

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

DECIES

Number 10

January, 1979

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DECIES is published thrice yearly by the Old Waterford Society. It is posted free to members in January, May and September.

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

- (i) A number of items have had to be held over until the next issue. We apologise to those who have been good enough to submit material.
- (ii) We do need members' comments on content and format of future issues. We also need some practical help.
- (iii) The following errors appeared in Decies 10. Apologies to Messrs. Murray and Walton.
- P. 15: Refs. to "wood" should have read "woad". P.34: The last sentence of the second paragraph should read "---they were not aware of widespread Fenianism in Ireland ---". P. 37: The caption on the top left photograph should read "Joseph B. Cavanagh of Passage ---"
- (iv) The following were members of the O. W. S. in 1978. Those marked with an asterisk have already paid their subscription for 1979, all other subscriptions being now due. Please send them, or any enquiry you may have about subscriptions to the Hon. Treasurer of the O. W. S.

Mrs. R. Lumley, 28, Daisy Terrace, Waterford.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY FOR 1978 - 1979

- Anthony, Miss M. Kildalton, Piltown via Waterford
- * Annunciata Sr. Convent of Mercy, Waterford.
- Bennis, Miss Emily, Church Road, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
- * Belfast Library Society for Promoting Knowledge, 17, Donegal St. Belfast
B.T.I.590
- * Brady, Mr. P. Kilnagrange, Milmaethomas, Co. Waterford.
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- * Carroll, Mrs. S. " " "
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- * Charles, Sr. Ursuline Convent, Waterford.
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- Croke, Mrs. E., 208, Viewmount Park, "
- Crowley, Mr. S. 39, Annabella Park, Mallow, Co. Cork.
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- Culleton, Miss M. St. Killians Place, " "
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*Hodge, Mr. J. "Avonlea", Ursuline Road, Waterford.
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- Keating, Mr. P. 50, Sweetbriar Lawn, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
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McGrath, Mr. T. Georgestown House, Kill, Co. Waterford.
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*Murphy, Mr. S. Millfield, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.
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O'Neill, Mr. M. J. Coolbunna Cottage, Checkpoint, Co. Waterford.
O'Neill, Mr. M. 66, Gracedieu, Waterford.
O'Neill, Mrs. M. 66, Gracedieu, Waterford.
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O'Reilly, Miss E. 5, Railway Square, Waterford.
O'Reilly, Mrs. M. 14, William Street, Waterford. decd.
O'Regan, Mr. E. 3, The Grove, Ferrybank, Waterford.
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Power, Miss E. 82, Viewmount Park, Waterford.

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- Ryan, Mrs. "Durisheen", " " " " "
- Ryan, Dr. J. L., 13, Parnell Street, Waterford.
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- Trayers, Mrs. M., Cherry Cottage, Rockshire Road, Ferrybank, Waterford.
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- Walsh, Miss A. "St. Annes", Convent Hill, Waterford.
- Walsh, Mr. J. J. Cliff Grange, Church Road, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
- Walsh, Mrs. J. J., Cliff Grange, " " " " "
- * Walsh, Mr. R., "Kilteera", Sunnerville Avenue, Waterford.
- * Walsh, Mrs. R. " " " " "
- Walsh, Mrs. N. 9, Thomas Hill, Waterford.
- Walsh, Mr. T. St. Jude's, Duncannon, Co. Wexford.
- * Walton, Mr. J. Sutton Park School, Dublin.
- * Ware, Mrs. 6, St. Laurence Terrace, Waterford.
- Waterford, Marquis of, Curraghmore House, Portlaw.
- Waterford News & Star, Industrial Estate, Waterford.
- * Webster, Mrs. E. "Morven", Grange Park, Waterford.
- Weir, Mr. E. 15, Rockfield Park, Waterford.
- Weir, Mrs. E. 15, " " " " "
- * Wigham, Mr. M. J., "Green Bank", Portnahully, Carrigeon, Waterford.
- * Wigham, Mrs. A. E., "Green Bank", " " " " "
- Williamson, Mrs., 12, Percy Terrace, Waterford.
- Young, Mr. J. M., 29, Childers's Place, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

REV. DAVID ALFRED DOUDNEY AND EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS

AT BUNMAHON, CO. WATERFORD 1847-'58. (Part I)

By Thomas Power.

EARLY CAREER:

David Alfred Doudney was born on March 8, 1811, at Portsea, Portsmouth, Hampshire. It is said that the noted Victorian novelist Charles Dickens was born in the house next door eleven months later. From very early in his life Doudney was associated with the printing profession. At 13 years of age he was apprenticed to a printer in Southampton, in 1832 he moved to a firm in Fleet Street, London, and in 1835 he started his own printing business in London. This latter venture must have been a success for in 1840 Doudney was in a position to purchase and become editor of a long established periodical called The Gospel Magazine. This publication was protestant and evangelical in tone, its readers showed a compassion and a concern for the welfare of others, and it was a manifestation of this concern which brought Doudney to Ireland.

The readers of the Gospel Magazine raised nearly £700 for the relief of famine-stricken victims in Ireland. In November 1846 Doudney left for Ireland and proceeded to distribute these funds in the form of meal to the starving poor in Templemore, Co. Tipperary. Most contemporaries believed the Famine to be a disaster, but contrary to this Doudney claimed the Famine to be "among the greatest benefits that could have befallen Ireland".¹ Justifying this claim he asserted that the Famine had two beneficial results; "It drew off the cottar from his hereditary and indolent dependence upon the potato crop, and it placed Protestantism before him in a light in which he was never wont to regard it."² Did Doudney use the funds merely to provide relief to the hungry or did he use them to gain converts to Protestantism. We do not know, but for whatever purpose Doudney used the funds at his disposal he certainly must have performed a praiseworthy task for on October 14, 1847 he was ordained as a minister in the Established Church by Robert Daly Bishop of Cashel and Waterford.³ Soon after Reverend Doudney took up his first curacy in the parish of Monksland, Co. Waterford.

BUNMAHON c. 1850 :

The largest concentration of people in Monksland parish was in the towns of Bunmahon and Knockmahon. In the 19th century Bunmahon, as well as being a popular summer bathing place, was the centre of a bustling copper mining industry. The population of the area was supported directly or indirectly by the mines which since 1824 had been operated by the Mining Company of Ireland, and which by 1840 were making an average annual profit of £15,000.

In the pre-Famine era living conditions in Bunmahon were intolerable. In 1841 the population of Bunmahon town numbered 1,771 people who inhabited 220 houses, which is an average of 8 persons per household. Most of these houses were single-roomed hovels. Knockmahon town, across the River Mahon from Bunmahon, had a much smaller population in 1841 with 255 people living in 36 houses, an average of 7 per house. These figures indicate that overcrowding was one of the most prominent social evils in pre-Famine Bunmahon.

In 1840 there was no Catholic Church in the immediate area but there was a Church of Ireland which had been erected in the early 19th century. Near it and adjoining a row of two-storey miners' cottages was a post office and a police station, each performing their respective services to the community. In an official report of 1826 there are no schools mentioned for Bunmahon or Knockmahon. In 1832 however with the financial support of Lady Osborne a day school was established in the parish of Monksland at Knockmahon. In 1835 we know that the school was kept by one James Howe, supported by Lady Osborne who gave £21 per annum for the upkeep of the school and for the teacher's residence. The children whose average daily attendance was 18 to 20 paid 1^s to

to 1-6d. per quarter and they were instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic and needlework.

Most of the children of the area however could not benefit from the school because from an early age they went to work in the local mines. A report of 1842 into the employment of children in the mines gives some revealing details of their educational standards. The judgement of one individual was that "there is a much smaller amount of education amongst these people than anywhere I have yet found; there are but very few instances indeed amongst the young persons and children of being able to read even". Some of the children employed in the mines were brought before the commission of enquiry to answer questions as to their living and working conditions. Their evidence is indicative of the low level of popular education at the time. Maurice Cuddy aged 11 years told the commission; "I have never been to school; I go to chapel on Sundays; I cannot read or write". Most of the other children questioned replied similarly, though there were the exceptions like Helen Hawke, a Protestant aged 13, who said "I can read pretty well, but not write", or Jane Pollard aged 13 who said "I used to go to the national school close by here, I there learned to read; I cannot write"⁴.

Very soon however two new schools were added, and by 1849 Knockmahon had two schools, one male, the other female, and Bunnahon had one. In September, 1849 Knockmahon male school had 135 pupils on the rolls, supervised by one teacher. Knockmahon female school by September 1849 had a total of 62 pupils instructed by one female teacher. The patroness of the two schools was Lady Catherine Osborne who paid £22 to the male teacher, and £12 to the female teacher. The Bunnahon school was under the charge of Reverend John Dowley, and by September 1849 it was catering for 105 pupils, two-thirds of them boys; the teacher was paid £10 a year. The three schools had not by December 1849 been vested under the National Board of Education.⁵

Meanwhile the Famine had wrought a devastating blow to the morale of the people. Great numbers perished in Bunnahon due to fever, food shortage and its high price, while others who were skilled in their trade emigrated and found new hope in the copper mines of Michigan in America. The Famine decimated the population of the Bunnahon area. By 1851 the population of Bunnahon had fallen to 1,142, that of Knockmahon had declined to 215; by 1861 the census figures were respectively 914 and 259.

It was into this environment of declining population, impoverishment, and relatively low educational expectancy that Reverend Doudney came in 1847. Describing conditions on his arrival in Bunnahon, he relates that "one's heart perfectly sickened in walking through the village itself, and beholding the filth, the wretchedness and the misery that presented itself on every hand. It seemed unendurable. One felt as though one could never settle down in the midst of so much that was so exceedingly depressing".⁶ But in fact Doudney did stay and tried by means of a number of educational projects to give the people, particularly the young people, a new sense of industry.

THE PRINTING SCHOOL:

The first project to engage Doudney's attention was the setting up of a printing school. His aim in doing so was to provide useful employment in a skilled trade for the elder boys in the parochial school adjoining his church. To finance the project he raised subscriptions from readers of the Gospel Magazine, who had already indicated their generosity in another sphere. He used the money so raised to purchase, for £400 in London, three printing presses, types, and other printing requisites. While in London Doudney also secured the services of three compositors, whose job it was to set up type for printing, and a pressman, who would operate a printing press. They agreed to come to Bunnahon to instruct the boys in the printing procedure, and in time the staff of the printing works increased to 4 compositors, 3 pressmen, 3 labourers, 4 young women and 22 boys. The next requirement was some place to house the printing school. This need was soon met for Doudney bought a house, formerly

a hotel owned by a Mr. Connolly, and adapted it for use as a printing house.

The first undertaking of the new printing school was a reprint of John Gill's Expositions of the Old and New Testaments in 6 volumes. The first pages of this massive work began to issue from the printing school in October 1851. By August 1852 two of the six volumes had been printed and issued. A further volume was added by December 1852 when Doudney in a preface could report to subscribers: "The present volume completes the New Testament. We now resume the Old Testament, and trust by May 1 to issue the second volume in it; the third on the first of September and the fourth and concluding volume by Christmas 1853". In the event two further volumes appeared during 1853, but the final volume of six did not reach subscribers until February, 1854. Thus it took Doudney, the printers and their pupils over two years to complete the undertaking. This was no mean achievement when one considers that each volume of the work numbered over 900 or, in some cases, over 1,000 pages of text. In the process 2,250 sets of the 6 volume Exposition were printed, folded, stitched and covered, giving a total of 13,500 volumes in all. This involved the use of 25 tons of paper and the composing and arranging of nearly 47 million letters.

One source mentions that the first volume of Gill's work to be printed - An Exposition of the New Testament Vol. 1 (1852) - was put on exhibition at the Cork Industrial Exhibition of 1852, and that those viewing it refused to credit the fact that the volume was printed at the remote Co. Waterford village of Bunnahon.⁸ However I have not come across evidence to substantiate this claim Doudney may have had the book on show at Cork, but it is not mentioned in the official catalogue of the Exhibition.

All in all the printing of Gill's Exposition was a worthy performance on the part of the Bunnahon boys and their instructors. It was therefore with a measure of pride that Doudney could preface the final volume (1854) with these notes to the subscribers: "Beloved friends: Words will utterly fail in attempting to describe to you what are our feelings in announcing the close of this great and important undertaking. It seems verily like a dream. We ask ourselves again and again - Can it be true that Gill's Commentary is complete? - that the work upon which we entered somewhat less than two years and a half ago is brought to a close? that our mingled hopes and fears - joys and sorrows - have subsided? . To God - to God alone - be the glory". When the 6 volumes had been completed Doudney received 150 sovereigns and a silver tea and coffee set from his subscribers as a token of gratitude for his efforts. The printing of Gill's Exposition also allowed a surplus of money which Doudney used on the completion of a glebe house.¹⁰

Encouraged by the success of Gill's Exposition Doudney was motivated to expand his printing activities. In the period 1852 to 1858 a large number of religious, evangelical books and tracts were printed at Bunnahon.¹¹ Among these was the periodical The Gospel Magazine which Doudney had become editor and proprietor of in 1840. Doudney first intimated his intention of printing the magazine in Bunnahon in the issue for November 1852 when he told readers: "We have made arrangements for henceforth printing and issuing the magazine at Bunnahon. God willing our next and future numbers will be printed at our Industrial Printing School. On, and after, January 1 (1853) the whole impression will be stamped. Each subscriber upon forwarding name will receive the magazine direct through the post free of any additional charge... A Post Office Order upon Waterford for 6^s made payable to D.A. Doudney, Bunnahon, ensures the regular receipt of the magazine for 12 months."¹² The magazine was issued on a monthly basis, twelve issues forming a yearly volume. The contents of the magazine deal mainly with biblical precepts, sermons, maxims from the Life of Christ and correspondence with readers dealing with Church matters and morals. The magazine also contains much valuable information on the

PICTORIAL OUTLINE

OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

BONMAHON

INDUSTRIAL, INFANT, & AGRICULTURAL SCHOOLS,

County of Waterford.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM PHOTOGRAPHIC PICTURES.

ESTABLISHED

BY THE REV. DAVID A. DOUDNEY,

CURATE OF MONKSLAND.

IRELAND:

PRINTED AT THE BONMAHON INDUSTRIAL PRINTING SCHOOL,
ESTABLISHED OCT. MDCCCL.

Left, title page
from A Pictorial Outline
printed at the Bonmahon
Printing School c. 1855



Above, the Bonmahon
Printing School
established by
D.A. Doudney, October
1851.



Above, a boy composing
type in the Printing
School.



Above, group of pupils from
Doudney's Infant School
established at Bonmahon in
August 1852.

finance and administration of Doudney's various schools at Bunnahon.

The third and last example of a publication from the printing school is a work entitled A Pictorial Outline of the Rise and Progress of the Bunnahon Industrial, Infant and Agricultural Schools Co. Waterford, written by Doudney himself and published and printed in Bunnahon in 1855. This book is of tremendous value firstly because it gives a fairly objective account of Doudney's attempts to provide a useful education in both practical and mental skills for the deprived children of the area. Doudney in the work thus gives an informative report on the establishment and development of the printing, agricultural, junior and other schools. Secondly the Pictorial Outline is of importance because of the line engravings or illustrations it has both of Bunnahon and Knockmahon and of the various schools there.

How were the books printed at Bunnahon distributed, to where, and to whom? It seems that at that time letters and post from the Bunnahon area were brought to Kilmacthomas, then to Carrick on Suir and then to Waterford. There was only one runner employed to convey post between Kilmacthomas, Bunnahon, and Stradbally. For Doudney this system meant considerable delay and inconvenience for his monthly journals. The Gospel Magazine, and Old Jonathan, needed to be delivered with promptitude. So in order that he might fulfil his commitment to his subscribers Doudney for two years 1852-3 had the publications of the printing school sent directly from Bunnahon to Waterford at his own expense. As he himself explained to a committee of enquiry into the postal services: "If we sent them to Kilmacthomas there was frequently delay there; the driver of the Dungarvan car would say he had not room therefore I generally send them into Waterford direct in order to avoid those delays".¹³ In this way the cost of carriage for the 13,500 volumes of Gill's Exposition amounted to more than £300.¹⁴ Such heavy outlay on postage alone was clearly detrimental to the progress of the printing school, so Doudney petitioned the postal authorities to change their routes. In the event a special arrangement had to be made in 1853 whereby the post-office agreed to allow one car per month to go from Kilmacthomas to Bunnahon to collect 2,250 copies of the periodicals.¹⁵ That the postal authorities should adapt their services and routes to meet Doudney's needs is a good index of the importance of the Bunnahon printing works.

Most of the publications issuing from Bunnahon were distributed to and read by subscribers mainly in England. Through the pages of The Gospel Magazine Doudney established a collection and subscription system in England, both for the purchase of his publications, and for the support of his schools at Bunnahon. That this was the case is clear from a subscription list published in volume 4 of Gill's Exposition (1854). In this list a total of 1,098 subscribers are given, but of these only about 20 have addresses in Ireland, the rest derive from England. From this list of subscribers it is also evident that Doudney received little support from his fellow clergymen in the diocese of Waterford and Lisnore. In 1852 there were 80 to 90 clergymen of the Established Church in both dioceses but only a handful of these appear in the subscription list. Among them however the following are worth mentioning: - Rev. J. Burke, Kilneaden, Rev. E. Dalton, Tramore, Rev. J. Morgan, Waterford, Rev. J. Parker, Kilmacthomas, and Rev. N. Wilkinson, Kilrossanty. What of other areas in the county? When asked Doudney himself admitted that his journal did not have a large circulation in the locality, that for Dungarvan being "not half a dozen copies". The only subscriber on the list with an address at Dungarvan was O. Giles, and for Bunnahon itself the only one was a Mr. Attridge. Taking the subscription list then as a useful guide we can see that Doudney's publications enjoyed their greatest circulation in England, while in his own diocese they were only of limited appeal to his fellow clergymen.

How did those employed in the printing works benefit? There were 22 boys attending the printing school and on the completion of Gill's Exposition Doudney claimed that each was paid from 3^s to 10s per week according to ability.¹⁶ Speaking at a meeting in Nottingham in February 1853 Doudney said the boys in the printing works brought home from 2s-6d to 7s-6d per week, whereas he says many families of labourers had only a weekly income of 1s.¹⁷ Having completed their apprenticeship in the printing trade at Bunnahon many of the young people, Doudney says, took up positions of responsibility in printing houses in Ireland, England and America. By May 1853 a former assistant at the Bunnahon printing works had become editor of the Clare Journal; and a Bunnahon family, three of whose female members were engaged in the folding and stitching department of the printing school, had emigrated to America, to advance themselves in the printing trade there.¹⁸

Others of the printing trade remained in Bunnahon and married into influential local families. For instance on January 18, 1852 John Barret Chant aged 23, a printer at Bunnahon married Bithia aged 16, third daughter of John G. West, chief engineer with the Mining Company of Ireland. In 1852 also the marriage took place between J. J. Burgess aged 26, a Bunnahon printer (and whose father was also a printer) and M. G. Dunfoy aged 21, whose father was a coast guard.¹⁹ A third notable marriage took place in January 1855 when James Ryan, a printer at Doudney's works, married Mary only daughter of Capt. Lawrence Killeen of the Knockmahon Copper Mines.²⁰ These matrimonial links serve to indicate that the printers believed their trade to be on a sufficiently sound basis in Bunnahon to justify earning a living on.

T A B L E I

Author	Title	Date of Publication	Observations
J. Gill	An Exposition of the Old Testament.	1852-'54	First published 1763 - 4 vols.
J. Gill	An Exposition of the New Testament.		
	The Gospel Magazine and Protestant Beacon.	1853-'58	Periodical begun 1766.
	Old Jonathan, or the District & Parish Helper	1853-'58	Illustrated monthly broadsheet of 20 columns.
J. Gill	An Exposition of the Song of Solomon	1854	First published 1776.
R. Hawker	The Poor Man's Morning and Evening Portion.	1854	First published 1842. 5,000 copies printed.
D. A. Doudney	Heart Sighs and Heart Songs	1854	2,250 copies printed
J. Hart	Hymns	1854	1,000 copies printed. First published 1759.
A. Serle	The Church of God	1855	First published 1793. 2,000 copies printed
J. Gill	The Cause of God and Truth	1855	First published 1735. 2,500 copies printed.

(TABLE 1) contd.

Author	Title	Date of Publication	Observations
B. Keach	Tropolgia: A Key to Open Scripture Metaphors.	1855	First published 1779. 3,000 copies printed.
E. Searle	The Pathway of Providence	1855	1,000 copies printed.
D.A.Doudney	The Dying Pensioner	1855	
D.A.Doudney	Talks under a Hedge	1855	
D.A.Doudney	A Pictorial Outline of the Rise and Progress of the Bunnahon Industrial, Infant and Agricultural Schools.	1855 ?	
R. Hawker	Sermons and Tracts		2,000 copies printed.
B.Keach	An Exposition of the Parables.	1856	2,500 copies printed.
D.A.Doudney	A Run through Connemara	1856	
D.A.Doudney	Try : A Book for Boys	1857	7,000 copies printed.
T.Doolittle	A Treatise concerning the Lord's Supper		First published 1675.
S.Rutherford	Letters	1857	First published 1664. 2,000 copies printed.

SOURCES: N.L.I. Ms. 3966; The Irish Booklover 1 (1910) p.98-100.

For shorter pamphlets printed in Bunnahon see the advertisements in :

- (1) J. Gill, The Cause of God and Truth (1855).
- (2) D.A.Doudney, The Pictorial Outline etc., (1855).
- (3) S.Rutherford, Letters (1857).

THE INFANT SCHOOL:

The printing school catered for the elder and more mature children, but Doudney also showed a concern for the welfare of the very young of Bunnahon. He decided to establish an infant school. In a letter of February 2, 1852 printed in The Gospel Magazine he addressed readers as follows: "Will you allow me to appeal to you on behalf of the inhabitants of this district? I have been in sole charge as curate of the parish of Monksland... for upwards of four years, during which the very neglected condition of the younger Roman Catholic children of the neighbourhood has made me most anxious to establish an Infant School, but hitherto I have been unable to do so for want of a suitable building. I am happy however to say that a house adapted for the purpose has just come into my possession and all I want now is - funds. Will you kindly help me?"²¹

The building Doudney refers to was apparently in a very dilapidated state and had to be completely reconditioned for use as a school-house. The roof, for instance, which was of thatch was in a very defective state and it was resolved to completely reroof it with slates. By July 1852 the conversion of the building had been carried out, and on completion it measured 66ft. by 21ft. The schoolroom itself measured 39ft. by 16ft.9ins., and in addition special accommodation for the mistress, who had been engaged to teach in the school, was provided; also a scullery, out-offices, and a gallery were constructed.

The infant school was scheduled to open on August 2, 1852, and when it did so it had an eventful first month in operation.²² On the first day, Monday August 2, 3 Protestant and 16 Catholic children each of less than seven years of age attended. Through the generosity of readers of the Gospel Magazine a large quantity of clothing was sent and given to the children who needed it. The children also received "a plain and simple meal of 'stir-about' made from Indian meal and skim milk" which cost each child $\frac{1}{2}$ d per day. By Friday of the first week attendance had risen to 3 Protestants and 22 Catholics. Numbers continued to rise gradually until on Thursday August 19, 35 children were present. Attendance for a while remained at an average of 30, but despite an outbreak of sickness, probably fever, early in the year, by March 1853 Doudney could report that the average attendance for the month of February was 61.

The financial backing for the infant school and for Doudney's other educational projects at Bunnahon came from donations made by readers of The Gospel Magazine. This system originated in a suggestion made by a reader in September 1853 when he said that treasurers be appointed for various districts in England to receive subscriptions; receipt books should, he said, be kept also and the money forwarded to Doudney in Bunnahon. Doudney welcomed this suggestion and by 1855 treasurers for the Bunnahon schools were in Astley, Birmingham, Bedfordshire, Bath, Dover, London (4), Lancashire, Manchester, Nottingham, Oakham, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Southampton, and Winsford.²³

Money from these sources came to support the infant school. Soon after he had made known his intention to set up the school funds began to arrive from people in England. In the Magazine for April 1852 Doudney acknowledged receipt of £13.11.6. from readers, in that of May £12.15.6, and in that of June, £15.14.10. After the opening of the school money continued to arrive; in October 1852 Doudney acknowledged receipt of £17.12.5., and in November of £34.7.10. But Doudney apparently felt that these funds were insufficient because in February 1853 he was in Nottingham at a meeting organised specifically to raise money for his projects at Bunnahon. A great deal of badly needed cash must have been sent as a result of this meeting for by December 1853 a total of £405.10.4½ was recorded as received in The Gospel Magazine. By January 1854 Doudney was in a position to publish an account of the various ways he had allocated the subscriptions sent to him for the Infant School. (See Table 2) What must be noted from this balance of accounts is that while most of the money went towards providing and equipping a suitable and commodious school-house, quite a considerable sum was spent on feeding and clothing the children. As well as the daily ration a special feast was given every Christmas at which 50 or so children were given soup, beef, and plum-pudding, as well as some new clothes. The provision of food and clothes then as well as the general education must have been an important factor in inducing the children to attend the school. Doudney himself was convinced that such things contributed to "the improved health and appearance of the scholars".

TABLE 2

Account of funds spent on the Bunnahon Infant School, Feb. 3 1852 to Dec. 25, 1853.

	£.	s.	d.
Excavation of ground. Drawing line from Dungarvan, Stones from Shannakill, timber, slates, and bricks from Waterford; and altering and erecting Infant School Building 66 x 21 ft.	134.	5.	0
To Painting and glazing do.	4.	10.	0
To erection of gallery for 100 children, forms, tables, tablets and prints for school.	21.	0.	0
To furnishing Mistress' apartments.	7.	10.	0
Erection of scullery and out-offices.	3.	15.	3
Building of school wall etc.	5.	0.	9

TABLE 2 (contd.)

	£.	S.	D.
Erection of Boiler-house, 2 coppers and setting do.	12.	0.	0
Erection of 2 porches	3.	15.	0
New Patent Stove, pipe for do. and putting up	7.	2.	0
New clothes for each child and Xmas dinner 1852.	20.	0.	0
Mistress's salary Aug.2 to Dec.1, 1852	10.	9.	4
Dec.2 to Dec.31, 1853	25.	0.	0
Indian meal, rice, milk.	104.	18.	1
Fuel for boiler house and school	18.	17.	6
Servants	12.	10.	0
6 doz. black tin plates, cups, and spoons	2.	10.	0
Ground rent for school building and part of field.	2.	10.	0
Advertising, stationary, postage	18.	5.	0
	419.	17.	11 ^x
Credit : By subscriptions received up to above date	405.	10.	4 ¹ / ₂
Balance to Editor	14.	7.	6 ¹ / ₂

Source: G.M. January, 1854. p. 48

THE AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL:

The pupils proceeded from the infant to the parochial school and attached to the latter was an agricultural school in which the boys gained a practical knowledge of husbandry. The boys underwent regular instruction by an agricultural teacher who acquainted them with the various methods of farm practice such as crop rotation and soil preparation. The instructor was one W.S. Moore and we possess a series of progress reports which he wrote on the agricultural school for the years 1855-'16

The main activity of this school was the growing of experimental crops on ground specially laid out for the purpose. Attempts in 1854 to grow an acre and a half of oats and to save hay were a failure. It was decided to concentrate on the growing of green crops and with these the school had relatively more success. The agricultural class-consisting of 18 boys of ages ranging from 10-15 years - were very eager and they showed great energy in hoeing and preparing the ground with forks. For the year 1855 a number of vegetable crops including mangels, turnips, parsnips, carrots and potatoes were attempted. Of these the turnips, mangels, and parsnips turned out fairly well; the carrots were a partial failure due to the badness of the seed but of those that came up most were of good quality. The potato crop was not successful and had to be dug up, and the cleared area was then sown with winter vetches, (peas), and rye, using seeds supplied by Suttons of Reading. TABLE 3 shows the nature and acreage of crops sown, the quantity of seed used, times of sowing, and the produce per acre for 1855.

x

The total as given by Doufney; it should be £418-17-11.

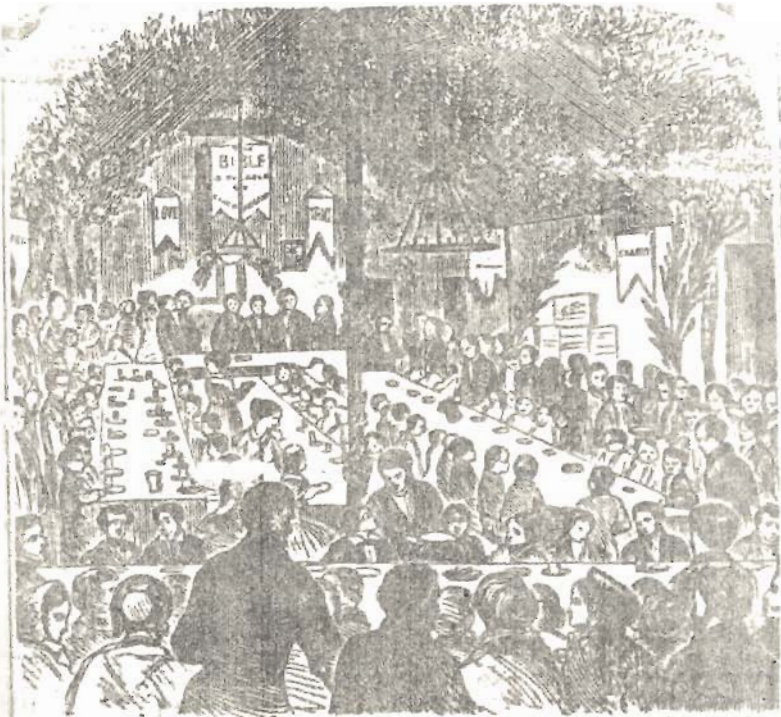
Left, group of instructors and pupils from the Bonmahon Printing School.



Right, a group of well-dressed pupils from the Bonmahon Embroidery School established in 1853 by D.A. Doudney.



Left, the Bonmahon Schools Christmas feast described by one commentator as consisting of "a good old English dinner of roast and boiled beef, soup and plum-pudding".



(The illustrations here and on page 9 are from A Pictorial Outline. A copy of this is available in the Municipal Library in Waterford).

TABLE 3

Arrangement of crops on the agricultural school farm, 1855.

Crops Cultivated	Extent Occupied			Time of Planting	Quantity of seed per acre	Produce per acre	Observations
	A.	R.	P.				
Potatoes	0.	0.	34	Apl. 12			A poor crop succeeded by another crop of winter vetches and Rye.
Parsnips	0.	0.	15	Mar. 16	5 lbs.	6 tons	This crop did not come out as well as I expected.
Carrots	0.	0.	28	Apl. 10	6 lbs.		The worst crop we had. Gave only 1 ton, 2 cwt.
Onions	0.	0.	6	Mar. 17	7 lbs.		Worth very little, it was only a trial. Very bad seed
Mangels	0.	1.	15	May 14	6 lbs.	24 tons	A very good crop.
Cabbages	0.	0.	7				
Turnips				May 14	4 lbs.	20 tons	Very fair crop. A Rood of one field gave a produce of 26 tons per acre.
Swedes	1.	2.	0				
Pur. Top				May 28	4 lbs.	14 tons	We had to give an acre and a quarter £10 worth of lime, besides £4.10s worth of manure & Sea weed.
Aberdeen (?)	0.	0.	12				
Total :	<u>2. 1. 37</u>						

SOURCE: G.M. Feb. 1856, p.103

In 1855 then, the agricultural school produced over 65 tons of vegetables from about 2 acres of land, with mangels being the best crop and potatoes and carrots turning out worst. Not only were crop yields generally depressing, but the financial accounts of the Agricultural school for 1855 show it to be running at a partial loss. TABLE 4 shows how money was allocated for the various needs of the school and how much the crops for 1855 were worth.

TABLE 4

Balance of accounts for the agricultural school, 1855.							
	£. S. D.		£. S. D.				
Amount paid for labour	14.	10.	3½	Amount received for roots	3.	12.	0
" " " Farm Seeds	1.	12.	7	Valuation of roots per	43.	0.	0
" " " Manure, Line	18.	10.	0	weight taken at the close			
" " " Implements	8.	0.	0	of the year.			
" " " 1 year's rent	4.	10.	0				
" for master's salary	12.	0.	0				
	<u>59. 2.10½</u>				<u>46. 12. 0</u>		
				BY LOSS:	12. 10. 10½		

Table 4:

Source : G.M. Feb. 1856, p.103

From Table 4 it is evident that relatively large amounts were spent on labour, manure, and particularly the instructor's salary while only a small sum was spent on seeds. Despite the loss of £12.10.10½ in 1855 the farm school did continue. During 1856 however the number of boys attending the school declined. Two of the boys left the locality altogether, three more went to work in the mines, and four more went as helpers on farms in the district. Moore, the instructor, did not object to the latter situation occurring because he saw it as one of the objects of the farm school; however he did regret the fact that these boys having left were denied the chance of further education.

During 1856 the fortunes of the agricultural school do not seem to have improved any great deal. Again the crops sown experienced only a partial success, but this may have been due to the adverse weather conditions in 1856 which were unfavourable to green crops. Mangels, which had been the most worthwhile crop in 1855, had to be sown twice and the second sowing was made in very dry weather. The result was that the mangel crop produced only 18 tons per acre. The other crops fared no better, with turnips realising only 17 tons per acre, parsnips 6 tons, flax 12cwt. of flax straw, and three-quarters of the carrot crop failed. When the flax crop was cut the ground was used to plant winter vetches and rye, which Moore said would be worth £2 or more if they turned out any way fair.

The financial accounts of the agricultural school for 1856 serve to enhance an already dismal picture. The institution seems to have operated at a continuing loss. Losses for 1856 had nearly trebled from the previous year to nearly £36. The reason for this loss must lie in the fact that so little was spent on seeds etc. while an excessive amount went towards paying labour. This situation was certainly no help to the school maintaining itself.

TABLE 5

Balance of accounts for the Agricultural school 1856.

	£.	S.	D.		£.	S.	D.
Amount paid for labour	16.	0.	8	Amount received for roots	15.	13.	0
" " " Manure	7.	7.	7½	Amount of flax on hands	5.	0.	0
" " " Horse hire	2.	10.	0	Amount of flax seed	0.	15.	0
" " " seeds	0.	19.	6				
" " " rent	4.	10.	0				
" " " poor rates	0.	10.	0				
" " " Farmer's Gazette	1.	0.	0				
" " " Master's Salary	24.	8.	0				
	57.	5.	9½		21.	8.	0
				By Loss;	35.	17.	9½

Source: G.M. March, 1857 p. 170

Moore had reasons of his own to explain why his school was not progressing with the expected momentum. He explained in his report of January 1857 that the farm "as it stands as present is not, nor can never be self-supporting so long as we continue to work on such a limited scale.... there must be sufficient remunerative employment for the boys". The under-employment of the students, Moore claims, is a hindrance to the expansion of the agricultural school and could only inevitably lead to stagnation. Continuing his report he states that,

"During the past year I had frequently to put boys to work that in itself was unproductive, though the wages paid were the same as usual ... This would not have been the case had we more land to work... I feel warranted in asking for an addition of a few acres to the farm."²⁴ Moore then put the lack of progress of the Agricultural school down to an insufficient acreage to grow the crops, resulting in the under-employment of the students. These reasons seem plausible enough, but in addition it is evident that the agricultural school did not receive as much financial support as the printing and infant schools did. Certainly appeals for funds for the agricultural school were not as frequent nor as demanding, in the pages of The Gospel Magazine, as they were for Doudney's other educational efforts in Bunnahon.

THE EMBROIDERY SCHOOL:

One of Doudney's more interesting educational establishments was the embroidery school in which the elder girls were provided with useful employment. A house near the printing school was acquired and fitted out for the purpose and already by mid-1853 a London firm had advanced an order requesting embroidery work from the school. By December 1853 a visitor to Bunnahon could report that the embroidery school employed 28 girls who were instructed in the skills of sewing muslin and embroidery.²⁵ The girls were taught by a mistress and were paid by Dec. 1853 from 1s to 2s.6d and by 1855 from 4s to 7s per week.²⁶ They were also provided with a free daily dinner.

As with Doudney's other schools the embroidery school maintained itself from donations made by readers of The Gospel Magazine. Doudney first asked for financial support for the embroidery school in July 1853 when he appealed to generous readers to acquire collecting cards and have interested parties contribute 1d or 2d weekly. Soon the necessary funds began to accumulate and by January 1854 for instance Doudney was able to acknowledge a monthly total of £21.19.0 for support of the embroidery school.²⁷

By 1855 the work of the embroidery school had expanded greatly. By then interested ladies could purchase collars (from 2s-9d), sleeves (from 4s-6d), balloons (from 5s-6d) and cuffs. Those women who so wished could send their patterns and muslin to Mrs. Doudney at Bunnahon, and she would "have it embroidered neatly and expeditiously at the school". The work of the school was available for purchase at the Soho Bazaar London, Mr. Wilkinson's, Chamber Street, Nottingham, Mrs. Lascombe's, High Street, Tunbridge Wells, and at Mrs. J. Doudney's Pelham Place, Brixton, Surrey.²⁸ Doudney was well pleased that by 1855 the girls in the embroidery school were earning an honest livelihood, were healthy and well clothed and were gainfully employed.

(PART II of this article will appear in Decies 11. It will deal with the controversy over proselytising, the decline of the schools, Doudney's departure from Bunnahon and his later career.)

Abbreviations used in References

- G.M. = The Gospel Magazine and Protestant Beacon.
 N.L.I.= National Library of Ireland.
 P.O. = D.A. Doudney, A Pictorial Outline etc.
 P.P. = British Parliamentary Papers.
 W.M. = The Waterford Mail.

R E F E R E N C E S

1. P.O. p.9
2. ibid.
3. Doudney's ordination seems on the face of it irregular, but this may have been due to Daly's pressing need for clergymen. It was suggested of Daly that he experienced difficulty finding men of education to serve as clergymen in his dioceses, so he had to resort to ordaining men without the required academic education. For this see J. Godkin, Ireland and Her Churches, (1867), p.331
4. P.P. Reports from Commissioners on the Employment of Children (Mines) XVI, (1842), p.862, 864, 863, 864.
5. P.P. Appendix to 16th Report of the Commissioners of National Education (Irl.) XXV. (1850) p.89
6. P.O., p.11
7. Waterford News 7.11.1902, quoting same of 17.10.1851: N.L.I. Ms. 9497 No.22, p.16
8. The Irish Booklover 1 (1910) p.97
9. Official Catalogue of the National Exhibition of the Arts, Manufactures and Products of Ireland, held in Cork 1852. (1852). The only two exhibitors from Waterford under Class 16: Books, Paper, Printing, Stationary etc. were Cornelius Redmond (specimens of bookbindings and a ledger) and Loughlace Sutherland, 3 New Street (Specimens of bookbindings).
10. P.O. p.24
11. Table 1 gives the list of principal publications printed.
12. G.M. 1852 (Nov.) p.544
13. P.P. Report from the Select Committee on Postal Arrangements (Waterford etc.) 11 (1854-5) p.71
14. P.O. p.16
15. P.P. 11, (1854-5) p.71/3, 173/4.
16. P.O. p.16
17. G.M. 1853 (April) p.176
18. G.M. 1853 (May) p.226; P.O. p.16
19. Church of Ireland Marriage Register, Stradbally, Co. Waterford. See also Waterford Mail, 24.1.1852; N.L.I. Ms. 9497, No.22, p.15
20. W.M. 13.1.1855: N.L.I. Ms. 9497, No.22, p.17
21. G.M. 1852 (March), p.134
22. G.M. 1852 (Sept.) p.444-8
23. G.M. 1853 (Oct.), p.479. The treasurers addresses are given in a preface to the P.O.
24. G.M. 1857 (March) p.169
25. G.M. 1854 (Jan.) p.45
26. Ibid. G.M. 1856 (Jan.) p.55
27. G.M. 1854 (Jan.) p.47/8
28. P.O. p.4

"WATERFORD OF THE SHIPS", 1786.

By J. S. Carroll.

On the 16th April, 1786 thirty seven vessels set sail from the port of Waterford. It is indicative of the volume of trade which the port handled in those days that the departure of so many ships could be reported without comment in the shipping columns of Ramsey's Waterford Journal that week. It did seem to be a busier day than usual to judge from the list of arrivals and departures given in the same issue for the following three days. What is remarkable, however, is that the port should have been able to handle so many vessels, considering that there was no wharfage on the north bank of the river, and only a few short moles or piers jutting into the river from the south side without any quays as we know them.

SAILINGS, 16th April, 1786:

Of the 37 departures on that day, 16 ships sailed for Newfoundland laden with salt, stores and provisions. These were (with the master's name in brackets): Chance (Barron), Rosamund (Faulkner), Coronation (Shepherd), Ann (Pierce), Brothers (Williams), Phaasant (Beasant), Britannia (Neaves), Mermaid (Akerman), Sally (Thombes), Neptune (Pasmore), Friends (Lyons), Industry (Pickstock), Hannah (Jones), Jane & Elizabeth (Cavanagh), Young Richard (Power), Rose (Cummins).

For five ships neither destination nor cargo is given. These were: Greyhound (Maxfield), Berry (Richards), Unity (Glazier), Mary (Parmington), Three Brothers (Needs). The others all have destinations and cargoes given as follows:

Friends (Walsh) - Dungarvan - Beer; Penhouse (Watson) - Whitehaven, in ballast; Union (Haliday) - Maryport, in ballast; Friendship - Dublin - malt; Ruby (Dudding) - Dublin - stout; Union Yacht (Williams) - Milford - Passengers; Ann (Tolson) - Baltimore - provisions and passengers; Betsy (Bunster) - Cadiz - provisions and leather; George (Power) - Dungarvan - oak planks; Friendship (Brown) - St. Ubes - wheat; Etto (Parkman) - London - oats and provisions; Providence (?) - London - provisions; Neptune (Lawlor) - London - oats.

Three other ships seem to have been in transit and possible had taken refuge in Waterford from a storm. These were: Eliza from Cadiz to Liverpool with wine, fruit and cotton; Hope (Court) from Dungarvan to London with oats; and Swan (Jones) from Liverpool to Cork with staves. No ships seem to have arrived that day.

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES, 17th April:

Arriving in Waterford on 17th were: Whitworth (Martin) from Swansea with coal; Fanny (Howell), Goodwill (Galgey) and St. Michael (Power) all from Dublin in ballast; Hope (Thomas) from Cork in ballast; Elizabeth and Cathriona from Christiansand with timber.

Five more ships departed for Newfoundland that day with stores and provisions. These were: Friendship (Taprell); Charming (Edwards); Kettle Bender (Keenagh); Roman Eagle (Ross); and Increase (Treat). The other two departures were Betty and Polly (Richie) for St. Ubes and Lisbon with wheat; Pleasant (Dickson) for Dungarvan with coal.

Over the next two days there was only one departure and eight arrivals. Presumably, such irregularity of movement was frequently dictated by wind and tide.

ASPECTS OF PASSAGE EAST.

By Julian C. Walton.

Part 1: Crook Castle; the Aylwards; Building the fort; the Confederate Wars.

The older name for Passage is Crook, which is the Norse word for a bend in the river. The proximity of a place called "Hook" is coincidental, and there is no truth in the story that Cromwell originated a well known phrase by claiming that he would take Waterford "by hook or by crook". Crook is indeed a historic site, for it was here that Strongbow landed in 1170 and his master Henry II. in 1171; King John also landed here on his second visit to Ireland in 1210; and here Perkin Warbeck is said to have embarked after his abortive siege of Waterford in 1495.

The name Passage comes from the Latin word "Passagium", meaning a ferry, and the term "Passage East" serves to distinguish this place from Passage West in Cork Harbour. The ferry is of great antiquity, and is frequently mentioned in early Waterford records. The Normans put it under the control of the Corporation of Waterford, who thus owned most of the village of Passage. In the 15th century it became fashionable for members of the Corporation to build houses for themselves here. Not until 1842 did Passage become part of the barony of Gaultier.

Crook Castle:

As a penance for the murder of St. Thomas a Beckett, King Henry II. granted certain lands to the Knights Templars in 1172¹, amongst them Crook and Kilbarry in Co. Waterford. Preceptories were founded in these places, and the issues from the lands went towards the release of knights who had been imprisoned on Crusades.² The King's grant was confirmed by John,³ Henry III,⁴ and Edward I,⁵ but it seems to have been contradicted by a grant made by John before he became King, which conveyed the lands of Crook to the Abbot of Dunbrody.⁶ When the Templars took possession, the Abbot instigated proceedings against them, and the law suit which resulted lasted from 1285 - 1290. Eventually a compromise was reached; the Master of the Templars was to retain Crook but was to pay the Abbot of Dunbrody 100 marks (1 mark = 13 - 8d).⁷ Thereafter the Templars remained in possession until their order was dissolved in 1308-12. Then, after several grants,⁸ Crook passed into the hands of a rival order, the Knights of St. John or Hospitallers, who also held the Templar preceptory of Kilbarry and their own preceptory of Killure.

After the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII, Crook was granted to Sir William Wyse of Waterford,⁹ and after his death passed to his son George.¹⁰ The latter forfeited his grant due to non-payment of rent,¹¹ and Crook passed to one Robert Woodford (1578)¹² and then to Anthony Power, who had distinguished himself in the wars in Munster and whose grant was confirmed in 1584.¹³ Though continually in debt,¹⁴ he held it until 1615, when it was granted to Sir John King and Sir Adam Loftus.¹⁵ Soon afterwards it was acquired by the Aylwards of Faithlegg, from whom it was confiscated by the Cromwellians. It then became the property of Duncannon Fort.¹⁶

Mervyn Archdall, author of Monasticon Hibernicum (1786), includes a short account of Crook in his work,¹⁷ in which he states that the castle was built in the 13th century by the Le Poers, Barons of Curraghmore, on behalf of the Templars. The only source he gives for this statement is the unreliable writer Allemande. However, the Powers of Curraghmore only rose to prominence in the 15th century, and were not created Barons until 1535, so they could not have been building castles for the Templars in the 13th century. There is in fact no evidence that Crook Castle dates from so early a period. Unfortunately, so little is left of the castle that it cannot be dated from architectural features; it could have been built by the Templars, by the Hospitallers, or by the Crown tenants who succeeded them (the Wyses, for instance). As precedent

for a later date, we may cite Ballyhack, across the river; it too was a Templar manor, but the castle there is 16th century.

Crook Castle is depicted on a map of the fortifications of Waterford Harbour in 1591, and is shown as a tall, square tower surrounded by a curtain wall.¹⁸ In 1654 the Civil Survey described Crook as having "a Castle, garden and Orchard thereon, and likewise a church";¹⁹ and the Down Survey refers to the former as "a fair Castle in repair"²⁰ From this it appears that the building was occupied down to the mid-17th century at least.

By 1841 the castle was a complete ruin. John O'Donovan describes it as follows:²¹ "Its south and west sides are standing to the height of about 26 feet, but its north and east sides are destroyed down to the very foundations. It measures on the outside 43' 4" and 31' in the other direction. The second floor rested on a stone arch of which a part still remains. The doorway was on the east and a stone staircase led to the top in the thickness of the east and south walls. All the windows remaining are quadrangular. The south wall contains five windows, of which two are constructed of cut lime stone, one of cut grit and the other two of hammered grit; they are remarkably large and obviously chiselled. The walls are 7' 6" in thickness and built of large blocks of grit stone laid in regular courses and grouted. The cement is very hard and mixed with broken shells."

It seems likely that the castle had been deliberately demolished and the stones taken for building purposes. In 1854 Sir Bernard Burke speaks of "the shamefully mutilated remains of Crooke Castle"²² The work of destruction continued, and today only a small fragment remains of what even the Cromwellians had left as "a fair Castle in repair".

Medieval Passage and the Aylwards²³

Following the Norman settlement of the area, Passage was bounded by three great estates. To the north was the manor of Faithlegg, which Henry 11 granted in 1177 to a Bristol merchant named Ailward Juvenis (who may have provided the ships that took Henry to Passage in 1171); the Aylward family held Faithlegg for nearly five hundred years. To the west was the manor of Coolmacsawry, which apparently comprised most of the parish of Kill St. Nicholas, including all of Passage not held by Waterford Corporation; it was held by the family of Bruys (probably also of Bristol origin) until they died out about 1450, after which their land passed to the Aylwards. To the south was the manor of Crook, which Henry 11 granted to the Knights Templars; when they were suppressed it was granted to their rivals the Knights Hospitallers, and when Henry VIII dissolved the monastic orders it was granted to a succession of Crown tenants, ending up as the property of ...the Aylwards.

The earliest record of Aylward involvement in Passage is in 1311, when Peter Aylward of Faithlegg was charged that he commonly robbed fishermen coming from "the Crok" to Waterford, and that he beat fishermen and other natives and took from them their "falings" (cloaks) and other objects as pledges, which he pawned in the town of Crok for drink and other victuals. The jury acquitted him, but one wonders; "there is no smoke without fire"!

Throughout most of the 16th century, the Lord of Faithlegg was another Peter, who succeeded as a young boy in 1531 and "reigned" until his death in 1594. He too was active in Passage, though in a more constructive way than his predecessor. He was in fact the builder of a new quay, frequently referred to under his name in contemporary records. His operations involved diverting the course of St. Anne's stream, which flows down from a well near St. Anne's church; this constituted a technical intrusion into the manor of Crook, for which he was brought to court in 1565. It was Peter Aylward, too, who built the Aylward residence in Passage, the shell of which still survives. It is owned by the Fishermen's Co-op, but is disused; its roof has fallen in, and

the modern entrance is blocked by a heap of sand. The walls are thin, and the building has no defensive features, though commonly described as a castle. I would submit that it is one of the earliest date-bearing undefended houses in the country.

Its main feature of interest is the old doorway, which may be seen in the backyard of Mrs. Furlong's house (near the telephone kiosk). It is in the form of a pointed arch, above which are the Aylward arms (a fleur-de-lys surrounded by two crescent moons and two stars, underneath which is the word "ailward". The arms are surrounded by mantling and surmounted by a lion rampant), which is a curious feature as this is not the usual Aylward crest.

This stone is well known, but a couple of years ago we discovered two more carved stones, covered in plaster, one on each side of the arch. When the plaster was removed from them, the stone on the left was found to bear the arms of Sherlock and the inscription "VIVAT AILWARD & K.S. 1572". Peter's wife was a Sherlock, and K. S. may stand for Katherine Sherlock. The stone on the right bears the arms of Wyse, perhaps indicating that Peter's mother was a Wyse; in support of this theory, a heraldic source of the period depicts a coat of arms on a monument at Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford, in which the arms of Aylward are shown impaling those of Wyse.

The various inquisitions and surveys enable us to see that by the time of Cromwell the Aylwards owned nearly 11,000 statute acres, including all the land around Passage. Much of this estate was acquired by Sir Richard Aylward, Peter's son who succeeded him in 1594 and died in 1626. From his father he inherited the manors of Faithlegg, Cross, Coolnacawry, and Reisk; he himself secured grants of the dissolved monasteries of Crook, Killure and Kilculliheen, together with various lands in south Gaultier, Upperthird and Decies. He also held property in Waterford city, while by marrying his son to the heiress of the Lincoln family he secured the Lincoln property in Waterford city and south Kilkenny. Though he told Lord Burghley in 1592 that he was "but a poor gent of small living", he left his son one of the biggest landowners in east Waterford. This son was Sir Peter Aylward, who by the outbreak of war in 1641 held the entire parishes of Faithlegg, Kill St. Nicholas and Crook, together with various "perks" in the area, which are described as follows: "A part of the town of Passage, extending to the water running near Francis Briver's great house, and all the mills, wharfs or quays of the whole town of Passage, and all the quayage and dockage of the said wharfs or quays.

Out of the other part of Passage, chief rent of 15s. and suit of court.

Out of Dromina, 9d. and suit of court

Out of Farrenmolagh alias Farrenmillon, 1s. 3d. and suit of court.

Out of Passage, Dromina and Farrenmillon, a plough for one day, a reaping day, a hen, a sheep, and a hog, and 2s. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ out of customs and services aforesaid.

Out of Cross, chief rent of 3s. 9d. and suit of court.

Out of Ballyglan, 6d. and suit of court.

Out of the profits of the court baron of Crook, 1s. 6d.

The ferry of Crook, from Passage to Ballyhack and from Ballyhack to Passage."

Sir Peter died in 1645, and was ultimately succeeded by his cousin John Aylward, in whose time disaster struck the Aylwards as it did so many other Irish Catholic landowners. His castle of Faithlegg fell to the Cromwellians in circumstances still well known, his lands were confiscated, and he and his family were transplanted to Co. Galway.

Building Passage Fort:

All through the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the fear of a Spanish invasion was very real to the English government; the fiasco of the Spanish Armada was but one of the many attempts at invasion. In England, where many of the nobility and gentry had remained loyal to the traditional

faith, this fear was real enough, but in Ireland, be supported by the majority of the population, the administration was driven at times almost to panic. Furthermore, the coasts of England had been well fortified by Henry VIII; in Ireland, no such defence existed.

The citizens of Waterford were Catholic almost to a man; but they had basked in the Royal favour for so long that they were at great pains to prove their loyalty to England. Consequently, they were willing to co-operate in the fortification of their city and harbour.

The village of Passage East nestles underneath the cliffs on the bank of the River Suir. It is situated at the last narrow point on the estuary of the Nore, Suir and Barrow, which widen out below the village to become Waterford Harbour. The other side of the river was within cannon shot, and consequently a fort placed in the village could command the passage of ships up the river to New Ross and Waterford.

For countless years, a ferry had plied between Passage and the village on the County Wexford side, Ballyhack, thereby giving its name to the place. This Ferry was run by the citizens of Waterford, and Passage was part of the municipal borough. As a result, the citizens decided, presumably with encouragement from the Government, to construct a block-house there, for the defence of the river and the ferry.

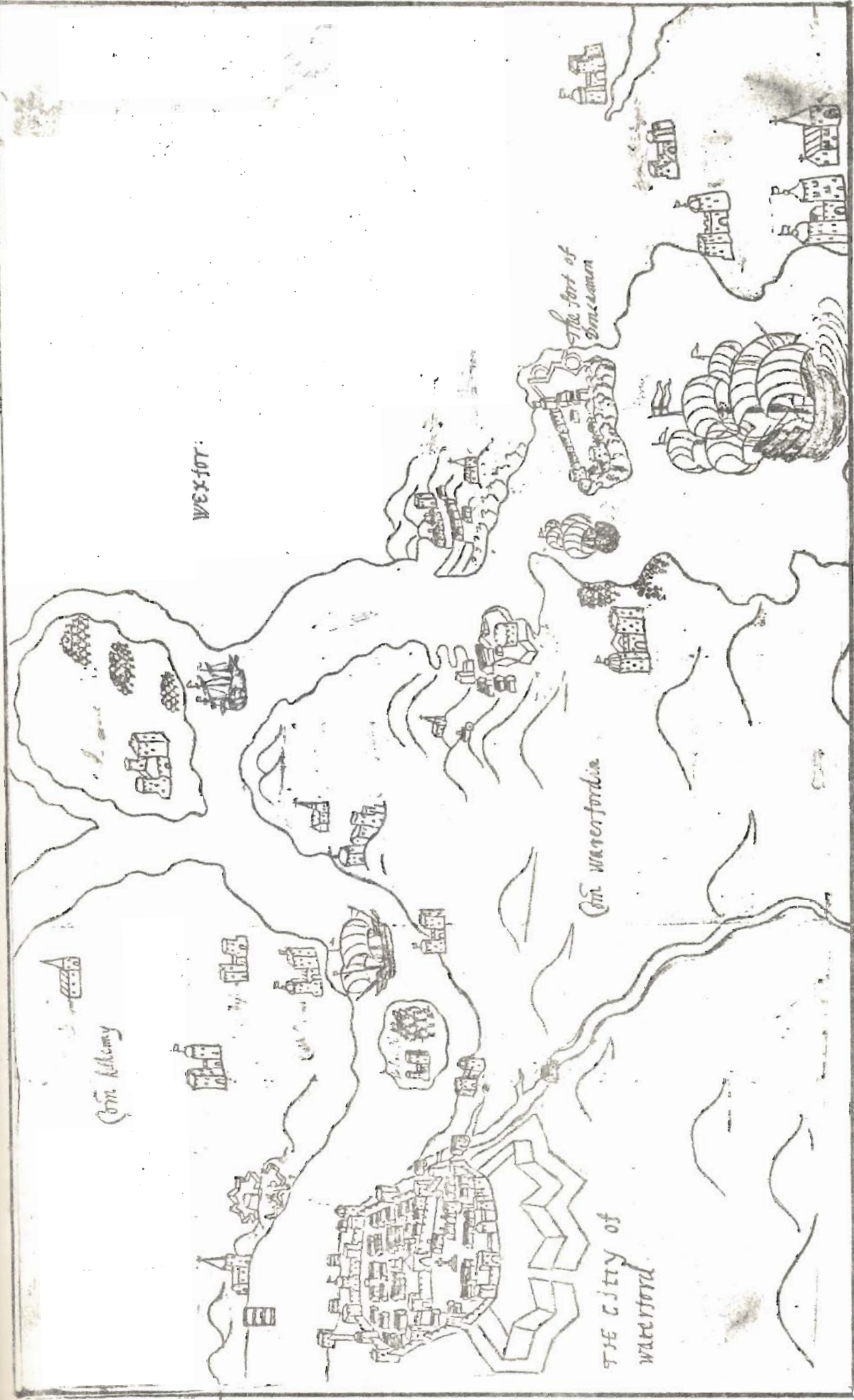
On the 20th April, 1538, the Mayor (Nicholas Aylward) and Commons of Waterford petitioned for a lease of the dissolved abbey of Kilculliheen, "in consideration of a block-house lately built by them for defence of the haven, and for other good services done by them."²⁴ Their reward was slow in coming, but on 12 March 1583, their new charter granted them the dissolved preceptory of Kilbarry with its lands; "and in consideration of the citizens having built a house or tower called the Blockhouse, situate at the ferry within the city, for the defence and security of boats and ships touching at the port, and for the maintenance of good rule and order amongst the fishermen, Her Majesty grants the Mayor, Sheriffs and citizens license to take out of every ferry boat a castle measure of herrings, and out of every boat engaged in other fishings, the principal or best fish."²⁵

Isolated block-houses, however, were not going to allay the fears of the Government or the conspiracies of the Papists. A more ambitious scheme of coastal fortification was planned. For Waterford Harbour, a strong fort was to be built at Duncannon, the block-house at Passage was to be enlarged, another fort was to be built at Waterford itself, and a smaller one at the Rock on the opposite side of the river.

Duncannon was occupied at this time by the castle of Sir Nicholas White. The place was surveyed in January, 1589, and a map of this survey²⁶ shows the fortifications then standing at Passage; there was an oblong enclosure, at the south-east corner of which was the block-house, while small round flankers stood at the other three corners.

In 1590, the work was begun under the direction of Edmund Yorke. On 13 May he announced that the fortifications at Passage were to go forward.²⁷ Then he came up against an obstacle; due to the barren nature of the coast, there was no timber suitable for building for miles around. "For the Passage," he wrote on 27 May, "it will be somewhat chargeable, because there is no growth near, so we shall be forced to seek it by horse and men far off."²⁸

No sooner was this problem solved than another confronted the builders; the ground was so sandy that it was difficult to lay foundations. "And for the Passage", wrote Yorke on 8 June, "I have sunk the ground to find a foundation and find it marvelous hard to be brought to pass without piles which will be marvelous chargeable and of long time, so as I am enforced to bring Earth from the Mountains and woods far off to finish it. The woods and timbers is already brought and good stone of earth brought down, so as within this month it will be finished."²⁹



Amended version of map made by Francis Jobson in 1591 indication defences at Passage newly completed by the citizens of Waterford.

At the end of June, Sir John Norreys visited Yorke to report on his progress. The Privy Council appears to have been quite unaware that the fort at Passage had been started at all. "As touching the Passage," he wrote them on 6 July, "of which your Lordships gave me in charge to advertise, whether it were requisite the same should be fortified or not, and what assistance the townsmen and inhabitants be able to yield towards the charge thereof, your Lordships shall understand that Captain Yorke before my coming had already begun and brought up the same to good forwardness. I have dealt with the inhabitants of the town for their helps towards the furtherment thereof, from whom it is very hard to draw any money to help the performance thereof, the estate of their town being such as their present necessity will not in any sort afford the same, only they are content to assure the travel of their labourers and horses in as hardy manner as they may towards the erecting thereof as long as the works shall continue"³⁰

By August most of the work was complete, and the fort was equipped with a culverin, two demi-culverine and a saker.³¹ The work must have cost the Government in the region of £250. It had taken about two months, with 100 pioneers engaged on the job.³²

Nicholas Lombard, a citizen of Waterford, wrote a long letter to his son William, "at the court in England", on 30th October, describing the fortifications.³³ "There is also a wall indented built about our block-house at the Passage, from by east the small tower of our Ring in the south side of the same towards the house wherein sometime Patrick Flagher the younger did dwell, and breaking down that house the work is run through Morgan the water bailiff's two houses, and from thence towards James Walsh the Vice-Admiral's house, and so through Nicholas Ley's houses, and from thence through John Eston the younger's thatched house, and brake down all those houses to the great losses of the said farmers. The stone house within that circuit is preserved within that wall, and the wall on the land side is builded so high as no man standing upon the Rock of Passage may see them that are within the compass of that work; and within that new building the said ground is all rampiered with sand five or six foot high, but no munitions is there as yet more than that we have in the old block-house, and yet the Lord Deputy here meaneth to have a guard to keep that work. "And now upon the going away of the Lord General Sir John Norreys he did appoint and leave to guard the new work at the Passage fifteen men of his brother Sir Thomas Norreys' men, which men I assure you nor none other will ever be more trusty unto her Majesty in that place than this Corporation, which matter I doubt not will be considered by her Majesty's most honourable Council, and so by their Honours thought fitter that this Corporation shall have the keeping hereof than any private man or servitor".

This request was granted, and the citizens of Waterford were given the task of completing the work and maintaining it. They appear, however, to have been somewhat negligent about this, for on 11 December, 1591 the Lord Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliam, wrote to Lord Burghley; "and touching your pleasure... for a sharp letter to be written to the townsmen of Waterford for not finishing the Passage, the Council and I have so done, but till the season of the year to come, to serve for stone works, which is in March, some think it cannot be finished".³⁴ This supposition proved to be correct, for on 12 March next year John Leonard, Mayor of Waterford, wrote the Lord Deputy that all the outer wall of their blockhouse at Passage was finished ten days back, and that the inner work should be ended with as great care and speed as might be.³⁵

Unfortunately, all the plans of the fort made at this time have been lost, and we cannot trace the course of the walls through "Morgan the water-bailiff's two houses" and "John Eston the younger's thatcher howse". However, a map of Waterford Harbour was drawn up in 1591 by Francis Jobson, and illustrates the various fortifications.³⁶ It shows the old block-house at Passage, with the new curtain wall zig-zagging around it to the north and west. Jobson's colleagues, incidentally, did not have a high opinion of him; Yorke wrote of him on 6 August 1591; "Mr. France is a cunning workman and understands, but Jobson (who has

drawn some of our maps) understands no more than a horse".³⁷

The Confederate Wars:

Passage Fort remained under the administration of the citizen of Waterford during the 17th century. When the Irish Commander, Lord Mountgarrett took Waterford in March 1642, he left a strong garrison at Passage with five pieces of ordnance, under the command of Captain Strong.³⁸ The fort played an important part in the sieges of Duncannon, bombarding any hostile ship in sight. One man of war, however, was too much for her, as Lazarus Howard (an English defender of Duncannon) wrote.³⁹ "Monday the 7th of March, I went up myself with the man of war together with the pinnace, and lay between those two towns; the fort of Passage shot thrice at us, then our ship shot one shot into the Fort, and presently the Fort hanged forth a flag of truce; whereupon, and for that there were divers of the poor English Protestants prisoners within the town, we made no more shots, but wholly intended our battery against the Castle of Ballyhack."

Oliver Cromwell⁴⁰ recognised the strategic importance of the place, and when he arrived before Waterford on 24 November, 1649, he sent Lieutenant General Michael Jones to attack the place.⁴¹ Lord Castlehaven had taken the precaution of garrisoning it with fifty of his own men the previous month,⁴² but they were caught unawares by the sudden appearance of Jones with a regiment of horse and three troops of dragoons. The dragoons stormed the place immediately, and in a short time set fire to the gate; whereupon the garrison offered to surrender upon quarter. They were given quarter for their lives and wearing apparel and allowed to march out uncollected, while Jones garrisoned the fort with 100 Parliamentarian soldiers under the command of Captain Hume, secured two guns placed on the Point two miles below to beat the Royalist ships out of the bay, and returned next day to the Leaguer of Waterford. Jones did not long survive this victory, however, for when Cromwell, having failed to take Waterford, marched west through Dungarven, Jones died there of a fever.

The loss of Passage was such a blow to the Irish forces that as soon as Cromwell was safely out of the way in his winter quarters at Youghal, Ormonde decided to attempt the retaking of the place. General Richard O'Ferrall, who commanded Waterford with a detachment of Owen Roe O'Neill's forces, was to march to Passage, where he was to be joined by Colonel Wogan, Governor of Duncannon, and their joint forces were to assault the fort, while Ormonde protected their rear from counter-attack. Accordingly, O'Ferrall marched to Passage where he was joined by Wogan on 12 December, and in the afternoon of that day they assaulted the fort with scaling ladders. They had expected to overrun the place immediately, but the resistance of the defenders was so fierce that they were repulsed. Three more attempts were similarly unsuccessful; O'Ferrall's Ulstermen were pikemen and utterly unused to siege warfare. Accordingly, Wogan called off the attack for the night and sent over to Duncannon for two battering guns and a mortar. O'Ferrall was reluctant to continue: surprise had been their main weapon, and it would be foolish to delay and conduct a full-scale investment.

Unknown to the assault party, Ormonde had failed utterly to protect their rear, afterwards alleging that he had not been allowed to cross the river at Waterford. Meanwhile, Cromwell's intelligence system was so efficient that he had obtained word of the attack on Passage from the officer he had left in command of the fort he had built at Duagh, and he dispatched Colonel Sankey from Cappoquin with a large force of cavalry and dragoons to relieve the garrison. Sankey marched to Passage with all speed, (finding time, nevertheless, to kill off all the hapless stragglers he found on the way) and arrived on Passage hill just as Wogan had set up his guns and was about to open fire. Having relied upon the protection of Ormonde, the Irish forces were taken completely unawares, and were only roused to consciousness of their peril when they saw the enemy forces charging down upon them. They were beaten from the place with great loss and scattered in confusion. O'Ferrall's men managed to re-form, and "the Ulsters, who bragged much of their pikes, made indeed for a time a good resistance; but the horse, pressing sorely upon them, broke them". Many fled into the sea,

many were slain and many more taken, amongst them Colonel Wogan. The hardy Ulstermen escaped by "high and inaccessible rocks", and O'Ferrall himself was only saved by taking to a boat which was moored at the quayside. Landing higher up, he gathered the remnants of his forces and marched back to Waterford. During this disaster, Ormonde had turned up with a mere 50 horse and looked miserably on, and he now escorted the Irish back to the town, thus preventing further pursuit on Sankey's part.

This battle had a disastrous effect on the morale of the Ulstermen and of the people of Waterford. Nevertheless, it was not until August 1650 that they surrendered to the Cromwellians.

The Governor of Passage in 1650 was Captain Thory.⁴³ In 1659 the garrison was reduced to 20 men, commanded by Captain Alland.⁴⁴ In the following year, amidst the chaos prior to the Restoration of Charles II, Messrs. Joseph Powell, Benjamin Bolton and John Powell marched to Passage to keep an eye on Alland, and in response to General Ludlow's demand for an explanation replied that Alland's Parliamentary sympathies were strongly suspect.⁴⁵

In 1663 King Charles II appointed the Duke of Ormonde governor of Duncannon and Passage, understanding that it was "of great importance, and that it may tend very much to our service and the safety of that harbour and of parts of the country thereabouts, that good correspondency and intelligence be held between these forts".⁴⁶

(PART II of this article will appear in Decies 11)

SOURCES:

1. Orpen, Ireland under the Normans, I, 274n.; 2. ibid., IV, 217;
3. Sweetman, Cal. of Docs. Rel. to Ireland, I, No. 85; 4. ibid., I, No. 1488;
5. ibid., II, No. 1763; 6. ibid., III, No. 666, &c.; 7. ibid.
8. Tresham, Cal. Patent & Close Rolls, Ireland, pp. 10, 17.
9. Newport B. White; Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions, p. 99
10. Fiants, Elizabeth, No. 527; 11. ibid., No. 3804; 12. ibid., No. 3227
13. ibid., No. 4529; 14. Cal. Carew MSS, VI, 119;
15. Cal. Patent & Close Rolls, James I, p. 281
16. Books of Survey and Distribution. 17. p. 667
18. British Library, MS Cotton, Augustus, I. (ii), 31;
19. P. 161; 20. National Library MS 722; 21. O.S. Letters, Ed. O. Flanagan, p. 4.
22. Visitation of Seats and Arms, 2nd Series, I, 159-161.
23. See "The Family of Aylward" by the present writer in the Irish Genealogist 1970 - 1977
24. Morrin, Cal. Patent & Close Rolls, Ireland, I, 515; 25. ibid., II, 40
26. British Library MS. Cotton Augustus I. (II) 31.
27. Cal. State Papers, Ireland, IV, 344;
28. State Papers, Ireland (PRO, London), Elizabeth, Vol. 152, No. 46.
29. ibid., Vol. 153, No. 8 (iii); 30. ibid., Vol. 153, No. 42; 31. ibid., Vol. 154, No. 10 (ii)
32. ibid., Vol. 153, No. 61; Vol. 196, No. 54; 33. ibid., Vol. 155, No. 22;
34. Cal. State Papers, Ireland, IV, 444; 35. ibid., IV, 473;
36. T.C.D., Hardiman's Atlas, No. 64; 37. Cal. State Papers, Ireland, IV, 419;
38. T.C.D., Depositions of Murders and Robberies.
39. British Library; Thomason Tracts, E. 142 (4), (7);
40. This account of the sieges of Passage is based on Cromwell's letters to Lenthall (Speaker of the House of Commons) dated -- November and 19th Dec., 1649; Gilbert's Apherismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction, II, 59; and British Library MS Additional 4769 B (an account of the siege of Waterford written by Ireton's secretary). More recent versions, based on secondary sources, tend to be biased in favour of Ormonde.
41. Some sources give Ireton as the Commander of this force. Cromwell, however, states specifically that he sent "the Lieutenant-General" (i.e. Jones); Ireton he always refers to as "the Major-General".
42. Bodleian Library, Carte MSS, Vol. 26, No. 7.; 43. Analecta Hibernica, XV, 251;
44. Cal. State Papers, Ireland, XLX, 687; 45. ibid., XLX, 710-711.
46. ibid., XXII, 354-5.

THE DEFENCES OF THE SOUTH-EASTERN COAST OF IRELAND, 1803-'14

By Paul Kerrigan

The several unsuccessful French expeditions to Ireland in the 1790's had shown the authorities how vulnerable large areas of the coast here were. When the war resumed in 1803 it became a matter of some priority to attend to coastal defence in Ireland. It seemed most likely that any French invasion fleet would avail once again of the advantages offered by the Western coasts of the country and preparations were accordingly set in hand to defend them. It would obviously have been folly to have made no provision whatsoever for the eastern half of the country and so both Dublin and particularly Cork acquired extra defences. It seemed to have been felt however that Wexford and Waterford harbours were less susceptible to attack, possibly because of British Naval patrols operating between the south Irish coast and Wales. Nevertheless, steps were taken to ensure that an attacking force here would at least be harrassed and delayed.

Already in the 1790's accommodation had been provided for troops on the following basis, largely in earlier barracks; Wexford - 136 Foot; New Ross - 36 Horse; Duncannon - 292 Foot; New Geneva - 440 Foot; Waterford - 400 Foot; Dungarvan - 96 Foot.¹ As well, a military camp had been set up at Ardfinnan, and artillery depots at Clonmel and Clogheen and from these troops could be rushed to Cork or Waterford. However the arrangements made from 1803 were of a different kind and fall under three different headings: (i) The construction of a signalling system to relay news of any possible invasion fleet, (ii) The strengthening of existing fortifications, (iii) The erection of new defences in areas which seemed vulnerable.²

THE SIGNALLING POSTS:

These were constructed within sight of each other from Dublin, South and around to Malin Head, Co. Donegal. In some places elaborate stone towers were erected with some defensive features. In the South-East, in some instances existing buildings were used - for example ; the Hook lighthouse tower, and evidently at Baginbun the new Martello tower provided accommodation. The signalling mast at each post held an inclined gaff or yard and from it were hung various combinations of Union flag, pendant (a long triangular flag), and three black canvas balls. Apparently there was also provision for a light signalling system at night. Each station would have been manned by a naval lieutenant with two or three members of the Sea Fencibles, and guarded by a military detachment. Most of them were built in 1804, but construction work continued on some signal towers and their approach roads during 1805-6.

The system was potentially quite effective. If for instance, an invasion fleet were spotted off Kilmore Quay, this intelligence could be relayed from the station at Crossfarnoge nearby, north to Mill Castle and from there to Rosslare Point and on up the coast to Dublin. The progress of such a fleet west could be constantly monitored and communicated via posts at Baginbun, Hook, Brownstown Head, Island of Kane, Bunnahon, Ballyvoile and Mine Head which would relay the message on to Cork via Knockadoon Head.³

STRENGTHENING FORTIFICATIONS - DUNCANNON:

The only coastal defence still useable in 1803 was Duncannon.⁴ The fort of Passage had been stripped of its guns years earlier; Geneva Barracks did not contain gun emplacements; and the 17th century fort near Rosslare point had long been derelict.

The lack of defence of Waterford Harbour had caused particular comment in the 1790's. A report of 1796⁵ stresses how easily an invasion fleet could make its way to Waterford or Ross and how simple it would be to penetrate from there along the Barrow Valley to Dublin. The writer recommended that Passage Fort be repaired and that four 18-pounders be mounted at New Geneva. A second report of that year⁶ also recommends the reconstruction of Passage and suggests the placing of a battery at Ballyhack.

In fact, none of these things were done and the only extra measure that appears to have been taken was the addition of some small guns at Duncannon. In 1796 there had been twenty five guns there.⁶ A report eight years later⁷ lists the ordnance as comprising fifteen 24-pounders, ten 18-pounders, three 12-pounders, two 8 inch mortars and a single 12-pounder carronade. It is unlikely that this armament would have stopped a determined invasion fleet availing of a following wind and flood tide.

The main disadvantage about Duncannon, however, was the fact that it was rendered vulnerable from the land side by high ground overlooking it. This had been noted as a weakness as early as 1589, and military reports of the 17th and 18th centuries reiterate the point. Yet nothing was done to prevent a French attack from the land side until the later stages of the war. In 1814, two Martello towers were under construction overlooking the fort but even then their usefulness to defend it was questionable (see below).

NEW DEFENCES:

These consisted largely of Martello towers, some with adjacent batteries, built at vulnerable points along the coast, (although along the line of the Shannon different forms of defence were also constructed). Each tower contained a small garrison and had a heavy gun, or guns, which could be swivelled around on a roof platform. Apart from living quarters, some towers also had provision for furnaces to make the cannon balls red hot before firing them at enemy ships. Their designs varied considerably, but a common feature was the entrance door about 12 feet above ground level, guarded by a machicoulis. Frequently they were elliptical rather than round, due to extra thickness being given to the wall on the seaward side.

Wexford harbour, evidently, was not regarded as greatly at risk, as only one tower was built there at Rosslare point near the old 17th century fort.⁸ It was subsequently demolished, but seems to have been the same as that still standing at Baginbun. This latter was visited by the Duke of Wellington in the summer of 1806 and he felt that Bannow Bay could well be used as an invasion point.⁹ He suggested that the 24 pounder carronade on the tower be replaced by a more accurate 18 pounder cannon, with a battery of four 24-pounders placed at "Strongbow's Point" nearby. This advice was apparently not

heeded. The tower itself at Baginbun, and presumably that originally at Wexford, is somewhat unusual in having four machicolations at parapet level. It has regular ashlar masonry, battered walls and a string course marking the parapet behind which stood the gun platform.

The two towers built to defend the heights above Duncannon were of later construction. There seems to have been some ambivalence about their design, as no attempt was made to defend them from the landward side on which the fort was vulnerable. The doors faced east and had no machicolations. The walls were thicker on the seaward side. Similar towers had been built at Banagher on the Shannon, and at Galway Bay, somewhat earlier, but it is hard to see their point here. Perhaps it is just as well that none of these defences were ever tested.

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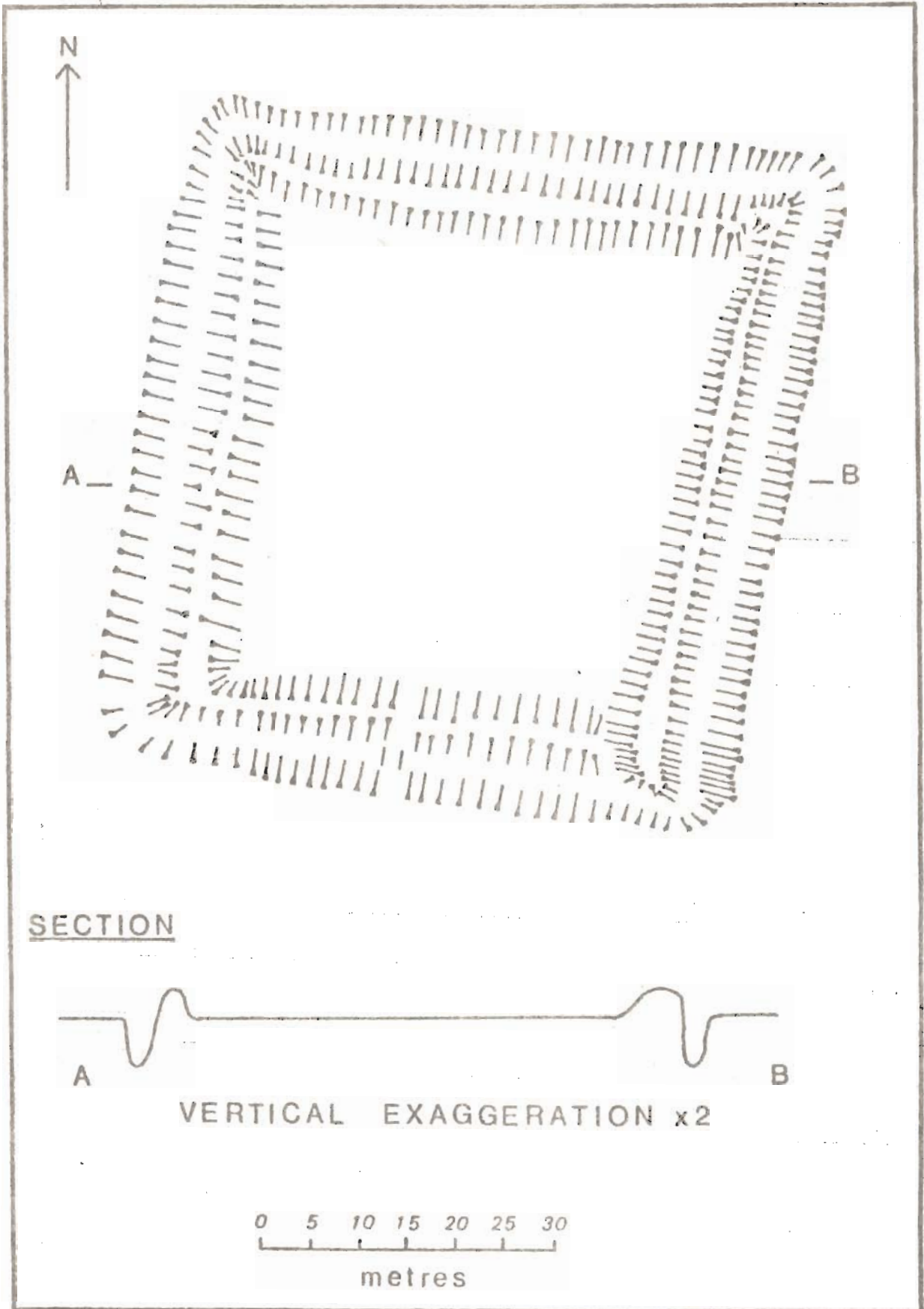


Fig. 1 Mylerspark Medieval Moated Site, Co. Wexford (W.90). Plan and section based on field survey, 1972.

THE MOATED SITES OF CO. WATERFORD.

by

Dr. T. B. Barry.

It is only in the present century that moated sites have been identified in Ireland as a separate class of historic earthwork distinct from the ring-fort and the motte.¹ Indeed, it is still very common for many people to use the term "moats" when referring to mottes and so it is very important to define what we mean by a motte in order to avoid this confusion in the future.

Mottes were the first military fortifications built by the Anglo-Normans as they conquered Ireland in the decades following 1169. The word motte is derived from the French word meaning "mound" and there are still some 350 to 400 extant examples in Ireland, mainly concentrated in the eastern half of the country.² A motte can best be described as a flat-topped earthen mound of several metres in height, often resembling an up-turned Christmas Pudding, wholly or partially artificial and defended at the base by a ditch and an earthen rampart. Some mottes also have an adjoining "bailey" which can be described as a raised rectangular platform (though not as high as a motte) similarly defended by a surrounding ditch and bank. The great advantages about building a motte during a military campaign are firstly, that it can be constructed speedily (the one at Hastings illustrated in the Bayeux Tapestry was built in just over two weeks) and secondly, it could be built out of materials readily available almost universally - wood and earth.³ Once constructed a motte could be held by a small number of men against a much larger army with the height of the motte acting as an important defensive capability for its inhabitants.

Therefore mottes were military earthworks, erected at strategic locations to over-awe the surrounding countryside. Most mottes could not have comfortably housed many men so "baileys" were sometimes built to provide quarters for men and horses. By the thirteenth century some mottes were succeeded by stone castles but it must be stressed that only a very small proportion of the population of Anglo-Norman Ireland could have afforded to build and maintain such residences. Generally, only the Crown and the greater magnates could have mustered the resources and manpower necessary for the construction of such stone castles. For the lesser nobility and for the other Anglo-Norman settlers who lived outside the towns the only residence they could afford was the moated site constructed of earth and wood, a reversion to the materials used in the earlier mottes. Therefore, moated sites could also be seen as a cheaper copy, on a much smaller scale, of the stone castles of the period, although they obviously did not have the same military and strategic significance.⁴

Moated sites can be identified in the present-day landscape as being earthworks which are rectangular or sub-rectangular in shape. They are defined by a ditch which was often filled with water in the medieval period and by internal earthen banks which were constructed as a result of the excavation of the ditch. Some sites also have external earthen banks. The central area, or platform, is often raised slightly above the level of the surrounding land and would often have been occupied by a hall and farm-building (Fig.1). In England moated sites have been dated to the medieval period with a concentration in the thirteenth and fourteenth century. The two excavations of moated sites which have taken place in Ireland have both confirmed this dating for their occupation.⁵ The central platforms of Irish moated sites can vary from anything under 500m² to over 4,000m² in area, with the majority being under 2,000m² in internal area.

Moated sites have often, in the past, been confused with ring-forts because of similarities in their morphology. The most striking difference is that a ring-fort is circular or pennisular in plan and although it has fosse and an

internal bank, its interior is not usually raised. The majority of ring-forts seem to have been the farmsteads of the indigenous Irish of the 1st millenium A.D. and therefore they seem to have performed broadly the same function as the moated sites did in the later period. Some ring forts, however, revealed no trace of permanent occupation while others seem to have been metal-working centres.⁶

Whereas there are some 30,000 extant ring-forts spread out over the landscape of Ireland, and especially on the lowlands of Munster and Connacht, there are only some 750 known moated sites in Ireland, of which some 322 are located in the four south-eastern counties of Carlow, Kilkenny, Tipperary and Wexford.⁷ Moated sites are generally found concentrated on fertile lowlands below 100 n. O.D., especially in the south and east of the country. They also seem to be clustered on the edges of the Anglo-Norman colony where farmsteads would most probably have been open to attack and cattle-raiding both by the Irish from the nearby Gaelic areas and even from their own Anglo-Norman neighbours (Fig.2). These frontier areas would also have had large areas of uncleared forest and therefore cattle had to be protected against the ravages of wild animals by keeping them within a moat perimeter at night.

As Co. Waterford was not part of this frontier zone it is not surprising that the density of moated sites is very low. Of the 16 known examples it is interesting to note that over half of them, 9 in all, are located at heights above 100n. O.D. which is contrary to the trend in the four counties so far studied (see above). A list of these sites has been appended below and I would be grateful if any reader could tell me whether a particular site exists or has been destroyed by informing the editor.⁸ The two sites which I have visited, Ballysaggartbeghill and Garryduff are both fairly small examples, being 417m² and 902m² in internal area, respectively. In my research on moated sites I found in the four counties which I studied (see above) that between 1840 and 1973 over half of the known moated sites had been destroyed. Therefore great vigilance is needed by people in the locality to make sure more of these earthworks are not destroyed in the future. It is salutary to realise that an earthwork which has lasted for 700 years can be removed from the landscape in half a day by current earth-moving equipment.

PROVISIONAL LIST OF MOATED SITES IN CO. WATERFORD.

No.	Townland & Grid Ref.	O.S. 6" Sheet	Altitude	Approximate Location
1.	Ballinroad 22 X258831	39W	99M	2 Miles east of Mine Head.
2.	Ballygunnycastle 23S 652081	18W	46M	4 Miles south-east of Waterford.
3.	Ballynamona Upper 22 X 269836	39W	76M	1 Mile North-West of Mine Head.
4.	Ballysaggartbeghill 22 X043957	29W	61M	2 Miles East of Lismore.
5.	Coolydoody North 22 W974971	28W	76M	5 Miles West of Lismore.
6.	Cumneen 22 S376088	15W	122M	2 Miles North-West of Kilmactomas.
7.	Curraghnamadree 22 S207007	22E	165M	1½ Miles East of Millstreet near No.10

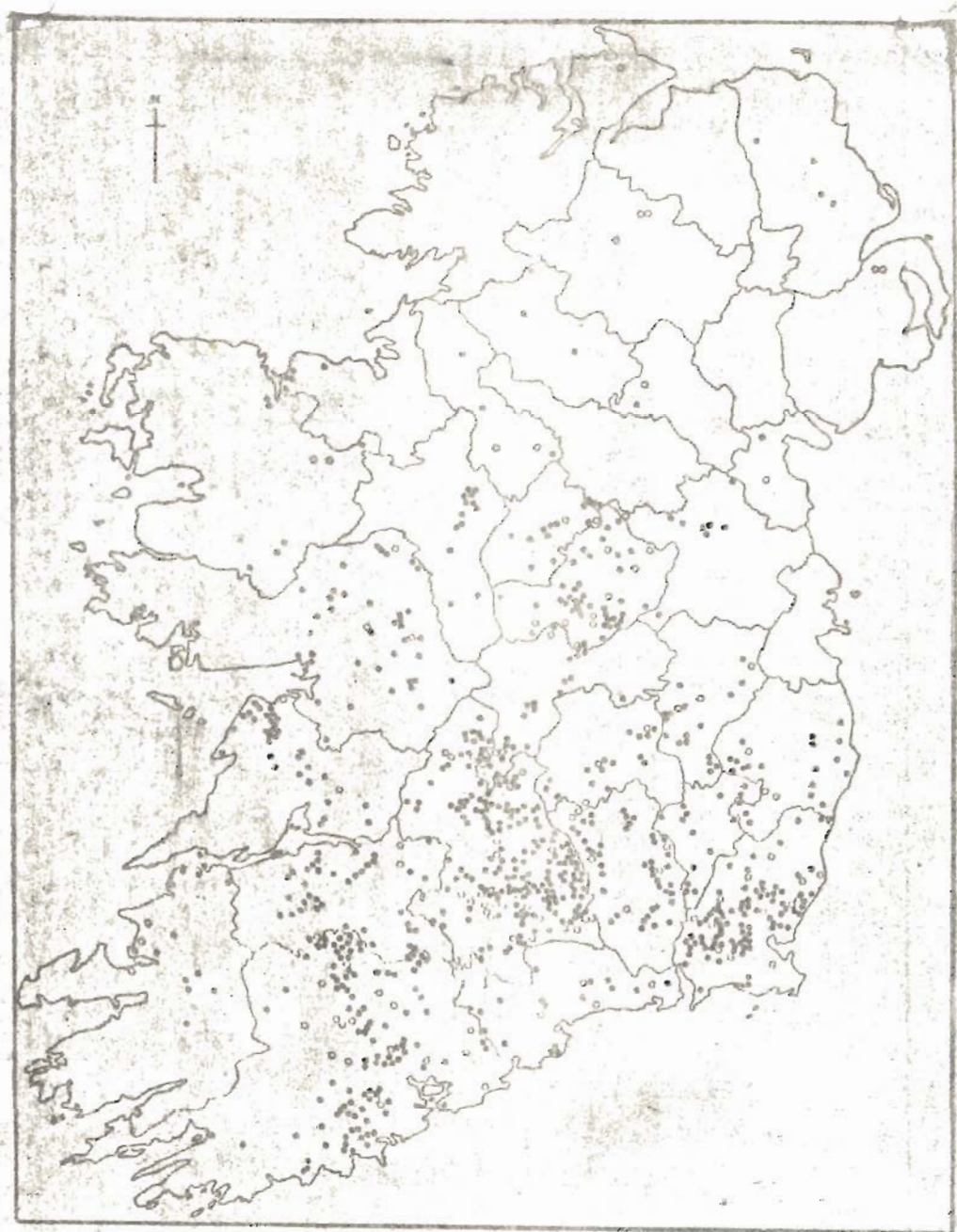


Fig. 2. Rectangular earthworks shown on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey Six Inch Map, Circa 1840.

● Certain ○ Uncertain

(Provisional List of Moated Sites in Co. Waterford) contd.

No.	Townland & Grid Ref.	O.S. 6" Sheet	Altitude	Approximate Location
8.	Carrignagower East 22 S051020	21W	122M	2½ Miles North of Lismore.
9.	Garronmillon 22 S348037	22E	122M	3 Miles South West of Kilmacthomas.
10.	Garryduff 22 S203009	22E	195M	2 Miles East of Millstreet.
11.	Gaulstown 23 S542057	17W	104 M	6 Miles South- West of Waterford.
12.	Greenan 22 S449065	16W	143M	4 Miles East of Kilmacthomas.
13.	Kilcalf West 22 W991905	33E	113M	2 Miles south of Tallow.
14.	Monagoush 22 X283827	39W	76M	Near Mine Head. Coastal Location.
15.	Tooracuragh 22 S171128	5W	104M	6 Miles South of Clonnel.
16.	Whitesfort 22 S142173	1W	70M	5 Miles South-West of Clonnel.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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THE INFLUENCE OF REDMONDISM ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LABOUR
MOVEMENT IN WATERFORD IN THE 1890's.

By Emmet O'Connor

INTRODUCTION:

According to one of the great contemporaries, Tommy Dunne, "it was not until 1909 that the Labour Movement proper had its inception, when the United Trades and Labour Council was instituted".¹ There had been efforts however, to form a united independent movement in Waterford during the 1890's. The failure of this attempt was largely due to the grip which Parnellite politics had on the city. The consequences of failure not only postponed the rise of labour for twenty years, but consolidated the position of John Redmond M.P. and facilitated the future ascendancy of Redmondism in Waterford politics.

Labour organisation in Waterford was weak throughout the 19th century; but from the 1850's onwards, certain categories of workers succeeded in becoming unionised. It was mostly the skilled men that were catered for - the bakers, carpenters and joiners, masons and tailors and engineers being the best organised. Occasionally, attempts were made to organise the unskilled, particularly the dockers, but these efforts met with only intermittent success.² Accordingly, growth was sporadic. Very few sections could have become unionised had it not been for the spread of the English Amalgamated Societies to Ireland during these years. The A.S.³ Engineers established a branch in Waterford in 1868, and soon afterwards the local woodworkers joined the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.³ A decade later the A.S. of Tailors and Tailoresses opened a branch here, one of its early members being Tommy Dunne.

During the 1890's the pace of change quickened. Following an unsuccessful nationwide lockout of bacon workers in 1890, the employees of the local meat factories formed the Porkbutcher's Society. The Waterford Society was subsequently amalgamated with similar associations in Cork and Limerick, and was successful in improving conditions and rates of pay.⁴ Three years later, a branch of the A.S. of Railway Servants was founded in the city.⁵ These two unions played a prominent role in the trade union movement. The Porkbutchers, because of their stature as labour aristocrats, and because of the example of their militancy, were a progressive influence on the labour movement. They had been instrumental in the reformation of the Trades Club into the Waterford Federated Trades and Labour Union in 1890. Their President, P.J. Leo later became the third President on the Trades Council. The Railway Servants were active in promoting the independence of Labour from other groups and parties.

ATTEMPT TO FORM LABOUR MOVEMENT:

The opportunity of developing a real Labour movement in the City came in November 1894, when a branch of the Independent Labour Party was founded by Keir Hardie M.P. . Hardie arrived in Waterford on the 12th of November from Dublin. He was met by a huge crowd, who provided him with a torchlight escort to the Trades Hall in William Street. Addressing the throng, Hardie called on the working class to support their own in politics. Speaking in support, L.C. Strange, T.C., a solicitor from Tramore, but an enthusiastic Labour man, well known for his "socialist and idiosyncratic" views, called on the workers to form a united movement and usher in a new era for Labour in Waterford.⁶

The I.L.P. branch was inaugurated the following week at a meeting in the Trades Hall. The Trades Council had circulated all affiliated Trade Unions. Fifty workers attended the meeting, to the disappointment of Michael Cash⁴, the Trades Council President, who had expected a much greater number. The speakers stressed the need for Labour to have its own representation in Parliament, both sections of the Irish Party being conservative. L.C. Strange, a little more sensitive to the constitutional question, denied that support for the I.L.P. would interfere with the prospects of attaining Home Rule, or prevent anyone from being a Redmondite if the I.L.P. had no candidate in the contest.⁷

For the next two years the branch met regularly, usually in the Central Hall, on the Quay. It held discussions on the topics of socialism, collectivism and the "workers millenium", and passed a series of resolutions supporting trade union demands for better wages and conditions, and condemning the employment of non-Union and boy-labour. But the Party found it impossible to attract widespread support or involve trade unionists in its activities. Then, (as now), the feeling was, that the unions should not be political. The participation of Strange in a big labour meeting in the City Hall in April 1895 was condemned in some quarters on the grounds of Strange being an I.L.P. man. Strange replied that he had chaired the meeting in question as a labour supporter, not an I.L.P.'er. He agreed that "politics should be kept out of labour".⁸ Similarly, when an I.L.P. deputation called on the various trades and labour bodies, urging them to unite, some tradesmen resented the party's involvement in their affairs.⁹

Divisions among workers' representative bodies were a serious impediment to the creation of any separate consciousness and only the Federated Trades and Labour Union had any connection with the socialists of the I.L.P. Whilst the Council was undoubtedly the most prestigious trades body, its affiliated members all belonging to recognised unions, it represented no more than a fraction of the City's workforce. Trade Unions affiliated represented the following workers: Plasterers, Wood-workers, Masons, Railway workers, Ropemakers, Coopers, Boot operatives, Pork Butchers, Coachmakers, Corkcutters, Printers, Brewery workers, Tailors and Tailoresses, Bakers, Plumbers and Engineers: 400 people in all.¹⁰

Nevertheless, despite this limited base, the possibility of mobilizing workers into united organisations did exist. The Trades Council was willing to take up the grievances of unorganised workers. For example, the Council condemned "the decision of the Corporation to purchase a steam stone-breaker as this would make 8-10 stonebreakers redundant".¹¹ "The stonebreakers were not affiliated to the Trades and Labour Council, but as the matter affected labour interests, the Council felt it to be its duty to take it up."¹² The Council was also concerned with "questions of paramount importance to the workers, such as the Employers' Liability Bill, Technical Education, the Municipal Franchise, etc."¹³ The issue of the Franchise Qualification generated great enthusiasm in the trade union movement. High hopes were held of Labour's prospects in the reformed Municipal elections.¹⁴

REDMONDITE INFLUENCE:

That these expectations were unfulfilled is to be expected. The Redmondites were too strong. But Labour was not simply defeated in the elections of 1899. It was eradicated. The reasons for the failure of the labour movement to maintain any sort of independent identity were threefold. Firstly, Waterford was one of only nine constituencies to return a Parnellite M.P. in the General Elections of 1892.¹⁵ The bitterness of the events surrounding the fall of Parnell generated a vivid political imagery which was passed on to John Redmond when he succeeded the Chief as leader of the Independent Nationalists.

The Redmondites were to make full use of this throughout the political siege of Waterford (which lasted up to 1900, when both factions of the Nationalist Party reunited). This not only intensified political feeling, but sharpened the cleavage between the Parnellites and "Cartyites", as the followers of Justin McCarthy's party were known in Waterford. Any organisation that was not for Redmond could be denounced as being against him. Labour, of course, was automatically suspect, and ran the risk of being branded "Cartyite" if it became too independent. Industrial unrest was very often portrayed as being the work of "Carty agitators". Similarly, the Trades Council's efforts to build up labour organisation in the County were condemned as being "Carty inspired" because of Davitt's association with Healy and McCarthy. The following report is a colourful but representative example : -

" THE WHIG MEETING AT THE SWEEP ON SUNDAY

Afraid to perpetrate such an outrage on the memory of Parnell anywhere in the immediate vicinity of the city, the few individuals who will give an open adherence to the principles of Whiggery betook themselves to Ballyduff East on Sunday last and here carried out their orgies. The gathering was called a labour meeting but not a single person present could be hoodwinked into the belief that it was what its promoters represented it to be. It was purely and simply a meeting of Whigs gathered together for the sole purpose of outraging the memory of a man to whom the farmers and agricultural labourers owe so much. Had the gentlemen with whom the idea of holding a meeting originated had any other object in view, surely they could have selected another day than that on which the nation was in mourning, to attempt to improve on Parnell's work. (It was Ivy Day).

To throw dust in the eyes of the people and to make a show of their toleration, two gentlemen who have been identified with the Parnellite Movement were invited to attend and be exhibited for the purpose of the wirepullers..... The meeting, which consisted of some thirty or forty labourers, gathered at the crossroads and was addressed by Mr. P. J. Power, M.P., Mr. Shee, M.P., Mr. Strange and the grabber from Paul's Square. (Headquarters of the Irish National Federation in Waterford). The meeting was no more a labour one than the Omagh Convention might be called, but it was never intended to be so. The promoters had the opportunity of insulting Parnell and insulting those who hold his memory dear, they utilised it to the fullest extent, and I suppose they are satisfied with their day's work. " 16

Secondly, the Redmondites combined this attitude of hostility to independent labour with a friendly paternalism towards the workers. Although conservative by inclination, John Redmond was careful to forge links with the working and lower middle class. Redmond had been active in the Plan of Campaign¹⁷, and still maintained a strong interest in agrarian issues. For example, in 1895, in a speech of thanks to the electorate he expressed his gratitude to the people of Ballybricken and the Pig Buyers' Association for their support. He went on to make a special appeal for better treatment of the workers and farm labourers, "who were the Land League's strongest supporters and got least out of it".¹⁸ Redmond also took up the request of the Trades Council for a reduction in the Municipal Franchise qualification, and piloted a Bill through Parliament, reducing it from £10 to £4. One of the interesting aspects of this campaign was the way the Parnellite press claimed that the "Cartyites" were secretly opposed to it despite appearances.¹⁹ In fact, all groups in the city favoured a reduction, but it was Redmond who, as the author of the Bill, got the credit for it. The Redmondites were concerned equally with major social issues, such as

working class housing in the city. In this way they were able to ensure that their politics remained the medium for the expression of labour grievances, thus preventing Labour from turning to the Socialists for assistance.

The third reason for the oblivion of the Labour movement has to do with the Bacon dispute and the activities of 1896/'97. The trouble began in 1893 when the bacon manufacturers of Waterford, Cork and Limerick decided to buy their pigs direct from the farms, and thus cut out the middlemen, i.e. the pig-buyers. This policy would have destroyed the livelihoods of the buyers who promptly resisted all attempts to compromise their position. The factory owners remained unsympathetic and offered the buyers nothing beyond financial assistance to emigrate.²⁰ The conflict became very serious in October 1896, when violent unrest erupted following the arrest of some pig buyers for attacks on the directors of Matternons Ltd., and J. J. Richardson Ltd.²¹ The Pig Buyers Association then decided to purchase all pigs entering the city,²² in this way hoping to force the companies to do business with them or cease production. The manufacturers countered this by dealing directly with some of the farmers and paying them a premium for pigs delivered straight to the factory cellars.

Throughout the Winter of 1896/'97 the contest dragged on. One hundred and fifty extra R.I.C. were drafted into the city.²³ At night, armed patrols guarded business property in the City centre. By day, mounted escorts were provided for factory-bound pigs running the buyers' blockade. There were frequent clashes between supporters of the pig buyers and the police. The dispute quickly took on the dimensions of a strike in November when the pork butchers and salters came out in sympathy with the pig buyers.

This was precisely the sort of situation that the A.S. of Pork Butchers had hoped to avoid. Already, the previous July, a number of their members had seceded from the Union and amalgamated with the Pig Buyers' Association. Were the bulk of membership now to become involved with what was not a bona fide trade dispute, the Society would be in danger of breaking up. Quite different situations applied in Limerick and Cork where the Pig Buyers were not nearly so militant as those in Waterford. Accordingly, the support of the other branches was in doubt were the Waterford workers to come out in sympathy with the buyers.

Throughout November the Pig Buyers' Association had exerted intense pressure on certain prominent local workers asking them to refuse to slaughter any pigs that had broken the blockade. These men were subjected to the abuse of huge crowds on their way to and from work. Some of them were attacked. Eventually, one man, William Phelan, a leading porkbutcher in Denny's Ltd. agreed to the buyers' demand. As a consequence he was immediately dismissed by the Company. When Mr. C.E. Denny refused to re-instate Phelan, the Union gave one week's strike notice.²⁴ By early December the strike had spread to Richardsons and Matternons.²⁵ The once powerful A.S. of Porkbutchers was now split three ways between those who had joined the Pig Buyers' Association, those who were on strike with the Union and those who remained at work in factories. In addition, there was friction with the branches in Cork and Limerick. The Society did not survive the strike and was dissolved in 1897.²⁶ It was a great blow to the organised Labour movement in Waterford.

The Pig Buyers' Association eventually proved to be too strong for the Companies and retained the right of its members to act as the middlemen. The outcome therefore not only weakened labour, but dramatically strengthened Redmondism. Firstly, it ensured the survival of the buyers, who were Redmond's staunchest supporters. Secondly, it strengthened Redmond's popularity with the

pig buyers. Redmond became the undisputed hero of the hour in March 1897, when he successfully defended in Court those pig buyers accused of assault during the disturbances. Their acquittal was the cause of wild celebrations.²⁷ Thirdly, the dispute itself which, with the exception of the Farm Strike of 1923, was the most bitter Waterford has ever experienced, showed that the independence of labour could not prevail against the social and economic bonds that united all of the people involved within the Bacon industry. Accordingly, the dispute was a powerful integrationist factor in Ballybricken; reinforcing the cohesion of its people and accentuating its sense of distinctiveness as a community. This was to become very important after 1918. Fundamentally, it was the uniqueness of Ballybricken which under-wrote the durability of Redmondism.

DECLINE OF LABOUR:

With the dissolution of the A.S. of Porkbutchers, Labour was very much on the defensive. For the next decade the Waterford Federated Trades and Labour Council confined itself almost exclusively to the affairs of its affiliated unions. As for the I.L.F., it protested its loyalty to Redmond so convincingly that it completely lost its identity. The branch put forward two candidates in the Municipal Elections of 1895, both of them in the West Ward (one of five in the city at that time). One candidate, Strange, was disqualified due to a technical error in his nomination papers. The other, J.J. Rogers, received 15 votes out of a valid poll of 109. Interestingly enough, most of his votes were non-transferable.²⁸ Strange and Rogers stood again in 1896, this time for the Centre Ward and Custom House Ward respectively. Strange polled 40 votes, almost defeating Mayor Smith who was elected with 49. Rogers polled 19 votes out of 227 cast. He does not appear to have been a serious candidate however, and didn't even bother to vote himself.²⁹

Following this, the branch effectively disintegrated. Two of its best known members, Charlie Strange and T.F. Meagher were now more identified with the National Literary Club, one of the local dens of Parnellism. Strange was finally re-elected to the Corporation in 1897. His running mate in the Centre Ward was Bishop, a Redmondite, and both he and Bishop had C.P. Redmond, another National Literary Clubman, as their election agent.³⁰ A month later, in December, Strange took a prominent part in the inauguration of the Irish Independent League, (a Redmondite organisation), in the City.³¹

Throughout Ireland, Labour recorded spectacular, if transient, success in the local elections of 1899.³² It is an indication of the all embracing nature of Redmondism at this time that a City like Waterford returned no Labour representatives. It is true that Charlie Strange was elected Mayor,³³ and as he was well known for his views, to him must go the honour of being the first Socialist Mayor of Waterford; nevertheless Strange was not elected either to the Corporation or the Mayoralty as a Socialist - but as a Redmondite, albeit an eccentric one. Later on, both the Irish Socialist Republican Party and the Socialist Party of Ireland were to have a few sympathisers here.³⁴ However, they never made any impact on the trade union movement and their influence was slight. Socialism never really got off the ground in Waterford until 1918.

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24. *op.cit.* 28th November, 1896.
25. *op.cit.* 12th December, 1896.
26. Tommy Dunne: *op. cit.*
27. The Waterford News. 13th March, 1897
28. *op. cit.* 30th November 1895.
29. *op. cit.* 28th November 1896.
30. *op. cit.* 27th November 1897.
31. *op. cit.* 11th December 1897.
32. C.D. Greaves, *op.cit.* p.90
33. *Ibid.*
34. *op.cit.* p.91 & 191.

TOKENS ISSUED BY WATERFORD TRADESMEN

By John Mulholland.

Due to the inadequate supply of official coinage in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries the merchants of these islands frequently had recourse to the expedient of minting their own "coins". These were usually copper or brass tokens valued at 1/2d or 1d. Twenty five of these survive which were issued in County Waterford in the mid 17th century. No Waterford tokens are known to have survived, if indeed they were produced, over the next 150 years until metal farthings issued locally began to appear in the 1830s.

17th Century Dungarvan Tokens:

During the Civil War many merchants and corporate bodies started to issue tokens on an emergency basis. These began to appear from 1653 and some continued to be issued until 1680 when they were declared illegal. Over this period, five Dungarvan traders issued their own penny pieces. First was Robert Robens in 1656 whose "penny" was inscribed "Dungarven and Yeoghal". Ten years later an issue appeared with the name Robrt Cock. In 1668 a John Porter issued both a penny and a 1/2d coin. An undated halfpenny with his name on it also survives. There is some doubt about the date of a penny with the name Thomas Nicholl on it. In Boyle and Seaby's catalogues the date is given as 1667 but the R.I.A. listing places it at 1677. An undated penny with the name Daniell Daynes - Innkeeper, also survives. There may be more from here but either they haven't survived or they have not been catalogued.

One further token is listed for this area and bears the legend "Knockmone Castle". It was issued in 1673 and the name Hugh W-----s (surname indecipherable) appears on it. He may have been connected with a Thomas Walters of Youghal who issued his own tokens about this date. It is difficult to imagine this token actually being issued from Knockmoan as the population of the townland with the four adjoining townlands only totalled 36 (33 Irish, 3 English) in 1659. Neither does it appear to have increased in importance afterwards as Smith in 1746 has nothing to record of the place. Perhaps Knockmoan was just used by Mr. W-----s as a decorative motif.

17th Century Waterford City Tokens:

The Cromwellian planters in Waterford City seemed to have experienced serious inconvenience due to the shortage of official coinage. Waterford Corporation therefore decided to issue its own pennies. The first of these was in 1658 and inscribed "City of Waterford - Andrew Rickards Mayor". He seems to have been a man of considerable commercial importance and details of his activities fill many columns of the Corporation Council Books. In the following year the Corporation again issued penny tokens with the motto "Waterford's safety wished - proceed and prosper". Two further issues followed in 1667 and '68, simply inscribed "Corporation of Waterford". While these had no official status the Corporation was of course bound to redeem them. When the time came to do so, far more were returned than had been issued! Counterfeiters had been at work and this problem was to bedevil the Corporation for years.

The Corporation's tokens do not seem to have solved the currency problem and thirteen private individuals during this period issued their own penny tokens. Even before the first Corporation issue, two of the Cromwellian planters had already produced their own in 1656. These were John Heaven and Thomas Noble, both of them Aldermen and active in the commercial and civic life of the city. They occupied the best two houses in the North Ward. On Noble's token is the description "Merchant". He also did a second run of these, but omitted the date.

The year 1667 seemed to be a particularly difficult one, as not only did the Corporation issue tokens then but so also did three traders. One was John Tyley who seems to have been a distiller to judge from the furnace and

still he used as a motif. The second was a Mary Stephens and the third a William Joye. The former was a widow and a Apothecary living in Broad Street. For some reason her tokens were disapproved of by the Corporation and in 1671 it was "ordered that Mr. Richard Morris and Mr. William Joye become bound in £200 for exchanging ye brass pence put forth in ye name of Mrs. Stephens by tomorrow." Joye's role in this is interesting as not alone had he issued his own tokens, but he had been sheriff the previous year.

Over the following six years five more individuals issued penny tokens. In 1668 an issue appeared with the name Zach. Clayton. He had been sheriff in 1663, was an Alderman and Coroner and two years later became Mayor. In 1671 two issues appeared with the names David Owen and Pee(ter) Cranisbrough. The former had been sheriff two years earlier but little is known of his commercial activity. Of the latter more is known. He was the only burgher who seems to have survived the Cromwellian Settlement, thanks to the patronage of the Duke of Ormond. He had recovered his old house in High Street but his status seems to have been much resented by the new burghers. They ordered his brass pence to be withdrawn from circulation. Two years later ('73) two new lots of tokens appeared bearing the names Benjamin Powell and Edmund Russell. What the latter did is unclear, although he became sheriff five years later. Russell, however, was a Silversmith and Engraver and it was he who had cut the dies for the Corporation issues. He also was a freeman of the city and therefore in a strong position to interpret and cater for its needs.

There are also three undated issues which presumably belong to this period. These bore the names James Atkinson, The. Exton-Vintner, and Thomas Noble (see above). Of the first two, little emerges except that Exton was Mayor in 1667 and had houses in Key St. and Patrick St. The last issue before the banning of these tokens was that of Mar. Crosseley in 1679. He seems to have been a tallow chandler, and may have had the privilege of being the last person to issue tokens in Waterford for a century and a half.

19th Century Tokens:

While shortage of currency was a major problem at the end of the 18th century, there is no evidence that Waterford merchants made any personal efforts to cope with it. There is, in fact, some doubt as to whether the $\frac{3}{4}$ d. tokens issued in 1840s were, in fact, genuine currency, or whether their main purpose was advertising. Of the eight tokens remaining for this period, only two carry dates. In 1841 Conway Carleton, Draper, presented his farthings to the citizens of Waterford. He had shops in King's St. and Little Georges Street. Five years later the rival drapers on Merchants Quay, Walshe, Roberson & Co., presented their farthings to the public.

There must have been great competition amongst the textile retailers of Waterford at this period as six other cloth sellers issued undated tokens around then. They were: James Carroll, Silkmercer, Draper, etc. of Custom House Quay; J.W. Delahunty, Draper & Hatter of Broad Street; B. Holden, Woollen Draper of 1, Broad Street; W. Kirkwood, Draper and Silk Mercer; McLeer & Kelly, Drapers of "National Woollen House Quay" (i.e. Merchant's Quay); and Milling & Co., Silk Mercers, Linen Drapers, Haberdashers, etc., of 4, Little Georges Street.

To complete this picture, mention must be made of two issues of non-metal tokens in the county. In contemporary literature these were known as "leather tokens" although they seem to have been made of cardboard. They are otherwise known as "Truck Tickets" and were really a form of credit card for use in specific shops (often owned by the company that issued them). As this lent itself to much abuse it was ended by the Truck Act of 1887. Two companies in County Waterford used this system. Malcolmson Brothers of Mayfield Factory, Portlaoise issued circular shilling tokens for which an example dated 1854 exists. They also issued 4d. hexagonal tokens. The Mining Company of Ireland, Knockmahon Mines also issued tokens. One example recorded in J.W.S.E.I...S dated 1861 and is valued at 2/6. Possibly others have survived, but I can find no record of them.

NINETEENTH CENTURY TOKENS:



Carleton's drapery stood at 10, Little George's St. He also had a premises at King St.



The shop front shown here may in fact be Kirkwood's establishment.



Cardboard tokens from Malcolmson's factory at Portlaw.



Corporation of Waterford

A shield bearing three barges, which is a simplified from the city arms.

A castellated turret with three flags.

City of Waterford

A castle with three flags.

Three galleys arranged two and one, which is a simplified form of the city arms (Date 1658).

Thomas Nicholl of Dungarvan

A shield bearing arms, probably of the Nicholl family.

T.N. is the Merchant's initials. D.I. stands for one penny.

(The drawings above and on the facing page were done by Mrs. Susanne Brophy. They are approximately four times the size of their originals. Any defects in the originals have been reproduced here. We intend to publish some more of these illustrations in Decies 11).

Sources:

- Journal, Waterford and S.E. Ireland Arch. Soc.: Vol VIII, Tradesmen's Coinage of Waterford in the 17th c.. Vol. XVIII, Bunmahon Paper Currency.
- R.I.A. Proceedings, Vol XL, No. 2, Catalogue of Irish Traders Tokens in the collection of the R.I.A., by Dr. R.A.S. MacAlister.
- Council Books of the Corporation of Waterford 1662-1700, edited by S. Pender (I.M.C. 1964).
- Coins and Tokens of Ireland by Peter Seaby (B.A. Seaby Ltd., 1970).
- Unofficial Farthings 1820-1870 by R.C. Bell (Seaby 1975).
- History, Guide and Directory of Waterford by P.M. Egan.
- Civil Survey 1654, Vol XI, edited by B.C. Simmington (I.M.C. 1942).

RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF LOCAL HISTORICAL INTEREST.

The Promontory of Hook by Billy Colfer, privately published in May, 1978, price £1.10. The overall plan of this well-produced handbook is to present an outline history of the Hook Promontory from the bronze age on through an examination of the artifacts which past eras have left there. Many of these artifacts - castles, churches, inscriptions, gatepiers, etc. are neatly illustrated, all their positions are mapped and references given to the sources of information about them. The narration is most readable.

In his concluding sentence, Mr. Colfer hopes "this book has helped to make you more aware of the influences in the past which have formed the people and environment of the present day". Those who live in Hook cannot but be made more aware of these influences by reading this book; the outsider visiting Hook with this in hand will certainly be made aware of what shaped the environment there.

Mr. Colfer's book will be admired and hopefully emulated elsewhere.

Guide to Historic New Ross and Neighbourhood: published by New Ross Tourist Association, June, 1978, price £1.00. While this attractive booklet is primarily intended as a guide to the New Ross area, it will also serve as a most useful source of historical reference for the local historian visiting or resident there. Its maps and illustrations accompanied by outline histories of the major sites within New Ross, or within easy touring distance of it, should add a new dimension to the area for even the most casual observer.

It is edited by members of the New Ross Literary and Historical Society, and various local firms have sponsored the illustrations. One wishes that something like this were available for every town in Ireland (including Waterford!) This is an example of what can be achieved with local initiative, enthusiasm and co-operation, and the entire enterprise is most commendable.

The Augustinians in Callan, 1467 - 1977: by T. C. Butler, O.S.A., published in Callan, 1977, price £1.30. Fr. Butler calls this a "short history" but its 88 pages (including appendices, list of sources and a good index) are most comprehensive, placing the early development of Callan in its international context and showing its significance up to the Dissolution. He presents and discusses the sometimes conflicting evidence for the survival of his order over the following 200 years. The 30 years from 1750, it seems, were most crucial of all - not through Penal Law but by Papal Decree.

The second half of the book deals with the expansion of the order in Callan from 1780, including the building of a new church and friary as well as the period of novitiate. Discussion of the role of individual members of the community is useful, not alone in enlarging the history of the order in the last two centuries but for the light it throws on contemporary society and attitudes. The book is generously illustrated throughout and is well printed and bound. Fr. Butler deserves our thanks for this history - a worthy successor to his "Near Restful Waters" (Dublin 1975).

A Maritime and General History of Dungarvan, 1690-1978, by John M. Young, published by the author, December, 1978, price £3.00.

Mr. Young, a member of the Old Waterford Society, is to be congratulated on his enterprise and for putting together so much on Dungarvan's past in this well illustrated book. He begins with an account of Dungarvan fisheries from 1690 to 1730s and goes on to deal with shipbuilding there. The ships that frequented the port are described and an account is given of the shipwrecks along the coast here which Mr. Young describes as "Ireland's Bermuda Triangle" on account of the number of ships that vanished here without trace. He also deals with local rescues from 1852, using RMLI sources. Other chapters

describe such matters as the controversies over the Cunnigar Embankment in 1880, Dungarvan's sea-faring families, etc.

Even if it were for its illustrations alone, this would represent value for £3.00. It is available in selected bookshops or direct from the author (post free) at 103, Childers Estate, Dungarvan.

Revised Report on Areas and Sites of Historic/Artistic Interest in County Waterford - An Foras Forbartha Teoranta, July, 1977.

This invaluable report, unfortunately, is marked "confidential. Not for Publication". Its preface identifies it as part of a National Heritage inventory to provide "specialist information" on which Planning Authorities can draw when drafting development plans. This enormous job of compilation was done by Maurice Craig, William Garner, J. P. & C. A. Courlander. Presumably, these or others have written similar reports for the other South-Eastern counties.

The report ranks the importance of the features it deals with as being of local, regional, national or international interest. For Waterford city and for each town and village in the county, buildings of interest are thus rated with descriptive detail given and useful historical reference. This is also done for all the churches in the city and county as well as for a wide selection of houses, ruined and inhabited, both country and vernacular. Seventeen century castles and houses are dealt with in similar manner though anything outside this date was outside the brief of the compilers. There is also a section dealing with sites of industrial - archaeological interest and another dealing with miscellaneous artifacts such as bridges, schools, monuments, etc.

Both its introduction and glossary of terms are worthwhile documents in themselves. The illustrations range from vernacular shop-fronts, through plans and pictures of ruined mansions, to Victorian exteriors and interiors. Overall it is an indispensable check-list and reference book for local history, but unfortunately-----

Waterford County Council Development Plan 1978:

Like the Foras Forbartha Report (from which it appears to draw some of its information), this plan provides an invaluable check list of sites of historical interest in the county (along with other information). To convey an idea of the range of historical material here, it is worth listing in full the categories covered in the Plan. The number of sites in each category is given in brackets.

Megalithic tombs (24); Ogham Stones (19); Ringforts and other earthworks (147); Promontory forts (16); Crannogs (2); Fulacht Fiadh (16); Religious Sites (58); Country Churches (34); Holy wells (12); Motte & Baileys (4); Old roadways (3); Caves (2); Country houses and their incidental features (94); Vernacular houses (17); Sites of industrial-archaeological interest (37); Features in towns and villages (10); Miscellaneous - schools, bridges, monuments, etc. (37);

For each category the sites are listed in alphabetical order, numbered and marked on an accompanying map. Altogether, the plan represents a major piece of research and compilation by individuals within the County Council who deserve the thanks and congratulations of local historians.

Each site is given a preservation category. Those rated "A" indicate that it is "an objective to secure the preservation of the building or structure". There are very few of these; no castles or mottes, only 3 religious sites (Ardmore, Kilbunny and St. Molana's), one earthworks (a mound at Boolatin, Kilrossanty), the major megalithic tombs, but little else. The vast majority of the sites are rated "B" where preservation will be considered "in the event of an application being made to alter or demolish" such sites. Presumably, this low rating of the majority of sites reflects the indifference of society

towards them rather than any policy of wilful neglect on the part of the County Council who have now, after all, drawn public attention to them.

There are, however, a substantial number of sites which are not listed and therefore presumably can be demolished with impunity. Can this for instance happen to the religious sites at Newcastle and Ballylanean with their important cemeteries, and to the remains of the Cistercian foundation at Monksland (see Decies 9)? One hopes that future listings will include these and other sites, such as the portions of the castles at Kilbree and Ballynakill incorporated in more modern structures, the ruins at Feddans with nearby motte, etc. Dr. Barry's list of moated sites published here for the first time in this issue obviously add a new category, and it is to be hoped that in the future a comprehensive list of all sites of historical interest will be available and their futures assured by the good-will of an informed public. This development plan is a significant step to such an aim.

A VISITOR'S GUIDE TO THE COMERAGH MOUNTAINS. By Patrick Warner,
Blackstaff Press, Belfast.
1978. £2.95.

While this is essentially, as the title suggests, a guide to the Comeraghs, it is of interest here for two reasons. First, the sheer lack of "history" (in the conventional sense) of this mountain block produces its own fascination. This is apparent in the nomenclature - in the evident confusion of the Ordnance Survey as to the names of the various features within the area. Somehow one gains the impression of these mountains standing above, both literally and metaphorically, the dissensions of millenia.

Their slopes, however, provided shelter and refuge for many and helped to preserve to the present day elements of a distinctive culture. This Mr. Warner illustrates, showing cottage furnishings, a wheel-less sledge in use and an 18th century straw ceiling. Drawing on his knowledge of the mountains, he discusses Crotty's famous cave hide-out on the eastern slopes. "The only considerable (cave) there", he writes, "-- is accessible only to a fairly experienced climber by way of a 'chimney-climb'. Crotty may have done this every time he wanted to go to bed; if so, he deserved his rest". He is equally sceptical about Crotty's famous jump. Of the lesser notorieties of these mountains, Mr. Warner deals with the recluse General Blackeney and with the unfortunate shell-shocked veteran of World War 1 who took refuge from the horrors he had experienced under a rock at Luckandara.

This well-produced book contains many other snippets of interesting historical information. It is generously illustrated throughout.

Correction to Reference 4 in page 31 of this issue. The second sentence should begin, "Its masonry gun emplacement still stands ---"

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

SPRING 1979 LECTURES

(These lectures will be held in the Teachers' Centre, 31, The Mall, Waterford beginning at 8.00 p.m. sharp on the following Friday nights) :-

- FEB. 9th : Ireland in French Strategy during the Seven Years' War. Mr. Marcus de la Poer Bersford.
- MARCH 9th : The Atherton Mystery (The execution of the Bishop of Waterford and Lismore in 1640). Dr. Aidan Clarke.
- APRIL 6th : The Medieval County of Waterford Rev. C. A. Empey.

The A. G. M. of the Society will be held on March 23 rd. Separate notice will be sent to members of this.

On the weekend 27th-29th April the Group of the Study of Irish Historical Settlement will hold their Annual Conference in Waterford. Members of this Society are invited to attend. Their programme of lectures and outings will be available shortly.

Decies 11 will appear in early May. The full programme of Summer Outings will then be published.

Membership of the Old Waterford Society is open to all, and new members are welcome. The subscription for 1979 is still £2.50 and may be given to the Treasurer at meetings or sent to:-

Mrs. R. Lumley, 28, Daisy Terrace, Waterford.

We still need help with Decies. Enquiries or offers please to -
Mr. Noel Cassidy, "Lisacul", Marian Park, Waterford ('Phone 3130).

Editorial matter to:-

Mr. Des Cowman, "Knockane", Annestown, Co. Waterford
(telephone 96157).