtown, Dunmore East.*

Westcott-Pitt was also secretary of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution in Dunmore East for twenty-three years and used the Autocrat on a number of occasions to carry out an aerial search for ships in distress or missing persons at sea.

For about twenty years the airport was a popular landing destination for British touring aviators and was also visited by some famous airmen during this period. On Sunday 28 September 1952 the first post-war air rally in Ireland was held at the airport with aircraft from Ireland and the United Kingdom participating. These included Miles Geminis, Messengers, Austeres and Piper Clubs, the most modern light aircraft of that period. The famous test pilot Neville Duke used the airport during the delivery of a de Havilland Tiger Moth (EI-AJP) to Air Kruises (Ireland) Ltd. on 10 April 1967.

In July 1955 the Irish Defence Forces conducted military exercises in the Dunmore East area to test certain aspects of Air Defence Plans and calibration of equipment as well as training personnel. These exercises included a mobile GCI (Ground Controlled Interception) radar unit, which could be used to detect hostile aircraft in a combat situation. Operating from the airport at Dunmore East, de Hallivand Chipmunks of the Irish Air Corps were used as target aircraft to calibrate the radar system and train Signal Corps personnel to operate and detect aircraft with the mobile GCI unit.

Westcott-Pitt charged to the Department of Defence for the use of the airport during these exercises. However, these charges were considered excessive by the department, which refused to pay and Westcott-Pitt instituted legal proceedings for the sum of £164. Following negotiations between both parties an offer of £90 with an additional £15. 15s. expenses were accepted by Westcott-Pitt.

On August 16, 1962 nine Rollasan Turbulents, flown by members of the Tiger Club, arrived at the airfield in Dunmore East. These ultra light aircraft, which were powered by motor-car engines, had flown from England and took off again after being refuelled. The aviators were on a six day tour of Ireland, which included shark fishing off Kinsale and attending the opening of an airfield near Kells Co. Meath.

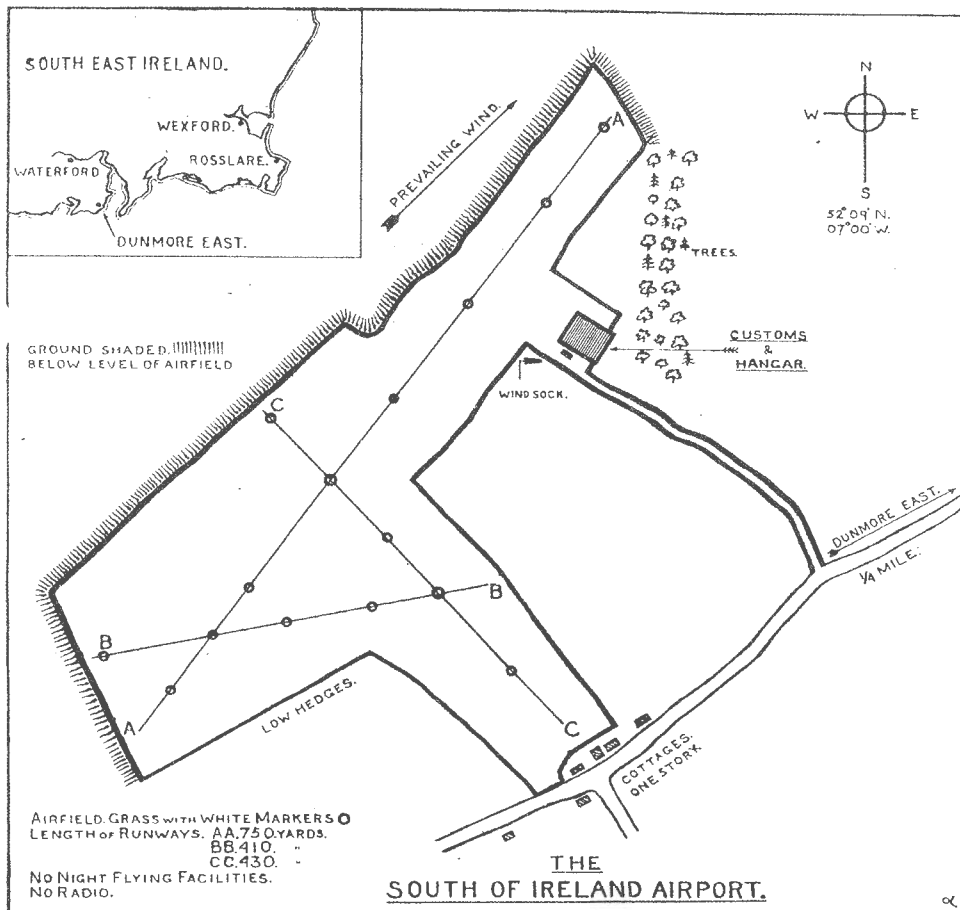
### **Decline**

From about 1967 onwards there was a decline in aviation activities at the airfield, the land being used for agricultural purposes instead, with farm machinery and other implements stored in the hangar. About 1975, two local aviators, Chris Hennesy and Peter Brophy, who were attempting to establish a flying club in the Waterford area, approached Westcott-Pitt about using the airfield again for flying. Although apparently interested he was non-committal as the airfield was under corn and was being used solely for agricultural purposes.

Arthur Westcott-Pitt died on November 19, 1979, aged eighty years, and was interred in the Friends' Burial Ground, Newtown. His wife, Emma, had predeceased him by five years.

## THE GATEWAY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SOUTHERN IRELAND.

(A sea crossing of only 47 miles.)



*The South of Ireland Airport, situated 1/4-mile West of Dunmore East, is a private airfield usable only with prior permission. Dunmore East has two Hotels, "The Strand" and "The Harbour." There are buses and taxis and it is only 15 minutes by road from Waterford, the Port for Cross-channel Passenger Boats and junction of six railway lines.*

*The owner accepts no responsibility for any injury to persons or aircraft under any circumstances whatsoever. They are here at their own risk. Terms—Nett Cash.*

Westcott-Pitt was a man before his time. His concept of an airport for the South East of Ireland, an aerial search and rescue service for the region and a flying club have all come to fruition in the past thirty years.

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THE  
**SOUTH OF IRELAND AIRPORT**  
DUNMORE EAST

200 FEET ABOVE SEA LEVEL.	CO. WATERFORD. A. WESTCOTT-PITT.	52° 09' N. 07° 00' W.	
		TELEPHONE DUNMORE EAST 7.	
PETROL 87 & 73 OCTANE	CUSTOMS FACILITIES AVAILABLE	HANGAR ACCOMMODATION (40 FT. SPAN)	GROUND ENGINEER

THE GATEWAY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SOUTHERN IRELAND.





# Bridget Redmond: The Keeper of the Redmondite Flame in Waterford

*Alice McDermott*

Bridget Redmond was invited to stand as a Cumann na nGaedheal candidate in Waterford city in the 1933 general election.<sup>1</sup> The seat she was being asked to contest had been vacant since the death of her husband, Captain William Redmond, nine months previously. When she accepted the invitation and proceeded to challenge for the seat, she was in effect undertaking and for twenty years subsequently, as it turned out, to carry the torch for Redmondism.

Redmondism was a political curiosity that is, to date, little understood and, consequently, frequently misrepresented, particularly in relation to its fundamental *raison d'être*. Because it was, contrary to popular opinion, unique to Waterford city and its environs, and founded, although not formally, in the latter part of 1891, when, following several discussions with key personnel from the group<sup>2</sup> that was to form his loyal home-base Redmondite supporters and during which an extraordinary reciprocal meeting of minds and motivations for the city and its future place in the world occurred, John Redmond agreed to stand for election in the upcoming by-election against Michael Davitt. Redmondism was, therefore, inevitably and crucially, entirely independent of party and national politics.<sup>3</sup> Lack of awareness of this little-remarked fact<sup>4</sup> is what underpins the many misconceptions about the essential nature of Redmondism that, significantly, still abound.

What exactly was Redmondism and how did it come to be passed from the first to the second and on to the third Redmond to represent Waterford in parliament over a sixty-one year period? This article will attempt to answer that question through an exploration of the Redmondite phenomenon. Then, lest the impression be created that she was nothing other than the holder of the compelling political legacy of the Redmonds on their home ground, it will analyse the extent to which Bridget Redmond was considerably more than simply a torch bearer for her legendary (in Waterford at any rate) father-in-law and husband. The seeming contradictions of her sometimes extremely right-wing and sometimes extremely left-wing affiliations and ideologies will be identified and considered. The article will

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1 For further details, see M. O'Neill, *Reminiscences of Waterford*, (Michelle O'Neill, 1997), p. 48.

2 Largely composed of Ballybricken pig-buyers, employees of the city's bacon factories, and various others associated with the local livestock industry.

3 See Alice McDermott, *John Redmond: A Man of his Community*, unpublished thesis, University of Limerick, 1998.

4 Because it is documented, although not to a significant degree, in both scholarly and popular histories of Waterford.

conclude with an assessment of Bridget Redmond's political dogma and legacy, locally and nationally, in particular, the fact that her demise brought to an inevitable end that most fascinating community expression of communal support and admiration, Redmondism.

Because, essentially, at the core of the spectacle that was Redmondism was an extraordinary mutual affection between the Redmond family and their supporters in Waterford city and its surroundings that, as has been mentioned, lasted for six decades.

Perhaps the most surprising feature of Redmondism was the fact that it was initially created around the unlikely, many would say, persona of John Redmond. He was first elected MP for Waterford city, as has been noted, in a by-election contested with Michael Davitt in 1891. He held the seat continuously for twenty-seven subsequent years. During that time, nationally, he became the leader of Parnellism<sup>5</sup> from Charles Stewart Parnell's death in 1891 until the Home Rule Party was reunited in 1900, at which time he was elected leader of the re-branded and re-launched Irish Parliamentary Party, a position he held for a further eighteen years until his death on 6 March 1918.

John Redmond is an interesting example of the absolute differences that can often exist between local and national experiences and, accordingly, perceptions of the same political figure, throughout the person's lifetime and, indeed, subsequently. While his status amongst his supporters in Waterford city during his twenty-seven year term of office there was that of heroic 'local champion',<sup>6</sup> most contemporary and consequent analyses of his performances nationally throughout his political career, a relatively modest circle of friends, colleagues, and supporters notwithstanding, concluded that he fundamentally failed in his efforts to cohesively channel differing nationalist sentiments into supporting constitutional efforts to secure Home Rule for Ireland because of his inability to convince them, as Parnell had earlier done, that dominion status was a worthwhile stage in the separatist process for any and all exponents of national autonomy. His failure was, of course, directly linked to the fact that, fundamentally, and, perhaps, uniquely amongst his fellow-Home Rule/Irish Parliamentary Party MPs, John Redmond was not a separatist. In any event, accounts of his failings nationally, including accusations of being 'spineless', 'dangerously detached', 'shy, aloof, formal, ponderous', demonstrating 'selfishness', and having patent 'limitations', have been comprehensively documented, by contemporaries and historians alike.<sup>7</sup>

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5 For an account of the various factors that constituted 'Parnellism', see D. McCartney, 'Parnell and Parnellism', in D. McCartney (ed.), *Parnell: The Politics of Power*, (Wolfhound Press, 1991), pp. 9-18. See also D. Meleady, *Redmond: The Parnellite* (Cork University Press, 2008), pp. 85-116.

6 See Alice McDermott, *John Redmond: A Man of his Community*, unpublished thesis, University of Limerick, 1998, p. 1.

7 See, for example, W. O'Brien, *The Downfall of Parliamentarianism: A Retrospective for the Accounting Day*, (Maunsel and Co. Ltd., 1918), pp. 17-20; National Library of Ireland, *Redmond Papers*, Mrs. W. O'Brien, *Reminiscences of John and Willie Redmond*, pp. 19, 26-7; N. Mansergh, 'John Redmond', in D. Mansergh (ed.),

His status as ‘local hero’ amongst his followers in Waterford city has, however, been largely ignored. And John Redmond was idolised by his circle of admirers in the city. He was, in fact, literally adored by them.<sup>8</sup> This adoration began, as has been mentioned, just prior to the moment that Redmond first secured his position as MP for Waterford city in the 1891 by-election, when he announced his willingness to attempt to secure the seat.<sup>9</sup> While bemusement at the ferocity of the instant mutual connection between Redmond and his supporters in the city, which gave birth to the Redmondite enigma, was fairly widely expressed, locally and nationally, both contemporaneously and subsequently, the nature and substance of the phenomenon as it played out in the city has yet to be fully investigated.<sup>10</sup>

The following details, however, are documented. John Redmond’s Home Rule ‘position’ was firmly and unequivocally based on preserving the link with the British Empire<sup>11</sup> while many other Home Rule, later Irish Parliamentary Party, MPs based theirs on a moving away from the same monolith. Waterford city, in the main, had, at the time of Redmond’s first election as the region’s representative at Westminster, a seven hundred-year history of loyalty to the British Empire that was still firmly entrenched.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the attitude of Redmond’s followers in the city towards Home Rule was fundamentally different to that of supporters of the cause elsewhere in Ireland because Home Rulers in Waterford city, too, like their newly elected MP, advocated dominion status as a means of preserving, rather than withdrawing from, membership of the British Empire.<sup>13</sup> They desperately needed a champion who would keep their city state safe within the British Empire and they were absolutely certain that John Redmond was the perfect candidate to entrust

*Nationalism and Independence*, (Cork University Press, 1997), pp. 23-31; M. Laffan, ‘John Redmond’, in C. Brady (ed.), *Worsted in the Game: Losers in Irish History*, (Lilliput Press, 1989), pp. 133-142; D. Meleady, *Redmond: The Parnellite*, (Cork University Press, 2008), p. 1, p. 347A; Clarke, R. Fanning *et al.* (eds.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, (Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 418.

- 8 For some indications of local sentiment regarding John Redmond, see E. McEneaney (ed.), *A History of Waterford and its Mayors from the 12th to the 20th Century*, (Waterford Corporation, 1995), pp. 215-19; P.C. Power, *History of Waterford City and County* (Mercier Press, 1990), pp. 221-31.
- 9 For details of the bye-election, see ‘Mr. Redmond Returned’, *Waterford News*, 2 January 1892.
- 10 The issue was addressed in Alice McDermott, *John Redmond: A Man of his Community*, unpublished thesis, University of Limerick, 1998.
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- 12 For details of same, see Julian C. Walton, *The Royal Charters of Waterford*, (Waterford Corporation, 1992), pp. 15-19; William Nolan, W., Power (eds.), *Waterford: History and Society*, (Geography Publications, 1992), pp. 147-168 and E. McEneaney (ed.), *A History of Waterford and its Mayors from the 12th to the 20th Century*, (Waterford Corporation, 1995), pp. 191-7, 201-6.
- 13 See Paul Bew, *Ideology and the Irish Question: Ulster Unionism and Irish Nationalism 1912-1916*, (Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 118-52.

with the task. Redmond, for his part, already ideologically committed to the same imperial aspiration, and equally convinced that he could safeguard Waterford city, and, indeed, the rest of the country, within same, was willing to accept both the role and the challenge it presented. It was these parallel positions on Home Rule that were at the heart of the remarkable and immediate mutual regard between John Redmond and his Waterford city supporters and which, as has been noted, sowed the first seeds of Redmondism in 1891.

The unity of purpose thereby mutually enshrined appeared to instil in John Redmond a confidence, a sense of belonging, of 'coming home', a shared destiny, and, consequently, a charisma and dynamic energy<sup>14</sup> when engaging with his local supporters that is nothing short of amazing when one considers that he was never able to replicate any of those same vibrant traits on the national stage. Because, unfortunately for Redmond in his unenviable role as successor to the 'uncrowned king', he never managed to get his finger on the pulse of Irish life in the same way that Parnell had done and was, therefore, simply unable to grasp the undivided attention of the nation. So stark, in fact, was the contrast between Redmond's local and national engagements, between, essentially, his magnetism in Waterford and his general failure to impress across the political spectrum countrywide and indeed internationally<sup>15</sup>, that it was almost as if one John Redmond interacted in the city and a completely different one elsewhere. The explanation for his very different styles of engagement locally and nationally was, however, much simpler than that. His supporters in the city secure in the knowledge that their MP's Home Rule vision mirrored theirs, and that both were isolated and vulnerable in the Ireland of the 1890s, championed Redmond so unconditionally that they inspired the relatively lacklustre national politician to be both dynamic and heroic in his local community. This was also at the core of Redmondism.

So, too, was the support of the Ballybricken pig buyers who remained staunchly loyal to the Redmond family for the sixty-one years during which they sequentially represented the area in parliament.<sup>16</sup> This support had been initially and universally given to John Redmond by the pig buyers, of course, even before he represented and successfully negotiated a settlement to the long running pig buyers' dispute (1892-1897)<sup>17</sup> in the city that had almost destroyed their livelihoods. Never forgetting that it was Redmond who secured their futures through his interventions on their behalves, the Ballybricken pig buyers added a third vital ingredient to the 'mix' of local circumstances that gave birth to Redmondism in early 1890s Waterford city.

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14 See, for example, 'Mr. Redmond's Visit', *Waterford News*, 26 January 1895.

15 For an account of the various factors that constituted 'Parnellism', see D. McCartney, 'Parnell and Parnellism' in D. McCartney (ed.), *Parnell: The Politics of Power*, (Wolfhound Press, 1991), pp. 9-18.

16 For further details, see E. O'Connor, *A Labour History of Waterford*, (Waterford Trades Council, 1989), pp. 103-7 and 'The Influence of Redmondism on the Development of the Labour Movement in Waterford in the 1890s', in *Decies* 10 (1979).

17 *Ibid.*

Throughout the remainder of his career as MP for the city, Redmond worked hard to maintain and develop his remarkable relationship with his supporters there. Using the strong foundations just outlined, upon which the phenomenon was initially created, he spent the next quarter of a century shaping and refining the complex, enduring, and highly efficient political edifice that was Redmondism until it was strong enough to survive, not just his death but also that of his son subsequently.

To the shared vision of imperial connectedness and the mutually nurturing bond between Redmond and his city supporters, in particular, the pig buyers, Redmond added to the Redmondite band-wagon, as early as October 1891<sup>18</sup>, two months before the by-election that gave him the constituency of Waterford city, tremendously popular ingredients such as the inclusion of local bands at public events and political rallies hosted by him, processions from the railway station either to Ballybricken or his committee rooms on the Mall, depending on the nature and purpose of his numerous visits both then and on future occasions<sup>19</sup> and ‘monster meetings’ that followed each of the processions through the city. These three additions to the Redmondite phenomenon all contained strong echoes of the earlier and hugely successful machinery and tactics of O’Connellite popular politics.<sup>20</sup>

By degrees over the years that followed, as changing trends and developments dictated, in particular, changes to voting entitlements as democracy continued to ‘dawn’ in Ireland,<sup>21</sup> Redmond added to the Redmondite spectacle a constantly re-inforced sense of pride, amongst his supporters, in themselves and their ancient city, with its medieval motto, *Urbs Intacta*, and what both signified, specifically that Waterford city was a loyal outpost of Empire; a refining of his constituency workers and workings in such a way as to make his political base in the city more visible, tangible, accessible, and progressive; a ‘firming up’ of working-class support for Redmondism through the provision of political education for the ‘lower classes’<sup>22</sup> and the offering of similar tuition to women.

This was the mighty and evolving edifice, with its ten distinct elements, that was Redmondism at the time of John Redmond’s death in March 1918. To all appearances, in the days following his funeral, Redmond’s death left Redmondism without its main reason for existing and therefore or so it seemed, its future was apparently neither possible nor probable. In the event, such assumptions grossly

18 See Alice McDermott, *John Redmond: A Man of his Community*, unpublished thesis, University of Limerick, 1998, pp. 13-14.

19 Interestingly, none of the Redmonds ever acquired property in the city. Instead, in turn, they stayed at the Imperial Hotel (now the Tower Hotel).

20 For comparisons with same, see F. O’Ferrall, *Daniel O’Connell*, (Gill and Macmillan, 1981), pp. 49-52. See also Patrick M. Geoghegan, *King Dan: The Rise of Daniel O’Connell 1775-1829*, (Gill and Macmillan, 2008), pp. 88, 101-4, 158, 237.

21 For further details, see D. McCartney, *The Dawning of Democracy 1800-1870*, (Helicon Ltd., 1987).

22 See Alice McDermott, *John Redmond: A Man of his Community*, unpublished thesis, University of Limerick, 1998, p. 21.



*Plate 1: Signed photograph, Captain Willie Redmond 1918 in his Irish Guard's uniform with DSO ribbon.*      *Courtesy Waterford Museum of Treasures.*

underestimated the nature and function of the force that was Redmondism, including the needs and motivations of John Redmond's local supporters who fuelled it so impressively both before and as it happened, after his death.

Because, as has been noted, nobody outside the immediate faction that was the Redmondite clique in Waterford city perhaps even very few of those who were part of its 'magic circle', could have anticipated that Redmondism was by 1918, vital, necessary, and strong enough to survive the death of the man who had inspired it in the first instance.

But that was precisely what happened in the immediate aftermath of John Redmond's death. Local Redmondite supporters asked his son, Captain William Redmond who at that time was the sitting Home Rule MP for Tyrone East, to contest the Waterford city by-election held three weeks after his death to fill the vacancy created by his passing.<sup>23</sup> William Redmond agreed to challenge for the Redmondite home base, resigned as MP for Tyrone East, and duly took his father's seat by a majority of almost two-to-one against the Sinn Féin challenger, Dr. V. J. White. Redmondism was clearly still a significant dominant force in Waterford city with William Redmond, who, physically and politically, so uncannily resembled his father,<sup>24</sup> as its new champion.<sup>25</sup> The 'mirror image' nature of William Redmond's multi-faceted similitude to his father was also, of course, enormously helpful in creating the sense, amongst the city's Redmondite supporters, that the 1918 by-election result, in a peculiar way, guaranteed the smooth continuation of the Redmondite tradition so long established there. Moreover, the victory occurred, it should be noted, despite the swing towards support for Sinn Féin amongst the Irish public generally in the aftermath of both the 1916 Rising and a sense of growing disenchantment with the conduct and repercussions for all involved of the First World War, and imperial culpability for same. With the Irish political and social landscape substantially altered, almost on a daily basis, by 'fall out' from these events, both William Redmond and Redmondism were to face a serious challenge to his stewardship of the phenomenon just nine months later, soon after the ending of the First World War, and at a time when support for Sinn Féin was almost universal across the twenty-six counties that were to make up, some few years later, the Irish Free State.

Because a general election was called for 14 December 1918. And it was that election, perhaps even more than the by-election earlier in the year, which showed just how formidable a force Redmondism still was in the region, despite the loss of its first leader, the new-ness and lack of local political experience of its second, and the rising 'green' tide, previously noted, that covered almost the whole of the rest of the country. When all the votes were counted, nationally, Sinn Féin won

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23 For by-election results, see B. Walker, (ed.), *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland 1801-1922*, (Royal Irish Academy, 1978), p. 378.

24 See William Redmond pictured with his father in T. Denman, *A Lonely Grave: The Life and Death of William Redmond*, (Irish Academic Press, 1995), p. 81.

25 For further details, see Pat McCarthy, 'The Irish Volunteers and Waterford Part 11, 1916-1919: The Resistible Rise of Sinn Féin' in *Decies* 61 (2005), pp. 254-255.

seventy-three seats, the Unionists twenty-six, and the Irish Parliamentary Party only six, four in what was to become the six counties, one in Trinity College, Dublin, and one in Waterford city. William Redmond had held the Redmondite seat there against what many would have wagered were insurmountable odds, one of only two candidates in the country to win against a Sinn Féin candidate.<sup>26</sup> His victory thus made Waterford city ‘the most unrepresentative constituency in the country’<sup>27</sup>. Given that John Redmond and Waterford city had, for twenty-seven years prior to that, carried with pride their Home Rule vision that was so essentially different to dominion status aspirations elsewhere in the country, the outcome of the election in the region was, for the area’s Redmondites, nothing less than a fitting tribute to his memory. Once again, the Redmonds and Redmondism were defying the national trend as they had done consistently for the previous (almost) three decades.

While the response from local Redmondites to William Redmond’s victory in the by-election nine months previously had been somewhat subdued because they were grieving the recent loss of their leader, there were no such restraints on the occasion of his second, and much more significant victory, given the political ‘green tide’ sweeping over much of Ireland’s twenty-six counties at the time. Eyewitness accounts<sup>28</sup> of the event offer wonderful insights into Redmondism as it evolved into its second phase of development during this significant period in nationalist Ireland’s evolution. Two spectators recall how ‘Captain Redmond arrived in [British Army] uniform’ for the election, presumably to reinforce his own, and the city’s, loyalty to the institution and to announce his intention of continuing to seek inclusion within its folds, despite what the majority of Irish people elsewhere in the soon-to-be Free State contrarily supported and desired. They recite the following verse, composed to commemorate William Redmond’s election success, as evidence of the extent to which he seamlessly took the Redmondite torch from his father:

Oh, you’re welcome, Captain Redmond  
To our city by the Suir  
You’re welcome Captain Redmond  
By the rich and by the poor.  
Your father fought for Eireann  
In the Commons every day

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26 See B. Walker, (ed.), *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland 1918-92*, (Royal Irish Academy, 1992), pp. 4-9. See also A. Clarke, R. Fanning, *et al.* (eds.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, p. 421.

27 From J. Lee, *The Modernisation of Irish Society 1848-1918*, (Gill and Macmillan, 1973), p. 159. See also Pat McCarthy, ‘The Irish Volunteers and Waterford Part 11, 1916-1919: The Resistible Rise of Sinn Féin’ in *Decies* 61 (2005), pp. 254-255.

28 In 1998, the writer of the current article interviewed two surviving Redmondites who had been present when William Redmond made his victory speech after the 1918 General Election. The tape of the interview, together with a transcript, are lodged with the library in the University of Limerick.



While deValera was off  
 In foreign America.  
 You'll hear them shout  
 And you'll hear them strut  
 About what they're going to do  
 To pull our lands  
 From deValera's hands  
 Is looking very blue.  
 Oh, where were all those Irishmen  
 When the Home Rule bill was brung (*Sic.*)  
 They were plotting  
 They were planning  
 To undo what we had done.

Five weeks later, in January 1919, the first Irish Dáil assembled in the Mansion House in Dublin. The year 1919 also saw the outbreak of the War of Independence fought against British rule in Ireland. This was followed by the 1921 Treaty which, with its granting of Free State status to twenty-six of Ireland's southern counties, brought the conflict with Britain to an end. Disagreement between pro and anti-treatyites over the partitioning of the island gave rise to civil war which, unfortunately, divided the country for a further two years until 1923. Despite the tragedy, for all concerned, of internal conflict, the granting of Free State status to Ireland's twenty-six counties secured the original aspiration of Redmondism in Waterford. Redmondism continued in existence there, however, although it does seem likely that its purpose shifted, more and more, as the years progressed, towards maintaining a shrine to John Redmond while, simultaneously, welcoming the two later Redmonds as members of his hallowed family and caretakers of his legacy.

The two eyewitnesses previously mentioned also recall how, on subsequent visits to Waterford city after the 1918 General Election, William Redmond frequently wondered publicly, in his addresses to supporters, what he had done to warrant such hearty receptions every time he visited his constituency,

'...And sure, why wouldn't we give it to you, we were mad about your father', they'd (the assembled crowd) be shouting.

William Redmond stood in four further general elections in Waterford city, as an independent in 1923 when he took the second seat, two in 1927 in both of which he took the first seat standing for the short-lived National League Party that he had helped to found, and a fourth in 1932 when he again took the first seat standing for Cumann na nGaedheal.

Various newspaper accounts throughout the fourteen years during which William Redmond represented Waterford city, firstly as an Irish Parliamentary Party MP, secondly as an Independent TD, thirdly as an Irish National League Party TD and fourthly as a Cumann na nGaedheal TD, further substantiate the assertion made earlier that as a Redmondite in the second phase of its development, he was an ambassador for his father's memory. In fact, as has been noted,

his physical and political mirroring of his father's image, while undoubtedly innate rather than affected, played an important part in his fourteen years of electoral successes in the region. And Redmondism was still independent of party and national politics as can be seen from the fact that William Redmond belonged to three political parties throughout his career while all the time heading up the Waterford city Redmondites.

William Redmond died on 17 April 1932, aged forty-six. He was survived by his young wife Bridget whom he had married just over a year previously.<sup>29</sup> The couple had had no children. His death, therefore, really did appear to signal the end of the Redmond era and with it, the end of Redmondism as a political entity in Waterford city and its environs. That was certainly how the news of William Redmond's passing was greeted by his constituents in the immediate aftermath of his death, as can be seen from the following extract from a motion of sympathy to his wife issued at a meeting of the Waterford Mental Hospital Committee on 9 May 1932:

The county of Waterford had by the death of Capt. Redmond lost one of the ablest advocates that any section of the country could have... and it was an unfortunate thing to have the last of that family taken from them.<sup>30</sup>

However, in coming to such a hasty conclusion, they had overlooked two potentially vital contributors to the further continuation of Redmondism in Waterford city, the enterprising, loyal, and politically kindred spirit of William Redmond's widow, as well as the enduring nature of the phenomenon itself, at that juncture forty-one years in existence and having already survived a previous Redmond death, that of its original instigator and muse.

There was no immediate by-election held in Waterford city after the death of William Redmond. Instead, the vacancy was left unfilled until the general election of 24 January 1933. In the interim, while grieving over the loss of the 'last' of the Redmonds, the city's Redmondites were busy trying to find a suitable candidate to replace him. From a contemporary point of view, it is difficult to understand why it took them so long to contemplate asking his widow to contest his seat. However, when one considers that only two women stood in the previous general election in 1932<sup>31</sup> and that women did not generally enter politics in 1920s and 1930s Ireland the reason for the oversight becomes clearer.

Bridget Redmond was eventually invited by the Waterford city Redmondites all of whom were at that point officially members of *Cumann na nGaedheal*<sup>32</sup> to challenge for the seat previously occupied by her husband in the upcoming general

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29 See Alice McDermott, 'Bridget Redmond', in A. Clarke, R. Fanning, *et al.* (eds.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, p. 409.

30 From 'Items of Interest: Late Captain Redmond', in the *Munster Express*, 13 May 1932.

31 See B. Walker, (ed.), *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland 1918-92*, (Royal Irish Academy, 1992), pp.132-7.

32 See M. O'Neill, *Reminiscences of Waterford*, (Michelle O'Neill, 1997), p. 48.

election scheduled to take place on 24 January 1933. In accordance with Redmondite tradition, Bryan Cunningham, a prominent Redmondite supporter, pig-buyer from Ballybricken and serving alderman on the city's corporation, volunteered to co-sign her nomination papers for the contest,<sup>33</sup> if she should agree to proceed as requested. Interestingly, for the remainder of her political life, her nomination papers were signed by successions of pig buyers and livestock agents, thereby maintaining the close links between Redmondism and the Ballybricken pig dealers.<sup>34</sup> In any event, she accepted the invitation, stood for election, at twenty-nine years of age and proceeded to top the poll in Waterford city. Her decisive victory unquestionably ensured that Redmondism survived the passing of the torch to a second Redmond caretaker. That she was elected as a Redmondite is clear from a study of oral and written accounts of the 1933 general election.<sup>35</sup> At an election rally in the city on 13 January 1933 for example, she was introduced, for the first time to assembled supporters at the Mall as 'the widow of their late distinguished representative, Capt. Redmond.'<sup>36</sup> In response to this, she was given a standing ovation. In her ensuing maiden speech to her Waterford supporters, Bridget Redmond highlighted the 'Redmond factor' when she referred to the legacies of her late father-in-law and husband. The reaction of her collected following was memorable for its evocation of the power of Redmondism amongst those who cherished what it encapsulated:

Mrs. Redmond's reception was reminiscent of the days of her late husband... At the conclusion of the meeting; she was carried shoulder high across to the hotel.

The stage was clearly being set for phase three of Redmondism, with Bridget Redmond as its next champion. What is also apparent from these accounts, as was previously noted, is that Redmondism, increasingly, with the passage of time, absorbing the reality that Ireland's relationship with the British Empire was inevitably doomed was in 1933 with twenty years yet to pass before its ultimate cessation as a political force in Waterford city, little more than a memorial to John and William Redmond and to past aspirations of imperial connectedness for the region and indeed the entire country.

Of the three Redmonds who sequentially represented Waterford city for more than six decades, Bridget is the only one about whom very little detail has been documented. This is, perhaps, because, up until recently,<sup>37</sup> she has not been the subject of any scholarly biography or debate.

33 *Munster Express*, 13 January 1933.

34 See, for example, *Munster Express*, 25 June 1937.

35 See, for example, Alice Mc Dermott, *John Redmond: A Man of his Community*, unpublished thesis, University of Limerick, 1998, p. 38.

36 *Munster Express*, 13 January 1933.

37 See Alice McDermott, *John Redmond: A Man of his Community*, unpublished thesis, University of Limerick, 1998, and Alice McDermott, 'Bridget Redmond', in A. Clarke, R. Fanning, *et al.* (eds.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.



*Plate 2: Medallion with Captain Willie Redmond and his wife Bridget.*

Courtesy Waterford Museum of Treasures.

She was born on 30 October 1904 at the Curragh, County Kildare, the second of four children of John Mallick, landowner, hotelier, and race-horse owner, and Bridget Mallick, after whom she was named. Her parents were both from the Curragh.

Bridget Redmond was a pupil at the Ursuline Convent in Waterford city from 1916 until 1922. She could, of course, never, at that time, have foreseen that she would subsequently marry the man who became MP for the city when she was half-way through her schooling there, be widowed a year after her wedding and ultimately replace her husband and her father-in-law as the region's representative in parliament. And yet, the friends and contacts she made while at school in Waterford, the local knowledge she acquired, which, for example, neither her husband nor father-in-law had possessed at the start of their political careers as MPs for the area and her familiarity with the 'place' all served her in good stead during the twenty years in which she represented its citizens in Dáil Éireann.

While attending the Ursuline Convent, Bridget Redmond acquired the moniker 'Tiny' on account of her small stature, a form of address by which she was known to family, friends, and political supporters in Waterford city for the remainder of her life. She was popular with students and staff alike while at school and good intellectually. She had a beautiful singing voice but never reached her full musical potential on account of her extremely shy disposition.

Upon completion of her schooling, Bridget returned to live with her parents in the Curragh, where she remained until she married William Redmond some eight years later. She spent her time hunting, racing, and motoring, activities not only considered appropriate to someone of her social status in the Ireland of the 1920s but also at which she excelled. In fact, she went on to become a well-known sportswoman and a keen rider to hounds.

Having been introduced to her future husband by mutual friends, Bridget married William Redmond at Monkstown in Dublin on 18 November 1930. Some eighteen years William's junior, Bridget was apparently, devoted to him and accompanied him on all of his official visits to his Waterford constituency. Like the six years that she had earlier spent as a school girl in the city, Bridget was again renewing her acquaintance with the place and its people and this time, as was to become significant a lot sooner than she, her husband, and their supporters would have wished, she met, and was both publicly and privately appraised, by the region's Redmondites. The importance of her re-connection with its electorate became apparent when, less than a year and a half after their wedding, as has been mentioned, William Redmond died suddenly in April 1932, and Bridget was acknowledged by local Redmondites as a suitable successor to the Redmond seat in the city.

For the ensuing twenty years during which she served as TD for Waterford, Bridget Redmond never forgot that she was, above all else, the custodian of Redmondism in the locality. And while, like her late husband and father-in-law before her, she never purchased a residential property in the city and never lived there, choosing instead, as they had done, to visit frequently, especially before,

during, and immediately after general elections, she steadfastly maintained the Redmond bases in the city, the Imperial Hotel where they too had stayed, the Committee Rooms on the Mall and of course, Ballybricken, the heart of Redmondism since the time of its foundation. Every time she visited, she was rapturously greeted and her public utterances were always rewarded with standing ovations. She was, quite simply, consistently as popular, and similarly granted heroic stature, as the two Redmonds whom she succeeded.

Politically, Bridget Redmond embraced a curious mixture of liberal and conservative guiding principles. She was a gifted and polished orator, despite her reticent demeanour, frequently contributing to Dáil debates, as was highlighted by the Taoiseach, Eamon de Valera, when he suspended Dáil business to pay tribute to her upon hearing of her death in 1952:

Mr de Valera, speaking in Irish before the order of business was taken, said he was sure every Deputy was deeply grieved at the death of Mrs. Redmond who had been a member of the House for twenty years.

From the time of her election as a young woman... in 1933, she had taken an active part in the business of the Dáil and had shown a lively interest at all times in public affairs and legislation aimed at the betterment of the country.

By her regular attendance, she had given a very good example to the House, and her earnest contributions to debates were always of value...<sup>38</sup>

Regarding economic and social policy, as was also referred to in de Valera's Dáil commendation of the deputy her political stance was decidedly left wing. She was, for example, deeply opposed to de Valera and Fianna Fail's 'Economic War' with Britain, which lasted from 1932 to 1938,<sup>39</sup> identifying Britain as 'our best customer' for exported goods and highlighting at public meetings in Waterford<sup>40</sup> as well as in the Dáil, the foolishness, as she saw it, of refusing to engage in commercial activity with the country's nearest neighbour. She was also a supporter of legislation that attempted to enhance and increase social housing and advance social conditions generally for less affluent members of society, including the provision of both jobs and improved monetary assistance for the unemployed. It was the promotion and support of these liberal policies that formed the vast majority of her Dáil contributions throughout her twenty years as a public representative for Waterford. Her constant requests for improvements in these aspects of Irish life undoubtedly played a part in helping to identify and refine the central role and responsibility of law and government for putting in place the appropriate mechanisms for their upkeep and betterment.

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38 *Munster Express*, 9 May 1952.

39 For details of same, see T.P. Coogan, *De Valera: Long Fellow, Long Shadow*, (London, Arrow Books, 1995), pp. 439, 448.

40 See *Munster Express*, 25 June 1937.

Between 1933, when she was first elected to the Dáil as a TD and the mid-to-late 1930s, when many of their initial supporters across Europe, including Cumann na nGaedheal who were, initially and collectively, major followers began to acknowledge that the continent's fascists with perhaps the exception of Ireland's own were driven by deadlier forces than had at first been realised Bridget Redmond was a committed Blueshirt. A friend and admirer of General Eoin O'Duffy the Blueshirt leader,<sup>41</sup> she became a central figure in the Blueshirt movement in Waterford city and county, particularly during the years 1933 and 1934.<sup>42</sup> Her membership of the Blueshirt faction was the most right-wing feature of her entire political career, although her publicly expressed reason for becoming committed to the movement, like many other Cumann na nGaedheal TDs and supporters around the country claimed, concerned the amount of intimidation meted out to their public representatives and followers prior to the 1933 general election and the need to respond to the threat with organisation and discipline, rather than any particular allegiance to extant European fascist dictators.<sup>43</sup> Of course, some of her opponents throughout her political career claimed that her membership of Cumann na nGaedheal, later re-named Fine Gael, branded her a conservative even without the Blueshirt addendum.

Bridget Redmond stood in seven consecutive general elections for Waterford between 1933 and 1952. She was returned in each, initially, as has been noted, for Cumann na nGaedheal, and, from 1937, for the Fine Gael party. In the first in 1933 she took the first seat with 6,849 votes. In the second in 1937, she took the third seat with 8,254 votes. In the third in 1938 and fourth in 1943, she took the second seat with 7,514 and 7,765 votes respectively. In the fifth in 1944, the sixth in 1948 and the seventh, in 1951, she topped the poll with, in the following order, 8,061, 6,810, and 8,372 votes.<sup>44</sup> She was, therefore, the highest vote-catcher of all the Waterford TDs during her twenty years as a public representative there. She was also the highest vote-catcher, and the youngest when first elected, of all the women elected to Dáil Éireann during the same period. And while she was unequivocally the third and last keeper of the Redmondite flame in Waterford she was at the same time a complex politician who carved out her own political space independent of Redmondism, in which she combined right and left-wing ideologies into a supporting doctrine that rang true for her and, to her constant good fortune with the electorate, her Redmondite supporters in Waterford, and all that they collectively held dear.

41 For details of the Blueshirt movement in Ireland, see F. McGarry, *Eoin O'Duffy: A Self-Made Hero*, (Oxford, 2007).

42 See E. Broderick, 'The Blueshirts in Waterford, 1932-1934', Parts 1 and 2, in *Decies*, (Autumn 1993), (Spring 1994).

43 *Munster Express*, 20 January 1933.

44 See B. Walker, (ed.), *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland 1918-92*, (Royal Irish Academy, 1992).

She died on 3 May 1952 at her mother's residence, Athggarvan, near Newbridge in County Kildare. Aged forty-seven, she had been ill for some weeks previously. Her death brought to a close sixty-one years of parliamentary representation for Waterford city and its surroundings by the Redmond family and, by extension, the phenomenal Redmondite factor.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> From Alice Mc Dermott, 'Bridget Redmond', in A. Clarke, R. Fanning, *et al.* (eds.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.



## Book Reviews

*The Quakers of County Tipperary 1655-1924*, by Michael Ahern: Ardo Books Clonmel, 2009. Hardback, pp. 338, ISBN: 0-9554477-1-2 € 30.

While at any given time, the Tipperary Quaker community had never exceeded 500 members, their contribution to the economic life of the county was out of all proportion to their numbers. They aspired to live simply and plainly, be honest in their dealings, and industrious in their ways. As pacifists, they opposed violence of any kind and were always in the forefront when it came to promoting charitable cause.

Thus writes Michael Ahern in this fine study of an important group in the social and commercial life of Tipperary. He has been a frequent contributor to the *Tipperary Historical Journal*, mostly on topics associated with his life-long interest in the Society of Friends, especially in his native Clonmel. All of these topics, and much more are gathered into a definitive history of a group who contributed hugely to economic life in the South East in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His primary and secondary sources each fill ten pages, while there are ninety-six illustrations and six maps.

This is a story of a people, as dissenters from the excesses of the established church in England emigrated in numbers to avoid persecution, many to America, but in significant numbers to Ireland. Those who settled in Tipperary, came from 1655 onwards, initially as tenant farmers, and then later in the towns as shopkeepers and tradesmen.

Ironically, as dissenters, they were subject to the same Penal Laws in Ireland as were the native Catholics, and likewise saw great injustice in the obligation to pay tithes for the support of Church of Ireland clergy. The Quakers, of course, had no ordained clergy among their ranks. Some indeed, were imprisoned for this refusal and had their farm animals and goods seized in lieu of tithes. Being also barred from the professions, the civil service, local government and the army, they naturally turned to extensive farming, the trades, shop-keeping, then grain milling, and for instance in the case of the Malcomson family, shipping, cotton spinning and coal mining. Many of the Tipperary Quakers were connected by family and marriage to the Quakers in Waterford

The Spartan manner of their lives meant that they accumulated wealth which was spent on philanthropic causes and on the less fortunate members of their Society. The scrupulous recording of the affairs of each meeting house meant that no member who was less than successful or provident was over-looked. The Quakers were to the fore in charitable works in the general community and are warmly remembered for their outstanding service in the relief of the horrors of the Great Famine of 1845-1850.

Every aspect of Quaker life is covered in Michael Ahern's study, made largely possible by the painstaking recording of the minutiae of each meeting house over the centuries, many of which have been preserved. Biographies of the more

prominent members are included. The policy among the Quakers of ‘disowning’ any member who married out of the sect, and persisted in for many years, meant a steady decrease in their numbers, which has hardly been reversed to any great extent.

This book is a valuable addition to the social and economic history of the South-East of Ireland. Dr Ahern is also the author of *Figures in a Clonmel Landscape*, published 2006.

**Patrick Grogan**

## CONSTITUTION OF THE WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1. **Name:**  
The Society shall be called - "The Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society" (formerly The Old Waterford Society).
2. **Objects:**  
The objects of the Society shall be:
  - (a) to encourage interest in history and archaeology in general but with particular reference to Waterford and adjoining Counties;
  - (b) to promote research into same;
  - (c) to arrange for the further informing of members of the Society by way of lectures on appropriate subjects and visits to places of historical and archaeological association;
  - (d) to issue a periodical publication; and
  - (e) to engage in such other activities as the Committee may consider desirable.
3. **Membership:**  
The Society shall be composed of all persons who are members at the date of the adoption of these Rules together with those who may subsequently be admitted to membership by the Committee. Honorary Members may be elected at any Annual General Meeting.
4. **Government:**  
The Society shall be governed by a Committee, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-chairman, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor and Hon. Press Officer together with not less than six nor more than eight other members, one of whom may be elected as Hon. Outings Organiser. In addition to those members elected as provided above each officer, on relinquishing office, shall become an ex-officio member of the Committee and shall remain such for one year.
5. **Election of Officers and Committee:**  
The election of the Officers and Committee of the Society shall take place each year at the Annual General Meeting. The Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor and Hon. Press Officer shall first be elected individually and in that order, following which the additional members shall be elected beginning with the Hon. Outings Organiser. In the event of there being more than one nomination for any office or more nominations for the Committee than there are vacancies, as provided by these Rules, then the election shall be carried out by secret ballot.

No member of the Society who is absent from the General Meeting shall be eligible for nomination as a prospective member of the Committee unless he or she shall have previously intimated in writing to the Honorary Secretary his or her willingness to accept nomination.

The Committee shall have the power to co-opt additional members. Such co-options shall be effective only up to the date of the next ensuing Annual General Meeting.

A Chairman who has held office for three consecutive years shall not be eligible to seek re-election as chairman or vice-chairman until a period of two years have elapsed after his relinquishing office. For the purpose of this Rule the word "year" shall mean the period elapsing between successive Annual General Meetings.

6. ***Provision for Trustees:***

If it should become desirable at any time to register the Society with the Registrar of Friendly Societies, or to appoint Trustees, such registration and such appointment may be authorised at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special General Meeting called for that purpose. Such Trustees as may be appointed shall be ex-officio members of the Committee.

7. ***Duties of the Chairman:***

The primary duty of the Chairman shall be to preside at all Committee and other meetings of the Society. It shall also be *his* duty to represent the Society at any gatherings where representation shall appear to be desirable.

8. ***Duties of the Honorary Secretary:***

The Honorary Secretary shall:

- (a) record the minutes of Committee meetings and of the Annual General Meeting of the Society;
- (b) maintain files of the correspondence relating to the Society;
- (c) arrange for such meetings, lectures and outings as the Committee shall direct, and notify members accordingly;
- (d) arrange for notice of Annual General Meeting of the Society to be sent to all members; and
- (e) submit a report to the Annual General Meeting on the activities of the Society since the date of the last such Meeting.

9. ***Duties of Honorary Treasurer:***

The Honorary Treasurer shall:

- (a) receive and disburse monies on behalf of the Society, as directed by the Committee, and shall keep accounts of all receipts and expenditure, together with supporting vouchers;

- (b) prepare an annual statement of accounts recording the financial transactions of the Society up to and including the 31st December of each year, which statement shall, as soon as may be after said date be submitted to the Society's Auditors for certification;
- (c) present the audited statement of accounts to the next Annual General Meeting; and
- (d) maintain an up-to-date list of subscribing members.

10. ***Annual General Meeting:***

The Annual General Meeting shall be held, not later than the 30th April, at such venue, on such date and at such time as the Committee shall decide. Each member shall be given at least seven days notice of the date, time and place of the Annual General Meeting.

The quorum for an Annual General Meeting shall *be* fifteen members.

11. ***Special General Meeting:***

A Special General Meeting of the Society shall be convened if:

(a) any fifteen members of the Society request the Honorary Secretary in writing to do so, stating at the time of such request the reason why they wish to have the meeting convened; or

(b) it shall appear to the Committee to be expedient that such a meeting should be convened.

In convening a Special General Meeting, the Honorary Secretary shall give at least seven days notice to each member of the Society, stating in such notice the intended date, time and place at which such meeting is to be held and the purpose of same.

The quorum for a Special General Meeting shall be fifteen members.

12. ***Quorum for Committee Meetings:***

The quorum for a Committee Meeting shall be five members.

13. ***Annual Subscription:***

The annual subscription shall be such amount as shall be decided from year to year at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special General Meeting held for the purpose of fixing the amount to become due as from the first day of January next following the date of such meeting. The subscription year shall coincide with the calendar year. *Any* member, other than a new member who has not paid his or her subscription before the 31st December in any year shall be deemed to have resigned.

Subscriptions of new members accepted between 1st September and 31st December shall be deemed to be in respect of the ensuing year and shall be at the amount applicable to that year.

14. ***Rules not to be altered:***

These Rules shall not be altered except by resolution passed by a single majority of those present at an Annual General Meeting or a Special General Meeting.

15. ***Rules to be printed:***

The Rules of the Society shall be printed and re-printed as often as may be necessary. A supply of copies shall be held by the Honorary Secretary who shall make them available to all applicants subject to a charge based on the cost of producing them. Each new member shall be provided with a free copy of the Rules.

16. ***Earlier Rules repealed:***

These Rules supercede all previous Rules or Constitution of the Society.

The adoption of these Rules was resolved at the AGM of the Society, held on March 23rd 1979, such resolution having been proposed, seconded and passed by a majority of the members present.

WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
MEMBERSHIP 2010

(Up to September 30th 2010)

Abbeyside Reference Archives, Parish Office, Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co.  
Waterford.

Allen Public County Library, P.O. Box 2270, 900 Webster Street, IN 46801-2270,  
USA.

Arthur, Rev. R., Cappoquin, Co. Waterford.

Aylward, Mr J., Wander Inn, Johnstown, Waterford.

Brazil, Mrs C., 'Killard', John's Hill, Waterford.

Brazil, Mr D., 'Killard', John's Hill, Waterford.

Breen, Ms M., Lower Newtown, Waterford.

Brennan, Mr D., 11 The Brambles, Ballinakill Downs, Dunmore Road, Waterford.

Brennan, Mr J., 25 Daisy Terrace, Waterford.

Broderick, Dr. E., 1 Pheasant Walk, Collins Avenue, Waterford.

Brophy, Mr A., Bushe Lodge, Catherine Street, Waterford.

Burns, Mrs A. M. B., 97 Park Road, Loughborough, Leicester, LE11 2HD,  
England.

Burtchaell, Mr Jack, Giles Quay, Slieverue, via Waterford.

Byrne, Prof. K., Director, Waterford Institute of Technology, Cork Road,  
Waterford.

Byrne, Dr. N., 'Auburn', John's Hill, Waterford.

Byrne, Mrs S., 'Auburn', John's Hill, Waterford.

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